

BLACKAMOORES: AFRICANS IN TUDOR ENGLAND, THEIR PRESENCE, STATUS AND ORIGINS

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ABSTRACT

Blackamoors: Africans in Tudor England, Their Presence, Status and Origins (Blackamoors) is a book written by Onyeka and published in 2013. It contains original research conducted by Onyeka over twenty-three years in England, Scotland, Wales, Spain and the United States of America. During that time Onyeka met with considerable obstacles. He received threats from organisations such as the White Wolves and Combat 18, the purpose of which was to prevent him from continuing his research. The police and other agencies also warned him of further conspiracies that involved violence and intimidation.¹ For many years Onyeka travelled to and from rural research centres to gather evidence for *Blackamoors*, he witnessed verbal and physical attacks of a racial kind directed against people of African and Asian descent and those of Traveller origin. He was also subject to abuse himself. From 2003-2009 Onyeka had supervision from staff in the History Department at Middlesex University, but eventually this department was dismantled. This was particularly significant as the academics within that department specialised in 'Black Studies.'² Onyeka was left as the last history student at the University.³ Onyeka eventually wrote an essay on the African presence in Tudor England. *Blackamoors* is revised and different from that essay as it is an in depth and focused examination of the status and origins of Africans in Tudor society. For the first time Onyeka draws on evidence of an African presence in Medieval and Stuart England to support his arguments. This evidence has not been made available to the public before, and it is the first time that it has been used to examine the status and origins of Africans in Tudor England.

Onyeka has found evidence of Africans in cities and towns such as Bristol, Hertford, London, Northampton, Norwich and Plymouth. He has proved in *Blackamoors* that Africans did not automatically occupy the lowest positions in Tudor society. Onyeka also shows that Africans in Tudor England were not all slaves, or transient immigrants who were considered as dangerous strangers and the epitome of otherness. In addition in *Blackamoors* he revealed that some Africans in England had important occupations in Tudor society, and were employed by powerful people because of the skills they possessed. Onyeka explains how Africans used these skills in Tudor England and most of these people were socially and economically useful in that

¹ The evidence of these specific incidents is confidential and under investigation. For more information on the White Wolves and Combat 18 they are racist paramilitary organisations working in cell structures and believing in violence and intimidation see, Human Rights Watch, *Racist Violence in the UK* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1997), pp. 15-34; Carolyn Turpin-Petrosino, *Understanding Hate Crime: Acts, Motives, Offenders, Victims and Justice* (London: Routledge, 2015), n. p.; Nadine Gurr, Benjamin Cole, *The New Face of Terrorism: Threats From Weapons of Mass Destruction* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2000), p.191; Nick Lowles, *White Riot: The Violent Story of Combat 18* (Wrea Green: Milo Books, 2003), passim.

² Black Studies is a term given to the study of Africans in the Diaspora and Africa. Most Black Studies are now carried out in African-American Studies programmes in the USA. In Britain Black Studies is often a subject within a larger course such as multiculturalism, colonialism, etc. or it is looked at by those who teach subjects related to slavery, the other and so on. The reasons for this are discussed throughout this thesis and the introduction of *Blackamoors*. For more on the development of the specific historiography of Black Studies in the USA see Pero Gaglo Dagbovie, *The Early Black History Movement: Carter G Woodson, and Lorenzo Johnston Greene* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2007), passim; For a feminist perspective on Black Studies see, Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, Barbara Smith (eds.), *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 1993), passim; The most popular book on the discipline of Black Studies is Maulana Karenga's, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1982), passim.

³ BBC, 'History Suspended at University,' *BBC News*, 13 January 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/4609170.stm>, accessed 07/01/16; Jamie Doward, 'Middlesex University Cuts Spark International Protests from Philosophers,' *The Guardian*, 9 May 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/may/09/middlesex-university-cuts-protest-philosophers>, accessed 07/01/16.

society. The author also proves however, that Africans were not all foreign; and that most whether born in England or elsewhere, were integrated members of their local parishes. This is the first time that this kind of investigation of the status and origins of Africans in Tudor England has been carried out in any systematic and detailed way.

The arguments in the book *Blackamoors* are supported by evidence from a variety of primary sources contained in early modern books, manuscripts, or from drawings, paintings, tapestries, sculptures and so on.⁴ Secondary sources are also examined in *Blackamoors* as are the post-colonial theories that relate to ethnicity, race⁵ and status such as Gayatri Spivak's 'can the dumb subaltern speak?'⁶ In this thesis the words post-colonial are used to refer to the methodologies and narratives developed by historians studying what happened during colonialism, and also 'post' or after it. The phrase post-colonial also refers to a historiographical narrative that responds to the cultural legacies of colonialism, imperialism, and racism. Historians with a post-colonial perspective vary in their focus, but may also enquire into economics, law or any other area of 'people activity'.⁷ In this thesis a wide group of historians are described as post-colonial but there is an acknowledgement that not all of the academics grouped in this way share the same perspectives. Onyeka also acknowledges that post-colonial methodologies and narratives are important in analysing evidence and developing arguments on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Onyeka suggests however, that when it comes to examining primary records that are pre-colonial these narratives and methodologies can be set aside. Instead Onyeka offers pre-colonial perspectives such as there was no 'scientific notion of race' in Tudor society, and therefore *Blackamoors* offers an alternative view on diversity in early modern England.⁸

Having an idea to write about Africans in Tudor England, however, is quite different from actually doing it. This is not just because any research and writing will place demands on the writer, but because this subject relates to the socially contentious and psychologically challenging issues of colour, difference, race and identity. British Academia has been found by many commentators to be failing to examine these subjects effectively.⁹ Furthermore, academics

⁴ The author acknowledges that the analysis and interpretation of the visual arts including paintings and drawings etc. is a complex part of historiography with its own sub-categories including art theory, art criticism and so on. The author also acknowledges that methodologies and narratives vary accordingly see Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (New York: Dover Publications, 1915), passim; Griselda Pollock (ed.), *Psychoanalysis and the Image* (Oxford: Blackwell Press, 2006), passim; Laurie Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: An Introduction* (New York: Icon Editions, 1996), passim; On art criticism with methodologies that art critics still use today see Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting ... An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur...* (London: W. Churchill, 1719), passim.

⁵ The idea of 'race' is complex and in some ways controversial. It is often used as Jonathan Schorsch does in, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconvertos, Afroiberians, and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden/Boston/Biggleswade: Brill Extenza Turpin, 2008), p. 5 (6), 'Without wishing to enter into an enormous and dangerous topic, race/ethnicity is real, i.e., "natural" insofar as different population groups often manifest different biological conditions [genotype] ... Different population groups may also manifest statistically-notable somatic uniqueness [phenotype]: eye shape, particularly light skin, height, etc ...' In this thesis these notions of race and the post-colonial discourses that rely on it are subject to continuous analysis.

⁶ The idea of the 'dumb subaltern' is a widely discussed issue in Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's, 'Can the subaltern speak?' in Cary Nelson, Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), pp. 271-313.

⁷ The term 'people activity' was coined by Neely Fuller in, *The United Independent Compensatory Code/System/Concept a Textbook/Workbook for Thought, Speech and /or Action for Victims of Racism (White Supremacy)* (Place of publication unknown: Neely Fuller, 1957-1980), passim.

⁸ The definitions of pre-colonial and early modern are included later in this thesis.

⁹ Academia is the name given to the academics and senior administrators and sometimes policy makers in higher education that are part of mainstream universities, education institutes and places of learning. It can also refer to

including Paul Gilroy, Stuart Hall and Hakim Adi have extensively questioned the way research that attempts to redress these issues has been treated.¹⁰ Other academics have been even more critical such as Deborah Gabriel, Marika Sherwood, Kehinde Andrews, Gus John, and Robin Walker. They suggest in books, articles and talks that a de-facto academic apartheid exists in British Academia, where not only research on these matters by people of African descent is excluded, but the academics with that ethnic background are too.¹¹ Experience has shown that this unhelpful situation may exist, but that it is often maintained by misunderstandings rather than just direct discrimination and racism.

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other people involved in academic pursuits connected to these establishments. The failure of British Academia to address issues regarding its own inclusiveness has been written about by many including Jack Grove, 'Black Scholars Still Experience Racism on Campus,' *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 20 March, 2014, <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/black-scholars-still-experience-racism-on-campus/2012154.article>, accessed 07/01/16; and Muni Abdi, 'Staff and Students of Colour Speak Out on Racism in Academia,' *Black British Academics Phd Network*, 17 October 2015, <http://phdnetwork.blackbritishacademics.co.uk/2015/10/17/staff-and-students-of-colour-speak-out-on-racism-in-academia/>, accessed 07/01/16.

¹⁰ Some of these historians books and articles include: Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), passim; Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993), introduction; Gilroy, *After Empire: ... Multiculture or Postcolonial Melancholia* (London: Routledge, 2004), passim; Stuart Hall, et. al. (eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 1996), passim; Hall et. al. (eds.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications, 1997), passim; Hall, et.al. (eds.), *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-1979* (London: Routledge, 2003), passim; Holly Else, 'Black Phd Students Are Pioneers in Their Subjects, Says Professor [Hakim Adi],' *Times Higher Education*, 26 February, 2015, <https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/black-phd-students-are-pioneers-in-their-subjects-says-professor/2018715>, accessed 07/01/16.

¹¹ Deborah Gabriel, 'Race, Racism and Resistance in British Academia,' in, Karim Fereidooni, et. al. (eds.), *A Critical Study of (Trans) National Racism: Interdependence of Racist Phenomenon and Resistance Forms* (Berlin: Verlag Springer, 2015), passim; Marika Sherwood, in 'In This Curriculum, I Don't Exist,' The Institute of Historical Research, University of London School of Advanced Study, <http://www.history.ac.uk/resources/history-in-british-education/first-conference/sherwood-paper>, accessed 27/ 7/11; Similar arguments are also raised by Josna Pankhania, *Liberating the National History Curriculum* (London: Falmer Press, 1994), passim; The work of Kehinde Andrews, Gus John and some of the other authors mentioned in the text are discussed in the rest of this thesis or listed in the bibliography.

Notes

- This thesis is written in second person to avoid the repetition of words such as ‘I’ ‘me’ and ‘mine.’
- In this thesis sentences are grouped together into paragraphs, the only exceptions to this are this section on notes and the summaries at the end which highlight points already raised.
- The writing style and referencing in this thesis is for the most part the same as that in *Blackamoors*, with the following words beginning with a capital letter: the ‘Proclamation’ drafted in 1601, and the ‘Letters’ dated 11 and 18 July 1596. These words are written in this way to distinguish them from other proclamations and letters.
- The original and irregular spelling contained in old books, manuscripts and so on have been maintained, except where the meaning would be lost.
- The phrase ‘trans-atlantic’ is hyphenated and this is congruent with other terms used by the author in this thesis such as ‘trans-indian,’ ‘trans-pacific,’ etc.
- ‘Black’ is written with a capital when it relates to ‘Black Studies’ or ‘Black people’ but not in general.
- The word ‘African-centred’ is hyphenated as is ‘African-American’ because this is the way they are usually written by historians within the field.
- The term ‘post-colonial’ is hyphenated rather than being written as one word ‘postcolonialism,’ as the historian Imtiaz Habib does.¹² This is similar to the way Onyeka uses the phrase ‘pre-colonialism,’ that is a term he is pioneering the use of to describe his methodologies and narratives.
- ‘Pre-colonial’ is a term that refers to the fact that England was not a major colonial power in the Tudor period, and that most of Africa had not fallen under European colonial rule. Onyeka of course acknowledges that during the Tudor period Englishmen did establish temporary and permanent colonies in Ireland, parts of the Americas and elsewhere.¹³

¹² Imtiaz Habib, *Shakespeare and Race: Postcolonial Praxis in the Early Modern Period* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1999), pp. 157-205; For more on post-colonialism as a historiographical discipline see Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Post Colonial Studies Reader* (London/ New York: Taylor and Francis, 2006), pp. 28-38, 44-62, 73-77, 84-93 (Eurocentrism and otherness).

¹³ The subject of the colonialism of Ireland and the Americas has been widely written about, some authors include: Audrey Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press Books, 2013), passim; Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain, 1485-1714* (New York: Pearson Education, 2005), pp. 477-506; Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), passim; For more on the travellers who participated in colonial exploits see Claire Jowitt, Daniel Carey, *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), passim; other authors are included in the bibliography of this thesis and *Blackamoors*.

- The word ‘contemporary’ as used in this thesis refers to the Tudor (1485-1603) and or early modern period (fifteenth century to the first half of the seventeenth century) and not for example to those historians who are Onyeka’s contemporaries.¹⁴
- The references in this thesis to the book *Blackamoors* are from the revised edition published in 2014.
- Where the principal decision maker regarding the content of a television programme or film appears to be the director, presenter or writer, it is they or who are listed in the reference, or the bibliography.

¹⁴ There is an acknowledgement that some historians include the eighteenth century when talking about the early modern period see John Cannon, *The Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), introduction; James Sharpe, *Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550-1760* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1997), introduction; Alison Wall, *Power and Protest in England, 1525-1640* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2002), introduction. In this thesis, however, Onyeka suggests a different historiography exists in the eighteenth century in relation to the presence, status and origins of Africans in England and that it is why it is not included.

List of selected articles (inc. those in submission dated September 2015)

Onyeka. 'Artisans, Servants, Musicians and Kings: Africans in Tudor England.' in, Kate Bystrova (ed.). *The Commonwealth Year Book 2015*. Cambridge: Nexus Strategic Partnerships, Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth of Nations, 2015, pp. 75-76.

Onyeka. 'The Curse of Ham.' Unpublished, 2015.

Hudson, Rykesha. 'Onyeka: Rewriting Black History.' *The Voice* (newspaper), 2 May 2015, <http://voice-online.co.uk/article/onyeka-rewriting-black-history>, accessed 16/06/15.

Onyeka. 'The Missing Tudors: Black People in 16th-Century England.' *History Extra*, 24 January 2014, <http://www.historyextra.com/feature/missing-tudors-black-people-16th-century-england>, accessed 16/06/15.

Onyeka. 'The Black Equestrians Africans in Georgian Britain.' *History Today*, 64: 7, July 2014, <http://www.historytoday.com/onyeka/black-equestrians#sthash.E8iWMY82.dpuf>, accessed 19/07/14.

Onyeka. 'The Missing Pages of England's History.' *Culture Pulse*, July 2014, https://issuu.com/culturepulse/docs/july_2014_issue_25, accessed 15/07/14.

Pears, Elizabeth. 'Book Reveals Africans Lived in Tudor England.' *The Voice*, 24 November 2013, <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/article/book-reveals-africans-lived-tudor-england>, accessed 15/03/14.

Onyeka. 'Port Towns, Diversity and Tudor England.' *Port Towns & Urban Cultures*, 22 July 2014, <http://porttowns.port.ac.uk/port-towns-diversity-tudor-england-2/>, accessed 15/03/14.

Onyeka. 'The Missing Tudors, Black People in Sixteenth-Century England.' *BBC History Magazine*, 13:7, July 2012, pp. 32-33.

Onyeka. 'What's in a Name?' *History Today*, 62: 10, October 2012, pp. 34-39.

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INTRODUCTION

Blackamoores is a book written by Onyeka and published in 2013 by Narrative Eye. It is now in its third edition, and is the leading and most popular book on the presence, status and origins of Africans in Tudor England. In terms of impact and popularity the book has overtaken Imtiaz Habib's *Black Lives in the English Archives*, the first book that attempted to make public the lists of records that prove there was an African presence in early modern England.¹⁵ It should be emphasised however, that *Blackamoores* and *Black Lives* are part of a very small group of books on the African presence in England during the Tudor period.¹⁶ *Blackamoores* is a pioneering publication and its findings are shaping the way that writers such as Miranda Kaufmann write and talk about colour, difference, identity, and slavery in English history – a view shared by historians such as Richard C. Maguire and many other academics.¹⁷

Blackamoores is included in many university, college and other teaching institution's libraries and lecturers' reading lists, either as a required or desired textbook. This includes: Bristol University, Glasgow Caledonian University, Southbank University, University of Nottingham, and University of Birmingham.¹⁸ The book has been referred to and quoted as an authoritative text by academics and others in numerous articles and books including: 'Onyeka: Rewriting Black History;' in *The Voice* (newspaper), 'The Ghosts of Cross Rail' in *The Sunday Times Magazine*, and Maguire's 'Presenting the History of Africans in Provincial Britain: Norfolk as a Case Study.'¹⁹ It is also popular as a general non-fiction historical reading book, and is widely read by members of the general public. *Blackamoores* initiated a campaign to include Africans in the Tudor period in the national school curriculum. The initiative gained wide international support, and the campaign was supported by a petition which obtained over five thousand signatures in six months. It was submitted to the House of Commons.²⁰ The general public's positive response appears to have been influenced by the notion that *Blackamoores* was the first book to talk about this subject in a straight forward way.²¹

¹⁵ Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (London: Ashgate, 2008), passim.

¹⁶ Other books written on this subject are analysed later in this thesis or are included in the bibliography of *Blackamoores*.

¹⁷ The references for Miranda Kaufmann's work are included later; Richard C. Maguire, 'Presenting the History of Africans in Provincial Britain: Norfolk as a Case Study,' *The Journal of the Historical Association History*, 19: 338, December 2014, pp. 819-838; other academics that share this view are discussed throughout this thesis.

¹⁸ Other education institutions that now have *Blackamoores* included on reading lists within subjects studied in their institutions include: SOAS University, University of Sunderland, University of the West of England, Croydon Supplementary Project, Georgia State University Atlanta (USA), Clarke University Atlanta (USA).

¹⁹ Rykeshia Hudson, 'Onyeka Rewriting Black History,' *The Voice*, April 30-May 6, 2015 <http://voice-online.co.uk/article/onyeka-rewriting-black-history>, accessed 07/01/16; James Palmer, 'Ghosts of Crossrail,' *Sunday Times Magazine*, 12 August 2015, p. 43; Maguire, 'Presenting the History of Africans,' pp. 819-838.

²⁰ *Narrative Eye*, <http://www.narrative-eye.org.uk/petition.html>, accessed 12/12/15; Zachary Norman, 'Group Lobbies Michael Gove to Include Black Tudors in the National Curriculum,' *Guardian* (Epping Forest, Waltham Forest, Chingford, Wanstead and Woodford), http://www.guardian-series.co.uk/news/wfnews/10800194Group_lobbies_Michael_Gove_to_include_black_Tudors_in_national_curriculum/ accessed 25/12/15.

²¹ Evidence in: *Goodreads* <https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/18869947-blackamoores> accessed 23/12/15; *People's Book Prize*, <http://www.peoplesbookprize.com/book.php?id=1107>, accessed 01/01/15; *Amazon*, <http://www.amazon.co.uk/Blackamoores-Africans-England-Presence-Origins/product-reviews/0953318214?pageNumber=2>, accessed 21/12/15; *Scottish Local History Forum*,

The book *Blackamoors* helped Narrative Eye win the Haringey Diversity Award for 2014, and from the evidence that Onyeka presented he created a series of workshops and seminars for schools and colleges so teachers and students could understand the information revealed in it. As part of this programme drama workshops were developed for school and college children where some of the people discussed in *Blackamoors* were turned into characters for school plays.²² *Blackamoors* was also runner up for The People's Book Prize for non-fiction in 2014 an award voted on by the general public. It gained over eight thousand votes.²³ In addition to the national support from the general public for *Blackamoors*, Onyeka has presented his findings throughout Europe and the USA. There have been four book tours, two national and two international. The tours have included lectures, workshops and seminars at the House of Commons, the London Metropolitan Archives, National Portrait Gallery, National Maritime Museum, Black Cultural Archives, and universities including: Brighton, Bristol, Birmingham City, East Anglia, Nottingham Trent, and in Scotland the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland. In the USA the *Blackamoors* tour was hosted at: Clark Atlanta, Elizabeth City State, Fisk, Georgia State and Vanderbilt Universities.²⁴

Through these events and seminars over the last twenty-three years Onyeka has brought institutions such as universities, community centres and libraries closer together. In addition Onyeka's work has helped these learning bodies bridge the gap with ordinary people. Attendees of his lectures were often visiting these places of learning for the very first time and some of them have become regular visitors since. In some cases permanent partnerships have developed through these new relationships.²⁵ For example Onyeka gave a lunchtime lecture at the National Portrait Gallery entitled 'Imagining Tudor England,' Mary Ealden the Adult Programme Co-Ordinator wrote the following

On Thursday 19th June [2014] the writer and historian Onyeka came to the Gallery to give a lunchtime lecture on the subject of his most recent book, *Blackamoors in Tudor England: Their presence, status and origins*. Focusing on the African population and presence in England during the 16th and 17th centuries, Onyeka argues that, despite little having been written or taught about the subject, it can be proven, through personal letters, local surveys, burial records and written descriptions, with reference to status and complexion, that the African population in England during this period was prevalent. For example, in 1579, chronicler George Best wrote:

'...a 'faire [white] English woman' in a relationship with an African man 'begat[s] a sonne in all respects as blacke as the father was,' with the African 'expunging' the 'good white blood' of their spouse....'

<https://www.slhf.org/member-event/blackamoors-scottish-national-gallery> accessed 01/01/16; Book Depository, <https://www.bookdepository.com/Blackamoors-Africans-Tudor-England-Their-Presence-Status-Origins/9780953318216>, accessed 01/01/16; Rowena Mondwira, *Media Diversified*, <http://mediadiversified.org/2014/02/12/its-time-to-talk-about-black-tudors/> accessed 01/01/16.

²² Narrative Eye, <http://www.narrative-eye.org.uk/index.html>, accessed 01/01/16.

²³ People's Book Prize, <http://www.peoplesbookprize.com/book.php?id=1107>, accessed 01/01/15.

²⁴ Evidence at Narrative Eye, <http://www.narrative-eye.org.uk/index.html>, accessed 01/01/16.

²⁵ Ibid.

The lecture was incredibly insightful, and Onyeka a very emotive speaker, who brought both humour and tragedy to the subject matter. The audience, many of whom were new to the Gallery and more specifically the public programme, were energetic and engaged, asking lots of questions at the end of the lecture. I also had a lot of comments and questions as people were leaving, showing support for the programme and asking about future events.²⁶

Onyeka through *Blackamoors* has helped make the Tudor period more accessible to a wider cross-section of the public, his work shows that non-white people had been part of English society for a very long time. Onyeka challenges the misconceptions that English/British history can be accurately explained if it ignores an African presence.²⁷ Onyeka does more than that, however, since the book is written in such a way as to challenge the ‘emotional memory/or narrative’ that there are ‘sacred white moments in English history.’²⁸ Onyeka acknowledges that such a challenge often strikes at the heart of prejudice since such a narrative is often not underpinned by logic but by feelings. In an attempt to assuage those feelings in *Blackamoors*, Onyeka uses familiar reference points to help guide the reader through more complex issues. It is for this reason that the following evidence and information is in a prominent position in *Blackamoors*: the Proclamation drafted in 1601, the Letters written on 11 and 18 July 1596 that all refer to an African population and have been interpreted as saying that these people can be deported as if they were slaves. In addition other issues about slavery and renaissance plays are also discussed. Onyeka believes that this evidence and the discussion of these issues will help readers connect to less familiar evidence and issues. Onyeka suggests however, that it is the less familiar evidence which he has discovered which actually helps us to understand the presence, status and origins of Africans in Tudor England. This way of using familiar evidence to help readers understand less familiar evidence has been accepted by writers such as Susan Broomhall and is an effective tool used by Patricia Crawford as they uncover women present in early modern England.²⁹ This does not mean that the author is unaware of the issues of using different types of primary evidence. Onyeka knows that different types of primary evidence vary in their significance and different methods are needed to establish their veracity. For example parish

²⁶ Mary Ealden, ‘Lecture at NPG Blackamoors,’ email sent to Narrative Eye 06/07/14, accessed 07/07/14.

²⁷ Onyeka acknowledges that there is a distinction in scholarship between British history (post 1707) and English history from 1066 onwards.

²⁸ This matter is discussed in some detail in Onyeka, ‘The Missing Tudors, Black People in Sixteenth-Century England,’ *BBC History Magazine*, 13: 7, July 2012, pp. 32-33; Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Postwar Era* (New York/London: Cornell University Press, 1997), passim; The post-colonial praxis is supported by non-academic television programmes and films, such as Simon Schama (wr. pr.), et. al., *A History of Britain*, 2 Entertain Video, 2000-2002; Michael Hirst (wr.), et. al., *The Tudors*, Showtime/Reveille/Working Title, 2007; Shekhar Kapur (dr.), et. al., *Elizabeth*, PolyGram, 1998; Shekhar Kapur (dr.), et. al., *Elizabeth the Golden Age*, Universal Studios, 2007; Charles Jarrott (dr.), et. al., *Anne of the Thousand Days*, Universal Pictures, 1969; Fred Zinnemann (dr.), et. al., *The Man for all Seasons*, Columbia Pictures, 1966; However, the following programme offers a different view, Gareth Roberts (wr.), Charles Palmer (dr.), ‘The Shakespeare Code,’ *Dr Who*, BBC, 7 April 2007.

²⁹ For more on this approach see: Susan Broomhall, Stephanie Tarbin (eds.), *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), passim; Patricia Crawford, ‘Public Duty, Conscience and Women in Early Modern England,’ in John Morrill, et. al., (eds.), *Public Duty, and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays Presented to G. E. Aylmer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 201-234; Crawford, *Exploring Women’s Past: Essays in Social History* (Carlton: Sisters Publishing, 1983), passim; Other writers include: Laura Gowing, Philippa Maddern, Jodi Mikalachki; some of whose work are discussed throughout this thesis; or listed in the bibliography of *Blackamoors*.

records written under legal enactment are more important in helping us understand the presence, status and origins of Africans in Tudor England than Shakespeare's plays which were fiction created primarily for entertainment.³⁰ In contrast parish records were factual documents created by church and government officials to list all of the people being baptised, married and buried in Tudor England.³¹

³⁰ The author acknowledges that some of his plays were created for educational or political reasons or were used in a similar way to popular modern mass media, and that they mirrored aspects of life including a familiarity with Africans, similar views are expressed by Harry Lee Faggett, *Black and Other Minorities in Shakespeare's England* (Prairie View: Prairie View Press, 1971), pp. 34, 35, 43, 46, 48.

³¹ Parish Records are described and discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

The academic field that *Blackamoors* is part of

In the introduction to *Blackamoors* there is an analysis of where Onyeka's research sits in relation to the work of other academics. The order in which the historians are discussed in the introduction is not random but arranged by importance, the most significant first. This includes historians such as Habib and Gustav Ungerer because their books and articles relate directly to the African presence in Tudor England.³² This is followed by the work of Madge Dresser, and Peter Fraser because their work refers to an African presence in early modern England, and Fraser even speculates on their status.³³ Marika Sherwood and Mike Sampson are also mentioned early in the introduction to *Blackamoors* for the same reason. Sherwood and Sampson since 2000 have been collecting evidence on an African presence in Tudor England. Sherwood listed chronologically by date some of the records of Africans present in England in the sixteenth century,³⁴ whilst Sampson had been gathering evidence with a group of historians called the Friends of Devon Archives. Other researchers at the Guildhall Library London spurred on by Sampson, and Onyeka's research, have compiled records of Africans present in England from 1485. Their evidence has been a useful tool which Onyeka used to cross-reference with information that he had already found on this subject.³⁵ Kaufmann's articles are also discussed early in the introduction to *Blackamoors* as her work included speculative enquiries into issues surrounding an African presence in Tudor England. These articles include 'the "Blackamoor" project' and 'Sir Pedro Negro: what colour was his skin?' Kaufmann's unpublished thesis also examined some of these issues. Kaufmann's blog is also a useful resource for those wishing to find out more about this period in history and she is completing a book on the lives of 12 Africans in Tudor England.³⁶

Peter Fryer is mentioned next in *Blackamoors*, although his work is really in a separate category of its own. The reasons for this are that his research is focused on Africans in Georgian and

³² Habib, *Black Lives*, passim; Habib, *Postcolonial Praxis*, passim; Gustav Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid: Verbum Editorial, 2008), passim; Ungerer, 'Recovering a Black African's Voice in an English Lawsuit,' *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2004), pp. 255-271; and Ungerer, 'The Presence of Africans in Elizabethan England and the Performance of *Titus Andronicus*, at Burley-on-the-Hill, 1595-96,' *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 21, 2008, pp. 19-56.

³³ Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (Bristol: Redcliff Press, 2007), p. 11; Peter Fraser, 'Slaves or Free People? The Status of Africans in England 1550-1750,' in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (eds.), *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550-1750* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), pp. 254-261.

³⁴ Mike Sampson, 'Black Burials and Deaths 16th Century' (Email), from Devon Record Office, Devon, 16 April 2006; Mike Sampson, 'Friends of Devon Archives, the Black Connection,' *Friends of Devon Newsletter*, 25, May 2000, pp. 12-15 quoted in Lucy MacKeith, *Local Black History: A Beginning in Devon* (London: Archives and Museum of Black Heritage, 2003), p. 35; and Marika Sherwood, 'Blacks in Elizabethan England,' *History Today*, 53: 10, 2003, pp. 40-42.

³⁵ Sherwood, 'Blacks in Elizabethan England,' pp. 40-42; Guildhall Library London, 'Black and Asian People Discovered in Records Held by the Manuscripts Section,' *Manuscripts Section*, Aldermanbury, London.

³⁶ Miranda Kaufmann, 'Caspar Van Senden, Sir Thomas Sherley and the "Blackamoor" project,' *Historical Research*, 81: 212, May 2008, pp. 366-371; Kaufmann, 'Sir Pedro Negro: What Colour was his Skin?' *Oxford Journals, Notes and Queries*, 55: 2, 2008, pp. 142-146; Information about Kaufmann's unpublished book is contained in confidential emails sent between her and Onyeka 27 February-15 March, 2015; her blog is at <http://www.mirandakaufmann.com/> accessed 27/12/15.

Edwardian Britain and this work is still considered comprehensive and detailed. Fryer also included some important evidence for the Tudor period in his books, however when he explains why these Africans were present in Tudor England and what their status was he applied post-colonial theories to do this. This makes his narrative less useful for this thesis.³⁷ The approach of academics such as Paul Edwards, Faiza Ghazala, Kim Hall, Kenneth Little, Folarin Shyllon, James Walvin³⁸ and David Dabydeen are similar in that they speculate on issues regarding the presence and status of Africans in Tudor England, and sometimes state their arguments are proven by evidence which often they are not. In *Blackamoors*, Onyeka gives an example of this he states

[Dabydeen in] *The Oxford Companion to Black British History* ... claims that in '1601, in London alone the Black [African] population of England was 15,000-20,000.'³⁹ If *The Oxford Companion's* figures are accurate, when compared with a total English population of 3-4 million, it would mean that Africans in 1601 represented a similar proportion of that population as they do now.⁴⁰ In other words, Africans would be a visible and substantial presence in late Tudor England. However, the figure of '15-20,000' is likely to be a misquotation. Dabydeen confirmed in an email to me [Onyeka] that these figures were obtained from the historian Miranda Kaufmann.⁴¹ However, Kaufmann states the figures are from *Daily Life in Eighteenth-Century England* by Kirstin Olsen, where they refer to the African population in England in the late eighteenth century. So the figure of 20,000 is generally regarded as a 'reasonable estimate' for the African population in Georgian not Tudor England.⁴²

³⁷ On the importance of Fryer's work see: James Walvin in Peter Fryer, *Rhythms of Resistance: African Musical Heritage in Brazil* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), p. 2; Marika Sherwood, 'Britain, Slavery and the Trade in Enslaved Africans,' *History in Focus*, 12, Spring 2007, <http://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Slavery/articles/sherwood.html>, accessed 03/12/08; Gemma Romain, *Black British History*, Birkbeck University, Faculty of Continuing Education, London, England, 2007-2008 http://www.bbk.ac.uk/ce/history/documents/FFHI232UACB_003.pdf, 05/11/08; and suggested by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) website, 'Innovating with History,' *QCA*, no date, http://www.qca.org.uk/history/innovating/history_matters/worked_for_me/ks3/comeo9.htm, accessed 18/07/08.

³⁸ Paul Edwards, James Walvin, 'Africans in Britain, 1500-1800,' in *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 173-204; Faiza Ghazala, Greater London Council Ethnic Minorities Unit, *A History of the Black Presence in London* (London: Greater London Council, 1986), pp. 7-8; Kim Hall in *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 13; Folarin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555-1883* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. preface, 1-10; James Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro in English Society, 1555-1945*, pp. 1-31; *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), preface; more books expressing similar views by James Walvin and Peter Fleming and others are included in the bibliography of *Blackamoors*.

³⁹ David Dabydeen and James Gilmore (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Black British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 146; other figures are quoted by Peter Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 33-66, 67-89; Charles Malcolm Macinnes, *England and Slavery* (London: Arrowsmith, 1934), pp. 107-139; and Nigel File, Chris Power, *Black Settlers in Britain 1555-1958* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981), pp. 1-32.

⁴⁰ BBC, *British History*, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/launch_ani_population.shtml accessed 01/11/08; and Office of National Statistics, 'Population estimates for the UK,' <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?ID=6>, accessed 01/11/08.

⁴¹ Dabydeen and Gilmore (eds.), *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*, p. 146; David Dabydeen, personal email sent 11/11/08, accessed 11/11/08; and Miranda Kaufmann, personal email sent 11/11/08, accessed 11/11/08.

⁴² Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18th-Century England* (Oxford: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999), pp. 29, 310. The following books and articles also quote similar figures for the numbers of Africans in eighteenth-century England: Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation* (New Jersey: Rutgers University,

In addition to the academics mentioned above, there are a set of books and articles most published recently, that attempt to revise our understanding of the relationships in the geographical spaces that existed between Africans, Native Americans, and Europeans. These academics focus on areas that include the lands bordering the Mediterranean and Atlantic Oceans during the early modern period. The historians that write about these subjects include Kate Lowe, Thomas Earle, Michael Guasco as well as Jonathan Schorsch, Francois Soyer and David Wheat.⁴³ The work of these academics has been useful to Onyeka because it draws upon evidence about the Iberian Peninsula and corroborates what he has already discovered. Unfortunately, however, when these academics come to discuss the status and origins of Africans in these geographical spaces they are influenced by the post-colonial praxis. The phrase post-colonial praxis is used differently in this thesis to how Habib used it in his book *Shakespeare and Race: Postcolonial Praxis in the Early Modern Period*.⁴⁴ In this thesis the words post-colonial refer to a historiographical narrative that responds to the cultural legacies of colonialism. The word ‘praxis’ means an accepted practice or custom, especially in relation to a systemic or normative way.⁴⁵ In this thesis the term refers to a normative that is both restrictive and self-fuelling.

1997), p. 5; Kathy (Kathleen) Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales During the Period of the British Slave Trade, c. 1660-1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 23-30; and Joel Augustus Rogers, *Nature Knows no Colour Line* (St Petersburg: Helga Rogers, 1952), p. 156 quotes, ‘Anglicanus,’ *Gentleman’s Magazine* XXXIV, October, 1764, pp. 493, 495.

⁴³ All the following books are passim unless otherwise stated: Kate Lowe, Thomas Earle (eds.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Michael Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World (The Early Modern Americas)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Schorsch, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconvertos, AfroIberians and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century (The Atlantic World)*, (2008); Francois Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7) Medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2012); Soyer, *Ambiguous Gender in Early Modern Spain and Portugal: Inquisitors, Doctors and Transgression of Gender Norms (Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World)* (Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2012); Soyer, *Popularizing Anti-Semitism in Early Modern Spain and its Empire (Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014); David Wheat, *Atlantic Africa & the Spanish Caribbean, 1570-1640* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2016); Wheat, ‘Mediterranean Slavery, New World Transformations: Galley Slaves in the Spanish Caribbean, 1578-1635.’ *Slavery & Abolition*, 31:3 (2010), pp. 327-344, reprinted in Philip D. Morgan, *Maritime Slavery* (London: Routledge, 2012); Wheat, ‘Global Transit Points and Travel in the Iberian Maritime World, 1580-1640,’ in Peter C. Mancall, Carole Shammas (eds.), *Governing the Sea in the Early Modern Era: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Ritchie* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2015), pp. 253-274; Wheat, ‘The First Great Waves: African Provenance Zones for the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Cartagena de Indias, 1570-1640,’ *The Journal of African History*, 52:1 (2011), pp. 1-22; Wheat, ‘Garcia Mendes Castelo Branco, Fidalgo de Angola y Mercader de Esclavos en Veracruz y el Caribe a Principios del Siglo XVII,’ in, María Elisa Velázquez (ed.), *Debates Históricos Contemporáneos: Africanos y Afrodescendientes en México y Centroamérica*, coord (México: D.F.: INAH, CEMCA, UNAM-CIALC, IRD, 2011), pp. 85-107; Wheat, ‘The Spanish Caribbean in the Colonial Period,’ in, Ben Vinson (ed.), *Oxford Bibliographies in Latin American Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); These authors also include William D. Phillips, *Slavery in Early Modern Iberia (The Middle Ages Series)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), passim; Stephen Hornsby, Michael Hermann, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Lebanon (New Hampshire): UPNE, 2005), passim.

⁴⁴ Ibid; and Habib, *Shakespeare and Race: Postcolonial Praxis*, passim.

⁴⁵ The word ‘postcolonialism’ is not in the dictionary, but ‘colonialism’ is defined as a ‘policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control over another country, occupying it with settlers, and exploiting it economically’ in *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: OUP, 2003), p. 340, ‘praxis’ is defined as an ‘accepted practice or custom’, p. 1383.’

African-centred scholars are examined next in the introduction to *Blackamoores*. It may be useful to know that another term ‘Africentric’ or ‘Afrocentric’ that is often used to describe these writers may be unhelpful, since it has become associated in a derogatory way with the critical remarks of political scientists such as Stephen Howe and Mary Lefkowitz. In both cases they use this term in a pejorative way.⁴⁶ Historians such as Molefi K. Asante do use the term Africentric or Afrocentric to describe a way of historiographical thought, but a more appropriate term is African-centred, or to write about Africentrism or Afrocentricity as this last phrase is used by historians to describe their own philosophy.⁴⁷ This philosophy places the study of African people and Africa at the centre of historical discourse since these academics believe that because of Eurocentrism the African and Africa has been denied a place in world history.⁴⁸ The academics that share this view are extremely diverse, and include those writing at the beginning of the twentieth century such as the African-American Joel Augustus Rogers, and the African-British politician John Archer as he was also a Pan-African scholar.⁴⁹ Other historians who may also be referred to as offering an African-centred approach to their work are Ivan Van Sertima and David Scobie. They include a narrative that was useful to Onyeka’s research since it challenged the post-colonial praxis that places Africans as the perpetual slave.⁵⁰ For example in Scobie’s five articles for the *Journal of African Civilisation* there are three that are of particular importance because they are about early modern Europe: ‘The Black in Western Europe,’ ‘African Women in Early Europe’ and ‘The Moors and Portugal’s Global Expansion.’⁵¹ Scobie also wrote *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain*, and *The African Presence in Early Europe* the latter book incorporates his previous articles on the subject with some new references and footnotes.⁵²

⁴⁶ Stephen Howe calls these writers of African descent ‘polemic’ ‘fantasists’ and suggests some are suffering from mental or psychological illnesses, without ever examining the veracity of what they claim in *Afrocentrism: Mythical Pasts and Imagined Homes* (London: Verso, 1999), pp. 1-16, 215-229; Mary Lefkowitz, *Black Athena Revisited* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 113-120; Mary Lefkowitz, *Not Out of Africa: How Afrocentrism Became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), passim.

⁴⁷ Some of Molefi Asante’s work on these matters include: Molefi K. Asante, Ama Mazama (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Black Studies* (2004, new edition, London: SAGE publications, 2005), introduction; ‘Afrocentricity: Imagination and Action,’ *Dissenting Knowledges Pamphlet Series*, 12, Multiversity and Citizens (2013), n. p.; *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change* (Trenton: African American Images/Africa World Press, 2003, 1988), passim; *An Afrocentric Manifesto: Toward an African Renaissance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), passim; *The Afrocentric Idea* (1987, new edition, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), passim; *Contemporary Black Thought: Alternative Analyses in Social and Behavioral Science* (New York: SAGE, 1980), passim.

⁴⁸ On Eurocentrism see, Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin (eds.), *The Post Colonial Studies Reader*, pp. 73-77, 84-93; and Molefi K. Asante, *The Painful Demise of Eurocentrism: An Afrocentric Response to Critics* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1999), passim.

⁴⁹ Joel Augustus Rogers, *World’s Great Men of Colour*, Volume I and II (1931, new edition, New York: Touchstone Books, 1995), pp. 1-7; *Sex and Race*, Volumes I-IV (Petersburg: Helga Rogers, 1941/2), Volume I, pp. 151-160, 196-220; John Archer, ‘J. R. Archer’s Presidential Address to the Inaugural Meeting of the African Progress Union, 1918,’ *West Africa*, 4 January 1919, pp. 840-842.

⁵⁰ Edward Scobie, *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain* (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1972), pp. 190-203; and Ivan Van Sertima (ed.), Edward Scobie, ‘The African Presence in Early Europe,’ *African Presence in Early Europe* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1985), pp. 190-223.

⁵¹ Edward Scobie, Ivan Van Sertima (ed.), *Journal of African Civilizations* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1985), Issue 3, n. p.; These are edited and included in *African Presence in Early Europe*, pp. 190-223.

⁵² Scobie, *Black Britannia*, pp. 190-203; Sertima (ed.), *African Presence in Early Europe*, pp. 190-203, 203-223; Scobie, ‘The Moors and Portugal’s Global Expansion,’ *Department of Black Studies Pamphlet* (New York: City

A further group of historians whose work was important to *Blackamoors* included that by the historians David Northrup, Basil Davidson and Robin Walker.⁵³ This is because they write about West-African civilisations and question post-colonial narratives that place Africans as perpetual slaves. Northrup, Davidson and Walker also provided background information that helped Onyeka understand more about the African civilisations that some of the Africans in Tudor England came from. Another collection of historians with a different focus to Northrup, Davidson and Walker are discussed in the introduction, and these include Nabil Matar and Daniel Vitkus. These historians write about the influence of Islam on early modern Europe and sometimes they have found evidence that relates to Africans in Tudor England.⁵⁴ However, as Onyeka states

... not all Africans in Tudor England were Muslims and this therefore is the limitation of their research, since the comments that they make about non-Muslims do not seem to be supported by evidence. For example, Matar states that ‘the likelihood [in Tudor or Stuart Britain] of an Englishman or Scotsman meeting a Muslim [were] higher than that of meeting ... a Sub-Saharan African.’⁵⁵ In this book I suggest that this matter is more complex than Matar’s statement implies.⁵⁶

Matar’s statement reveals that he is applying post-colonial theories of race and identity to a pre-colonial English society and Onyeka is critical not only of such a method, but refutes the notions of race which underpin Matar’s statement. The last idea is discussed later in this thesis when chapter 2 of *Blackamoors* is discussed.

Onyeka drew from a wide range of sources to write *Blackamoors* and this includes evidence from the first British historians to write about these kinds of subjects, the nineteenth-early twentieth century writers David MacRitchie, Gerald Massey and Godfrey Higgins.⁵⁷ They wrote in a convoluted and antiquarian style, and their work is often dismissed as being about myths and

College, City University of New York, 1996), p. 37; also quoted by Wayne Chandler, in Sertima (ed.), *African Presence in Early Europe*, pp. 144-176.

⁵³ David Northrup, *Africa’s Discovery of Europe: 1450-1850* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), passim; Basil Davidson, *African Civilization Revisited: From Antiquity to Modern Times* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1991), passim; Basil Davidson, *Black Mother: A Study of the Precolonial Connection Between Africa and Europe* (London: Longman, 1970), passim; and Robin Walker, *When We Ruled* (London: Every Generation Media, 2005), passim.

⁵⁴ Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and *Turks Moors and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), all throughout; Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570-1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 21-50.

⁵⁵ Matar, *Islam in Britain*, p. 2

⁵⁶ Onyeka, *Blackamoors*, p. XVIII.

⁵⁷ David MacRitchie, *Ancient and Modern Britons: A Retrospect*, 2 Volumes (1884, 3rd edition 1985, reprint, Los Angeles: Preston, 1986), Volume I, p. 67, Volume II, pp. 125, 186; Gerald Massey, *Ancient Egypt the Light of the World, Containing an Attempt to Recover and Reconstitute the Lost Origin of the Myths and Mysteries ... with Egypt for the Mouthpiece and Africa as the Birthplace*. Volume I, *Egyptian Origin in the British Isles* (1881, republished, London: Secaucus University Books, 1974); Godfrey Higgins, *Anacalypsis, An Attempt to Draw Aside the Veil of the Saitic Isis: or, an Inquiry into the Origin of Languages, Nations, and Religions* (1883, 1878, new edition, London: TGS Publishing, 1927); Albert Churchward, *The Signs and Symbols of Primordial Man ... The Evolution of Religious Doctrines from the Eschatology of the Ancient Egyptians ...* (London: EP Dutton and Co, 1910), passim; Edward Williams Byron Nicholson, *Keltic Researches: Studies in the History and Distribution of the Ancient Goidelic Language and Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904), pp. 1-8.

legends; and yet it is really about trying to make sense of those legends.⁵⁸ Some of their work has been very valuable in locating positive stories about people of African descent in Tudor times. Nevertheless, Onyeka acknowledges that the sources they used to establish their narratives can be difficult to find and corroborate. But since he has analysed their work for over twenty-three years he has developed skills of interpreting which made their work accessible for his research. A few historians such as Ahmed Ali and Ibrahim Ali had come to similar conclusions as MacRitchie, Massey and Higgins, and as Onyeka stated ‘they support ... [MacRitchie’s] claim that there was an African presence in England long before the Tudor period.’⁵⁹

A further group of academics include Laura Gowing and Patricia Crawford. Their work has been useful for Onyeka in his research because of their interpretive methods of investigation. He has used a similar method in his research. Gowing’s method is about interpreting evidence to reveal women hidden in the background of early modern documents, including plays, masques and so on. Gowing states there is ‘overwhelming evidence that the experiences of women can be retrieved from sources with predominately male perspectives, and that their voices are capable of offering alternative views [on themselves and Tudor society.]’⁶⁰ The work of academics such as Gowing and Crawford also shows how the interpretative method can be scholarly if it is part of the process of writing a coherent narrative. The reasons why these academics use this methodology to carry out their investigations are to challenge a historical perspective that excludes women, and it is for similar reasons that Onyeka adopts his approach.⁶¹ As Onyeka states

[Using this method of interpretive investigation] Africans can be ‘retrieved’ from contemporary sources which they did not write, and where they may not be the primary subject of discussion – but are nevertheless mentioned in. Moreover, in a similar way as writers about women in the Tudor period developed their own methodologies to discover these voices, so those seeking to find an African voice are forced to do the same.⁶²

There are many other authors who are not mentioned in the introduction to *Blackamoors* but who were and are important for Onyeka’s research. These include those academics that have written about Tudor society, immigration, immigrants, laws, politics, the poor and so on. These writers have often provided Onyeka with references to primary records which have been helpful

⁵⁸ Howe, *Afrocentrism: Mythical Pasts and Imagined Homes*, pp. 66-70 claims that MacRitchie et. al. are romantic fantasists.

⁵⁹ Ahmed Ali, Ibrahim Ali, *The Black Celts: An Ancient African Civilisation in Ireland and Britain* (Cardiff: Punite Publications, 1992), pp. 14-47; Paul Dunbavin, *Picts and Ancient Britons: An Exploration of Pictish Origins* (London: Third Millennium Publishing, 1998), pp. preface, 1-8.

⁶⁰ Laura Gowing in Broomhall, Tarbin (eds.), *Women, Identities*, p. 2; similar views are expressed by Patricia Crawford, *Exploring Women’s Past: Essays in Social History* (Carlton: Sisters Publishing, 1983), passim.

⁶¹ Broomhall, Tarbin (eds.), *Women, Identities*, passim; Patricia Crawford, ‘Public Duty, Conscience and Women in Early Modern England,’ in, John Morrill and Paul Slack, et. al., (eds.), *Public Duty, and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays Presented to G. E. Aylmer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 201-234; Crawford, *Exploring Women’s Past*; passim; Other writers include: Laura Gowing, Philippa Maddern and Jodi Mikalachki, some of whose work is discussed throughout this thesis or listed in the Bibliography of *Blackamoors*.

⁶² Onyeka, *Blackamoors*, p. XVIII; Those that use this methodology to discover women in early modern England include Patricia Crawford, Laura Gowing and Philippa Maddern; also see Selene Scarsi, in *Translating Women in Early Modern England: Gender in the Elizabethan Versions of Boirado, Ariosto and Tasso* (Farnham: Ashgate 2001), pp. 1-13, 73-123 (on translating, interpreting and identifying the ‘hidden’ or women subject).

in writing about Tudor society,⁶³ and they offer a broader historiographical context for questions related to the status and origins of people in Tudor England.

Sources used in *Blackamoors*

In the introduction to *Blackamoors* and throughout each chapter there are detailed explanations of the validity and veracity of the sources that are used as evidence. The introduction lists the sources of evidence used in *Blackamoors* and these sources appear in the order of their importance, with the most important listed first. There is also an acknowledgement in *Blackamoors* that different sources are verified in different ways, and a discussion on why some sources can only corroborate, rather than affirm the existence of a fact.⁶⁴ In other words, Onyeka suggests there is a hierarchy of evidence with primary records such as those contained in parish records that should come first. These records described baptisms, burials and marriages that had taken place in English parishes and included parish registers, lists or bound copies of manuscripts or books sometimes referred to as daybooks or memorandum books.⁶⁵ All these documents were created under a Tudor Government initiative following the dissolution of the monasteries in 1538-1541. Before the dissolution, monks in monasteries were the principal record keepers, but Thomas Cromwell felt they were the ‘harbingers’ of ‘popery’ and ‘idolatry,’ and so this responsibility was given to parish priests and clerks.⁶⁶ Onyeka writes

⁶³ This would include a range of books and articles too numerous to list here. They are cited in appropriate references in *Blackamoors* and/or listed in bibliographies of that book or this thesis.

⁶⁴ Many of these ways of seeing evidence (or facts) and categorising them were pioneered in England by writers such as Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* (1620), in, James Spedding (ed.), *The Works of Francis Bacon Collected and Edited by James Spedding ...* (London: Longman and Co, 1857), pp.179-198; Bacon, *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine Humane* (London: Henrie Tomes, 1605), pp. 1-7; his work is also discussed in Patrick T. Flynn, Jena-Marie Kauth, John Kevin Doyle, et.al., (eds.), *Substance, Judgement, and Evaluation: Seeking the Worth of a Liberal Arts, Core Texts Education* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2010), pp. 171-178 (Bacon’s four idols); Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica: or, Enquiries into Very Many Received Tenents and Commonly Presumed Truths* (London: Edward Dod, 1646), introduction; the medieval writer Roger Bacon, ‘Opus Majus’ (1267); Bacon, ‘Summa Grammatica’ (1240-1250); see Roger Bacon, Thomas S. Maloney (ed.), *On Signs (Opus Maius, part 3, chapter 2)* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013), passim; and John Stuart Mill, *System Of Logic Ratiocinative And Inductive Being A Connected View Of The Principles Of Evidence And The Methods Of Scientific Investigation* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publications, 2004), passim; his work is discussed in Jane Ritchie, Jane Lewis, Carol McNaughton Nicholls, et. al. (eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (New York/London: SAGE 2013), p. 79. Many of these authors tried to turn empirical reasoning (explained later), induction and evaluation into a science.

⁶⁵ National Archives (eds.), *Parish Records*, no date, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/familyhistory/guide/people/parish.htm>, accessed 12/08/08.

⁶⁶ The quotations are from Thomas Cromwell, National Archives (ed.), ‘Order for Keeping Parish Registers,’ on 29 September 1538, ‘Parish Records: 1538;’ Author Unknown, National Archives (eds.), ‘Order 1563 and 1598,’ National Archives, *Parish Records*, accessed 12/08/08; <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~framland/acts/pre1812.htm>, accessed 25/12/06; and Thomas Cromwell, ‘Supplication Against the Ordinaries,’ a petition passed by the House of Commons in 1532 in Geoffrey Rudolph Elton, *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government: Papers and Reviews* (1973, new edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 63-68; on how records were collected see Raphael Holinshed, *The Late Volume of Chronicles England, Scotland and Ireland with their Descriptions* (London: J. Harrison, 1587), p. 1524; David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 118-142; and John Vivian Kitto, ‘St Martin-in-the-Fields the Accounts of the Church Wardens, 1525-1603,’ *British History Online*, 1901, pp. 457-475, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=81909>, accessed 25/10/08 (on the role of priests and parish clerks).

On 29 September 1538, Thomas Cromwell issued the following order: ‘a priest, parson or vicar’ should ‘kepe one boke or reistre wherin ye shall write the day and yere of every weddyng christenyng and buryeng made wtin yor pishe.’ In other words, that there should be one authentic record for everyone in the parish. This is important because if this order was followed we would find all the Africans in Tudor England who were baptised, married or buried by the Church simply by examining parish records.⁶⁷

Cromwell’s order also stated that each and ‘every time’ there is a ‘wedding,’ ‘christening or burial’ the person should be recorded and that this should be done in front of ‘said wardens.’ Onyeka argues that ‘According to the order the priest has no discretion as to whether to record – it must be done.’ The order then says the parish records are to be held under lock and key for ‘sauff keeping,’ with punishments for failure to comply.⁶⁸

In 1563 and 1598 two further orders were made on the writing and keeping of parish records. The first stated that an authenticated copy of the parish records had to be sent to a bishop. Some of these copies were lost, but the bishops made summaries of them which were called Bishops’ Transcripts. These were documents completed between the seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries. They are of variable usefulness as sources of information on the African presence in Tudor England. This is because they are often not actual copies of the original parish records but summaries of those documents. What is missing from the Transcripts is the evidence that has been edited out and that often includes references to a person’s ethnicity, origins, occupation and status.⁶⁹

Some of the parish records that are available to a modern researcher are those made under the 1598 order. Through this order all parish records from ‘the beginning of her Majesty’s [Elizabeth I’s] reign [1558]’ were to be added to a new list of all records.⁷⁰ The problem with these later records is that they may not be as comprehensive as those made under the first order in 1538.⁷¹ Many priests and clerks started their records from 1558 and failed to copy those written down in earlier lists before Elizabeth I’s reign (the exception are those registers for parishes such as Perlethorpe and Carburton in Nottinghamshire). The result is that we have few records for the first fifty years of the Tudor period.⁷² It is not known if these parish registers contain information about an African presence, but it does mean that the evidence in *Blackamoors* is weighted

⁶⁷ *Blackamoors*, p. XIX; evidence in Cromwell, National Archives (eds.), ‘Order for keeping parish registers,’ on 29 September, 1538, ‘And for the sauff keping of the same boke the pishe shalbe boude [bound] to puiide [provide] of there comen charges one sure coffer with twoo lockes and keys wherof the one to remain wt [with] you ...’

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ For more on Bishops’ Transcripts see Author Unknown, ‘Guide to Our Sources,’ *Devon Record Office*, http://www.devon.gov.uk/bishops_transcripts.htm, accessed 04/01/16; and National Archives (eds.), *Parish Records*.

⁷⁰ National Archives (eds.), ‘Order of 1563’; and Author Unknown, ‘A provincial constitution of Canterbury,’ 25 October 1597 but approved in 1598, both @ National Archives, *Parish Records*.

⁷¹ A similar view is expressed by Anton Gill, Nick Barratt, *Who Do You Think You Are?: Trace Your Family History Back to the Tudors* (London: Harper Collins, 2006), n. p. introduction.

⁷² William Brewer Stephens, *Sources for English Local History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 56; and Guy Etchells, ‘Timeline of Events Concerning the Keeping of Records Pre 1812,’ *Genealogy RootsWeb*, ‘The records of Perlethorpe and Carburton include about forty registers and they begin in 1528, containing one or two entries per year up to 1538’ <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~framland/acts/pre1812.htm>, accessed 12/12/05.

towards second half of the sixteenth century.⁷³ Onyeka proposes however, that this does not mean Africans were not living in England in the early Tudor period only that we have less evidence about them.

The limitations of parish records listed above are acknowledged by Onyeka. Other issues include that these sorts of records tend to ‘record a person’s first moments and their last.’⁷⁴ This means that the rest of the information not contained in the records has to be found elsewhere or interpreted creatively. These sorts of records are also often very brief, but the important point is that parish records were written and intended to be definitive lists of everyone that was baptised or buried in a given parish, so in that sense they are important sources of information. Onyeka’s approach of giving these documents primacy for information about Africans in Tudor England was pioneered by him, and he has directly influenced other writers such as Maguire in his research and Kaufmann (in her unpublished book), to do the same.

The subsidy rolls are the next sources of evidence which are looked at in the introduction of *Blackamoors*. In *Blackamoors* Onyeka generically refers to these documents as the subsidy rolls but they are also called alien, lay, local or strangers’ registers. These documents have many more limitations than parish records, as they were not a standardised set of documents. As the historian William Hoskins states the subsidy rolls stipulated that each adult over sixteen years old who was not born in England but was ‘under the Kings Obeisance’ should be registered.⁷⁵ If the Alien’s income fell below a tax threshold (that was one established as a minimum for ‘native-born’) then they had to be taxed at a standard rate ‘that is 8d.’ The assessors or clerks were asked to list the name, nationality and status if known of the Alien. As Onyeka states in *Blackamoors*

These rolls had existed since medieval times, but in 1523 Henry VIII attempted to standardise how they ran – now ‘every person’ had to pay a charge but Aliens paid more, usually double the rate. Aliens were identified on them because they had to pay extra, but the rates were not standardised, nor was the extra they had to pay.⁷⁶

During Henry VIII’s wars in Europe the subsidy rolls were used as a way of making money to pay for these conflicts. He did this by taxing immigrants such as Italians, Normans, Dutch and Flemish Huguenots, many of whom had already settled in London and on the south-coast of England in towns such as Bournemouth, Dorchester, Poole and Southampton, or near the east coast in Norwich.⁷⁷ But the rolls were not created to specifically identify the race of the people

⁷³ Evidence on this latter point can be seen in *Blackamoors*, pp. 269-264; and *Black Lives*, pp. 274-334.

⁷⁴ *Blackamoors*, p. 217.

⁷⁵ William George Hoskins, *Local History in England* (1959, 3rd edition, Harlow: Longman, 1984), pp. 140-2; and in Richard Kirk and Ernest Kirk (eds.), *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII. To that of James I.* Volume IV, Quarto Series 10 (London: Huguenot Society of London, 1900-8), pp. 241, 248.

⁷⁶ *Blackamoors*, p. XXII; quotes within from Cyril Coffin, ‘Aliens in Dorset 1525,’ *The Dorset Page*, <http://www.thedorsetpage.com/history/Aliens/Aliens.htm> posted 2000, accessed 02/01/07; On how the rolls worked see, Authors Various, *Lay Subsidy Records, Returns for the City of London in 1292-1392* ... National Archives, PRO E179/144/2 and E179/144/3; Hoskins, *Local History in England*, pp. 140-2; and Lara Hunt Yungblut, *Strangers Settled Here Amongst Us: Policies, Perceptions, and the Presence of Aliens in Elizabethan England* (1996, new edition, London: Routledge, 2003), p. 55.

⁷⁷ Cyril Coffin, ‘Aliens in Dorset 1525;’ Lieun Luu, et. al. (eds.), *Immigrants in Tudor and Early*

who were taxed but to show if they were foreign or not. In other words, it may have missed a number of Africans present in Tudor England because they were domiciled, 'denizen' or had the status of being liege.⁷⁸ The word domiciled describes when someone treats a 'country ... as their permanent home, or [they have a] substantial connection with [it];' the word 'denizen,' refers to an 'inhabitant of or an alien admitted into [a] ... country that now has rights,' whilst 'liege' describes 'a person born in a specified place or associated with a place by birth,' or a 'natural citizen.'⁷⁹

Notwithstanding these issues Onyeka has found Africans that lived in Tudor England and are described in the subsidy rolls. These people include a man in the Langborne ward of London in 1582, that lived in 'the house of John Baptista Sambitores: [he was] Fardinando a blackamore.' Other records in the subsidy rolls contained words that required investigation to find out if terms such as 'Blackamoore' and 'Moor' were merely the names of people described in those records, or whether they described their ethnicity. For example as with 'Fraunces Negro' who lived in the Aldersgate ward of London in 1583, and was paid 'for fee and wages x li...xxxs' and 'Dyego Negro servaunt' that in 1541 lived at St Mary's Woolnoth, London and was assessed at '4d.'⁸⁰ But as Onyeka states in *Blackamoors*, 'in some cases I suggest that these types of records do describe African people but in most situations I endeavour to find other evidence before claiming this.'⁸¹

Tudor parish records contain more evidence of and about Africans that lived in Tudor England than the subsidy rolls. Onyeka suggests this is because 'more effective punishments [were implemented] for failure to complete them. Parish records therefore appear to have been checked more often and by more people than the subsidy rolls.'⁸² A further limitation of the subsidy rolls is that it has not been possible to track Africans that appear in parish records with those on the rolls. This is unfortunate as it is likely that the same person, or persons, would be responsible for writing these documents, in other words a parish priest or clerk. Onyeka suggests therefore, that because Africans appeared more frequently in parish records that this may be an indication of something far more interesting. Onyeka proposes this is because many Africans that lived in

Stuart England (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2005), pp. 41-57; and Sally Mckee (ed.), *Crossing Boundaries: Issues of Cultural and Individual Identity in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Turnout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 268-272.

⁷⁸ Also suggested by David Cressy, *Society and Culture in Early Modern England* (London: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 40, 107; and Sherwood, 'Blacks in Elizabethan England,' pp. 40-42.

⁷⁹ *Oxford Dictionary of English*, pp. 515, 1171 (definitions of 'native' etc.); On who is 'native' and 'liege' see Lien Luu, *Immigrants and the Industries of London, 1500-1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 142-144; and Faggett, *Black and Other Minorities in Shakespeare's England*, pp. 1-6.

⁸⁰ Richard Lang (ed.), *Two Tudor Subsidy Assessment Rolls* (London: The London Record Society Publications, 1993), pp. 87-95, '1582 Langborne Ward;' and in Sherwood, 'Blacks in Elizabethan England,' pp. 40-42; and Kirk and Kirk (eds.), *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in ... London*, Volume I, p. 46, Volume II (1902), p. 339, Volume IV (1908), pp. 241, 248.

⁸¹ *Blackamoors*, p. XXIII.

⁸² *Ibid.*; For more on who was 'foreign' and 'native' in Tudor England see Stephens, *Sources for English Local History*, pp. 77-80; and Coffin, 'Aliens in Dorset 1525.'

Tudor England were not foreign, and that is why they were not on the subsidy rolls, or listed as paying extra as Aliens would.⁸³

A further reason that Africans may be absent from the subsidy rolls is that the African's tax burden was paid by another and they were exempt from inclusion in the rolls.⁸⁴ Onyeka argues that some Africans 'were exempt from the subsidy rolls' because the records did not apply to some people employed in certain professions such as soldiers. Onyeka gives an example of a foreign-born African called Diego Negro that was a soldier, sailor, navigator and friend of Francis Drake that lived in England for four years from 1573 but was absent from the rolls.⁸⁵ Other Africans in Tudor England who were transitory or present in the country for short visits also appear to be missing from the rolls and the parish records; this includes the Moroccan Ambassador and his entourage who visited Elizabeth I in 1600. This is despite him being painted in England and his entourage being referred to in a number of other English documents.⁸⁶

In *Blackamoores* another set of sources are considered next, these are legal documents from court cases, proclamations, official letters, petitions, prison records, poor law accounts and other official correspondence that refer to, or mention Africans in Tudor England. These documents include the Proclamation drafted in 1601 and the Letters written on 11 July and 18 July 1596. The Proclamation and the Letters have often been misquoted and interpreted by historians using a post-colonial narrative. For a reader to understand these documents Onyeka quotes them in full. This is part of the author's literalist or legal positivist approach to encourage the reader to read what is actually there.⁸⁷ Then Onyeka suggests that another group of documents known as the petitions should be included in any interpretation of the Proclamation and Letters as they were probably written by the same people. Onyeka elevates the importance of the petitions because they tell us that the Proclamation and the Letters did not achieve the deportation of any Africans. Onyeka is the first writer to use this method to establish that argument.

Onyeka then examines the sources used by contemporary historians, and this includes the historical accounts of Tudor and Stuart historians such as William Harrison, Edmund Howes, Raphael Holinshed, John Strype and John Stow as they attempt to write the history of their times. The work of these contemporary historians however, concentrated on subjects such as

⁸³ Evidence in GL Ms 28867, GL Ms 9243-9245, GL Ms 4310, GL Ms 9222; Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, Plymouth, St Andrews/MF1-4; but not in Kirk and Kirk (eds.), *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London*, Volume IV, pp. 241, 248.

⁸⁴ See *Blackamoores*, p. XXIV.

⁸⁵ Kirk and Kirk (eds.), *Returns of Aliens*, Volume IV, pp. 241, 248. (As far as I can tell Diego Negro is no relation to Dyego Negro mentioned earlier.)

⁸⁶ Artist unknown, *Abd el-Ouahed Ben Messaoud Ben Mohammed Anoun, Moorish Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth I*, oil on oak panel, 1145 x 790mm, circa. 1600, Tate Britain, London, ref: A0427; see *Blackamoores*, illustration 5; Matar, *Turks Moors and Englishmen*, p. 43; Stow, *The Chronicles* (1615), p. 790; and Thomas Purfoot, *The Historical Discourse of Muley Hamet's Refining the Three Kingdoms, of Moruecos Fes and Sus. The Religion and Policies of the More or Barbarian ...* (London: Clement Knight, 1609), pp. A3, B2, 5.

⁸⁷ For more on literalism and legal positivism see H. L. A. Hart, *The Concept of Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), *passim*; for a critique on legal positivism see Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1977), *passim*.

constitutional reform, trade, religion and the succession to the throne of England as these were the subjects they were being sponsored to write about.⁸⁸ As Onyeka states

They [the contemporary historians] thus give prominence to groups ‘capable of concerted’ political action such as the King, Queen or aristocratic lords inside the royal court.⁸⁹ I have found no evidence of a resident African group that was powerful enough to commission or sponsor an alternative vision of Tudor England that consistently included them as fully-functioning agents.⁹⁰

Onyeka offers the theory that some late Tudor or early Stuart historians saw ‘their own history with a revisionist perspective, and it might mean that Africans were obscured or ignored.’ But then Onyeka states that there are exceptions to this argument that includes the ‘Negro who would not teach his art to any.’ He was an African that lived in Tudor England and was referred to in original sources, briefly ignored, but then edited back into English historical accounts.⁹¹ Onyeka argues ‘that noting the presence of some Africans may not have been as problematic as first thought. Or that for this particular African his legacy was so significant that it was not socially acceptable to ignore him.’⁹² The ‘Negro who would not teach his art to any’ also fits within a certain focus by Tudor historians on extraordinary, ‘heroic’ and ‘noble’ people. The few Africans that are mentioned by contemporary historians such as Stow tend to be extraordinary, heroic, and noble or connected to Englishmen who are. This includes someone such as ‘the negro with the cut on his face’ that is mentioned in correspondence written in 1586 between English officials Edward Stafford and Francis Walsingham.⁹³ The analysis by Onyeka of these Africans is not because he was, or is preoccupied with heroic persons or activities, but because there is primary evidence contained in contemporary records of the exploits of these Africans. It would be difficult to write about Africans in Tudor England and ignore them. A similar approach is carried out by Kaufmann in her soon to be published book on 12 Africans in Tudor England.⁹⁴ As Kaufmann states this approach has been aided by the information in *Blackamoores*.⁹⁵

The evidence examined next by Onyeka, is that contained in contemporary travellers’ correspondence, including letters and notes which have now been compiled together in anthologies under the contemporary editors or authors such as Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas.⁹⁶ Some of this correspondence such as that by George Best was controversial as it was

⁸⁸ On writers pleasing their sponsors see Cressy, *Society and Culture in Early Modern England*, p. 1; Bacon, *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon* (London: Henrie Tomes, 1605), p. 1; and Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550-1307* (1970, new edition, London: Routledge, 1996), n. p. introduction.

⁸⁹ This general view on contemporary historians is shared by Peter Holbrook, *Literature and Degree in Renaissance England: Nashe, Bourgeois Tragedy, Shakespeare* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 169-170; and Louise Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 1-30.

⁹⁰ *Blackamoores*, p. XXV.

⁹¹ *Blackamoores*, pp. 132-135, 149-151.

⁹² *Blackamoores*, p. XXV.

⁹³ *Blackamoores*, p. 157.

⁹⁴ Evidence in personal emails, Miranda Kaufmann, ‘Comments on Black Tudor Chapter,’ 16/02/15-03/03/15; and this style is also used by Kaufmann in ‘‘Making a Beast with Two Backs,’’ *Interracial Relationships in Early Modern England*, *Literature Compass*, 12: 1, January 2015, pp. 22-37, published online *Wiley Online Library* 08/01/15, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/lic3.12200/full>, accessed 05/01/16.

⁹⁵ Evidence in personal email, Kaufmann, ‘Comments on Black Tudor Chapter,’ 16/02/15- 03/03/15.

⁹⁶ Rayner Unwin, *The Defeat of John Hawkins* (London: Allen Unwin, 1961), p. 205; John Hawkins, *Letter to Queen Elizabeth*, 16 September 1567, National Archives, Kew, London, SP 12/44, f. 16 16/9/1567; Richard,

considered by many foreign powers as containing support for illegal activities.⁹⁷ Other letters were private epistles never intended for publication. Onyeka in *Blackamoores* examines the veracity of each document used. He also does something else which is to widen the number and variety of contemporary accounts which are considered relevant to this subject. He includes books and letters which have never, or are rarely discussed by historians. Onyeka is able to do this because over a twenty-three year period he has gained access to the views of Africans by such people as Francis Bacon, Juliana Berners, Richard Devizes, Ranulphus Higden, Thomas More and Meredith Hanmer.⁹⁸ Other evidence includes Andrew Boorde's *Introduction to the Book of Knowledge*, published in 1550 and the work of the sixteenth-century Moorish scholar Leo Africanus, translated by John Pory in 1600 that described the customs and culture of Africans. The latter is important because as Onyeka says 'it includes the views of Africans about other Africans.'⁹⁹ There is also the travel letters of Richard Madox, the book of the Italian writer Augustinus Curio including *A Notable Historie of the Saracens*, and Edward Blount's translation in 1600 of *The Historie of the Uniting of Portugal*. In addition, *The Spanish Dictionary* of John Minsheu created in 1599 is important as it provided important sixteenth-century definitions of words used to describe Africans.¹⁰⁰

Onyeka is aware however, that the focus of none of these Medieval, Tudor and Stuart writers was to chronicle the presence, status and origins of Africans in Tudor England. The references these writers make to Africans often takes the form of an aside comment or a note in the margin of their work. This is an important factor often ignored by academics such as Habib or

Hakluyt (ed.), *The Principal Navigations ... Volume VI* (London: Hakluyt's Collection, 1598), p. 137; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and Places Discovered from the Creation unto the Present ...* (London: William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1613), pp. 540-541; Thomas Wyndham, in John Hamilton Moore (ed.), *A New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels ... Including ... Voyages and Travels ... With the Relations of Maghellan, Drake, Candish, Anson, Dampier, and all the Circumnavigators, Including ... the ... Voyages and Discoveries ...* (London: John Hamilton, 1785), pp. 86-87; and Margo Hendricks, Patricia Parker (eds.), *Women, 'Race' and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 336 (has a different view), other evidence is in the bibliography to *Blackamoores*.

⁹⁷ George Best, *A True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discovery, for the Finding of a Passage to Cathya, by the Northwest, under the Conduct of Martin Frobisher ...* (London: H Bynyman, 1578), pp. 28-32.

⁹⁸ Bacon in, *Novum Organum* (1620), Spedding (ed.), *The Works of Francis Bacon*, p. 473; Juliana Berners, Gervase Markham (ed.), *The Gentlemans Academie, or the Booke of S. Albans: Containing Three Most Exact and Excellent Bookes: The First of Hawking, the Second of all the Proper Terms of Hunting and the Last of Armorie: All Compiled by Juliana Barnes in the Yere from the Incarnation of Christ 1486: And Now Reduced into a Better Method by G. M. (i.e. Gervase Markham.) ... (by Richard Farmer)* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1595), pp. 43-44; Richard Cirencester in John Allen Giles (tr. ed.), *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes Concerning the Deeds of Richard the First, King of England: Also Richard of Cirencester's Description of Britain* (London: James Bohn, 1841), p. 89; Ranulphus Higden, in Churchill Babington (ed.), John Trevisa (tr.), *Polychronicon: Together with the English Translations of John Trevisa ...* (London: Longman, 1865), pp. 53, 158-161, 169, 189; Elizabeth Francis Rogers (ed.), Thomas More, *The Correspondence of Sir Thomas More* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), p. 4; Meredith Hanmer, *The Baptizing of a Turke A Sermon ...* (London: Robert Walde-Grave, 1586), pp. 2, 5, B4, E2, F3 (the edition used was numbered in this strange way).

⁹⁹ Quotation is from *Blackamoores*, p. XXV; Andrew Boorde, *The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge ...* (London: William Copeland, 1550); and John Pory (tr.), Leo Africanus, *A Geographical Historie of Africa, Written in Arabicke and Italian ... by Iohn Leo a More ...* (London: John Pory, 1600).

¹⁰⁰ Caelius Augustinus Curio, *A Notable History of the Saracens ...* (London: William How and Abraham Veale, 1575), pp. 25-26, 139; Edward Blount (tr.), Ieronimo Conestaggio, *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugal to the Crowne of Castill ...* (London: A. Hatfield for E. Blount, 1600), passim; Minsheu, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English*, pp. 172, 175.

Ungerer.¹⁰¹ As a consequence these records are being used by modern historians in a very different way from what was intended by the author. By seeing these contemporary writers in this way, we can see why Onyeka offers a pre-colonial theory. This theory is that African people's presence in Tudor England was not so remarkable that English and foreign writers felt so compelled to emphasise it as hitherto postulated in the post-colonial praxis.

The last groups of written documents analysed in *Blackamoores* is that from contemporary plays, masques and musicals. The reason why these documents are listed last is already stated in this thesis. They are important nevertheless, because they may give an indication of contemporary feelings, conceptions and misconceptions present in society at that time. They may also have provided an emotional catharsis to stir up the feelings of an audience for sensationalist reasons. The reason for this may be less sinister than historians such as Kim Hall infer but may simply be part of a desire on the part of Thomas Dekker, Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, and others to raise interest in their work by using scandal and controversy.¹⁰² Onyeka also agrees as 'Habib, Matar and many other historians suggest that these playwrights provide few, if any, direct references to a resident Tudor African population.'¹⁰³ Despite this, Africans are mentioned and described in many renaissance plays.¹⁰⁴ Onyeka suggests that their inclusion in such written works may be because Africans were living close to and near some of these playwrights, and some of these plays may indicate popular notions about Africans present in Tudor society. The historians Harry Lee Faggett and Sujata Iyengar appear to come to similar conclusions.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ *Black Lives*, introduction; *Mediterranean Apprenticeship*, passim.

¹⁰² On these matters and the African presence in English renaissance drama please see Habib, *Shakespeare and Race*, pp. 35, 49, 74; Christopher Marlowe, *The Famous Tragedy of the Jew of Malta ...* (London: Nicholas Vavasour, 1633), Act 2, no scene, n. p. *Tamburlaine the Great* (London: Marlowe, 1592), No Act, or Scene, pp. A3, D4, E4, F2, F3, F4, G1-2; and *The Tragedy of Dido Queen of Carthage* (London: Thomas Nash, 1594), passim; William Shakespeare, *Othello* in Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan (eds.), *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works* (Walton on Thames: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1998), pp. 939-978; *Titus Andronicus*, pp. 1123-1150; *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I, Scene V, Line 46, p. 1013, 'As a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear;' *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II, Scene I, Line 1-46, pp. 835-836, Act II, Scene VII, Line 1- 79, p. 840; *Macbeth*, Act V, Scene III, Line 11-12, p. 794, 'The devil damn thee black/ thou cream-faced loon.'

¹⁰³ *Blackamoores*, p. XXVI; *Black Lives*, p. 7; Habib, *Shakespeare and Race*, pp. 35, 49, 74; Matar, *Islam in Britain*, pp. 50-70; Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Stranger in Shakespeare* (New York: Stein and Day, 1972), pp. 139-199; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 211; Margo Hendricks, 'Surveying 'race' in Shakespeare,' *Shakespeare and Race* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 1-23; George Kirkpatrick Hunter, 'Othello and Colour Prejudice,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53, 1967, p. 153; Jose Piedra, 'In Search of the Black Stud,' pp. 23-44; Benjamin Braude, 'Collective Degradation: Slavery and the Construction of Race, Ham and Noah: Sexuality, Servitudinism, and Ethnicity.' From Proceedings of the *Fifth Annual Gilder Lehrman Center International Conference* (New Haven Connecticut: Yale University, November 8, 2003), n. p. passim; Joyce Green Macdonald, 'Black Ram, White Ewe: Shakespeare, Race and Women,' *A Feminist Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2001), pp. 188-207; Other authors including Jonathan Burton, Ania Loomba and Patricia Parker are listed in the Bibliography of *Blackamoores*.

¹⁰⁴ Marlowe, *The Famous Tragedy of the Jew of Malta* (1633), Act 2, no scene, n. p. *Tamburlaine the Great* (1592), No Act, or Scene, pp. A3, D4, E4, F2, F3, F4, G1-2; and *The Tragedy of Dido Queen of Carthage* (1594), n. p. passim; Shakespeare, *Othello* in Proudfoot, et. al. (eds.), *The Arden Shakespeare*, pp. 939-978; *Titus Andronicus* (1588-1593), pp. 1123-1150; *Romeo and Juliet* (1591-1595), Act I, Scene V, Line 46, p. 1013; *The Merchant of Venice* (1596-1598), Act II, Scene I, Line 1-46, pp. 835-836, Act II, Scene VII, Line 1- 79, p. 840; *Macbeth* (1599-1606), Act V, Scene III, Line 11-12, p. 794.

¹⁰⁵ Faggett, *Black and Other Minorities in Shakespeare's England*, pp. 30, 37-39; Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Colour in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 92, 99; and suggested by Ungerer, 'The Presence of Africans in Elizabethan England and the performance of *Titus Andronicus*,' pp. 19-56; Benjamin Braude, 'The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and

The evidence listed last in the introduction is that of the paintings and images created by contemporary artists of Africans in Tudor England, Europe or elsewhere. These documents can help us understand more about the presence, status and origins of Africans in Tudor England. Some of these images have been included because they provide reference points for a reader. In a similar way to the plays and masques, images can help a reader make sense of the narrative of a written text. The front and back cover of *Blackamoores* for example are not images of Africans in Tudor England, but are included precisely for this same purpose.¹⁰⁶

The structure and style of *Blackamoores*

Blackamoores is an academic book which offers new narratives on the presence, status and origins of Africans in Tudor England and it is also a reference tool and guide used by scholars. The book indicates major arguments regarding this subject which will be further developed into books and articles by Onyeka. *Blackamoores* was created to be the first in a series of four books on the presence, status and origins of Africans in Tudor England. The book is the summary of wider and more detailed research conducted by Onyeka over a twenty-three year period. *Blackamoores* was intended to be an introduction to this subject with the rest of the books to be written over the next seventeen years.

The introduction of *Blackamoores* contains information about where this work sits in relation to that of other academics in the field. This chapter also contains an analysis of the presence of Africans in Tudor England. In the next chapter of *Blackamoores*, chapter 1, the focus is on the status of Africans in Tudor England with particular reference to the Proclamation and Letters. This chapter begins with an examination of international documents that appear to confirm that slavery was a European wide phenomenon and that it was directed entirely against Africans for racial reasons. The opening of this chapter also contains an additional idea that the idea of ‘race’ existed as a coherent set of beliefs and that they explain why people were being enslaved and transported across the Mediterranean as Ungerer suggests.¹⁰⁷ Historians such as Ungerer also claim that ideas of race underpinned the trans-atlantic, trans-indian, trans-pacific enslavement of Africans and other non-white people.¹⁰⁸ The Proclamation and the Letters are then offered as emanating from these beliefs. Onyeka suggests however, that whilst these theories are useful in examining evidence in the eighteenth and nineteenth century as it fits within a post-colonial

Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods,’ *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 54:1, January 1997, pp. 103-142; Evidence of this presence is to be found here in: GL Ms 28867, GL Ms 9243-9245, GL Ms 4310, GL Ms 9222, GL Ms 4515/1; and Rory Lalwan (ed.), *Sources for Black and Asian History at the City of Westminster Archives ...* (London: Westminster City Archives, 2005), pp. 9, 10; Habib, *Shakespeare and Race*, pp. 35, 49, 74.

¹⁰⁶ *Blackamoores*, front cover: Hans Memling, *Triptych of Jan Floreins*, central panel with *Adoration of the Magi* (Bruges: Memling Museum, 1425/40-1494); back cover: Andres Sanchez Galque, *Los Tres Mulatos de Esmeraldas*, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 1599).

¹⁰⁷ *Blackamoores*, p.1; For more on the development of philosophies on race see Andrew Valls, *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005), passim.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*; and this idea is maintained by historians such as Jonathan Schorsch, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconversos, AfroIberians and Amerindians*; David Wheat, David Borucki, David Eltis (eds.), ‘Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America,’ *The American Historical Review*, 120: 2, 2015, pp. 433-461; David Wheat, Carl Wise, ‘African Laborers for a New Empire: Iberia, Slavery, and the Atlantic World,’ *Lowcountry Digital Library* (College of Charleston), 2014.

http://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/african_laborers_for_a_new_emp, accessed 02/01/16.

narrative. Onyeka questions these post-colonial narratives when they are used to explain evidence that is pre-colonial. Onyeka then enquires what would the words in the Proclamation and the Letters have meant to a Tudor audience that read or heard them. The text of each document is looked at in detail and the post-colonial reading of the text is stripped from the interpretation. This is achieved by a literal reading of these documents. Onyeka then suggests that the Proclamation and the Letters were not publically endorsed by Government officials and he states they were not written by Elizabeth I. Onyeka offers other evidence from the petitions to explain the Letters creation and claims that they were about specific incidents, and groups of Africans, although they referred to a wider African population. It then becomes obvious that the Proclamation and the Letters failed because the authors of the petitions tell us that they did. Onyeka shows that the Proclamation and Letters were bound to fail because they never became statements of Government intent. He then offers a theoretical basis using pre-colonial theories to suggest that these documents could not work in Tudor society because of the very nature of that society.¹⁰⁹

Onyeka is in an advantageous position to discuss these matters, since he is a lawyer who specialised in early modern legal enactments and the jurisprudence related to slavery. The historians such as Habib, Ungerer and to some extent Sherwood without such a background have mistaken the propaganda that some English merchants purport, with actual public or legal policy.¹¹⁰ There is a marked difference between the two. It is questionable if it was ever legal in Tudor England to be involved in slave trading.¹¹¹ Of course Englishmen were involved abroad, but this was abroad. Moreover, Onyeka offers the pre-colonial theory that England was in no position to be a leading slave trading nation. England did not adopt that role until the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth.¹¹²

In chapter 2 Onyeka takes the reader further and into issues that most historians of the Tudor period have only speculated on. Chapter 2 is the summary of two books both unpublished written by him on the African presence in England before 1485, and myths and legends related to African people. Both books refer to the status of Africans in England. This chapter contains summarised parts of those two books. Onyeka also analyses in this chapter the words used to describe Africans in Tudor England. He goes on to explain where these terms came from, using contemporary sources. Onyeka believes that only by doing this complicated investigation can one truly claim that there were Africans in Tudor England.¹¹³ Later in this chapter Onyeka writes about how people in Tudor England viewed Africans and whether negative and positive ideas about these people were believed. In the course of this discussion, ideas such as the curse of Ham, about otherness, blackness, the stranger, who is native, and so on, are analysed, as is the notion of community. Onyeka uses a rational notion to make sense of these wide ranging ideas,

¹⁰⁹ *Blackamoores*, pp. 2-29.

¹¹⁰ *Blackamoores*, pp. 19-27; *Black Lives*, pp. 1-18, 274-334; *Mediterranean Apprenticeship*, p. 76; Gustav Ungerer, 'The Presence of Africans in Elizabethan England,' pp. 19-56; Sherwood, 'Blacks in Elizabethan England,' pp. 40-42; and Sherwood, 'Britain, Slavery and the Trade in Enslaved Africans.'

¹¹¹ *Blackamoores*, pp. 19-27.

¹¹² *Blackamoores*, pp. 27-29, 39-41.

¹¹³ *Blackamoores*, pp. 42-46, 73-78; Onyeka, 'What's in a Name?' *History Today*, 62: 10, October 2012, pp. 34-39.

with irrational assumptions being set aside for more logical interpretations based on the primary records available, with the theory containing the least assumptions being the most plausible.¹¹⁴

Furthermore, in chapter 2, Onyeka used a pre-colonial approach to strongly suggest that blackness and the blackness of Africans were not always synonymous; just as whiteness and the whiteness of Europeans was not always synonymous.¹¹⁵ Onyeka acknowledges that there may be some negative notions about Africans present in Tudor society, but that not every English person regarded all Africans as inferior. Onyeka suggests that this last issue will always be answered by a negation, as all one has to do is find one English person that did not believe in the inferiority of Africans. *Blackamoors* contains more than one such person. This may be called the theory of negation in support of a hypothesis.¹¹⁶

Onyeka in chapter 3 examines the origins of Africans in Tudor England with reference to their links to mainland Europe. This subject has not been examined effectively by any other British historian. There have been attempts by academics such as Lowe to evaluate an African presence in mainland Europe but she does not consistently trace these people to early modern England. But Lowe's book has revealed some interesting ideas about an African presence in Europe such as the fact that these people were present throughout European countries; but the narrative of her work has remained in the post-colonial praxis in the same way as others such as Schorsch. It is unfortunate that what would have strengthened both of these academics arguments is the inclusion of findings from African-centred scholarship.

Over a hundred years ago authors such as John Archer, Joel Augustus Rogers, Arthur Schomburg and many others uncovered evidence from primary sources on an African presence in early modern Europe and their connections to England. These academics using primary records as a source also created their own narratives. These narratives attempted to challenge a post-colonial praxis. But because many of these scholars were based in the USA and did not have the experience of, or access to, English records that Onyeka has, valuable evidence such as that in English parishes are missing from their work. But Onyeka suggests that this limitation is not the main reason why their work is excluded, nor is it why a similar pattern exists for other academics of African descent who wrote later on this subject. These later historians include Scobie and Sertima, who wrote about Africans throughout Europe. In relation to the earlier and later African-centred scholars, the exclusion of their work is often unfortunately for non-academic reasons linked to their ethnicity and/or the tone of their discourse. The result is that a de-facto apartheid exists in this field of study and the scholarship suffers.¹¹⁷ Onyeka in *Blackamoors* attempts to bridge this divide and draws from wherever the evidence is and that includes marginalised but nevertheless academic historical work. This is the most scholarly approach and yields the most comprehensive narrative since it circumvents the negative development of entrenched historical perspectives.

¹¹⁴ *Blackamoors*, pp. 46-90; On the question of what is a 'rational notion,' see Bertrand Russell, *History of Western Philosophy* (London: George Allen Unwin, 1945), introduction; and Robert Audi (ed.), *The Cambridge Dictionary of Western Philosophy* (Cambridge: Paw Prints, 2008), introduction.

¹¹⁵ *Blackamoors*, pp. 46-72; Another view is offered in Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 57-60.

¹¹⁶ This is a theory developed by Onyeka and discussed later in this thesis.

¹¹⁷ This argument is analysed in *Blackamoors*, introduction; and throughout this thesis.

In chapter 4, Onyeka looks at the West-African origins of some Africans in Tudor England. This is a subject that few historians would be able to examine effectively. The reasons for this are because it requires knowledge not only about Tudor England, but about West-African societies, kingdoms, languages, and cultures. Those historians such as Habib and Ungerer who have written on this area unfortunately repeat the notions of a post-colonial praxis. This is that West-African civilisations were backward and had been subject to European control and the people that arrived in England from there would be slaves bereft of knowledge, dignity, and most of all agency. These sorts of arguments are made even when early modern English primary records state the contrary. The task in *Blackamoores*, however, is not to challenge all post-colonial narratives about the nature of West-African civilisations. This would be the subject of another different book. Instead the important point is that throughout most of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Africans that arrived from West Africa came from societies that were developed economically, socially and politically.¹¹⁸

Onyeka acknowledges in chapter 4, that the majority of Africans found in Tudor records are men. In the conclusion of *Blackamoores* the reasons for this are explained. It is worth noting however, that men of African descent represent the disproportionate majority within England's African and African-Caribbean communities until the last quarter of the twentieth century. The reasons for this are of course outside the scope of the discussions in *Blackamoores*.¹¹⁹ The fact that African men represented the majority within the African population in Tudor society does not mean that Onyeka has ignored African women. On the contrary throughout *Blackamoores*, and in articles such as 'What's in Name' and the 'The Missing Tudors' African women have been a central aspect of his narrative.¹²⁰ African women for example are discussed in every chapter of *Blackamoores* and this includes Maria Moriana, Catalina da Cardones, Mary Fillis of Morisco, Grace of Hatherleigh and so on.

Blackamoores is a scholarly book on the presence status and origins of Africans in Tudor England. It is also intended to be read as a history book by the general public. In pursuance of both these aims the book includes a comprehensive set of references which can be used to research the evidence presented. There is also a detailed bibliography which includes not only lists of books but unedited and edited parts of Tudor transcripts and more difficult to find primary evidence. Occasionally, Onyeka has included transcripts written in the original language to allow readers to make up their own minds about a given text. Historians have used this evidence to write their own books. The important point, however, is that *Blackamoores* was also written for a general audience, to be read by ordinary people who have little or no knowledge of history and the Tudor period. The book therefore as stated above, mixes the unfamiliar with

¹¹⁸ *Blackamoores*, pp. 152-194.

¹¹⁹ Evidence in: *Blackamoores*, pp. 152-194, 211-238; Similar views on this matter are offered in Fryer, *Staying Power*, passim; Geoffrey Paul Edwards, *Early African Presence in the British Isles, an Inaugural Lecture ...* (Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies, Edinburgh University, 1990), n. p. passim; David Killingray, *Africans in Britain* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1994), pp. 1-5; Sue Niebrzydowski, 'The Sultana and Her Sisters: Black Women in the British Isles, Before 1530,' *Women's History Review*, 10:2, 2001, pp. 187-210.

¹²⁰ See: Onyeka's, 'What's in a Name?', pp. 34-39; 'The Missing Tudors, Black People in Sixteenth-Century England,' pp. 32-33; 'Artisans, servants, musicians and Kings: Africans in Tudor England,' pp. 75-76; and 'Port Towns, Diversity and Tudor England,' *Port Towns & Urban Cultures*, 22 July 2014, <http://porttowns.port.ac.uk/port-towns-diversity-tudor-england-2/> accessed 05/01/16.

more familiar content. Onyeka refutes the idea that a book cannot be popular and scholarly.¹²¹ Onyeka intends *Blackamoores* to be both.

The images used in *Blackamoores* came from paintings, drawings and so on created at the time. They also provide visual references and tools to help readers visualise the people and narrative proposed in *Blackamoores*. In the absence of images of Africans who actually lived in Tudor England, the images of Africans in mainland Europe albeit it as angels, saints, soldiers, kings, princes, prophets, queens and servants are important since most were drawn from live models.¹²² Africans in Europe had faces and they are to be seen in renaissance art, it is just that at present we are unable to ascertain a coherent narrative to complement every face.

¹²¹ *Blackamoores*, pp. VII-IX, XII-XVIII, 211-221; A similar approach is adopted by Kaufmann, in “Making a Beast with Two Backs,” pp. 22-37, January 2015.

¹²² For references to some of these images and books that contain them see *Blackamoores*, pp. 242-249, 341-343; evidence that these images were created from live models are in David Bindman, Henry Louis Gates, Frank M. Snowden, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, Volume I-V (New York: Harvard University Press, 2010-2014); For example, see the comment on the painting of Paul Van Somer, *Anne of Denmark*, 1617 @ the Royal Collection, London; in *The Image of the Black*, Volume II, part 1, p. 249; and see *Blackamoores*, p. 201, figure 27.

WHAT *BLACKAMOORES* PROVES ABOUT AFRICANS IN TUDOR ENGLAND

Presence

In every chapter of *Blackamoors* where Onyeka refers to an African man, woman or child, he is also automatically talking about an African presence. *Blackamoors* however, is very different to *Black Lives* where Habib provides a chronological and statistical list of such a presence. Onyeka's research refers to an African presence in Tudor England but it is focused on the status and origins of those people. Nevertheless, Onyeka has discovered the following about the presence of Africans in Tudor England. This is that the largest concentrations of Africans in England at the time were in these places: London, Plymouth and Bristol.¹²³ In London that included over forty people of African descent buried in one London graveyard known as the 'New Churchyard.' Onyeka made this discovery whilst doing research for a Channel 4 programme called *London's Lost Graveyard*.¹²⁴ The Africans in that graveyard were drawn from the following London parishes: St Botolph without Aldgate, Aldgate, Stepney and St Peter the Poor. Of these parishes St Botolph had the largest number of entries of people of African descent in England. Onyeka examined these records and established that Africans may have constituted 6% of the total population there. Africans would therefore have been a significant presence in that area and may have constituted a community.¹²⁵ Onyeka is the first academic to make such a claim, and the veracity of such an idea is examined below because it has many consequences for how we see Africans in Tudor England.

Blackamoors reveals that Africans were living in areas throughout England in the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries, not just London, Plymouth and port towns. Onyeka proves that Africans were also living in towns and small rural land locked villages including Nottingham, Holt in Worcestershire, Cheshunt, Hertford and Little Hadham in Hertfordshire. One of these people included a man called Fortunatus that may have been the same man who became a servant of Robert Cecil.¹²⁶ Interestingly, this Fortunatus is now the subject of a play by the author Rex Obano and the character was inspired by Onyeka's work in *Blackamoors*.¹²⁷ *Blackamoors* also shows that other African men, women and children were living in Swindon in Wiltshire, such as

¹²³ Evidence and clues came from Holinshed, *The Chronicles* (1587), p. 1524; John Stow, *A Summary of the Chronicles of England, Abridged and Continued unto 1598 ...* (1565, new edition, London: R. Bardocke, 1598), pp. 768-769; John Stow, Edmund Howes, *The Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England ...* (London: Thomas Dawson for Thomas Adams, 1615), p. 790; Best, *A True Discourse ...* (1578), pp. 28-32; Sherwood, 'Blacks in Elizabethan England,' pp. 40-42; Sampson, 'Black Burials and Deaths 16th Century;' and Lalwan (ed.), *Sources for Black and Asian History*, pp. 9, 10.

¹²⁴ Onyeka (wr. pr.), Kenny Scott (dr.), *London's Lost Graveyard: The Crossrail Discovery*, Documentary, True North, Sunday 19 July 2015, Channel 4.

¹²⁵ See *Blackamoors*, pp. 61-62, 84-85n; The idea of 'community' in Tudor England is of course a complex subject and is discussed by Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (Chichester: Ellis Horwood, 1985), p. 85; Joshua Phillips, *English Fictions of Communal Identity, 1485-1603* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 11-22, passim (on how medieval and Tudor people saw 'belonging'); and Joyce A. Youings, *Sixteenth-Century England* (London: Allen Lane, 1984), pp. 88-102.

¹²⁶ See *Blackamoors*, pp. 28, 126; much of this information has now been digitalised Jill Barber, 'African Caribbean People in Herts (1570-1840),' *Herts Memories*, 16 July 2009, http://www.hertsmemories.org.uk/page_id_174.aspx?path=0p34p138p3p101p, accessed 18/02/10.

¹²⁷ Rex Obano, *The Moors of England* (London: unpublished, 2015); evidence in personal emails between Obano and Onyeka (04/02/15- 31/08/15); and said by Obano at the public reading of 'Moors of England,' at Talawa offices, 16 April 2015; the play is featured here <http://www.alfredfagonaward.co.uk/2015-awards/> accessed, 05/01/16.

Elizabeth the Blackmore and Matthias the Morian a worker helping to repair Salisbury Cathedral in the sixteenth century.¹²⁸ Onyeka has also found families of Africans in villages such as Hatherleigh in Devon.¹²⁹ Onyeka's discovery of these Africans in rural land-locked villages proves Africans were not restricted to the coastal ports where they disembarked. He has also for the first time discovered Africans present in Cornwall during the sixteenth century and this included people such as 'Marrion S Soda of Morrisce' buried in Bodmin on 12 December 1563.¹³⁰ The presence of Africans in these villages and towns such as Bodmin also proves that the African presence in Tudor England was not restricted to a few metropolitan towns.

Blackamoores is the first published book in which the records of Africans living in Tudor and early Stuart England are grouped together in the parishes that they are recorded in. This is an important innovation and is a marked change in method from the approach taken by historians such as Habib and Ungerer. They found it difficult to create a narrative to explain this presence because they did not develop their own pre-colonial theories about colour and difference. Their narrative of an African presence is therefore caught in a post-colonial praxis. Some of the reasons for this are because, Habib and Ungerer are not sure what it meant in Tudor society to call yourself or be described as an African, Blackamoore, Black, Negro, Ethiopian, Moor, Barbary and so on.¹³¹ For example, Habib, and Ungerer are unable to strip away the post-colonial perspectives which underpin how we now see the word 'Negro.' This word Negro is now strongly associated with post-colonial narratives associated with the trans-atlantic slave trade, and an idea that the term can only be applied to Black West-Africans who are 'true negroes.'¹³² These sorts of misconceptions were not present in the sixteenth century when people such as William Harrison (1577) used the term 'Negro' to describe the African 'who would not teach his art to any.'¹³³ The failure of academics such as Habib and Ungerer to address these matters means that the evidence they do bring about an African presence is lost in the post-colonial praxis. We are unable to see the African presence in Tudor England without seeing this praxis. To see clearer, the solution is to adopt the approach that Onyeka suggests of defining these Africans' ethnicity using pre-colonial theories. Then we are in a position to say that the people being described are of African descent.

Furthermore, Onyeka's approach of grouping records of Africans together helped in uncovering their individual importance. This method is a very useful way for any historiographical process

¹²⁸ Wiltshire and Swindon Records Office, *Salisbury St Thomas Parish Register*, no ref. 26 January, 1653, n. p.; *Salisbury St Thomas Parish Registers and Bishop's Transcripts 1530-1837, Burials* (Devizes: Wiltshire Family History Society, new edition 2011), p. 67; and Mathias' record is at Salisbury Cathedral records, Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, Wiltshire, Register 1, X3/84/1.

¹²⁹ *Blackamoores*, pp. 249-250.

¹³⁰ *Blackamoores*, p. 249. Onyeka is not claiming that all the people listed on this page of *Blackamoores* are of African descent. This page includes a selection of entries that Onyeka found in Cornwall and some describe 'Egyptians,' 'Irish travellers,' or strangers etc.

¹³¹ The meaning and origins of these words are discussed in *Blackamoores* chapter 2; and in Richard Percyvall, *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English, First Published by R Percivale Now Enlarged by J Minsheu. Hereunto is Annexed in Ample English Dictionarie with the Spanish Words Adjoined* (London: E Bollifaunt, 1599), p. 172; and revealed in Pory (tr.), *Africanus, A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600), pp. 6, 42.

¹³² *Blackamoores*, pp. 42-46 (45 'true negroes'); 'What's in a Name?' pp. 34-39.

¹³³ William Harrison, in Frederick James Furnivall, John Norden, et. al. (eds.), *Harrison's Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth ... Volume II and III* (1577, 1584, 1877, new edition, London: New Shakespeare Society, 1878), p. 34; *Blackamoores*, pp. 132-135.

as it makes it easier to link and relate entries together that may be connected to the same person; since, in a chronological arrangement these entries may be separated from each other. The same issue applies to families, some of whom only become visible when one groups records together in this way. An example of this is the family of Grace in Hatherleigh.¹³⁴ Africans, through this process are now free to be seen, and as Maguire suggests we are now able to see the African in relation to their locality. Consequently a pre-colonial narrative can develop that challenges the sweeping assertions of the post-colonial praxis.

The other problem with using the chronological method of listing the African's baptisms and burials is that people's existence can become lost in a list. Onyeka acknowledges that Habib was challenging the notion that Africans were not present in Tudor England at all, and therefore he describes them as a statistical 'phenomenon,' anomaly or 'strange' occurrence. Onyeka however, does not believe that the existence of any human being is a statistical anomaly, and suggests that it is our emotional attachment to English history as 'white pages with no black letters in' which makes us see people in that way.¹³⁵ Onyeka now takes us beyond the post-colonial, and though Onyeka's method seems a simple innovation, in fact it reveals a fundamental difference in methodology. This methodology, as stated earlier in this thesis, is rooted in the historical training and background of the author and may be referred to as a kind of realism, (but without the wider political overtones often attached to realism). Onyeka's method is about seeing evidence in its own context as a consequence and perhaps reflection of its time, in other words what did people at the time mean and how do we know that they meant it.¹³⁶ This realism is akin to the legal positivism defined earlier, and helped Onyeka to interpret legal phrases and decisions. Significantly, Onyeka also applies this method to examining how many Africans were present in Tudor England. He quotes from contemporary writers that used terms such as 'great numbers,' or 'too many' in the Proclamation and the Letters. Onyeka suggests that these words must have had some meaning and shows that Africans were more than a 'few strolling players' as Fryer suggested they were.¹³⁷

Onyeka states his research has also uncovered children of African descent living and sometimes being born in Tudor England, even though parish records do not list births but baptisms. For example there is the record of a baptism on 23 June 1603 at St Andrew's Plymouth, for 'Richard, son of Marye a Neger, base, ye reputed father Rog Hoggett.'¹³⁸ Records such as these indicate information not only about the status of the mother and child, but their prevalence highlights that

¹³⁴ *Blackamoores*, pp. 249-250.

¹³⁵ These quotations are from various authors discussed in this thesis but include: Habib, *Black Lives*, p.1; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, p. 13; the last quotation is from *Blackamoores*, p. VII; also see Onyeka, 'The Missing Tudors,' pp. 32-33.

¹³⁶ For more on realism and historical realism as a form of historiography, see John Anthony Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2013), pp. 590-593; Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, Henri Van Laun (trs.), *History of English Literature* (1864, Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1872, 2nd edition), passim; George Lukacs, John Mander, Necke Mander (trs.), *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism* (London: Merlin Press, 1963), passim; George Lukacs, Edith Bone (trs.), *Studies in European Realism* (London: The Merlin Press, 1972), passim.

¹³⁷ Peter Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 1-14, 113-133, 146, 191-236; but the phrase originates from Samuel Parsons Scott, *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe* (New York: Lippincott, 1904), p. 355.

¹³⁸ Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, St Andrews/ June 23/1603 MF 1-4, 'Register of St Andrews,' p. 110; and *Black Lives*, p. 333.

there are only few references to Africans marrying other Africans and producing children. As Onyeka states

Amongst the records discovered so far, the most common types of sexual relationships are those [from] unions between white men and African women. Of ... thirty-two mixed-parentage children only twelve of them appear to be the product of a relationship between an African father and a white mother. Marriages where both parties are African do not appear to have been recorded [often] in Tudor parish records.¹³⁹

As Onyeka suggests we can only speculate about African men and women in Tudor society having non-Christian marriages, because we have no evidence to support it. Instead the information discovered so far, indicates that there were only a small number of Africans marrying other Africans in Tudor England.¹⁴⁰ So over time the proportion of African children born from two African parents would be reduced, ultimately this kind of integration would have led to the decline of the Blackamoore population. This concept is discussed more in the conclusion of *Blackamoores*.

Community and descendants

Onyeka's innovation in grouping the Africans he has found within their parishes helps us see whether there are areas in which ethnic diversity was more common in Tudor England. This can then be looked at by other historians and geographers to map locations of ethnic diversity. In this way *Blackamoores* is a tool for those researchers at institutes such as UCL who are looking to create a national map of diversity.¹⁴¹ *Blackamoores* shows that Africans were a visibly significant population in certain areas such as St Botolph without Aldgate London, St Andrews Plymouth and St Olave Hart Street London. In Botolph Africans appear at a ratio of 1:15, and in both Hart Street and St Andrew's at 1:20. This creates the possibility that Africans constituted 6% and 5% respectively of the populations of these areas between the years of 1538 (when records began) and 1603.¹⁴² In St Botolph it is likely that Africans constituted a community using the definition of the term in *Blackamoores*.¹⁴³ In other words community meant

... social relations [between people] ... from rural peasants to urban guilds to gentry-governed 'country communities' to towns and cities, people organised, or simply belonged to, collectives based upon something they held in common.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ *Blackamoores*, p. XXII.

¹⁴⁰ Evidence in London: GL Ms 28867, GL Ms 9243-9245, GL Ms 4310, GL Ms 9222; Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, MF1-4; *Blackamoores*, pp. 249-264; *Black Lives*, pp. 115, 116, 136; Kaufmann, "Making a Beast with Two Backs," pp. 22-37.

¹⁴¹ These include: Caroline Bressey, Gemma Romain, The Equiano Centre, University College London, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/equianocentre/Paul_Goodwin.html, accessed 05/01/16.

¹⁴² London: GL Ms 28867, GL Ms 9243-9245, GL Ms 4310, GL Ms 9222; and Plymouth and West Devon Record Office, St Andrews/MF1-4.

¹⁴³ *Blackamoores*, pp. 61-63; other evidence in GL Ms 28867, GL Ms 9243-9245; and *Black Lives*, pp. 274-334.

¹⁴⁴ Quotation from Claire Walker 'Recusants, Daughters and Sisters in Christ: English Nuns and Their Communities in the Seventeenth Century.' in, Susan Broomhall and Stephanie Tarbin, *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 62.

This definition of community does not mean that Africans were segregated from the white people that lived in these areas. In this way Onyeka challenges another post-colonial theory rooted in American historiography. This theory is that in order for Africans to constitute a 'community' they must be distinct and separate from other populations. In other words, that there must be de-facto segregation. It appears from Onyeka's extensive research and that done by many others that this kind of segregation does not appear to be part of the Africans' story in England.¹⁴⁵ By Onyeka proposing that Africans constituted a community in places such as St Botolph in London, he is creating a new dynamic narrative for seeing Africans on English soil, rather than by relying on an American model. Other academics have come to similar conclusions as Onyeka after reading the findings in *Blackamoores* and doing their own research.¹⁴⁶

In addition to the information that Onyeka has discovered about African communities he has also found that some of the Africans in Tudor England have descendants who are alive today. This includes people such as Henrie Anthonie Jetto that lived in Holt in Worcestershire and was baptised there in 1597. Jetto had eight children, more than thirty-two grand children, over seventy great-grand children and now has hundreds of descendants living in Holt, the surrounding areas and elsewhere. In *Blackamoores* one of these descendants is named and this is Peter Bluck whose family now reside in South Wales.¹⁴⁷ Onyeka has also discovered and published the will of Jetto that was written in his own hand. This is one of the most important documents published in *Blackamoores* because it is one of the oldest documents written by an African in Europe. It is certainly the oldest will.¹⁴⁸ Africans such as Jetto and the presence of their descendants, reveals why Onyeka's method of research by utilising different sources of information is progressive because it is not limited to a field labelled as Black Studies. This is since Jetto's existence was highlighted through research that Onyeka pioneered in the Holt area through local study groups that seemingly had no connections to Black Studies or people of African descent.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ On Tudor England see: *Blackamoores*, passim; evidence also in Author various, *St Botolph without Aldgate Memorandum Daybook*, Volumes I (London: Parish of St Botolph without Aldgate, 1586-1588), pp. 30, 149; St Olave Hart Street, Parish Register, GL Ms 28867; William Bruce Bannerman (ed.), *Registers of St Olave Hart Street, London, 1563-1700* (London: Harleian Society, 1916); Devon Record Office, TD 38 1906 28/08/1570; Kirk, Kirk (eds.). *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in ... London*, passim; Regarding evidence on this outside the Tudor period see the research quoted in Fryer, *Staying Power*, passim; and many others in the bibliography of *Blackamoores*.

¹⁴⁶ On the American model there are many authors who analyse and write about this in their introductions and conclusions some are included in the bibliography of *Blackamoores*, and this thesis and include: Kwame Anthony Appiah, Henry Louis Gates, *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Michael Levine, *African American and Civil Rights: From 1619 to the Present* (Phoenix: Oryx, 1996); A. Leon Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Colour: Race and the American Legal Process: The Colonial Period* (1978. New edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Michael Warren Williams, *The African American Encyclopedia*, Volume 2 (New York/London: Marshall Cavendish Corp, 1993).

¹⁴⁷ *Blackamoores*, pp. 205, 239-241.

¹⁴⁸ *Blackamoores*, p. 204.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

Status

Onyeka has revealed for the first time a narrative that explains the status of Africans in Tudor England. Some of the important aspects of that narrative have already been discussed earlier in this thesis and other matters are explained in more detail in chapter 1 of *Blackamoors*. What follows is a summary of this narrative. Historically, Tudor England did not inherit from its medieval past any laws, conventions or customs which determined people's status by their colour, or actively discriminated against Africans. In addition no legal, social conventions or customs existed to deny citizenship or rights to Africans simply because they were Africans.¹⁵⁰ Social status in England was determined by issues such as class and to a lesser extent wealth. No special 'race laws' were created in Tudor England, to justify Africans being maintained in a lower status on the basis of the colour of their skins.¹⁵¹ The major European countries to create special race laws which actively discriminated against Africans and Jewish people living in Europe were Spain and France. In Spain, church and state colluded in the medieval period to create the system of 'purity of blood' or known as 'blue blood inheritance' and it was implemented aggressively in the fifteenth century through the Spanish Inquisition. Africans, Jewish people, religious non-conformists and other people were discriminated against.¹⁵² Later on in France from 1695, French officials created and implemented the Code Noire or Black Code that discriminated against people of African descent, barring them from inheriting property, voting and so on. These later laws were enforced periodically with varying degrees of efficiency – but the point is that they existed.¹⁵³ In Tudor England however there was no precedent for such laws.

In *Blackamoors* Onyeka examines the Proclamation and Letters and their failure to make Africans into slaves. These documents as Onyeka suggests also reveal through the process of negotiation giving rise to a hypothesis that Africans may have had a status that made it difficult to turn them into slaves. This is for all the reasons stated in this thesis and in *Blackamoors*. The Proclamation and the Letters were certainly not sufficiently cogent legal instruments to mainstream colour or racial prejudice into English jurisprudence. More importantly these documents do not appear to have had the force of law at all, and they attempted to gloss over or

¹⁵⁰ For more on this see *Blackamoors*, pp. 41-90; On how identity was shaped in Medieval England see amongst many authors listed in *Blackamoors*, Robert Rees Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093-1343* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), passim.

¹⁵¹ These 'special race laws' were created in the United States of America during the nineteenth century and were also known as 'Black Codes' or 'Black laws' in Richard Juang, Noelle Morrissette (eds.), *Africa and the Americas: Culture, Politics, and History: A Multidisciplinary Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara/Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2008), pp. 277-279; Junius Rodriguez (ed.), *Slavery in the United States: A Social, Political, and Historical Encyclopedia*, Volume 2 (Santa Barbara/Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2007), pp. 7, 13, 230-231, 541-543; and Molefi Kete Asante, Ama Mazama, *Encyclopedia of Black Studies* (London: SAGE Publications, 2005), pp. 188-189.

¹⁵² For more on this see *Blackamoors*, pp. 112-151; and Lauren Benton, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1-31, 31-80.

¹⁵³ See *Blackamoors*, pp. 1-29, 107-137; On 'blue blood' inheritance see Robert Lacey, *Aristocrats* (London: Hutchinson, 1983), p. 67; David Brewster, *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable ...* (London: H. Altemus, 1870), p. 131; Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 116, 124-128, 170; Blount (tr.), Conestaggio, *The Historie of the Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugal*, p. 6; Susan Adams, et. al., 'The Genetic Legacy of Religious Diversity and Intolerance ... Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula,' *The American Journal of Human Genetics*, 83: 6, 4 December 2008, pp. 725-736.

abridge fundamental principles of legal jurisprudence, natural laws, rights and liberties such as freedom of movement, from restraint, servitude and so on. This would have made these documents difficult to enforce as legal instruments.¹⁵⁴

By the beginning of the Tudor period until 1603 Africans in Tudor England seemed to be free to determine their status in the same way as other people. African people's status was not restricted by government legislation or policy. It was in the 'private sphere' of English society that status was determined.¹⁵⁵ Onyeka defines the private sphere as that part of 'societal life' that can be divided from the 'public sphere.' 'The private sphere is generally regarded as being unfettered by public policy' and outside of state control. In law the principle was an 'Englishman's house [home] is his castle.'¹⁵⁶ Onyeka acknowledges that the concept of the private sphere has been widely discussed by social historians and there are many issues that arise regarding questions of gender, ethnicity, class, and so on, within that space.¹⁵⁷ The important point is that in England many rights existed in the private sphere and were interpreted as enforceable in personam: in other words in relation to a particular person.¹⁵⁸ This is a complicated matter because although the action in defence of a right may start in personam, the result was that the protection of the right was in rem: against the whole world, and therefore these rights were often being defended in public spaces, although the action remained private. These natural rights depended on natural justice for protection. Natural justice is the method used to protect individual rights against interference by the state or others.¹⁵⁹ The English courts especially at the end of the sixteenth century were strong advocates of judicial activism and pursued an aggressive policy of limiting the infringement of liberties especially from powerful members of the state, merchants and so on.¹⁶⁰ The judiciary including the Court of the Exchequer, Kings Bench and the Courts of

¹⁵⁴ See *Blackamoors*, pp. 1-29, 107-137.

¹⁵⁵ A different view is presented in Gerard Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race ...* (London: LSU Press, 1987), pp. introduction, preface, 21, 48, 49; and Lowe (ed.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. xv, 13, 35, 23, 102-103.

¹⁵⁶ Some of the earliest references in print to this principle are by Richard Mulcaster, *Positions Wherein Those Primitive Circumstances be Examined, Which are Necessarie for the Training up of Children, Either for Skill in Their Booke, or Health in Their Bodie ...* (London: T. Vautrollier, 1581), n. p. chapter 40; and Henri Estienne, *The Stage of Popish Toyes: Containing Both Tragicall and Comicall Partes ...* (London: Henry Binneman, 1581), n. p. chapter 39; later the English Jurist Edward Coke stated 'For a man's house is his castle' *Institutes of the Laws of England*, 1628 in Jeannie Silk, *At Home in the Law: How the Domestic Violence Revolution is Transforming Privacy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 2, 58-59, 136 (Robert Estienne on law and humanism).

¹⁵⁷ See Jurgen Habermas and Martin Heidegger in Thomas Burger, Frederick Lawrence (eds. trs.), *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), introduction; for a discussion on the private sphere in Tudor society see Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), passim; Conal Condren, 'Public, Private, and the Idea of the 'Public Sphere' in Early-Modern England,' *Intellectual History Review*, 19: 1, 2009, pp. 15-28; Paula Backscheider (ed.), *The Intersections of the Public and Private Spheres in Early Modern England* (London: Frank Cass, 1996), passim.

¹⁵⁸ A good working discussion of the terms 'personam' and 'rem' are found in Alf Ross, *On Law and Justice* (Clark: The Lawbook Exchange, 1959), pp. 189-201.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; John Baker, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England Volume VI: 1483-1558* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 68, 81 (natural justice's affect even on statute); Geoffrey Ruddolph Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (1960, revised edition, Cambridge/London: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 151-158.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*; Judicial activism is when the courts play an active role in the constitution interpreting legislation, defending rights, etc. see Michael Kirby, *Judicial Activism, Authority, Principle and Policy in the Judicial Method* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 2004), passim.

Common Pleas, pursued this idea and it meant that an individual could pursue a claim for loss of rights without having suffered any financial loss. The common law was willing to protect these natural rights so long as the victim had locus standi or a 'sufficient cause of action.' Leading jurists at the time including Edward Coke the Attorney General, James Dyer and Edmund Anderson Chief Justices of the Court of Common Pleas agreed on that, if little else.¹⁶¹ The cases concerning Africans that illustrate this include the African woman Maria Moriana and the 'said Ethiopian who utterly refused to work for his employer,' these and other examples are discussed in detail in *Blackamoores*.¹⁶²

In Tudor England there are a few Africans that appear in records as slaves, and those that were labelled as such seem to have had this position temporarily imposed on them. For example, this includes people such as Pero Alvarez where the sobriquet of 'slave' was a reflection of his status abroad.¹⁶³ Elsewhere Africans were referred to as a slaves by those seeking to create a 'base plot,' or trick, to invalidate an African's testimony in a court case, or nullify legal proceedings. It appears this happened with Maria Moriana and Jacques Francis the African diver.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, as a functional definition of a person's status in Tudor England it is doubtful if Africans were kept as perpetual slaves on the basis of their colour or ethnic origins. Most Africans occupied various positions in Tudor England ranging from household servants to visiting dignitaries.

Some Africans were born in England in Tudor times and Onyeka uses evidence from *Blackamoores* to prove this including the statements by contemporary writers such as George Best (1579). Other Africans immigrated to England from other parts of the world, of these many appear in records as domiciled and/or denizen. Onyeka argues that the process of becoming domiciled or denizen was really about being naturalised and that baptisms were an important factor in this process.¹⁶⁵ The fact that most of the Africans whether foreign born or not discovered in Tudor records are baptised, indicates that they had probably gone through this naturalisation process. Onyeka postulates that once these Africans were baptised, their legal status would have varied little from their white counterparts.¹⁶⁶ This is especially since Africans were integrated in their parishes, and for them to be singled out for detrimental treatment would have meant extracting them from families and communities in which white people were also a part.

Onyeka goes further however, and for the first time offers the narrative that the status of Africans in Tudor England may have been influenced by positive notions about these people. Onyeka states that many of these positive ideas have been forgotten, and the narrative that Africans were

¹⁶¹ For more on this see *Blackamoores*, pp. 19-27; Edward Coke, *The Lord Coke his Speech and Charge. With a Discouerie of the Abuses and Corruption of Officers ...* (London: Nathaniell Butter, 1607), pp. 52-55; on Coke, Dyer and Anderson, see Allen Boyer, *Sir Edward Coke and the Elizabethan Age* (London: Stanford University Press, 2003), pp. 99-300; and John Baker, 'Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Renaissance England,' *Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights*, Volume 2, Spring, 2004, www.law.northwestern.edu/journals/jihr/v2/3/ accessed 10/01/13.

¹⁶² *Blackamoores*, pp. 19-27, 44, 109-110, 126-127, 211-216.

¹⁶³ *Blackamoores*, p. 127.

¹⁶⁴ *Blackamoores*, pp. 20-25, 109-110 (Moriana), 161-164 (Francis).

¹⁶⁵ *Blackamoores*, pp. 17-19.

¹⁶⁶ *Blackamoores*, pp. 27-29, 211-221.

automatically regarded as strange and the other remains. Onyeka's pre-colonial narrative however, sets up a comparative trajectory that allows us to examine positive legends and stories alongside any negative ones. Onyeka suggests that in Tudor society a 'menu' of ideas about Africans were available that English people could choose from.¹⁶⁷ These ideas included legends inherited from the readings of Greek and Roman texts available in early modern England, and other stories drawn from England's own medieval past including St Maurice, whose holiday was popular in Tudor England and throughout parts of Europe.¹⁶⁸ It also included St Morien and the celebration of the Black Knight and 'Romance of the Black Lady' that was practised by the Kings and Queens of Scotland.¹⁶⁹ Other legends included Zipporah the wife of Moses, the African King Prester John, the legend of St Thomas' a Becket's mother being a 'black woman of Siria' and so on.¹⁷⁰

Origins

Onyeka's most important contribution to the study of African people in Tudor England is what he reveals about the origins of those people. Onyeka informs us that Africans in Tudor England had diverse origins and some were born in Africa whilst others were of African descent. Of those that were of African descent some of these people were born in England. Of this population some were of mixed heritage.¹⁷¹ Onyeka has been able to trace some of the descendants of these English born and mixed heritage people all the way to the modern day. It is not easy to do this sort of tracing however, because most of these people had been assimilated into English society so that they often lost their ethnic distinctiveness. As Onyeka states

In other words, recording a person with an epithet or moniker which describes their ethnicity may have been considered as a 'controversy' or more likely, unnecessary, because ... Tudor writers did not see race as we do now.¹⁷²

Since it has been difficult to trace those Africans that were born in England that were assimilated, *Blackamoores* appears to concentrate on foreign-born Africans. This is only because there is more primary evidence about these particular Africans than English born people of African descent.

Notwithstanding what has been said, to examine the origins of Africans from other countries present in Tudor England is in itself difficult. General knowledge of Tudor England will not provide an academic with the necessary skills. For example Onyeka's narrative is that some of the Africans present in Tudor England came from other places in Europe. However there is more to this as Onyeka suggests that not all these people were recent arrivals of slaves but had multi-

¹⁶⁷ *Blackamoores*, pp. 70-71.

¹⁶⁸ *Blackamoores*, pp. 67, 102-103.

¹⁶⁹ *Blackamoores*, pp. 67-68, 122, 217.

¹⁷⁰ *Blackamoores*, pp. 56-70.

¹⁷¹ *Blackamoores*, pp. XXII, 226-231.

¹⁷² *Blackamoores*, p. XXI, the word 'controversy' is used in relation to 'unnecessary' information being excluded from parish records as suggested by Paul Griffiths, 'Secrecy and Authority in Late Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century London,' *Historical Journal*, 40: 4, 1997, pp. 925-951. A similar view on how parish clerks wrote their records is expressed by Stephens, *Sources for English Local History*, pp. 52-56.

ethnic pasts inherited from various countries in the Iberian Peninsula and Italy¹⁷³ where they came from. Some of these Africans owed their origins to earlier populations of people who came from different parts of Africa and were integrated into European society; others remained a distinct ruling class in the Iberian Peninsula even until the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁴ The important point is that Onyeka has shown the multi-layered ethnic past of the Africans present in Tudor England cannot be dismissed, as Habib and Ungerer do as meaning that these people were automatically slaves with no history, – even slaves have a past, and a historian cannot ignore it.

Of course not everyone called a slave is. For example Jacques Francis the diver working on the *Mary Rose* was from the West-African island of Arguin or ‘Jnsula de Gynney’ off the coast of Mauritania in West Africa. Francis had two years employment with Corso in Italy before he arrived in England in 1546. Francis was twenty-years old at the beginning of his court case in England. By that time he was ‘head diver,’ and as Onyeka states, ‘for a young man of twenty to be head diver of ... an important international operation suggests that he was very skilled at his work, and possessed abilities that made him invaluable to his employers.’¹⁷⁵ Onyeka suggests that disregard for the ethnic influences of Francis is unwise if we are to understand who he was. The island where Francis was from is near Mauritania and the African empire of Songhai. This island was one of the first in the fifteenth century to come into contact with Europeans such as the Spanish, Italians and later the English. The Africans living on the island of Arguin had for centuries been known as expert divers and were employed as experts in diving operations sponsored by kingdoms as diverse as the Ottomans in the East, to Spain in the North. This information about Francis makes his presence in England as a leader amongst an elite group of divers logical. What then is out of place is the attempt to brand him as a slave at the court case for the trial of his employer. We can see why this attempt did not succeed.¹⁷⁶

Onyeka in *Blackamoores* also has brought out similar issues with the woman of African descent known as Mary Fillis of Morisco. Her record is the longest for any commoner in the memorandum daybook for St Botolph without Aldgate. In the daybook the writer referred to the fact that she had lived in England for thirteen-fourteen years. This would have meant she was four-six years old when she arrived. It is stated in her record that she came ‘from Morisco’ and that her father’s name was ‘Fillis of Morisco a shovel maker and basket maker.’¹⁷⁷ Onyeka states that this Morisco is really the land of Moriscos in what is now the Iberian Peninsula. Onyeka shows that despite the last Moorish stronghold of Granada being defeated, Moors continued to live in the Iberian Peninsula. In 1568 there was a Moorish revolt that was put down very harshly by the Spanish authorities. Later more draconian measures were put in place. Moorish people began to leave and travel to parts of North and West Africa and countries such as France, the countries that now make up Italy, and England. This would place Mary’s father as one of those travellers. The Moors of the Iberian Peninsula were internationally famous for their skills and abilities and so it is not surprising that English record keepers saw it as necessary to quote

¹⁷³ The writer acknowledges that Italy was not a country as it is now. The references in this thesis to Italy refer to the geographical regions that now make up that country.

¹⁷⁴ This is a well researched area and the arguments on this are summarised with evidence and references in *Blackamoores*, pp. 107-151.

¹⁷⁵ *Blackamoores*, p.161; further evidence in National Archives, Kew, London, *High Courts of Admiralty (HCA) Reports*, 1547, Ref. 24/39/49-51.

¹⁷⁶ *Blackamoores*, pp. 161-163.

¹⁷⁷ *Blackamoores*, pp. 65-66, 132, 167, 221-222, 253-254.

Mary's father's profession and repeat this several times.¹⁷⁸ The background of Mary Fillis is therefore very important in our understanding of her status in Tudor England.

Onyeka is also saying that the ethnicity of women such as Mary Fillis cannot be labelled simply as West African as Ungerer and Habib suggest. Onyeka states, that the reason why academics such as Habib and Ungerer claim that many of the African women they find in Tudor England are West African is so they can give them a lowly status. In this way it then fits within the post-colonial narrative of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries where many millions of Africans especially from West Africa were taken captive and enslaved. Women from West-Africa then present in North America and Western Europe may have found themselves in a white patriarchal western society¹⁷⁹ and therefore their race and sex may have meant they were discriminated against twice.¹⁸⁰ This post-colonial theory of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is then misapplied to the Tudor period and this theory is then followed by academics whose work is on otherness and strangeness such as Hall, Benjamin Braude, Lowe and Jose Piedra.¹⁸¹ Onyeka's research stands against the automatic placing of African women in this position because of race, especially, when race as a scientific notion did not exist in Tudor society. Moreover, Onyeka's knowledge of African civilisations in the early modern period and the importance of women to these societies, also made him question whether every African women would have automatically inherited from Africa a subservient idea of themselves.¹⁸²

The two examples above show why Onyeka's *Blackamoores* is so important, and why the knowledge of a wider African Diaspora and what was happening on the continent of Africa can help us see Africans in Tudor England more clearly. We may call this methodology the contextual method of seeing the African within his/her own historical reality.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ *Blackamoores*, pp. 152-153, 221, 226-231.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Hall, *Things of Darkness*, passim; Braude, 'Collective Degradation,' passim; Lowe, *Black Africans*, passim; Jose Piedra, 'In Search of the Black Stud,' in Louise Fradenburg and Carla Freccero (eds.), *Premodern Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 22-44.

¹⁸² *Blackamoores*, pp. 152-182, 226-231; similar views on this matter are offered by Ivan Van Sertima (ed.), *Black Women in Antiquity* (New York: Transaction Publishers, 1984), pp. 138-154, 167-182; Małgorzata Oleszkiewicz Peralba, *The Black Madonna in Latin America and Europe: Tradition and Transformation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), passim; Ean Begg, *The Cult of the Black Virgin* (London: Arkana, 1985), passim; On women in sixteenth-century West-African societies see: John Donnelly Fage, Roland Anthony Oliver, Richard Gray (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Africa ... Volume V* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 188, 267, 285; Susan Joekes, *Women in Pastoral Societies in East and West Africa* (London/Edinburgh: International Institute for Environment and Development, 1991), preface, introduction; and Mariane Conchita Ferme, "Hammocks Belong to Men, Stools to Women:" *Constructing and Contesting Gender Domains in a Mende Village (Sierra Leone, West Africa)* Volume I (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), preface, introduction.

SUMMARY OF METHODOLOGIES DISCUSSED IN *BLACKAMOORES*

Methodology in history or as it is often described historical method was defined by Jean Bodin in *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem* (1566) as the way academics research, evaluate and write about the past. Historical method is part of ontology as we use it to make sense 'of existence or being.'¹⁸³ In *Blackamoors* Onyeka seeks to make sense of Africans in Tudor England, their existence or presence, their being or status and origins. Onyeka proposes that the methodology that academics use to achieve this ontology will vary according to each subject being researched. No historian before Onyeka had published detailed research on the status and origins of Africans in Tudor England therefore he postulated that he had to develop his own approach to historical methodology. The reasons for this are explained here.

Earlier in this thesis a number of academics works were examined. In the remainder of this thesis the focus will be on examining the methodology of historians rather than academics in general. Historically, when historians such as Habib, Ungerer and Hall wrote about an African presence in Tudor England their methodology led them to a narrative that placed their work into one of the following sub-categories, as a discourse on slavery, cultural and subaltern studies, or that of the other or stranger. The fact that their narrative could be categorised in this way validated their methodology. These historians had in fact worked backwards, with their narrative coming before their methodology or their research. The post-colonial narrative however, was not developed by historians to be used in this way. When historians such as Chinweizu Ibekwe, Winthrop D. Jordan, Peter Kolchin, Fritz Hirschfeld, George Spring Merriam, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Kenneth Morgan, Walter Rodney, Eric Williams and James Walvin developed their pioneering research that was focused on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was to challenge the effects of colonialism.¹⁸⁴ Since the methodologies of Chinweizu et. al. are so dominant on the narratives adopted by historians researching Africans in early modern England, these post-colonial methodologies are set out in more detail below.¹⁸⁵

The methodologies that the pioneering post-colonial historians used was primarily investigative, as these historians meticulously examined the correspondence of slave owners, overseers, colonial administrators, government officials, bills of sale, tax records, court cases and so on. They found Africans who had lost their names and had become property. The original records of

¹⁸³ Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem* (Paris: Apud M. Iuuenem, 1566), passim; also useful in analysing what historical methodology is are Martha Howell, Walter Prevenier, *From Reliable Sources: An Introduction to Historical Methods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), passim; in addition Jean Mabillon, *De Re Diplomatica* (Paris: Publisher unknown, 1681) in, Richard Wertis (tr.), *On Diplomatics*, in, Peter Gay, Victor G. Wexler (eds.), *Historians at Work, Volume Two, Villa to Gibbon* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 165-169.

¹⁸⁴ I have not included in this list many other pioneering post-colonialists because their work is not primarily about the enslavement of Africans. This includes Samir Amin, Aime Cesaire, Franz Fanon, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Albert Memmi, Edward Said, and political and military leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Ernesto Guevara and so on. The references for Chinweizu et. al. are included where they appear in the remainder of this thesis.

¹⁸⁵ These historians works include: Chinweizu Ibekwe, *The West and the Rest of Us: White Predators, Black Slavers, and the African Elite* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), passim; *Anatomy of Female Power: A Masculinist Dissection of Matriarchy* (Lagos: Pero, 1990), passim; *Towards the Decolonization of African Literature, Volume 1* (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers: 1980), passim; Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black*, passim; Peter Robert Kolchin, *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972), passim; *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom* (Cambridge: Belknap Press Harvard University, 1987), passim.

these transactions are sometimes a matter of public record and tell us how much was paid for an African, and when they were sold and who bought them. Other evidence was in local research centres and occasionally this information was hidden so the historians that uncovered this evidence often had to employ methods of deduction where information was missing.¹⁸⁶

Part of the methodology of these historians was also interpretive as they examined the slave narratives of Africans such as Mary Prince, Solomon Northup, Frederick Douglass and Olaudah Equiano. Historians such as Walvin and Jordan inserted these Africans' stories into an overarching historical narrative of the history of slavery in the USA or the British Empire. These historians' methodology was also presumptive, for example an African-American found in eighteenth-century American records such as Billy Lee is presumed to be a slave.¹⁸⁷ This is presumed because he was living on George Washington's plantation in Virginia in the eighteenth century. The presumption is logical because of the prevailing conditions of African people in Virginia in the eighteenth century, and since Washington was a well known slave owner, seller and trader and punished slaves that attempted to gain their freedom. It is a logical presumption to presume Billy Lee was a slave. This presumption of course has now been confirmed with primary evidence that proves he was a slave.¹⁸⁸ But to apply that methodology of presumption to an African living in sixteenth century London is likely to result in a rebuttal, for all the reasons discussed in *Blackamoors* and this thesis.

The methodology adopted by the pioneering post-colonial historians can also be revisionist as they include an Africans' narrative, where other official accounts have excluded this. For example traditional historians such as Washington Irving or David McCullough that have written about George Washington's life have omitted or glossed over his slave-owning past.¹⁸⁹ So Hirschfeld by writing about this at all is reimagining this area of history. Occasionally these historians use a contextual and comparative methodology, as they include and contrast the accounts of slave owners and traders with the records of soldiers and others who conquered the African nations that these Africans came from. These historians such as Jordan and Kolchin then compare all these accounts to confirm the status and origins of the Africans they have found as slaves. The result is nearly always the same and the African is confirmed as a slave.¹⁹⁰

The methodology of the pioneering post-colonial historians was undertaken with a scholarly intention. When their narrative however, is applied to pre-colonial research, the result is 'backward reasoning' where the methodology is validated by the narrative.¹⁹¹ The methodology is then restricted by the preconceptions of that narrative and is caught in a post-colonial praxis.

¹⁸⁶ These methods are adopted by Fritz Hirschfeld, *George Washington and Slavery: A Documentary Portrayal* (Columbia/London: University of Missouri Press, 1997), passim.

¹⁸⁷ Walvin; Jordan, et. al.; on slave narratives in general see, David Dabydeen, Paul Edwards (eds.), *Black Writers in Britain 1760-1890* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1991), passim; on Billy Lee see, Hirschfeld, *George Washington and Slavery*, p. 96.

¹⁸⁸ *George Washington and Slavery*, pp. 96-111.

¹⁸⁹ Washington Irving, *Life of George Washington* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855-1857), passim; David McCullough, *1776* (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 2005), passim.

¹⁹⁰ Jordan, *White over Black*, conclusion; Kolchin, *The Responses of Alabama's Blacks*, conclusion; these views are supported by Laurence Shore, 'The Enduring Power of Racism: A Reconsideration of Winthrop Jordan's White Over Black,' *History and Theory*, 44: 2, 2005, pp. 195-226.

¹⁹¹ See Braude; Habib; Ungerer; Hall; et. al.

As a pre-colonial historian Onyeka has been under considerable pressure to restrict his methodologies and follow the narratives of that praxis. Onyeka has consistently resisted this.

Historians are required to contextualise their work in relation to others. This also affects how and what methodologies a historian uses. Inevitably this means reviewing the methodologies of other historians as one conducts for example a literature review. A literature review is one of the first documents that a historian will be required to write. It is a survey not only of existing work in the field but provides an insight into where the author's work sits in relation to others, and so on. The literature review also enables the historian to examine the methodology of others, and this ultimately influences what and how they will carry out their research. This process can help or hinder new research as one can become caught in a methodological exercise known as dialectics: a discussion on the truth of opinions, no new empirical research is actually done.¹⁹²

Alternatively, the historian is likely to have their methodology influenced by that of past historians. This influence may be beneficial if these past methodologies had discovered new information, created tools for the examination and writing about this evidence, and generally helped to create a narrative that is scholarly. Onyeka's diagnosis was that this had not happened, with the subject of Africans in Tudor England. Instead historians in the absence of an effective methodology have often applied a post-colonial narrative without any new research. Yet historians caught in such a praxis may feel that they can discuss pre-colonial issues with authority, because the normative they have inherited gives them a licence to say all Africans were slaves, or that the blackness of Africans was always considered as evil. Historians such as Habib, Ungerer and Fryer have fallen into such a normative when analysing the African presence in Tudor England. These types of problems as Jeffery Katzer and Kenneth Cook state, are a feature of research in other fields of humanities as well.¹⁹³

These issues underpin why Onyeka in *Blackamoors* adopted the methodologies and approach listed here. Onyeka has chosen methodologies that actually enabled him to find evidence of and tools to evaluate and write about Africans in Tudor England. Some of these methodologies are shared by the historians mentioned above, but the approach of Onyeka was fundamentally different. Onyeka's approach resembles that of Jean Mabillon the seventeenth/eighteenth century writer that stated

I do not deny that in fact some documents are false and others interpolated, but all of them should not be dismissed for that reason. Rather, it is necessary to... distinguish ... genuine manuscripts from those that are false and interpolated. ... I undertook this task after long familiarity and daily experience with these documents. For almost twenty years I had devoted my studies and energies to reading and examining ancient manuscripts and archives, and the published collections of ancient documents ... I compared and weighed them with one another that I might be able to compile a body of knowledge which was not merely scanty and meagre, but as accurate and as well-tested as possible in a field which had not been previously investigated.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² The author is not saying that dialectics does not have value in historical methodology, see Bertell Ollman, *Dialectical Investigations* (London: Routledge, 1993), introduction; Eli Berniker, David E. McNabb, 'Dialectical Inquiry: A Structured Qualitative Research Method', *The Qualitative Report*, 11:4, 2006, pp. 642-664.

¹⁹³ Jeffrey Katzer, Kenneth H. Cook, *Evaluating Information: A Guide for Users of Social Science Research* (Boston: McGraw Hill Humanities, 1994), passim.

¹⁹⁴ Jean Mabillon, in, Gay, Wexler (eds.), *Historians at Work*, p. 165.

Onyeka was aware that previous approaches had failed to deliver a scholarly approach that could survive historical investigation. Onyeka's approach led to his method and narrative having little in common with the work of historians that wrote about Tudor England, or those historians mentioned above who wrote about the slavery of Africans in the eighteenth century. Instead, Onyeka followed the approach to methodology and the trajectory of narrative that resembled Cheikh Anta Diop's *African Civilisation: Myth and Reality*, Martin Bernal's *Black Athena*, Leon Higginbotham's *In a Matter of Colour* and Tom Reiss' *The Black Count*. This is explained below.¹⁹⁵

Onyeka's methodology is underpinned by 'unobtrusive methods,' as defined by Eugene J Webb,¹⁹⁶ involving research from evidence some of which has restricted access, or is within the common domain but rarely consulted. In some cases Onyeka had been the first person to examine an original record since it had been created. One of the few situations where Onyeka conducted intrusive, rather than unobtrusive research is with the modern day descendants of the Jetto family. In that case Onyeka had to ask permission, to probe, investigate and interview living people of that family about their ancestors.

In *Blackamoores* Onyeka's methodology is innovative and in many ways anti-theoretical. Anti-theoretical in this case meaning against the theories applied through the post-colonial praxis that are unsupported by evidence.¹⁹⁷ He carried out a primary search review, when it became clear that the literature review did not reveal the kind of primary evidence that was useful for this research. Then as the historian Gilbert J. Garraghan suggests Onyeka was in a position to undertake external criticism. Garraghan stated there were six types of external criticisms that one could make to evaluate evidence. These are firstly based on: the date when the evidence was made and this may be different from that stated by historians, as in the case of the 'Negro who would not teach his art to any.' Location is the second point to be considered, where was it created? Thirdly, who was the author/s and what do we know about why they created what they did? For example with the sixteenth-century travel writers their intent was not necessarily to provide a true account of their voyages. Fourthly, what materials existed before this evidence that this is based on, in other words what is its historical pedigree or roots? Fifthly, what was the original form of the evidence and does this differ from the one we see it in now, is it a translation or copy? Lastly, what is the evidential value of this evidence?¹⁹⁸

Onyeka perhaps for the first time within this historiographical arena, was able to conduct this six step historical process, because in some cases he was the first to find the relevant primary

¹⁹⁵ Cheikh Anta Diop, Mercer Cook (tr.), *The African Origin of Civilisation: Myth or Reality* (New York: L Hill, 1974), introduction; Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation*, 3 Volumes (London/ New Brunswick: Fee Association Books/Rutgers University, 1987-2006), passim; A. Leon Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Color: Race and the American Legal Process, The Colonial Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), passim; Tom Reiss, *The Black Count: Glory Revolution, Betrayal and the Real Count of Monte Cristo* (London: Harvill Secker, 2012), passim.

¹⁹⁶ Eugene J. Webb, et. al., *Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences* (Chicago: R and McNally, 1996), passim.

¹⁹⁷ *Blackamoores*, pp. introduction; A similar approach regarding innovation is adopted by Diop, et. al.; and Broomhall, Tarbin (eds.), *Women, Identities and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, p. 7 (definition of 'innovative' interpretations).

¹⁹⁸ Gilbert J. Garraghan, *A Guide to Historical Method* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1946), p. 168.

evidence. In relation to other evidence he was the first to evaluate it in this way. Through this process of external critical analysis Onyeka identified in *Blackamoors* that parish records and the subsidy rolls to a lesser extent, were the most valuable documents; not the letters from slave voyages of travellers such as John Hawkins, the Proclamation and the Letters, or Shakespeare's plays. This approach was different to that stated by other historians such as Hall and Fryer. In this way Onyeka's methodology was innovative in a similar way to Cheikh Anta Diop's work. Diop discovered the African presence in ancient Kemet, and revealed that the most effective method of examining this subject was not to use the narratives written by nineteenth century European Egyptologists, but to examine the primary evidence of the mummified bodies of Ancient Egyptians.¹⁹⁹ Of course, Onyeka and Diop's method should be seen within the context of established historical methodology, even if their narrative challenges it. It should be noted that their actual research methodology has elements of traditional historiography as Louis Gottschalk states, 'credibility' for each individual source is established/or not, and then its value or 'authority' is determined.²⁰⁰

Onyeka's methodology is innovative as he gives more probative value and authority to the eyewitness primary accounts of Tudor Englishmen such as George Best, Thomas More and others who said that they saw Africans in England, than to the secondary accounts by twentieth-century writers that claim there were no Africans in Tudor England.²⁰¹ This method of giving more value to those kind of testimonies is suggested by Garraghan as the most effective method for establishing historical reality or a given fact. Onyeka of course acknowledges that it does not mean that such primary evidence is beyond an examination of its veracity on its own grounds, but it does mean that what was written at the time has the greatest potential value than what comes from the post-colonial praxis.

Onyeka's methodology is innovative and investigative because

- He found Africans living in many places in Tudor England that no one had yet. He initially focused on cities and towns such as London, Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstable. This is because he knew that they were large towns in Tudor England. Onyeka also knew that the modern cities where people of African descent now reside such as Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool were less likely to yield as much evidence.²⁰²
- He spent a further two months in Spain exploring the links between Africans there and those in Tudor England. He did this because he knew there was a connection.

In *Blackamoors* the methodology is innovative as he proposes

- Pre-colonial definitions of the words and terms that are used in Tudor England to describe Africans. In turn Onyeka questions whether our modern notions of race were shared by people in Tudor England.

¹⁹⁹ Diop, *African Civilisation*, introduction.

²⁰⁰ Louis Gottschalk, *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), pp. 163, 165.

²⁰¹ *Blackamoors*, pp. introduction,

²⁰² *Ibid.*

- That the most effective way to see these Africans is to group them together in their parishes rather than chronologically by date.

Onyeka's methodology is interpretive as Onyeka proposes

- That women in some of these African societies would not be inferior to their male counterparts and may not have been discriminated against twice in Tudor society because of their ethnicity and sex.

In *Blackamoores* the methodology is innovative and interpretive as he reveals

- The positive stories and legends about Africans that were believed in Tudor England and suggests that these ideas were as popular as negative notions also present in English society.

Onyeka's methodology is also realist as he interpreted the evidence he found within the historiographical perspective of the time in which they were written and not within a modern historiography or using post-colonial theories. This realist approach was also adopted for legal documents, court cases and is referred to as legal positivism. Onyeka used his legal training to interpret the legal documents that talk about Africans in Tudor England. In this way Onyeka's method conformed to the rules of how to authenticate primary records given by the historian Robert Jones Shafer. This is that specialist knowledge can be used to decipher a contemporary statement.²⁰³ Onyeka uses his knowledge of the law to examine the statements made about Africans in some court cases that include people such as Jacques Francis. Onyeka suggests that simply because the prosecution in that case called Francis a slave it does not mean that he actually was. Gregory Matoesian calls this process of trying to establish facts from the testimonies of a court case intertextuality, and although he is a modern American lawyer his concepts offers tools on reading the transcripts of early modern jurisprudence. Some of those tools include remembering that a courtroom is a stage and the language used is often sensationalist. Through Onyeka's use of some of these tools and knowledge of the Tudor legal system he argues that under the adversarial system the prosecution would seek to discredit the most credible witnesses.²⁰⁴ So therefore using inductive reasoning, where evidence from the time is linked together, it is likely that Francis was the most credible witness and not a slave at all.²⁰⁵ This argument about Francis' credibility is discussed more in *Blackamoores*.

In *Blackamoores*, Onyeka adopts a methodology that is realist and comparative as he revealed in Tudor England there was an absence of special race laws such as those that existed in sixteenth century Spain or as in most states in eighteenth/nineteenth century America.

²⁰³ Robert Jones Shafer (ed.), *A Guide to Historical Method* (1969, revised edition, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1974), pp. 157-158.

²⁰⁴ On the English adversarial system and the discrediting of witnesses see Patrick Nerhot, *Law, Interpretation and Reality: Essays in Epistemology, Hermeneutics and Jurisprudence* (Berlin: Springer Science and Business Media, 2013), pp. 44-48 (legal facts), 226-235, 244-245; Gregory M. Matoesian, *Law and the Language of Identity: Discourse in the William Kennedy Smith Rape Trial* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 103-133, 161-163 (constructing and deconstructing expert testimonies).

²⁰⁵ Inductive reasoning means 'the truth' is probable given the facts, rather than through a deductive process where it is 'certain,' see Keith J. Holyoak, Robert G. Morrison, *The Cambridge Handbook of Thinking and Reasoning* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 95-113.

Onyeka's methodology is interpretive in the way he

- Discovers evidence that Africans did not write, but they are nevertheless mentioned in. This has meant that Onyeka is able to draw from a wide body of evidence not just that which may have been labelled as pertaining to Black Studies. In following this method Onyeka's approach mirrors that of historians studying women in Tudor England.
- Is willing to propose that the reason why Africans appear more frequently in parish records than on the subsidy rolls is not just because of the inefficiency of the latter, but because many Africans were not considered as foreign in Tudor England.
- Is willing to propose that one of the reasons why references to Africans do not appear constantly in contemporary narratives was because the presence of Africans in England was not as remarkable as suggested by those historians who offer the post-colonial perspective.
- Proposes that there was some logic to terms that Tudor writers used such as 'great numbers' and 'too many' to describe the presence of Africans in Tudor England and that they must have been more than 'a few strolling players' as those historians in the post-colonial praxis suggest.
- Argues that Africans in areas such as St Botolph in London may have constituted a community.
- Is willing to propose that in the absence of race laws, Africans would be free to determine their own rights within the private sphere of Tudor society. This interpretive methodology was used in a similar way in A. Leon Higginbotham's *In the Matter of Colour* as he uncovers the African presence in colonial America.²⁰⁶

In *Blackamoors* the methodology is inclusive because

- It considers the narrative and evidence of African-centred scholars such as Sertima, Rogers and Scobie.
- He includes the work of previously neglected historians, their sources and evidence including the nineteenth and twentieth-century English writers such as MacRitchie, Higgins and Churchward.
- He uses paintings and images to assuage the feelings of general readers as a method of giving them visual markers to understand the narrative of the written text.
- He acknowledges the attachment that other historians have to their methods and narratives on race, ethnicity, colour and difference.²⁰⁷

Onyeka's methodology is contextual as he tries to place Africans present in sixteenth-century England within their own historical reality.

²⁰⁶ Higginbotham, *In the Matter of Colour*, pp. 175-176.

²⁰⁷ For a survey of some of the historiographical positions on difference and xenophobia see Abigail Shinn, Mathew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), pp. 207-221, (unfortunately throughout this book the authors make little or no reference to the body of research that this thesis is part of.)

Onyeka's methodology has elements of revisionism

- In the sense that he is writing about the history of Tudor England, diversity in Tudor England, Africans in Tudor England, the idea of Englishness, how Europeans saw blackness and so on. This is similar to the way that Martin Bernal uses primary evidence to examine the influence of African and Asian people on ancient Greek civilisations.²⁰⁸
- In that he takes well-known historical figures that have been written about because they were perceived to be heroic and extraordinary and shows how Africans were sometimes part of their activities. Onyeka then shows that there are primary records that reveal this. In this way his work resembles that of Tom Reiss in *The Black Count* who uses Napoleon as the familiar figure and then reveals the primary evidence and narrative for Thomas Dumas the French Major General born in Haiti whose mother was of African-Caribbean descent.²⁰⁹

In *Blackamoores* Onyeka also has a discursive and facilitative approach as he seeks to discuss arguments and facilitate further dialogue on the narrative that he presents. In pursuance of this Onyeka has created his own methodology of a negation of a theory giving rise to a hypothesis. In other words in the space left by removing the implausible theory, the plausible one remains. Onyeka uses this approach to explain that without laws keeping Africans in a servile status, they are likely to have had a position akin to their white counterparts. Onyeka's method has some similarities to that offered by the historian C. Behan McCullagh who eliminates the least likely theory to establish a narrative and with William of Ockham, where the 'razor' is a metaphor that cuts the least plausible assumptions from a narrative.²¹⁰

The post-colonial praxis

Throughout this thesis references have been made to the post-colonial praxis, the word post-colonial has already been defined and the word 'praxis' means 'accepted practice' or 'custom' especially in relation to a normative way.²¹¹ In *Blackamoores* Onyeka does not explicitly use the term post-colonial praxis but it is implicit whenever he talks about the systemic methodologies, narratives and culture that his work challenges. The post-colonial praxis provides a dominant historical narrative on discussions about Africans in the Diaspora, no matter where that population may be situated in the Diaspora, or at what time the research is focused. This means that many of the historians who have been pioneering in their research of Africans in the Diaspora during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries unfortunately have developed a pedagogy which is overreaching. The legacy of the post-colonial praxis is not just its effect on the methodology and narrative of historiography but on the ontological aspect of emotional memory. This emotional memory shapes our understanding as much as a logical discourse and our attachment to a branch of ontological discourse can outweigh the probative aspect of its epistemology.

²⁰⁸ Martin Bernal, *Black Athena*, pp. introduction, conclusion.

²⁰⁹ Tom Reiss, *The Black Count*, pp. introduction, conclusion.

²¹⁰ Christopher Behan McCullagh, *Justifying Historical Descriptions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 19-26; There are of course many books on William of Ockham. But this thesis is primarily concerned with Ockham's razor as a metaphorical tool, see James Franklin, *The Science of Conjecture: Evidence and Probability Before Pascal* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2015), pp. 144, 158, 214, 216-7, 241.

²¹¹ *Oxford Dictionary of English*, p. 1383.

The post-colonial praxis has helped create a historiographical culture that makes it difficult to provide a meaningful diagnosis of the pre-colonial evidence of Africans in the Diaspora. The praxis although it is out of its trajectory attempts to prove that every given African found in the English records is a slave, instead of examining what that African's status may be. Ironically, as discussed in detail in *Blackamoores*, the praxis also includes in a rather contradictory way a strange denial of the presence of Africans in England. The kinds of statements which illustrate this contradiction are quoted by Onyeka and include those by Fryer in *Staying Power*, that Africans in England were 'strolling players,' isolated, strange and transient. (1984); and Kenneth Little in *Negroes in Britain* written in 1947 who

in a similar way to Fryer, says he doubts 'if the Blackman whether of African or East Indian origin was a familiar figure [in England] until well on in the [sixteenth] century, except as a chance visitor or when imported from Portuguese and colonial territories [in Africa and the Caribbean].' The word 'imported' in Little's quote suggests that he thinks the few Africans present in Tudor society were slaves, who had arrived in England as the property of their owners. More recently, some historians such as Kim Hall seem to repeat similar ideas in their work. For example Hall suggests that Africans in Tudor England were very few in numbers, and that they were 'too accidental and solitary to be given a historical statistic,' implying that their presence was not significant enough to warrant any serious academic analysis.²¹²

Other historians, such as Matar, stated that it was unlikely in Tudor England or Stuart Britain for 'an Englishman or Scotsman' to meet 'a Sub-Saharan African.' As Onyeka proved in *Blackamoores* and outlined in numerous articles and this thesis, the narrative contained in all these statements (above) does not survive historical investigation. Below is a summary of other post-colonial theories that are part of this praxis that are analysed in *Blackamoores*.

Post-colonial theories analysed in *Blackamoores*

What follows is a summary of the post-colonial theories analysed in *Blackamoores* and it is important to note that these sometimes contradict themselves. This therefore highlights the problem with the praxis.

- There were no Africans living in Tudor England, and if there were, they were not African or black as 'Black Africans' are now.
- Africans were present in America as slaves but not in early modern England.²¹³
- If there were Africans in Tudor England they are a statistical anomaly.
- There were no African communities in Tudor England.

²¹² *Blackamoores*, p. xvi; Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain* (London: Routledge/Kegan Paul, 1947), pp. 6, 166 (quotation), 187-216; Habib, *Black Lives*, p. 1, quotes Hall in *Things of Darkness*, p. 13; Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp. 4, 5, 8; Walvin, *Black and White*, pp. 1-16, 16-31; Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1553-1833*, pp. 1-10; and Edwards, Walvin, 'Africans in Britain, 1500-1800,' pp. 173-204.

²¹³ On the African-American experience see Kwame Anthony Appiah, Henry Louis Gates, *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), preface and introduction.

- The reason why there were no African communities is because American studies provide a definitive definition of ‘a Black community.’ And such a community must be distinct and segregated from the white people around it.
- Africans south of the Sahara have contributed little or nothing to western civilisation except their labour in slavery and therefore could not have been part of the Tudor population referred to as Blackamoors etc.
- Relationships between races were determined in the public sphere and Africans were treated as property.
- Africans were always thought of as property and systematically stigmatised, so that ideas about their inherent inferiority became commonplace.
- In Europe since the fifteenth century there has been a coherent system supported by law, science and religion that classified Africans as slaves at birth and attempted to ensure they would remain so perpetually.²¹⁴
- Historically the relationship between the races was static and governed by law, convention and custom.
- The system of African servitude/slavery was not only morally justified but was also maintained on the basis of economic necessity.²¹⁵
- If in doubt assume that the African found in European or American records is a slave or of a very lowly status.
- Assume that an African’s status in the Diaspora has been determined by their race.
- Marxist historians such as Walter Rodney, Eric Williams and C. L. R. James have proved that the capitalist system has always maintained Africans in an unequal position in relation to Europeans.²¹⁶
- Blackness has always been associated with the complexion of Africans and this blackness was always seen by Europeans as wrong, sinful, evil, the result of a curse etc.

²¹⁴ This idea is refuted by Fraser in Vigne, Littleton (eds.), ‘Slaves or Free People,’ pp. 254-261; discussed in a general way by Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species ...* (London: T. Beckett, 1787), p. 142; Chancellor Williams, *The Destruction of Black Civilisation: Great Issues of a Race from 4500 BC to 2000 AD* (Chicago: Third World Press, 3rd edition 1987), pp. 176-195, 243-272 (how slavery was enforced and maintained); Naim Akbar, *Chains and Images of Psychological Slavery* (Jersey City: New Mind Productions, 1984), pp. 1-8; and Naim Akbar, *Breaking the Chains of Psychological Slavery* (Jersey City: Mind Productions and Associates, 1996), pp. 1-8, 27.

²¹⁵ See Fraser, ‘Slaves or Free People,’ pp. 254-261; Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of ... Slavery*, p. 142; Williams, *The Destruction of Black Civilisation*, pp. 176-195, 243-272 (how slavery was enforced and maintained); Akbar, *Chains and Images of Psychological Slavery*, pp. 1-8; and Akbar, *Breaking the Chains of Psychological Slavery*, pp. 1-8, 27.

²¹⁶ The following authors have written much on this subject, these are their most well known books: Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1974), passim; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Richmond: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), passim; and C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (London: Alison and Busby, 1980), passim.

- Africans had no perception of their own self worth which was able to withstand contact with Europeans.
- Africans had no agency that was able to contend with European hegemony.
- African nobility were either noble savages hopelessly out of step with the modern world, and/or indifferent totalitarian despots, misogynistic and patriarchal who ended up being shameless opportunists who exploited their own people.
- White male patriarchy as explained by the historians Braude and Hall suggests that African women are obscured in Tudor records because they were hidden inside English households. Lowe takes this point further and infers that Tudor writers either did not know how, or were afraid to record African women.²¹⁷
- The post-colonial praxis holds the narrative that African women are part of a minority in Europe or the Americas and suffer discrimination on the bases of their sex and race within the wider society and from African men inside their communities. The African woman has therefore always been twice or thrice discriminated against.
- A white patriarchal perspective sees the idea of African men in Tudor England who are not subservient as conceptually problematic.
- The ethnicity or origins of Africans present in Tudor England is not important because they were slaves, but the ethnicity of Europeans is always important because they were free.
- Post-colonial revisionism has defined Moors as whites and their contribution to western civilisation as part of white history.
- The discussion about Africans in Tudor England fits within post-colonial studies and the theories developed in that historiography are the appropriate ones to apply.
- The ideas about the other and the stranger apply automatically to narratives about any non-white people outside of Africa or Asia.
- Most African-centred historians' work is polemic, theoretical and lacking in methodology.
- The further back you go in history the more likely you will find that Africans were slaves, the other, stranger and so on, to a certain extent if your methodology has not proved this then it is fundamentally flawed. Since a key task of a historian is to prove this normative.

²¹⁷ Braude, 'Collective Degradation: Slavery and the Construction of Race,' n. p. passim; Hall, *Things of Darkness*, pp. 13, 211; Lowe (eds.), *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, pp. 102-103; similar views are expressed by Hendricks, 'Surveying race in Shakespeare,' pp. 1-23; and Hunter, 'Othello and Colour Prejudice,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53, 1967, p. 153.

Pre-colonial theories proposed in *Blackamoores*

In *Blackamoores* Onyeka refutes the hitherto accepted notions about the presence, status and origins of Africans living in Tudor England. Below is a summary of the pre-colonial theories discussed in *Blackamoores*, this thesis and many other articles written by Onyeka.

- Not enough is written about Africans and other non-white people in early modern England.
- There were Africans present in Tudor England.
- There were Africans living in Tudor England.
- These Africans included men, women and children.
- Not enough is written about the issues of women of African descent present in Tudor England.
- Africans in the early modern period lived in England and parts of Scotland.
- Africans were not pushed to the fringes of Tudor society.
- These Africans lived with and near other peoples and were not separated from them on the basis of race or ethnicity.
- Africans were integrated and assimilated in early modern English society as demonstrated by the fact they were buried in the same grave yards, married in the same churches and baptised at the same fonts as white people.
- However there are concentrations of Africans in certain areas of Tudor England such as St Botolph and they may have constituted a community there.
- The American model has not provided the definitive definition of what constitutes a 'Black community.'
- A word used to describe an African, may not have the meaning of the same word used two hundred years later, and on a different continent. This is with particular reference to the words Negro, Moor and Ethiopian.
- The word Moor and Ethiopian were capable of describing dark-skinned Africans.
- Because people have notions of difference this does not necessarily mean that they have a coherent system that defines race.
- In Tudor England there was no consistent science that was used detrimentally against Africans.
- The term 'other' was not used in Tudor society and perhaps it is an entirely inappropriate term to be used now as it is retrospectively revisionist.
- 'Stranger' was not necessarily as pejorative a term as we may believe now.

- Not all Africans in Tudor England were strangers.
- Some Africans present in Tudor England were born there.
- English people did not inherit from their past a coherently negative notion about Africans.
- There was no consistent idea that Africans were the cursed children of Ham.
- Some English people believed that they were the children of Ham.
- In Tudor England the relationship between different peoples was formed in the private sphere and not controlled by the state. These relationships were complex.
- In Tudor society there were complex relationships between peoples governed by class, social standing and social utility not necessarily by issues of colour.
- John Hawkins, Martin Lok and Frobisher et. al. were not as ‘successful’ as they claimed and slavery was not thought of as offering automatic success, and it was not until the end of the seventeenth century and the decline of the Spanish and Portuguese empires that England as Britain became a major colonial power.
- Before the aggressive capitalism of eighteenth-century mercantilism, Africans in the Diaspora could establish their status through social utility.
- There were ambiguous ideas about Africans in Tudor England sometimes even expressed by the same author and modern authors unfortunately have tended to emphasise the negative references because it fits within a post-colonial reading of early modern texts.
- It is possible to trace some foreign-born Africans to the places that they originated from.
- Some of the places these Africans came from were politically and culturally developed.
- Some of these Africans brought this culture with them to Tudor England.
- Aspects of these cultures helped develop English society.
- The history of early modern England and sixteenth-century Africa are much closer entwined than ever postulated in the post colonial praxis.

CONCLUSION

Jeremy Isaacs the former BBC controller stated there is a ‘National resource of Memory,’ at present that national memory when it comes to diversity in the Tudor period is suffering from amnesia.²¹⁸ *Blackamoores* can help us recover our memory and change the way that we look at English history and diversity in early modern society. *Blackamoores* also challenges the way that we see status and has the potential to make Tudor England accessible to many more people who may feel they cannot relate to that period of history.

Onyeka however, is doing more in *Blackamoores* that just include Africans as part of the historiographical landscape of Tudor England. He is also helping modern readers understand Tudor society more clearly. Onyeka after twenty-three years research feels closer to early modern society because of his research. The intention is that *Blackamoores* will continue to develop interest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for other people too.

Blackamoores postulates that we have not necessarily gone forward in the way we see race and ethnicity. Modern Britain has strong ideas about the fact it is now a tolerant society. Onyeka certainly challenges the idea that progress is linear and that the past was less tolerant. It is possible that Tudor society was a less colour conscious society than Edwardian Britain was. In modern Britain we are living with the legacies created through the development of the science of race, legacies of trans-atlantic slavery, fascism, apartheid, Jim Crow laws, the white man’s burden, neo colonialism and so on. In Tudor England with the exception of trans-atlantic enslavement none of these events had happened, or ideas or laws existed. Tudor society saw difference but not with the cultural legacy that we now have. *Blackamoores* will help future historians explore these issues with a pre-colonial narrative and using pre-colonial methodologies. *Blackamoores* will continue to expand dialogues on race, difference, colonialism and other matters discussed in this thesis.

Nevertheless the work Onyeka has done is not an anathema to the narratives of post-colonialism. This may sound paradoxical, since much of what Onyeka has written seems to be in opposition to the post-colonial narrative. Onyeka however is not opposed to the narrative but the praxis that has been generated from these narratives. It is in opposition to this praxis being applied to Africans in the Diaspora irrespective of where they are, and in what time period they lived in, that Onyeka has developed his pioneering work.

Words: 30, 336

²¹⁸ Jeremy Isaacs (pr.), ‘The Making of the World at War,’ *The World at War*, Documentary Series, Thames Television, 1973-1974.

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