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26. Young, *Disarming the Nation*, 38.
27. Williams, "Uncle Tom's Women," 25.
28. Actor and character were again linked with the death of G. C. Germon, who was the first actor to play Tom for the company. George Howard said that "the soul of Uncle Tom passed out of the drama when Germon made his final exit" (quoted in Frick, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 50). A special edition of the nonvignette "Uncle Tom's Religion" was printed with the inscription "To the Memory of G. C. Germon." To the left was added a drawing of Germon/Tom in profile, looking to the right of the inscription, and an open book—the Bible, presumably.
29. Young, *Embodying Black Experience: Stillness, Critical Memory, and the Black Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 27.
30. Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study in Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830–1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 184.
31. Young, *Embodying Black Experience*, 43.
32. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 21.
33. Thomas L. Riis, "The Music and Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Productions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *American Music* 4, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 269.
34. G. C. Howard, "Uncle Tom's Religion" (New York: Horace Waters, 1854).
35. For a recording of this song with a different arrangement, see Stephen Railton, "Oh, I'se So Wicked," "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*" and *American Culture*, accessed August, 15, 2015, <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/songs/sowickedf.html>.
36. Brown, *Babylon Girls: Black Women Performers and the Shaping of the Modern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 89.
37. Deane L. Root, "The Music of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture*, last modified 2007, <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/interpret/exhibits/root/root.html>.
38. [Stephen C. Foster] "Old Folks at Home" (New York: Firth, Pond, and Company, 1851).
39. John F. Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 180.
40. Bernstein, *Racial Innocence*, 125.
41. Root, "The Music of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*."

## Visualizing Racial Mixture and Movement: Music, Notation, Illustration

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The archive of nineteenth-century visual culture abounds with illustrations of racial difference reflect anxieties about racial mixture and movement. Race extends beyond visual expression and detection, but racialized bodies have been continually represented by images meant to convey racial difference, often via racist caricatures. The piece I discuss here adds, to the depiction of racial difference, mixture and movement conveyed through the representation of sound, in written music (fig. 1). Layering illustrations of figures in dance atop the symbolic notation of the aural, the music conveys its narrative of race via musical rather than literary genres: the waltz and the march. In this brief essay I will begin to unpack this particular representation of ra-

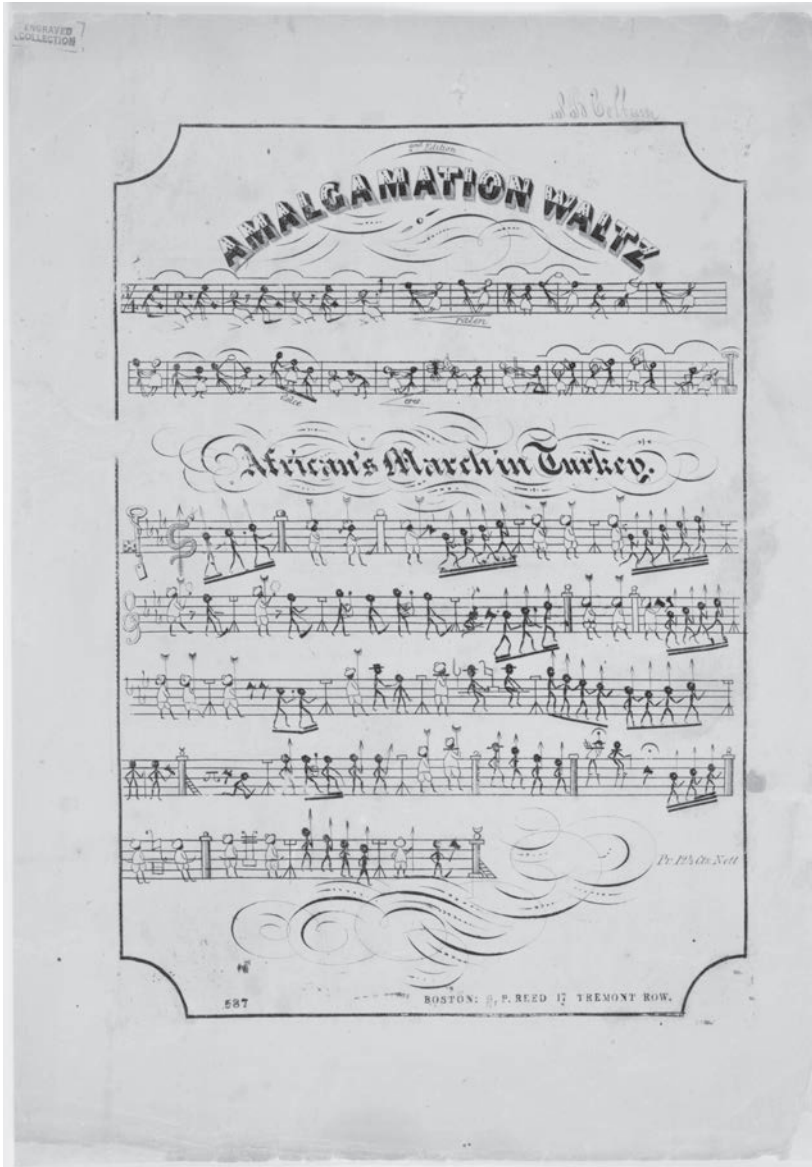


Figure 1. "Amalgamation Waltz" and "African's March in Turkey," sheet music, published by George P. Reed, Boston. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

cialized bodies as visualized in a remarkable, and remarkably little-known, piece of sheet music distributed by George P. Reed, a Boston music store owner and seller of musical instruments, instruction books, and sheet music during the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>1</sup>

Racial representation has often been confined by the media used to depict its complexity—from language that describes race via metaphors of color to the technology of racial representation in black-and-white that obscures nondualistic racial gradation.<sup>2</sup> Written music, like the written word, is a technology of representation. The visual representation of music and the visual representation of race are similar in that they are not mimetic but symbolic. Just as quarter and half notes stand in for certain pitches and durations that might be interpreted through variations such as instrumentation and style, the presence and absence of black ink represents racial difference that in reality is nuanced by gradations in complexion, historical contexts, and cultural resonances of racialization.

Music here implies the aural, but also the movement of dance; the waltz and the march produce bodies in motion. The movement of racialized bodies through geopolitical spaces and with relation to one another hints at race's fluidity. In the two genres on this single sheet, we see what might be understood as different methodological frames for understanding their respective narratives of race. The waltz's male and female pairing of partners suggests heterosexuality. The march denotes a different kind of movement, not simply interpersonal but movement through geopolitical spaces and in militaristic endeavors.

The limitations of the musical form for representing race correspond to other limitations of racial representation in metaphors of color, racialized value, and racial distinctions that forgo complexity in favor of legibility. The extent to which race becomes legible through musical notation is admittedly limited. This sheet music is, in many ways, difficult to read. The stick-figure drawings crowd the notes, making one wonder at the practicality of playing the musical annotation. In this respect, the sheet is poised to function less as legible musical notation and more as a visual showpiece. Notwithstanding its visuality, the flatness of stick-figure characters obscures the political import that is clearer in other racial/racist caricatures. Nevertheless, these juxtapositions of the movement of racialized bodies and the movement of music thematize relations of race within musical form, marking race as always in motion, unfixed, and progressing through a specific, readable generic narrative.

### Amalgamation Waltz

In nineteenth-century America, the image of a racially integrated dance was a popular site for American anxieties about race relations. Illustrations of integrated dances appeared throughout the antebellum period, in *Amalgamation Waltz* from Edward Williams Clay's 1839 "Practical Amalgamation" series of lithographs, his 1845 *Amalgamation Polka*, and the 1864 political caricature *The Miscegenation Ball*.<sup>3</sup> The underlying movement of music composes a compelling backdrop for understanding popular depictions of and reactions to racial mixture in nineteenth-century America. Illustrations of dance, movement, and music signal the similarly fluid notions of race that permeated antebellum discourse. While Clay's *Amalgamation Waltz* is emphatic in its illustrated pairings of black men and white women, the musical notation of Reed's music literalizes these juxtapositions of racial integration within the music itself. The three-beat measure of the waltz is composed of stick-figure illustrations, mostly of pairings of black men and white women, drawn as quarter and half notes with the sartorial gendering of tuxedo tails or billowing skirts, respectively.

The illustration plays upon sexual-racial anxieties by placing these figures in close proximity, implying more than the social scene of integrated dance—interracial romance, and by implication, interracial sex. Anxieties about what is now more familiarly termed "integration"—the mixing of races within United States populations—were, in the nineteenth century, inextricable from anxieties about interracial sex. While integrated dances were only one site for racial mixing, the association of interracial sexual relations and dance was a perfect pairing for inciting racist controversy. Partnered dance had already been associated with impropriety, particularly with regard to the waltz, which was scandalous when first introduced in the eighteenth century but by the nineteenth had become more popularly accepted and lacked much of its earlier scandal. As social perceptions of dance could evolve, so might popular regard for racial mixing. Therein lies the real danger of the "Amalgamation Waltz"—in the possibility of images of amalgamation becoming mundane, rather than shocking.

Still, the waltz's pairing of partners continued to signify heterosexual romance. In 1855, *The Illustrated Manners Book* warned that "doubtless it [the waltz] should be engaged in with caution by all sensitive organizations. A woman especially, ought to be very sure that the man

she waltzes with is one worthy of so close an intimacy; and one who understands her nature and relations well, will not waltz with any other.”<sup>4</sup> Even later, in 1892, T. A. Faulkner, the former proprietor of the Los Angeles Dancing Academy and former president of the Dancing Masters’ Association of the Pacific Coast, referred to the waltz as “one long, sweet and purely sensual pleasure.”<sup>5</sup> Depicting interracial couples in positions of partnered dance added another layer of scandal to the waltz by rendering a scene already associated with sexuality even more shocking when coupled with the taboo of racial mixing. Many of these images’ viewers would not have found black men “worthy of so close an intimacy” with white women. The implication of anything resembling shared “sensual pleasure” was more than enough to provoke racist reactions.

The event of the integrated ball suggests associations of music with culture and taste; the larger implication is that racial difference ought to prevent differently raced people from sharing affinities and social space. Nineteenth-century caricatures of integration expect viewers to find something off-putting about scenes of black and white people sharing in musical gathering. The implication is usually that these “amalgamated” groups must be subsuming something of their inherent natures, being inappropriately raised or lowered by racial integration. The social mixing of the races also implies the possibility of social movement, bringing black and white people together as possible equals in shared, intimate social spaces—an idea that enraged or frightened people committed to maintaining American white supremacy.

The movement of partnered embrace provided a dangerous context for racial mixing in popular antebellum illustrations, with this musical movement playing upon the sexual connotations of “amalgamation.” Depictions of dance suggest relations of heterosexual intimacy, and as interracial couples were imagined in dance’s movement and embraces, they sparked popular anxieties about interracial sex and its inevitable result—mixed-race people. Thinking about music can therefore help us to understand notions of race that were not firmly fixed but which flowed in and around one another like the figures of an “amalgamation waltz.” In its allusion to sexuality, the waltz also suggests the imagined movement of race via genealogical transfer from parents to children. Movement signifies the fluidity of race in its instability and its inability to be indubitably determined—frightening prospects for a society committed to practices of racial definition and taxonomy.

The “Amalgamation Waltz” stops short of fully depicting race’s fluidity in its black (filled) and white (open) notes, the discernment between

which is essential for reading the music. The quarter- and half-note couples are illustrated in a dance of their own throughout the piece, the movement of their figures through the staves of music notating the musical form itself. The “amalgamation” narrative is here embedded in the very music that comprises the waltz. The figures’ movement throughout the piece is dependent upon the racial metaphors of “black” and “white” and notions of racial dualism and distinction.

In this musical form, amalgamation can never progress beyond the movement of the waltz. Only able to notate distinctly racialized black and white bodies, the piece is unable to illustrate mixed-race people as an implied result of interracial couplings.<sup>6</sup> Dependent upon the figures of filled and open musical notes, Western musical notation has no symbols that could combine these black and white bodies. In this form, Reed’s musical rendition limits what the waltz is able to depict. The black and white quarter and half notes remain separate, individual, and distinctly valued parts of each measure, with no possibility of their melding together to compose a new, amalgamated, musical notation.

In keeping with the most popularly represented site of anxiety about racial mixture, Clay’s *Amalgamation Waltz* exclusively pairs white women with black men. *Amalgamation Polka* and *The Miscegenation Ball* both include couples of white men with black women. Reed’s sheet music, however, contains a few quarter-note variations, which seem to appear as black women. While the quarter and half note (black man—white woman) pairing predominates in the piece, in the seventh and eighth, and then in the eleventh and twelfth measures, we see multiple quarter notes in a row (some wearing tails and some skirts). These few instances of what seem to be black women figures dancing with black men sets the piece apart from other popular nineteenth-century illustrations of integrated dance. By including pairs of black partners, the piece seems more radically inclusive than others in its depiction of integrated space and dance.

### **African’s March in Turkey**

The bottom two-thirds of this single sheet shows a second musical piece, “African’s [*sic*] March in Turkey.” The odd pairing of “Amalgamation Waltz” and “African’s March in Turkey” suggests alternate musical genres—the waltz and the march—for notating race, movement, and racial contention. The latter piece projects a different coupling of race and social movement onto the site of musical annotation. Using similar anthropomorphized notation to depict a series of black men, some with bare

heads and some turbaned, this “march” contrasts with the waltz above it. As we follow these figures across the staff, we see that the march indicates a different kind of “movement,” opposed to the movement of dance. These figures face forward, generally, indicating their progression from the beginning to the end of the piece. The march presents yet another way of understanding racial mixture, through the geographic movement of racialized bodies, suggesting projects of colonialism, imperialism, and, of course, the transatlantic slave trade. The particular pairing of amalgamation and the march also suggests interracial conflict.

Placing the “African’s March in Turkey” music proves a bit harder than connecting the “Amalgamation Waltz” to popular caricatures of racially integrated dance. This form of racial representation differs significantly from the more prominent racist caricatures of nineteenth-century illustrations of African people and Orientalist imaginings of Turkey as a geopolitical space. If we read the piece’s notation as marking racial differentiation, as in “Amalgamation Waltz,” the locus of race is differently placed here. The quarter-note figures still seem to denote blackness, but whiteness appears not in the racially “blank” faces of half-note figures but in the sartorial differences between the bodies depicted. The open half notes are represented by Turkish turbans rather than white faces as in the “Amalgamation Waltz.” It is unclear whether this corresponding notation signals a similar racialization, but it is worth pointing out that, as in the piece above, the figures bear different weight in their musical duration. Put simply, the quarter-note figures are valued differently—less by half—than their half-note counterparts, a difference that seems significant in light of the kinds of value (monetary, political, human) that has been historically attached to black bodies.

The difference between these two types of figures is a tricky one. While the figures with turbans are also drawn with black faces, they signify as half notes in the musical score, linking them to the white women depicted above. The racial ambiguity of these figures is interesting in a nineteenth-century context of racial demarcation via racial sciences that laid claims to biology and geography to categorize a variety of possible races and their historical relations to one another. The cultural and geographical signification of the turban stands in for an Orientalist imagining of “Turkey,” here juxtaposed with the vague but meaning-laden representation of the black notes as “African” figures. In the various scientific taxonomies of race operating throughout the nineteenth century, the Caucasus region of Eurasia often figured as a site of racial whiteness that nevertheless contrasted with conventional associations of white



Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Just as some races were difficult to fit into racial taxonomies without admitting a history of racial mixture, the predominant black-white dualism of American racialization could not contain the nation's racial complexity.

Moreover, the bottom piece may indicate a contemporary nineteenth-century site of African enslavement.<sup>7</sup> "African's March in Turkey" could allude to an event such as Mehmet Ali Pasha's enslavement and conscription of Sudanese men into the Ottoman army during its 1820s military campaign in Egypt.<sup>8</sup> If the black figures in the lower piece are enslaved Africans, one wonders at its relevance to the American context of integration suggested above, and the relation of the United States to other nations and geographic spaces relevant to the global economy of slavery. Conflict between black and white races was an important counterframe to amalgamation discourse in the nineteenth-century popular imagination. When interracial relations are framed as war, the possibility of egalitarian integrated society and the reality of interracial mixing and amalgamated bodies can be more easily denied.

A similar vision of amalgamation-as-conflict appears in Jerome Holgate's 1835 novel, *A Sojourn in the City of Amalgamation, in the Year of our Lord 19*—. Written under the pseudonym "Oliver Bolokitten," the novel presents a dystopian, "amalgamated" city whose inhabitants enter into interracial marriages not because of interracial love or romance (which Holgate cannot conceive) but because of a shared societal duty to uphold abstract philosophical principles of amalgamation. During his sojourn, Holgate's narrator attends an exhibition of "a man half black, half white; the lower half being black, the upper half white; the line dividing the two colours being clear and distinct." Holgate reproduces, in full, this phenomenal person's memoir, *The Memoirs of Boge Bogun, with an Account of the War which took place in His Own Body between the Differently Colored Particles of Flesh, and the Consequent Result*. The "Memoirs" represent racial mixture as an internal war between the "white" and "black" "particles" of Bogun's genealogy, which are vying for his various body parts. Most of Bogun's story reads as a war narrative of the various battles in which the problem of a racially mixed nation is translated to a bodily scale. In the midst of his account, the white and black "particles of flesh" become, alternately, "Whites" and "Blacks," and occasionally, "English" and "Africans."

In contrast to popular depictions of amalgamation as dance, this story seeks to foreclose the mixture of amalgamation, representing the mixed-race body as literally internally conflicted. This necessitates a

bizarre parsing of “white” and “black” elements, imagining these parts as beyond any capacity to be melded indistinguishably within a single body. The upper and lower halves of Bogun’s body house loci for attributes such as intellect and sexuality, literalizing their habitual racialization. The “Differently Colored Particles of Flesh” remain separate, the battle between which signifies not so much the blending of races but the triumph of one and the erasure of the other. Bogun’s bodily war results in racial victory. The movement of “white” and “black” particles in battle implies one’s eventual destruction or subjugation just as the movement of coupled dance suggests an intimate encounter that may result in amalgamated offspring or even an amalgamated nation.

Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in *Democracy in America* that “as soon as it is agreed that whites and emancipated Negroes are placed upon the same land like two alien nations, it will not be difficult to understand that only two possibilities exist for the future: either Negroes and whites must blend together completely or they must part.”<sup>9</sup> Tocqueville saw American racial conflict reconciled only through separate races’ movement away from one another, or through their commingling. Racist Americans had long regarded racial segregation as an appropriate solution to the threat of racial mixture. Thomas Jefferson (despite his personal relationship with Sally Hemings) provides one example. Comparing Roman slavery with America’s race-based enslavement, he wrote in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, “Among the Romans emancipation required but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture.”<sup>10</sup> While the effectual parting of these two races was attempted through the oppression of plantation slavery, the project of colonization by which black Americans were “returned” to Africa, and the social and legal segregation of the races, the complete separation of black and white people was never an American reality. Perhaps because of the impossibility of complete racial separation, Tocqueville’s alternative—that black and white people “blend together”—was a much more feasible outcome, given the fact of racial mixture as already fundamental to the American nation.

Both Jefferson’s and Toqueville’s imaginings of racial separation project racial amalgamation into a future national potentiality, with metaphors of “black” and “white” projecting a false idea of racial fixedness and obscuring a long history of racial mixing in the Americas. Depicting a site of possible interracial conflict, the progression of the march

does not allow racialized bodies to remain fixed on the page but implies both their constant movement and the ensuing results of interracial interaction in this scene of militarism and enslavement.

The pairing of the waltz and the march on this single sheet of music might be best understood as illustrating the tension between interracial sociality and interracial conflict in the United States. The paired pieces present a contrast between an enslaved African population and an integrated (or integrating) African American one, perhaps hinting at global experiences and representations of blackness and their relationship within a complex geopolitical context of race-making. The intertwined bodies of coupled dance show not only anti-amalgamation fears but also illustrate the already-existing state of the nation as an amalgamated dance, the steps of which would have to be negotiated as the country moved toward racial equality. Moreover, the “Amalgamation Waltz” is not divorced from the global slave trade or the militarism of racialized movement, past or present, that is implied by “African’s March in Turkey.” One could say that these depictions merely “dance around” larger national problems of racial oppression and separatism in their simplistic and ambiguous depictions of racial mixing. But in the musical and visual forms of this notation, we see both the sexual underpinnings of amalgamation and the geographical movement of races in this illustrated narrative, as well as a theoretical framing that suggests complex relations of racialized embodiment, representation, and movement.

## Notes

1. I am extremely grateful to Elizabeth Pope at the American Antiquarian Society, who first showed me this remarkable piece.

2. On these respective problems of metaphor and technology for representing race, see, for example, Richard Dyer, *White* (New York: Routledge, 1997), and Jonathan Senchyne, “Bottles of Ink and Reams of Paper: *Clotel*, Racialization, and the Material Culture of Print” in *Early African American Print Culture*, ed. Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 140–58.

3. Elise Lemire discusses these images in *Miscegenation: Making Race in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 64–66, 121–24. Tavia Nyong’o does as well, in *The Amalgamation Waltz: Race, Performance, and the Ruses of Memory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 29–30, 81–83.

4. Robert De Valcourt, *The Illustrated Manners Book: A Manual of Good Behavior and Polite Accomplishments* (New York: Leland, Clay, and Company, 1855), 398.

5. T. A. Faulkner, *From the Ballroom to Hell* (Chicago: Henry Publishing Company, 1892), 11.

6. Mixed-race people did figure in other illustrations, such as Clay’s *Fruits of Amalgamation* in the “Practical Amalgamation” series.

7. I owe thanks to Jameel Haque for helping me to make this connection.

8. See Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha’s Men: Mehmed Ali, his Army and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 86–89.

9. Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*. (1835), trans. Gerald Bevan (New York: Penguin, 2003), 417.

10. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) (New York: Penguin, 1999), 151.