An Englishman’s Guide to Survival:

An Analysis of Three Versions of the Story of Inkle and Yarico Written by Richard Steele, Mrs Weddell, and George Colman the Younger.

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Danksagung

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Abstract

The topic of slavery is as relevant today as it was back in the 18th century. The different versions of the Inkle and Yarico story did have a profound impact on the public perception of the British slave trade. In the first part of the thesis, the historical aspects as well as the theoretical concepts will be presented for the analysis of the three different versions of *Inkle and Yarico*: Richard Steele, Mrs Weddell, and George Colman the Younger’s texts. The second part then features a didactic guide to incorporate the topic of modern slavery into English as a Foreign Language classroom.

Key words: *Inkle and Yarico*, Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, Mrs Weddell, George Colman the Younger, slavery, history of slavery, abolition
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Introduction

Is slavery a topic of the past? For most people it is. Due to the media surrounding the topic and the depiction of slaves and slave workers in films, the first thought many people associate with this topic is either the colonial period and Britain as a colonial superpower using slaves to build this empire, or the Roman Empire. Slavery is almost always tied to the notion of an inferior group, the slaves, as well as an oppressive group, the slaveholders. Slaves have been depicted in novels, plays, poetry, and other text formats since the Roman times. They were used as gladiators to entertain the masses as they were killed by wild animals in the amphitheatres. Literature featuring slaves became popular in the genre of drama in the 18th century when the debate about the abolition of slavery gained momentum.

One of the most successful plays was *Inkle and Yarico*, which was an almost guaranteed success because of the popularity of its topic among the public as well as its “subtle critique of the possible degeneration of mercantile ethos” (Dellarosa 73). Richard Ligon’s original text¹ was changed and adapted to fit the needs of the changing society as well as the changing genres. Its first success was in the form of a daily magazine article in the year 1711. 31 years later, an author named Mrs Weddell adapted the text for the stage but it was never performed. George Colman the Younger made several alterations of his own and published it in 1787 to an extremely enthusiastic audience (cf. Felsenstein xi).

This diploma thesis will look at these three versions of the popular theme and will analyse them from a postcolonial perspective. The thesis will focus on several different aspects: for instance, how these texts differ from each other; how the natives, as well as the English, were portrayed in the various adaptations. Moreover, the portrayal of the main characters in the stories will shed light on the issue of slavery. The first chapter will serve as an introduction to

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¹ Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (Extracts); From the second edition (1673) (Felsenstein 55)
the topic of slavery from an historic point of view. It will focus on the history of slavery, the involvement of Great Britain in the slave trade and slavery itself, and the depiction of slavery on stage.

In Chapter Two, the paper will present the theoretic basis and approach used to analyse the texts in order to answer the aforementioned questions. The chapter will try to define colonialism by introducing postcolonialism as a possible approach to the topic of slavery, including the concepts of otherness and hybridity, as well as stereotypes which were often used to justify slavery. Furthermore, feminism, ethnocentrism, and the concept of the noble savage will be explained in detail.

Chapter Three will focus on the individual texts and their analysis according to the questions formulated above. To make the comparison more visible, the subchapters for each text are structured the same way. First of all, some background information about the author as well as the text will be provided to familiarise the reader with the individual texts. Secondly, the relationships between the characters therein will be analysed in detail, contrasting the individual characters and groups, while showing how the characters interact with each other as well as what they say about each other. Furthermore, the thesis will take a closer look at the relationship between Inkle and Yarico and how it developed and ended. Moreover, since the endings underwent the most changes in each text, they will be analysed in a separate subchapter. A different subchapter is also dedicated to the depiction of slavery within the play as well as the way slavery is presented to the audience. This chapter will be followed by the conclusion, answering the questions posed earlier as part of the broader discussion of *Inkle and Yarico*.

To answer my first question, unfortunately, this is not the case. This diploma thesis also contains a didactic part for a teacher training program that deals with the topic of modern slavery to raise awareness among students that slavery still exists today and remains a relevant topic. The didactic part thus offers a curriculum reference to locate the lesson as well as a detailed didactic analysis, a lesson plan, and handouts and additional material.
1. A Brief Introduction to the History of Slavery

1.1. And in the Beginning, there was … Slavery

The term slavery was first legally defined in the year 1926 as a “status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised” (Allain and Bales 3). In the history of slavery, this definition was applied in the *de jure* situations, which means that one person legally owns another (cf. Allain and Bales 3). In ancient societies, slavery was part of daily life and to a large extent, slavery contributed to the rise and success of empires. Greece, Rome and later the spread of Islam helped to circulate slaves all around the world. In the beginning, however, the number of slaves needed was ensured by slaves born to enslaved mothers and later, when more slaves were needed, they were being recruited from other territories (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 1).

One of the best documented societies depending on the slave trade and slavery as a workforce was the Roman Empire. According to Walvin, the Roman army was capable of providing about half a million slaves for Rome every year (cf Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 8), and as a result, they were represented in every aspect of daily life. They were transported from the borders and the battlegrounds of the empire where they were captured, to the major cities to be sold. As a result of the different origin of the slaves, they always looked diverse and contrasting to the society which held them as slaves and used them.

Not only were slaves essential for hard labour tasks, such as construction work, mining, or agricultural tasks, they were also present in domestic life. Some slaves were literate and thus trusted with important tasks. Today, the slave culture of ancient Rome is well documented and it is also widely known that the empire used its slaves to entertain the masses. This phenomenon is described in books and more famously in movies, as for example Ridley Scott’s Oscar-winning motion picture *Gladiator*. However, whether slaves were slaughtered for the purpose of the amusement of the better situated, or misused in order to build landmarks for emperors,
Walvin states that there was one thing all these slaves had in common: there was a monetary value associated with each slave. Slaves were sold in exchange for money or goods, and death or the sudden inability of a slave to work meant a monetary loss for the slave owner. Furthermore, it was a common practice to buy young slaves as one could still train them in new duties (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 8). It is interesting to note that throughout the early history of slavery, the only criticism that emerged against slavery was the abuse of slaves but not against the slave system itself. Even though early Christianisation changed the Roman society and culture, it did not change the slave system per se, but concentrated “instead on moderating the worst abuses of Roman slavery” (Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 9). Christians accepted slavery as something to be as it is also present throughout the bible, and often early Christians were indeed converted slaves (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 21).

In almost every part of Europe, slavery was present in the daily lives of people after the fall of the Roman empire. There was, however, not only one form of slavery, but it differed from region to region. The old slave trade system with its established routes was still present, as well as a new “piratical Viking slavery in northern Europe” (Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 20). Similar to the slaves in the ancient world, the slaves in the Viking world also occupied positions in domestic, rural, and administrative sectors of daily life. As a result they were part of daily interactions and especially the ones closest to their masters worked visible to the eye of everyone and therefore shaped the Medieval landscape (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 20).

Due to the rise of feudalism in the 13th century, slaves in central Europe were merged into a class of serfs. According to Walvin “they came to form a dependant peasantry which, though the peasants were tied to the land, was quite distinct from the old form of slavery” (Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 21). However, slavery did not vanish from Europe. Especially in Spain and Italy, slavery was still common, mainly due to their proximity to the Islamic culture, which still used slaves as workforce and especially as servants in domestic life.
In those countries, the Islamic population used mainly Christian slaves and the Christian population used Islamic slaves. For that, Christians used trade ships to bring Islamic slaves to Europe and in turn, Christians were brought to the Arabic world to be enslaved. Similar to the Christian bible with its stories of slaves, the prophet Muhammad is said to have possessed slaves and the Koran taught people how to treat slaves. One main difference in the Islamic culture and later the Atlantic trade was that slavery in Islamic countries was primarily female. The reason for this is that slaves in those countries were mainly used for domestic and sexual services. The male slaves were either used as workers, as teachers, or as eunuchs in harems. (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 21–28).

In the 15th century, when new trade routes to Africa were found and goods like sugar became more and more popular, slavery became an important factor again: “[…] the new Atlantic settlements turned to nearby Africa not simply for labour but for slave labour” (Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 39). As explained by Walvin, this quest for manpower in the form of slaves continued with the discovery of the Americas. For the development of these colonies, the Indian population was not sufficient as work labour and therefore, African slaves had to be brought to the new colonies (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 40). As a result of this high demand, a triangular slave trading route emerged: ships from Europe brought African slaves whom they had collected in Africa, to the Americans and took the produced goods back to Europe (cf. ‘Triangular Trade’). This form of trade was so effective that by 1850, about 800,000 Africans had been transported to work for their new owners, the capitalistic Europeans (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 42–43).

In short, the slave trade started very early in the Ancient world and from that time on, slaves were used as work force for tough labour, in the domestic sphere and also for the entertainment of the wealthy. With the rise of feudalism in central Europe the need for slavery subsided. However, due to the high demand for goods produced in the colonies, the discovery
of the Americas and the concomitant opening of new colonies, the slave trade gained momentum again.

1.2. Mercantilism

The term *mercantilism* describes not a static concept, “but rather a highly dynamic analytic lens permitting a striking multiplicity of economic visions” (Barth 257). It characterises a branch of economic policy attributed to a time period from the end of the Middle Ages around 1500 to the 1800s. Due to the absence of both “a well-defined economic terminology” as well as statistical information concerning the economic growth rates or the size of investments, the term can hardly be defined in a clear and concise way (Hansen 61). To simplify the aim of mercantilism, one could argue that its ambition was it to increase the prosperity and the national wealth and income. The national wealth was, however, not the wealth of the individual people, as it is today, but in an absolute monarchy, the concept of national wealth was rather synonymous with the “resources available for the court and national defence” (Hansen 61).

During the period of mercantilism, it was the main goal “to strengthen both the external and the internal position of the state” (Hansen 61). The external position included the perception of the state by others as well as the condition of the military force and the ability to hire more soldiers or even an army. To strengthen the internal position of the state, it was viable to promote its unity, to create new means of transportation of goods and to abolish tolls. Furthermore, common weights, measures and business laws were introduced. Hansen simplified mercantilism to the premise “to create an internal market within the single state” (Hansen 62). The main underlying consensus of mercantilism was that “a favorable [!] balance of trade and the resulting influx of money into a country […] were the principal means to power and plenty” (Barth 257). From the mercantilist’s perspective, the role of money was elevated, as, according to them, a vast circulation of money meant economic development (cf. Magnusson 36).
Furthermore, having money was the equivalent of being wealthy for the mercantilists (cf. Kinder and Hilgemann 261). As a result, in the early 17th century, the question arose how the economic situation in Great Britain could be strengthened and how wealth could be accumulated. Therefore a “favourable balance of trade” has to be achieved resulting in a greater number of exports than imports (Magnusson 98). In order to achieve the goal of a higher commerce, the reinforcement of the infrastructure on the mainland was not the only important component. It was also vital to develop a fleet for sea trading (cf. Kinder and Hilgemann 261). To ensure the existence of a great merchant fleet of the ever expanding Great Britain, the English Navigation Act of 1651 was passed which granted “English ships privileges in carrying goods to and from England and her colonies” (Hansen 64). One major distinction between the French and the British mercantilism was that British authorities did not try and set up rules to regulate production or the quality of goods (cf. Hansen 64).

For the mercantilists, a proactive colonial policy was another essential step towards a well-functioning empire with a good economy (cf. Kinder and Hilgemann 261). The Tories, a political party of that time believed well into the 18th century that “the key to securing Britain’s economic future lay in seizing a territorial empire. Such an empire would allow for the preservation of the natural social order at home while guaranteeing that Britain could compete with any commercial power overseas” (Pincus 26). Mercantilism not only facilitated trade but also the industry as it had to produce goods for the export. This in turn increased the wealth of the middle class. However, farmers did not receive much enticement to increase their production (cf. Kinder and Hilgemann 261).

The aforementioned main aspect of mercantilism, to produce goods that could then be exported to establish a positive trade balance, could not work without labour – preferably very cheap labour to minimize production costs and maximize the profit when exporting the goods. The simple solution for that was slavery. The British vessels were therefore not exclusively transporting produce, but were often also equipped with, for that time, state of the art weaponry.
and more than able to inflict violence. These ships were used in a symbiosis with the trade ships as the British could not only defend their goods with them, but also capture and transport slaves (cf. Conti 194).

1.3. Great Britain’s Involvement

Sugar and tobacco were the two crops that played a vital part in the slave trade. Sugar was introduced to the West Indies by Columbus. Due to the rising demand for these two products in Great Britain and mainland Europe, the slave trade with its cheap labour and high profit margins could thrive (cf. Harley 7). This is also how the British involvement in the African slave trade started: with the rise of imports of sugar in Europe. In 1556, the first Africans were transported to Britain, where they were met with curiosity rather than with disapproval. Furthermore, Britain’s involvement in the slave trade started to grow in 1562. In the 1640s, the first sugar plantation in Barbados was established under the crown (cf. Craton et al. 2). Britain soon became the most powerful force in the Caribbean as central Europe was mainly occupied with the Thirty-Year War (1618-1648). Subsequently, the British slave trade could flourish unrestrictedly (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 51). As the population on the plantations was not self-sustaining and the death rate on the sugar plantations was high, more and more African slaves had to be brought to the West Indies (cf. Craton et al. 2; cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 52). By 1669, 9,525 tons of sugar were produced for the British market and the number of African slaves in Barbados rose to 30,000. In the late 17th century, Jamaica was taken from the Spanish by the British and transformed in order to meet the high sugar demand of the British population (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 52). By the end of the 17th century, the goods produced on plantations on the basis of hard labour of the enslaved became staples all around the globe, thus making slavery even more important to ensure a constant supply of produce. Furthermore, tobacco planters increasingly turned to slaves as they were the established force on plantations and therefore more easily available than before. With this
development, higher demands of tobacco could be met, which in turn spiralled to a higher number of slaves on the plantations. At this point, it is interesting to note that tobacco was being smoked by almost everyone, men and up until the 18th century also women. This included upper class British people as well as slaves who were often given tobacco on ships to make their misery more endurable (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 57).

1.3.1. The Enslavement of Africans

The single most common reason that Africans were uniquely suitable as slaves was due to their resistance to the subtropical and tropical conditions on the plantations. However, with the number of black slaves increasing, blackness became inextricably linked with slavery: “to be black was to be a slave” (Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* 72). Nonetheless, this was not true for all societies as in “slave-owning societies”, in which primarily black slaves coexisted with the white population, the relationship was more liberal and more “easy going” (Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* 73). In a slave society, however, slaves were more controlled and therefore restricted by legal and social norms and conventions. Before the colonialisation of the Americas and the West Indies by the British, racial segregation in the form of blacks being equivalent to slaves and white people being superior, was not as distinct. As the previous chapter has shown, slaves were usually people of different places of origin. According to Walvin, there is some evidence that African slaves were being treated with less respect and more contempt than other slaves before the slave trade, but it was not until the plantations that a sharp contrast between the enslaved and the enslaving became more and more important (cf. Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* 73). Moreover, people were hesitant to enslave humans from their own ethnical groups and as the African slaves were a different and an unfamiliar group, enslaving blacks was considered and accepted as part of the way the world is (cf. Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* 74).

Walvin claims that a more important reason for Africans to play such a big role in the slave trade was that for the British, in fact for English-speakers in general and also for other
European countries, blackness had a strong negative connotation. The word black, used to describe African slaves, was equivalent with “dirt, sin and evil”, whereas white, which stood for the European, more importantly the British, was equivalent to “purity, goodness, virtue and beauty” (Walvin, Questioning Slavery 75). One further aspect was that for the British Africans were savages, uncivilised, and barbaric. Therefore, in the minds of the British they were perfect for the hard work on the plantations as the situation there hardly differed from the ‘barbaric’ African continent. Moreover, religion was used to emphasize the difference of these two groups and to justify the enslavement of African people (cf. Walvin, Questioning Slavery 75). These arguments were even stronger in Great Britain itself, where many blacks served as domestic slaves. There, Africans were not seen as human beings by the broader public, but rather as inferior and thus as chattel (cf. Walvin, Questioning Slavery 76). A key factor to achieve this transformation of an African human to a object was legislation. By the end of the 17th century, it was part of the British and colonial legislation that black African slaves were to be considered goods and the property of the slave owner. Domestic slaves were also mentioned in wills of rich white people, passing them on to the next. Walvin also argues that due to various texts, biblical chapters, and early testimonials from travels to the foreign continent of Africa, the British people had a rather mythological view on Africans. One can see this in Elizabethan drama, in which Africans were portrayed as villainous, untrustworthy, libidinous sexual creatures with great passion. Travellers coming from Africa to Great Britain perpetuated the myth rather than dispelled it, which is the reason why it persisted for so long (cf. Walvin, Questioning Slavery 77). Naturally the labelling of slaves as inferior, as being mythical creatures, and not being human were simply means to justify the slave trade. The real reason for this trade was, without doubt, profit and greed. An African workforce was incomparably cheap as slaves were not scarce and the supply seemed to be indefinite.
1.3.2. The Middle Passage

To transport a slave from the African coast to the plantations in the West Indies took about six weeks and the death rate of the slaves on the ships varied. Most of the slaves died in the first few weeks due to bad health, illnesses, and trauma. It is estimated that up to 30% of the Africans loaded onto ships like cargo did not make it to the plantations alive (cf. Martin 38). Furthermore, food was rare and mainly in the form of biscuits, beans with palm oil, and occasionally salt beef and lime juice. These harsh conditions, foreshadowing the life of slaves on the plantations, drove many of them into madness and a great number arrived physically and mentally ill and broken (cf. Martin 39). Slaves from different regions of Africa were all patched together in ships, thus creating subcultures with different languages and social backgrounds, making the journey a hurdle hard to overcome. Slaves were rather randomly organised in groups and as soon as the ships arrived at their destinations, the blacks were taken to slave markets. Most commonly, slaves were sold in public auctions to future owners who sometimes came from a very distant region just for this event. Some plantation owners also had a deal with the slave traders to bring slaves to their plantation regularly to fulfil a quota. The slaves deemed unfit for work were simply discarded and left behind (cf. Martin 40). Another difficulty the slaves faced was the separation of their families. In most cases the families were split in Africa before the men and women were loaded onto ships and the ones that managed to stay together were very likely separated when they were sold. The chances of a slave family reuniting after working on separate plantations were little to none. The slave owners and the British did not care about this misery as the slaves were not regarded as “persons in law” (Martin 41). To destroy morale further, slave and plantation owners drove wedges between the slaves in the form of a hierarchy. There was a clear distinction between the “grades of servitude, each with its corresponding privileges and scales of punishment” (Martin 42). Factory slaves, field workers, and domestic slaves benefited from different privileges going along with their status. The result of this was tension between the individual groups of slaves up until the late 18th century. No feeling of
unity and black ethnicity could emerge, which was exactly what the white and powerful wanted. In the late 1780s, the slave population on the plantations developed a common language, patois, and common customs. This transformation made a unity of black slaves possible (cf. Martin 42).

1.3.3. Christianity

As mentioned in the previous chapter, slavery and Christian ideals coexisted throughout history. Even though it was contrary to the core Christian beliefs and values, it “was a necessary part of the world of sin” (Davis 165). It was still important for Christians to value other Christians as their brothers or sisters even though they were enslaved, but in the mind-set of the enslaving Christians, pagans and all non-Christians in a way deserved to be slaves (cf. Davis 165). Despite this argument, the process of enslavement was still considered to be sinful as it goes against what nature, and therefore God, intended, but to hold a slave or a servant was a compromise to Christians as it was part of the structure of the world and how it worked. As a result, the perception of enslavement as a sinful behaviour decreased (cf. Davis 166). Furthermore, the system of enslavement was so institutionalised that the Europeans profiting from the slave trade had little contact with the actual slaves or even the process of enslavement (cf. Davis 183). One could argue that this was an immense factor when it comes to the compatibility of Christian values with the slave trade as Christians who did not see or experience the brutality and inhumanity of the sugar production, might not have thought of the slave trade to be sinful.

1.3.4. Abolition

According to historical figures, the years between 1769 and 1775 were the most prosperous for the planters in the West Indies. One reason for this could be the acquisition of the Ceded Islands and the higher production rates with more slaves (cf. Carrington 13). Up until this point, British dependency of the goods provided by the work of slaves on plantations was extremely high.
Not only the British mainland, but also other British colonies and the American colonies were dependent on the plantations on the West Indies. An important factor for this was the economic co-dependency of each other: sugar and tobacco were exported from the West-Indies and food and external supplies were imported from the other colonies (cf. Carrington 25).

One could imagine that due to all the above listed reasons, the voices emerging in the late 18th century that first condemned slavery and later wanted to abolish it, were regarded as dangerous to the status quo and the import and export business. As a result, it became more and more “important for slave owners to deny the claims of black humanity and to resist demands that they convert and Christianize their slaves” (Walvin, Questioning Slavery 79). In fact, people in charge of the slave trade denied the possibility of a downfall of this industry and were certain of the trade’s future and therefore “continued to act and to plan for the continuing commercial success of the Atlantic slave trade” (Walvin, A Short History of Slavery 147). In the late 18th century, the prominent Philadelphia Quaker Anthony Benezet was one of the fiercest critics of slavery. The aim of the Quakers’ speeches was to confront people with the cruel, ferocious, and widely unknown truth of the slave trade and the immorality of exploiting humans for the benefit of the more privileged. These early abolitionist speeches and writings by the Quakers influenced many important people around the world and Benjamin Franklin quoted Benezet in an abolitionist article written for the London press (cf. Walvin, A Short History of Slavery 148). Signing petitions was one very common way for the public to express their opinion on issues such as slavery in Britain, and the Quakers exercised this right to bring forward petitions against slavery and this helped to call upon the abolitionist sentiments (cf. Walvin, A Short History of Slavery 149). Between 1775 and 1783, the time of the American War of Independence, the African slave trade along with its moral issues became the centre of political debates. In 1783, Quakers also petitioned for parliament to end slavery and furthermore published huge amounts of abolitionist literature to channel the public’s interest in this topic (cf. Walvin, A Short History of Slavery 151).
The year 1807 marked the abolition of the African slave trade for Great Britain. By that time, the British had shipped about 3,250,000 Africans across the ocean (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 55). The trade, however, did not completely stop until the 1860s, during which slaves where mainly shipped to Brazil and Cuba. 24 years earlier, on June 17, 1783, the foundations for this historic event were laid by a British MP of the House of Commons, who came out in opposition to the slave trade by starting a petition in order to abolish it. Although the Prime Minister at that time, Lord North, thought the abolition of slavery to be impossible – as in his opinion the slave trade and slavery in general had become essential for civilisations – he allowed for the petition to be brought forward (cf. Dumas 1). In the British colonies, slavery finally ended between 1833 and 1838 due to an Act of Parliament and compensation payment to slave owners (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 1).

The historian Selwyn Carrington stated that the slave trade was not merely abolished because of moral concerns raised by Quakers and the public, but also due to economic reasons. The free trade movement, rising around the time of the American War of Independence, presented itself to businessmen as a lucrative alternative to the British West Indian sugar monopoly. Furthermore, it was argued that the slave trade was “damaging to the economic interests of the planter class” (Carrington 189). It is however interesting to mention that with the end of the slave trade, slavery was doomed to end as the slave population on the plantations could not sustain themselves without slaves being imported from Africa (cf. Carrington 188). In fact, freeing the slaves all at once was not at all what the abolitionist movement wanted to achieve. The aim was for the system to fall apart exactly by making the slave trade illegal, which would cut the supply for the planters. As a result, slaves had to be treated better in order to live longer so that they could still work on the plantations. James Walvin called the mood after the abolition in 1807 a “wait and see” attitude (Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 192). The plan, however, did not work well since it was corrupted by violent riots. In the West Indies, the reaction of the slaves caused uprising and riots against the planters. The planters, in turn,
felt cheated by the British – as they now had to rely on a much more expensive work force and were naturally opposed to the abolitionist movement and to the slave registration promoted around 1812 – and felt that the British now also wanted to control their work (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 195). Consequently, the atmosphere intensified and escalated, Bussa’s rebellion of 1819 being one of the most important ones. The result was that slave owners and planters not only feared their own slaves but also abolitionists, missionaries trying to win over slaves to new belief systems, and also the British government (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 197). Abolitionists in Great Britain once again started petitions to end slavery once and for all, and in 1838 the emancipation of the slaves was successfully achieved. Earl Charles Grey’s government decided to end slavery and Britain paid millions of pounds to slave owners as compensation for their loss of workforce (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 211). After this final abolition, Britain made it one of its primary objectives to be the world’s ambassador for the abolition of slavery and wanted all the other countries to follow their lead. In this new duty, their own important role in the slave trade seemed to be downplayed by the British and as a result, their status of the liberators of the slaves implied something heroic (cf. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery* 213).

1.4. Slavery on Display
During the main involvement of the British in the Atlantic slave trade, literature and the medium of the theatre were used to convey a very specific political agenda. At the early beginning of the slave trade, when critical voices surfaced for the first time, slave lobbyists wrote texts about African slaves and tried to influence the public opinion concerning slaves. One important indicator for this is the change in terminology used to describe the slaves: they were not called African slaves but rather defined by characteristics in order to show a clear distinction between the slaves and the white British. According to Walvin, “the early terms ‘Moors’, ‘Blackamoors’ or ‘Ethiopians’ slowly gave way to the generic ‘blacks’ or ‘Blacks’” (Walvin, *Questioning
As a result, the language of race and colour used in literature was effectively turning the slaves from humans to objects although the term ‘Blackamoors’ is, according to today’s standards, only dubiously better. Planters even hired writers to make it clear that blacks could not be anything else than slaves (cf. Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* 80). In the 17th and 18th centuries, literature in favour of slavery was increasingly common and one of the most famous voices was David Hume who, in 1753, stated that the white people were the superior and only civilized group of people, and he famously advocated black slaves to be not even human (cf. Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* 81).

By the end of the 18th century, the general notion of the public concerning the inferiority of African slaves had been challenged not only by Quakers or abolitionist activists, but increasingly by the changing portrayal of black slaves in literature, particularly drama (cf. Oldfield 1). Blacks being portrayed as human beings in plays and in drama in general put pressure onto parliament as the topic gained an enormous “moral force”, even though the early attempts of the playwrights “were sometimes comical and frequently prone to caricature” (Oldfield 1). Stage plays provided an important and elegant way to bring other cultures and races to the attention of the British audience.

All these plays had to undergo a strict mechanism of censorship, which ensured that themes such as “black advocacy, interracial marriage or racial civil equality” were not made available to the public and thus eradicated by the Lord Chamberlain (Worrall 2). Between 1737 and 1824 “the Lord Chamberlain’s Examiner of Plays […] lists nearly 2400 items” (Worrall 5). Consequently it is noteworthy that at the end of the 18th Century more and more plays with an abolitionist motive surfaced and were performed in the theatres in Great Britain (cf. Worrall 2). One of the first plays that did not portray Africans as savage, but as human was John Hawkesworth’s adaptation of Aphra Behn’s *Oroonoko*, in 1759. It showed the life of an African prince being sold into slavery. Many others like *The Padlock* and *Inkle and Yarico* followed and played an important role in the abolition of the slave trade.
The most popular version of *Inkle and Yarico* was the one by George Colman the Younger which premiered in 1787, the same year the “Institution of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in London” was founded and the U.S. constitution declared the black slave to be worth three-fifths of a person (cf. Dellarosa 30–31). In just two seasons, from 1788 until 1780, Colman’s *Inkle and Yarico* reached an audience of around 48,000 people in Covent Garden alone and “in the decade following its first performance at the Haymarket [1787] probably approached around one million” (Worrall 1). As a result of the range this play had, it was the main contact both literate and illiterate people had with “expressions of anti-slavery sentiment” (Worrall 1). Its effect was far reaching and “in provincial England […]it was directly perceived as an abolition text” (Worrall 21).

On stage, black people were portrayed by whites painting their faces (cf. Dellarosa 15). This changed, however, when in 1825 the ambitious New York actor Ira Aldridge gave his debut on British theatre stages as the first actor of colour. His first appearance on stage was in the Royal Coburg Theatre which was excluded from spoken drama. As a result, his first spoken role was three weeks later in Brighton (cf. Worrall 23, 196). He was soon to be well known in the theatre world for his performances of *Othello*, *Richard III* and *Oroonoko*, the theatre adaptation of Aphra Behn’s novel. It is noteworthy in this context that Aldridge, as the first black actor, played “Lear in white face with white beard, but left hands defiantly black” (Gore-Langton).

In the 1820s, Rede gave actors playing non-British characters advice on how to play these characters best in his book *The Road to the Stage*. He noted that it would be best to play the character Hassan from Lewis’s *The Castle Spectre* “as a blackfaced negro” (Worrall 36) which indicates that it was no problem converting “Arabs into blackface roles and vice-versa” (Worrall 37). Rede also indicates that *Wowski*, one of the main characters in Colman’s *Inkle and Yarico*, was played as a black woman although the play is set in the Americas implying this enactment correlates with the 1711 Spectator edition of *Inkle and Yarico* (cf. Worrall 37).
The reason for this change of colour and the implied “interchangeability of Africans and Caribbean islanders is due to the practices of labor-hungry [sic] planters who enslaved both groups on a temporary basis as well as for life” (Wheeler 83). Furthermore, there was an exchange of Indian slaves for African ones, which contributed to the confusion between Crib and African and, along with the intermarriage between these two groups, lead to a hybridisation known as “Black Caribs” (Wheeler 83). Rede, however, never mentioned Yarico’s skin colour at all, which hints at her character being played by a white British actress, which does not correlate with Yarico’s description in Colman’s text. Worrall notes that this was due to “the convention of representing colour as an attribute of class contained within the category of race” (Worrall 40). In short, the representation of blacks on stage varied greatly and both how they were portrayed and who portrayed them changed according to the social status of the character as well as the perception of the spectators of the slaves or black people.
2. Postcolonial Approach to Literature

In the first chapter, the history of slavery was explained in detail. Furthermore, it was demonstrated how and why Great Britain was not only a global player, but also a superpower in regards to slavery. A major effect of mercantilism was the expansion of colonialism as this seemed to guarantee the strengthening of the economy. One result brought about by colonialism was literature produced in colonies and, more importantly for this diploma thesis, literature produced about the colonies, the people living there, and life in the colonies in general. Literature, and drama in particular, acted as a window into foreign territory and foreign culture. Watching a performance on stage or reading a text about life in the colonies was an important source of information about the periods people lived in. Writings, both fictional and non-fictional, dealing with these colonies and their inhabitants “are what contemporary studies of colonialism and postcolonialism try to make sense of” (Loomba 8).

In the following chapter, the postcolonial approach to literature will be defined and explained in order to give a theoretical background for the analysis of Inkle and Yarico.

2.1. Colonialism

In the 19th century, colonialism had influenced the world in a major way. Loomba states that “by the 1930s, colonies and ex-colonies covered 84.6 per cent of the land surface of the globe” (Loomba 3). Even though this figure also includes the land occupied by other European colonial powers, it was shown in chapter 1 that Great Britain had an enormous influence on the shape of the world.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, the term colonialism is “[n]ow frequently used in the derogatory sense of an alleged policy of exploitation of backward or weak peoples by a large power” (‘Colonialism, n.’). The Cambridge Dictionary also states explicitly that colonialism describes a system of a country or area being controlled by another
country (cf. COLONIALISM | Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary). These two definitions clearly state that the system of colonialism is attributed to an inhumane practice designed to occupy, control, and exploit not only a territorial area, but also the people living in it. Edward Said defines colonialism as “the implanting of settlements on distant territory” (Said 8). With this instalment of settlements, one can observe three things that go along with it: “the domination of physical space, the reformation of natives' minds, and the integration of local economic histories into the Western perspective” (Mudimbe 15).

2.1.1. Colonialism vs Imperialism

In his book ‘Culture and Imperialism’, Edward Said wrote that colonialism “is almost always a consequence of imperialism” (Said 8). Therefore, it is important to discuss imperialism before focussing more on colonialism. It is also noteworthy that, according to Young, the fact that the term ‘postcolonialism’ exists but not the term ‘postimperialism’ is proof that the two concepts of colonialism and imperialism are in fact not the same even though they are sometimes used synonymously. In spite of being occasionally used to describe one idea, Young notes that the two terms can from time to time even define diverging notions (cf. Young, Postcolonialism 15). The author also states that it is essential to find a definition for both terms as particularly “in historical accounts of colonialism and imperialism, […] it sometimes seems to be assumed that all Europeans were ipso facto imperialists, and all non-Europeans the victims of imperialism” due to vast simplification (Young, Postcolonialism 9).

According to Robert Young, a differentiation of the terms starts with the question of what an ‘empire’ is, specifically the original purpose of an empire. On the one hand, it describes something “that was bureaucratically controlled by a government from the centre, and which was developed for ideological as well as financial reasons” (Young, Postcolonialism 16). On the other hand, it is a concept “that was developed for settlement by individual communities or for commercial purposes by a trading company”, the former concept being ‘imperialism’ and
the latter being ‘colonialism’ (Young, Postcolonialism 16). Another differentiation Young found to be of significance was that colonialism is something economically driven that functions “as an activity on the periphery” (Young, Postcolonialism 17). In contrast to that, imperialism is “operated from the centre as a policy of state”. His conclusion of this difference is that “while imperialism is susceptible to analysis as a concept, colonialism needs to be analysed primarily as a practice” (Young, Postcolonialism 17).

Said states that in the 1860s the term ‘imperialism’ in British literature used to describe France as a country being ruled by an emperor. Nevertheless, even this term had a slightly negative connotation (cf. Said 128). The best way to understand the notion of imperialism is however not by isolating one meaning of the word, but by exploring its alteration in time. The aforementioned original meaning of imperialism was profoundly connected to the ruling of a country by an emperor or empress. This clearly involved royalty as it embodied the ruling class. Royalty was conversely not the driving force of colonialism even though they were “financially and symbolically invested in early European colonisations” (Loomba 10). Colonialism was the result of a broader society and class as this practices turned out to be highly financially lucrative for traders, merchants, financiers, and feudal lords. The meaning of the word imperialism changed drastically in the early 20th century. Around that time, Lenin and other communist writers introduced the idea that imperialism is linked to a high stage of capitalism (cf. Loomba 10). Lenin himself wrote about the paradox of the free market (according to him a basic feature of capitalism) creating monopolies by allowing industries to outgrow others. These monopolies however do not eradicate the free market, thus existing on a higher level than the free market. According to the dictator “imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism” (Lenin 91). As the reason for this he mentions that “the characteristic feature of imperialism is not industrial but financial capital” (Lenin 93). This ideology can be seen as one of the reasons why even today imperialism is closely linked to capitalism. As a consequence it can sometimes be seen as the dividing factor between these definitions (cf. Loomba 11).
One result of Lenin’s definition is that imperialism is not dependant on “direct colonial rule”. The reason for this is that the economy works as a regulating force of dependency and control. This in turn ensures “both captive labour as well as markets for European industry as well as goods” (Loomba 11). This phenomenon of the economy forming its own colonies is sometimes referred to as ‘neo-imperialism’ or ‘neo-colonialism’. In turn Lenin’s title of his book becomes comprehensible: \textit{Imperialism – The Highest Stage of Capitalism}.

By trying to come up with a definition for imperialism in the modern world, Loomba wrote that it is an ambiguous global system. Ambiguous in the sense that one has to make a clear distinction “between the economic and political connotation of the word” (Loomba 11). If the focus is set on the political connotation, it implies that imperialism is deeply affected by political change and can be completely abandoned by granting colonies political independence as it otherwise interferes with “political and cultural structures of another territory or nation” (Loomba 11). Political changes, however, do not affect it if it is defined as an economic system. Due to the fact that the angle in which people looked at this term changed as time progressed, Loomba argues for a definition in which the temporal constant is not the distinguishing factor between colonialism and imperialism. Instead, she sees imperialism and neo-imperialism as the “phenomenon that originates in the metropolis, the process which leads to domination and control” (Loomba 12). The result of this imperial domination is colonialism or neo-colonialism. Her main differentiation is that “[i]mperialism can function without formal colonies (as in United States imperialism today) but colonialism cannot” (Loomba 12).

2.1.2. Consequence of Colonialism

Ania Loomba writes that colonialism was not one identical technique that could be utilized everywhere around the world. However, one common aspect of this practice is that wherever it was applied, it traumatised the people originally living in the then colonised areas as it forced
the two groups of people – the colonised and the colonisers – together into an extremely complex and new relationship and society (cf. Loomba 7). Loomba also states that the reason for this process being as traumatising and dramatic for the people involved is that colonising an area or a land “meant un-forming or re-forming the communities that existed there already” and as such plunder, genocide, and enslavement were an essential part of colonialism (Loomba 8).

Said also mentions that the term colonialism, aside from the “simple act of accumulation and acquisition”, also includes an ideological mindset of the colonisers “that certain territories and people require and beseech domination” (Said 8). Furthermore, colonies were established for two main reasons: for the purpose of settlement (e.g. New Zealand, Australia, and British North America), and for purely “economic exploitation without any significant settlement” (Young, Postcolonialism 17). David Scott argues that part of colonialism is not only the role and the viciousness of the colonisers, but also the way the colonised people reacted to this brutal action (cf. Scott 518). As a result, when analysing writings of colonial texts, one should also look at the way the indigenous people responded to the intruders.

The British empire was by far not the first one to use colonialism to benefit its own purposes. As mentioned in the first chapter, conquering territory and trying to control the area as well as the people living there was also something the Romans mastered. The Roman Empire stretched all the way through Europe, into Africa, and even into Asia. In the thirteenth century, Genghis Khan conquered the Middle East and China. These colonies were also used for the monetary benefit of their “mother country” (Loomba 8). One example for this is the Aztec empire. The empire extracted goods from the colonised regions and turned them into profit. Loomba notes that the relatively modern colonialism in Europe used the long and extensive history of this principle as inspiration for its intentions (cf. Loomba 8).

On the differences of the impact of the colonial empires, Ania Loomba states that no other colonial power left such a vast print on today’s life as the British did. The reason she provides for her statement is that the colonialism operated by the British developed at the same
time as our capitalistic system did. Earlier colonial powers used monetary goods – as seen in the aforementioned example. However, it was not the pivotal point of their conquest thus being nowhere near as effective in it as the British. Furthermore, the British did not ‘use’ their colonies the same way the empires before them did. Whereas the Aztecs extracted goods from their newly acquired territory, the empire under the crown restructured the economy of these areas. The best example for this is found in Chapter One of Triangular Trade. Monetary profit was acquired by the British by producing goods with the raw material from the colonies and then exporting the goods back into the colonies, destroying their production line and thus making them more and more dependent on the ‘mother land’. To make all of this happen, the slave trade was inevitable, resulting in a deep change in the local society and strengthening capitalism as well as the European industry (cf. Loomba 9).

2.2. After the colony

Loomba’s statement – that the British left an imprint on the colonial landscape like no other empire – advances Young’s argument that postcolonial theory focuses mainly on the British as colonisers and their colonies (cf. Young, Postcolonialism 31). Furthermore, the post in postcolonialism indicates that it is something that comes after colonialism and imperialism. Here the two terms have the meaning of a “domination by direct rule” and not that of imperialism being a “general system of a power relation of economic and political domination” (Young, Postcolonialism 44).

2.2.1. Neocolonialism

Towards the end of the colonial era, the striving for independence of the colonies became more and more visible. It was a common assumption among the colonised people that with the liberation from the British, there would come a time of complete self-determination. However, in the case of many African countries, the power of the new political leaders was mostly
nominal due to the fact that the British Empire influenced the economy of the colonial territories. Moreover, the British Empire also controlled the commercial routes and the disposition by centring the markets for the colonial goods in London. Consequently, even though the former British colonies were in possession of the well needed goods, they could hardly sell them at a good price due to the lost infrastructure. Furthermore, the newly found independence for these states came at the price of a fresh form of subordination: the economic system of capitalism. As a result, despite their liberation, these countries remained in control of global economic powers. (cf. Young, Postcolonialism 45). Ghanaian leader and first President Kwame Nkrumah gave this phenomenon a name by coining the term neo-colonialism in his book Neo-Colonialism – The Last Stage of Imperialism (cf. Ashcroft et al. 134). This was of predominant interest for arguably one of the biggest superpowers/empires in the world to this day, namely the United States of America. Its secret service, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), compiled a dossier about the book. Of particular interest to the CIA was Nkrumah’s statement that the U.S are the biggest reprobates as it now manages to do what empires did before by using brutal colonialism only with their economic power (cf. Central Intelligence Agency 1). The title of Nkrumah’s book is deliberately based on the title of Lenin’s book Imperialism: The highest Stage of Capitalism (discussed in Chapter 2.1.1.) as Nkrumah rephrased the dictator’s definition of imperialism forming its own colonies and using it to propose his concept of neo-colonialism being represented in an American colonialism – an empire without colonies (cf. Young, Postcolonialism 46). Being inspired by socialism, Nkrumah was trying to fight against neo-colonialism (cf. Young, Postcolonialism 47). Around 1968 he had reached a point where he deemed force in the form of armed revolution necessary to rid his country and if possible the whole continent of neo-colonial and imperial structures (cf. Biney 92). The term neo-colonialism can be helpful today to describe the condition of some former colonies in Africa, which remained Western in orientation. Young, however, argues that using this concept to describe the consequence of imperialism after the colonial period can be
misleading. As a reason for this he states that using it this way, it is a vast oversimplification of the political and economic situations in these countries which have had a great influence in Western dependency. Furthermore it perpetuates the “stereotypes of helplessness […] with the third world being portrayed as its [the western world] homogeneous eternal victim” (Young, *Postcolonialism* 48).

2.2.2. Postcolonialism

The term postcolonialism, when it was first coined, had a slightly different connotation to it than it has now. After the Second World War, historians used this expression simply to describe a state after its post-independence condition, thus having a clear chronological meaning. In the 1970s, however, this changed as postcolonialism was also used “by literature critics to discuss the various cultural effects of colonialization” (Ashcroft et al. 153). After the colonies gained their sovereignty, a postcolonial identity in these new countries, which usually was a complete break with the colonial identity as it “radically revised and ideologies […] and at the same time, reoriented the goals of the independence movement towards the very different conditions of national autonomy” (Young, *Postcolonialism* 57). In response to the replaced political condition, the term also “specifies a transformed historical situation” (Young, *Postcolonialism* 57). Young also notes that there is one major difference between postcolonialism and the aforementioned and defined terms of ‘colonialism’, ‘imperialism’, and ‘neo-colonialism’: these later terminologies relate to a “critical relation to the oppressive regimes” whereas postcolonialism is “committed towards political ideals of a transnational social justice” (Young, *Postcolonialism* 58). As a result, the postcolonial ideology does not only criticise the times of oppression as the neo-colonialism does, but it also tries to actively influence and change the political position in a positive way. The postcolonial critique of the global injustice is set “from the position of its victims” which is especially important as this concept “gives equal weight to
outward historical circumstances and to the ways in which those circumstances are experienced by postcolonial subjects” (Young, *Postcolonialism* 58).

Postcolonialism, however, is “neither western nor non-western, but a dialectical product of interaction between the two, articulating new counterpoints of insurgency from the long-running power struggles that predate and post-date colonialism” (Young, *Postcolonialism* 68). Moreover, many colonial critics were even educated in the west and encountered Marxism and anti-imperialism there and adapted them for their later use (Young, *Postcolonialism* 68).

2.3. Postcolonialism in Literature

In the minds of critics, literature used to be either personal, subjective, and individual, or, on the opposite spectrum, something universal. Thus, the notion of literature being political was not commonly accepted by literary critics until recently. Literature has always been a melange of fact and fiction or in other words, different texts can be allocated to specific point on the spectrum that lies between the two opposite poles fact and fiction. Different ideologies, e.g. of the coloniser and the colonised, can intersect in texts and due to a wide circulation of such literary texts, the ideology within them can spread rapidly. Loomba notes that not only the dominant ideology encoded in the writings gets reflected, but they also “encode the tensions, complexities and nuances within colonial cultures” (Loomba 63).

However, historical examples of politics being essential to literature can be found without difficulty. One example would be the travel reports from the early European explorers. When they first described what and who they encountered, it was all written through an ideological filter. This filter is not necessarily something the writers and travellers deliberately put onto their texts, but it is rather a way of seeing and describing things “provided by their own cultures and societies” (Loomba 64). Foreign people and their land were portrayed also to fit the needs of the British – the portrayal of people they wanted to conquer was attuned to justify the plundering. “Hence, black Africans were considered bestial both because of the
medieval and religious association of blackness with filth and dirt, and also because this provided a justification for colonising and enslaving them” (Loomba 64). On these grounds Africans were not only considered brutish and barbarous because of their skin colour, but also and maybe more importantly because of the society the British writers and explorers came from.

British nationalism and colonialism “relied upon cultural distinctions which demarcated Europeans from blacks” (Loomba 64). These cultural distinctions can be found within the meaning of the text and the story itself. However, one can also go one level beyond that: distinctions, devaluations, and depreciation can also be found within the meaning of individual words. The former professor of the University of Essex, Peter Hulme, reflected on that phenomenon and gave examples of words that changed their meaning from a relatively neutral descriptor into a label with a negative connotation. Hulme states that this was the case for example with the word hurricane, which as a storm can be found in the Caribbean and has the power to rip ships apart in mere minutes. Even though the British were familiar with storms, something with the power of a hurricane was completely new and alien to them, as well as the word itself (cf. Hulme 94). Hulme further argues that in the English language there has been a transitional period in which the newly acquired word “‘hurricane’ had to replace its most obvious translation, ‘tempest’” (Hulme 95). Hulme furthermore constructed the hypothesis that it could be possible that the two terms were used according to their connotation: tempest was used for a something with a more favourable outcome, whereas hurricane was used in context with more forlorn situations (cf. Hulme 97). Due to the implicit connotation of terror, destruction, and obliteration, the word hurricane could be considered “an attribute of savagery itself” (Hulme 99). Another example he mentions is the word cannibal derived from the Latin word for dog (canis). Categorising the natives as cannibals consequently not only stigmatised them as man-eating monsters but also supported the image that they “hunted like dogs and treated their victims in the ferocious manner of all predators, tearing them limb from limb in order to consume them” (Hulme 101). Reading and reflecting upon literature in such a way is
vital to the process of colonisation. However, texts with these contextual features and meanings targeted and influenced not only the people who understood the negative connotations, but these words also became part of the peoples vocabulary and lexeme (cf. Loomba 66). Thus, the language of colonisation was partly indoctrinated into the people’s minds by texts using specific words.

2.3.1. Otherness and Hybridity (Different or still the same?)

From the early portrayal of people from foreign and different countries up until the time when individuals wrote about colonies and their inhabitants, one common theme can be found: difference. The colonisers always tried to highly emphasise the differences between them and the others. As described before, establishing differences was extremely important as it was a simple way to justify the coloniser-colonised situation. By stepping away from the notion of all the people being equal and equally human and towards the creation of an us and a them, it was possible to decouple the two groups or societies. Consequently, one question arose: is there a difference between human beings and, if so, is this difference principally defined by racial characteristics? This question being directly or indirectly addressed in fictitious and non-fictitious literature helped establish “images of non-European” as well as a “European self” (Loomba 91).

There is, however, one problem with a binary structure such as the division into Europeans and others. It is compromised by the fact that despite the possible cultural differences between these two groups, the actual racial and cultural differences between the people within these two categories might be enormous. Consequently, when focussing on alterity within groups, one could twist the groups apart up until the individual level. As a result, trying to merge two groups of people together that, even within these groups, can differ greatly, and then trying to create one stable identity, is a task impossible to achieve and bound to fail (cf. Loomba 91, 92). One of the most notable critics of this is Homo Bhabha, who states that it is “cultural
hybridities [sic] that emerge in moments of historical transformation” (Bhabha 3). The anthropologist Brian Stross states that the cultural hybrid, as described in Bhabha’s texts, “is a metaphorical broadening of the biological definition” (Stross 254). He further explains that a cultural hybrid can be, similar to a biological hybrid, a mixture or “blending of traits […] derived from unlike sources” (Stross 254). Young, however, notes that a close combination of the term hybridity and its biological counterpart is problematic as it would infer that there are far greater differences between human beings than there really are, as according to the author there are “merely sub-groups or varieties” (Young, Colonial Desire 9). Speaking of a human as a hybrid, is therefore using the “vocabulary of the Victorian extreme right” as it clearly emphasises the differences between humans (Young, Colonial Desire 10). These differences or otherness in the colonised could then be used to stress the inferiority of the different people.

Stross states that the judgement of what is considered to be a hybrid differs according to the individual judging as well as to the situation. Furthermore, he explains that there is a lower and an upper boundary in hybridity. The lower boundary is when the two things melting into a hybrid are too similar. His example for this is would be the child of an Italian and a German although he states that here again it depends on the individual judging and the context to judge from. A non-biological example he provides would be the cross between jazz funk and jazz fusion, two different types of jazz too similar to clearly distinguish in a hybrid. In this example, however, Stross again provides a little asterisk. He mentions that this musical genre would not be called a hybrid today. One could however imagine that in former times, when the boundaries of musical genres were stricter and the understanding of music was different in general, people could have considered this a hybrid. Thus it again depends on the context. His example for the upper boundary of hybridity is when the two ‘parents’ of the hybrid are too different to produce a hybrid offspring in the first place. The example he provides for this case is the impossible mating of an elephant with a canary. Stross ultimately thinks it to be perfectly viable and justified to jump from the biological hybrid to the cultural hybrid, especially with
the aforementioned boundaries in mind. Moreover, he states that a clear definition of these borders seems to be easier to draw than with a human component involved (cf. Stross 259).

Loomba notes that colonial hybridity is based upon cultural purity. She further writes that in spite of this, anticolonial movements and individuals often drew upon Western ideas and vocabularies to challenge colonial rule and hybridised what they borrowed by juxtaposing it with indigenous ideas, reading it through their own interpretative lens, and even using it to assert cultural alterity or insist on an unbridgeable difference between coloniser and colonised (Loomba 146).

According to Bhabha, hybridity is necessary for “the colonial condition”. Moreover, he states the “colonial identities are always a matter of flux and agony” (Loomba 148). Furthermore, Bhabha sees, in addition to the trauma of the colonised, the colonial authority as well as the resistance against the colonial process within hybridity. Thus, “neither coloniser nor colonised is independent of the other” (Loomba 149). This instability of colonial identities on both sides is an indicator of the dangers of analysing cultural differences in absolute terms (cf. Loomba 149). The author further notes that Bhabha also used psychoanalysis to shed light on; hybridity however, Loomba states that to understand the degree of hybridity in full, one needs to trace “the mutations in European culture”. She adds that to appreciate diverse hybridity is to “attend to the nuances of each of the cultures that come together or clash during the colonial encounter” (Loomba 151).

2.3.2. Stereotypes

One essential aspect of enforcing the notion of the others (the colonised) as inferior is by using racial stereotypes. These stereotypes were, however, not intended for use in modern colonialism. During the Greek and Roman periods, racial stereotypes were already in use and they provided “templates for subsequent European images of ‘barbarians’ and outsiders”
The Greco-Roman representation of the African varied between the “experienced Other” and the “imagined Other”, the first one being the one directly observed and the second one being imagined and not based on any evidence. The borders of these two representations were blurry and the representations, “modified by other writers[,] […] passed into the subsequent European literary tradition” (Miles 15). In the medieval period and later in the more modern Europe, these stereotypes needed to be revisited, reworked and reoriented, as in this period the dominant factor was Christianity and the stereotypes had to be made fit “the prism through which all knowledge about the world was refracted” (Miles 16). As discussed in Chapter 1.2.3., one important aspect of this religion is to treat others as brothers and sisters, as all descended from the same parent. Justifying the presence of racial typecasts thus became more difficult. One possible solution to this dilemma was that the “Christian identities were constructed in opposition to Islam, Judaism or heathenism”, in short the other religions (Loomba 93). Consequently, these “racial, cultural and ethnical differences” became religious differences to justify the lowering of the colonised (Loomba 93). One example for this is the term ‘Moors’. It first referred to all Arab Muslims, even white ones who were called white Moors. Nevertheless, this expression soon became synonymous with blackness. The term Moor was even used in Shakespeare’s Othello to describe and give a short characterisation of the protagonist. As stated before, the connection between darkness and another and to some degree hostile religion made this connotation even more degrading (Loomba 93).

European colonisers themselves differed greatly from one another; however, they managed to create relatively similar stereotypes of others, the outsiders. It is notable that these stereotypes applied to both people living far away, as in the colonies, and those in neighbouring rival countries such as Ireland.

Thus laziness, aggression, violence, greed, sexual promiscuity, bestiality, primitivism, innocence and irrationality are attributed (often contradictorily and inconsistently) by the English, French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese colonists to Turks, Africans, Native
Americans, Jews, Indians, the Irish and others. It is also worth noting that some of these descriptions were used for working-class populations or women within Europe. (Loomba 93)

As Ania Loomba stated in the above quote, the colonisers gave the colonised numerous degrading names based on stereotypes about cultures. This had the effect that with each usage of the stereotypes, the status of the people became more and more inferior.

In psychology, stereotypes are considered “to be more than mere descriptions [but rather] cognitive structures that mediate the information processing involved in person perception” (Dovidio et al. 23). As a result of this, the term Moor in Othello can be seen as more than a simple description of his skin colour, but also as a description of his character. Othello, however, is a special case, as he is also referred to as a noble Moor and he is a highly respected officer in the army, which is a clear contradiction to the names he is called, like ‘black ram’. Furthermore, psychology states that even though stereotypes are not an accurate basis of judgement, they relieve the brain of cognitive stress, as, even though sometimes inaccurately, decisions can be made much quicker. “For the stereotyped target, however, there is clear harm. The target does not enjoy the cognitive efficiency afforded by stereotype application, but must pay the costs associated with stereotype inaccuracy” (Wheeler et al. 174). It is thus easy to manipulate the cognitive decisions by manipulating the connotations people have with certain words or other people. In texts, this method of manipulation was used to change the way people perceived different characters and in turn the race of the character.

As previously discussed in this thesis, this notion of Africans being of a “lower order of humankind” was already established in the antiquity and continued to be “dominant among philosophers of the enlightenment” (Knapp and Pallua 4). This image is mainly based upon the aforementioned stereotypes of African inferiority and otherness and European superiority, which are “crucial in identifying ethnocentric and racial representations in texts featuring African-European relations” (Knapp and Pallua 8). Elisabeth Young-Bruehl notes that
“stereotypes are neither fantasies […] nor idealizations […]. Rather, stereotypes are crystallised expectations; they are related to the world as we expect it to be when we wake up in the morning, not to the world as we think it ought to be or as we wish it were” (Young-Bruehl 192). In the light of Elisabeth Young-Bruehl’s claims, Adrian Knapp and Ulrich Pallua note that by analysing “texts presenting images of enslaved Africans one can make out fixed modes of thinking” and by looking at these stereotypes identify the values of the dominant cultures (Knapp and Pallua 9). Finding out what these values of the dominant cultures were and analysing them is an important part of a postcolonial view on literature.

2.3.3. Feminism and the Postcolonial Analysis

In the minds of many people, the country of origin is referred to as the mother country. Thus the nation is identified as female and due to the fact that women are often identified as mothers or wives, the nation also plays a nurturing role in the lives of its people. Consequently, the country can be associated as more than a home; it is also, in a sense, a family with the leaders assuming a parental role (cf. Loomba 180). This notion of a family can be broadened further to include the colonial situation. The colonising state hereby assumes the role of the parent while the colonised is the child that needs to be provided for and also controlled. As a result of this constellation, the white European leader cast the burden upon itself to act as parents thus looking after them as well as “disciplining them into obedience” (Loomba 181). It is tragically ironic that this big family consisting of the colonial parents and the colonised children was the reason for many destructions and break-ups of real families in the colonised states.

Even though the nation was called the motherland and was therefore female, women’s education was inferior to that of men. Writer, philosopher and early feminist Mary Astell called for equal education of men and women and argued that women’s education would lead to social and domestic benefits for England and the whole English society (cf. Stanton 72). Other arguments for women’s education include the call that “educated women will make better wives
and mothers”. However, “[a]t the same time, educated women have to be taught not to overstep their bounds and usurp authority from men” (Loomba 182). Loomba thus notes that educated women could be seen as a threat to the dominant role men played in society. This train of thought can also be seen in humanists writing that time as they “visualised women as companions and help-mates to their men” (Loomba 182).

Education was also a topic the nationalists were concerned with, as it turned more and more into a “colonial battlefield”. It could be argued that a person being educated by a colonial teacher was more likely to reject a nationalist mindset and align with the colonial power. As a result, too much and also too little education can be considered harmful to the duties of a loyal citizen of the state, and in this context also to the duties a wife and possible mother has. Consequently, this idea drew upon the notion of the “female self-sacrifice and devotion with the Victorian ideal of the enlightened mother, devoted exclusively to the domestic sphere” (Loomba 183).

The educational status of women, and the colonised, raises another important question: to what extent can the subaltern speak? Spivak notes that one problem of the narrative perspective is always the representation of groups, as these (in his example women) are represented in a specific narration (cf. Morris 22). This is also the problem with colonial literature. As mentioned in chapter 1.3, censorship was a very common method to limit the portrayal and also the voices of slaves and the colonised in general. However, even without censoring a text the colonial power could also silence voices of the subaltern by producing their own texts about them instead of encouraging texts from colonised authors. As a result, the voice given to the colonised could be altered, modified, and even muted all together. In this context, Loomba raises further questions such as whether we should now see the colonised as victims without a voice altogether or whether we should consider them questioning the authoritative rule at the risk of “romanticising such resistant subjects and underplaying colonial violence”
(Loomba 192, 193). She further asks whether it is even possible for the colonised to speak in their own voices or if they borrowed their master’s all together (cf. Loomba 193).

To answer these questions is the main goal of the so-called *Subaltern Studies*, as they analyse the “representation of culture and politics of the people” thus reconstructing history for the subordinate (Prakash 1477). Subaltern studies attributes to “subordination in terms of class, caste, gender, race, language, and culture” and it also takes the role of the dominant subject, in our case the colonisers, into account, as it thereby tries to “rectify” history (Prakash 1477). These Subaltern Studies emerged at an academic level in the 1980s (cf. Young, *Postcolonialism* 312). There is, however, much debate about the effectiveness of such techniques due to the nature of human identities being fragmented and constantly shifting and therefore can hardly be observed without recognising their surroundings. On the one hand, critics state that these fragmentations can be helpful in our understanding of the back-and-forth in the power struggle and in the dynamics of resistance to colonial powers. Others argue that it is exactly this fragmentation that does not help in understanding the real power struggles. Loomba argues that it is “[o]ne widespread critique of postcolonial theory […] that it is too pessimistic because it is the child of post-modernism” (Loomba 194). Dirlik calls postcoloniality a successor of earlier conceptualisations of the world, which would explain its rapid proliferation in the academic world. The main reason for this is, according to him, the fact that it “resonates with the problems of the contemporary world”, meaning that postcoloniality addresses issues present all along, but which are now rephrased and adapted to fit global capitalism (Dirlik 355). As examples for this Dirlik notes eurocentrism, the place of nations in the world, and the relation between borders and nations, especially considering the transnational flow of money as well as the almost effortless transcontinental travel of people (cf. Dirlik 355).

Spivak notes that it would be too easy to assume that historians can reconstruct the voice of the subaltern. She further expresses the warning of romanticising the subaltern subject and further victimising it (cf. Loomba 195). One additional criticism can be that subaltern or
oppressed producing texts in that period may not actually be subaltern as these authors were in fact privileged in terms of education, even though they might be exploited in other ways (cf. Loomba 198).

Loomba further argues that merely situating the subaltern within hierarchies is insufficient as one also has to consider the relationships between these hierarchies. The author also states that for the post-colonial analysis of texts to work and consequently for giving the subaltern their voices back, the interrelation of these hierarchies must not be denied and ignored. According to her and other critics, this is the reason why the post-modernist approach is insufficient regarding the analysis of the voiceless as the ideas of a fragmented look on the lives of oppressed is brought to the extreme whereupon it becomes impossible to understand the historical dynamics and motives (cf. Loomba 200). The almost infinite number to interpret the world and thus also texts about the world leading to essentially no official, accepted or statutory aspect of interpretation is an essential criticism to the post-modern view on texts as this claim only leaves space for the question of power (cf. Peterson). The postmodern and the postcolonial, however, share one vital aspect for analysing texts, which is a dialogue with history and the past. Whereas postmodernism simply seeks to “reconstruct its relationship to what came before”, postcolonialism considers the “once tyrannical weight of colonial history in conjunction with the revalued local past” (Sugars 73). Dirlik calls the postcolonialism a “child of postmodernism” which focuses on the consequences of capitalism in Third World countries (Dirlik 348).

Loomba argues the case for combining the forces of postmodernism and postcolonialism as she states that one can “abandon the grand narratives which once dominated the writing of history without also abandoning all analysis of the relationships between different forces in society” (Loomba 200). Consequently, the voices of the subaltern can be uncovered by disregarding the grand narrative and thus revealing the individual narratives that lay beneath
it. It is, however, vital that the way these narratives are woven together into the one grand narrative is considered as well (cf. Loomba 200).

The quest for the voice of the subaltern is sometimes suggested to be the duty of postcolonial intellectuals as Spivak notes they cannot speak for themselves. It seems thus to be an act of justice to give the oppressed their voice back and to tell of their resistance against the colonial power. This aspiration to make the colonised speak, is however not always fulfilled by historical research. Consequently, the answer of how this resistance played out and looked like cannot always be satisfyingly answered. Nonetheless, it is essential to ask the questions of how, what and if the subaltern spoke as they help us understand and face the world and its narrative today (cf. Loomba 204).

2.3.4. Ethnocentrism and the Noble Savage

As a fundamental concept of psychology and other social sciences, ethnocentricity is an especially interesting concept as it can, on the one hand, have a positive influence on group relations, and on the other, “can lead to prejudice and outgroup hostility, dominance over other groups, and could even explode in open conflicts or wars” (Bizumic and Duckitt 887). Consequently, ethnocentrism is a major contributor to nationalism. The main idea of ethnocentrism goes back to the late 19th century and Darwin’s ideas of people competing against each other (cf. Bizumic and Duckitt 888). The term was not used back then but, as it is widely believed, was coined in 1906 by William Graham Sumner who also introduced the terms ‘ingroup’ and ‘outgroup’. McGee, however, was the first to have used this term in printed form and he assumed that ignorance about the world would lead to ethnocentrism (cf. Bizumic and Duckitt 889). It is, however, Sumner’s definition that prevailed. Sumner’s theory can be described as “ethnic group self-centeredness or self-importance” (Bizumic and Duckitt 889).

Apart from this group self-centeredness, he also coined the aforementioned terms ‘ingroup’ and ‘outgroup’, which describe the people within and outside of the self-centred
group respectively. Ethnocentric actions are further associated with a friendly behaviour towards the ingroup and a rather hostile one towards the outgroup (cf. Bizumic and Duckitt 889). Thus, this differentiation undoubtedly indicates a separation of a favourable us over an adverse them. In order for ethnocentrism to work, there has to be a clear group boundary between the ingroup and the outgroup. This boundary is usually defined by a typical and more importantly observable characteristic of one group, which can be language, accent, appearance, or origin (cf. Hammond and Axelrod 926). The importance of Sumner’s definition is that up to this date it is still valid. Even when reviewing the definitions of other authors and later analysts of that matter, it all comes back to the self-centredness of an ethic group. Ethnocentrism is further characterised by intragroup expressions in order to strengthen the bonds within the group and to discern and separate the own group more and more from the others. Thus, this concept is often seen as the driving force of prejudice and discrimination (cf. Bizumic and Duckitt 903).

Eurocentrism is grounded in ethnocentrism and has the “tendency to interpret and prioritize the world in Western terms, Western values, and Western experiences” (Hall 105). In the Eurocentric view of the world, the European spirit can be found within the expression of a specific European nation or state and is thus a model for other states to follow (cf. Amin 256). Eurocentrism in the colonial era of Great Britain thus meant that the British were considered to be vastly superior compared to the inhabitants of other nations, especially to those of the Third World countries. The enslavement of other people and the Triangular trade had thus one more justification: people coming from countries the British had occupied and in their understanding cultured, were inferior to the colonisers, simply, because they were not British. Looking at Sumner’s definition, the ingroup, in this example, represents the British, whereas the lesser outgroup represents the nations outside of Great Britain, especially the Third World countries. This was one further factor in diminishing the worth of people from these nations as not only their skin colour was a factor now, but also their place of birth. The inferiority of slaves under
this consideration was undoubtedly proven. Eurocentrism also plays a big role in today’s world as the prejudice against other nations that comes along with this concept, explains the constant shift to the right (cf. Amin 214).

As discussed before, the British being the ingroup in the colonial scenario, saw the outgroup – the people they colonised and also enslaved – as wild brutes and as savages. These savages were described as cannibals and in a way that is as brutal as possible in order for them to appear as non-human like and animalic as possible. Consequently the compassion for them when they were enslaved, tortured or treated like low level citizens was held at bay with such images. In the late 18th century, there was one more image of the savage that was allegedly first introduced by the French speaking writer and philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It was the image of the Noble Savage, which can be seen as a “mythical personification of natural goodness by a romantic glorification of savage life” (Ellingson 1). The concept of the Noble Savage can also be seen as a critique of the culture that time. It represents a balancing act between culture and nature (cf. Kempf 424). Culture represents the nobility and the civilised part of this specific savage, whereas nature stands for the wild and animal like savage. This make the Noble Savage an oxymoron as it combines two seemingly non-coexisting concepts. Ellingson offers a solution to this contradiction as he argues that “the nobility […] is associated with moral qualities such as generosity and proper fitting behaviour” (Ellingson 22). One example of a character being considered as a Noble Savage is given by Ellingson when he tries to make the reader understand Lescarbot’s ideas that savages can be truly noble which he stated when he introduced the Noble Savage into English literature (Ellingson 21). He states that the savages described are hunting their prey in order to find food to survive. It can be argued on the one hand that the characters hunting are savages as their way of coming to food is antiquated. On the other, hunting is a privilege reserved for British noblemen who exercise their right to slaughter their prey as an aristocratic sport and a diversion of their time (cf. Ellingson 23). As a result, the Noble Savage combines both the characteristics of a savage having to hunt
for their food as well as those of a noble person being allowed the right to exercise a privileged sport.

The Noble Savage is a concept by writers and authors that idealises and romanticises the lives of people the British would at that time call savages. It, however, soon becomes quite a nebulous concept as almost no writer explicitly refers to their characters as a Noble Savage (cf. Ellingson 4). Ellison further argues that it is questionable whether a widespread belief in this concept ever existed. It is moreover questionable whether such Noble Savages were more than people with the labels “exotic” and “romantic naturalist” laid on top of them. At some point, this was driven to the extreme, as the idealised savage seemed more attractive than the civilised noble person and “‘civilisation’ takes on such a quasi-hellish character that one wonders how it could ever have developed at all” (Ellingson 6). Any criticism of European cruelty can thus be explained by “romantic naturalism” and it is far easier to hide behind a concept even though its inner opposition becomes easily clear, than to openly argue a critical view on something (Ellingson 6). The concept therefore should always be seen as a “discursive construct” and not be accepted without questions (Ellingson 7). The term Noble Savage can be seen as problematic therein, as by accepting this rhetorical construct, one accepts the notion that people are savages, yet at the same time one makes a clear distinction of human worth considering nobility as the key factor. “There is such a thing as nobility, there are such people as savages – and we imagine the absurdity to lie in the juxtaposition of the two rather than in our failure to problematize either” (Ellingson 373).
3. Inkle and Yarico

Plays and literary texts about slaves were popular among readers in Great Britain as they offered the public a glimpse into the world of slaves and the colonial business. Among the most popular stories of the 18th century is Inkle and Yarico, a story that would be taken up and adapted by different authors. Underpinning all the adaptations is the idea of an English businessman encountering a woman who is, according to the belief of British society at that time (Chapter 1), of an inferior race compared to the noble gentleman. According to Suvir Kaul, “the belief that the most rewarding readings of literary texts are arrived by paying careful attention to the relation between a text and its historical moment” (Kaul 22). In this chapter, three versions of the play Inkle and Yarico will be presented and analysed on the basis of the theoretical background from the first two chapters, namely the history of slavery and postcolonial theory: Richard Steele’s version of the text printed in his journal The Spectator No. 11 (1711), Mrs Weddell’s Incle and Yarico (1742), and George Colman’s version of the play first performed in 1787. These three versions date from 1711, when slavery was still ongoing, vital to the society, and not particularly seen as something to condemn, to 1787 only 40 years before the official abolition of the Slave Trade in the United Kingdom. Another main reason why these texts have been chosen is that they the plots vary, which makes a comparison of the three texts of the story of Inkle and Yarico a very challenging endeavour.
3.1. Richard Steele’s Version from the *Spectator* No. 11 from 1711

3.1.1. The *Spectator*

Richard Steele (1672-1729) was born in Ireland and was educated in England. As described in the *Virginia Anthology of Literature in English*, he started his own journal, *The Tatler*, in 1907 (cf. Joseph Addison & Richard Steele – *The Open Anthology of Literature in English*). Instead of focusing on daily news, the journal concentrated on essays about various topics such as theatre reviews or manners. Due to its different nature, it became immediately and intensely popular. In the year 1711, Steele and Addison – the latter also contributed numerous articles to *The Tatler* – founded another journal: *The Spectator*. This journal was published every day except Sunday and ran 555 issues until it ended in December 1712 (cf. Cavendish). Both of Steele’s journals were highly regarded and widely spread and read. They were respected as texts for nobleman and middle-to-upper-class households. They were further translated and given to students of English as examples of good prose (cf. Joseph Addison & Richard Steele – *The Open Anthology of Literature in English*). Furthermore, in the tenth edition of the journal itself, it is noted that three thousand copies were distributed every day and the authors assume there were twenty readers to every copy (cf. Smith et al. 38).

The journal was named after a fictional spectator who observed society and reported back to it through the texts published. This character was introduced in the first publication on March 1st, 1711. The opinions expressed by the bystander were enclosed within another story as the events described were seen through the eyes of another imaginative character (cf. *The 1st of March 1711 AD, First Edition of The Spectator*). The two publishers strategically positioned their work in order for it to “critically engage the forces and discourses of change and mediate their impact on English lives and society” (Newman 11). This indicates that *The Spectator* was meant for and in fact had an influence on the lives and views of English citizens, especially those of the ever growing middle class. The witty and humorous way in which the articles and texts were written helped to attract the masses. This wit and the fact that they used a wide
variety of literary genres guaranteed the success and made reading *The Spectator* a new experience even though the topics covered were not new. Moreover, Steele and Addison were “always mindful to promote virtue and religion”, which also helped to endorse this journal (Newman 12). Another unique feature was the aforementioned fictional character referred to as Mr. Spectator who invigorated the texts with his convincingly portrayed subjectivity. Furthermore, he rarely interacted with the characters he passed by and the character was often even physically decoupled from the urban scene in which the story took place (cf. Vila-Cabanes 41). In the first publication of the journal, Addison describes Mr. Spectator extensively and lets him tell his story. He also gives the reason why the two editors chose to introduce this character:

> I have observed, that a Reader seldom peruses a Book with Pleasure, ‘till he knows whether the Writer of it be a black or a fair Ma, of a mild or cholerick [!] Disposition, Married or a Batchelor [!], with other Particulars of the like nature that conduct very much to the right understanding of an Author² (Smith et al. 3)

In these first few lines of the original publication, the authors specify that it is their intention to let Mr. Spectator appear humane in order for him to appeal strongly to the reader. By doing so, this character could urge the addressed to mend their lives and thereby to improve their morals and manners (cf. Newman 13).

This promotion of civility and good nature was mostly directed at the middle class, which formed the core readership. This was, however, nothing like today’s middle class as it was mainly an urban experience (cf. Newman 16). Key characteristics of this newly found middle class were a disposable income and the aspiration to imitate their superiors and thus to strive for social respectability. *The Spectator* addressed these issues by becoming one of the first lifestyle magazines (even though it was published almost daily). The middle class tried to lose the stigma of social, educational, and cultural inferiority by consulting Steele’s and

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² Original quote, including the capitalisation, commas, and differences in spelling.
Addison’s texts (cf. Newman 16). Mr. Spectator even criticises this behaviour in the sixth publication of the journal. Steele writes that at that time people were more anxious about their reputation and their wit than their honesty and their virtue (cf. Smith et al. 24). Consequently, Mr. Spectator educated the middle class to follow moral rules even when they were doing something that, one could argue, was in favour of the publication, namely to read the texts for guidance instead of trusting their virtues. In The Spectator No. 10, Mr. Spectator states that his goal is to save the readers from the “desperate State of Vice and Folly into which the Age is fallen”3 (Smith et al. 38). Addison and Steele also clearly distinguished between the people who read their texts and those who did not. The people who bought a copy of The Spectator and read it should clearly “distinguish themselves from that thoughtless Herd of their ignorant and unattentive Brethren” (Smith et al. 38). Accordingly, the authors believed their own readership to be better, as they wanted to educate and cultivate themselves.

3.1.2. Inkle and Yarico – The Article

One of the most famous stories printed in The Spectator was the one of Inkle and Yarico. Originally it was told by Richard Ligon in the year 1657 and in the 11th edition of The Spectator, published on March 13th, 1711, Richard Steele retold the story and made it famous (cf. Newman 132).

It opens with Mr. Spectator’s description of a character named Arietta, who is described as an aristocratic woman with whom one can enjoy pleasant talks about topics of social importance. Spectator finds her in conversation with another collocutor at her place about “Constancy in Love” (Smith et al. 42). The person talking to Arietta spoke about the levity of women and to prove his point brought forth the story of the Ephesian Matron, which was almost seen as an insult to women by Arietta. She retaliates with a fable which had the purpose to show

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that it is men who have the power of representing their surroundings including women. She further continues to tell the story of *Inkle and Yarico* in response to the two thousand-year old story given by the conversation partner. Thomas Inkle is described as a twenty-year-old merchant, who travelled to Barbados by ship in order to expand his fortune. In search of provision, some men onboard the ship went ashore on the mainland of the Americas where most of them were followed and killed by the natives. Inkle, the hero of the story, could escape and encountered an “Indian Maid” (Smith et al. 44). It was love at first sight for the Indian. She helped Inkle and took care of him. After some time, Inkle communicated to her that he would love to bring her to his home where he would indulge her with valuable dresses. After months, Yarico discovered an English vessel and the two boarded it heading for Barbados. With this change of location came a change of heart for Inkle as he became aware of the financial losses he had suffered during his absence. Thus, he decided to sell the maid and take advantage of the fact that she was pregnant with his child to drive up the price for her, which concludes the tale of Arietta. This is almost the end of Mr. Spectator’s story too as he leaves Arietta’s place in tears.

This text was written by Richard Steele and told from the perspective of Mr. Spectator. However, there is another layer included as one character introduced by the bystander tells the story of *Incle and Yarico*. As a result, there are two narrative threads woven together to tell this story. Moreover, these two stories take place at two different times. The first one with Mr. Spectator setting the scene in Arietta’s place can be, lacking a given date, assumed to take place at the time of publication of the text, whereas for the story of Thomas Inkle the readers were given a date: June 16th, 1647, dating it even before Richard Ligon’s story. Furthermore, Steele had written the story of the Indian native only three years before he stopped owning plantations on this island himself (cf. Newman 133). Steele and his character Mr. Spectator managed to make this story appropriately interesting and shocking for it to be reproduced and translated many times.
3.1.3. The Characters and Their Relationship

Before the text opens with the first layer of the story, it presents the reader with a Latin quote, which can be translated as follows: “They clip the wings of doves but let birds of prey fly freely” (Juvenal) (Stone 241). The Spectator always opened with a Latin quote with the intention of giving the text a motto as well as underlining the importance of the texts as it is thereby backed by popular opinion (cf. ‘The Spectator Quotes’). This particular quote was taken from one of Juvenal’s satires which deals with masculinity (cf. Gregg 54). This is a clear reference to the first layer of the story in which Arietta and a gentleman have a discussion about the levity of men and women in love. Its translation, however, indicates that it is not the big fish and the real criminals that will be caught and prosecuted for their crimes, but the little ones. The big fish in this metaphor are the birds of prey that are allowed to fly freely, whereas the doves stand for the little fish in the pond. This metaphor not only indicates the disparity in the perception of men and women as it does in Arietta’s discussion, but also another contrast between attacker (the bird of prey) and victim (the dove). In the story of Inkle and Yarico, the role of the attacker and intruder is played by Inkle and in a broader sense the British in general, whereas the Indian maid can be seen as the dove, or the natives in general. The flawed Inkle represents a deep contrast to the pure Yarico (cf. Felsenstein 82). This becomes evident in the end of the story when the innocent Yarico is sold into slavery by the seemingly cold-hearted Englishman, who makes a profit out of the injustice he inflicts upon the woman.

The relationship between the characters is especially interesting considering the role of the spectator, who as Steele’s main character, takes on the part as the almost invisible and omnipresent narrator who tells the story practically from a bird’s eye perspective. Thus, the descriptions of the individual characters are also given through Mr. Spectator. He does so by observing the other characters of the story and trying to guess their personalities with external cues given by their behaviour (cf. Vila-Cabanes 42). The aforementioned subjectivity of this character also manifests itself in the description he gives of the characters. As a result, he
describes Arietta, who ultimately tells the story of *Inkle and Yarico*, as a person who is witty and noble and with whom one could enjoy inspiring and stimulating conversation (cf. Smith et al. 41). He furthermore states that he is honoured to make her acquaintance, which indicates his appreciation for her as a person as well as her opinions on certain topics. Contrary to that is the depiction of the conversation partner of Arietta: the spectator describes this man as a “Common-Place-Talker” who needs gestures and laughs to underline his arguments and to give them the needed weight (Smith et al. 42). This indicates that the bystander does not think as highly of him as he does of Arietta and that his arguments seem inferior as they need additional support through countenance and gestures. It is thus even more remarkable that it is Arietta who tells the story of Inkle and Yarico as this gives the text more weight. One could argue that this also made the text more influential as it was told by a person the main character, who seems to reflect the author’s opinion to some extent, thinks highly of. Another indication of this is when, at the end, the spectator compliments Arietta on her story and the way she told it by leaving the room in tears and without saying another word (cf. Smith et al. 45).

Arietta’s answer to the arguments and story brought forth by the man in discussion with her is a recollection of the story originally told by Ligon. In the text, she states that she read it earlier and now wants to retell the story of *Inkle and Yarico* to strengthen her own point of view. She takes a story from the real world and even mentions the original author, thus using an actual story as a frame story and adding her own components to it. Consequently, it makes her own story more relatable to the reader, which in turn makes her arguments more believable. Furthermore, Arietta starts her story in a similar way: she gives the date, as well as the name of “the good ship called the Achilles” (Smith et al. 43). Felsenstein notes that by using the name Achilles, which was the name of the hero of the Trojan War in Greek mythology, Steele might have intended a divergence between the Greek hero and Thomas Inkle as the anti-hero of this story (cf. Felsenstein 86). Starting with this story, a narrative switch happens and Mr. Spectator is no longer involved in telling the adventure. As a result, the characterisation of Inkle and
Yarico takes place through the eyes of Arietta. In reality, however, it is always Richard Steele who describes the characters and the plot.

The main character – as well as metaphorical bird of prey and anti-hero – Thomas Inkle is described at the beginning of the story as well as his main character trait which leads to the outcome of this adventure. He is twenty years old and the sole purpose of his travels is to “improve his Fortune by Trade and Merchandize” (Smith et al. 43). His description continues by stating that Inkle comes from a reputable family that had implanted a very specific mindset into him when he was young: the “Love of Gain” (Smith et al. 43). Under the guidance of his father, he became perfect in calculating the gain and loss of things and thereby he soon became a master of numbers (cf. Smith et al. 43).

According to the description of Inkle’s character in the text, his mind is extremely analytic having the ability to calculate and analyse casualties and assets. It is further stated that the Englishman is in “every way agreeable”, indicating that he is a good and respectable person at the core (Smith et al. 44). This characterisation of the young hero being solely after financial gain and material benefit while simultaneously being liked by everybody that knew him, indicates the mindset of the society. It focusses on the virtues of mercantilism to be of great importance to the people and in the end, this characterisation is also used to criticise these virtues (cf. Dellarosa 75). Inkle is clearly described as a person who values being rich, as well as someone who knows how to acquire even more money. To do so, he is willing to go as far as necessary. As argued in Chapter 1.2., this acquiring and accumulation of money is one of the main aims of mercantilism and the people identifying as proponents of mercantilism as an economic policy. Moreover, in this case this concept also acts as a foreshadowing of the ending of Arietta’s tale.

The adventure continues with the ship being in distress, which leads to the passengers and crew being stranded on an the “Main of America” (Smith et al. 44). As mentioned before, the ship bears the name Achilles, which was the name of the near-invulnerable Greek hero. The
mythological hero could only be stopped by injuring his Achilles’ heel, which means that he had one weak spot. The vessel boarded by Inkle was described to be in distress and the people on board had to put into a creek to find provision. There is no further explanation of the nature or cause of the distress, which could indicate that the ship itself was intact and the people onboard needed something. In the text, it is stated that they were “in Search of Provisions” (Smith et al. 44). Thus, the people represent the Achilles’ heel of the ship and are the reason why the young British hero finds himself in this situation. This may also foreshadow that Thomas Inkle himself is the reason for his moral downfall at the end of the tale.

The attack performed by the natives is described in three sentences. The wording, however, is extremely direct. The Indians are said to have hid deviously in the woods, where the naïve British going ashore could not see them. Thus, they were not prepared to be slain by the natives. This vicious attack on presumably unarmed men is an indicator of the savageness of the inhabitants of the land. In this scenario, the British are portrayed as the victims of a horrendous crime which one could flee from only by running into the woods and hiding. This is exactly what Thomas Inkle did. Inkle is described to have “Strength in his Limbs” (Smith et al. 44) but when he fled the attackers and stopped for his first rest, he was breathless and tired. This indicates that Inkle ran for quite some time. In the text, it is also said that he put a “great distance” between himself and the shore (Smith et al. 44).

The first encounter of Yarico leaves Inkle as well as the Indian maid herself astonished. It seems as if two completely different cultures clash. To emphasise this even more, the description of the scene leaves no doubt about the strangeness of each other’s nature: Yarico impresses the stranger with her nakedness. He is taken aback as he discovers her “Features, and wild Graces” (Smith et al. 44). Yarico, on the other hand, is surprised and intrigued by Inkle’s clothes covering him from head to toe. This contrast and comparison of the two main characters can be seen as a metaphorical comparison between nature and culture. This refers back to Chapter 2.3.4. and the concept of the noble savage. Yarico represents nature, the wild and the
animal-like side of life. This is also confirmed by the fact that she lives with the savages who murdered the British. Inkle, however, being dressed as a gentleman, represents culture. He is the educated nobleman who lives a civilised life and is now in need of aid. The Indian maid is said to have fallen in love with Inkle on the spot and, as a result, wants to save him. According to Ellingson, this moral quality is part of the image of the noble savage (cf. Ellingson 22). Inkle has enchanted Yarico and convinced her that she has to help him. This further indicates the power of civilisation over the uncivilised and untouched: nature saves culture. Consequently, the civilised needs the uncivilised to survive, which at first glance seems like a contrast. However, there cannot be light without darkness and order without chaos.

The story of Inkle and Yarico is as mentioned before the story of a noble savage and a civilised man. It is, however, also a story filled with stereotypes. As discussed in Chapter 2.3.2, the stereotype of the British superiority and the inferiority of other cultures was prevalent in the minds of the people. These stereotypes can be clearly observed in the scene of Inkle and Yarico meeting for the first time. As mentioned before, the two characters stand for two very different societies. Inkle is the civilised Englishman, whereas Yarico is the noble savage and represents the uncivilised, chaotic, and exotic life (cf. Dellarosa 75). In doing so, Inkle, according to his stereotype, is still well dressed and thus maintains the civilised status even in the wilderness. Yarico, however, was naked and due to her naked body exerts fascination for the traveller. Furthermore, the maid took Inkle to a cave and also shows him a stream of fresh water and cooks fruits for him. All this indicates that Yarico is indeed a savage compared to the enlightened British. The stereotype of the savages on this land is further established by the attack at the beginning of the story. The Indians slayed the people onboard the ship and only those who fled had a chance of survival. Yarico’s stereotype, however, is more complex than that. Contrary to her fellow natives, she is said to have helped Inkle hide in a cave, she cooked for him and, most importantly, cared for him. This becomes evident in the description of her ‘playing’ with his European features such as his fair hair. This playing around soon becomes
sexual as she opens his shirt, which for her seems like the natural thing to do considering her not wearing any clothes. For the Englishman, however, this is uncomfortable and he covered himself up. Interestingly enough, Yarico is described as dressing in the “most beautiful Shells, Bugles, and Bredes” (Smith et al. 44). This influences the depiction of the Indian maid being a savage, despite having a moral compass to follow, into her wanting to be a civilised human being as she wears jewellery that is intended to make her look cultured and enlightened. She wants to please and delight the educated businessman. This also becomes evident when Steele mentions that Yarico bears gifts and decoration for Inkle and his cave to make his stay more pleasurable. These presents, however, were not only collected by Yarico but also originally by her “other Lovers” and given to her as a sign of affection (Smith et al. 44). As a result, by bringing and giving Inkle these gifts, Yarico shows her affection towards him. At the same time, the reader learns that Yarico herself had many lovers and that Inkle may not be the first man in her life. This brings back the stereotype of her uncivilised life, which in connection to her being naked, makes it appear to be more open and permissive than that of an English gentleman. Yarico cares for Inkle and tries everything to make his situation “more tolerable” (Smith et al. 44). Yet at the same time, her being less civilised than him is always part of the story.

The description of the relationship between the characters continues by stating how well and tenderly Yarico cared for Inkle. She carries him to her favourite spots as he is still convalescing. This makes her appear strong. Moreover, she provides a safe environment for him so that he can cure himself and sleep, while she watches over him. The two soon become real lovers and invent a language of their own to understand each other. This indicates a deep level of intimacy and love between them. This love is so deep that Inkle tells her of his plans to bring her back to England with him. He wants to care for her as she has cared for him and thus repay her. The Englishman dreams of spoiling her with clothes and luxury. With this description, the love between the two seems genuine – until the end.
3.1.4. The Ending

Inkle, eager to show his love his home, sends Yarico to watch out for ships. One day, she indeed discovers a vessel and they take them onboard heading for Barbados. In the description of Thomas Inkle’s reasoning it states that when he entered English territory, he “began seriously to reflect upon his loss of Time” and furthermore about “how many Days Interest of his Money he had lost during his Stay with Yarico” (Smith et al. 45). Moreover, Inkle was afraid of the account he had to give to his friends about the voyage. In just one sentence of the story, it is stated that he sold the maid that cared for him into slavery, and when she told him that she was pregnant, he used this information against her to increase her prize. Selling Yarico expands this young merchant’s fortune as well as recompenses him for his financial losses during his time on the island. This connects straight back to the mercantilist aspects of the story. In his initial description, Inkle is described as a person that takes great pride in acquiring money, which, as argued in Chapters 1.2. as well as 3.1.3., is in itself already a clear marker for the mercantilist aspect of the story. The ending makes this theme evident as Inkle’s sole concern upon arrival and return to English territory is the money he lost during his absence, as well as his own value according to his friends. Selling her seemed like his only logical conclusion, as he not even thinks about any other alternative. Thus the mercantilist virtue of the calculating businessman, who as a young child learned to amass money, results in his moral fatality and ultimate doom. He abandons all the gratitude he felt for Yarico on the island, as well as all the dreams of a life in England together, for a quick financial gain and a story to tell his friends.

The Latin proverb at the beginning of this story mentioned in Chapter 3.1.3. can also be seen as a foreshadowing of the ending of Arietta’s story. “They clip the wings of doves but let birds of prey fly freely” (Juvenal) (Stone 241) describes Yarico as the dove and Inkle as the bird of prey. The clipping of the wings symbolises Yarico being sold into slavery by Inkle, the bird of prey, who survived thanks to Yarico and doesn’t have to worry about any implications of him loving someone who is portrayed as the stereotype of the ‘other’. It is noteworthy that
in this interpretation of the quote, Yarico is symbolised as the dove which in Christianity stands for innocence as well as peace. The Englishman, however, is the bird of prey, which is deadly and, as it flies high up in the sky, an almost invisible, vicious, and perilous hunter.

In the tenth edition of *The Spectator*, Mr. Spectator argues that “there are none to whom this Paper will be more useful, than to the Female World” (Smith et al. 40). Addison and Steel seem to imply with the message that their journal discusses feminist topics but Newman argues that this promise of support and commitment to feminist topics was not as serious as the authors stated. He claims that the feminist role of *The Spectator* has to be regarded critically as one common way of criticising women and dealing with criticism happens in a stereotypical way (cf. Newman 19). At the end of the story of *Inkle and Yarico* in *The Spectator* No. 11, Yarico is sold on the slave market without concerns about her well-being. Furthermore, the fact that she is pregnant was also used against herself. Her depiction within the story was also a stereotypical one as Yarico was the one caring for Inkle. She saved him and brought him water, as well as cooked for him. Consequently, even though she lived in the wilderness and according to the English trader was uncivilised, she was portrayed doing stereotypical work women ought to do for their man. Even though she cared for him and loved him, Inkle had the power to sell her to the person bidding the highest price. The Inkle and Yarico story was, however, used to prove Arietta’s point that her discussion partner is wrong when he claims levity concerning love to be a female trait. As a result, it can be argued that the whole story portrayed in *The Spectator* No. 11 has feminist aspects as it deals with the aforementioned stereotype of women and invalidates it to some extent. However, Newman’s criticism also has to be taken into consideration as this stereotype is nothing more but a stereotype, and thus focussing on this instead of topics of oppression does not make the authors feminist.
3.1.5. Slavery

Slavery plays a key role in Arietta’s tale of Inkle and Yarico albeit it was only mentioned in a few sentences. The Indian maid is sold to a planter at a slave market that is compared to an animal market for oxen and horses (cf. Smith et al. 45). The eleventh edition of *The Spectator* was published in 1711 and the sight of the planters bargaining for slaves at public markets would have been a common one in Barbados. This would also explain why the notion of the slave market and ultimately selling Yarico into slavery was treated so nonchalantly. Furthermore, slavery for Inkle meant a clean exit from his adventure as he could simply leave this period of his life behind. Furthermore, Yarico told him that she was expecting his child. A life in England with the Indian maid and their child would have surely been filled with stereotypes and allegations against the young family, which could also be one reason why it was so important to him what account of his adventure he could give to his friends (cf. Smith et al. 45). Apart from the obvious geographical indicator and the linguistic differences they had, there is only one statement that specifies the differences of skin colour between the two: Yarico loves playing with Inkle’s fair hair, which has the opposite colour of her fingers (cf. Smith et al. 44). Yarico’s skin colour was probably also the reason why the young man could sell the maid so easily into slavery. Ironically, she saved Inkle from exactly that.
3.2. Mrs Weddell’s *Incle and Yarico*

3.2.1. Mrs Weddell

The identity of Mrs Weddell is a mystery to scholars as not even her first name is known. Even though she is credited with writing two to three plays (academics even debate about that), it is unclear whether Mrs Weddell even existed. There is neither a historical indicator nor anything in her texts that suggest that Mrs Weddell was a real person or wrote any of the plays attributed to her. In *The City Farce*, the first play Weddell is said to have written, there is a hint at difficulties with the Licensing Act of 1737, which indicates problems with censorship. Furthermore, her version of *Incle and Yarico* was also never staged but only published in 1742 even though it was intended to be performed at Covent Garden. This also hints at more difficulties getting an approval for this play (cf. Mrs Weddell 1). Thus, one could come to the conclusion that Mrs Weddell was an elaborate cover for someone else who wrote critical plays that he or she already knew were difficult to get an approval for. Nevertheless, Mrs Weddell’s story of Incle and Yarico still offers an interesting insight into the female perspective of the slave trade and can be seen as another fascinating female response to the text (cf. Mrs Weddell 1).

3.2.2. *Incle and Yarico* – The Drama

Mrs Weddell is argued to be the first author to dramatize the adventure of Inkle and Yarico, which gained popularity as an article in the daily publication of *The Spectator* in 1711 (Chapter 3.1.) (cf. Dellarosa 77). The text genre was not the only change one can find in Weddell’s writing. First and foremost, she changed the spelling of the protagonist from Inkle to Incle⁴. Second, the setting of the adventure differs from Steele’s version. Richard Steele portrayed Yarico as an Indian Maid, whereas the first drama establishes a clear connection to the African

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⁴ Throughout the thesis this spelling is used to refer to Mrs Weddell’s Incle.
slave trade described in Chapter 1.1. Weddell made Yarico an African princess, instead of an Indian maid, which makes the concept of the noble savage (Chapter 2.3.4.) more apparent to the audience, or in this case reader, as it was never staged back at the time, as the main character is indeed noble. By incorporating a real life trading route into the setting of her plot, Weddell made the criticism of slavery and the slave trade within her text more apparent, which could be one reason for the aforementioned difficulties with censorship.

As mentioned before, Weddell changed the genre of the text. Furthermore, she altered the structure of her drama into a piece with three parts. The reasoning behind this decision was explained in the prologue of the play marked as “written by a friend” (Mrs Weddell 3). The story can be perfectly portrayed within just three acts and stretching it out into five acts would be cruel to the audience as this keeps them in unnecessary suspense (cf. Mrs Weddell 7).

The main change one can find in Weddell’s version of the story, however, is the plot. The drama opens with the crew of a ship in distress stranded on a shore. Incle flees on his own and the captain and four sailors, whose main purpose is to comment on the situation the protagonists are in, ultimately get caught by the inhabitants of the land. Incle escapes into a forest that belongs to the princess Yarico who finds him there and immediately falls in love with him and wants to protect him from any danger. In the meantime, the king, Yarico’s father, grants a prince the hand of his daughter should she choose to love him. At the end of this first act, introducing the different characters, the audience finds out that the sailors and the captain were captured and punished (cf. Mrs Weddell 7).

The second act opens with a scene of Incle and Yarico together, and the audience can tell that the initial love at first sight grows deeper and gets stronger as the protagonists talk about leaving Africa together. In this act, instead of the sailors giving the audience more information, it is the natives that talk to each other about the events and also rumours they have heard about another Englishman (who turns out to be Incle) hiding in the forest of the princess. This news increases the suspense for the audience as the natives thus search for the sixth
A member of the crew in order to punish him as well. Consequently, the Englishman’s time in the forest is limited as he needs to find a ship to sail into safe territories. Inside the palace, the king and the prince, to whom the king promised Yarico’s hand, also talk about the rumours of a stranger in the forest of the princess. The king tries to appease his future son in-law. At the same time, however, Incle and Yarico flee together from the beach onto a ship and the king hears of their escape from a messenger telling the story from a third person perspective, which turns out to describe Yarico’s inner conflict. 

Act three closes the story with a catastrophe for Yarico and poetic justice for Incle (cf. Mrs Weddell 7). It starts with the arrival of the ship in Jamaica and a landlady and two sailors establishing the context of this act. Incle then enters into discussion about selling Yarico as a slave. As soon as Yarico enters the scene, she is hit with this ingratitude and the fact of having to live a life as a slave on a plantation. Similar to Richard Steele’s version, Yarico also tells Incle that she is pregnant with his child, but instead of trying to negotiate the price for his saviour, he just accepts it and begs the planter to take the child as well once it is born (cf. Mrs Weddell 53). The planter that bought Yarico and his son, Amyntor, both show mercy to the African woman; the son even expresses his “Desire to lighten the Distress”5 of Yarico (Mrs Weddell 56). Amyntor confronts Incle with Yarico’s predicament. In this act, the audience first encounters the character of Honorius, who was once robbed of his love Violetta by Incle. This information casts further negative light on the protagonist of the story, which is increased by his soliloquy in the next scene in which he briefly talks about him inflicting injustice on Violetta and Yarico. Incle finds it easier to ignore her sorrow altogether. Amyntor, however, continues talking about her and tells Incle that Yarico died of sorrow and grief. After this revelation, Incle is struck with what he did to Yarico as well as to her father, and the prince. He states that “when the Consequence points out the Danger We see our Error” (Mrs Weddell 68). Incle then wants

to see Yarico again and due to a tragic confusion dies through the sword of Honorius, receiving poetical justice.

3.2.3. The Characters and Their Relationship

Due to the genre chosen for this version of the text, the characterisation of the protagonists relies not on a narrator who tells the story, but on the people’s own actions and third party characters commenting on the story. Mrs Weddell uses such third party characters in the form of four sailors from the distressed ship, two natives discussing the situation outside the palace, as well as a landlady and some merchants. We receive further characterisation and background information about Incle through a conversation between a merchant and Honorius. When Incle and Yarico escape from Africa, a third person perspective is provided by a messenger telling the events to the king. This account sheds more light on Yarico’s dilemma as she is torn between the love towards Incle and the love towards her motherland as well as her father.

In Act One, Scene One, Incle and the captain discuss their misery. They both agree on the fact that if they want to survive, they have to remain unseen and hide from the natives who are described as unskilled beasts (cf. Mrs Weddell 12). Incle even states that “Death’s kind Shade” would be better to endure than this misery (Mrs Weddell 12). The captain wholeheartedly agrees with him stating that death at sea would have been better and an easier way out (cf. Mrs Weddell 13). In this scene, Incle and the captain of the ship are described as men who are afraid to face their fate in Africa as they are seen as enemies (see Chapter 3.2.5.). Furthermore, they believe Africans to be inferior as they are afraid of the punishment they shall receive upon capture. The four sailors talking to each other even paint a darker picture of the Africans. One of them explains that “There are no Lawyers here”, indicating that the justice system on this coast is not as advanced as it is in their home-country and that their lives depend on the judgement and verdict of the natives (Mrs Weddell 15). Thus they decide to “fight and
die” before they are captured and sentenced to death (Mrs Weddell 15). This again indicates that the Africans are lawless savages and should be feared.

In the following scene, the character of Violetta is mentioned for the first time in a soliloquy in which Incle reflects upon his wrongdoings. Yarico enters with two women who act as her servants and it is soon established that she is a noble women wanted by a prince. She suddenly sees Incle lying in a clearing in her forest. Similarly to Steele’s version, Yarico immediately sees Incle as someone special and falls in love with him upon sight: she calls him a celestial being and declares his skin colour being the result of “his Parent-God the Sun” (Mrs Weddell 17). By elevating Incle to a god-like status, Yarico foreshadows her devotion to the Englishman. Yarico even states that one must not talk about Incle in any bad way as this could be revenged by some deity. This indicates that the African princess has never seen a white person before and therefore believes Incle to be unearthly. This also becomes apparent when one of the servants tells Yarico who the strange man really was, trying to correct her “delusive image” (Dellarosa 80).

In Richard Steele’s version of the text, the people that are portrayed as savages are the natives. Thirty one years later, Mrs Weddell addresses this notion once again; however, Weddell goes one step further as in the eyes of the African, the British are the savages. After seeing Incle and recognising that he is an Englishmen, one of the women tells Yarico that he is not a deity, but rather “worse than mortal” (Mrs Weddell 17). The princess’s attendant further calls Englishmen villains that “infest” the African land (Mrs Weddell 17). Thus the woman compares the British with a plague that spreads among the clueless victims when she refers to “the dealings between white traders and the leaders of local population” (Dellarosa 80). This clear negative stance towards the British who are otherwise portrayed as noble, civilised and cultured, is uncommon in texts from this period and may have contributed to the censorship this drama was a victim of. It furthermore clearly conveys the image that what the British do is
wrong (Chapter 3.2.5.), which makes them the villains of the story and sheds a different light on the characterisation of Incle.

Even though the woman continuously warns Yarico of Incle as he is seen as a potent of danger, death and even slavery, Yarico is blinded by the Englishman’s beauty and the love she feels towards him. The woman’s suspicion and even fear foreshadows the fate that awaits Yarico later in the drama. Incle later confesses that he indeed came “to traffick on the Afric Coast” (Mrs Weddell 19). Yarico accepts that and states that saving and protecting Incle may endanger her own live, but she would be willing to take the risk as she could not bear to see him suffer or even die (cf. Mrs Weddell 19). This shows Yarico to be a very kind and noble person that is capable of compassion. More evidence for Yarico’s kind spirit can be found at the end of Act One when the four sailors and the captain of the ship are being captured and brought before the king. Yarico convinces her father not to sentence them to death by stating “Make them know Mercy belongs to us” (Mrs Weddell 25). This statement attributes the moral high ground to Yarico and thus shows that the stereotype of her being a savages is unfounded.

It is noteworthy that this drama already incorporates women’s rights as the king does not marry his daughter off to someone, but grants her the freedom to choose her partner for herself; love is the main component of a good relationship (cf. Mrs Weddell 22). Thereupon Yarico states that she is deeply indebted to her father for all he has done for her and that “Disobedience Would be a Crime could never hope Forgiveness”⁶ (Mrs Weddell 22). Despite that she decides to follow her own heart upon which displeasure with her decision is expressed and she agrees to delay her answer to the prince “for Six Short Moons” (Mrs Weddell 22). The king then assures his daughter that he will keep his word but at the same time, he calls her request for delay a “little Fancy” and guarantees the prince that the marriage shall be carried out (Mrs Weddell 23). It thus seems as if the promise of free will is only an illusion. The king’s

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⁶ The original wording has been used.
plan of the marriage already seem cast in stone. Thus the intention of him letting his daughter choose her own fate was spurious as according to his wishes there was no longer a decision to make.

In short, the first act establishes the story, the protagonists are characterised, and the African slave trade (Chapter 3.2.5.) is explored. As mentioned before, Yarico is described as extremely kind-hearted as she immediately wants to protect the stranger she finds in the forest and wants to keep him safe in a cave. Furthermore, she takes a stand for the sailors and the captain who were captured by the Africans. Thanks to her, they are not sentenced to death but to labour as punishment. While she can, to some extent, be seen as naïve, believing Incle to be a deity and instantly falling in love with him, Yarico, however, is portrayed as a strong and powerful woman as she is a princess and thus has subordinates of her own. However, Yarico’s power and independence can be questioned. The reason for this is that Yarico’s falling in love with Incle happens immediately and without even speaking to him. Furthermore, she is blinded by love and does not see the true nature of Incle even though the women warn her against him. Moreover, she is not in control of her future and fate despite of what her father tells her. He wants her to marry the prince, but claims to let her make her own decision without leaving her a choice after all. The fact that the Africans are portrayed as savages who have no justice system other than the king deciding one’s future and that Yarico is a kind princess, makes the concept of the ‘noble savage’ (Chapter 2.3.4.) even more obvious and also takes it quite literally.

Incle’s characterisation, on the other hand, is not as detailed as in Richard Steele’s version. There he is portrayed as a brilliant merchant who is always on top of the numbers and profits he gains. In Weddell’s drama, the audience knows that he came to the African coast for business and that he would like to engage in trade (cf. Mrs Weddell 19). Furthermore, there is no love at first sight on Incle’s part. In Steele’s version, the protagonist is immediately enchanted by the wildness of the native, but in the drama he is mainly glad that she tries to save him and just once comments on her looks (cf. Mrs Weddell 20). Moreover, the audience realises
quickly that Incle is no deity as he talks about his faults in his soliloquy. Thus the characterisation of Incle being a villain and no godlike creature after all can be considered as quite adequate and fitting, especially considering the ending of this drama (Chapter 3.2.4.).

In the beginning of the second act, Incle begins to fall in love with Yarico. Again a clear difference between Steele’s and Weddell’s version can be found: in the article published in The Spectator, the protagonist falls in love with her beauty, which could be seen as a quick superficial love. In Weddell’s drama, similar to Colman’s play, Incle starts to fall in love with the kindness of the beautiful princess (cf. Mrs Weddell 26). There is a further twist compared to the first act, as now Incle, who realised that he owes his life to Yarico, calls her a deity. This inversion shows Incle’s grown love as well as his awareness of Yarico’s kindness. The word deity used in this context might also highlight the difference between the two as it emphasises the greatness of the other person compared to the own. This means that the status of the African princess is elevated above the one of the civilised Englishman. It is noteworthy that when Incle calls her god-like and asks her how he can repay her for her help, she sees his heart as sincere and honest (cf. Mrs Weddell 27). She then confesses to Incle that she does no longer want to live without him and that she is willing to go with him once he escapes Africa, which elevates her love to another level as she admits to leaving everything and everyone behind. Hearing this, Incle promises Yarico that he will show her his appreciation and recognition of what she did when they reach England. Similar to Steele’s version, Incle promises Yarico something he cannot keep. In the drama, however, the audience hears the broken promise foreshadowed in Yarico asking if he can stand true to his word even when the circumstances of their lives change (cf. Mrs Weddell 28).

The role of the natives in Act Two is similar to that of the four sailors in Act One. This time, however, they are on the side of the Africans and criticise the British and their culture. For instance, the state that their religion is nothing special (cf. Mrs Weddell 29). This is not so much a clear criticism of Christianity, but rather a criticism of the way British Christians use
their religion as a way to feel superior and thus justify the enslavement of others (Chapter 1.3.3.). It is therefore a criticism of one of their defences and arguments in favour of slavery: the moral superiority of the Christian and the accompanying right to enslave others (Chapter 1.3.3.).

Moreover, the natives may shed light on a further motive for the princess to run away with Incle. The two natives also talk about the planned marriage and that they do not believe the princess wants this wedding to happen. “I never thought her fond of him”, said one of the two and thereby indicates that the princess will try and evade this bonding (Mrs Weddell 30). Thus her running away with Incle may be attributed to love, as well as to the fact that she tries to escape her fate as a unhappy princess to prince Satamamo.

Yarico does escape the marriage by fleeing from Africa altogether. The princess comments on her love for Incle stating that she cannot endure his absence for so much as half an hour, thus being sure that a complete separation might be her end. She, however, also articulates doubt about her decision and also about Incle being the right choice as well as a good person. However, by following what her heart wants, she knows she must leave with him and trust that his heart is pure (cf. Mrs Weddell 34). Incle takes her by surprise as he tells her that he saw a ship and that he already secured and collected all her belongings in order for them to be ready to flee as soon as possible from “This Prison to us both”, meaning Africa (Mrs Weddell 35). For Incle, the land of enlightenment is Britain and, similar to Steele’s version, he promises Yarico to care for her, love her, and make her feel more than at home once they reach their destination. Yarico is convinced of his good nature and even though it pains her to go, agrees to flee with him.

Her agony is further detailed in the messenger’s account of the escape to the king. In his explanation of the events, he states that he saw Yarico hesitating. He specifically told the king that she paused several times while running towards the sea and started weeping when the fact that she was leaving forever hit her. Yet at the same time, it seems as if she did not want to
leave at all and the messenger states that “her tender Heart Shrunk back to Land” indicating her inner battle (Mrs Weddell 39). Incle, however, urged her to come with him, and in the messenger’s tale he even grabbed her and took her with him (cf. Mrs Weddell 39). Judging from this account, one could argue that Incle kidnapped Yarico as she is said to have wanted to go back to the African shore. This account is strengthened in Act Three when one of the planters claims that Incle forced Yarico away with him (cf. Mrs Weddell 49).

In the scene before the messenger’s story, the two African natives discuss the fate that awaits them as bearers of bad news. They fear they might be sentenced to death should they tell the king anything he does not want to hear (cf. Mrs Weddell 32). This indicates that the king is not a gentle, kind, and just person as killing a messenger is not sovereign but vengeful and it connects back to the stereotype of Africans as savages. The argument that the messenger’s account might have been ‘whitewashed’ in order to evade punishment by the king is weakened by the fact that Yarico herself expressed her ambiguity and confusion about leaving Africa. Yarico’s two female servants testify before the king that the princess was blinded by love and only cared about Incle’s protection (cf. Mrs Weddell 40). After giving this testimony, they were executed by the king (cf. Mrs Weddell 41).

Upon hearing the news, the king then predicts Yarico’s fate in his anger, sorrow and rage. He states that his poor daughter will suffer herself and that Incle cheated her with his promises: she will end up as a slave and longing to go back to the African coast (cf. Mrs Weddell 39). Another messenger enters and tells the King that Satamamo killed himself by jumping off a cliff as he could not bear the thought of Yarico going with Incle and being lost to him. He jumped after her into the sea and drowned together with two slaves that wanted to stop and help him.

In Act Two, the characters, the motives, and inner conflicts of the characters are described in more detail. For instance, Yarico’s deep love for the Englishman was shown both in her own account as well as by her servants stating that she was blinded by love in order to
help Incle. Though it is similar to Steele’s version, Weddell lets Yarico appear as a less superficial character. The author lets her feel severe doubts about her escape and leaving everything behind. This is shown in Yarico’s soliloquy as well as in the messenger’s account of what happened. Incle is seen to fall in love with her and kidnaps her in a self-centred act.

Act Three opens in Jamaica. Side characters such as sailors and a landlady establish the situation and state that Yarico, who is still onboard the ship, is already seen as Incle’s possession, and the status of her being a real princes does not account for anything outside of Africa (cf. Mrs Weddell 45). This is another difference to Steele’s as well as George Colman’s version as the ship sails to Jamaica and not to Barbados. The dialogue of the side-characters is prophetic as at one point, the landlady states that “Love is a piteous thing” (Mrs Weddell 46). This could indicate that the love Yarico receives from Incle might not be lasting long.

Furthermore, these characters seem to disbelieve the love Incle feels for her. They indicate that for Incle the relationship with Yarico is a means to survive. The landlady also calls Yarico idolatrous and a heathen, showing her disgust of their relationship. She also strongly believes that Incle would be far better off with his own country-woman as a partner as she would be worthy of him, unlike Yarico (cf. Mrs Weddell 48). This statement is one of many examples that portray Africans as inferior and not worthy of the same treatment as British. As described in Chapter 1.3.1., one reason for this was because of the obvious difference of skin-colour as well as the different culture – the landlady describing Yarico as idolatrous – which made it morally easier for the people to justify their crimes. Incle comments directly on this asking how reprehensible selling her would be if she was baptised (cf. Mrs Weddell 48). Yet when the landlady hears that Yarico is a real princess, she indicates that she would love to be served by her: she would be a “Slave of Quality”, which again makes reference to the concept of the noble savage (Chapter 2.3.4.) (Mrs Weddell 47).

When Incle is confronted with the plans the side-characters already made for him, he reacts with astonishment. However, he does not need much conviction and persuasion to sell
his lover. His main concern is not her well-being, but rather the fact that he is still in debt to her for saving his life. “Yet Gratitude Demands some Mark of Favour from my Hands” (Mrs Weddell 49). This comment seems to be Incle’s last resistance against their persuasion. He says that he needs to do something to show his thankfulness for saving his life, yet at the same time he does not seem to be in love with her anymore, as he is now analytical instead of compassionate, comparable to Steele’s text. His only demand is that she should not be treated ill (cf. Mrs Weddell 50).

Yarico still calls Incle her protector and upon realising that she will be sold, she turns to Incle in hope of defence and protection against their predictions. Incle, however, only defends himself and his decision by claiming that “Nature has parted us” (Mrs Weddell 51). With this justification, Incle refers to the obvious discrepancies between the African princess and the English trader. Incle further indicates that the religious and cultural differences weigh heavier than her foreign birth place. Marrying her despite them would be a burden too heavy to lift for him (cf. Mrs Weddell 51).

Furthermore, Incle states that even though it might seem as slavery to her, he must sell her indicating that his practice does not seem immoral but rather appropriate for the situation to him. He assumes that she is his property and that this gives him the right to sell her. Once she realises Incle’s betrayal, Yarico starts to pray to heaven for support and strength (cf. Mrs Weddell 52). This highlights the religious aspect of the story. She also calls on heaven to revenge her, which hints at a religious justice system either in the real world or the afterlife (cf. Mrs Weddell 54).

The African princess reminds Incle that she is pregnant, which makes Incle’s crime more repulsive. Richard Steele used this to show the protagonist’s calculating mind. Mrs Weddell simply lets Incle negotiate the kid’s acceptance by the planter as a prerequisite for the purchase. Nevertheless, this does not make Incle appear more human and less focussed on his
own financial gain as he does not directly answer Yarico. He directs this statement of his child being accepted as a slave to the planter (cf. Mrs Weddell 53).

It is especially noteworthy that Incle does not seem to have mercy with Yarico, but the planter that bought her and his son Amyntor do. Moreover, they do not want to cause Yarico any distress. They even discuss their willingness to reverse the purchase should Incle agree (cf. Mrs Weddell 57). Amyntor tries to appeal to Incle’s heart and persuade him to take Yarico back and free her. Yarico no longer appears on stage, which means that the conversations between Incle and the planter also serve to inform the audience. Even after all Incle has done to Yarico, she is still portrayed to love him, miss him, and care for him by asking whether he is well (cf. Mrs Weddell 66). Thus, she is portrayed as a character with an incredibly kind, forgiving, and very naïve heart.

Incle, however, seems to feel no love at all for her but instead is tortured by his conscience when he hears news of Yarico’s condition. Moreover, it seems that it is not specifically Yarico’s condition that troubles him, but the fact that he is responsible for her fate. The audience also learns that Incle is further responsible for the fate of a woman called Violetta (cf. Mrs Weddell 64). Thus, Incle is characterised as self-centred. Yarico, however, is portrayed as selfless, caring for the lives of the four sailors and the captain, as well as for Incle’s life. Even when he enslaved her, she seems to be kind enough to forgive him. As a result, this reverses the stereotype of the African savage being morally reprehensible. The African princess is the one that tries to do the right things by caring for others and it is Incle, the Englishman, who does not follow the same moral code and compass as Yarico does making him appear villainous. This is a fierce criticism of British society that saw itself as the enlightened and cultured nation (Chapter 3.2.5.).
3.2.4. The Ending

The ending of this drama is different from the versions of Richard Steele and George Colman the Younger as it takes a dark twist. Incle learns that Yarico died of sorrow. As a consequence, Incle’s conscience grows and he realises his errors and that he inflicted pain on innocent souls (cf. Mrs Weddell 68). These innocent souls are not only Yarico and Violetta, but also Violetta’s and Yarico’s father, and the prince that wanted to marry Yarico and ultimately killed himself (cf. Mrs Weddell 67). Furthermore, Incle starts to reflect upon the decisions in his life and is confronted with the fact that his striving for wealth and reputation brings nothing but pain and distress to him, as well as the people close to him. Incle repents and wants to see Yarico’s dead body to bid goodbye to her. On their way, they meet Honorius, whom Incle mistakes for a messenger and who thus wants to defend his honour, and starts fighting with Incle. He stabs the protagonist and wounds him deadly. After Honorius has stabbed Incle, they realise who the other is. Incle’s last words before his death reflect everything that went wrong in his life, “Perfidy Had render’d Life a Curse” (Mrs Weddell 71). He continues by calling the stabbing a merciful act as Honorius freed Incle from all his suffering and adversity. Thus in the end, Incle experienced poetic justice from the hand of Honorius as the viciousness of the protagonist is punished by death. Yet at the same time, Incle repents and is aware of the sins he committed. He also claims that his death is the only way he can pay for his sins and escape his sorrows.

In the epilogue of the drama, it says that people might ask where and what the moral of this story is as the author lets the English be the villains of the story with Incle as the antagonist as well as the sailors, the landlady and the merchants wanting to convince him to sell Yarico, and justifying this by highlighting the savageness of the Africans. The author, however, states that her main focus was the female aspect of the story and thus, that this sex has the most to gain from this drama (cf. Mrs Weddell 72). Furthermore, Mrs Weddell states that she feels sorry for the character of the prince as he died the only real romantic death jumping after Yarico and drowning. On Incle’s motives she comments that once society spoke ill about the African
princess and thus de-romanticised her, he killed two birds with one stone as he got rid of his burden, as well as profiting financially from her sale (cf. Mrs Weddell 72). The author makes a strong case against the behaviour of the British and in favour of Yarico by summarising Incle’s actions this way. Moreover, this last statement of Mrs Weddell about the viciousness of the British reminds the audience once more of Incle’s misdeeds and further acts as a statement against slavery: it condemns the act of selling the princess, as well as the slave trade in general.

3.2.5. Slavery

Slavery plays a crucial part in the play, both for the characters within the play, as well as acting as a criticism of society. As mentioned before, the author addresses the issues of slavery directly in the epilogue. Mrs Weddell even states that she is aware of the possible reaction of the audience to the play as most might call it a scandalous drama: it makes the British appear as the savages. It does so by clearly criticising the practices of the slave trade through the characters, as well as through portraying the English characters as immoral and unappreciative of the gratitude and help they were met with. Furthermore, Weddell’s tragedy favours the perspective of the native as the, in this case, reader “is invited to share” the feelings of this group instead of the white English, making the “ideological conflict” between these two groups obvious (Dellarosa 81).

The clear abolitionist stance of Weddell’s drama is visible in the way Incle himself as well as the people in Jamaica are portrayed. In Chapter 3.2.3. and Chapter 3.2.4, it was established that Incle is the main antagonist of the story as he commits the moral crime of exploiting Yarico and then selling her into slavery. Thus, he himself casts a dark shadow on the reputation of his countrymen and women. However, the landlady in Jamaica, the sailors, as well as the captain of the vessel are all in favour of him selling her. Moreover, they state that it would be wrong if Incle took Yarico with him and lived with her as she is an inferior African, destined to be a slave (cf. Mrs Weddell 48).
Those that have mercy with Yarico are the planters as they regard Incle’s behaviour as immoral. As the planters buy and sell slaves regularly and let them work under harsh conditions, it is noteworthy that it is them who condemn Incle’s actions. Furthermore, the reader realises that Incle is also responsible for the woes of another woman, which in turn makes him appear to have been immoral and deceitful all his life. This is also what Weddell meant when she wrote in the epilogue that this drama makes the English appear as the evil ones and as uncivilised and cruel.

In short, the Africans are portrayed as kind-hearted, romantics such as the prince, and also in danger and fear of the English. The English, however, are seen as the villains, as the moral savages, and the criminals. Therefore, this drama is clearly abolitionist trying to convey the horrors of the African slave trade to the audience in Great Britain. However, it was never staged, which was, as speculated in Chapter 3.2.1., also the reason why Mrs Weddell might simply be a cover for a critical author.
3.3. George Colman’s *Inkle and Yarico*

3.3.1. George Colman, the Younger

George Colman, the Younger, was born on October 21st, 1762, and died on October 17th, 1836, in London (cf. Luebering). He was one of the most influential playwrights of his time with one of his most famous plays *Inkle and Yarico* being staged 164 times in London within merely three years, from 1787 to 1800 (cf. Felsenstein 168). Apart from his “quasi-operatic” (Luebering) *Inkle and Yarico* (1787), his most popular comedy *John Bull* (1803), as well as the melodrama *The Battle of Hexham* (1789) were highly successful and staged often in the Little Theatre in the Hay in London. Colman took over the managing position of this theatre from his father after he suffered a series of strokes and was consequently declared insane (cf. Dellarosa 136). Due to a personal financial crisis he had to sell the theatre in 1820 and from 1824 until his death, he worked as examiner and censor of plays, which caused resentments and acrimony among many of his former colleagues as he was said to be narrow-minded and a severe censor (cf. Luebering).

3.3.2. *Inkle and Yarico* – The Comic Opera

As mentioned before, George Colman’s version of *Inkle and Yarico* was highly popular among the British population (cf. Felsenstein 168). From the size of the theatres in which this play was performed and the data gathered about the performances, David Worrall calculated that in the decade following its premiere at the Haymarket, it is likely that the comic-opera version of *Inkle and Yarico* was viewed by around one million people (cf. Worrall 1). In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the play was even performed in cities in the United States, including Boston, Baltimore, and Washington D.C. (cf. Troost n.p.).

According to Linda Troost from the University of Wisconsin, George Colman the Younger wrote this play in the tradition of a comic opera. However, Troost considers this drama to be a “transitional work in the history of eighteenth-century theater [sic]” (Troost n.p.).
reason for this is that Colman combined many of the traditional elements of this genre such as “romance as its major plot, songs for everyone to sing, ensemble numbers at the end of each act” (Troost n.p.). Furthermore, the author integrated elements that became the traits of the later emerging theatre of German melodrama and theatre of Romanticism. These features are “limited music, songs for the lower classes only, controversial issues, exotic settings and characters” and they “appear in embryonic form” in this highly successful drama (Troost n.p.).

Colman also changed the structure of a classical comic opera: he reduced the music part and included merely 16 songs (and two more in the libretto) in his three acts. Consequently, he relied upon dialogue instead of music to advance the plot as well as the character development. He also used the music he included rather to set the mood of the scenes than to convey information. As a result, the most important parts of the play contain little to no songs at all. Troost observed that with *Inkle and Yarico*, Colman started a division of melodrama and comic opera (cf. Troost n.p.).

George Colman the Younger based his comic opera largely on the version of Richard Lignon and Richard Steele (Chapter 3.1) with some important changes made. Similar to Mrs Weddell’s text, this play starts with Inkle, his servant Trudge, and Inkle’s uncle Medium in “[A]n American forest” (Colman 3). The three characters are introduced to the audience and the context of the first act is established. Part of the crew from the ship heading to Barbados (similar to Steele but different to Weddell) go ashore to find food and water for the journey and the three characters are separated from their fellow crewman. When the native inhabitants of the land described as cannibals find them, Medium escapes and makes it to the ship. Inkle and Trudge hide behind trees and later discover a cave in which they find Yarico and Wowski, her servant, sleeping in a cave (cf. Colman 14). Inkle and Yarico as well as Wowski and Trudge fall in love with each other in an instant.

In the second act, it is revealed that Inkle is supposed to marry Narcissa, the daughter of the governor Sir Christopher Curry. However, Captain Campley, the captain of the ship the
protagonists were originally on board, and Narcissa are in love with each other. At the same time, Patty, Narcissa’s servant seems to be fond of Trudge as she describes him as “the best-natur’d [sic] peaceable, kind, loving soul in the world” (Colman 26). The two Englishmen and the two natives arrive on a ship that picked them up (cf. Colman 26). Similar to Steele’s and Weddell’s texts, Inkle starts to seriously reflect on his relationship with the young woman and just like in Steele’s and Weddell’s version, decides to sell her for his financial gain. In Colman’s text, Inkle is less concerned with the social obligation he, for example, experienced in Weddell’s text when the landlady and sailors commented on him not loving an Englishwoman (Chapter 3.2.5.). In this play, Colman used the monetary incentive Inkle has in marrying Narcissa as the main reason for the protagonist’s decision to desert his saviour. This draws on Steele’s essay in which Inkle was depicted as a highly calculating businessman always aware of his gains and losses.

For Trudge selling his love is never an option as he publicly states that he owes his life to Wowski and further also calls himself “her humble servant” (Colman 30) indicating a great debt to and love for her. Another relationship founded on the basis of true love is that of Captain Campley and Narcissa who sends her lover to her father as soon as she hears Inkle survived and arrived in Barbados, so that the captain can ask the governor’s permission to marry Narcissa. Sir Christopher Curry, who was also informed that his future son-in-law reached his destination, mistook the captain for Inkle and gladly allowed him to marry his daughter. Confusion can also be seen in Weddell’s text when Incle mistakes Honorius for a messenger and ultimately seals his fate.

In Act Three of the comic opera there is further confusion as Inkle does not recognise Sir Christopher Curry and tells him that he seeks a new home for Yarico and wants to sell her to him. The governor sees Inkle’s true self the moment it is revealed who Inkle really is, and he decides that he is a lucky man with his daughter wanting to marry the captain and not the English businessman. Curry’s demeanour towards Yarico can be described as an unusual one.
as he himself offers to adopt her and treat her like his own daughter (see Chapter 3.3.4.). Subsequently, Inkle decides to take Yarico back and to love her and treat her like his princess again. Narcissa and Captain Campley also get Sir Christopher Curry’s blessing leaving everyone, except Patty, with a happy ending.

3.3.3. The Characters and Their Relationship

Due to the nature of the text, the characterisation relies upon the actions of the people as well as the dialogues on stage. Colman draws less on the concept of the bystander to explain the situation to the audience than Mrs Weddell. The characterisation of the natives starts in Act One Scene One when Uncle Medium indicates that they are in the “wilds of America” and Trudge reveals the rumour that “they take off heads like hats, and hang ’em [sic] on pegs in their parlours” (Colman 3). Similar to the essay published in 1711, the natives are depicted as not wearing any clothes at all and it adds so drastically to their savageness that Trudge compares them to a dancing “Adam in mourning” (Colman 4) as he thus hints at the discrepancy between “naked innocence and postlapsarian shame” (Felsenstein 175). Furthermore, Medium states that the natives are “as black as a pepper-corn” (Colman 4). In this first dialogue, respectively on the first two pages, Colman establishes both a clear characterisation of the natives and of what the English businessmen think of them. The location, being described as the wilderness, gives a first indication of savageness. This continues with Trudge’s rumour of them being brutal as well. Moreover, as the black natives are described as not wearing any clothes at all, they are depicted as being less civilised than the people on board of the ship.

The description of the natives continues as the group tries to get back to their companions and the ship; at the same time they flee from natives that might follow them to the English vessel. Medium urges his comrades to hurry up by stating that their fate would otherwise probably lead them straight into a saucepan (cf. Colman 7). Once more, the English rely on the stereotype of the black natives being savages, wild animals, and more so cannibals.
The ship Medium can but Trudge and Inkle cannot reach, then has to sail away from the coast so that it is not attacked by the inhabitants of the land. The sailors exclaimed that their comrades were “chas’d [sic] by a fleet of black devils” (Colman 9). In this quote, the men on board the ship don’t see them just as savage animals and cannibals, they call them devils which can be viewed as a contradiction to Trudge’s analogy of them dancing around like Adam. Thus, it can be argued that the opinion of the British on board is lower than that of Inkle and Trudge. The sailors also show compassion when they have to leave the trader and his servant behind but see it as their only way out of this misery.

Colman again uses the stereotype of the native as wild and dangerous when Trudge and Inkle come across a cave. Trudge warns Inkle of the dangers that may lurk in the shadows. He explicitly states that it is the native inhabitants they have to be afraid of and not the wild animals because the natives have killed them all (cf. Colman 13). This makes them far worse than the beasts he compared them to before as they then kill beasts without being killed first. Thus, the natives are the real beasts. To their great surprise, it is not beasts they discover in the cave but sleeping women (cf. Colman 14). This is a clear difference to Steele’s and Weddell’s text as Yarico does not initially save Inkle from the danger of being captured or killed but Inkle finds and in this case wakes up Yarico.

Yarico and Wowski seem to contradict the stereotype of the uneducated, wild, and savage native as they are both capable of speaking and understanding English, which was a step taken by Colman to cope with the “theatrical necessity” (Dellarosa 90) of the Characters having to speak the language in contrast to Steele’s printed text. Trudge also states that Yarico must be a “lady of quality” and he even introduced himself as a “very humble servant” to her (Colman 15). Inkle describes Yarico to the audience as an angel and Trudge adds that she is “an angel of rather a darker sort” (Colman 14). When Inkle and Trudge talk about the women staying with them in England, they indicate that they will civilise them and teach them how to write and how to adorn oneself (cf. Colman 19). This and the fact that Yarico and Wowski help them and more
so even want to protect them with their own lives, presents them to the audience as noble savages (Chapter 2.3.4.). Moreover, Yarico and Wowski can be seen as a depiction of true nature whereas the two English protagonists represent society. Nature has already been in contact with society in the form of the old sailor that taught Wowski English and how to smoke, but it is mostly the trader and his servant who disrupt nature’s sleep and awakes it (cf. Colman 14).

When Yarico and Wowski see Inkle and Trudge, the two women instantly fall in love with the Englishmen. Steele and Weddell’s notion of Yarico protecting them is now visible as Yarico herself states that the men are in danger as long as they are on this land. The reason for this is that her countrymen might kill them indicating that they are in fact savages and dangerous. Yarico also says that she will be devastated should anything happen to Inkle, making this a first declaration of love. Yarico also makes it clear that Inkle is doomed to die without her assistance and protection (cf. Colman 15). Consequently, the land is full of savages and Yarico, as one of them, can protect the stranger. Wowski, who also falls in love, confirms the rumour Trudge mentioned earlier that the natives are cannibals. She tells Trudge that an old sailor who taught her English and how to smoke was killed and eaten by Wowski’s fellow people (cf. Colman 17). Colman thus makes the natives from which the two women have to protect the men more dangerous and beast-like than in Steele or Weddell’s tale. In Weddell’s play, the king also kills the sailors and the captain captured by his soldiers; however the princess Yarico asks him to be merciful and punish them with labour instead of death (Chapter 3.2.3). In Colman’s play, it appears as if this is not an option for the adventurers and once captured, their fate is cast in stone. Trudge fears for his life but Wowski calms him and reassures him that she will protect him, take care of him, and feed him. She even says that she will deliver him a child (cf. Colman 17, 18). In appreciation of her helpfulness and protection, Trudge says that Wowski is “worth a hundred of your English wives” (Colman 18). With this statement, he raises the worth of the coloured native over that of a white Englishwoman. On the one hand, he turns
his initial beliefs of the natives around, at least when it comes to the two native women. On the other hand, however, he also characterises the English women who might not be as helpful, caring, and even loving. This is also in clear contrast to Weddell’s play in which the landlady in Jamaica states that his own country-woman would suit Inkle better and be worthy of him (cf. Mrs Weddell 48). The native woman then sings a song in which Wowski says that she will cover him in leopard’s skin, subtly hinting at the fact that the natives indeed killed the beasts on this land (cf. Colman 18). Trudge then states that he wants to bring her to England and treat her well. He also calls Yarico his master’s “Indian Queen” (Colman 19). Here a reference can be made to Weddell’s play, where Yarico is indeed a royal figure as she is a real princess in an African kingdom. Trudge’s newly found appreciation of a native seems to be true mainly for the women as he calls any possible Indian husbands vulgar and is eager to educate Wowski so she can also be seen as civilised (cf. Colman 19).

Early on in the play, the audience also gets a subjective characterisation of the Englishmen. Trudge mentions that he was a servant for Inkle who worked in the financial district of London (cf. Felsenstein 175). Contrary to his servant, Inkle does not seem concerned with the situation and shows pleasure in wandering around the forest (cf. Colman 5). It is also mentioned that Inkle is a skilled businessman and trader who works with his father as a partner. He is, furthermore, described as being extremely skilled in arithmetic and he himself mentions his philosophy on travelling: it should always be an improvement and for Inkle an improvement equals gain which equals profit (cf. Colman 5). Thus Inkle’s main concern is not the danger natives may present but rather the profit he can make. This is a clear connection to Richard Steele’s Inkle, as he was also described as a talented mathematician who always knew how and where to make profit (see Chapter 3.1.4.).

Inkle’s plan to increase his profit includes a new slave trade that barter in natives selling them at the West Indian slave market (cf. Colman 6). Medium replies by calling him “Cannibal Catcher” (Colman 6). This again draws on the stereotype of the native as wild, savage, and
cannibalistic, while elevating the Englishman above the savages. In this context the aforementioned statement of Trudge that the natives killed all the wild animals making them the new wild animals, is especially noteworthy. The reason for this is that should Inkle capture and most likely also kill some natives (Chapter 1), he becomes the tamer of the beast-killers. This means on the one hand that he is superior to them as he could control their fate, whereas on the other it also indicates that he is the even greater beast and wild man.

Medium in the meantime urges him to pursue the easily gained profit of marrying the daughter of the wealthy governor of Barbardos instead of thinking about “hunting old hairy negroes” (Colman 6). With this statement, Medium once again underlines the stereotype of natives and coloured non-British being less civilised and in this case also physically unattractive by nature. When Inkle discovers the cave in which Yarico lays sleeping, he first sees ornaments that “wou’d [sic] be worth something in England” (Colman 13). He thus always thinks about his profits and enumerates all the things he could take with him and sell, from decoration to humans (cf. Bhattacharya 208). Inkle’s fixation on numbers is also revealed as he constantly calculates, for example how fast they would have to walk to overtake their companions (cf. Colman 7). This repeated emphasis on Inkle’s mathematical skill indicates his success as a businessman as well as the fact that he is an educated and civilised businessmen in general. This highlights once more the difference between the educated English, who are able to calculate anything in every situation and the natives who hunt strangers in the forest. The belief that this ability is essential for a civilised society of rulers is further expressed by Trudge in the context of Inkle wanting to establish a slave trade (cf. Colman 12, 13). Thus knowledge is power in the minds of the two protagonists until they find themselves confronted with the brutality and violence of the natives.

Another main difference between the two socio-economic groups is religion. It was already mentioned in this chapter that the natives were compared to black devils as well as a coloured Adam. The sailors on board the ship in their song sing of their ship Achilles as a
“christen’d [sic] good ship” and at the same time ask whether the hero and name-giver Achilles was actually baptised (Colman 8). Consequently, the English sailors see themselves as Christians and consider this religious affiliation as an important character trait. In the first act, there is no explicit mention of Yarico or Wowski’s religious beliefs but it is mentioned that Wowski had had a great number of lovers before she met Trudge (cf. Colman 19). As a result of this, in combination with her domicile being a cave and far away from any society, one could assume that Wowski is not portrayed as a Christian, because many Christians condemned any form of sexual relationships before marriage or even sex as pleasure (cf. Pagels xvii). It is never mentioned whether Inkle and Yarico or Wowski and Trudge had sex during their adventure. In Colman’s play, Yarico is also not depicted as pregnant at the end, whereas both Steele as well as Weddell made this one central aspect of the ending (see Chapters 3.1.4., 3.2.4., and 3.3.4). In the other two texts, the Englishman had sex before the marriage even though he was depicted as a superior and civilised Christian.

In Act Two, Inkle seems to have forgotten his praise of Yarico as the generous maid to whom he owes his life when the scene shifts to Barbados. The protagonists all escaped the dangerous land on which the trader promised his wild lover luxury in the civilised world, including a carriage, just like in Weddell’s version (cf. Colman 16, 20). This second act also introduces characters to the audience thus enhancing the plot, and in this play complicating it. For instance, Captain Campley is introduced who turns out to be in love with Narcissa, the governor’s daughter, who in turn is promised to Inkle. It was also Campley who looked after Narcissa and Patty, her servant, during their voyage. Sir Christopher Curry offers him his daughter’s hand as he confuses him with the trader, which allows the audience to see Inkle’s true nature in Act Three, causing him to lose face before the governor and ultimately repenting his sinful behaviour towards Yarico.

The planters in Barbados are desperate for new slaves and cannot await the arrival of the vessel upon which the protagonists arrive. The last ship that arrived was the one bearing
Narcissa and “lazy, idle white folks” (Colman 20). The planters on the island thus talk about both the English as well as the slaves. The white English are described as inactive and unproductive, whereas the slaveholders need people who work for them. As discussed in Chapter 1.3.1., it was commonly believed that mainly black people were especially suitable as slaves as they were accustomed to rough conditions, climate, as well as labour. Thus, it can be argued that from a mercantile and economic aspect, the natives of colour were more valuable to the planters than the English as the former increased productivity. This also implies the harsh conditions the slaves have to endure, which will, according to Inkle, also be the case for Yarico.

These planters are terribly disappointed when they find out that Trudge does not want to sell his Wowski, as well as irritated by his declaration of love towards a coloured native. When Trudge was asked whether Wowski is his slave, he agrees and continues stating that he himself is ”her humble servant” (Colman 30). This is a phrasing this character has already used before in this play when he introduced himself to Yarico (cf. Colman 15). He further declares that he values her as much as his own life, which bearing in mind the history of slavery described in Chapter 1 can be considered to be unusual. One propaganda point anti-abolitionists constantly made was that coloured natives could be enslaved because they are not as worthy as the white English. Furthermore, Trudge articulates that he is Christian which means that he does as he is done by (cf. Colman 30). This also conflicts with the rationalisation of many people for Christians to enslave others as these non-believers were seen as inferior because they did not share this religious faith (Chapter 1.3.3.). Consequently, one could argue that here Trudge again takes a rather abolitionist stance (see Chapter 3.3.5.) as he raises the slaves to the same level on the social hierarchy as the Christian population. The planter, however, does not share Trudge’s beliefs as he feels insulted by Inkle’s servant when the latter states that the planter would be black should his skin colour correlate with the colour of his heart (cf. Colman 30). This means that for the planter it is an insult to be called black as for him this colour is akin to inferior people.
The main reason for Inkle’s decision to sell the native is ultimately the same as his main motivation for travel, to expedite his obsession with profit-making and book-keeping (cf. Bhattacharya 215). Colman’s Inkle is thus characterised similarly to Steele’s whose main objective was to expand his profit by selling Yarico, and even raising the price as she was pregnant (Chapter 3.1.4.). In the comic opera, Inkle, as mentioned before, is highly educated in accounting and perceives his surroundings in economic terms when he for example thinks about the profit of a slave trade or his possessions on the ship sailing away from him instead of the danger he and Trudge are actually in (cf. Dellarosa 89).

At the end of Act Two, after Sir Christopher Curry confuses the captain with Inkle and promised that they could get married, Narcissa does not correct Curry but says: “I always obey my father’s commands with pleasure” (Colman 41). This can be seen as a reference to Weddell’s Princess Yarico who had to obey her father who wanted her to marry a prince (cf. Mrs Weddell 22). In Colman’s case, however, Yarico is happy with her father’s wishes as he actually wants her to marry the man she loves.

Act Three starts with a further characterisation of the Englishmen. Patty who was ordered to stall Inkle so he does not disturb the wedding ceremony, meets Trudge with whom she was in love on the ship. In an act of hubris, Trudge tells Patty of their experiences in the Americas and exaggerates his bravery as well as the savageness of the natives and the animals. For example, he tells her that he was responsible for their survival as he gathered food and defended their lives from a wild boar which grinned terrifyingly like a devil. He further explains that it was him who discovered and entered the cave first as his master was too afraid to do so, when in reality, the opposite was true. He obviously lies to impress Patty with his fearlessness and his strength, but by doing so tells the audience implicitly that he is dishonest in order to have a personal gain (cf. Colman 42–45). When Trudge tells Patty that Inkle has Yarico as his mistress, Patty’s first inquiry is about the native’s skin colour. Upon hearing that it is “of a good comely copper”, she calls Inkle a monster and a “filthy fellow” because he lives with a “black-
a-moor” (Colman 45). The servant’s description of the native’s skin colour “has aesthetic as well as racial implications” (Bhattacharya 208). According to eighteen-century racial theory, the people from the Americas are ethnically closer to Europeans, which makes sex between people of these two groups more acceptable than sex between Africans and Europeans (cf. Bhattacharya 209). This would also make the relationship in Weddell’s play more of a taboo than in the texts of Steele and Colman. Trudge does not see much harm in Inkle and Yarico’s relationship as he himself lives with Wowski, but Patty responds that she would not even except a kiss from someone like that. Trudge is again the one character that comes to the native’s defence as he says that exactly these “Blackamoor Ladies” are the ones “whose complexions never rubb [sic] off” (Colman 45, 46). This statement can be seen as a reference to the character of the natives, which according to this is described as real and not merely a masquerade to hide the real feelings and character. As a result, Trudge states that the people of colour have a more honest character than the civilised white English. An example of this can already be seen in the lines before this statement as he wilfully lies to Patty to make his character appear stronger and better than it really is. It can therefore be again argued that Trudge advocates an abolitionist view as he insists that the natives of colour are morally fitter than the rest, similar to the fact that Wowsik does not know what stealing is (Chapter 3.3.5.).

At the same time, it is Trudge who tells the audience of the way the natives lived, which makes them appear more savage-like. For example, he taught Wowski how to eat in a civilised manner, meaning with a fork instead of her bare hands to prepare her for the life in a civilised country. He describes his failing endeavour and tells the audience that the impulse of the woman eating with her fingers was so strong that she stuck the fork in her ear instead of her mouth as she raised the knuckles to her mouth again. This description makes her appear as a laughing stock for the audience which adds to the comic relief of this opera. Nevertheless, he argues that he still loves her and would choose her over any other woman (cf. Colman 47).
It was thus made clear that there is a clear social difference and hierarchy between the natives and the English, but there are further references to social hierarchies within the play. These are made apparent by the songs, more specifically by the people singing the songs. Even though there are 16 songs (plus two in the libretto) (Chapter 3.2.3.) in this comic opera, the only characters that actually sing are characters from a lower social order, which is a phenomenon also found in some of Shakespeare’s plays. Characters like Sir Christopher Curry or Inkle’s uncle Medium sing little to not at all (cf. Troost n.p.). According to Troost, “the libretto assigns part of a trio to him [Sir Christopher Curry], but the vocal score gives that music to Campley”, which indicates that the governor did not even sing himself (Troost n.p.). Troost ascribes this to the fact that these two characters represent the ideal morality within this play (cf. Troost n.p.). Narcissa, who counts as an earnest character in this drama, sings more than the hero Yarico, which implies a hierarchy even within the groups of earnest and more comic characters themselves. Trudge, Wowski, and Patty count as the more comic characters, and thus sing the most (cf. Troost n.p.). Thus, a social imbalance within the characters as well as the groups of characters can be observed (cf. Troost n.p.). In the second song (on page 12), Trudge relates to this as he sings in “a string of commonplace proverbial phrases” (Felsenstein 182). Felsenstein also notes and agrees with Troost about the social hierarchies that the “songs assigned to English lower-class characters such as Trudge and Patty are invariably of this kind” (Felsenstein 182).

3.3.4. The Ending

For his grand finale, Colman made two significant changes compared to Steele and Weddell’s texts analysed in this thesis. First of all, Inkle and Yarico can celebrate a happy ending as Inkle does not sell her off eventually. Secondly, Yarico is not pregnant, which was used by Inkle to raise the price for her in Steele’s text. As previously described, Colman also added “counterpart romances” between Trudge and Wowski, and Narcissa and Camplay to complicate the plot and
the ending (Troost n.p.). One more complicating factor is the engagement between the protagonist and the daughter of the governor, which should secure Inkle’s wealth and thus relates to the essay from which Colman draws much of his inspiration. As mentioned before, the main change is that Inkle does not sell off Yarico but repents and ultimately marries her (cf. Troost n.p.).

Before all characters (except Patty) can enjoy their happy endings, Colman includes two major instances of confusions in this play. Firstly, Curry mistakes Captain Campley with Inkle and promises his daughter to him as he desperately longs for an entrepreneurial connection to Inkle (cf. O’Quinn 392). What is striking here is that “Campley's worth becomes evident to the figure of authority (the governor) only while his identity is suppressed” (Troost n.p.). In the end, mainly due to the plot’s second confusion of Curry as a man working for the governor, the governor is more than happy to have the captain as his son in law. Colman directly hints at “the historical moment of war in American and Caribbean waters that directly impinges upon British colonial policy” (O’Quinn 392). Campley says: “I am a soldier; Sir Christopher; Love and War, is the soldier’s motto; and tho’ [sic] my income is trifling to your intended son-in-law, still the chance of war has enabled me to support the object of my love above indigence” (Colman 59). Upon this confession of love, the governor answers that he is thankful for the two “cheating an old fool into giving his daughter to a lad of spirit, when he was going to throw her away upon one in whose heart the mean passion of avarice smothers the smallest spark of affection and humanity” (Colman 59). On the one hand, this statement of one of the highest ranking figures in the play is a profoundly negative characterisation of the English protagonist and even though it relies on the representation of Lignon and Steele’s Inkle, it makes the main character appear ugly and lame (cf. O’Quinn 392). However, on the other hand, it is also harsh criticism of the character’s mercantile abilities as a tradesman as Inkle is portrayed as profit seeking throughout the play. The ending of this play differs greatly from the other two versions, not only in terms of plot but also due to its tone and intrinsic meaning analysed in the next chapter.
3.3.5. Slavery

Troost notes that “in Colman's comic opera, members of the middle class, not the aristocracy, perpetrate much of the injustice: commercial slavery and dehumanizing materialism” (Troost n.p.). The role of slavery and its criticism is analysed in this chapter. Comments about slavery are made by the various characters throughout the play. Firstly, the natives are described using stereotypes and assumptions, designated to make them appear as less than human and worthy of enslavement. They are presented as cannibals and killers, thus they deserve to be punished for this and lose their humanity. The planters in Barbados seem to have a similar mindset and further explain that they need natives as slaves since they have a better work attitude than the white English. Trudge is the one character who in Act One and two speaks up for the natives, in particular for Wowski and Yarico, and defends them, even describing himself as their humble servant twice throughout the drama (cf. Colman 15, 30). In his conversation with Patty, he further defends his relationship with a coloured native as these “Blackamoor Ladies” are the ones “whose complexions never rubb [sic] off” (Colman 44, 45). Apart from this servant and Inkle, who can be seen as a partly abolitionist character because he repents in the end and takes Yarico as his wife, Sir Christopher Curry, a character with a high social status, is seen to be in favour of the natives and treats them with humanity and dignity as he even wants to “cherish her like [his] own daughter” (Colman 57).

Curry’s comments, cited in Chapter 3.3.4., are a reaction to Inkle wanting to sell Yarico, mistaking Curry for the governor’s steward, meaning Curry himself does not recognise Inkle (cf. Colman 53, 54). Inkle first mentions his business proposal with the words “I have a female, whom I wish to part with”, which is ambiguous as it can also mean a mistress Inkle wants to get rid of (Colman 52). Only further explanation on Inkle’s part makes it clear to Curry that Inkle talks about a slave, but this ambiguity “runs throughout the whole play” (O’Quinn 393). In Inkle’s explanation of the situation he mentions that Yarico is uncommon, which means for Curry that she is “physically delicate and hence sexually desirable” (O’Quinn 393). In his eyes
she is not “one of your thick-lip’d [sic], flat-nos’s [sic], squabby dumpling dowdies” (Colman 53). O’Quinn argues as follows:

The short transit from the assertion of class difference to sexual desirability is crucial, because first it structures the construction of Yarico's femininity not only in Colman's play but in every version of the tale following Steele, and second the linkage is immediately and forcefully supported by an important set of bodily signs that establish the physical parameters of undesirable racial and class others (O’Quinn 393).

As O’Quinn mentions, Curry used the stereotypes of “physical parameters” to characterise natives and slaves while at the same time establishing Yarico’s female role in the play (O’Quinn 393). He uses these stereotypes as criticism of slavery, and as criticism of these stereotypes being used as a defence for slavery itself. “Let Englishmen blush at such practices. Men who so fully feel the blessings of liberty are doubly cruel in depriving the helpless of their freedom” (Colman 53). O’Quinn calls Sir Christopher Curry a “proto-abolitionist” as he uses many key elements of slavery and the enslavement of the other as criticism against such a practice (O’Quinn 393). Curry then might have surprised the audience with the statement that he is willing to treat and “cherish [Yarico] like [his] own daughter”, which means that he would treat her not just like a white English woman but rather also as a close family member (Colman 57).

Apart from slavery itself, Curry further criticises one of the economic factors responsible for the slave trade: mercantilism (Chapter 1.2.). Upon seeing Yarico before the alleged deal, Inkle lets her hear his justification of selling her:

My countrymen and yours differ as much in minds as in complexions. We were not born to live in woods and caves, – to seek subsistence by pursuing beasts —– We Christians, girl, hunt money, a thing unknown to you. But here, ’tis [sic] money which brings us ease, plenty, command, powerful, every thing, and of course happiness. You are a bar to my attaining this (Colman 57)
Here Inkle describes the differences between the two as well as the differences between the two social groups, and he states that he can run the risk of losing everything because of Yarico (cf. Colman 57). These differences mentioned by Inkle are their civilisation as well as more importantly money, which according to Inkle is a concept the natives did not know before despite its importance for the English. O’Quinn argues that “Inkle's naturalization of the hunt for money reveals the violence at the core of the mercantile economy” (O’Quinn 394). Curry’s reaction to this injustice is that he claims to have never seen “such barbarity” (Colman 58). Colman equates the English mercantile approach to barbarity and thus also to savagery indicating that the English feeling of superiority is completely unfounded.

Thus, Colman’s adaptation of *Inkle and Yarico* can be regarded as supporting an abolitionist view as one of the socially highest characters, the governor of Barbados, criticises the slave trade and the mercantile objective of the English trader. Dellarosa states that the reason for the comic opera’s success, despite this clear criticism of society, was partly because of “its skilful modulation of humour and sentiment into a successful hybrid” (Dellarosa 89). Its mixture of the “emotional impact of the tale of faithful love and abandonment”, which was mainly expressed through the music in the play, and the horrors of the slave trade made the play successful, whereas the happy ending for Inkle and Yarico played an important role as well as the absence of Yarico’s pregnancy, which “tones down the melodramatic potential” (Dellarosa 89).
Conclusion

The overall aim of this thesis was to analyse, contrast and compare the portrayal of the natives, slavery, as well as the English in three versions of *Inkle and Yarico*. To do so, first a historical background of slavery was established. In a second step, the theoretical concept which was used to analyse the individual texts was presented and described in detail in order to establish a common basis for an analysis and a comparison of the texts. To make the similarities as well as the differences more evident, each version of the text was analysed in a similar way with the same structure of subchapters. For the analysis, it was of particular importance to look at the relationship and interactions between the characters as these offered the most insights into the representation of the natives as well as the British. Furthermore, the portrayal of the individual characters helped to understand the historical situation of slavery and the attitude towards it in the respective times of the texts.

Apart from the changing relationship between the characters in the individual texts, one major focus for the analysis was the different endings of the stories which contributed greatly to the overall theme, the perception of the characters, as well as the approach and conveyed viewpoints on the topic of slavery. Thus, this thesis investigated how the authors of the texts portrayed slavery and whether this could be the basis for an argument for or against slavery. Moreover, the aforementioned comparison also aimed to show the differences of focus in each text.

Richard Steele’s essay used the tale of *Inkle and Yarico* to contrast the point of levity of women when it comes to men. One of the main points is to show the possibility of the cruelty of men against women, as Inkle uses Yarico to survive and sells her as soon as he no longer needs her assistance and even uses her pregnancy to his advantage. Thus, the portrayal of the British cannot be called beneficial, which hints at an abolitionist stance within the text, further criticising the “mercantile ethos” (Dellarosa 75).
Mrs Weddell turned the popular text into a drama, which was, however, never staged. She also changed the location to Africa and Jamaica, and depicted the African natives as living in a civilised society with their king acting as ruler and judge. Furthermore, the author made Yarico a princess with the power to convince the judge, her father, to show mercy, highlighting the stereotype of the noble savage. Mrs Weddell painted an even darker picture of men and the English in general as the landlady also tries to convince Incle to sell the native woman. In this version, however, Incle can be seen to repent of his actions as he expresses his sorrow and grief for Yarico’s death which ultimately leads to him being killed as well. Due to the portrayal of Yarico’s tragic fate, one can argue for this drama to be abolitionist. However, by making Yarico a princess, it sets her character apart from a typical African slave, diminishing “the play’s effectiveness as a moral attack on a practice which resulted in so many victims” (Dellarosa 81).

George Colman the Younger used a different approach. He introduced a happy ending and left out the pregnancy of Yarico. This contrasts with the darker tone one can see in Weddell and Steele, and due to it being a comic opera, it attracted the masses making it a highly influential play. Colman’s version also differs in the depiction of slavery as it has one of the most powerful characters, the governor of Barbados, speaking up against enslaving Yarico. However, the author offers a “complex and apparently contradictory representation of race and slavery” (Worrall 21) as the natives are described as cannibals and killers ultimately making them the savages again. Similar to Steele’s tale, Inkle shows a great love for numbers and his willingness to sell Yarico underlines his greed before he can finally repent.

In short, it was shown in Chapter Three as well as in the summary in the conclusion that it appears that the texts take an abolitionist stance. The comic opera, however, adopts this stance most convincingly. Therefore, it can be argued that Inkle and Yarico had a profound impact on the public’s opinion on slavery.
Didactic Part

Modern Slavery – A Shadow World Among Us

In this diploma thesis, slavery and the portrayal of people from a different ethnical background in texts was analysed. In the didactic part, it should be made clear to students that slavery is more present than ever in our day to day lives. Modern slavery occurs both in the form of human trafficking as well as in factories with workers under inhumane working conditions. The goal of this chapter is to outline and explain the lessons used to familiarize the students with this topic. First, a formal context for the lessons as well as a reference to the Austrian curriculum is given. Second, the lessons are described based on the didactic aspects. They are furthermore analysed according to the five dimensions postulated by Schratz and Weiser. An even distribution of these dimensions within the lessons indicates a more differentiated learning environment as the students can experience the lesson on several levels, e.g. the personal level or with the help of a group, etc. Third, a detailed lesson plan with a rough timetable is offered. Finally, the handouts and any extra material referenced in the lesson plan are included within this chapter.

Formal Context of the Lessons

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<td>Subject</td>
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This is a theoretical concept of a lesson plan. As a result, the formal criteria listed above are fictitious. Nevertheless, it has to be considered in order for the teacher to plan the lesson accordingly, which is the reason why it is given. Furthermore, it helps to understand the didactic concept of these lessons and the reasoning behind as the parameters such as the level and even the number of the students have to be taken into consideration. The school type is critical to the previous knowledge of the students as well as to the amount of time intended for English lessons or multidisciplinary project work. According to the Austrian curriculum, there are three hours of English (the first foreign language to learn) scheduled for grammar schools (cf. RIS - Lehrpläne – Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schulen - Bundesrecht Konsolidiert, Fassung Vom 22.03.2019).

Curriculum Reference

In the Austrian curriculum dating from September 2018, the topic of slavery has to be addressed in year 7. In the competence module 6 “Der Mensch in seinem Alltag” (“People in their everyday life”), children get to know different lifestyles throughout the history including family situation, accommodation, food and health, and also slavery. They should further compare these aspects of past and present life to their own situation and lifestyle (cf. RIS - Lehrpläne – Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schulen - Bundesrecht Konsolidiert, Fassung Vom 22.03.2019).

The Austrian curriculum for English is based upon the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). As the name indicates, it is a guideline and “common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe” (CEFR 1). As such, it provides information about what the learners of English have to learn in order to use this language for communication at the various levels. Its explicit can-do-descriptors of the learner’s objectives ensure that the learners meet a common basis to communicate internationally (cf. CEFR 1).
For the oral production on level B2, the CEFR states that students “[c]an give clear, detailed descriptions and presentations on a wide range of subjects related to his/her field of interest, expanding and supporting ideas with subsidiary points and relevant examples” (CEFR 58). This competency is practised in lessons two and three. The description for the written production reads as follows: “Can write clear, detailed texts on a variety of subjects related to his/her field of interest, synthesising and evaluating information and arguments from a number of sources” (CEFR 61). The written production mainly takes place at home as well as in lesson two. The listening competencies of the students at that level are described as follows: “Can follow extended speech and complex lines of argument provided the topic is reasonably familiar, and the direction of the talk is sign-posted by explicit markers” (CEFR 66). This can be primarily found in lesson one. For the reading comprehension, students “can read with a large degree of independence, adapting style and speed of reading to different texts and purposes, and using appropriate reference sources selectively” (CEFR 69). They furthermore have “a broad active reading vocabulary, but may experience some difficulty with low frequency idioms” (CEFR 69). The reading comprehension can be found in lessons two and three as well as the homework.

Didactic Aspects

This series of lessons was designed with several goals in mind, which will be laid out in the following subchapters. The detailed lesson plan can be found thereafter. This lesson plan in its form is rather dense when it comes to the time available. This is due to the fact that time management in class is a very delicate topic and some students are quicker than others. Consequently, the teachers implementing these lessons have leeway in their time management. To further help with this leeway in time management, and to allow for classes and students with a slightly lower level, additional exercises to diversify the handouts and tasks can be created. Ideas for that are provided. Due to the fact that every class and even every student is different,
these exercises have to be tailored to the needs of the individual students, and are therefore not included. There simply cannot be a recipe that fits everyone. This allows for a larger number of students to complete the tasks and achieve the goals set for these lessons. Consequently, the teacher has to adapt the timeframe for the lessons should he or she choose to include extra exercises or modify the existing ones. If necessary or better for the lessons, the teacher can and should alter all tasks and handouts. As a result, this lesson plan can be seen as a suggestion of what one can do to introduce the topic of modern slavery to students.

First Lesson

In a teacher-student-dialogue, students should first brainstorm and pitch ideas around in class about what they connect with the term slavery and what slavery means. In this process and depending on the class, maybe also with the help of the teacher, the students should identify the misconception that slavery stopped with the official abolition. The students should be made aware that slavery still exists and is in fact not a thing of the past. On the one hand, this rather simple exercise is supposed to make students think about their own perception of the term slavery. On the other hand, it also acts as a pre-listening/watching exercise as it leads the students towards the topic the video is all about: modern slavery. Furthermore, this exercise serves as a pre-exercise in regards to the vocabulary students might need. To raise awareness about modern slavery, the first two minutes of a video clip from TED⁵, which tell the story of a young woman named Grace, is shown to the students (https://tedxexeter.com/2018/02/01/kate-garbers/) (cf. Kate Garbers – TEDxExeter). While there are no specific exercises for the first two minutes of the video, the teacher should later encourage a discussion about this clip and should let the students summarise it. The goal of this is for the students to understand the clip as a whole and not necessarily in every detail. The questions the teacher asks the students to further any discussion or phrasing of opinions are not given in this lesson plan as every teacher has to react to his or her students individually.
This should not only serve as an example of modern slavery and the slave trade nowadays, but also as a listening and video viewing comprehension exercise. For a better understanding, all the video parts viewed in this lesson can be watched with English subtitles. Even though Kate Garbers, the speaker, talks slowly, using subtitles can increase the level of comprehension of her talk (cf. Hayati and Mohmedi 187). Even though these subtitles can be generated in German, students benefit from English subtitles more than from subtitles in their mother tongue as words that are not or hardly understood do not need to be translated when read but can be absorbed at once (cf. Hayati and Mohmedi 188).

After this short discussion about Grace’s story, Handout 1 is given to the students. On this handout, the students find the while- and after- listening exercises for the second part of the video (from 02:20 until the end). The while-listening exercise consists of ten graded tasks and questions the students should complete while watching the video. There are three different forms of tasks on the handout so that students can become familiar with a variety of test formats. The first three exercises are gap filling exercises. As a result the students have to carefully listen to the speaker and try and understand certain words. In exercises four, five, and six, the students have to choose between four possible answers. Consequently, the students still have to listen specifically for information but due to the fact that the correct answer is already there, the students can listen to the broader context instead of just to this particular piece of information. The last three questions are open questions, which means that the students still have to listen specifically for the answer but they are not as limited as with other formats where they have to find one specific word. This video can be watched several times if necessary, and the English subtitles can also be added to increase the understanding of the students. This exercise should be corrected in class right after finishing it, to ascertain that the students understand the video and answer the questions correctly. The video is 13 minutes long in total, but for the while-listening exercise only about 11 minutes are necessary. There are ten questions for ten minutes which makes for quite a stress-free question pattern. This is due to the fact that Kate Garbers
does not talk very fast but in a relaxed manner, which also helps understand her better and in turn helps answer the questions. Decke-Cornill and Küster state that listening comprehension exercises that include a visual component are much more realistic than mere audio recordings as the students can thus, just like in real life, infer meaning with the help of the body language of the speaker, which in turn aids their understanding (cf. Decke-Cornill and Küster 181). Furthermore, one goal of this lesson is to raise awareness about the existence of modern slavery and the modern slave trade. Kate Garbers does exactly this in her talk and by reducing the density of questions, the students can focus on what she says and not so much on the individual fragments of they need to complete the task.

The last task on the handout is to go together in pairs or small groups and to find a definition of slavery. Garbers mentions one in the video, and by letting the students think of a definition for themselves as an after-watching exercise, they not only have to think about the topic one more time, but can also include information gained from the video in their definition. Thus it does not matter that they already know Gabers’ definition as they still need to find one of their own and can use parts of hers as inspiration. This task should be revisited at the end of the last lesson as the students can then alter their definition to fit the information they gained in these lessons.

In the video, Kate Garbers mentions an online survey that determines one’s own slavery footprint, similar to the carbon footprint as it shows the impact one’s individual actions have when it comes to slavery (slaveryfootprint.org/survey) (cf. Slavery Footprint). The teacher can suggest that the students try out this survey on their own at home. It would be, however, important that the teacher tells the students that this is merely a tool to reflect on the way their way of living influences other people, for example when they buy products that are cheap in production. It is not a definite statement but an estimation. For example, if the students buy meat from the local butcher and vegetables from the farmer’s market or at least locally, their footprint goes down again. As a homework, the students get a word formation exercise
(Handout “Homework 1”). They have to fill in the correct form of the words in parentheses. The text is taken from Kate Garbers’s Unseen website (https://www.unseenuk.org/) and is an illustration of the daily routine of a social worker trying to help people in need. As a result, this is not a mere grammar activity but also connects back to the video the students viewed in this lesson. This text was also checked with Text Inspector, which is a website based on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) and Cambridge University. Words that were highlighted as too difficult, are given in a glossary, e.g.: ‘ethnic’, ‘pregnancy’, and ‘transmitted’. Obviously teachers have to revise the glossary according to their students’ needs.

Second Lesson

At the beginning of the second lesson, the teacher corrects the homework given at the end of the first lesson (word formation exercise). This can be done by letting the students read the completed text out loud, which also has the benefit of letting the students read and thus checking their pronunciation. Furthermore, at this point, any questions the students might have about the last lesson can be addressed.

The next and biggest part of this lesson consists of a Stationenbetrieb, as described by Wiechmann and Neuböck-Hubinger (see Wiechmann 66–70; see Neuböck-Hubinger 34). The students have to go together in groups of four people. To minimize the time loss at the group formation moment, the teacher can form the groups for them. The Stationenbetrieb consists of three different tasks and the students go from task to task until they have completed all of them. In this fictional lesson plan there are 24 students in the class, which means that the teacher will need to print out all the handouts twice to make two simultaneous runs. Per task the students have between ten and fifteen minutes time to complete it. The Stationenbetrieb is designed in a way so that the students do two things at once: firstly, they obtain information about various aspects of modern slavery. This is due to the unique design of the tasks which allows students to emerge in the topics at hand. Secondly, the tasks are designed so that the students apply and
practice as many skills as possible. The tasks will be described in the following paragraph to clarify this statement.

Task One (Stationenbetrieb 1) is a reading exercise in which the students should arrange the phrases given to fit the correct position within the text. The text is an extract from a guardian article from 2013 about modern slavery being an invisible part of our lives. According to Text Inspector, this text contains few words that should be unknown to students at that level, for example the words housing, phenomenon, and raids (cf. Language Research - Text Inspector). As a consequence, the teacher should check the text beforehand to see if the students do not know any words and indicate them in the text. It is important to provide a text of a real newspaper as this results in the students getting more insight into this topic. The phrases students have to fill into the gap are also capitalised even though one phrase is taken from the middle of the text. This was done deliberately to ensure that this item is still significant and cannot be matched simply because of the first letter. From a cognitive point of view, reading and listening activities and exercises share the aim that students should be able to infer the correct answers of questions to a text (cf. Decke-Cornill and Küster 183). When students practice to deduce the meaning of a text quickly, the teacher helps them in real world reading situations (cf. Decke-Cornill and Küster 184). This task can be adjusted to the specific level of the students in several ways: one can either change the task from a gap-filling exercise to open questions, which the students can look up in the text while answering them, or by modifying the items the students have to fill in. Certainly, it is also possible to change the text completely.

Task two (Stationenbetrieb 2) is a writing exercise designed around newspaper headlines. These headlines are taken from the BBC and The Guardian and are thus again authentic sources for the pupils to work with. For this task, the students have to pick one of the three captions and write a possible first paragraph for it. To diversify this task, the students can either write the paragraphs in groups of two or on their own, or write more than one paragraph and continue writing at home. Stories in general and in particular, also news stories, are
furthermore a vital part of everyday life, which makes this task real-life-oriented. This may give students the motivation to write as there is a clear goal (a newspaper paragraph with a real heading) (cf. Decke-Cornill and Küster 191). Consequently, it is important for students to learn how to write and tell stories to master this aspect in everyday life and also to reflect upon the stories they encounter (cf. Wright and Hill 8). Thus, it is essential that students learn to write and continuously train and refine their writing habits. Letting students write in groups can have the benefit of additional motivation and a wider collection of the ideas they want to incorporate in their texts (cf. Frank and Rinvolucri 7). It furthermore helps students who struggle with isolation in their writing tasks. They then feel more motivated as it is a social activity, which can help improve their overall attitude towards writing tasks (cf. Frank and Rinvolucri 12). The students can later hand in their writing tasks so that the teacher can correct them. After that, it is also possible to make a class contest and see which group has the best news story.

Task three (Stationenbetrieb 3) is a reading task designed to train students’ understanding and ability to retell a story. The texts are case studies taken from Kate Garbers’s Unseen website and detail the fates of two slaves. There are just two case studies to make sure that this task fits the time frame of this lesson. To differentiate between the various levels of the learners, the teacher can add more case studies from the website. According to the aforementioned Text Inspector, there are also some words in the stories the students might not know, e.g.: disorder, assault, labour, and hazardous (cf. Language Research - Text Inspector). It is therefore relevant that the teacher either adjusts the text accordingly or indicates these words to the students. In this task the goal is that the students understand the stories of the victims of slavery. Within their group, two students read the same text and should then present it to the other two. This should ensure that the students reading the texts understand it clearly, as they then have to summarise and outline it to the other two students. By listening to the texts from the other two, the remaining pupils also have a listening activity. Furthermore, the students can check if they understand the texts correctly as the partner can check and correct them while
they tell the story they have just read. In addition to that, the students then have to answer open questions about the texts, which target the understanding of details. The students can work together to answer the questions and can write them down and hand them in. To differentiate, these questions can be altered and adjusted as well as answered alone instead of in the group.

If there is still time at the end, the teacher can let the students summarize and analyse their experiences in the Stationenbetrieb and answer any questions the learners might have. At the end of this lesson, the students get their homework, which is a project they should do in small groups. As a result, they get more time to prepare the task than they usually do. In pairs, the students should create and record a radio show in which one is the interviewer and the other the interviewee. The interviewee is either a freed slave, a NGO worker trying to fight slavery, a policeman, etc. The interview should be about 4 minutes long. The students should first draft a script and from that record it. The teacher can correct the script if necessary. The real world application of the writing is a further motivating factor as the students then have to use it as a template for their recording and thus write not for the sake of writing but rather as a preparation for another step (cf. Decke-Cornill and Küster 191). Then the students should record themselves with either the audio recording function on their phone or their computer, or the online radio show and podcast service Streaker (streaker.com) (cf. Strasser 136).

Third Lesson

The beginning of the third lesson can be used to discuss the Stationenbetrieb from the former lessons. Furthermore, the teacher can use this time to talk about the radio show homework and give tips as well as answer questions. The main part of this lesson is a role play. The students should again go together in groups of four (the same one or different groups) and each of them gets a different role card on which they find a fictional biography. The four different cards and respective characters on it are as follows: a slave, a consumer, a CEO, and a politician. The students should take on a role. The character descriptions are exaggerated and overstated. This
should make it easier for students to then discuss their character’s point of view and also defend it in front of the others. After the students read their character’s description, they should present their positions and discuss the topic of modern slavery. This task being a role play means that every student needs to face the task and work on it equally. Furthermore, the fact that they have to discuss the topic from the standpoint of the characters given on the role card ensures that the students work with this topic. Moreover, a role play can help the students develop their language and communication skills in different ways. Due to the fact that in a role play all the students have to act a role, they train their pronunciation, their diction, and their lexis as well as presenting an argument and talking freely and with the appropriate body language (cf. Hillyard 16). According to Decke-Cornill and Küster, it is essential for a functioning communication that these feature of language described before are situated within the language learning environment as they also contribute to the communication-partner’s ability to understand and receive information, which is vital for a working conversation (cf. Decke-Cornill and Küster 188). The interactive communication situation can be again seen as a real world application of language and is thus integral to the student’s learning experience (cf. Decke-Cornill and Küster 187). If time allows, the students can also chose one pupil for each character and, after the role play in the smaller groups, do one in front of the whole class. The role play should then be discussed with the whole class to make sure the students are properly debriefed about the characters and are completely aware that it has ended now.

In a following step, the children should revisit their definition of slavery from the first lesson and see if they would change something after this series of lessons. This can also be again discussed with the whole class if necessary. At the end of the third lesson, the students again get homework. However, it is important that the teacher bears in mind that they may not have finished their radio show homework and thus gives the pupils more time again. For this homework the students should choose one character of the role play (a slave, a consumer, a CEO, and a politician) and write a short diary entry on how they feel after their meeting with
the other characters. They can choose the characters they write about themselves as this allows students to again change perspectives if they want to and it also ensures that the students who could not play the characters they wanted to portray in the role play are not left unhappy as they can now choose this person. With the writing task as the last homework and thus the last task to complete, the topic of modern slavery is completed and this emotional aspect also allows the students to come to a conclusion.

Interplay and Synergy of the 5 Dimensions by Schratz and Weiser

The Dimensions for the Development of the Quality of Teaching (“Dimensionen für die Entwicklung der Qualität von Unterricht”) were first introduced by the two lecturers at the University of Innsbruck Michael Schratz and Bernhard Weiser. It was their goal to improve learning in the classrooms by presenting five dimensions integral to learning, which, in the ideal lesson and classroom environment, should all be included as their broad variety creates an ideal educational experience. These dimensions are knowledge, comprehension, proficiency, person, and group. Simply put, knowledge describes the information and facts the students acquire in the lessons. Learning through the student’s own research is the dimension comprehension as the students need to understand their own research into a specific topic. Problem- and application-oriented learning is the third dimension proficiency. The students can solve a problem or answer a question that was taken from the real world. For the dimension person to be included in the lesson, it is essential that the students can find a personal and reflexive aspect in what they are doing and can connect the task to their lives or themselves. For the last dimension, the dimension group, it is essential that the students learn how to work together and see themselves as part of a bigger group and network (cf. Schratz and Weiser 37–45).

It was especially important to balance the five dimensions in these lessons to achieve an exceptional learning experience. For example, in the first lesson the students have to think and reflect about what they believe to be slavery. This exercise alone includes almost every
dimension as the students have to include their own knowledge, understand the term, have the
skills to formulate their thoughts as well as the personal experience to come to a solution. The
video viewing exercise later is largely based upon the dimensions knowledge, comprehension,
and proficiency. Furthermore, the dimension person is also included as the video aims at
presenting the shocking facts of modern slavery in a way that personally affects the people
watching the video. The homework is then mainly based on knowledge and the comprehension
of the grammatical structures, as well as skill to find the right answers.

In the second lesson, the main focus is clearly on the dimension group as the key part is
group work that includes several tasks. The first task also includes the dimensions knowledge,
comprehension, and proficiency as they need all these to complete the matching exercise. The
second task also focusses on these dimensions and the fact that the students have to write the
first paragraphs together also has an additional main focus on the group dimension. This is also
ture for the third task as there they need to tell their stories to their fellow students. Furthermore,
to do so, they need the dimension person to play a role. The homework (radio show) also
includes all dimensions. They have to do it together (group), imagine they are the interviewer
or someone connected to slave trade (person), write the script and then record it (knowledge,
comprehension, and proficiency).

The third lesson is based upon the role play and the group discussion afterwards. Here
again, all the dimensions can be found. The personal dimension is that they put on a role which
they then portray, the group aspect is the discussion between not only the individual characters
portrayed by the students but also later the students themselves. Moreover, they need the
knowledge, comprehension, and proficiency dimension to successfully perform and conduct
the role play. The diary entry they need to write as a homework then includes mainly the
dimension person as the students have to assume to be a character from the role play and write
from their perspective.
As can be seen from this description, these lessons are based upon a synergy of the five dimensions by Schratz and Weiser in order to provide the students with a wide-ranging learning experience. Due to the fact that the pupils have to work and act in all the dimensions, they have a broader variety of aspects they can focus on and thus may relate to the topic in a deeper way. Consequently, the subject may be remembered in more detail by the students for a longer time after the lessons.
Lesson Plan

First Lesson Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Topic / Content</th>
<th>Procedure</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Material / Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 Min</td>
<td>Introduction to the topic of modern slavery</td>
<td>• Question to the class: “What do you associate with the term slavery?”&lt;br&gt;• Let the students create a mind map on the whiteboard. One can expect that the students concentrate on the historical aspects of slavery. Consequently, at the end of the mind map the teacher should bring it home to them that slavery is not a thing of the past and still exists, and that there are several very different forms of slavery today. (e.g.: human trafficking, sex slavery, factory work in poor countries, etc.)</td>
<td>• Introduce the topic and let the students think about what modern slavery means for them.&lt;br&gt;• The students should realise that there are several forms of slavery.</td>
<td>Whiteboard on which the students can write and create a Mind Map with their association of the term slavery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Min</td>
<td>A Story of a Modern Slave</td>
<td>The students should watch Kate Garber’s TEDx-Talk about modern slavery from the beginning until minute 02:20.</td>
<td>To make the students aware that slavery is still a problem by Video</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="https://tedxexeter.com/2018/02/01/kate-garbers/">https://tedxexeter.com/2018/02/01/kate-garbers/</a> <em>(Kate Garbers – TEDxExeter)</em></td>
<td>showing them the story of one victim.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>If necessary, the video can be watched several times. Afterwards, the teacher talks about the video with the students.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25 Min</td>
<td>Video Part 2</td>
<td>Watch the second part of the video (from Minute 02:20 until the end). The students get a handout (Handout 1) and should answer questions about the video. The teacher can play it twice if necessary. After the second run of the video, the students correct the questions with the help of the teacher, discuss their answers, and react to questions or statements from other students.</td>
<td>The students should be made aware of the problematic situation with the video that mainly deals with facts about modern slavery and how to fight it. Furthermore, their listening competency is being trained by the graded tasks on the handout.</td>
<td><a href="https://tedxexeter.com/2018/02/01/kate-garbers/">Video “Handout 1”</a> <em>(Kate Garbers – TEDxExeter)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Min</td>
<td>Homework</td>
<td>Word formation exercise with a text about modern slavery.</td>
<td>Word formation training</td>
<td>“Homework 1”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1: First Lesson Plan*
Second Lesson Plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 Min</td>
<td>Correction of the Homework + teacher answers any questions about the topic</td>
<td>After the usual introduction phase, there is an oral correction of the homework: The students read the task out loud and if one item is incorrect, the teacher/the other students correct it.</td>
<td>Students should be made aware of their weaknesses and the areas they still need to focus on.</td>
<td>Handout Homework 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 30-45 Min (3*10-15 Min) | *Stationenbetrieb* | The students go together in 6 groups of 4. In total, there are six stations, however, only 3 different ones. The groups have 10-15 minutes per stage and at the end of the lesson must have completed all three. At each task, there is a handout with instructions. The assignments are as follows:  
  - Text input (*Stationenbetrieb* 1)  
  - Headlines (*Stationenbetrieb* 2) | Intense exposition to the topic in groups of 4 | 3 handouts:  
  1 *Stationenbetrieb*  
  2 *Stationenbetrieb*  
  3 *Stationenbetrieb* |
<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>2 Min</td>
<td>Homework</td>
<td>In pairs, the students should create and record a radio show in which one student is the interviewer and the other the interviewee. The interviewee is either a freed slave, an NGO worker trying to fight slavery, a policeman, etc (I’m sure the students come up with great ideas). The interview should be about 4 minutes long. For this task, the students have more time than for a usual homework. They can record the interview either on their phones or their computer. In the end, they should hand in the audio file. The teacher can also correct the written interview before students record it. There can be a competition or they can be then changed into listening activities by the students to be used in the classroom.</td>
<td>Students should deal with the subject more intensely by imagining a scenario in which they portray people involved.</td>
<td>Audio recording App: e.g.: spreaker.com</td>
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Table 2: Second Lesson Plan
# Third Lesson Plan

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<tr>
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<th>Goals</th>
<th>Material / Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 Min</td>
<td>Tie on to the last lesson</td>
<td>Discuss the <em>Stationenbetriebs</em> with the students. What did they find out? How did they find this activity? What was new/shocking? Etc. + Discussion about the topic and the individual stages</td>
<td>Get them to think about what they had to do in the last lesson. + End the <em>Stationenbetrieb</em> with a recap and reflection on their work.</td>
<td>3 handouts: <em>Stationenbetrieb</em> 1, <em>Stationenbetrieb</em> 2, <em>Stationenbetrieb</em> 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Min</td>
<td>Role play</td>
<td>The students have to again form groups of 4. In these groups, each student takes on a different role. Each character and their agenda is described on an individual handout. The students should now discuss their points of view in the group. The characters are as follows: - Slave</td>
<td>Students should gain access to new perspectives on the topic, as well as train their speaking abilities.</td>
<td>4 handouts: “Slave” “Consumer” “CEO” “Politician”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
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<tr>
<td>15 Min</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>Group discussion about the role play in order to resolve and end it. Furthermore, the students should quickly look at their initial definition of the term slavery and discuss what they would change now.</td>
<td>Discuss the events and make it clear to the students that the role play should help them understand the situation better. Furthermore, they should realise complexities and multiple factors that are part of modern slavery.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Min</td>
<td>Homework</td>
<td>Students should write a diary entry of a worker in a factory at the end of a day. They should not only include what the worker did but also how he or she feels.</td>
<td>They should again reflect upon the life of a factory worker (“legal slave”).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Third Lesson Plan
Handouts and Additional Material

Handout 1

**Instruction:** Watch the video (Minute 02:00 until the end) and answer the following questions. At home, you can also visit the website [slaveryfootprint.org/survey](http://slaveryfootprint.org/survey) mentioned in the video to check your footprint.

1) 46 million enslaved people is the equivalent of _________ of the UK’s population.

2) People are sold in the Libyan slave markets for as little as $__________.

3) Pickers in fields pick ______________________ to provide what we need.

4) Which field of employment enslaved people in Exeter?
   a. car workers
   b. bar workers
   c. car washes
   d. petrol stations

5) The slaves working in Exeter worked for…
   a. as little as 5p per day.
   b. as little as £5 per week.
   c. as much as 50p per day.
   d. no pay at all.

6) What was in the accommodation of the Exeter slaves?
   a. 9 bunk beds
   b. a fully functioning shower and toilet
   c. an oven
   d. a fridge

7) Who can be a victim of slavery?

8) Name 2 reasons for modern slavery:

9) What are the top three countries slaves come from?

10) Take notes
   a. What happened to Grace from the beginning of the video?
   b. What happened to the people in the car washes?

**After watching the video:**
In pairs, write your own definition of the term slavery:
Solution:

1) 2/3

2) 400

3) fruit and vegetables

4) c

5) a

6) a and c

7) Anybody

8) For example: poverty, limited access to education, limited choices, unstable political and social climates, economic imbalances, war; It thrives on threat, coercion and deception. It prays upon vulnerability and it abuses power dynamics.

9) Albania, Vietnam and the UK.

10) Possible solutions:

   a. Grace’s exploiter left the door open and unlocked. She could flee and was taken to an Unseen-Savehouse by the police. She could access a doctor, a council, and legal advice. She is now a member of her own community, learning English and volunteering to help other vulnerable women.

   b. 5 of the slaves from the car wash decided to leave with the police and Unseen the day of the discovery. They got better accommodation and also safe and secure employment.
The Day of a Project Worker

8am

I start my shift. A new resident (0) **arrived** (arrive) overnight and, after a handover from a tired night worker, I read through the new case notes.

She’s from Romania, another in a long line of Romanian women who are (1) ____________ (trick) into coming to the UK and then forced into slavery by an organised crime gang.

11am

After our morning staff meeting, I meet our new resident for our first key work session. We spend an hour or so together (2) ____________ (look) at and (3) ____________ (discuss) how she is doing, what she needs and identifying immediate risks and fears.

Her story is (4) ____________ (tragic) similar to others. She met her recruiter through a family member and kept in touch. She was told it was easy to find work in the UK and that education is free.

The recruiter had offered to pay for her to come over to the UK and put her up until she found her feet. This girl, like others I’ve met, has never had opportunity before. She comes from rural Romania where (5) ____________ (to educate) finishes aged 10, jobs are virtually non-existent and buses to the city even less so. Of course she decided to come.

With just a Romanian ID card and a small bag of clothes, she boarded the bus to the UK. It’s a long journey. She tells me she was met by a man who then took her to a small flat in a big city. Once inside, she was locked in. Her ID card was taken, she was threatened, beaten, raped and then sold.

I recall how many times I’ve heard who the ‘Buyers’ are; men from all ethnic_7 origins. It also triggers_8 a memory of a previous resident who revealed that two of the main ‘sellers’ were English women.

She then tells me how she escaped through the window, dropped to the ground and (6) ____________ (fracture) her leg. But she still managed to run.

We complete a Support Plan together deciding how we can begin to assist her whilst she’s with us. She needs to register with a local GP_9. The repeated rapes have left her vulnerable to (7) ____________

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7 **ethnic** = ethnisch
8 **to trigger something** = etwas auslösen
9 **GP** = general practitioner = Arzt
She doesn’t really understand what a counsellor is but will ‘give it a try’ because the faces of her attackers ‘keep coming for her’ day and night.

She can’t go home, she says, because the traffickers know her address. They will come for her and sell her again. They told her so. I briefly explain her rights as a Romanian citizen in the UK and urge her to let us help her seek legal advice.

12pm
I ring the police to investigate this latest case. Luckily, she has an amazing investigating officer who’s sympathetic to her situation and appalled at the severity of her experiences.

2pm
In the afternoon, I complete an English lesson with one of our Bangladeshi residents. This is part of unseen’s Butterfly Project, an education project to empower women who have known nothing but subservience and discrimination. The majority of our residents have a lack of formal education. They are brought up in poverty, with little chance of a ‘career’ or ‘life choices’, but these women are excellent students and relish the opportunity to learn.

Every single resident who has come through our doors has said the same thing: “I just want to work and be safe”.

3.45pm
Before I finish my shift, a different resident comes to use the telephone to call home. She has not spoken to her family for 2 years but an international charity has helped her track down a contact number. Within minutes, she is distraught. Her father has died. He died while she was held captive, so he died not knowing what had happened to her. She never got the chance to say goodbye.

It is impossible to convey the trauma that these women have suffered. I’m not even sure that they are able to process it themselves. Our house is a safe place for women for a few short days, weeks or months. But longer-term support is desperately needed.

4pm
As I make my way home, I think of the many small flats in cities across the UK and know that part of my heart will be forever dark, dark in the knowledge that there are women who are trapped, beaten and raped every day because they cannot escape.

Solution

(0) arrived  
(1) tricked  
(2) looking  
(3) discussing  
(4) tragically  
(5) education  
(6) fractured  
(7) sexually  
(8) briefly  
(9) investigating  
(10) designed  
(11) knowing
Instruction: Read the text below. Some parts of sentences are missing and written underneath the text (A-E – A has been done for you). Match them so that the text makes sense.

Look around – modern slavery is more common than you might think

There has been universal shock at the discovery of three women in south London who police believe have been enslaved for 30 years, "hidden in plain sight" as one commentator put it. Thirty years is a shockingly long time, but modern slavery is more prevalent than we realise. The details that have emerged so far are scant; some of it fits into the picture of modern slavery in Britain and some of it doesn't. As I have previously argued, the defining feature of modern slavery is entrapment – physical, psychological and financial – often sustained\(^{14}\) through violence or threats of violence. (0) A domestic or sexual slavery or jobs described as dirty, difficult and dangerous in construction, catering, cleaning and caring.

Aneeta Prem, founder of the Freedom Charity, who was involved in helping the women to freedom and safety, says that they lived in "an ordinary house in an ordinary street". (1) ____: it is both hidden and visible. If you take a walk on a Sunday in London's Hyde Park, you will spot many a family with a domestic worker in tow, perhaps of a Filipina or south Asian background, lagging behind with a sense of deference. She may be a domestic worker on a work visa with satisfactory working conditions or she may be working long hours for little or no money – even being beaten or starved\(^{15}\) or sexually abused, and in some cases, all three. (2) ____.

According to the police, this is the first time they have come across a case where the victims have been imprisoned for so long. This is more about detection (or lack of) than the fact

\(^{14}\) sustain = aufrechterhalten
\(^{15}\) starved = ausgehungert
that slavery is a short-lived phenomenon\textsuperscript{16}. Denise Marshall, director of Eaves Housing\textsuperscript{17}, which supports trafficked women, tells the story of a Chinese woman who was kept in a flat to service Chinese men: "The only way we got wind of her was her trafficker tried to murder her, and she ended up in hospital on a life-support system. They thought she was dead." (3) ____.

[...] Cases like this really highlight the need to set up alternative neighbourhood watches – (4) ____ – but those that keep an eye out for people in need of our support. There are some heart-warming stories about neighbours coming to the rescue of "failed" asylum seekers in dawn raids\textsuperscript{18} by the Border Force staff, but there is no systematic network for those locked away in homes and who may be known to their neighbours.

Source: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2013/nov/22/modern-slavery-south-london-exploitation (19.04.2019) (Gupta)

A: The purpose is to extract free or almost free labour\textsuperscript{19}
B: The boundaries between slavery and employment becoming very blurred indeed
C: That is the paradox of slavery in Britain
D: Not the kind that criminalise non-conformists/outsiders
E: It is quite possible that there are people who live an entire lifetime, undetected, in such circumstances

\textsuperscript{16} phenomenon = Phänomen
\textsuperscript{17} housing = Unterkunft; hier: Teil eines Eigennamen
\textsuperscript{18} raid = Überfall, Razzia
\textsuperscript{19} labour = Arbeit
Solution

(0) A
(1) C
(2) B
(3) E
(4) D
Instruction: Imagine you are a journalist. Choose one of the headlines below and write the first paragraph of a fictitious article (approximately 100 words) describing what happened. At the end of this exercise, hand in your paragraph.

One in 200 people is a slave. Why?

Six arrested during Swindon modern slavery raids

Modern slavery victims ‘hidden in plain sight’, councils warn

Differentiation: The students can write more than one paragraph or write their texts individually.
Instruction: On this page, you will find two case studies of modern slaves. Two of you should share one of these case studies (2+2). You should read it and present it to the others. Then answer and discuss the following questions:

- Who are the victims in these texts? What happened?
- What reason for modern slavery can you think of?
- Who profits from it?
- What can consumers or politicians do about it?

Case Study 1: Olabisi’s Story

I think I am 19. I am originally from Nigeria, but I had to leave my village when my family were killed for being Christians. I fled to Auchi where I begged on the streets to survive and then moved to Lagos.

I met a man who promised to find me work in the UK. He gave me a passport and paid for my flight to the UK. A man was waiting for me at the airport. He took me back to his flat and made me have sex with him lots of times. I heard him discussing selling me, but in the end he decided to keep me for himself. I was told that if I tried to escape or ruin his reputation he would kill me and sell my body to people who did voodoo for money.

One day in the park I met some other people from Nigeria. I managed to tell them what was happening to me and they urged me to tell the police. I was brought to Unseen. On arrival at Unseen Olabisi suffered symptoms of PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder\textsuperscript{20}): disassociation, panic attacks, terrors, nightmares and suicidal thoughts. She had support to access health services however was unable to access specialist PTSD support as the waiting list was 5 months. Olabisi attended specialist sexual assault\textsuperscript{21} counselling and was prescribed anti-depressants. She required high emotional support from project staff and was always accompanied when out in the community. Olabisi needed support with a claim for asylum.

Outcome\textsuperscript{22}: Her initial claim was refused and although she accessed legal representation\textsuperscript{23} to appeal this decision, she chose to leave the project and her whereabouts are currently unknown.

NB: The victim’s name and some details have been changed to protect her identity


\textsuperscript{20} disorder = hier: Störung, Erkrankung
\textsuperscript{21} assault = Angriff, Überfall
\textsuperscript{22} outcome = Ergebnis, Ausgang
\textsuperscript{23} representation = Repräsentation, Vertretung; hier: gesetzliche Vertretung
Case Study 2: Asif’s Story

Asif escaped persecution in his home country and arrived in the UK vulnerable and desperate for work. He managed to find a job but was subjected to labour\(^{24}\) exploitation for three years, working in various restaurants for little or no pay, sleeping on their floors and working in hazardous\(^ {25}\) conditions, frequently receiving burns and scars, which caused him great mental and physical stress.

Thankfully, a former colleague put him in touch with a refugee support service, which eventually led him to get help from Unseen’s outreach service. The service has helped him with the practical and emotional support he needs to start to get his life back on track, including support with securing safe accommodation, opening a bank account, employability skills, helping him rebuild his self-esteem and assistance to create a support network around him in the community.

Asif says that if he’d had 24-hour support when he needed it, “it would have changed my life. I would have had my basic needs met and felt there was someone there beside me”.

Outcome\(^ {26}\): At the time, Unseen could only offer Asif outreach support, however, we have now opened a new 24-hour safe-house for male victims of trafficking. It’s the first of its kind in the country and important step in supporting the most vulnerable who’ve been exploited against their will.

NB: The victim’s name and some details have been changed to protect his identity


\(^{24}\) labour = Arbeit
\(^{25}\) hazardous = gefährlich, riskant
\(^{26}\) outcome = Ergebnis, Ausgang
Handout “Slave”

Name: Shi Feng Mao

Age: 20

Sex: Female

Country of Origin: China

Personal Status: Married with one child

Profession: worker in a factory

Hi! My name is Shi Feng Mao and I work in a big factory in Chang’an in China. We make parts for smartphones and computer for the a very successful brand. Thousands of people work in this factory and on my floor alone we are 200 people sitting shoulder to shoulder. I start working at 06:00 a.m. At 11:00 o’clock our floor has its lunch break and we all have to go to the cafeteria to get food. The food there isn’t very good and it’s extremely expensive. We get to the cafeteria, eat and go back within just half an hour. Then we work until 05:00 p.m. we are allowed to take one break of 5 minutes before lunch and one after lunch and we are not allowed to eat, drink or go to the toilet outside the breaktimes. Before we are allowed to go home, we are all searched so we cannot steal anything. My husband, who also works in the factory, and I live in a small room. We all sleep in one bed together with our child. Our little one is 2 years old and we only see him in the evening. During the day he is in the factory’s day care centre with 100 other children. In the apartment building there is one bathroom and one tiny kitchen per floor and we have to share it with 15 other people. My dream is to go on holiday with my family to see a beach, but I cannot really save any money as we have to spend almost everything of our little pay for the cafeteria, our room, the day care centre for the child, and food. As a result, we cannot go away because we don’t have any money left.
Task:

- Try to reach an agreement with the others but still convey your thoughts on the topic.
- Tell the others about your day and your living conditions.
- Talk to the politician and ask him why he allows the factory to implement such harsh working conditions. Why is this legal in China but not in the EU or the US, for example?
- Talk to the CEO and ask her if she is aware of the situation. If so, ask her why she doesn’t do anything about it.
- Talk to the consumer and ask him if he was aware of the situation. Ask him if he could imagine a life like this and what he plans to do to help you.
My name is Keith and I come from Ireland but I live in London now because I study economics. Last year, I took a class with the main focus on ‘fair economics’. In the lectures the professor talked about how our daily products are produced and what consequences that has on the environment, as well as on the people working in the factories. I was really shocked to hear that, because I simply didn’t know anything about the harsh working conditions. I mean, buying a product is so easy! You just go to the shop and don’t think about where it comes from. The situation is especially concerning with electronics and that’s a real problem for me. I love my smartphone and I think I could not live without it. My friends and I, we always post pictures of our trips and adventures in London online and we use it to communicate and send silly pictures to each other. I also cannot get enough of my tablet computer. I try to be more aware of my consumption behaviour now, but it’s really difficult when advertisements always promise you a better life when you buy specific products. Now I know this happens at the cost of other people’s lives.

Task:

- Try to reach an agreement with the others but still convey your thoughts on the topic.
- Talk to the CEO about what they can do to make the situation better, e.g. produce the goods in a factory with better conditions or in another country.
- Talk to the slave to find out more about the working conditions.
Hello, my name is Susan Walker and I am the CEO of one of the most successful tech-companies in the world. We make computer, tablets and phones and we sell millions of them each year. We want to provide the best experience for the consumer and as a result the people buy our products. Our company is extremely successful and the whole team has worked hard to achieve that! I admit that our products may seem expensive, but we need this money to fund research and development. We do believe that our products make a difference, for the consumer as well as the environment. Therefore, we installed solar panels on all our roofs to keep our software development carbon neutral. Furthermore, we try to manufacture parts of our products out of recycled material to reduce waste in our landfills. Of course we also want the best for the workers in our factories oversees, but most of the time, our hands are tied. We try to establish independent control systems, but most of the time policies in those countries forbid that! We keep on fighting for fair working-conditions but the topic is extremely complex and there is not just one thing that you need to change.

Task:

- Try to reach an agreement with the others but still convey your thoughts on the topic.
- Even though you want to improve the workers’ condition, your main goal is to improve the environment, as you think this is a more pressing matter.
- Producing goods somewhere else would lead to a dramatic increase in cost.
- Talk to the politician about the condition of the workers.
My name is Bi Mu Lang and I am a representative of the Ministry of Economics in China. I am responsible for our economy to work properly and our people to have jobs. It is essential that the Chinese have work so they can buy products with that money and play their part in the machine of economic power. As a result, on behalf of my country, I warmly welcome any cooperation that is willing to produce their goods in our country. We need the jobs these companies are creating here.

Certainly, I want my people to be safe, secure and to feel well. Thus, I try to help the workers and to improve their working conditions. It is, however, a very fine line between trying to help the workers and scaring the big companies away because there are too many restrictions in place for them. I have to manage the balancing act to coordinate the needs of the employees as well as the employers. I feel sorry for the workers, but for the greater good we must keep the factories in place. They are creating jobs as well as income and wealth.

Task:

- Try to reach an agreement with the others but still convey your thoughts on the topic.
- You want to help the workers but are afraid that too many restrictions lead to companies producing somewhere else.
- Talk to the CEO about measures you can take to improve the life of the workers.
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