Labouring in the Peripheries:
Racialized Sex Workers and Unrecognized Work in 18th-Century London

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Abstract

This dissertation studies labour policy and memoir documents through the lenses of time and affect theory in order to recover evidence of women of colour who laboured in the eighteenth-century sex trade. Each of my thesis chapters focuses on theories of time and affect to respectively examine one affective state that has been widely and problematically assigned to women of colour: laziness, shamelessness, industriousness, and decadence. The goal of my project is not to reaffirm these racial stereotypes but to use them as research tools to stake a two-pronged claim: that women of colour existed in this precarious workforce, and also that a white-neutral bias in the literary-historical record has influenced popular consciousness and allowed these affective sociocultural markers to stick to marginalized women over time and space. Learning about this type of women's work and its lesser-known racialized dimension has long-term benefits for how we understand gendered labour that is often framed as unproductive.

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Introduction: Locating Absented Labourers and Recolouring the History of Sex Work

Literary scholars and historians have long assumed that the eighteenth-century London sex trade was dominated by white bodies (Rosenthal 5, Rees 98, Levine 203). While eighteenth-century studies is saturated with research on sexuality and prostitution, our field has only recently begun studying these topics through the lens of critical race theory. Studies of eighteenth-century sex work are almost entirely Eurocentric, and any attention paid to the workers of this trade tends to elide dark-skinned labourers. Complicating this elision in the cultural landscape of London at this time is the racial neutrality of written works: where does one begin to find these absented workers when the historical context has already written them out of literature and policy? This dissertation examines memoir and labour policy documents through the critical lenses of affect and time theory and recovers untold histories of racialized sex workers in eighteenth-century London and British-colonized countries.

Any literary historical project that addresses the labours of enslaved bodies is at risk of reproducing the violence of the archive. Saidya Hartman establishes the risks of crafting scholarly narratives based on the Eurocentric archive in her "Venus in Two Acts", where she asks: is it possible to undo the violence of sparse records and anonymity when writing about histories of violence? She contends that "the archive of slavery rests upon a founding violence [and that] this violence determines, regulates and organizes the kinds of statements that can be made about slavery and as well it creates subjects and objects of power" (10). Records of violent histories are often written by white narrators who have long determined the limit of what is knowable about oppressed groups; researching and re-colouring these violent histories involves collecting records from disparate locations, voices, and perspectives and provides a more accurate version of the same stories. My thesis strives to avoid stories of racialized tragedy and

recycled tropes of gendered labour which "yield no picture of the everyday life, no pathway to [those women's] thoughts, no glimpse of the vulnerability of [their] face[s] or of what looking at such a face might demand" (Hartman 2). The problem with proposing to study violent histories and disempowered subjectivities in the space of the University—which is itself an institution requiring decolonization—is that these studies must survive scholarly scrutiny, a form of criticism that reproduces historical violence.

My project joins the few others that form the new scholarly canon of this field (Eugenia Zuroski, Jeremy Chow, Ramesh Mallipeddi, to name a few) and shares their stance that one cannot study sex work in this period without considering the sweeping implications of the transatlantic slave trade.[1] As such, this project's chapters make reference to representations of affective suffering that is uniquely gendered and raced to "imagine what cannot be verified, [and] reckon with the precarious lives which are visible only in the moment of their disappearance" (Hartman 12). Who were these shadowed subjects in memoir and policy documents, if not archetypes for real experiences—for real suffering? My chapters are organized by affective states that are widely and problematically assigned to dark-skinned women: idleness, industriousness, shamelessness, and decadence. Each chapter traces the temporal placements of unrecognized workers accused of these affective subjectivities, in the genres of memoir and labour policy. For example, representations of Decadent Time, a term that I coin and define in Chapter 4, helped me locate evidence of dark-skinned sexualized women who were framed as non-working workers by European observers. This dissertation develops a new

[1] I have the privilege of being included in a forthcoming collected works titled, *Unsettling Sexuality: Queer Horizons in the Long Eighteenth Century* (2023), where my contribution appears alongside those of Jeremy Chow and Eugenia Zuroski.

theoretical approach by applying time theory and affect theory to both eighteenth-century formations of race and understandings of labour as it was completed by dark-skinned subjects.

Current scholarship on eighteenth-century sex work and similarly precarious labour forces typically perpetuates Eurocentricity because discussions of racial identity are made only in passing. Accounts of eighteenth-century London identify blackness and whiteness, but often elide the spectrum of colour and experiences in the middle; as such, I sought out the work of thinkers who deal with the 'in the middle', the beige, the olive. My project mobilizes the contemporary theorizations about race brought forward by Sara Ahmed, Michelle Wright, Audre Lorde, Johannes Fabian, and others, by distilling affective language and determining which affective states have been inextricably linked to racialized subjects such that they have remained associated with race over time and space. The groundbreaking work of Eve Sedgwick, Karen Harvey, Laura J. Rosenthal, Julie Peakman, Kathleen Lubey, and others, led me to notice a gap in scholarship: discussions of race are often an afterthought if mentioned at all.[2] From the foundational work on eighteenth-century conceptions of race and exoticism by scholars like Srinivas Aravamudan, Gretchen Gerzina, Ramesh Mallipeddi, Christina Sharpe, Eugenia Zuroski, and others, my project found a place in the rich landscape of this interdisciplinary field.[3]

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[2] For accessible work on eighteenth-century sex work, see: Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's, *Shame and Its Sisters: A Silvan Tomkins Reader* (1995), Karen Harvey's *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (2005), Laura J. Rosenthal's, *Infamous Commerce: Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (2006), Julie Peakman's, *Sexual Perversions, 1670-1890* (2009), and Kathleen Lubey's, *Excitable imaginations: Eroticism and Reading in Britain, 1660-1760* (2014).

[3] Srinivas Aravamudan's, *Tropicopolitans* (1999) makes the case for the colonial subject as one who exists both within the oppressive structures they are born into and as an active agent in resisting those same institutions. Gretchen Gerzina's, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation* (1995) provides invaluable archival evidence of Black sex workers, and Black brothels in eighteenth-century London. Ramesh Mallipeddi's *Spectacular Suffering: Witnessing Slavery in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic* (2016) illuminates new understandings of labour dynamics on slave ships. Christina Sharpe's, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (2016) theorizes Black identity as a state of being that transcends normative timelines because it is perpetually informed and haunted by histories of slavery. Eugenia Zuroski in her, *A Taste for China: English Subjectivity and the Prehistory of Orientalism* (2018)

My project makes a conscious effort to prioritize the insights of those aforementioned scholars among other new thinkers because it strives to draw attention to the politically progressive shift urgently needed in the field of eighteenth-century studies; however, I must address what may appear to be two omissions in this project as a result of the strategic choice to cite and extend newer scholarly approaches. Foucauldian approaches to eighteenth-century scholarship on power relations and sexuality are widely mobilized and indeed reveal insights on the development of subjectivities in this period. Michel Foucault's influential work, *The History of Sexuality* (1979), explains the concepts of "power-knowledge", and "biopower" which refer to the construction of normative and anti-normative behaviour and the disciplining and regulation of those bodies, and those theories are widely drawn upon in this field.[4] Instead of continuing this traditional theoretical approach to the material in this project, I draw on Elizabeth Freeman as a contemporary to Foucault. Freeman's theory of chrononormativity as the organization of bodies for maximum productivity echoes Foucault's biopolitics in many ways but extends it by considering the gendered implications of power struggles. For example, because this project focuses on the labour of dark-skinned women and the disruption of their normative timelines, Freeman's theory serves to unpack the nuance of these women's "regulated" lives. Similarly, my examination of categories of race in the eighteenth-century context omits extensive references to Edward Said and this may cause concern over methodological gaps, but I must emphasize that this project would not have been possible without Said's work, in particular his, *Orientalism*

provides insight on eighteenth-century fascinations with things and people "distinctly un-English" (Rosenthal on Zuroski's work, 2018).

[4] Examples of illuminating work in the field of eighteenth-century studies that draw on Foucauldian theories include: Thomas W. Laqueur's, "The Rise of Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Historical Context and Historiographical Implications" (2012), Soile Ylivuori's, "A Polite Foucault? Eighteenth-Century Politeness as a Disciplinary System and Practice of the Self" (2014), and Rana Hogarth's, "Of Black Skin and Biopower: Lessons from the Eighteenth Century" (2019).

(1978), for informing each of my references to the spectrum of racial identities and experiences. Said's work opened the door through my project is able to step through, and thus I referenced work of several of his contemporaries including Zuroski and Mallipeddi; my work grapples with the in-betweenness of racial categories in this period and extends knowledge of those underexamined identities.

If, as Rosenthal suggests, prostitution memoirs allow for a confrontation of personal challenges in tandem with "nascent political challenges of capitalism [while] scapegoating an irrational, feminized 'other'", then where can discussions of race fit in these studies (3)? Scholarship by Harvey and Lubey has demonstrated that the rhetorics of idleness, shamelessness, industriousness, and decadence have all historically been attributed to white sex workers and therefore my project extends those conversations to include the racialized bodies that were relegated to the margins of this precarious work force.[5] It is imperative to rethink these racist assumptions that have long placed white women as the "norm" and consider that this extensive history includes racialized bodies that have been unaccounted for. While idleness, shamelessness, and decadence are affective states that are widely ascribed to dark-skinned workers, industriousness is a quality that is openly attributed to white workers, especially those completing valid and recognizable work, and hence "un-industriousness" is racialized. The other three chapters of my dissertation focus on pejorative affective states that are applied to sex workers and so studying industriousness, a trait that most people thought sex workers lacked, is

[5] Locating race in eighteenth-century memoir and policy documents is challenging because of the fluid state of race during this period, but white women in the sex trade are widely discussed and those studies offered a helpful starting point for this project. See Harvey's, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (2005), and Lubey's, "Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure by John Cleland (review)" (2020).

pertinent because there is a tension in my selected works between the "constant […] hard work" that sex workers do and how it is nevertheless labeled as non-work (Levine 95).

White industriousness is a popular point of discussion and provided a useful entry into the precarity of service work as I researched. For example, Samuel Richardson's famous epistolary novel *Pamela* (1740), offers important context for eighteenth-century attitudes about service work, sexualized workers, and industriousness. While *Pamela* is not a prostitution narrative, it is one of the most prominent novels about a labouring woman and it reveals evidence of her vulnerability as a service worker and the social implications that are tied to this status. Examining women in service and how they are often at risk of falling into sex work highlights the tenuous state of industriousness. Pamela's letters to her parents are often fraught with industriousness rhetoric, promising that she "has not been idle" and indeed "works all hours with [her] needle", and reads and writes the rest of the time, all while maintaining her virtue and honesty (Richardson 15). [6] Pamela devoutly protects her virtue and rebuffs Mr. B.'s unsolicited sexual advances in the best ways she is capable.[7] In response, Mr. B positions sex work as the optimal form of employment for a beautiful poor service worker like Pamela and urges her to sign "articles" detailing her responsibilities and compensation as a kept mistress (200). In the final article, he proposes that "if she value[s] [her]self, [she will] experience a great return on this occasion, and [he]'ll forgive all that's past" (201). Here, the great returns he is referencing

[6] In her article, "Faking It: Female Virginity and Pamela's Virtue", Corrinne Harol posits that Pamela's use of the term "virtue" as synonymous with "virginity" gestures to her "euphemistic style and her lack of authority to speak about her body" (208).

[7] For example, Mr. B.'s first sexual assault against Pamela occurs early in the novel. When he physically stops her from escaping his grasp, she "sunk down, not in a fit, and yet not [her]self", and soon found the ability to "lose all fear and all respect, and said, '[…] well may I forget that I am your servant, when you forget what belongs to a master" (16); in this instance she is able to stand up for herself. In subsequent and more violent rape attempts, Pamela is not able to defend herself in the same way and experiences fainting spells (93, 97).

include a property "purchase [he] lately made in Kent", "four complete suits of rich clothes […] so that [she] may appear with reputation, as if [she] were [his] wife", and "two diamond rings, two pair of ear-rings, and diamond necklace" (198-200). This is ironic not only because all of Mr. B's promised "returns" are purely material and ultimately worthless to the spiritually-minded Pamela, but also because he promises to "forgive" her past resistance when he attempted to rape her and this frames his willingness to employ her as a mistress as an act of "Christian" mercy. Further, Mr. B. acknowledges that she would be performing mother-work (including conceiving, bearing, and birthing his illegitimate children) and that this is labour of a quantity and quality that deserves compensation. Pamela, however, rejects any of these earthly rewards and expresses her vehement opposition to surrendering her "chastity inviolate" in exchange for being a paid "harlot" (201). Richardson's framing of the responsibilities of service work often blurs the lines between virtuousness and industriousness. Despite the protagonist's whiteness and non-racialized status, I am primarily interested in her employment position and how Mr B's "articles" speak to the nature of service work of the time. In many ways, the oppressive contract she is presented with is a privilege because her whiteness allows her to be hidden "in plain sight"; conversely, dark-skinned mistresses would continue to be kept unseen.[8] Pamela's work stands as the perfect opposite of the gendered labour thrust upon imprisoned women on slave ships, for example. While Pamela writes her journal and is afforded the 'luxury' of articles that would contractually bind her to her sexual and maternal labour for Mr. B., the women convicts are forced into concubinage and procreation. Although the fifteen-year-old Pamela ends up

[8] Catherine Molineux's "Hogarth's Fashionable Slaves: Moral Corruption in Eighteenth-Century London" (2005), examines Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* (1731), positing that it "unites discourses of slavery and prostitution with the keeping of women, the male sexual predator, and the absent figure of the church" (505). Useful here is her discussion of alleged sexual deviancies tied to Black identity and how that deviancy is complicated when bound to sexual service work.

imprisoned against her will at a remote location far from her family, her whiteness still allows for an entirely different standard of living and accordingly, entirely different sexual hardships that have been extensively explored by other scholars.[9] For that reason, my examination of industriousness excludes accounts of white servicewomen in favour of focusing on those subjects that have long been underexamined in this field.

My focus on underrepresented subjects has also led me to broaden my field's traditional preoccupation with the genre of the novel and its significant interest in vulnerable and "fallen" women. Scholars have primarily investigated this contentious demographic through canonical works of fiction. While I engage with popular works like John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748), the goal of my project is to build on foundational studies that teach us about sex work in eighteenth-century London by extending the archive to include genres that more explicitly take up issues of race. My project treats policy documents as a broad category that includes governmental letters, colonial travel diaries, surveys and census reports, as well as legal and Parliamentary records. This approach is not meant to obscure the obvious differences between the various types of documents; rather, I intend to demonstrate the salience of racist rhetoric and references to my chosen affects across mediums in the eighteenth century.

Racialized Affects and Temporal Placements in Memoir and Policy

While many eighteenth-century works are occupied with the distinction between and overlap of Blackness and Asianness, my work highlights nuance in how Brownness and

[9] For illuminating examinations of *Pamela*, see these innovative and recently published works: Hannah Chaskin's "'Precise, Perverse, Unseasonable': Queer Form and Genre Trouble in Richardson's *Pamela*" (2019), and Heewon Chung's, "'Make a Formal Descent on the Territorys of the Heart': Embodied Sensibility and the (Mis)fortune of Virtue in Richardson's *Pamela* and de Sade's *Justine*" (2022).

Beigeness were represented and conceptualized. Thinkers of the period grappled with the slipperiness of race, and their misguided understandings of other cultures led to "misleading dichotomies that […] inhibit our interpretation of written […] texts and distort our understanding of the history of racialized thinking" (Nussbaum 138). Only by making important connections between representations of affects, time, and labour can we fully understand eighteenth-century sex work as it was completed by women of colour. Eighteenth-century conceptions of productivity and labour, especially as they are applied to sex work, are complicated for non-white labourers because these workers were thought to operate at a slowed down version of time. As subjects who have historically been assigned the designations of idle, shameless, and decadent because of their complexion and other biological assumptions, their status as labourers in a trade that hardly "counts" as work needs further investigation. Scholarship about sex work in this period centres on white women and the importance of claiming their place as 'real workers' in this precarious workforce. My research recovers evidence of dark-skinned sex workers to highlight a connection between affective designations assigned to these labourers, and the ways that time operated in their lives. This thesis makes an original contribution by bringing together affect theory and time theory to create a new way of understanding informal labour. By working with these two theoretical lenses in tandem, I reveal why and how these affective and discursive regimes stick to certain bodies and endure over space and time.

I understand affect theory as an approach which examines the feelings of intensity which precede, accompany, and give "force" to emotions (Shouse 14; Sedgwick 24). In particular, the work of Eric Shouse, Lubey, Sara Ahmed, and Julia Kristeva has significantly shaped the

organization of my ideas about affect.[10] Shouse's focus on the relationship between affect and the formation of subjectivity is central to my analysis, and Lubey provides crucial literary-historical background on the history of emotions in the context of writing about sex. Ahmed's expansion of Kristeva's well-known theorization of the abject body as unclean, unwanted, and ugly will be another main point of departure for my argument. Further, this project's focus on underexamined and deeply racialized affective states builds on but ultimately reframes historicist interests in sentimentality with a view to move away from studies of emotion that privilege white women's experiences. Instead, this project examines the sentimental affect of observing histories of slavery, and seeks to extend knowledge on what Mallipeddi calls the "intersection of sentimentality and empire" to ultimately search for agency in these violent archives (6). This theoretical grounding helped me to construct a framework in which the affective and discursive regimes of laziness, (un)industriousness, shame, and decadence come to be associated with racialized bodies and inform the political treatment of both marginalized sex workers and their industry as a precarious labour force.

My thesis argues that bodies of colour in sex work are represented in contradictory ways: they are abject yet desired, ugly yet sexualized, labouring in the sex trade and yet not in the forefront of the performance of this labour. Feelings of shame are also attributed to white sex workers but are sharply amplified in representations of bodies of colour. Biographical and

[10] While the terms, "sticky", "stickiness", and the related phrases, have been mobilized by many scholars, I borrow them from Sara Ahmed, and make use of this terminology throughout the dissertation. The cultural history of idleness, shamelessness, and decadence (particularly in colonial, and Christian European contexts) provides a social, moral, and cultural lexicon in which those affects are situated, draw upon one another, and crucially, stick to bodies. "Stickiness" is a concept discussed by Ahmed in her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (2007); it describes the ways that emotions are tied to particular words and discourses which can operate across different contexts. In this way, "traces" of affective-discursive regimes from a particular context can be mobilized and used in other contexts. Through this phenomenon we can begin to parse the ways in which the discourses and affects tied to my selected affects in the eighteenth-century London sex trade re-emerge in memoir and policy documents (Ahmed, 2007, p. 565).

autobiographical accounts of sex workers' lives further a sense of racial hierarchy in which bodies of colour are framed as consensually acknowledging the desirability and superiority of whiteness, especially in depictions in which a person of colour appears complicit in the exploits of the white sex worker. Examinations of racialized decadence are absent in widely taught works currently on literature course syllabi. For example, a popular representation of physiological decay in the eighteenth-century canon is Jonathan Swift's parody, "A Beautiful Young Nymph Going to Bed" (1734), in which a presumably white sex worker is disassembling herself after a long day's work. Swift's Corinna, despite the physical deterioration presented when she "takes off her artificial hair, pick[s] out [her] crystal eye, […] and untwists a wire and from her gums a set of teeth completely comes", she shows no evidence of the social and moral decay attributed to racialized women in this trade (Swift 253). While Corinna is certainly physically decayed in the literal sense, evidenced through her lack of teeth, her whiteness allows her the ability to return, albeit superficially, to her previous state of wholeness. This is to say that Corinna is able to put herself back together and present as a complete, and undecayed woman. Corinna can exercise industrious self-fashioning in order to "return back", as it were, to a state of wholeness even if it is artificial, whereas a dark-skinned sex worker has no state of wholeness to which she can return. While white prostitutes experience a fall from polite society, racialized bodies—female ones in particular—are always already fallen because of their "savage" status. In this way, even the white sex worker who is already rendered abject is still categorized as normative-desirable relative to her counterpart of colour. The way policy documents and prostitution memoirs take up the lazy body of colour thus perpetuates the selective incorporation of difference.

Raced Labour and Femininity

Representations of racialized sex workers and their sexuality are complicated and informed by studies of racialized motherhood. What links the labour forces of sex work and motherhood as they were completed by racialized women is not only their widely accepted status as “non-work" but also that female reproduction is at once a binding and differentiating factor. Sexual acts completed for business versus reproduction are further disparaged when completed by racialized women, especially those in the employ of white families. I suggest that there is a rhetorical connection between the designation of idleness, shamelessness, and decadence, and the abjected dark-skinned sex working women because of their alternative approaches to labour and femininity. Typical in both the genres of policy documents and prostitution memoirs is a belief that the subjects in question lack femininity. Unpacking the relationship between femininity and maternity and their ties to sex work and notions of non-work will reveal how motherhood was at once stripped away from and thrust upon racialized women of this time.

Eighteenth-century wet-nursing was a trade that was widely composed of racialized and enslaved women whose labour, because of its femininity and purported “naturalness” was deemed non-work. In *The Anthropology of Slavery* (1986), Claude Meillassoux notes that Black women’s reproductive roles—specifically their wombs—were essentially doubly colonized, because these women were at once stripped of their sex and denied motherhood and expected to sustain an emerging colonial generation of babies either by nannying or wet-nursing (312). Scholarship on eighteenth-century wet-nursing is typically presented as a gendered conversation instead of a racialized conversation. Given the sheer numbers of enslaved women who were also wet-nurses, studies that discuss this trade and leave out slavery are inevitably narrow in scope. An especially problematic article of this nature is Ruth Perry’s 1991 work, “Colonizing the

Breast: Sexuality and Maternity in Eighteenth-Century England", where the language of slavery is used to discuss the extortion of white women's bodies. Perry's problematic suggestion that "motherhood [in eighteenth-century English literature] effected the *colonization* of women for heterosexual productive relations" (Perry 209) inappropriately uses a colonial metaphor in a discussion about a century famous for its slavery and yet fails to make any mention of race.[11] Wet-nursing was perceived as an idle activity because it was thought that all women were able to do it after giving birth, and that it was something done while sitting still and passively letting the infant feed (Shepard 226). When the wet nurse in question is a dark-skinned woman, the burden of unrecognized labour only worsens. Eighteenth-century attitudes about the relationship between wet-nursing and sentimentality were divided; however, there was a strong belief that this labour involved an implicit transactionality and an assumed lack of feeling because it was a type of labour that was devoid of sentimentality (Shepard 227) and so the detail of whose baby suckled from which woman's breasts did not factor in this equation of motherhood.[12] These

[11] Of course, this is not to say that women of all colours were not extorted and taken advantage of in the wet-nursing trade, but I want to specifically take issue with the use of the term "colonization" when it is so loosely applied to women who were not enslaved.

[12] In "The pleasures and Pains of Breastfeeding in England c.1600-c.1800" (2017), Alexandra Shepard presents both sides of the eighteenth-century wet-nursing debate: early in her examined time period "wet nurses were often portrayed as surrogate mothers", an assumption that was tied to emotional connections and maternal instincts, but later into the eighteenth century "as mothers' work was naturalized, the work of the nurse was dehumanized" (227). Shepard cites an issue of *The Spectator* (1757) which warned of the dangers of delegating the duties of maternal feedings to wet nurses. The piece cautioned that "the likelihood was 'ten thousand to one' [that] a wet nurse would be 'neither in health nor good condition, neither sound in mind nor body', lacking honour and reputation, and […] having more regard for the money than for the child" (239). Interestingly, Shepard's article does not explicitly discuss race in relation to this gendered labour but her article makes repeated mention of racialized rhetorics akin to those examined in this dissertation. For example, Shepard notes in passing that by the mid-seventeenth century and onward, there was a preference for "a nurse with 'a good Complexion and Constitution'" instead of "a mother with an 'ill complexion'" (232). Further, she analyzes the way that the "wholesome country nurse" archetype was cast a "Mercinary" by Henry Newcome, who suggested that this endearing image of a domestic worker "was being offset […] by the threat of a 'stupid Nurse', characterized by 'Peevishness, Lust, […] and Baseness, vices' which were likely to be transferred to the nursling" (238). These references to undesirable complexions, and money-minded "degenerates" who might be infiltrating the purity of households read like racially offensive warnings to white households to not only avoid hiring wet-nurses, but to especially steer away from dark-skinned ones because of the culturally well-known associations between these terms and racialized people.

characteristics are very similar to those assigned to sex workers in that there is a general assumption that the breastfeeding mother and the prostitute are both passively engaged in non-work.

Idleness and decadence are words that become associated with sex working and wet-nursing. Because carrying a child to term is necessarily constrained by time, the process of racialized motherhood is further complicated and inevitably slowed down. This is to say that even if an enslaved mother carries her child to term in roughly nine months, her motherhood is complicated and slowed down upon delivery of the child. While childbirth in the eighteenth century involved the practice of "lying in"—a time of supposed rest for the mother after giving birth in order to conserve her health and protect her baby—enslaved mothers were not afforded such luxuries.[13] The emotional bond she could have had with her child is delated because her attention is forced to the non-biological child she must nurse.[14] Perry, despite her elision of race and enslavement, does helpfully discuss how eighteenth-century "maternity came to be imagined as a counter to sexual feeling, opposing alike individual expression, desire, and agency, in favor of a mother-self at the service of the family and the state" (Perry 209). Further, she highlights a tension that is both physiological and psychological, as serving-class mothers were regarded as more or less asexual once they gave birth and were set to start their maternal responsibilities for the family they worked for. Similar to sex work, the emotionality of an intimate activity like breastfeeding is completely ignored for the woman in question. Sex workers are also thought to

[13] It is important to note that childbirth for white married women in this period involved "an elongated time frame of up to six weeks, encompassing the late stages of pregnancy, labour and the subsequent month of rest and recovery known as the 'lying in', as well as the physical delivery of the infant" (Fox 2).

[14] I am not suggesting that breastfeeding is necessarily an intimate experience (and not all women lactate of course), but that it is objectively a time that the mother in question would get to spend with her newborn and therefore when it is forcibly taken away, a facet of her motherhood experience is also taken away.

be devoid of meaningful feelings towards their clients,[15] putting on a believable and stimulating performance whilst on the job, and turning off that performance once their labour ends. For both groups of women in question, these feminized and difficult jobs were business exchanges, in which their exhaustion was unseen, and their labour was unrecognized. As such, understanding the inextricable tie between racialized maternity and sex work allowed me a critical avenue through which to locate otherwise absented women.

Chapter Summaries

Both labour policy documents and anonymous prostitution memoirs provide evidence of women of colour as constant sexual curiosities for white Londoners, subject to accusations of worse sexual deviance than white sex workers, and consistently framed as innately lazy, shameless, and decadent. It is imperative to rethink these racist assumptions that have long placed white women as the neutral norm. Eighteenth-century studies must consider that this extensive history includes racialized bodies that have been unaccounted for and thereby change the way we teach about the history of sex work in Britain. Each of my chapters presents two key texts from the genres of memoir and labour policy, and focuses on one affective state tied to dark-skinned workers. Most workers I examine in my chapters are sex workers, and all are sexualized workers who are exoticized and subjugated because of their assigned racial category.

Chapter 1

[15] References to the eighteenth-century mercenary sex worker are multitudinous. For example, in the 1789 issue of *Harris' List of Covent Garden Ladies*, clients are warned of a Mrs. Ag—r, noting that "those who have a wish to visit this lady would do well to present her with the money first, as it always renders her more civil and agreeable" (74). Another widely popular example of the financially practical sex worker is seen in Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's, response to Jonathan Swift's "The Lady's Dressing Room" (1732). In her "The Reasons that Induced Dr. S. to Write a Poem Called 'The Lady's Dressing Room'" (1734), Montagu describes a sex worker who, above all, prioritizes her fee, noting, "the gold she takes" from her client immediately upon meeting; while ultimately the client does not enjoy himself and wants his money back, she refuses.

The first of this project's four chapters examines the alleged laziness of racialized sex workers and how they were implicated but ultimately left out of discussions of the "idle and disorderly" (Levine 184, Chapman 107). I address selected documents associated with the English Poor Laws, and entries from two volumes of prostitution memoirs, the *Histories of Some of the Penitents of the Magdalen House, as Supposed to be Related by Themselves* (1760). The labourers discussed in these works are largely raceless and this elision of colour is entangled with an assumption of the worker's whiteness. In contrast to canonical works of fiction which often call attention to the sex worker's beautiful "fair skin", policy documents and memoirs assume a racial neutral and indirectly highlight racialized discourses like laziness and idleness that stand in opposition to the "expert" or pejoratively business-minded white harlot. These works consistently reference the figure of the idle woman of colour as a "static vagrant" (Gerzina 160) and are especially salient when subjects self-identify as idle or condemn others as unproductive workers. For example, this chapter analyzes a dark-skinned sex worker who kept her labour secret from her more homely, traditional, and judgemental sister. While both women have the same skin tone, began their lives in the same place, and indeed continued to live in the same place into adulthood, they labour in different spaces, have different motivations for their labour, and operate in different social circles. I rely on Christina Lupton's work on temporal coordinates and striations—concepts that describe where people live, work, and socialize—to determine these women's temporal placements. These two sisters had ostensibly the same temporal coordinates and striations at the start of their lives and progressively drifted in opposite directions as they aged and changed. The labour completed by the sex-working narrator here is framed as slowed down *because* of her alternate striations and she receives judgement for her laziness from her traditional sister. My findings indicate that only through awareness of these

alternate temporal positions and the problems with her alleged idleness can we recognize the effort involved in her work and lived experience.

Chapter 2

My second chapter focuses on discourses of (un)industriousness taken up in *House of Commons Papers on Trade and Foreign Plantations* (1789), John Newton's policy paper, *Thoughts Upon the African Slave Trade* (1788), and the memoir collection, *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies* (1757-95), which is an annually published directory with descriptions of eighteenth-century sex workers. In this chapter, I mobilize Michelle Wright's theorizations on temporality and Black identity to discern how labour and leisure are raced activities in my selected works. Studying industriousness, a trait that most people thought prostitutes lacked, is pertinent because there is a tension in my selected works between the "constant […] hard work" that sex workers do and how it is nevertheless labeled as non-work (Levine 95). Examining women in service and how they are often at risk of "falling into" sex work highlights the tenuous state of industriousness. The reality of service work and the sex trade as reflected in my selected policy and memoir documents demands that we extend studies on labour and how it is entangled with complicated definitions of industriousness that range from "quality work" to "constant work". The second chapter of my project, therefore, works with, but ultimately departs from, canonical representations of industriousness and the sex trade to better understand the eighteenth-century tension between work and non-work. It is important to study documents like the *List*, which is part advertisement and part memoir, in tandem with works of eighteenth-century fiction to fully understand the paradoxical status of sex work as both non-work and lucratively industrious labour.

Chapter 3

My project's third chapter confronts discussions of shamelessness in Martin Madan's policy document, *Thelyphthora* (1780-81) and John Cleland's fictional pedagogical memoir, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure: or, Fanny Hill* (1749) through Eve Sedgwick's theorizations of shame and Elizabeth Freeman's concept of chrononormativity that explains ways that bodies can be organized temporally for maximum productivity. Unsurprisingly, the canon's posture is Eurocentric, and frequently frames sex workers as beautiful because of their whiteness, exchanging sex for money because of a "fall" from polite society, and unashamed of their work because of an overwhelming sexual voracity that arises from their repressed Christian backgrounds (Harvey 207). By alluding to racial minorities that have been overlooked in both Madan and Cleland, my approach calls attention to "subjects that have been cut adrift from traditional structures" (Rosenthal 3). In order to extend the cultural archive of sex work, I revive these otherwise raceless documents by calling attention to how sex workers of colour were thought to draw their sexual propensities from their innately savage natures rather than any morally-rooted upbringing against which they might have rebelled. I approach how these works represent racial minorities in two instructive ways: first, by analyzing the entanglement of shamelessness and savagery and consequently problematizing what work means during this time in London; and second, by addressing a gap in our cultural archive that locates unknown labourers otherwise elided as a result of the transatlantic slave trade.

Chapter 4

My final chapter demonstrates how decadence as an affective state of decay attributed to sex workers of colour subjects those women to a double burden: they were thought to be lazy, shameless, lacking industriousness, but, unlike white sex workers, incurable because of a pathological predisposition to lethargy (Sanders 124, Turner 2, Jones 25). I mobilize the original

definition of decadence coming from the Latin term, “decadentia”, meaning to decay or fall from a prior state of excellence, and thus depart from popular definitions of this concept that are associated with luxury and an excess of civilization. I examine discussions of dark-skinned workers in James McKittrick Adair’s *Unanswerable Arguments Against the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (1790) and Anna Maria Falconbridge’s *Narratives of Two Voyages to Sierra Leone* (1791-1793) and show correlations between discussions of decay and physiological passivity in sex workers from minority groups. In this chapter I mobilize Johannes Fabian’s theorizations of Savage Time and propose an extension to his concept that allows us to map temporal delays earlier in worker’s normative timelines. Studying decadence and its ties to inactivity, excess, and lack of control in Adair and Falconbridge’s Eurocentric works reveals how the racial hierarchies which relegate racialized sex workers to the margins of their own trade are reinforced. Adair’s work in particular links sex work completed by African women to sterility that could imperil future generations of enslaved people and thereby reveals anxieties about biologically inherited decadence. Because eighteenth-century attitudes about prostitution shame women for a moral and physical fall from virtue, these enslaved women appear to experience twice the fall: prostitution is not their rock-bottom, but their questioned usefulness for the proliferation of colonial agendas is.

Chapter 1

Dark and Delayed Labour: Sex Work and Racialized Time in Eighteenth-Century London

> "She who will always dazzle with the charms of her person, or surprise by the force of her genius, without allowing the least indulgence to sickness, indolence, or stupidity, is a slave to that vanity which she thinks exalts her to a kind of empire."
> Anonymous, *The Histories, Vol. I*

Idleness is an affective state that has long been ascribed to dark-skinned workers and functions as a resilient quality of deeply embedded racist attitudes toward those labourers. Labour policy documents and anonymous prostitution memoirs are productive genres for studying idleness because of the accusatory nature of assigning this affect, and because these genres are concerned in different ways with documenting the productivity of subjects. This chapter examines selected documents associated with the English Poor Laws, including the *Act of the Commons of England, in Parliament Assembled, for the Relief and Imployment of the Poor, and the Punishing of Vagrants, and Other Disorderly Persons, within the City of London, and Liberties Thereof* (1649) and "*The History of the Poor Laws; with Observations*" (1764), as well as case studies from two volumes of prostitution memoirs, the *Histories of Some of the Penitents of the Magdalen House, as Supposed to be Related by Themselves* (1760), in tandem with theories of temporal delays and deviations. There is evidence of idleness rhetoric between the lines of Eurocentric policy documents and beneath the veil of the sexualized precarity of memoir documents. Mobilizing idleness as a research tool fills a gap in eighteenth-century scholarship that is largely focused on white able-bodied labourers by recovering evidence of racialized sex workers in this period. Both volumes of *The Histories* are a collection of fictionalized stories about Magdalen inmates, who were detained as both prostitutes as well as

women who were allegedly at risk of becoming prostitutes because of extra-marital liaisons. The stated aim of the Magdalen Houses was to rehabilitate and train these women in virtuous types of labour. Many supporters of this institution during the period maintained that women turned to sex work exclusively by economic necessity; however, *The Histories* provide alternative reasons for joining the trade, and consequently humanize the inmates and depict the sex trade as a workforce that any woman could potentially "fall" into.

Resilience theory is key to humanizing sex workers and recognizing the impact of racial identity on their labour. There are two main ways that resilience theory has been understood historically and contemporarily: outdated views of this concept assign social and moral failings to the individual, while more recent and progressive scholarship criticizes institutional and systemic failings that deter individuals from the social and moral progress they are otherwise capable of achieving (Aranda et al 559-560). I acknowledge the former view to demonstrate the importance of moving past narrow and often anachronistic neoliberal views about work in order to more accurately analyze how eighteenth-century institutions tied idleness rhetoric to dark-skinned labourers and to understand the complexities of labour completed by those marginalized subjects. Examining idleness and resilience as they were applied to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dark bodies who labour tirelessly reveals how this pejorative rhetoric of failing at work and failure to work is consistently raced and sexualized.

Studies of eighteenth-century sex work urgently need a more nuanced examination of racialized identity.[16] This chapter examines two case studies from these narratives through the lens of Christina Lupton's work on temporal striations and coordinates and recovers evidence of

[16]See also Ali and Syed 349-65; Jordan.

an idleness rhetoric that sticks[17] to racialized sex workers. My aim is to develop a new theoretical approach by applying time theory and affect theory to eighteenth-century formations of both race and labour as it was completed by dark-skinned subjects. Records from this period that detail the lives of sex workers typically assume whiteness and elide racialized lived experiences entirely. In one notable exception that I discuss below, an entry from the first volume of *The Histories* describes the work of two "brown complexion[ed]" (vol. 1: 128) sisters of Persian descent, one of whom is a sex worker whose subjectivity is framed as unsettling because she exaggerates her exotic physical features with makeup; and the other of whom excels in the domestic sphere where she completes valid women's work. By attending to racialized sex work using idleness rhetoric and theories about temporal delays, we can recover evidence of these women and provide a fuller record of eighteenth-century economies of sex work. My chapter's focus on racialized sexuality serves as a rejection of the whitewashing inflicted on studies of sex work that position white women as the only labourers of this trade. While sexuality studies approaches to precarious labour are necessary, they remain whitewashed when they ignore the more inclusive scope offered by critical race studies.

Eighteenth-century conceptions of productivity and labour, especially as they are applied to sex work, are complicated for dark-skinned labourers who were thought to operate at a slowed-down version of time. For example, pejorative descriptions of idleness and lethargy like those noted in the epigraph were widely ascribed to dark-skinned people and the type of labour they were (in)capable of producing (Mustakeem 70-84; Afara 195). As subjects who have, in a trade that hardly counts as work, historically been assigned the designations of idle and lazy

[17] "Stickiness" is a concept discussed by Sara Ahmed in *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* to describe the way that emotions tied to particular words and discourses can operate across different contexts to mobilize traces of particular affective-discursive regimes.

because of their complexion and other biological assumptions, their status as labourers needs further investigation. Scholarship about sex work in this period—most notably Laura J. Rosenthal and Karen Harvey's works—centre on white women and the importance of claiming their place as real workers in this precarious workforce. Their studies are important, and I cite several of their works in this chapter, but they reference dark-skinned prostitutes in passing—offering only a few pages in an otherwise white-centric book—and I endeavour to make these understudied women the focus of my research.

Because of the elastic state of race in this period, sex workers could experience both a fall from virtue and also a fall into various racial categories depending on who might be observing or employing them (Gerzina 20-22; Nussbaum, "Politics of Difference" 375-86; Schiebinger 387-405; Zimbardo 527-31). Rather than focus only on Blackness and Asianness, my research highlights nuance in how Brownness and Beigeness were represented and conceptualized. Indeed, my work would not have been possible without the theories and histories provided by Gretchen Gerzina, Stephen Ahern, and Sowande' M. Mustakeem on colourism, sex work, and slavery.[18] Eighteenth-century writers struggled with the slipperiness of race, and their misguided understandings of other cultures led to "misleading dichotomies that […] inhibit our interpretation of written […] texts and distort our understanding of the history of racialized thinking" (Nussbaum, "Between 'Oriental' and 'Blacks so Called,'" 138). Only by making important connections between representations of idleness, race, and labour can we fully understand eighteenth-century sex work as it was completed by women of colour.

[18]My research builds on and extends the foundational work of Mustakeem and Gerzina, and the scholarship represented in Ahern.

Raced Labour and Idle Femininity: Idleness as a Temporal Disability

Throughout the eighteenth century, idleness was a quality often assigned to labourers who did not conform to English expectations of productivity and/or quality work. If we look to observations made about Khoikhoi peoples by European travel writers in the seventeenth century, we can see how the same pejorative connection between laziness and racialized labour continued into the eighteenth century, and indeed into these memoir documents. In 1685 Christopher Fryke infamously composed nineteen categories called "Account of the Hottentots" and perpetuated these racists labels by focusing on the Khoikhoi women's "idleness" (noting that they sleep all day, lay all over each other, and choose not to work) and "primitiveness" (living "like hogs," utilizing a language which sounds like turkey noises, displaying their sexual organs openly) (qtd. in Shahani 16). The observations on the Khoikhoi women construct a racialized identity that revolves around idleness and primitiveness as signifiers of inferiority, inadequacy, and lack of progress—all of which were opposites of signifiers that constructed ideals tied to whiteness (e.g. activity, progress, hard work, etc.) (Spillers 66). Racialized subjects, often regarded as idle or in a state of perpetual sloth, were sentenced to this state of being based solely on observations of their mannerisms and assumptions tied to their darker skin.

Observers perceived sex work as a leisurely or effortless form of labour, despite the difficult working conditions that sex workers endured. John Ovington observed the Khoikhoi to be "a very lazy people [who] choose to live […] poor and miserable, [rather] than to be at pains [i.e. effort] for plenty" (qtd. in Coetzee 27). Further, it was decided that "their native inclination to idleness and a careless life, will scarce admit of either force or reward for reclaiming them from that innate lethargic humour" (Coetzee 28). I compare these eighteenth-century sex workers to the Khoikhoi women because the latter group serves as a seventeenth-century example of

racialized subjects whose labour was deemed insufficient and consequently regarded as idle. In *The Anxieties of Idleness* (2003), Sarah Jordan compiles extensive primary evidence from the seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries on the treatment and observation of the Khoikhoi and points out that reports of African idleness are exceptionally pervasive during this time (135). While a typical European description of the grotesque racialized subject focused on their physical body (e.g., nudity, filth, anomalous genitalia, strange eating habits), we also see some of this in representations of racialized sex workers. Jordan asserts that such characterizations were deeply associated with presumptions regarding their idleness and an innate inability to keep up with normative standards of manners and customs, and, consequently, normative time (135). There is a rhetorical connection between the designation of idleness and abjection assigned to seventeenth-century Khoikhoi populations and the eighteenth-century discussions of sex work because these groups share dark skin and alternative approaches to labour and femininity. Attending to these connections in the memoir genre allows greater potential for first-hand observations of the labourers themselves and reflections on this trade. I also recover evidence of idleness rhetoric in connection with racialized labour in the genre of policy documents which, instead of first-hand workers' reflections, provide first-hand observations from those in positions of power who authorized the policing of those marginalized groups who were deemed out of pace with normative, Eurocentric labour practices.

A discernable rhetorical trend in labour policy documents from this period is in the pejorative terminology assigned to workers who fail to keep up with English expectations of productivity and valid or valuable work. Explicit references to idleness in these works are accompanied by related terms that are inextricably tied to those same accusatory adjectives. The terms "vagrant" and "idle" are complicated by overarching discussions of race and lewd women.

Those descriptors often appear in Poor Law documents near terms like "correction", "thankless", "young women", "offenders", and less often, but often enough, "slaves". For example, the *Act for the Relief of the Poor* (1601) evaluates racialized subjects as innately lazy—a natural state exclusively tied to subjects of colour—when broadly condemning "idle vagrants" [19]. My first case study focuses on a similar document, the 1649 *Act for the Relief and Imployment of the Poor,* to confirm the link between vagrancy and idleness by providing proof that a reference to non-work completed by vagrants is a reference to Othered subjects and their non-working statuses. While there is only a single reference to idleness in this act, descriptions of vagrants are plenty and point boldly to the implicit racialized state of those discussed. The 1649 *Act* conceives idleness as a type of social disability and poses resilience as the physiological and moral antidote for this temporal failing.

The focus of the 1649 *Act* on the punishing of vagrants provides insight on the period's support of community policing measures to ensure control over labourers and the use of their time. Not only is this document specific about who should be working by outlining criteria by which to police and punish those who do not, it also provides a long list of high-ranking officials who were expected to administer these newly lawful decisions. A decree that "from henceforth, there bee and shall bee a Corporation within the said City of London, and Liberties thereof, consisting of a President, Deputy to the President, a Treasurer, and fifty eight Assistants" listed the individuals charged with the authority to police underperforming workers (626). Most interestingly, this list is extended to include "the citizens of London", implying a community policing initiative to encourage snitching among the policed bodies (626). Implicit in this list of

[19]Examinations of some foundational Poor Law documents like *The Act for the Relief of the Poor* (1601) has proven challenging due to travel and safety concerns during the COVID-19 pandemic but reading partially digitized copies allowed for analysis of the mentioned rhetorical trends.

authorities is the notion that citizens are always being watched and should always be making efforts to participate in and complete legitimate work both inside and outside the domestic sphere. For example, "bastard children" (629) are singled out, alluding to the concern the state had with potentially struggling households who deviated from parish-sanctioned heteronormative marriage conventions. In referencing the responsibility of poor children to be working and generating productive outputs through their labour, the act touches on the forced resilience instilled in this young working class. Fears about bastardy carried into the eighteenth century because there remained concerns about unwed mothers and their ability to be responsible parents for their children. Maternity is significant for this chapter on idleness because it is relevant not only to the temporal disability of women as sexual and parental subjects but also to their supposedly idle nature as providers. While the *Act* does not explicitly mention idle motherhood, alluding to bastard children implicates single mothers and their alleged failings.

Early modern preoccupations with unwed-parenthood and vagrancy are inextricably linked to idleness rhetoric in the *Act for the Relief of the Poor* (1601). This policy document was also known as the Old Poor Law, which was "originally designed to help only society's weakest and most destitute, [and] over the centuries [it] was expanded to aid […] even the morally 'undeserving'" (Cody 131). Of course, the group of allegedly morally undeserving bodies are most relevant to this study. While the category of "undeserving" was quite capacious—including everyone from the poor and presumably lazy to prostitutes and unwed parents—there is a clear bias in the language used to describe this group that connotes notions of temporal delay and social nuisance, tendencies ascribed to sex workers as well. I analyze discussion of the "idle and disorderly" (628) in the 1649 *Relief Act* as it relates to unwed parents and prostitutes. In the same

way that unwed mothers are tacitly included in discussions of bastard children, so too are prostitutes included in every mention of the idle and the vagrants.

In this 1649 *Act*, unwed mothers and sex workers share allegedly idle trades that are paradoxically both hyper-sexualized and asexual women's work. This *Act* conceives of unwed-parenthood and miscellaneous vagrants (e.g. sex workers) as out of pace with current society, and that their irresponsibility with their bodies has contributed to the broader community falling behind. There are clear consequences laid out for these temporal failings that included "being put in the stocks, or whipping" and a unique punishment that seems to be reserved for specifically racialized or Othered vagrants that involves "dispos[ing] of them to their places of birth" (628) to rid the local parish of their burdensomeness. This is akin to modern understandings of deportation and racist notions of '"sending someone back to where they came from'" especially when it refers exclusively to racialized subjects who are falsely considered out of place where they currently reside (Dwyer and Limbong). Being out of place and out of pace with conventional social and labour structures relegates these marginalized groups to the fringes of an already precarious life. While these references and the *Act* itself do not explicitly refer to sex workers but rather the category of vagrants in general, it explicitly targets behaviours that are associated with sex workers. The *Oxford English Dictionary* indicates that the term "vagrant" became more pejorative from the 1600s to the 1700s; it initially referred to those with no settled home and eventually included people who were "manipulative" and "cunning", descriptors that are often tied to sexual labor.

Characteristic of resiliency in its outdated sense of personal meritocratic success is a shift in responsibility to the individual to "bootstrap" and thereby succeed in their work environments. This type of rhetoric is prevalent in seventeenth-century documents that provide readers with

both descriptions of community members who are expected to work, and the grounds on which some members could be excused from work. By modern standards, these distinctions between workers and non-workers employ staunchly ableist language like incompetence, impotence, and the like. The 1649 *Act* explicitly promotes the importance of continuing to labour despite insurmountable hardships. The act states that "vagrants, [and] idle and disorderly persons […] bee set and kept to work", and that "all Poore persons, Bastard children, and other Poore children" who might be "refus[ing] to work, […] be punished as Vagrants" in order to emphasize the importance of "carrying on [with] this work" (628-31). This retrenchment in labour policy was predicated on the idea that idleness (not working) was an individual failing and a moral and political threat to the community. Writers condemned this failure to work in a valid way—as in not working, sex working, or unwed parenting—more harshly when such failings were committed by racialized bodies. We witness evidence of this throughout the eighteenth century and into contemporary discussions of resilience and resilience theory in which these ideas about disability and temporality are defined differently depending on skin colour. The concept of resilience is typically "associated with [the individual's] inner strength or resourcefulness and an ability to bounce back following adversity or trauma" (Aranda et al 559-560); however, in the context of the 1649 *Act*, conceptions of resilience are not only applied to sentient beings threatened with transportation or deportation but also to lasting ideas and institutions that encourage work instead of social support.

While prominent scholars of political theory use resilience as an adjective to describe human subjects, this is a limiting scope that does not address the institutional frameworks that marginalize dark-skinned workers. Mark Neocleous suggests that resilience has become a significant and popular political category in the past decade and draws on a "2008 OECD

document on state-building, styled ‘from fragility to resilience’, defin[ing] the latter as 'the ability to cope with changes in capacity, effectiveness or legitimacy" (3). This example describes resilience as a state of being that develops for or is acquired by human subjects as a sort of defence mechanism post-trauma. Similarly, Heidi Rimke, who has published widely on resilience theory, shares Neocleous's position and criticizes resilience discourses because "they promote a neoliberal model of mental distress that frames struggle as a distinctly personal obstacle to overcome by those with the fortitude and the moral strength of so-called resilience" (Rimke 33). Both scholars scrutinize these discourses because they perpetuate neoliberal perspectives on individual responsibility: putting the onus on subjects to be resilient enough to pull through harm that is typically state-caused. Resilience discourse is far more capacious than Neocleous and Rimke, among others[20], suggest. As social benefits are cut back and welfare increasingly devolves to the individual, reading resilience as a *quality* of a pejorative idea (idleness, decadence) or institution (welfare state), and therefore a mechanism by which these ideas and institutions endure, evolve, and mutate across time and space, is imperative. Extending the scope of resilience theory allows further clarity not only for the current political climate but also for understanding the racist implications in historical labour policy documents like the 1649 *Relief Act*. Mobilizing contemporary resilience theory can help reveal language that ties idleness to racially Othered labourers in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century policy documents, and also allows us to trace the long history of what is now called ableism.

Eighteenth-century views about allegedly idle individuals resemble contemporary attitudes concerning marginalized people in the context of welfare support: there is a fear that offering those groups social assistance will somehow allow them the opportunity to get ahead

[20] See Howell and Voronka 1–7.

without putting in the same work that everyone else does. There are collective and organizational aspects to resilience that are linked to idleness as an affective state, especially when it is tied to dark-skinned labourers. For example, the archetype of the Welfare Queen originally introduced in a 1974 campaign speech by Ronald Reagan represents a woman from Chicago who was allegedly defrauding the welfare system by using "80 names, 30 addresses, 15 telephone numbers to collect food stamps, Social Security, veterans' benefits for four nonexistent deceased veteran husbands, as well as welfare. Her tax-free cash income alone has been running $150,000 a year" (Reagan 1976 Interview). In a sentence, he constructed a terrifying image of a hyper-sexualized non-working woman who has come to represent all women despised by his voters[21]--the woman who does not work hard (or at all), who takes advantage of the 'good' and 'supportive' system upheld by the government, and one who 'fakes' her dependence on her husband(s). Reagan's description mobilizes these fictional qualities to evoke fear and resentment in his voters, a similar type of fear that the 1649 *Act* constructs centuries earlier. While there was no equivalent to the welfare system in eighteenth-century England, there existed social assistance via support from local parishes, which often abounded with discrimination. For example, in the 1772 memoir, *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, an African Prince, as Related by Himself*, Gronniosaw vividly relates the subjugation he experiences having married a poor white woman and the class-based hardships they endure together with their young children (Carretta 49).[22] When mourning the death of one of their children they turned to the local parish for burial and "were thwarted by local laws which

[21] Non-white men and freed male slaves only got the right to vote in 1870--so Reagan's voters would have still been largely White (Brown and Wellman, 2006, p. 198).

[22] One would expect their story to be riddled with racial discrimination because of attitudes towards mixed marriages at that time, but surprisingly, "the cases of inter-racial marriage [were so] common […] in Britain [because] race was secondary to the working classes at least" (Gerzina 22).

refused burial to non-parishioners and the unbaptized", thus they were ineligible for their version of social assistance (Gerzina 21). Rhetoric around social assistance includes conceptions of deservingness: that one must work hard enough to try and make ends meet and ultimately fail, in order to be considered for social assistance. Similarly, in Gronniosaw's memoir, he laments the institutions that shut he and his family out, despite their unending work and resiliency through their hardships. He cites his wife's "hard labour at the loom, [doing] everything that can be expected of her" and his little contributions to their financial situation despite his "age and infirmities" (Carretta 53). Gronniosaw's narrative highlights how the relationship between idleness and resilience in the eighteenth century must be considered in the context of oppressive institutions like Church polities, and is never simply a narrative about an individual and their ability to survive through impossible hardships.

What is elided in Reagan's speech, parishioner's attitudes about Gronniosaw and his family, and discussions of vagrants in the *Act* is the acknowledgement of institutional subjugation that remains resilient and continues to marginalize racialized women and criticize their labour. Paul Pierson discusses the resilience of the contemporary welfare state, positing that it "has proved to be far more *resilient* than other key components of national political economies and far more *durable* than existing theories of the welfare state would lead one to expect" (Pierson, *The New Politics of the Welfare State* 144, emphasis mine). He explains resilience as a characteristic of the welfare state and mobilizes it as a tool for understanding how the contemporary welfare state carries with it traces of the past. Kay Aranda et al carry this impulse further and add that "contemporary interest in resilience may indeed be a response to broader socio-cultural narratives of fear, anxiety and powerlessness and a further manifestation of neo-liberal welfare's disciplinary logic" (559-60). Although these authors gesture to how resilience

can refer to sentient subjects, they also extend the definition further and insist that scholars ask "where resilience resides, [and] how it is achieved" (550)—both queries that demand we apply this theory to ideas and institutions, as well and individuals. As such, idleness is a resilient quality of deeply embedded racist social institutions, whether it took the form of parish "deportation" in the 1649 *Relief Act* or in the refusal to bury the children of manumitted but unbaptized enslaved people like Gronniosaw.

The ableist language present in the *Act for the Relief and Imployment of the Poor* (1649) refers to older workers' inability to carry on working and keep up with the pace of English expectations of productivity. The Act provides descriptions of community members who are expected to work, and the grounds on which some members could be excused from work by equating "impotent age" (630) with possible allowances for financial relief. The lawful decree was that "authorit[ies] aforesaid" at the start of this document were allowed to assess financial need and make exceptions for non-working citizens including "impotent aged persons […] and others fit to bee relieved" (630). Noting the above reading of resilience offered to us by Neocleous and Rimke, we can see how the selected piece of labour policy (the 1649 *Act)* favours resilience rhetoric and instructs subjects to behave resiliently until the governing body determines that they qualify for financial, and indeed physical, relief. The underlying discussion of race demands that we see how these behavioural instructions are products of racist discourse that has endured across time and space. Those who could or would not reform and activate themselves through personal responsibility and determination to function (explicit discourses derived from the Protestant ethic), faced escalating disciplinary measures[23] (e.g. the stocks and

[23] Polakow demonstrates how "far from lazy and deficient they [welfare recipients] are, as [their social circumstances pushed them to] demonstrate their perseverance, skills, and energy, just so they can navigate" (81) the precarity of their lives.

possible deportation) (*Act* 1649). The end of the *Act* provides useful foreshadowing for more explicit policy changes to come in the following decades, referring to the "erect[ion] [of] work-houses for receiving, relieving, and setting the poor to work, [as well as] houses of Correction as [the authorities] shal think fit for the punishing of […] Vagabonds" (634), which eventually brought about the Magdalen Houses discussed later in this chapter.

Idleness is an Inherited Temporal Setback

We find an articulation of the understated racist attitudes of the 1649 *Act* in Richard Burn's policy document, *The History of the Poor Laws; with Observations* (1764), which brings idleness rhetoric and its link to racialized labour to the forefront. Burn was "one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Westmorland" and during his tenure in this role he published his *Observations* slated for presentation at Parliament ("Observations", Title Page). The *Observations* consists of seven chapters, including chapters 3 and 4 dedicated to "Vagrants" and the "Impotent Poor", criticisms of previous acts, summaries of other parliamentarians' views that coincide with his, and ends with further recommendations for future iterations of these laws. Burn expresses his disgruntlement with previous vagrancy acts, noting that "the descriptions were more general [and] consequently, more latitude was given to the discretion of the justices" (125). Unlike the 1649 *Relief Act*, which "distinguished the offenders into three kinds; idle and disorderly persons, rogues and vagabonds, and incorrigible rogues" (Burn 125), Burn's document groups these categories according to idleness rhetoric including "wandering" and "lewdness". Burn not only uses descriptors associated with idleness in every reference to racialized labourers and "lewd women", thus linking dark-skinned workers and prostitution, but also discusses idleness as an inherited physiology. My analysis of chapters 3 and 4 recovers

evidence of the political disabling of racialized workers by way of systematically holding them back from making progress as labourers. Burn's text alludes to punishments that are uniquely administered to dark-skinned people because of broader attitudes about their inherent indolence and idle work ethic. This is an important contribution to the field of eighteenth-century critical race studies because scholars (Gretchen Gerzina, Sarah Jordan, Claude Meillassoux, and Roxann Wheeler, among others) have a longstanding consensus that idleness is an affect ascribed to both sex workers and dark-skinned labourers in that trade.[24]

Burn frequently describes all undesirable activities completed by dark-skinned labourers as a type of wandering; these references gesture to activities deemed aimless, slow-moving, and consequently unproductive but they bring with them serious consequences. It is important to clarify the type of evidence that is possible to be gathered from a policy document like this; unfortunately, unlike the genre of memoir where clear and explicit statements to prove racist motivations are likely to be found, analysis of policy documents requires the compilation of smaller pieces of evidence by way of racial descriptors. An abundance of these descriptors is found in his third chapter on "Vagrants", where this term refers to a myriad of detestable occupations and individuals, including the soliciting of money through "idle wandering by the highway side" (32), as well as transient "women wandering and begging" (57) who apparently suffer from gendered pathologies like "lunacy and madness" (57). Wandering could be read as an innocent and leisurely activity but in Burn instead associates it with laziness and a proclivity for dishonest labour. This activity joins the original Poor Law categories of detestable groups because Burn uses it to refer to the "idle" (32), the "rogues, [as well as the] vagabonds" (45) who allegedly share an inherently temporally delayed work ethic and a desire to earn money without

[24] See Gretchen Gerzina 106, Sarah Jordan 135, Claude Meillassoux 310, and Roxann Wheeler 204.

applying themselves mentally or physically. Wandering is an especially interesting rhetorical associate of idleness because of those shared assumptions of slow-motion labour and crucially, a physiological inability to behave differently or more efficiently; however, Burn contradicts himself in telling ways. While there are recurrent references to pejorative "wanderers"/"loiterers" (31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 41, 84), accompanying those mentions are similarly reoccurring descriptions of "wandering up and down in all parts of the realm" (43), "travelling up and down and commit[ting] many enormities" (45), "wander[ing] up and down the country to sell glasses" (45) as well as similar mentions in other chapters. This is to say that these workers whose labour is nullified are participating in enormously taxing activities and yet Burn nevertheless describes them as wanderers and loiterers. Burn's disdain for these allegedly wandering labourers is rooted in racist views of labour completed by non-white workers.

Burn exposes his preoccupation with a type of vagrancy that is specifically committed by "lewd and dissolute" (125) persons which furthers the relationship between idleness rhetoric and racialized work by encouraging the practice of branding (32). He critiques the idleness of people who are allegedly without morals, framing this laxity in personal standards as something to be feared, and more importantly, policed. Not only is there a longstanding historical association between lax morals, idleness rhetoric, and sex work when terms like "lewd and dissolute" are used because of the assumption that prostitutes lack such principles, but also Burn's audience would certainly attribute branding to West Indian enslavement of dark-skinned subjects. He exacerbates his fear mongering by saying that "as of late" the rate at which these specific individuals are appearing on the streets of London has increased, at "great expense" to the broader community because they "maintain themselves [through] their licentious, loose, and ungodly practices" (125). That discussions of looseness and religious morality are brought into

the discussion makes it abundantly clear that he is addressing allegedly immoral women, the type of labour that continues to go unrecognized. When he refers to acceptable work as "honest labour" (32), he implies a binary of opposition—that there exists dishonest labour and those "loiterers [are] to be marked with a hot iron in the breast with the letter V, and adjudge [them] to the person bringing [them], to be [a] slave" (32). There is a rhetorical connection between those who are "lewd" and those who loiter because the individual who shares both those qualities per Burn's descriptions is likely racialized. Concretizing this connection is the literal marking burned on these workers— "V" to indicate vagrant—which groups them into one abjected category.

Scholars of critical race and sexuality studies like Ratnabali Chatterjee and foundational thinkers like Peter Fryer have employed the language of physical and metaphorical branding to refer to dark-skinned labourers. For example, Chatterjee discusses the arrest of Oriental women in eighteenth-century London as "the process of criminalization […] through which the prostitute offered the colonial state all knowledge of her person and allowed herself to be bodily subjected to its regulation" (75) and defines it as a metaphorical type of branding. The sex workers in question existed in the racial limbo "between the white […] and the black" (Chatterjee 75), what I have referred to as the Beige, and unsurprisingly they were consumed into the homogenous racialized umbrella that subjected them to the same physical and mental submission and punishment as their Black colleagues. More literally, Fryer explains the socially accepted nature of slave-branding in England during this period, noting that "branding-irons […] were openly exhibited for sale in eighteenth-century Liverpool" (59) and in one particular instance at an auction in 1756, they were sold alongside "83 pairs of shackles, 11 slave-collars, 22 pairs of handcuffs, 4 long chains, 34 rings, and 2 travelling chains" (59). Fryer's archival work lends additional racialized connotations to Burn's references to branding vagrants. Much like some

torture devices like the "Iron Gag Muzzle specially designed for use on Africans" (Fryer 59), there is no doubt that Burn's descriptions of "being marked […] and chain[ed] [while being forced] to work" (Burn 32) calls to mind the dark-skinned labourers who were enslaved and tortured all under the sanction of the Poor Laws.

The 1764 *Observations* presents an evident, and indeed longstanding, fear that some groups living in precarity and immorality might be illicitly flourishing and somehow making a living by not working or working "suspiciously"—rhetoric that is typically tied to the sex trade (24, 125). The punishments that Burn suggests for these specific crimes are akin to a church penance, and while still cruel, are significantly more lenient than the branding administered to those bodies deemed dark and disorderly. Because lewd woman belonged to the parish, Church polities were charged with taking care of her punishment. Burn notes that such women would be committed "to the house of correction for one year" (94) and the bastard child she bears would also be given to the parish until she proves her good behaviour and promises "not to offend again" (94). The activities involved during women's time in correction houses are not detailed in this policy document, but we know from historical archives that most people sent to these institutions were guilty of victimless crimes in that "no specific individual could be identified as the victim" (Houses of Correction, London Lives), and yet they would be "put to hard labour, typically beating hemp [and] over half were whipped, particularly those deemed guilty of […] lewd conduct and nightwalking (prostitution)" (Background - Houses of Correction - London Lives). These allegedly idle vagrants who should have been working hard are committed to these workhouses to do a different type of "hard labour"—this time without pay—only to be compensated with potential freedom, pending good behaviour and repentance. The state is playing a leading role is the temporal disruption of the idle and disorderly by placing them in

what is effectively a prison; workhouses necessarily halted any progress or productivity—whether valid or invalid—that “the idle” were once generating in their everyday lives.

Burn’s text frequently discusses attitudes about slavery, lewdness, and vagrancy committed by those who must be returned to their home countries. The pejorative categories of "workers without letters [read: papers/historical equivalent to work visas] returned to their countries" (25), "branded slaves" (32), "wandering women" (57), and "children […] brought up in idleness" (69) broadly refer to all individuals who are unwanted, unseen, and/or undesirable to White British subjects. Burn incites fear from the public and policymakers of his time, validating their potential annoyance, anxiety, and disgust toward the social Other—especially toward the poor, allegedly idle racialized worker. There is increased danger to more marginalized groups because he groups the poor under one undesirable umbrella, relying on and extending the Poor Laws’ three categories that make it easier for the privileged public to direct their fear. Adding fuel to his fear-based flame is Burn’s insinuation that idleness is an inherited and therefore inescapable affective state. For example, in chapter 4, "Impotent Poor", he discusses "divers men and women [who are] impotent and lame, [who] carry children about with them [and bring them] up in idleness" (69), positing that those children could not be "brought after to any good kind of labour or service" (69). This is to say that idleness is alleged to bring about further idleness, and therefore is understood to be a generational physiological setback or disability. By cultivating these racist views in his readers, Burn is entrenching these attitudes in the public and is responsible for the setbacks experienced by marginalized groups. The parents in his entry are referred to as "divers", a term that describes individuals who are miscellaneous or different from the default or majority group and thus categorizes them as Othered vagrants who fail at escaping the cycle of idleness because they are passing on this trait to their children. Further, the ableist

descriptors of "impotent and lame" position these parents as physically incapable of both parenthood and "any good kind of labour"; this language implies that their disability is inherent. Burn's suggestion that they labour alongside their children elides the reality that children of the working poor in this period likely laboured out of necessity and undermines the hardship of poverty and precarious work. As I explore in my next section, even when race is not explicitly addressed, we cannot assume whiteness in eighteenth-century idleness rhetoric like that Burn employs; examining racial identities in this context reveals the tension between labouring and childminding that precariously employed dark-skinned parents endured.

Concealing Idleness is a Self-Interested Survival Mechanism

Nearly all entries of *The Histories* are "race neutral," a term I borrow from many scholars of critical race theory.[25] This term refers to situations, works of literature, conversations, and the like, wherein whiteness is assumed. To assume whiteness often positions it as a baggage-free political standing which perpetuates racist ideologies including ones about labour and physical energy. As such, to return to my claim about most of the entries in these volumes, they either make no mention of race—gesturing towards a racial neutrality in how woman sex workers were perceived in eighteenth-century London—or they discuss at length the fairness of skin and the lightness of eyes, thus indicating whiteness.

This entry deviates from this white-focused trend because it mentions outright that the woman's "complexion was brown" *(Histories* 1: 128). This woman's Brownness then goes on to be inextricably linked to discussions of her labour, overall exertion, and motivation. Because

[25] See Agnani; Eze; Schiebinger; Vartija.

race was relatively fluid during this period, mentions of Brownness were non-specific and could refer to a myriad of races. Wheeler explains "the emergent character of race" (31) and clarifies that the categories that determine whether a person belongs to various groups extend beyond complexion. When searching for explicit references to race, we must also search for ideas, behaviors, and descriptions that are tied to race but might be less explicit. What makes the narrator's self-portrait more specific is her mention of Turkish sexual partners, and crucially, a moment wherein she compares her beauty to that of a Persian monarch (*Histories*, 1: 135).

While the narrator's exact cultural heritage is not significant to my study, it is worth mentioning because most scholarship on evidence of race in eighteenth-century London centers on Black[26] and Chinese[27] women. Wheeler reminds us that "the deployment of racial discourse mattered in relation to populations other than Africans" (9); I contend that searching for evidence of even more diversity in this labour force is crucial for recent work on mixed-heritage identities borne of the transatlantic slave trade and the burgeoning sex trade in London. This entry provides some evidence for the presence and activity of other women of colour in this sex trade who are under-studied. Situating this Persian lady in A.B. Wilkinson's research on biracial mixed blood, for example, would illuminate eighteenth-century attitudes about those groups in-between Blackness and whiteness—what I call Beigeness—and why they were thought to have come from a "slavish sooty race of mixed-heritage offspring" (173). Whether the Persian woman is of biracial heritage is irrelevant but what is important is that she represents a racial limbo that must be highlighted.

[26] See Dominique; Molineux 495-520.

[27] See Alayrac-Fielding 659-68; Kowaleski-Wallace 153-67.

The synopsis, which comes from a different voice than the woman's, mentions the woman's Brownness. It identifies the woman as a "lady of quality" (*Histories*, 1:129) and describes her wealthy family. At the start of her letter, she notes that her high class is something from which she benefitted, but she does not explain how precisely (*Histories,* 1: 129). We can infer from the series of events that follow that her prestige is material rather than social because "[her] father was a very rich trader in a country town [and] it rendered him one of the principal people in it—an advantage that [she] partook in" (*Histories*, 1:129). This is a particularly useful case because it is written as a sort of comparative study: we not only follow our lady's journey through the pains of her work, but also follow it in tandem with a description of her homely sister, who, "like most girls, had been taught to think marriage the ultimate end of her creation" (*Histories*, 1:129) and therefore seems to be her perfect opposite both in physicality and in personality. Explicitly stated in this narrative is the homely sister's disability (*Histories*, 1:129), which highlights this binary of opposition: sex working/able-bodied/immoral labour versus homemaking/differently-abled/virtuous labour. This comparison highlights the narrator's experience with sex work even further because we are given a binary opposition through which to understand it. The story emphasizes how she uses her brown-complexioned colour to her advantage by using makeup and embellishments luxurious enough to only be accessible to women of high class (*Histories*, 1: 130). Further, her able-bodied status stands in direct opposition to her trade because it causes a social tension: she is at once physically able to get ahead in life but held back because of her occupation. Beautifying the exotic/Othered body is part of her business plan and therefore part of her success as a labourer in this trade.

We can infer that our narrator is conventionally beautiful because she gestures to the parade of men she seems to always have at her disposal, but according to her sister, none of them

husband material (*Histories*, 1: 133). The woman describes her sister as being physically disabled in a way that makes her unattractive to potential suitors[28], noting that she received a great deal of moral judgement from her sister, whose aspirations centered on "shining in domestic life" (*Histories*, 1: 130-31). The narrator's sister seems unaware of her trade and that the narrator is using sex work as a marriage-finding mechanism. The narrator is convinced, however, that her approach to love and admiration is not only the ideal method for attracting the "superior sex", but also "the ultimate end of her being," (*Histories*, 1: 130-31) meaning that she feels she has no other choice; if she wants to find a permanent partner, she could not "wait till that superior sex should please to accept [her] [because that] might never happen at all", presumably because of her racialized status (*Histories*, 1: 130-31). Readers are provided with a comparison between the sisters and prompted to feel a simultaneous antipathy for the more virtuous and boring approach to men completed by her disabled sister, and admiration for the labour involved in performing pleasure with each man that passes through the narrator's life (*Histories*, 1: 130-31).

These investments of time and labour gesture to the narrator's sister's disapproval of the alleged loophole the sex worker employs for her marital aspirations, even though there is really no loophole at all. Throughout the entry, the narrator receives unrelenting criticism from her sister, who warned her that "beauty soon grows familiar to the lover; fades in his eyes, and palls upon his sense" (*Histories*, 1: 138), which is to communicate that relying on her good looks to secure a mate and bypassing the true labour of virtue and courtship will only fail her in the end. If we understand this loophole to be a way for our narrator to skip the niceties of polite courtship

[28] Jason Farr's examination of Sarah Scott's *Millennium Hall* explains how the eighteenth-century novel conceived of disability, and more specifically, socially constructed bodily standards, oppressed disabled people—very much like the Persian narrator's sister and her everyday limitations and aspirations.

and cut to the step of intimate acquaintance with possible suitors, it might seem that she is avoiding the real work of a serious relationship, or at least, it seems so from her sister's perspective. Here, we witness the absurdity of the stereotype that sex work is allegedly non-work: the sister insists that courtship is the *real* work without knowing that the narrator is employed in sex work in order to find a viable marriage partner. The loophole of which the narrator is accused of taking advantage is null and void because she returns home daily "weary of the labour [she] had gone through, in exhibiting all [her] charms" (*Histories*, 1: 137). Her quest to find her ideal mate involves labour that is unseen by those not privy to her sexual activities. While seemingly in the throes of passion, our narrator is actually in the trenches of romantic labour. Sex work is widely thought to be a type of labour devoid of long-term or serious emotional investment; however, the narrator is mobilizing her trade for her own marriage aspirations, purposely mixing business with pleasure.

Counter to the idleness rhetoric ascribed to her, this woman is an example of the colonial subject archetype because she exists within oppressive institutional structures but also resists them by actively working in ways she is assumed to be incapable of. She labours in a mentally and physically exhausting trade as an already mentally and physically exhausted subject due to her racialized status, which is itself a form of "real" labour, pushing to succeed despite systemic obstacles. The narrator's alternative approach to labour and subsequent exhaustion can be understood through a temporal study to explain how she operates within her own temporal coordinates. I draw from Lupton's work on temporal coordinates and eighteenth-century conceptions of labour and leisure to ask whether certain subjects operate at different temporal coordinates from others depending on the colour of their skin.[29] The narrator's approach to

[29] Lupton is interested in how one makes time for reading, either by forcing it into a tight schedule or by having ample time for it in a life of leisure, suggesting that in the former option, "more compartmentalized lives—ones that

marriage differs from that of her sister and is framed as being less work, but studying her alternative coordinates proves otherwise. While both sisters are presumably equally racialized, the narrator's sister serves as a foil to illustrate how valid women's labour (the domestic variety) is exalted and sex work is moralized and shunned. Most important to this analysis are Lupton's theorizations of temporal striation (34-38). Temporal coordinates are the more literal placement of a subject—as in, where one lives, works, and socializes—and temporal striation to be the subjective experience of this placement—as in why one lives in that place, how one makes a living, and with whom one socializes. While both the narrator and her sister live in the same place, they labour in different spaces and have different motivations for their labour and different social circles. For example, while we know her sister remained at home and worked on her "good housewifery," the narrator "did nothing but carry [her]self to places where [she] might be seen" (*Histories*, 1: 132), highlighting a stark contrast between her and her sister. This is not to discount the labour of housewifery but rather to comment on how the narrator must leave home, "carry [her]self to places where [she] might be seen" (*Histories*, 1: 132) and visit multiple places to accomplish her work. Lupton's work is particularly salient in this case analysis because the two women in this entry had ostensibly the same temporal coordinates and striation at the start of their lives but progressively drifted in opposite directions as they aged and changed.

The labour completed by the narrator here is slowed-down because of her alternate striations. Only through awareness of these alternate temporal positions can we recognize the effort involved in her work and lived experience. Helpfully, the narrator notes that the "first part of the business of every day was adorning [her] person" (*Histories*, 1:135). She describes her extensive preparation process and attempts to replicate the heavy-handed beauty regime of a

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would allow temporally designated zones of intense engagement with books as an alternate to work" (36) necessarily operate at different temporal coordinates than those individuals in the latter group.

Persian monarch on her person which is a form of "never-ceasing labour" (*Histories*, 1:136). The language employed in these two pages is notably racialized when she highlights the importance of disallowing oneself "the least indulgence to sickness, indolence, or stupidity" (*Histories*, 1:136). Those who fail do so, she adds, are "slave[s] to that vanity which she thinks exalts her to a kind of empire" (*Histories*, 1:136). Monika Fludernik draws on the influential work of Emily Anglin and Jordan, who remind us that "idleness is often ascribed to the social and racial other" (qtd. in Fludernik 129). This work, centred on the alleged indolence of Indian bodies, is useful to this case study because Fludernik not only provides thorough analysis of how British nabobs understood and mimicked local styles of living in "the Orient," but also discusses how descriptors of indolence were inextricably tied to these racialized bodies. By applying Fludernik's thinking to this case we can witness the narrator's internal struggle: she is aware of the pejorative connotations of indolence and laziness and that she is at risk of having those affects ascribed to her as a brown-complexioned sex worker.

The narrator's anxieties about being perceived as indolent are more fraught when we consider the consequences that she would face if her laziness were exposed. She "sometimes confines [her] spirits […] in spite of a depression... affecting vivacity and mirth, to show the brightness of [her] eyes" (*Histories*, 1: 137). Unlike Fludernik's context that centers on British colonizers' appropriation, romanticization, and simultaneous condemnation of Oriental indolence, the stakes are much more severe for this narrator because her services will no longer be in such great demand if she reveals how "weary" she is despite "acting a part quite contradictory to the turn of [her] mind at that time" (*Histories*, 1:137). This alternative timeline is allegedly slower and less productive. This entry emphasizes her temporally augmented work ethic in its references to her trouble keeping up with the demand of her labour market, the façade

of her overall "vivacity," and the recurrent theme of fooling clients into thinking she is brimming with motivation (*Histories*, 1: 137). She fears that her struggles might be exposed because of her exhaustion, thus tying her sex work to affective labour. The consequences of the trade have physical and emotional impacts on her. She must hide the consequences of affective labour if she hopes to keep up with the demands of her work.

While the narrator states outright that her beautification routine is laborious and causes her exhaustion, she insists that it is nevertheless necessary to give the impression that this otherwise tiring work is effortless and enjoyable. Most pertinent to my study is her mention of the "first part of the business […] adorning [her] person [like] a Persian monarch" (*Histories*, 1: 135) who would no doubt be of a darker complexion than most white British beauty icons of the period. Historian Afsaneh Najmabadi tells us that in eighteenth-century Iran, a heavy amount of makeup, prominent eyebrows, and "Venus-shaped" (90) curvaceous bodies were particularly sought after. If our narrator is not full-bodied herself, she is likely trying to keep herself looking as curvaceous as possible to emulate this beauty standard. She elevates the exoticism of her sex work and its success by amplifying her status as Other. Making herself more visibly Othered allows her to be more enticing for customers and therefore increases her chances of securing a permanent partner through this business venture. As such, when considering her complexion, body shape augmentation, and “exotic” use of makeup, we can conclude that her beautification process is indeed mentally laborious and physically taxing on her as a worker. This "Persian" lady feigns esthetic effortlessness and presents in direct opposition to the socially desired norms of British eighteenth-century beauty and labour standards of the time.

The desirability of whiteness goes without saying for this period in London, but it is important to note that makeup trends essentially *required* whiteness as a base. For example,

shiny "lead white [face paint], favoured for its opacity" (DeGalan 41) was applied across the entire face and shoulders "to attain the fashionable white complexion" (DeGalan 41) and so that the blush or rouge that was applied in a large circular shape on the cheeks would stand out starkly on the skin. Eighteenth-century understandings of blushing as a physiological response were certainly quite complex: the ability to show blush on one's face indicated a certain capacity to empathize and therefore the person in question was deemed trustworthy. A person with a darker complexion, on whom a blush could be harder to detect, was thought to be untrustworthy (Cummings 39-45). Brian Cummings adds that the act of blushing was thought to "come naturally," and crucially, that it "could not be willed or learned" (44-45). This definition of "natural" blush, then, entirely precludes our Persian lady because she puts on rouge in an exaggerated manner in an effort to make it more visible. She lacks the prerequisite to virtuous status, despite possessing many physical and social privileges in contrast to her sister.

Idleness is Tied to Precarious Employment

The affective labours undertaken by the Persian lady are not unlike those experienced by service workers of the time. Domestic labourers required a bedside manner like that of a sex worker; the difference is that instead of enthusiastically bedding a client, the worker must cheerfully freshen the linens and maintain a socially acceptable level of decorum. This entry from volume two of *The Histories* centres on the complicated relationship between the narrator, Mrs. Merton, and her husband's racialized housekeeper. We learn that the housekeeper used to be Mr. Merton's kept mistress, and as such she harbors significant spite towards Mrs. Merton, "behaving to her with continual insolence" (2: 147) after being demoted to this service work position. Mrs. Merton also admits in the first couple of pages that she is outraged at the

housekeeper for exposing her affair with a Captain Turnham to her husband.[30] She does not feel shame about her affair, explaining that she could not possibly lose her virtue twice over (2: 148). Because she is already married to Mr. Merton, she gestures to the social value of virginity, suggesting that there is no longer anything to save or conceal from other men. She inadvertently highlights the power imbalance in their labour/employment agreement and crucially, the temporal lag that the housekeeper experiences through her demotion by attempting to shift sympathy to herself and her exposed affair. This power imbalance is exacerbated when Mrs. Merton suggests that this temporal lag is caused by the housekeeper's "indolence" and "corpulency"—both synonyms for idleness—and thus gesturing to a sort of physical decay that the housekeeper could not avoid experiencing despite her physically and emotionally taxing labour (2: 146).

The narrator racializes her housekeeper by linking opinions on her allegedly lacking work ethic to idleness and disability rhetoric. She explains in a commonsensical tone that the reason this worker lost her position as Mr. Merton's kept mistress is because "her bloom was past, corpulency had impaired her […], her indolence was so great, [and] she was extravagant, wasteful, and idle" (2: 146-47). Here, her language is fraught when she discusses resilience and work ethic; she raises classist, sexist, and racist connotations, and moves on to use idleness rhetoric to describe the housekeeper's approach to work—or rather an alleged lack of work. The narrator displays a recurrent displacement of responsibility, but what remains consistent is her rage towards the housekeeper and her conviction that she does not deserve this position, arguing that she underperforms her duties and is overall quite indolent (2: 146). Mrs. Merton's description of her housekeeper reveals a different type of sex work—one that takes place in the

[30] Adding to the precarity this housekeeper faces is the fact that she is not given a name at any point in the narrative, and as such, her entire existence is her occupation.

domestic sphere and involves only one man—that consists of the same physical and emotional expectations of any streetworker. Commentary on her bloom and corpulency juxtapose what the housekeeper was upon employment and what she became upon demotion: at first beautiful, young, energetic, even excelling at her job, and eventually ugly, old, indolent, and lazy. Unlike the first entry in which the virtuous sister is the one with physical disabilities, this housekeeper lacks virtue and is "degraded into a servant" (2: 146) as a result of reasons made synonymous with disability.

While the concept of resilience has only recently (in the last couple of decades) been discussed in the academy as a racist concept, it is also inextricably tied to class issues. Pejorative theories of resilience have long been used to justify the mistreatment of the working classes, suggesting they exist in those social tiers because of a lack of will to work harder, and thus absolving bodies in power of responsibility for those precariously employed groups (Aranda et al 548-63; Neocleous 2-7; Pierson, "The New Politics" 143-79). The narrator opens by gendering the concept of resilience and how women should never "give up" (*Histories*, 2: 143) on their targets despite social obstacles blocking their way. She "never stop[ped] at the first imprudence [when beginning her affair with] Captain Turnham [despite] great difficulty" (*Histories,* 2: 143-44) in avoiding the housekeeper during her evening outings. Our presumably white narrator is referring to herself as resilient and the obstacle in question is her racialized housekeeper. She continues explaining her plight, defending she "did not see why [she] would deny [herself] and her lover so great a pleasure [from] professing [their] mutual love" (*Histories,* 2: 145) without "receiving punishment of [her] crime from [her] housekeeper" (*Histories,* 2: 145). She frames her hardship as challenging and painful when the focus of this entry should still centre on the loss of job and status experienced by the racialized service worker. Mrs. Merton makes herself the

victim, capitalizing on her housekeeper's precarious employment status, and ultimately reversing the linguistic use of resilience for her own gain.

Typically, we would look to the housekeeper's life events and observe a robust ability to persevere through her status as a kept mistress: her subsequent employment demotion, and her new lady's displaced rage towards her, are all textbook[31] examples of working hard in the everyday, demonstrating the opposite of idleness. Instead, we are presented with a case wherein the narrator vehemently defends her own resilience in attempting to live with her husband's ex-mistress while maintaining her covert affair. If we are to follow the narrator's argument that her housekeeper failed to retain her status as mistress because of corporeal idleness (sluggish disposition, gaining weight), a state she pejoratively equates with disability, and now continues to fail at her job as a service worker, does this demotion signal an affective dilution or does idleness rhetoric pervade all her employment positions? Here, "affective dilution" suggests that the housekeeper's racialized designation as idle might become un-stuck to her or at least less significant to her subjectivity because she is no longer a kept mistress/sex worker. If we consider that these pejorative descriptions were only applied to the housekeeper upon sight (Mrs. Merton seeing her for the first time and having to live with and observe her), and the requisites of her labour call for able-bodiedness in the way of youth and beauty, then these affects remain sticky, because of the white gaze making these designations**.**

We can see how the housekeeper's alleged social abjection ultimately led to her demotion by remembering that this fall occurred not only as the result of Mr. Merton's marriage but also because of her alleged physical decay (she became too old, too fat).[32] This fall signals the

[31] Pun intended with the use of the term, "textbook," as this case is taken from a conduct book.
[32] Here, I am referring to the original definition of decadence, closely linked to idleness in historical studies about Blackness and Brownness, and work ethic (Afara 2020).

temporal lag that comes to define her subjectivity; in other words, her demotion and aging body literally set her back—a literal time lag. Eighteenth-century writings about women's aging positioned it as a type of deformity or disability, something that James Bryan Reeves criticizes as a "deficient understanding of time" (229–56). Per Lupton's theorizations, then, the housekeeper experiences a shift in temporal coordinates and striations, one that sets her on a different, sickly, and slowed-down life path (Reeves, 66). However, we must extend Lupton's ideas to consider racialized subjectivities and the mapping of their lives. This temporal disjuncture is more literal in this case study than the previous one explored in this chapter because there are physical and social factors that are tied to this worker's complexion and work ethic that ultimately slow her down. The housekeeper's previous status as a kept mistress was instrumental to her social and financial progress—that it was the only mechanism of upward mobility in her life and having it taken away triggered a derailment of her set temporal coordinates and of her journey up the social ladder.

The *Magdalen* housekeeper's intense resentment toward the narrator is clearly well-founded because she not only lost her job but also her reputation. After she had already given up her virtue by engaging in sexual relations with Mr. Merton, she was ostensibly saved from that fall when he granted her a formal mistress position (*Histories,* 2: 150). As such, in her demotion, she has been *unsaved*—socially tossed to the curb, but with a housekeeper's salary. Her rage is rooted in the loss of all her hard work invested over the years, not only while in service but also presumably in emotional and sexual labour as the kept mistress of Mr. Merton.[33] It is by mapping her shifting coordinates and striations, as well as tracking the racialized language used

[33] We can read the housekeeper's rage through Audre Lorde's descriptions of "metabolizing hatred" or being "force-fed" racist hatred. Lorde suggests that the racialized subject learns to deal with this hatred despite its indigestibility (Lorde 152; Whitney 278-91). Similarly, the housekeeper in this case is forced to hate Mrs. Merton because of the mistreatment she receives from her and learns to deal with this oppression in her everyday life.

to describe her alleged idle work ethic and indolent personality that it was possible to find evidence of her labour in an otherwise race-neutral collection. This labour expended over a period that the narrator identifies as several years long, demonstrating a degree of industriousness that is in stark opposition to the assumed state of idleness with which the narrator imbues her. Incorporating time theory helps us to consider whether these affects can ever fully stick to any racialized sex worker who demonstrates disruptions to their temporal trajectory.

Conclusion

By combining affect theory and time theory to create a hybrid theoretical lens through which to read eighteenth-century records about sex workers, my research recovers evidence of racialized labourers in that trade; however, this study is merely a preliminary contribution for the work that needs to be completed in this field. If we continue to map temporal coordinates (in workers' physical placements) and striations (in workers' social movements) and read them alongside historically racialized affects, we can find evidence that will tell a more complete version of eighteenth-century conceptions of race and labour. This lens also has broader applications for finding dark-skinned labourers outside of the eighteenth-century sex trade. For example, it could be used to understand certain medical records that pathologize racialized patients differently than white patients for behaving in ways doctors did not or would not understand, or for tracing evidence of misunderstood sexualities as they were observed in dark-skinned subjects by examining alternative timelines, and descriptions of racialized emotions. The next chapter examines conceptions of industriousness and carries on discussions of able-bodiedness and the stakes of labouring in an unrecognized trade.

Chapter 2

Life Stops but the Work Continues: Racialized Industriousness and Undeserved Leisure

> "She is […] of a sandy colour [and] like many others, mighty good humoured when pleased. If you give her a piece of gold, before you enter the premises, she goes to work with great affability and sweetness of temper; but if not, she is cool enough, and thinks of nothing but the money during the time of enjoyment."
> Anonymous, entry for "Miss We—ls
> *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies,* 1793

This chapter conceptualizes industriousness as an affective state experienced by dark-skinned workers that disallows access to leisure time. In discussions of enslaved people in both memoirs and records concerned with slave ships, industriousness is entangled with indolence. How can both those affective states operate in one racialized subject? I have recovered evidence of this affective disjuncture between industry and indolence in slave ship records that address interactions with sex workers and in memoir documents from the British Library's Private Case that describe dark-skinned prostitutes active in London's Covent Garden. My archival research centres on four texts in particular: two memoir entries from *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies* (1757-95)*,* an annually published directory with entries that describe eighteenth-century sex workers active in Covent Garden; a House of Commons Sessional Paper entitled, "Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council Appointed for the Consideration of all Matters Relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations" (1789); as well as the document *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* by Reverend John Newton (1788). In this chapter, I identify a connection between the genres of slave ship records and prostitution directories: in both contexts, these workers are praised, shamed, and exoticized for their labour and denied leisure time. Records of racialized labour (slave ship accounts) and records that fantasize about race (memoirs) both discuss how

dark-skinned workers are organized temporally. These genres are necessarily dialogic, and this chapter demonstrates how they speak to each other. Subjects both on Atlantic slave ships and in London see their temporally normative lives stopped, and yet, their labour carries on. If life stops and work continues for these dark-skinned workers, then what does their complexion have to do with this temporal disjuncture? Their labour only continues because of the imposition of white time—referred to as "clock time" in Chapter 1—and this temporal trajectory involves the use of fear to drive productivity in dark-skinned workers. For example, the people who oversaw these ships expected that enslaved people would perform sexual and non-sexual labour because the constant threat of torture ensured compliance. Similarly, failure to make a living from working the streets of Covent Garden involved a lack of income and therefore a loss of access to housing, food, and other necessities; I refer to this vicious cycle of physically and emotionally taxing survival as a time loop because of its unending nature.[34] Studying temporal disjunctures as they related to the sex trade and enslavement illuminates a history of dark-skinned bodies living to labour, and labouring to live.

For the purposes of this chapter, I define industriousness as a state of being or a quality attributed to subjects whose work is deemed difficult, virtuous, or physically taxing. The various meanings of this term dating back to the eighteenth century range from "intelligently, skillfully, cleverly, ingeniously completed work" in 1731, to "the quality of work being industrious or hard working" in 1767, to what is perhaps the most interesting for my research, a "constantly, regularly, habitually active, or occupied [subject]" ("Industrious, Adj.") in 1764. As a result of

[34] Temporal loops and stoppages necessarily involve the potential for temporal lags because unpredictable day-to-day challenges are unavoidable (Wright 73). The subject experiencing the temporal lag already has their temporally normative life stopped and is facing additional difficulties in their labour or personal lives. For example, a temporal lag could be experienced by a dark-skinned woman forced into the sex trade (having her temporally normative life stopped), who deals with an especially difficult or offensive client, thus doubling down on her temporal hardship.

these varying historical definitions, the eighteenth-century context brings with it a grey area of queries in relation to sex workers: is eighteenth-century prostitution “informal”? How do we know? When the worker is a prostitute, questions of regularity and activity are far more contentious. If industrious work is inextricably tied to both quality and a certain amount of effort exerted, then how does sex work, as a trade that is seen as "non-work" (Phillipa Levine 177), fit into this definition? While prostitution may operate differently given its various legalities across different historical moments and jurisdictions, sex work was relatively systematized in the context of eighteenth-century Britain between the existence of illegal brothels, and the legal agreements made for kept mistresses[35]. In light of this slippery secrecy, we see that the eighteenth-century understanding of the industrious worker is less concrete than one might expect; while the hallmarks of industriousness in the period’s working classes included not only virtuous qualities like effort, devotion, and time, but could also involve ambition, income, and prestige, those descriptors do not extend to sex workers. Because the sex trade is largely eliminated from the public landscape, and dark-skinned labourers are already marginalized in this workforce, the definitions of industriousness from this period do not extend to racialized sex workers, despite being expected of dark-skinned labourers.

The dialogic connection between slave ship records and prostitution directories lies in industriousness rhetoric; in both genres, I tracked mentions of race over time. Both the "Report of the Lords" and Newton’s *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* serve as exposés on the reality of slave ships and the sexual exploitation of women slaves aboard. I rely on Michelle

[35] In *Pamela*, the would-be villainous rake and magistrate, Mr. B., positions sex work as the only optimal form of employment for a beautiful poor woman like Pamela and urges her to sign “articles” detailing her duties and compensation as a kept mistress (S. Richardson 200). Mr. B. acknowledges that she would be performing labour (including conceiving, bearing, and birthing his illegitimate children) and that this work is of a quantity and quality that deserves compensation. Pamela, however, rejects any of these earthly rewards and refuses to sell her virtue at any price.

Wright's theorization of Epiphenomenal time, which extends Lupton's model of temporal coordinates to Black identity in a way that is elided by Lupton. Lupton uses temporal coordinates to refer to the act of reading as "something that must have its own temporal coordinates" (35) in the context of eighteenth-century white leisure time that is "squeezed out of [one's] days by constant duty and small-scale distraction" (34); conversely, Wright's use of temporal coordinates serves as part of her definition of Epiphenomenal time in relation to Blackness, stating that this concept "relies on an intersection of space and time, or spacetime, and in fact stresses this combination by using both space and time coordinates from the linear progress narrative in the production of the now" (145). Wright coined the term Epiphenomenal time to refer to "the current moment, a moment that is *not* directly borne out of another (i.e. casually created)" (Wright 4), and I read Epiphenomenal time as a temporal disjuncture that could be imposed on a subject. Temporal disjunctures are interruptions to a subject's normative temporal trajectory, and allow for possibilities of multiple timelines that could exist in tandem or in parallel for these examined subjects. Wright's "the now" refers to this "multidimensionality of Blackness" because it similarly refers to the possibility that Black experiences encompass "a broad variety of possibilities, some or all of which might be true in another spacetime, but at present exist as possibilities in all the conflicted discourses that make up the 'evidence'" (23). By mapping temporal coordinates, which I defined in Chapter 1 as the literal placement of a subject which refers to where they live, work, and socialize, I prove that the imposition of white time causes this temporal disjuncture experienced by dark-skinned sex workers, and the multiple timelines that comprise their unending labour.

This disjuncture is also evinced in *Harris's List* (1757-95) wherein references to women of colour are few, but tracking their temporal coordinates allowed me to uncover them. Because

the *List* was "published yearly between 1757 and 1795 and acted as a concise almanac of prostitutes available for hire in London" ("Private Case"), I used industriousness rhetoric to trace the trends/patterns of references to dark-skinned workers across those years. This chapter focuses primarily on five issues of the *List* that have been recently recovered and made available at the British Library. Each entry details the partially redacted name of the sex worker, a short stanza about her personality, followed by a description of her skin, hair, and eye colour, physique, special skills she has either naturally or gained through intimate practice, and finally, where you might find this woman around the area and what she enjoys doing in her spare time. Much like my study of ship records, using industriousness rhetoric as a search tool revealed discussions of spare time, leisure time, work ethic, and labour performance issues that were experienced by these alleged non-workers. There is a rhetorical connection between references to dark skin, hard work, and downtime, and this connection highlights how these subjects were implicitly directed and organized by white time. When these bodies fail to comply to white time, we witness dire consequences not experienced by their white counterparts in the same trade. Explicit references to racialized sex workers are hard to come by, especially in memoir documents that are usually voiced by anonymous authors. Their absence highlights the importance of my research because recovering this evidence demonstrates how discussions of race emerged and evolved over time. Nevertheless, Gretchen Gerzina, a professor of African Studies, clarifies that Black bodies were far more prevalent in the London sex trade than many historians have suggested. For example, in her updated *Black England*, she analyses “an image of “the H-r-g-n Haram” from 1775, which “shows a young black woman standing in the background of a genteel brothel (Figure 1, Gerzina 2022, 87). In this depiction, we see a dark-skinned woman in a white-dominated sex working space, but she is explicitly ignored by others around her: the white sex workers are engaged

amongst themselves, and the only client present is a white man who is solely interested in one of the white workers. As such, Gerzina's observations help to bolster my argument that dark-skinned workers were widely present in London at this time, but are routinely elided and under-analyzed in literary-historical studies.

Figure 1: The "H-r-g-n Haram" (1775), cited in Gerzina p 87.

The texts that I study are contradictory; while they acknowledge that sex workers invest time and effort in their labours, they nevertheless conclude that sex workers are non-workers. By applying time theory to the capacious definition of industriousness, I examine how workers both on the ships and the streets saw their lives interrupted while their labour persisted unrecognized. This interruption is a temporal disjuncture, as though an external force (such as whiteness or white time), has made them veer sharply from their previous/intended timelines. These workers are consequently made to operate within different temporal coordinates. Examples of this contradictory representation emerge over the years that the *List* was published. My analysis reveals that in each passing year, there are more references to racialized sex workers than the last, reasserting scholars' claims that bodies of colour were more present in London's history than

most scholarship would have us believe[36]. For example, the 1773 issue describes a "tall, black woman" who was credited with "going through a great deal of *hard work*" (emphasis original) and notably, "it is thought by all her acquaintance[s] [that] she is seldom idle" (Harris 19). Eighteenth-century references to "tall" in tandem with the term "black" have been read as descriptions of long dark hair ("Tall, Adj. (and N.) and Adv.") —however it is clear that in this specific instance, her height and complexion are being described. Unique to this Black woman is the discussion of hard work and lack of idleness. This entry demonstrates the complicated effects and gendered labour racial hierarchies during the period. In the following sections, I unpack the relationship between industriousness and racialized and gendered labour in two entries from the *List* that discuss dark-skinned sex workers. I compare my findings on the double burden of industriousness in the slave trade with works from London's Public Record Office.

Unending Labour Causes Temporal Loops: Dark Skin and Surprising Industriousness

The above-noted entry for a Mrs. E-m-nds with the alias W-ll--ms in the 1773 issue of the *List* is the first mention of a dark-skinned sex worker in the extant collection (19).[37] This entry begins with the name of a sex worker, her location, and a quote that briefly describes her

[36] Gerzina notes that she too, at one point, was unaware of Britain's Black history. On the heels of her feeling that "London seemed to […] be occupied by two simultaneous centuries", she exposes the outrageousness of educated people's illiteracy about Black history in England when she shares her interaction with a saleswoman at a London bookshop who, in response to being asked whether Peter Friar's *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* is in stock, said "Madam, there were no black people in England before 1945" (Gerzina 2-3).

[37] For easier reading, I will refer to this subject as Mrs. Williams. Writers of scandalous records characteristically blocked out women's names in order to loosely protect workers' identities; however, some issues present scribbled evidence that the reader or owner of that particular pocketbook has penciled in the missing letters of the blocked name which might indicate that it was a personal copy, annotated to remember favourite workers and services. Note Miss A—ms, pencilled in as Miss Adams (1773), Miss B—dg—m—n pencilled in as Miss Bridgeman (1773), Miss Betsy written without redactions (1788).

personality before the entry moves on to a description of her physical appearance, favoured pastimes, and frequent locations. This entry also includes a postscript that tells the prospective client *exactly* where to look for this lady while at Covent Garden, directing possible customers to "the right hand corner" (Harris 19). In order to analyze industriousness in representations of dark-skinned prostitutes, my study highlights references to hard work and personality traits associated with emotionally and physically taxing labour. There is an indirect reference to industriousness in the opening quote associated with Mrs. Williams: "to gold and pewishness [peevishness] inclined" (Harris 19). Literary works from this period refer to a peevish individual as people who were prone to "fits of exacerbation"; for example, in Godwin's *The Enquirer: Reflections on Education, Manners, and Literature* (Godwin 86) such "fits" are a gendered descriptor for an irritable woman. Hence, the description of Mrs. Williams' peevishness connotes a certain level of energy exerted, a dedicated no-nonsense or "hustle"-mentality toward earning "gold" such that she is exasperated by distractions from her aim. What might appear to be emotional fits is evidence of her investment in her financial wellbeing and hard work. This brusque characterization also stands in direct opposition to cliché understandings of sex work as a labour that is effortless, pleasurable, and temporally slow. Indeed, ironically Mrs. Williams must work *more* than ordinary "valid" female laborers such as milliners because she has to keep up the appearances of a sham-business while also working at her actual trade (sex work) that was widely considered non-work. Mrs. Williams finds herself in a looped timeline because of her tri-faceted unending labour as she works to keep a millinery shop (even just for show), performs duties as a kept mistress, and is also a "street walker".

Mrs. Williams' entry in the *List* illuminates the reality of sex work: that it is difficult, sometimes frustrating, and a necessarily hectic, fast-paced activity:

> A tall fine figure. She lived some time at the Parrot facing Beaufort Buildings in the Strand, which she opened as a Milliner's Shop—*a mere cloak to her more private business*. A few yards of ribbon and a gauze apron thrown over a line in the window constituting her whole merchandise, *at least of that kind*: she now is at a warehouse as above[38]. She is a *tall, black woman*, by some said to a fine woman, but we think *coarse*: she is now said to be in good keeping, but any one who is curious may have her, for she is *fond of money*, so very fond, that she never was known to turn even half a crown away—'tis true she is made to go through *a good deal of hard work*, and 'tis thought by all her acquaintances *she is seldom idle*, though in keeping; her dress is always elegant, *and yet she may be found most nights in the gallery* at Covent Garden. N.B. Right hand corner. (Harris 19, emphasis mine)

The full description illuminates not only her "cover" story as a struggling shopkeeper with a warehouse, but also the emotionally and physically taxing reality of her labour and her racialized identity. While race is a fluid category in this time[39] period and the terms "of colour" and "Black" are unstable, it is nevertheless possible to piece together other descriptors of darker-complexioned women and compare them to descriptions of their white counterparts in the same publication. The designation of Mrs. Williams as a "tall, black woman" does gesture to skin colour and along with the designation "coarse", a term suggesting either ethnic difference, supports my reading of this entry about a woman of colour.[40] It is notable that entries explicitly

[38] The address that is noted for Mrs. Williams is: "Cheesemonger's, Church Street, Soho".

[39] Gretchen Gerzina, Sarah Jordan, Karen Harvey, Claude Meillassoux, and Roxann Wheeler, among others, discuss the fluidity of race in the eighteenth century.

[40] Kalunta-Crumpton's work examines historical racial labels to take issue with the term "people of colour" and compiles archival evidence on pejorative descriptors of dark skin that identify coarseness as a racializing term. They cite literature from the sixteenth-century and onward that "distinguished the light-skin color and other

addressing white women do not employ pejorative connections between coarseness and darkness. As a “black” sex worker, Mrs. Williams is inextricably connected to the socio-cultural assumptions made about dark-skinned subjects in the eighteenth century.

Mrs. William’s sham millenary that she runs as a "cloak to her private business" speaks not only to her commitment to her continuing industriousness but also to the inescapability of her imposed time loop because she must pretend to labour in a virtuous matter and actually tirelessly labour in an unrecognized trade (Harris 19). Eighteenth-century references to *business* described either "something with which a person is busy or occupied [read: busyness]", or, more useful to this chapter, "application or commitment to a task or purpose (diligence)" ("Business, N."). The latter definition of diligence points to Mrs. Williams’s ability to maintain both a false and true storefront and to sell two different types of services. The last two italicized phrases—“*she is seldom idle”* and “*she may be found most nights…”*—are evidence of an interesting tension. On the one hand, we recognize that this woman has laboured and/or suffered enough for it to be a notable part of her personal synopsis, and also, we are told in a tone that gestures to surprise, that she is rarely idle: we are told there is evidence for this observation in the form of “acquaintance” references. This worker not only labours in multiple arenas (because she appears to sell fashion accessories but actually sells sex) and keeps a regular schedule “most nights”, she also dresses in a way uncharacteristic of sex workers: "elegant[ly]" (Harris 19). The writer of this entry is suggesting that she does not look like a sex worker and yet she is. Because this worker lives in a sort of grey zone, she is an especially interesting subject to track temporally.

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phenotypes of the Hamites from the physical features of sub-Saharan Africans, describing the former as pure, and the latter as coarse” (Kalunta-Crumpton 2019).

Sex workers operate within a temporal disjuncture caused by their trade, what I refer to as a "time loop." I conceived of this term based on Michelle Wright's theorizations on "progress narratives that [are] always looking backward"; she compares nondiasporic epistemologies—referring to Western civilizations including the Enlightenment—that "notate themselves as always already moving forward", with diasporic epistemologies, positing that the latter sees "progress deconstructed" and temporal experiences are "rendered fluid" (73). As such, she reminds us that time for diasporic populations is always haunted by the past, which is the cause for the loops I observe in these texts. She adds that "black women do not always share the same historical timeline as men" (Wright 12) because in many ways throughout history they were doubly set back due to their complexion and gender[41]. This temporal deviation differs for racialized sex workers in the eighteenth century as their subjectivity is complicated not only by racist assumptions but also by the realities of enslavement. As we apply Wright's framework to Mrs. Williams's entry in the *List*, we can see how Mrs. Williams operates at her own temporal disjuncture. Her status as a dark-skinned woman already pulled her away from what is socially expected of women at this point in history, and her trade forced her to "to go through *a good deal of hard work"* (Harris 19). The fact that Mrs. Williams' industriousness is notable or surprising for a "black woman" indicates that she operates at different temporal coordinates as a result of her racialized state and this gestures to the temporal disjuncture that she experiences. We can locate these alternative coordinates in the rhetoric used to describe the hard work she endures—a level of work that seems to be uncharacteristic for a woman like her. The fact that this labourer is also "in good keeping" (Harris 19)—in other words, that she has regular employment as a kept

[41] Wright gives many examples to explain how Black women were set back in more/different ways than Black men, including their delayed right to vote, how they were removed from important leadership positions when the Civil Rights movement was more established, and queer Black women were and still consigned to the margins (Wright 12).

mistress of an unnamed man—is also relevant to my interest in what Lupton has called "temporal striations." These striations help map the subjective experience of a worker's placement—as in why one lives in that place, how one makes a living, and with whom one socializes. Because Mrs. Williams is a "kept" woman of colour and presumably does not need further employment beyond this "good keeping", the fact that she is "seldom idle" and "yet can be found most nights…in Covent Garden" hints that she enjoys the extra work or at least has an overwhelming desire for extra "gold."

Most notably, when we look at the *List* as a whole, as a document filled with "fair-skinned" beauties, the descriptor "seldom idle" (Harris 19) is attached exclusively to Mrs. Williams as a dark-skinned woman. This entry focused nearly entirely on Mrs. Williams' labour: what she did for work, how she completed it, her temperament while at work, and the way she looks while at work; this recovered entry is especially important because it is focused on a discussion of industry and industriousness, but as we will see in the next section, there is also merit to less focused entries where we gain insight into the typical everyday activities of the examined labourer.

Raced Industriousness Temporally Debilitates Dark-Skinned Subjects

My analysis of *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies* provides examples of industriousness as a racialized state. By bringing forward conceptions of the idle dark body through binary oppositions, we understand the worker by what she is not. I locate women of colour in these entries by examining the work-related language used in the entries and noting that references to industriousness or the lack thereof, is never used in reference to a fair skinned

worker. Again, it is important to clarify that I am not claiming to have located specific Blackness or Asianness but rather I have found a way to locate representations of racialized women in this already precarious workforce. This is a necessary contribution to current scholarship because it demonstrates how industriousness is an ever-present, ever-useful research tool even when race is not explicitly noted in the language of the eighteenth-century archive. Because this examination takes up industriousness as a quality attributed to someone who has demonstrated a "commitment to a task or purpose", it is inextricably bound to ideas of motion, hard work, progress, and productivity ("Industriousness", Adj.). Incorporating time theory, like Wright's thoughts on temporal coordinates, time loops, and linear time, urges us to consider whether these affects can ever fully stick to any racialized sex worker who demonstrates disruptions to their temporal trajectory. In Harris's *List* we witness a layering of affects that compose the complicated dark-skinned subject of eighteenth-century London: a worker who sees her temporally normative life stop but her exhausting and unrecognized labour continue because her socio-cultural sphere does not recognize her work despite the physical and emotional hardships she endures to keep up with her job.

My focus on industriousness rhetoric reveals that conceptions of hard work completed by dark-skinned labourers were always entangled with discussions of indolence and that this affective tension disproportionately debilitates racialized women more than racialized men. References in the *List* to dark-skinned sex workers increased and diversified in issues published in the 1780s. I recovered evidence of at least two women of colour in the 1788 issue as well as a man of colour: a "lovely African, blooming with all the hue of the warm country that gave him birth", who was a regular sexual partner of a white female sex worker (Harris 84). The presence of the dark-skinned man demonstrates that industriousness rhetoric operates similarly across dark

complexions, but ultimately has more significant and pejorative connotations for women because gendered descriptors of mood and effort do not extend to men. For example, the 1789 issue presents an epigraph for Mrs. W--tta: "could she but smile, she'd ruin all mankind" (Harris 130). As it appears immediately before the main body of Mrs. W—tta's entry, this epigraph prompts readers and potential customers to expect, as with Mrs. Williams, another "exacerbated," or irritable dark-skinned sex worker.

There is a strong thematic focus on disagreeable moods throughout the entries that mention Black and Brown women in the *List*, which points to a consensus that light-skin ladies were more likely to be polite and happy about their trade than their darker-skinned colleagues of Covent Garden. Mrs. W--tta's personal description is strikingly different from entries about her fair counterparts as she seems to be simultaneously unsatisfied with her job and yet she finds the physical energy and uplifted mood to be "fond of dancing:"

> This lady is pretty when she does not frown, to which she is much addicted. Her complexion is dark, her hair dark brown, and her eyes bordering upon black, which, if she is willing to languish, are very reducing, and her eyebrows indicate a covered way perfectly well furnished. Her teeth are good, but she seldom smiles to display them to advantage. She is, nevertheless, a fine woman, and well worth her price, which is at least two guineas. As she is not now above twenty, she may, probably as she attains more maturity, discover her error and remedy it—for a frowning beauty is a kind of solecism in the grammar of delight. Although [she] has not been much above eleven months upon the town, she is a tolerable proficient in her profession; she is very fond of dancing, and may be generally met with at the Hop in Queen Street, Golden Square. (Harris 130-1,)

Here, the *List* entry suggests that Mrs. W--tta's disgruntlement decreases when she finds a way to create leisure time within her temporal loop by seeking personal physical pleasure in dancing. When discussing industriousness as a racialized concept, it is useful to consider William Gleason's scholarship about leisure time, in which leisure is "the counterpoint to work" (Gleason 300) through which we can understand the formation of the self in relation to national identity. If the opposite of idleness is industriousness, and for Gleason, the opposite of leisure is industriousness, or a will to work—then how are idleness and leisure similar as counterpoints to work? There is a racial dimension to this distinction (leisure versus idleness) because typically leisure is a privilege afforded to subjects as a result of past effort or class–and is presumably "earned" and therefore justified. Conversely, idleness is a result of a lack of effort that is typically deployed to describe people of colour and poorer people (Ali and Syed 352). As such, leisure haunts discussions of industriousness as its other face, yet it does not manifest in these cases because dark-skinned workers are precluded from it. The worker in this entry has ostensibly earned her leisure time (dancing) because of the hard work that she has completed. And yet, it is possible that her clients hire her as a dancing partner, and hence dancing is part of the work that she enjoys. She labours in a trade that is seen as 'non-work, one that is for static, lazy, and metaphorically non-moving subjects, and yet she enjoys vigorous movement. This *List* entry hints that dark-skinned workers are indeed capable of both earned and self-afforded leisure and their complexion and assumed lethargy does not preclude them from voluntary movement and physical exertion.

Discussions of dancing and its freeing quality have deep connections to the history of slavery in Britain and its colonies. During this period, many thinkers viewed dancing as a freeing activity precisely because there are rules that can become habituated and embodied (A.

Richardson 70-78). The policing of Black subjects' dancing was a common practice in both Britain and its North American colonies[42], where "negro frolicks" were often banned (Cole 1-18). If groups of Black people were caught dancing during their leisure/off-time, they were charged and sometimes jailed ("Frolicking and Other Crimes"; Mallipeddi 112). The use of legal force to police the movement of Black subjects is relevant to the analysis of this *List* entry. The knowledge that Mrs. W--tta enjoys dancing, coupled with our knowledge of her dark complexion, creates a more vivid picture of the blurring between leisure and labour. Her skin colour suggests, as I discussed in Chapter 1, an alleged innate idleness and hence a lack of industriousness. Hence, while Mrs. W--tta was not jailed for her off-time dancing, it is nevertheless surprising and even scandalous that she is capable of such bursts of energy. While the *List* presents dancing as an activity that she does for herself, and for free, it also suggests that she gets away with it because it is another avenue of labour for her where she is "met with" by interested clients (131). Attending to industriousness rhetoric as a research lens thus allows us to look beyond reductive descriptions of Mrs. W—tta's price, her "frowning" moods, and her lack of smiles for her clients (Harris 130-1). In the context of policed "frolicks" and the commodification of exoticized movement, this representation of a Black woman enjoying dancing demonstrates the complexity of leisure time as a racialized sex worker. Because industriousness was a crucial moral and physical signifier for notions of white, Christian time during this period in London, the complicated networks of meaning that surround this affect reveal evidence of dark-skinned workers' capacity for leisure and hard work that was otherwise obscured with racist characterizations of their work ethic.

[42] See Cole's discussion of the policing of frolicks in Shelburne, Nova Scotia.

There are striking similarities between Mrs. W--tta's entry and the one excerpted above for Mrs. Williams based not only on skin colour, but also on the affects associated with female industriousness: how a worker's personality seems to shift from one that is allegedly grumpy, inactive, and lethargic while working hard, to one that is presumably more energetic and active while dancing. Mrs. W--tta is allegedly underperforming according to the expectations of the sex trade, having been working for eleven months and yet still unaware that she must smile to keep up with market demands. In a profession famed for feigned pleasure, this woman's outward frown brings to the forefront a critique of sex work as an allegedly leisurely trade. This *List* entry presents readers and clients with an unimpressed woman who is explicitly described as dark in complexion. If we assume that Mrs. W—tta does not continue to frown while dancing, then her frown is only a problem while engaged in sex-work. The tendency to frown is not mentioned in any other *List* issues about female sex workers. Sometimes the entries address the difficulty of the job—how physically taxing it might be—but such statements are always followed with a description of how that woman still enjoys what she does.[43] Indeed, entries describing white sex workers detail an overwhelming sense of enthusiasm and excitement on the part of the worker which could inspire confidence about her work ethic.[44] In contrast, Mrs. W--tta seems only enthusiastic and excited when completing a part of her labour that feigns the experience of leisure time at the "Hop" dance hall, and during which energetic movements happen on her own terms (Harris 130-31). Her dancing is a mechanism of survival—something that is part of her job

[43] For example, Mrs. N—v—ll is "so thoroughly stamped in her disposition the desire of pleasing and being pleased that her feelings are (if possible) now more improved than diminished" (1798, p 67). Here the entry reassures potential clients of the worker's dedication to pleasing them regardless of her true disposition.

[44] For example, Miss H—m—lt—n, openly named "Helen" is listed in the same issue as Mrs. W—tta (1789). She "possess a skin fair as the celebrated dame's, whose name [she shares]", famed for being "agreeable", "chatty", having a "good education", and adept at making "every lover happy" (101-2).

but is also personal and enjoyable rather than exhausting in part because it allows her to shed her allegedly indolent identity. The labour-time-loop described here requires a significant level of industriousness. If her temporally normative life stops but her work continues, Wright's definition of "the now", or, the possibility that multiple temporal timelines exist for Black subjects, applies seamlessly because sex work is always already happening in her life, even during her alleged off-time.

Forced Industriousness Through Imposed Exercise

Industriousness rhetoric is prevalent in the policy circles of the period and extended into popular publications like John Newton's pamphlet, *Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade* (1788). His exposé presents a discussion of the forced physical activity and prostitution imposed on enslaved subjects on the ships. It documents the violent activities that occurred onboard several ships over the course of nine years, and was published thirty years after he left off trading in enslaved people and became an Anglican Reverend. Because this work is written from the perspective of a former slave ship captain who eventually recognized his complicity in atrocities, it provides an opportunity for significant analysis of how eighteenth-century representations of violence committed against enslaved people foregrounded theories of (un)industriousness. Because of the lack of accessible resources written by shipbound enslaved people and the popularity of this work among abolitionists, I use Newton's pamphlet as a base from which to expand and bring to light smaller, lesser-known pieces of information about conceptions of industriousness as they pertain to prostitution at sea.

Both the women described in the *List* and the enslaved people discussed in Netwon's *Thoughts* see their temporally normative lives stop while their labour continues and veers into an alternative, exhausting, time loop[45]. This pattern continues in Newton's exposé in the references to the pejorative and violent reality of forced dancing, how it became gendered labour despite enslaved men being made to dance as well, and how prostitution took on many forms while onboard the ships. I examine the theme of industriousness in descriptive evidence of the gendered labour completed by enslaved women, and the expectations that they were to meet both onboard and while at port. Although I am examining the entire fifty-page pamphlet, I pay special attention to a short passage (noted below) that is widely analyzed (Mannix & Cowley; Rediker; Bohls & Duncan) to emphasize the relationship between industriousness rhetoric, conversations about time and labour, and the exchange of sex for money:

> When we hear of a town taken by storm, and given up to the ravages of a licentious army […] perhaps no part of the distress affects a feeling mind more, than the treatment to which the women are exposed. But the enormities frequently committed, in an African ship, though equally flagrant, are little known *here*, and are considered, *there*, only as matters of course. When the Women and Girls are taken on board a ship, naked, trembling, terrified, perhaps almost exhausted with cold, fatigue, and hunger, they are often exposed to the wanton rudeness of white Savages. The poor creatures cannot understand the language they hear, but the looks and manner of the speakers, are sufficiently intelligible. (Newton 20)

[45] My thesis is complicated when applied to those born into enslavement because there is no original/normative timeline to deviate from, but that is beyond the scope of these selected cases for now.

Newton's "here" and "there" geographical placements function as strategic distancing devices between those enslaved and those observing them. One of the most notable critiques of this passage is offered by Marcus Rediker in his book, *The Slave Ship*, in which he analyzes the events described from a literary perspective and critiques the evident embarrassment in Newton's language when discussing the labour and perpetual suffering of enslaved subjects (Rediker 185). Rediker explains the emphasis included in the above passage was likely used to make the subject matter slightly more delicate and less accusatory to English readers (Rediker 241-3). There seems to be a set of categories of slave-trade sailors that Newton is alluding to: one set that only enslaved people, and a second set that "signed on to slaving voyages in the first place precisely because they wanted unrestricted access to the bodies of African women", and this enables a forgiving tone directed at the former group (241). Suggesting that the "enormities" committed on these ships were unknown—or that if they were known, they were assumed to occur, *over there*—is certainly not grounds for forgiveness. To be clear, Rediker is not supporting Newton's gentle approach in this sentence, but highlighting how it might have been used to garner English sympathy for the abolitionist cause. In other instances of historical "enormities", there is a similar collective and purposeful ignorance on the part of colonizing groups. In the Canadian context, for example, the history of Black slavery is widely unknown. Scholars have described the erasure of Black-Canadian archival records, a strategic whitewashing of two hundred years of history (Nelson, 2016). Indeed, to this present moment, many Canadians assume that the enslavement of Black people only happened in the United States and Britain—*over there*. [46]

[46] Another example of collective national ignorance can be seen in the presence of Indigenous residential schools in Canada. Enormities were committed against these children in the time that settler-colonial families lived right next door, willing themselves into ignorance. This is a useful resource that allows users to enter in a year between 1870 and 1997 and their address, to see where the nearest residential school was to them.

Newton perpetuates an agnotological phenomenon of willed ignorance as his narrator moves from sanitary here/there language to more inflammatory accusatory terms.

After the sympathetic, here/there statement, this passage describes the sailor-predators as "white savages"— a bold term relatively speaking—to expose the sexual exploitation they committed against enslaved women and girls (Newton 20). Critical race scholars have gestured to the ways that historical literature has used binaries of opposition to explain the Othered subject to their white readers. For example, by using the term "white savage", Newton is trying to work within the confines of the literary traditions of his time; typically, whiteness precluded a person from savagery, but in this instance, in joining whiteness to that term, he suggests that the white sailors complicit in the rape of Black enslaved people were predators. These "white savages" were responsible for forcing women of African descent not only into legal bondage but also into sexual slavery while they are onboard. Sowande' M. Mustakeem and Saidiya V. Hartman provide insight on what types of tasks were expected of enslaved women and girls, namely, dancing and sex work (Mustakeem 84, Hartman 52). Hartman contends that it is "impossible to imagine the enslaved outside a chain of associations in which the captive dancing in literal or figurative chairs, on the deck of the ship, in the marketplace, or before a master does not figure prominently" (52). The link between dance and an enslaved person is inextricable because their temporal coordinates condemn them to that placement: the location of their labour and forced social activity intersect.[47] Further, to then link dance completed by enslaved women to sexual exploitation is no longer a far reach. In *Slavery at Sea*, Mustakeem reminds us that "these coastal encounters extended a continuum of stereotypical assumptions held about black

[47] Wright discusses a similar temporal-spatial overlap when discussing "moment[s] of horizontal interpellation as the intersection of two spacetimes rather than of a separate time and space" (144), In Wright's context, Epiphenomenal time is used to grapple with temporal experiences that are complicated by both space and time.

women's hypersexuality, [which established] the spectrum of sexual mistreatment routinely endured within slavery at the sea" and ultimately validated the sexual economy that Newton's white savages created when they imposed control over the physical movements of these enslaved women and girls (Mustakeem 84).

Newton's passage explains the exhausting reality of these Black subjects who were forced to physically exercise to stay alive. Ship records from this period have indicated that enslaved women and girls' abuse perpetuated the "proslavery idiom of black female licentiousness" and elided their industrious reality (Mallipeddi 76). Consequently, they were used for sex not only by the sailors at sea, but also via forcible prostitution as a source of sailors' income while at various ports. Mallipeddi offers an in-depth discussion of the entanglement of time and raced industriousness. He cites E.P. Thompson's delineation between "time and task-oriented labour", suggesting that "while time orientation is predicated on a separation between work and life, labor and social intercourse, in task orientation, these spheres intermingle and overlap", meaning that enslaved people lived where they worked and worked where they lived (Mallipeddi 134). As such, the disproportionate abuse enslaved women experienced further indentured them into an exhausting time loop. While eighteenth-century criminal convictions of lewd women of any complexion did sometimes involve a life sentence at sea (Rees 7, 10, 12, 17, 19), and those convicted would often be made to carry on selling sex for money (Rees 127-28), the lives of enslaved women sex workers differed dramatically. Enslaved women were forced into sex work and therefore made to work hard for free, all while displaying an industrious attitude for the benefit of sailors and strangers on land (Rediker 19). Sex with the sailors was indirectly framed as necessary exercise for enslaved Black women and girls to keep them healthy and alive. What I mean by "indirectly" is that while the necessity of exercise to keep the enslaved

people alive is thoroughly documented by historians, there were gendered variations of these exercises imposed on women and girls.

Keeping up with clock time is in itself a quality of the eighteenth-century industrious subject, and by imposing dance as a scheduled form of exercise (e.g. one hour, daily), white time is enforced on these enslaved groups. Mustakeem tells us that the forced exercise completed by both the enslaved women and men was a "critical measure in preserving human merchandise" (71) but she adds the caveat that it was only implemented when it was evident that their wellbeing was in absolute need of it due to failing health. One testimony recovered by historians from a sailor on one of the slave ships quoted his assertion that "they [enslaved people] are always ready to dance, with the only exceptions being a few sulky ones" (Mustakeem 71; testimony of Clement Noble). This claim speaks to the subjects' presumed readiness to move. In relation to conceptions of industriousness and time theory, this assumption illustrates the Epiphenomenal time experienced by those enslaved because the dancing framed as exercise was actually a mechanism of survival in order to avoid punishment, and an exhausting and inescapable time loop. For example, one sailor, James Towne, noted the strict dance schedule that the enslaved had to adhere to in the mornings "between eight and nine o'clock" (Mustakeem 71, testimony of James Towne), denotes a very white-Christian clock-time that has been historically imposed on colonized groups and individuals alike. When the subject in question is an enslaved woman, made to complete the "gendered variation [of the required dance] as well as daily patterns of sexual abuse" (Mustakeem 71), they experience a secondary type of labour that enslaved men were likely excused from. This gendered and sexualized form of exercise extended beyond a type of dance that demonstrated eighteenth-century conceptions of regularity—that is, the expectation that a healthy subject is one that moves and works constantly and effectively—

and into both suggestive dance as well as forced sex. If we consider Wright's concept of Epiphenomenal time in application to this excerpt, we can use "the now" to understand what a disjuncture from these women's original timelines is clearly.

Both the excerpt from Newton's pamphlet and the testimonies in Mustakeem's book support my argument that these women's timelines stopped—therefore halting the original/normative flow of time—and their work continued as enslaved women who were also sex workers at sea. Wright tells us that the most "inclusive readings of Blackness […] emphasize the presence of Epiphenomenal time, a time frame in which return is a matter of not simply backtracking along the progress narrative but recognizing that one is manifesting the past in the present moment" (74). Wright's concept highlights the entanglement of timelines these enslaved women experience. The sex workers that I have examined here were made to function on concurrent time loops: they had original lives from which they were snatched, they were subjugated because of their gender and the gendered labour they were expected to complete, that their labour was cyclical and ceaseless, and that all of these timelines were concurrent, or, in what Wright calls "the now".

Industriousness is Ascribed to the Allegedly Indolent Worker

I found evidence of the temporal disjuncture experienced by dark-skinned sex workers in the UK House of Commons Sessional Papers (Board of Trade), specifically in the section entitled "Slavery" in the "Report of the Lords" (1789). Like Newton's exposé, this is a detailed retelling of events that occurred both aboard various slave ships as well as on land in the British West Indies. Crucially, these accounts are presented by white slave owners to the British House

of Commons as part of the Parliamentary record. The abundance of industriousness rhetoric pejoratively ascribed to dark-skinned workers who have records of their labour erased signals the whitewashing of these historical records. The format of this document remains consistent throughout all the sections and is significant because of the reductive and essentialist framing of their labour: it is a series of questions posed by Parliamentarians and answered by sailors and slaveowners on these ships. This format is particularly effective at subsuming all the enslaved subjectivities under one colonizing voice. Wright's theorization of the various temporalities present in colonial and post-colonial texts, in particular her thoughts on horizontal and vertical interpellations of time, lend themselves to understanding the descriptions of dark-skinned workers who were at once born indolent and allegedly forced to be industrious. She suggests that the question/answer format perpetuates verticality and that more inclusive versions of narratives will make for more expansive and horizontal histories (Wright 163). She criticizes texts that do "not interpellate Black West African women as an absence and did not interpellate them as Black women but instead interpellated them as a *presence* as agricultural laborers, merchants, and urban workers" and in doing so the interpellation remains vertical and Black women are read "quite narrowly and often inhumanely" (Wright 164). How could such a contradictory subjectivity be conceived? Does the subject in question exist in multiple timelines? This slave ship record highlights the interconnectedness of prostitution, Black enslavement, and industriousness, and how assumptions about Black subjectivities were contradictory and vertical, per Wright's theorizations.

The "Slavery" section of this document is organized by evidence delivered by different slave ship sailors and owners, among them Reverend Isham Baggs who explained at length how much he learned about the African slave trade as it was carried out by Black people. While the

role of Africans in the transatlantic slave trade is not the focus of this dissertation, it is important to acknowledge it in order to avoid reproducing the vertical history that Baggs is retelling. In his testimony on the "State of Slavery" in Africa, Baggs notes that his knowledge was "almost universally informed by […] Black Brokers" (Board of Trade 58) and that slavery was the main punishment for most crimes. Baggs also noted that the "revenue of the Kings of the Country depended on the Sale of Slavery" (Board of Trade 58). Significantly, later in his testimony, he states that Black traders of enslaved people were not business-minded—that they often succumbed to vices like alcohol consumption, polygamy, and prostitution—and were widely quite indolent (Board of Trade 70).

To expand upon Baggs's view of Black enslavers, I turn to representations of Black enslavement imposed by Black people as it is retold by descendants of those in bondage. In an article titled, "When the Slave Traders Were African" by Adaobi Tricia Nwaubani in *The Wall Street Journal*, the Nwaubani provides insight into the ways that people today remember their slave-trading ancestors and the trauma associated with re-colouring their cultural history.[48] This interview presents evidence of the industriousness and indolence rhetoric as ascribed to dark-skinned workers because of the significant difference in the interviewees' attitudes toward enslavement and indentured labour completed by Africans for Africans. The reason for this distinction is that the former placed enslaved labourers on a different temporal trajectory where they were no longer in control of their social and physical movement, while the latter was a

[48] Nwaubani interviews Yunus Mohammed Rafiq from Tanzania, whose great-great-grandfather "raided villages in Tanzania's hinterland, [and] sold the majority of his captives to the Arab merchants who supplied Europeans and kept the rest as laborers on his own coconut plantations" (Nwaubani 2019). Rafiq describes the shame felt by his family about their history, but his story stands in direct opposition to other interviews Nwaubani conducted, where people have been able to reconcile their violent familial history, suggesting that slavery completed by Africans does not belong in the same conversation as the white-colonial slave trade. Zambian pastor, Saidi Francis Chishimba vehemently argues that slavery was wrong but maintains that he does not owe anyone an apology on behalf of his ancestors.

mutually agreed-upon and consensual form of service work. A pastor he interviewed asserted that "Africans did not see anything wrong with slavery [and] even if the white man wasn't there, they would still use these people as their domestics. However, because the white man was […] involved and fortunes were being made…that was when the criminality came in" (Nwaubani 2019). While the pastor's position is contentious, it serves as an example of another retelling of African enslavement, the ways it differed from colonial bondage: that from a white European work ethic, the Black enslavers are not as industrious and are hence more indolent than white enslavers. It is clear that Baggs was positioning the colonial use of slavery as the perfect equal to that completed by "Black Brokers" when in fact the latter is vastly different from the transatlantic slave trade. As such, this testimony and others in this document construct Black subjectivities as simultaneously industrious and indolent, and openly discusses Black women's sexuality and labour but frames it as an afterthought.

For the purpose of my discussion of industriousness, studying the role of Black working women who were either already sex workers or forced into sex work on ships is useful because the quality, regularity, and difficulty of their work is bound up with their complicated status as enslaved people. Further, there is a two-fold temporal stoppage in these women's lives—their home lives and labour have been interrupted only to be replaced with labour deemed productive for white time—then an examination of children born of slavery and slave ship workers is an important consideration because this was a sentence exclusively given to condemned dark-skinned women. This observation is reflected in my archival findings because sex workers of colour on these ships and elsewhere bore a double burden in terms of accusations of non-work: first, because of racialized discourses about sloth; and second, because of the insistence that sex work was not, in fact, work.

Important is the double burden of industriousness in relation to the representation of enslaved women and their labour. One of the most recurrent questions posed by the House to the speakers was, "Can any causes be assigned which impede the natural increase of Negro Slaves", and the answer to this question was meant to signify a group of people's ability to progress, or make progress (be it through labour, procreation, or other methods). Across the 487 pages of this record, this question is asked explicitly on fourteen occasions and indirectly many times more. Each time this question was asked directly, it was answered (more or less) in the same way: "Several causes may be assigned: 1. The enervating Heat of the Climate, which disposes to Abortion; 2. The practice of polygamy; 3. The incontinence of Female Slaves" (Board of Trade 328). But, overwhelmingly, the most common answer always shifts the blame onto women: "The premature and promiscuous Commerce of the Sexes; the Prostitution of the Women in the younger part of their Lives; Nightwalking; by which they contract severe colds, and other Disorders, by the Concealment of which they are often injured, which must necessarily impede the natural Increase" (Board of Trade 351). While colonists were far more interested in Black men than Black women for the purposes of enslavement and hard labour and often discounted the gendered labour of the former group, there is a clear preoccupation with these women's sexuality and their ability to procreate. If we use Wright's theory of Epiphenomenal time/"the now", to understand this affective entanglement, then we see a sort of time loop develop. Because "time loop" refers to an activity or life trajectory that repeats endlessly, the unending nature of this temporal experience is caused by an interruption or disjuncture in a subject's everyday life. As well, time loops could be occurring in tandem with otherwise changing time, a timeline that occurs linearly. Wright tells us that "'the now' can certainly correlate with other moments, but one cannot argue that is always already the effect of a specific, previous

moment"—that is to say, that Epiphenomenal time is not borne out of a moment that preceded it (4). Instead, is it arguably a temporal disjuncture that takes the subject away from the linear path they were previously on. Very much like any other trade labour—be it mining, factory working, and the like—sex work is repetitive, with little change in the activities (unless of course the miner in question is injured in a work accident or the sex worker is assaulted).

Following the "Slavery" section, this record presents sections devoted to specific countries/regions that include the same interest in both the prostitution completed by Black women and the purported tension between industriousness and indolence tension evinced throughout this document. In the later pages there are direct questions about the labour and prostitution of enslaved people as Mr. Braithwaite, the Agent of the Assembly of Barbados, asks Governor Parry, "What is the Disposition of the Free Negroes with respect to Labour, particularly continual or diurnal" (Board of Trade 307). In his response, Governor Parry states:

> The Free Negroes are in general so proud and *indolent* that they will not be enticed to Work; many of them are so poor as to be maintained by their difficult Parishes, and there is scarcely an Instance of their living in any private service. I do not understand that the Free Negroes of Barbados *ever hire themselves out to till the Land*, although they sometimes do so as domestic Servants. […] Some of the Females are good housewives, and conduct the Business of their Families within Doors, others *support themselves by the Prostitution of their Persons*. […] A most settled Aversion: so *far from addicting themselves to continual and diurnal* [49]*Labour*, they are *with Difficulty enticed to the Exercise* of any handicraft Art: Free Negroes *are the Pests of our Society*, the *Receivers*

[49] The term "diurnal" is mainly used to describe the behaviour and daily activities of plants and animals, and is not typically ascribed to humans. This terminology further dehumanizes the observed subjects Governor Parry is describing.

> *of stolen Goods*, and the Encourager of Slaves in every Kind of Vice. (Board of Trade 307, emphasis mine)

This passage presents a multitude of loaded allusions to the lack of industriousness in the Black subjects of Barbados. Despite Governor Parry first referencing the free [Black people] of Barbados, and remaining adamant of their indolence, the most relevant portion of the passage is in the latter discussion of women's work where he takes issue with their lack of consistency, regularity, and dedication to self-improvement. While the focus of the labour in question is assumed to be completed by men ["Free" men] operating as service workers and housewives, the cliché of unseen women's work applies to enslaved women onboard and on land as well. In her, *The Floating Brothel* (2002), Siân Rees tells us that English women convicts—mainly from London and many of whom were prostitutes—were sent out to sea on *The Lady Julian* to serve their sentences. On board these ships they were completing the "cleaning, laundry, [and] food preparation […] [because it was] reckoned that clean linen shirts would be as much in demand as sex" (Rees 137). Indeed, the women discussed in this quote from Rees are white, but she does go on to say that other ships deployed around the same time as *The Lady Julian* started visiting the Western coast of Africa, where "ships crammed their holds with slaves for North America and the Caribbean" and those slaves "replaced the convict labour from Britain which American ex-colonists no longer wanted" (138). Prior to being collected as "cargo of human misery", Rees discusses that some of those women would have already been enslaved and working on plantations where they "would sell themselves for 'a bellyful of victuals'", or food, and therefore allegedly were aware of the sexed labour expectations on the ships" (138). Rees' historical context is illuminating for this examination of the passage from the House of Commons

document because it brings to the forefront the labour that women did in the background onboard these ships.

All mention of women's work in Parry's testimony is clearly relegated to the category of specialized labour, or gendered labour. His reply included the alleged indolence of the African subjects in question. He believed this group of observed subjects had no interest or intention to "hire themselves" (Board of Trade 307) to work or be productive and so he made the case for the necessity of their enslavement, ostensibly to *save them* from their indolence. When he turned to the question of women's work, the lack of detail speaks volumes because the only options noted were housewifery and prostitution—and even then, Parry states that the group finds themselves unable to commit to long term, hard work. This observation stands in direct opposition to the true nature of both motherwork and sex work because of their cyclical and ceaseless nature. Instead Parry is implying that these women (and men) willingly disrupt the progress of their activities—a voluntary temporal disjuncture, per Wright. While Wright does not explicitly discuss prostitution, her theory of vertical and horizontal retellings of Black history is especially relevant here; this approach "reveal[ed] how using both linear and Epiphenomenal time to analyze the limits they encounter […] can provide a more […] inclusive analysis of Blackness than […] spacetime alone" (74). As such, vertical and horizontal interpellations of Blackness are necessarily capacious and have helped in the revision of this colonial retelling of history and brought to the forefront the exhausting and physically taxing labour expected of these sex working women and mothers, in an effort to create a more horizontal narrative. Throughout this chapter I have been suggesting that for these labouring dark-skinned women, their lives stop upon enslavement, only to carry on, on an alternative timeline, working. And so if life stops but

their work continues, then we witness a tension between the ascribed indolence of Black subjects and their clear and endless industriousness.

Conclusion

In contemporary labour movements about sex work, there is a useful metaphor that is meant to draw sympathy from those who deem prostitution non-work: likening sex work to a physical labour is meant to demonstrate how both trades involve selling one's body for money, but one labourer usually completes her job with little to no clothing on her body. For example, Darren Thiel delineates the bounds of "clean" and "dirty" forms of work, positing that "this discourse is tied to the modern notion of the separation of mind/body and mental/manual, and the subsequent reorganization of workplaces into experts, managers, and workers– experts exercising their minds to do clean work, and workers exercising their bodies and getting dirty in the process" (230). In her ethnographic study, "Tainted love: From dirty work to abject labour in Soho's sex shops", Melissa Tyler contrasts "the manual labour performed by building workers in Thiel's (2007) study of dirty work and physical capital" with the perceived dirtiness of retail sex work (working in sex shops); she references the rich large body of literature on sex work and the prominent "stigmatization of those who provide and consume commercial sex" (2011). Drawing sympathy from the masses by comparing a trade that is often moralized to one that is typically respected for how physically taxing it is, is a contemporary example of the lasting implications of industriousness rhetoric on this marginalized trade. In the eighteenth-century context, this comparison demonstrates how akin the exhausting and constant nature of manual labour is (that no doubt was even more dangerous historically than it is today for both types of labour) to the physically and emotionally taxing nature of sex work. For example, in the above analyses of both *List* entries, the sex worker's entire existence essentially centres on her labour,

unless she finds a shred of personal, or leisure time, to spend on herself. Included in one of those entries is mention of the worker's affinity for dance—a form of self-expression that is typically free, in terms of cost, but requires personal time to complete. In the way that Audre Lorde contends that poetry is the art form of the poor, dance is ostensibly in the same category because the cost to participate in it is 'only' time (Lorde 114-123). Dancing, and the access to dance, has historical significance to the slave trade, and the mapping of the movements of dark-skinned subjects above demonstrates how sympathy for marginalized subjects completing comparably exhausting labour to those in physical trades was withheld. Instead of recognition of their labour, these workers' histories were elided, and even forced industriousness during enslavement did not save them from their alleged indolence.

Sex workers both on the streets at Covent Garden and enslaved women forced into concubinage experienced a temporal deviation as a result of their trade. They were pulled away from their original timelines and thrust into a repetitive loop of exhaustion and, especially in the case of the latter group, daily suffering. The sex worker Mrs. W---tta in the 1789 *List* issue demonstrates that this time loop often lags when she is faced with difficult clients and is forced to feign politeness, and is sometimes interrupted when she affords herself leisure time.

Chapter 3

Temporalizing Shame: The Transitory Nature of Racialized Shamelessness

"He or she can buy off their sin and shame with a sum of money."

Martin Madan, *Thelyphthora*

This chapter conceptualizes shamelessness as an affective state in which a subject who deviates from social expectations finds themselves. The uniqueness of this affect is in the way that it lends itself to narratology. While someone can feel shame arise from an internalized narrative, shaming is also often dialogic in nature. Any observer could scorn the "shameful" person's socio-cultural standards and thereby join the affective conversation to become either the shamer or the narrator who imposes a specific affect on the shamed. Important theorists of affect like Eve Sedgwick, Silvan Tomkins, and Ann Cvetkovich have all extensively explored the complexities of shame, and have all referenced and extended each other's works. For example, Tomkins examines the intersections between shame as an affect and the physical manifestations of that state. He suggests that "the lowering of the eyelids, the lowering of the eyes, the hanging of the head is the attitude of shame" (qtd in Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling* 114) and Sedgwick carries this impulse further by noting that these mannerisms can easily be associated with the act of reading in that the required posture is extremely similar (114). By complicating Tomkins' textbook description of shameful behaviour and connecting it to an act as "innocent" as reading, Sedgwick gestures to the way independent choices—such as rejecting the demands of outside input—can manifest as shamelessness. While shaming is like a tennis match, shamelessness is like forfeiting the game. Shaming involves a dialogic back and forth which subjects its

victimized participant to a slowed down version of time; however, if this victimized participant forfeits and exits this affective game, their shamelessness allows for time to speed up again.

This chapter confronts discussions of shamelessness in the non-fictional memoir volumes of *Thelyphthora* (1780-81) by Martin Madan and compares the details of my findings to John Cleland's fictional memoir, *Fanny Hill* (1749). Shamelessness is a state that both characters and narrators embrace across the rich and varied eighteenth-century genre of the memoir. Representations of sex workers' shamelessness illuminate the canon's Eurocentric posture and echo vividly in pseudo travel diaries like Madan's wherein he addresses sex work. Eighteenth-century discussions of sex work frame beauty as whiteness, and are tacitly complicit in the elision of the racialized dimension of sex work. As Laura J. Rosenthal indicates, eighteenth-century writers associated sex workers with "East Indians, West Indians, Catholics, Jews, Muslims, Africans, Italians, the Irish, the French, Scots, Pacific Islanders, [and] 'natives' of all kinds" (11), and that contributes to the framing of sex work as non-work because it was linked with everyone that is Other. Moreover, despite there being evidence of sex workers also participating in other labour forces, the groups (e.g. early moralists and mid-century reformers) that brought forward grievances of shamelessness to government were not concerned with why these women turned to prostitution and instead suggested that they participate in more decent labour like "making linen, gloves, artificial flowers" (Rosenthal 11). Accounts also portray sex workers as fallen from polite society and unashamed of their work because of an overwhelming sexual voracity that arises from their restrained Christian backgrounds (Harvey, *Reading Sex* 207). As such, the genre of memoir, regardless of its factuality, allows for us to examine these racialized workers in terms of the way that their affects of shamelessness are temporalized.

Shame enacts a level of control over those to whom it is assigned because it has the power to police subjects. Because this affect is a mechanism of social management, it can change the behaviour of those to whom it is assigned. The power of shamelessness is evinced in how it manifests in the literal sense, on bodies, as well as metaphorically as an unspoken mode of communication. Donald Nathanson's book *Shame and Pride* (1992) usefully charts the communicative powers of facial expressions. He draws on Tomkins' term "shame-humiliation [to say that it] is the inherent, internally programmed innate attenuator circuit for the positive affects [and] since it is the mutualization of interest-excitement and enjoyment-joy that powers sociality, shame affect is therefore an innate modulator of affective communication" (Nathanson 134). As such, shame is a powerful regulator of communication because it emerges from other more positive affects and thus instigates a sort of affective conversation or relay. For example, in experiencing pleasurable excitement in response to a stimulus that one worries is "wrong", shame is born. If one then responds to that shame by disregarding feelings of worry or guilt, the affect evolves into shamelessness. Characteristic of shamelessness as an affective state is its dialogic nature: that is, subjects must be told they are lacking shame and they must in turn respond and reject that notion, renouncing that accusation. It is at this disjuncture of shame(lessness) that this affective power struggle could be resolved in rejecting outside scrutiny. Because shamelessness is a gossip-based affect, it has the ability to manifest internally in response to undesirable social circumstances, it is able to travel from person to person both verbally and silently, and most interestingly, it lingers—suspended in time and place, lasting over the course of new and unrelated social situations to burden its affective carrier. Similar to decadence, shamelessness is in itself a transmissible affective virus, but unlike decadence, some of its carriers willingly hang onto it, even when those parties who shamed them have moved on.

Shame is also a self-incriminating affect because any sign of it allows others to immediately make pejorative assumptions about the shamed subject. Eighteenth-century writers critiqued those workers who lacked shame in a trade that required, paradoxically, both feigned blush and sexual confidence. In early modern and eighteenth-century contexts, the blush had a double meaning of being both an indicator of innocence as well as a signal of self-aware flirting (Clarke 115). Any physical or emotional symptoms or signs of shame in the worker could "give away" that they are aware of the moral turpitude associated with selling sex for money. Nathanson provides a description of the symptoms we can search for when examining historical representations of sex workers and their affective states. His approach to reading shame parses the signals of the "eyes averted and downcast, neck and shoulders beginning to slump… and facial blush… as the purest presentation of the affect shame-humiliation" (Nathanson 135-6), as he describes the multiple possible meanings of the blush. In this situation, kinetic and haptic signs gives away or incriminates the subject who is feeling ashamed because their embarrassment—an affect that is a facet of shame—manifests as facial blushing.

Studying shamelessness allows for a temporal angle to my analysis because the lack of shame implies a deviation from everyday chrononormative expectations. Throughout this chapter, chrononormativity refers to the way that subjects conduct themselves and/or are conducted in their everyday schedules to accomplish productive generic milestones in the timeline of their lives. While it could be argued that different societies might have different definitions of what maximum productivity involves, Elizabeth Freeman contends that "the disciplining of 'timing' engenders a sense of being and belonging that feels natural" (Freeman 18), meaning that most cultures more or less agree on what a productive life looks like for them. The dimensions of chrononormativity include heteronormative reproduction, capitalist labour

(working time, leisure time for the eighteenth-century context), and Eurocentrism (rationality, post-racialism) (Freeman 3). For the purposes of my examination of shamelessness, any subject that deviates from any of these expectations can be read as anti-chrononormative. Sex working women of colour, however, endure a more complicated chrono-experience because of the intersections of time, gender, and race. So, the anti-chrononormative person who is already behaving abnormally—that is, differently than the virtuous white colonial subject—is assumed to be shameless and misbehaved.

Complicating this study is race: evidence of shameless dark-skinned sex workers in these works of memoir illuminates how sex workers of colour were thought to draw their sexual propensities from their innately "savage" natures rather than from any morally-rooted upbringing against which they might have rebelled. This chapter draws on Sedgwick's work on shame as a mode of communication alongside Freeman's theory of chrononormativity. While Freeman's treatment of race is broadly insufficient, she does take up gender and time, helpfully explaining how internalized pressure women experience to be/behave/live chrononormatively could be extended to internalized feelings of shame that could be transformed into shamelessness. Freeman builds on Dana Luciano's concept of chronobiopolitics by introducing Julia Kristeva's understanding of Women's Time. Simply put, chronobiopolitics is "'the sexual arrangement of the time of life 'of entire populations', and further, 'harnesses not only sequence but also cycles…' for the idea of time as cyclical stabilizes its forward movement, promising renewal rather than rupture" (5). And so, Women's Time "does not escape chronobiopolitical regulation" (Freeman 45). But rather, [Luciano's] intervention into Kristeva's work demonstrates that nations, and other public forms of engroupment depend not only on progressive, linear time and the cyclical time that buttresses it but also on the illusion that time can be suspended (Freeman

45). Kristeva notes that Women's Time "ends by privileging the bodily experience of reproduction", arguing that pregnancy is an ethics insofar as it offers the "radical ordeal of the splitting of the subject: redoubling up of the body, separation and coexistence of the self and of the other" (Freeman 45). If we can understand the pressure put on women to reproduce as a pressure to be chrononormative, then in what ways might women internalize this pressure and begin to police themselves? Extending Freeman's theorizations to my study of shamelessness allows for a fuller examination of the lived experiences of dark-skinned sex workers in the eighteenth century because of the period's occupation with ideas of chrononormative English life and Christian marriages, and how any deviation from these expectations were deemed abhorrent. Their scholarship provides the theoretical foundation that allows me to apply both affect and time theories to these eighteenth-century memoirs and, in so doing, to address a gap in our cultural archive. Eighteenth-century memoirs both gesture to and elide racial minorities in two instructive ways: first, by entangling shamelessness and savagery, and consequently problematizing what work means during this time in London; and second, by situating unknown labourers in the context of the transatlantic slave trade. In memoir documents, vices like shamelessness that are already applied to white sex workers are displaced and projected onto bodies of colour that labour in their proximity. This chapter engages with language of morality and market value in memoirs and explores how specific sociocultural markers (e.g. hypersexuality) that are associated with shame are discussed through metaphors exclusively tied to bodies of colour. These metaphors/markers perpetuated the displacement of vice that I explore in Chapter 1. The following analysis builds upon the relationship between laziness and shamelessness, and suggests that bodies of colour were represented as lazy because of a lack of shame.

The first and second case studies are taken from Madan's *Thelyphthora*, and unpack his controversial pro-polygamy position; from these cases I recover evidence of shamelessness rhetoric and its connection to discussions of race. Madan's work is especially significant to my project because of the moralist connotations of shamelessness as an affective state and the post-publication shunning that Madan experienced in his position as an Anglican clergyman with Methodist leanings ("Martin Madan" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*). After the publication of his memoir and the scandalous publicity it received, records of Madan's philanthropy and following in his church were erased from London seminaries (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 272) because his political opinions directly opposed the Anglican and Methodist institutions in England at this time (this despite the fact that his flagrant racism did indeed align with many Christian attitudes). It is ironic that a moralist suddenly endorses sexual deviancy like polygamy, despite arguing that this alternate relationship structure is most prevalent in African nations. I apply the temporal dimension of my analysis to the ways Madan essentially pardons polygamy and other social deviancies in English subjects, despite the serious disruption they pose to chrononormative English expectations of married life, and simultaneously pathologizes these life choices in African groups. In his work, he does little to shame his subjects nor does he describe them as shame*less*, but he pardons behaviour that, for the period, was conclusively agreed to be shameful.

The third and fourth case studies are memoir vignettes from John Cleland's *Fanny Hill* and centre on the representations of shamelessness in the novel. The narrative centres largely on the protagonist, Fanny, her debut into the world of sex work, and is divided into two volumes: the first volume retells her experiences entering the trade, her lessons with her mentor, Phoebe, as well as details the various sexual escapades she encounters on her departure from virginal

innocence. In the second volume, Fanny takes on the role of the teacher as narrator of the various sexual escapades of the "pupils", i.e. other women in the brothel (Cleland 93). Fanny relates these stories in vivid detail despite the time gap between her narration and the events: over seven years have passed. This temporal displacement is crucial to elaborating the effect of what Freeman would call anti-chrononormative experiences. Here I deviate from previous chapters, in which the memoirs were ostensibly non-fictional, because Cleland presents Fanny's memoir as a work of fiction. The shamelessness discussed in Madan's writing surfaces in Cleland's literary work, thus concretizing the unique and crucial role of the affect in memoirs of the period. Because my case studies on Madan's text highlight his preoccupation with sexual deviancy specifically in dark-skinned individuals, I am putting forward a unique analysis of Cleland's novel and its portrayal of ethnicity. Most examinations of *Fanny Hill* either centre on Fanny herself, discussions of sexual purity, or the problematic representations of queer sex in the narrative (Lanser 497–503; Lubey, "Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure by John Cleland (review)" 521-523; Lubey, *Excitable Imaginations;* Stern 162-187). My analysis brings to light a new contribution to this novel by focusing on the "brownest" Italian man with whom Fanny has her most racially-charged voyeuristic exploit (30-33). Throughout the pages of this erotic work, there are countless instances that would scandalize most eighteenth-century readers, but what makes this study of Cleland's Italian man exceptional is the astonishing prevalence of master/slave language and animalistic imagery ascribed to this man that are echoed in Madan's descriptions of African subjects. As I discussed in my previous chapter, eighteenth-century attitudes about race are fluid, and any individual with darker-than-porcelain complexion could be deemed foreign. Whether the animalized subject is Black, Brown, Beige, or olive-toned, shamelessness becomes a feature of their "Other"-ness. In the case of Phoebe's shamelessness as a white woman, Cleland

still affords her a level of English feminacy and virtue despite her occupation as a sex worker. Conversely, the Italian lover displays similar shamelessness, but his masculinity is described as foreign to that of Englishmen because of his savage and voracious sexual appetite.

Shame is a Mechanism of Temporal Control

This first case study from Volume I of *Thelyphthora* centres on the thrust of Madan's argument: that polygamy is the shameless solution for the anti-chrononormative ruin that befalls women by way of extramarital sexual affairs, premarital deflowering, or illegal pregnancies. Beyond Madan's own shaming as a clergyman ousted from his community, I focus on the text's justification of polygamy as a one-size-fits-all solution to most social ills, including sex work. Most significant is the way that Madan bolsters his claims by gesturing to African populations' accepted practices of polygamy, which scandalized English audiences by urging white people to borrow from supposedly inferior Black/Brown cultures. Broadly speaking, the first volume of his work assigns the bulk of social shame to contemporary British society which narrowly defines the sanctity of marriage through monogamy.

Two passages in particular reveal Madan's argument in relation to shame(lessness) as a dialogic affective state: the first demonstrates his resentment toward feigned performances of English superiority, and the second outlines his attitude regarding the benefits of polygamy as it can control women in the way of multiple pregnancies within multiple marriages for the goal of multiple potential wives in the future. Madan asserts that his audience should be ashamed of the hypocrisy they live in, noting that:

> The crime of adultery increases among [them], insomuch, that one would think many of the *British ladies*, once famed for their modesty, charity, and sobriety, either never red

> [sic] their *Bibles* at all, or else only that edition of it, which was printed by the company of *Stationers*, in the reign of *Charles the First* (and for which Archbishop *Laud* fined them severely in the *star-chamber*) wherein they printed the *seventh* commandment without the word *not*, so that it stood, *Thou shalt commit adultery.* (Volume I, 68)

It is important to note Madan's italicization because he makes use of that typeface in more than one way: using it to add emphasis and amplify the polemical tone of his work, and also to indicate proper nouns and to quote other supporters of his arguments. In the context of the passages I highlight, we can understand this formatting choice to refer to moments of emphasis gesturing to a flabbergasted and disgusted attitude about the subject matter. His use of italics makes his defense of the various facets of polygamy clearer. For example, the choice to italicize Ladies as well as the proper-adjective British in "*British ladies*" emphasizes the hypocrisy and pompousness of unfounded British elitism: he suggests that these so-called ladies are succumbing to the shame of adultery and so their title of "lady" reveals itself as a façade. Unsurprisingly, Madan limits who should be allowed to participate in polygamy and these ladies he criticizes are decidedly excluded—though they could be saved from ruin if a man takes them on as a second wife. He offers polygamy as the solution to a shameful fall in polite society by relying on scriptural analysis to claim that if men are free from this seventh commandment, then they could save these women from a life of social and physical ruin (Madan Volume I, 160). He criticizes English society for the denigration of polygamy and for the lack of punishment for "*enticing a virgin—debauching* her—and then *abandoning* her to *infamy* and *prostitution*" (Volume I, 163), which is to say the deflowered women could be saved if polygamy were made legal in England. This lofty claim has much to do with the dialogic nature of shame because his

argument relies entirely on the social ramifications people experience as a result of behaving anti-chrononormatively in the context of that period's expectations.

If we take Sedgwick's criterion that shame can only be experienced if there is something pleasurable about the given activity or behaviour, and that external factors play an active role in the shaming of these circumstances, then Madan's anxieties about the shameful fall of London's ladies (and men) is solely contingent on social stigma. If he arbitrarily adjusts social norms and lobbies for polygamy as a common practice, all he is really advocating for is a change in social attitudes. He purports to be reading the Bible more progressively and goes as far as to say that the Christian God his country believes in is the same God who created the baser countries they frown upon where polygamy is common practice (Mandan Volume I, 71-2). And so to "suppose that [God's] law can be different in different parts of the world, which he has made, and upholds with the word of His power […] is to [suppose] that God can change his mind" (Volume I, 71-2). Here Madan accuses critics of his work to be interpreting the Bible in their own way and entirely elides the fact that he is doing the same by propagating his independent reading. His ironic finger-pointing at his readers' allegedly false understanding of scripture is typical according to Sedgwick: she describes life for Christians as "constituting a single, momentous master-class graded on a pass/fail basis" (Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling* 177), which is to say that Madan's tripartite role as shamer, truer Christian, and scriptural interpreter fits with the dialogic nature of shame because he requires his readers to feel guilt or outrage in order to win this affective back-and-forth.

Furthermore, his gripes with social ills like prostitution and adultery, while facetiously grounded in a concern for women's well-being, are instead based on his concerns with chrononormative ideals. Freeman's *Time Binds* provides an essential intervention into

discussions of temporality, normativity, and queer and feminist studies; however, Freeman's text undertheorizes how race fits into temporality and normativity. We can confidently assume that the public to whom Madan is speaking is white, as evinced in the Eurocentric comparisons he goes on to make about racialized groups' polygamous practices and his ironic disdain for their moral superiority. Frustrated with England's shameful adultery and prostitution problem, and in search of moralistic salvation, Madan looks to adopt polygamy as a social solution. Polygamy practiced by such base cultures is still shameful, but polygamy practiced by Christians is shameless. In his view, English promiscuity can be *saved* from the fall that unsanctioned sexual activity causes and should appropriate exotic moral solutions like polygamy for England's own moral purposes. We can read this fall that he ascribes to English ladies as a deviation from strictly European chrononormative expectations, and polygamy is the tool that gets them back on track to a slightly different normativity.

Madan borrows his solution for shameful acts/behaviour from racialized groups—in true colonizing fashion—but this form of colonization comes in the form of the appropriation of polygamy. Unlike Volume III of his work, Volume I provides little in-depth analysis of polygamy as it is carried out by non-white groups, but it still puts forward sweeping generalizations of marriage customs. Madan claims that polygamy in other countries not only rids their population of issues like adultery, but also suggests that their population imbalances allow for more control over women. In reference to groups with population discrepancies residing in Guinea he notes that he is: "Of the opinion that the constitution of food and climate, and the prevailing custom of marrying many wives, have by length of time, produced a considerable disparity between the numbers of men and women; so that now, to one man, several women are born. [He notes that] "in Africa, all the nations are polygamous; every man is

married, and has *more* than *one* wife" (Madan Volume I, 105-6). Madan does not make clear why he devotes several pages to the procreation and multiplication of women versus men, but based on his attitude towards English ladies and their virtue being saved by polygamous marriage, I contend that he is enticed by the possibility of creating more women to control through the institution of plural marriage. Earlier in this volume, he draws on the similarities between England's labour force and those in Africa, citing that men accomplish the more arduous and productive tasks in their respective societies, and therefore contribute more to the social hygiene of their populations (Volume I, 101). The group's assigned deviance should be read temporally: that is, as a temporal disjuncture regardless of whether it was a willful or forced decision. This is because, in a peculiar way, Madan advocates for chrononormativity by appropriating social conventions of peoples who have been colonized and pathologized on the basis that they are inferior to their oppressors. Because of his fear of the allegedly shameful state of English civility, worrying that the embarrassing fall from polite society would slow down the social progress that his countrymen are accustomed to achieving, he turns to cultures that have long been thought to operate on a slower or abjected version of time. Historical accounts recovered in this dissertation and records of racist English attitudes toward dark-skinned subjects' temporal placements and movements make Madan's argument especially preposterous for his audience. If we return to the overarching argument of this chapter—that shame is a dialogic tool that forces time to slow down—then for Madan, monogamy is the shameful mechanism by which is society is slowing down because in his view, it inevitably fails. His solution is to find a loophole to marriage success rates by de-mystifying and sanctioning adultery, thereby allowing progress to speed back up again. He mounts this claim on the backs of

Othered and oppressed cultures and labels himself a truer Christian scripturalist, all in an effort to bypass social shame.

Racialized Subjects Devoid of Shame

This next case is taken from Volume III of Madan's *Thelyphthora* and focuses on his discussion of shamelessness and race—specifically on his assertion that racialized subjects are always already devoid of shame regardless of (anti)chrononormative behaviours. This volume echoes much of the subject matter taken up in the previous two because although Madan "hope[d] that when he had finished the *Second Volume* of this *work,* his labours were at an end", but he found "himself not sufficiently understood" (Volume III, v). It is interesting to note that this volume is essentially born of a response to shame: Madan published his treatise, received significant backlash for it, and decided to respond to the criticism by writing yet another four-hundred-page volume reiterating the subject matter but this time finding common ground with his audience in the form of racist assumptions about African populations.

A common denominator across the memoirs in this chapter seems to be that what is shameful for white subjects is contentious: polygamy, adultery, prostitution, and lesbian sex are all issues about which English audiences could potentially disagree on depending on how they defined their moral approach. However, as a collective social group, English audiences could agree on racially charged assumptions ascribed to othered groups, no matter how preposterous. This case study recovers an especially outrageous discussion of shamelessness rhetoric in Madan's work in which he describes the marriage ceremony of "Hottentots" to showcase the alleged impudence of this group and their heathen status, and creates a binary opposition to his audience so that English readers find themselves on the same side of his argument.

While shame(lessness) is not explicitly mentioned in this portion of Madan's volume, the way he describes the nuptial ceremony in a tone of disgust, coupled with his use of italics is fraught with shaming affective rhetoric. In the style of instantaneous description akin to Richardsonian fiction, Madan describes this ceremony as though at "the height of present distress" (Richardson, *Clarissa,* iv). Very much like Richardson, it matters to Madan that this description not only feels real, but also functions as an educational example to the audience he is attempting to win over. In excruciating detail, he notes:

> The nuptial ceremony among the *Hottentots* is as follows—the men squat themselves on the ground in a circle, all but the *bridegroom*, who squats in the centre. The women, at some distance, squat themselves likewise in a circle about the *bride*, who likewise squats. Then the *priest*, or *master of the* religious *ceremonies, which is always that of the* kraal *where lives the* bride*,* […] enters the circle of the men, and coming up to the *bridegroom*, *waters* upon him a little—the *bridegroom* receives the *stream* with much eagerness, rubbing it briskly all over his body, and making with his long nails several deep scratches in his skin, that the *urine* may penetrate and soak farther. The *priest* then goes to the bride, *waters* a little upon her; she receives and rubs the *urine* upon her body, with as much eagerness as the bridegroom. (Madan Volume III, 266)

The inflammatory description of this ceremony is undoubtedly fictionalized, but Madan legitimizes its inclusion as an anthropological entry in a travel diary or memoir. Research into Khoikhoi marriage practices and traditions will demonstrate that nothing of Madan's retelling is

factual; while some sources allude to practices involving urine, they are not at all related to marriage ceremonies.[50]

The grotesque description of this marriage ceremony mobilizes shame-humiliation per Sedgwick. In *Touching Feeling,* Sedgwick provides an example of the social experience of shame wherein she asks her university students to participate in a thought experiment where they "visualiz[e] an unwashed, half-insane man who would wander into the lecture hall mumbling loudly, his speech increasingly accusatory and disjointed, and publicly urinate in the front of the room and wander out" (37), in order to witness the collective embarrassment visible on each student's face as they unknowingly participated in a Richardsonian form of pedagogy. It was as though the man was really in the room with them, really misbehaving, really embarrassing them—and crucially, they likely all agreed that they were grateful that they were not in his position. As Sedgwick successfully elicited the experience of shame on a group level as her students grappled with the challenge of "painful identification with the misbehaving man" (*Touching Feeling* 37), Madan's text urges his readers to feel a similar discomfort as they imagined participating in this wedding ceremony. His use of italics not only indicates the dramatis personae (*bridegroom, bride, priest)* but also to the nouns and verbs associated with bodily functions *(urine, stream, waters)* that direct the embarrassed response of his readers. The passage thus emphasizes familiar roles committing surprising acts: a priest's urine is enthusiastically bathed in, and that these people's men have grotesquely uncut nails that signifies a lack of grooming. The goal of sharing this fiction is greater than fabricating further colonial myths about Khoikhoi populations. Rather, Madan's attempts suggests that by comparison to the savage customs of those people that God has allegedly abandoned, polygamy no longer seems as

[50] Gitanjali Shahani, "Food, Filth, and the Foreign: Disgust in the Seventeenth-Century Travelogue," *Disgust in Early Modern English Literature,* eds. Natalie. K. Eschenbaum and B. Correll (New York City: Routledge, 2016), 16.

outrageous because it is sanctioned by scripture; Madan relies on theological chrononormativity to critique the wedding custom and thereby win over his audience.

If we understand Freeman's chrononormativity to refer to the way that "people are bound to one another, engrouped, made to feel coherently collective, through particular orchestrations of time" (3), then Madan's desire for social solidarity by ridiculing a culture's marriage practice is an example of such temporal binding. People are not only bound to one another through literal activities like marriage, but also through shared affective responses: joy, hatred, sadness, discomfort, and shame are all viable examples of affects that cause both "individuation, and uncontrollable relationality" (Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling* 37), meaning that they are strong when felt by an individual and amplified when experienced as a group. Madan capitalizes on shame rhetoric to chastise a group he deems shame*less* in order to sway his readers' responses in his favour. Like many Methodist-leaning Church of England clergy members, Madan bolsters his racist remarks about shameless Hottentots with similarly offensive jabs at the Catholic Church. He proclaims that: "*Lord Peter's holy water* has no more to do with God's ordinance of *marriage*, than the *Savage's urine* has; but neither the *Hottentot* nor the *Papist* will acknowledge that they are mistaken. […] The *Hottentot andersmaken*, it must be confessed, is not quite so cleanly as the *Popish ritual;* but it Has this advantage over the latter, that it is not *lying in the name of the* Lord" (Madan Volume III 268). From this passage we see that Madan's use of italics explicitly guides his readers towards understanding where his harshest criticisms are directed. The italics used for both "Lord Peter" and "urine" indicate a written form of heckling the Catholic Church; and the use of the term "Lord" next to Peter is also a jab because Catholics venerated saints (prefacing an especially/verifiably virtuous person's name with 'Saint', not 'Lord') while Protestants did not. Madan goes on to create further distance between his audience

and his victims of shaming by suggesting that both admonished groups are making "unauthorized use of that *venerable* and *holy name* of the Lord [their] God, in order to make men believe, that *marriage* is, what God has never made it—a *sacrament,* ordained by *Christ—appropriated for Christians"* (Madan Volume III 268). A characteristic of shame is embarrassment, and typically associated with this affect is the act of apologizing or improving one's actions to fit social expectations (Sedgwick 37). Shame's dialogic nature necessitates this because if one does not feel inclined to change their behaviour or apologize for that they said/did, then shame ceases to have power over them. In this case, Madan presumes that his virtuous English Protestant audience is at the mercy of shame and will come together to enact that shame on abject groups like the Khoikhoi and even Catholics. He urges his readers to agree that admitting mistakes is the virtuous thing to do, ultimately encouraging them to admit that monogamy is a social error that could be remedied with the proposals put forward in his volumes.

Shamefully Existing in Slowed Time

A shared consequence of shame and shamelessness is that they both can alter time for those experiencing them, albeit in different ways. A shamed subject feels time slowing down and stretching out, either re-living a past embarrassing moment or sustaining shame/embarrassment in the current moment; conversely, a shameless subject could feel time speed up insofar as they may not feel time pass as a result of pleasure or indifference to their circumstances or observers. Both shamed and shameless subjects must first experience a multitude of affects that bring them to those states. In the context of eighteenth-century scholarship on sex and sex work, we can see the importance of the multisensorial in Karen Harvey's work, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century* (2005). She opens by gesturing to the haptic experience of reading pornography, calling

on Jean Jacques Rousseau who suggested that those "dangerous books" can only "be read with one hand" (Rousseau qtd in Harvey, *Reading Sex* 35). I argue that this one-handed reading experience is evidence of the visceral internal shame about the titillating experience of reading erotic works like Cleland's *Fanny Hill* and those visceral experiences cause time to stretch out. For example, examining Fanny and her colleagues reveals what shamelessness and other affective rhetorics in erotic memoir actually do to the body—the visceral experience—evinced through Cleland's multisensorial approach. Throughout Harvey's text she describes in detail the experience of reading erotic works through the senses (smell, touch, sound, taste, etc.) and in her section on touch (haptic: touch, also familiarity) she posits that it is "crowned the erotic sense *par excellence*" (*Reading Sex* 210) because it is the most immediate way "men and women are depicted experiencing each other's bodies" (*Reading Sex* 210). Harvey describes the senses overlapping, some of them inextricably linked because they *intensify* each other (per Eric Shouse). In the context of studying the memoirs of shamed and shameless subjects, then, understanding the senses and the bodily responses that come of them, helps to further understand how this affect alters time for those experiencing it.

In Cleland's *Fanny Hill*, we witness Fanny's affective development over the span of two volumes: as time passes, her sexual shame evolves into shamelessness. I trace Fanny's transformation by applying Freeman's work on foreplay and time in tandem with Sedgwick's theorizations on the "double-movement" of shame (*Touching Feeling* 37). The experience of shame literally slows down time because of overwhelming embarrassment that manifests in a frenzied mental state and physical manifestations like sweating or blushing. Conversely, the experience of shamelessness causes time to speed up because of a lack of regard for what other people think or do, and crucially a (feigned or otherwise) sense of overconfidence—a sense of

self-assurance in one's behaviour. By setting up this nuanced binary of shame(lessness), Fanny experiences both sides of that binary and therefore is subject to experiences of time slowing down and speeding up depending on her affective state. Sedgwick suggests that shame is "identity-making", meaning that one's subjectivity transforms in the face of this affective state (38). Per this logic, I claim that over the span of both volumes, we witness the dialogic nature of Fanny's shame as a result of this affect's temporal qualities. Her shame and experience of stretched out/slow-motion time never entirely leaves her after the first volume because the moralistic and monogamist beliefs she clung to at the start of the narrative never changed—it is simply that more powerful affective experiences diluted their sway over her. I argue that despite the passage of time, shamelessness remains communicable; indeed, it remains stuck to Fanny and manifests as pedagogical lessons she has learned as a student, making them more resistant to change, more automatic, and as such, they undermine her reflective capacities.

Due to the dialogic nature of shame(lessness), it is fitting to examine how Fanny began the narrative in a position to be shamed and eventually became the shame-er. This affective state stuck to her over time such that she became the shame-er to the new students, Harriet and Louisa. I aim to unpack how they participated in the double-movement of shame, per Sedgwick, and how that ultimately put them on a specific temporal path to affective transformation. These close readings, and the details I extract from them, will illustrate how Fanny's voice shines through the narrative in what is emphasized and repeated. Thus, the temporality and stickiness of shame(lessness) can be examined both in what Fanny recalls in her autobiography and in the specific lessons repeated through the stories.[51] The resilient affects which Fanny internalized in

[51] 'Stickiness' is a concept discussed by Sara Ahmed in her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*; it describes the ways that emotions are tied to particular words and discourses which can operate across different contexts. In this way, 'traces' of affective-discursive regimes from a particular context can be mobilized and used in other contexts.

Volume I as a student become stickier because they have lasted across time and are repeated. This is significant to a person's agency and capacity for self-reflection and change, because strongly embedded ideas with affective resonance have proven to be resistant to change (Bracher 90). As such, shame cannot be regarded as a purely personal response to stimuli, but must also be seen as something which can be mobilized, manipulated, and associated with particular ideas so as to reproduce them over time and space.

The model of shame's double movement is useful because it indicates the binary experience of this affect between shame and shamelessness. Early in Cleland's narrative, we witness Fanny's shame manifest through embarrassment in her sexual experiences with Phoebe, who teaches Fanny heterosexual sex through homosexual sex and assumes that pleasure received from another woman is just a placeholder for the real thing—the phallus (31). Pleasure, therefore, can only be received from the phallus and the man attached to it whose pleasure is paramount. This logic suggests that homosexual sex is only shameless if it is positioned as this type of placeholder, but by allowing it to stand alone as the sole and genuine source of pleasure for Fanny would have been shameful. The associations deployed by Phoebe are new to Fanny but are culturally and historically normative: they associate women's sexuality and pleasure with submission to male pleasure and the phallus—even when the women are in pain—and crucially, this makes heterosexuality more real compared with any sexual experience Fanny could have with a woman. Phoebe instructs Fanny by leveraging the stickiness of salient and heteropatriarchal ideas on female sexuality, to teach Fanny, but does so by repeatedly associating them with the affects of pleasure and pain. Now having these affects and ideas stuck to Fanny, what makes them stickier in the second volume having taken up the role of the teacher? I argue that these ideas become stickier precisely because they implicate Phoebe in an allegedly

shameful act and because she is instructed to digest this activity shamelessly. This means that the otherwise individuating affect becomes contagious and yet the symptoms of shame dissipate.

Sedgwick's theorizations about shame-humiliation are akin to this metaphor of affective contagion. She posits that "shame is both peculiarly contagious and peculiarly individuating" and defends that this dual affective state is what comprises shame's double movement (*Touching Feeling* 36-7). This is to say that one cannot feel shame or shamelessness alone: shame is necessarily a group activity, because if Fanny were participating in lesbian sex with a non-teaching partner, she would have likely felt shame thereafter; however, by being given permission to enjoy sex with Phoebe, Fanny is ostensibly absolved of shame. We witness similar experiences with shame(lessness) manifest in the three characters under Fanny's tutelage, and observe how this affect is necessarily communicable, and is responsible for the derailment of chrononormative expectations of romantic relationships. The other side of this affective binary—shamelessness—becomes fixed to these students and undermines their ability to deviate from the lesson plan, unable to 'un-know' what has been taught to them. I make the case that cognitive networks can be resistant to change: both Fanny and her students are convinced of a particular way of understanding women and sex, despite contradicting stimuli such as pain and the elision of consent. Therefore, any information that contradicts their understandings will only strengthen or be adapted by their cognitive networks.

The elision of consent forces Harriet to exist in both sides of Sedgwick's shame binary as we witness her sexual assault when she is unconscious. I am particularly interested in the moments she catches sight of "the son of a neighboring gentleman" (Cleland 100-101) who is taking a swim in the nearby stream while naked. Harriet is completely taken by his body, venturing "to cast [her] eyes on an object so terrible and alarming to [her] virgin modesty as a

naked man" (101). At one point this man takes a dive in the water which Harriet mistakes for his drowning and runs to save him, only to be overwhelmed by her feelings (and likely the heat outside), and faints—something she calls "a deep swoon" (103). Harriet's unconscious assault is especially relevant to her experience of slowed down time because she awakens to the pain of unwilling intercourse with the man that she ran out to save, a man she was certain "could only make her happy" (102). Here, the patriarchal lessons that she received from Fanny serve as a pedagogical roadblock that prevent her from understanding what is truly happening to her: rape. In reality, it is the gentleman who is behaving shamefully; she is being assaulted and has nothing to feel ashamed about, but nevertheless her shame necessarily causes time to slow down and makes the experience more painful. The narrative describes their bodies "changing colours" in response to pleasure and stimulation: his body is described as a "*glowing* beauty" and as a result of presenting himself to her, he "received [her] tacit *blushing* consent" (Cleland 105, emphasis mine). It is significant that Fanny includes this in her narrative because remembering that she/Harriet blushed indicates that she remembers a form of shame that stuck with her—one that she later reframes as a consensual response.

The discussion of female passivity reveals how Harriet feels shame as a result of awakening to her violated body as well as feigned shamelessness as she tries to prioritize the pleasure of her assailant. Arguably, Harriet is not as much passive as she is incapacitated because she "had neither the power to cry out, nor the strength to disengage [herself] from his strenuous embraces… having completely triumphed over [her] virginity" (Cleland 103). Freeman draws on the work of field-changing eighteenth-century scholars Henry Abelove and Paul Morrison, who have argued that "specific sexual practices came to be seen as 'foreplay', acceptable en route to intercourse but not as a substitute for it", which, when applied to Harriet's assault, further

gestures to important steps that were skipped: consent, foreplay, female pleasure, and security (qtd in Freeman 8). The feeling of participating in something wrong or having something wrong happen to a person is a textbook cause of shameful affects. Characteristic of foreplay is the way it draws out time using pleasure; however, the absence of foreplay and consent here causes time to slow down using fear and a sense of threat. Thus far, shame has been discussed as a dialogic affect—Harriet was made to feel shame because she was forced into a position where complicity was an obligation and a lack of participation would be wrong. Why does she attempt to feign shamelessness? It is later that this man relays what he did to her and describes how he "placed her how he pleased, whilst [she] felt no more than the dead" (104), confessing that he managed her body, contorting it for his pleasure while she lay there as his "prey" (104). Significantly, his apology to her was not only enough for her to forgive him, she also concludes that forgiving him was in her best interest—"[she] felt it a point of [her] own happiness to forgive him" (104-105)—and then further elided her violation and pain and proceeded to engage with him sexually again, this time while conscious, and thereby "[she] lost all sense of past injury" (104-105). We can understand Harriet's feigned shamelessness as an affective coping mechanism.

During the second round of sexual activities, time will speed up again as a result of her accepting his apology and crucially, as a result of convincing herself that there was nothing to be ashamed of—therefore retroactively earning back consent and foreplay. The experience of shame is in many ways internal despite its unavoidable social quality. As such, we can read Fanny's sexual accounts in Volume II as her true experience based on evidence because she is the narrator. Furthermore, Cleland's text encourages readers to believe her because she experiences these events first-hand, potentially even the accounts of Harriet and Louisa. I argue that Fanny, in the position of teacher and narrator, has the stories of these women stand in for her own

experiential evidence with shame(lessness)—even though, at first read, it is not her experiencing the stories' events. Even in reading the stories as stand-ins for Fanny, the experiential evidence of stickier shame remains the same.

We also see the internalized quality of shame in Louisa's story. While it does not involve a man, the account of Louisa's shame includes details that could only have been remembered by her, or Fanny, if she was the person who experienced it firsthand. While describing her in-the-moment instincts and detailed memories, Louisa states the only cure for her onanism: she declares that "man alone, [she] almost instinctively knew, as well as by what [she] had industriously picked up at weddings and christenings, was possess'd of the only very remedy that could reduce this rebellious disorder" (Cleland 107). She signals her sexual interest in men as something that she understands "instinctively" (or automatically), without thought, as though by nature. This instinctual heterosexuality could be read as another self-soothing mechanism by which Fanny stifles feelings of shame and reframes them. Freeman cites eighteenth-century attitudes about acceptable substitutes for heterosexual penetrative sex in the form of foreplay (8). Unlike the lightning-fast "instinct" to which Fanny refers in Louisa's story, which occurs quickly and without thought, foreplay slows down time, almost agonizingly. And so, read together, the moral conduct lessons referenced about heterosexuality and the immediacy of Louisa's attraction to the opposite sex are both affective responses expected to occur quickly. The sticky lesson of pain over pleasure is a coping mechanism for an otherwise shameful activity and so Louisa rids herself of shame by naturally evoking a patriarchal idealization of the phallus and the potential pleasures that it can bring her. She describes her actions during masturbation and the penetration she inflicts upon herself in an effort to replicate phallic penetration (Cleland 107). Louisa is no longer being educated by Fanny to lust after the phallus as an object but does so all on her own,

thus succeeding at understanding the lesson on shameless female pleasure. These ideas and willed shamelessness have become automatic. Louisa is able to self-penetrate until she feels pain, and this shows how fixed the associations of sex, pain, and shamelessness are for her.

The patriarchal connotations of her masturbation scene differ from a potentially non-patriarchal sexual agency because she understands that "man alone [she] almost *instinctively* knew… was possess'd of the only very remedy that could reduce [her] rebellious disorder", which here is her overpowering desire to feel sexual arousal (Cleland 107, emphasis mine). According to Louisa, full sexual satisfaction is solely in the male phallus and as such, she is at men's mercy in keeping shame at bay. Here, masturbation can be understood as the mechanism by which patriarchal sexual expectations are operationalized insofar as the language Louisa—or rather, Fanny as narrator—employs is no longer only within the realm of the classroom but out in the world, proliferated into the minds of other young girls entering the trade in which she resides. When she does eventually engage with a man later in her narrative, she shares similar passive qualities as her classmate, Harriet. While her sexual engagement is arguably more consensual and enthusiastic than the former two scenes, she does elide her pain upon intercourse claiming that "despite the pain that followed" there is "nothing too dear to pay… for this treat of the senses" (110). It can be argued that pain and pleasure can work together in these situations, however Louisa's description of her own pain is overtly gruesome—describing herself as "split up, torn, bleeding, [and] mangled" (110). Following this description, she elides her pain swiftly by stating she is "still superiourly pleas'd [sic]" (110). We can read the grotesque pain she describes as something that should contradict her affective-ideational associations—something urging her to stop and reflect on what is happening—but instead she insists on functioning within the lesson she was taught.

The vividness of the sensory details in these second-hand tales potentially signals that Fanny is the woman in this story, and not Louisa or Harriet. Sedgwick reminds us that shame is a visceral affect, in that it is a "kind of free radical that […] permanently intensifies or alters the meaning of […] a zone on the body, a sensory system, [or] […] a prohibited behaviour" (*Touching Feeling* 62). The narratives are ascribed to these women by the novel, but they are also a placeholder for Fanny's own experiences because of the highly personal retelling of shameful experiences purposely reframed to sound empowering. I read this narratological reframing as a version of what Sedgwick calls the "therapeutic strategies aimed directly at getting rid of shame" (62). We witness a durable experience of shamelessness because arguably, Volume II serves as a self-soothing tool for Fanny's trauma: retelling the young women's stories in the light she wished for hers to be told.

Masculinized Shamelessness is Racialized

My examination will now centre on an unnamed character who is described as lacking shame as a result of his racial designation. I extend my analysis of the transmissibility of shame to explain how it functions/manifests differently on a dark-complexioned subject. The affective starting point for a racialized subject experiencing shame(lessness) differs from that of a white subject and evidence of this differing starting point is in Cleland's descriptions of the "young Italian" man in his narrative[52] (30). This case centres on him because he is the only darker-complexioned character in the novel who is afforded significant narrative action and description, and that is entirely due to his allegedly exotic physique and consequently exotic sexual

[52] It is important to note that Italian cultural groups today are widely regarded as 'white', but in several historical contexts including eighteenth-century England, and even twentieth-century United States, Italians were regarded as a racialized group.

propensity. However, unlike Harriet's and Louisa's stories that immediately dive into a discussion of the manifestations of shame(lessness) in Fanny and her colleagues, Cleland's representation of a darker-skinned subject is more complex because of various racial assumptions specific to this period and this novel in particular. Alongside Sedgwick and Freeman's theorizations of temporality I turn to Sara Ahmed's concept of sticky affects as well as cognitive psychology to trace the significance of the form and content of Cleland's descriptions of the Italian man. It is crucial to note that, because Fanny is the frame narrator across the entire novel, she is charged with the authority to control which parts of the story are emphasized. As such, this is an example of affects not only travelling across contexts (e.g. reading pleasure, pain, and other experiences according to heteropatriarchal tenets), but also across time, in that approximately seven and a half years have passed since she started writing her memoirs.

I understand this transformed shame(lessness) as an idea that has been learned and remembered. For example, when Fanny learns from Phoebe that sex between women is acceptable so long as the narrative still revolves around a man and his pleasure, and that this makes the otherwise abhorrent act shameless, this cognitive (moral) loophole sticks with Fanny (Cleland 31). For Ahmed, traces of affective-discursive regimes—such as the idea that women's pleasure is contingent on the phallus and that pain in the service of it is normal or desired—become disconnected from their originating contexts but remain tied to particular ideas, discourses, artefacts, and bodies. This stems from "a Derridian philosophy of language where words are repeated and the effects of their repetition detaches the use of the words from the contexts in which it (or they) has (or have) emerged" (Ahmed, "Phenomenology" 92). In closely

reading the two women's stories, patterns emerge in how they conduct themselves with men, what they forgive, and how they understand what I read as assault and they read as affection. Fanny is responsible for how we understand the Italian man, and therefore, how we register his shamelessness in a dark-skinned subject. As such, for the context of this case, Ahmed's discussions of temporality can be seamlessly intertwined with those of Freeman, and from that refined theoretical base we can better understand the Other-ed shamelessness of this Italian man.

The Italian man's distinctly Othered features exoticize him in Fanny's eyes and instil in her both fear and sexual attraction. We first meet this Italian man from a distance where Phoebe and Fanny observe him have his recurrent sexual encounter with another of Mrs. Brown's girls, Polly Philips (28). Phoebe's and Fanny's distance from the couple makes their racialized observations even more pertinent because despite only "applying [their] eyes close to the crevice [of a dark closet where some furniture was kept], where the moulding of a panel had warp'd" they are still able to discern some lucid observations about this man that are entirely due to the stickiness of shamelessness as it is associated with darker skin (28). Prior to his and Polly's voracious sexual encounter, however, Fanny provides a brief biography, noting that he is "*Genoise* merchant [whose] complexion [is] of the brownest, not of that dusky dun colour which excludes the idea of freshness, but of that clear olive gloss, which glowing with life, dazzles perhaps less than fairness, and yet pleases more, when it pleases at all" (Cleland 30). The important takeaways here are that he is decidedly foreign to England due to his occupation, and Fanny's description contrasts his "brownest" colour with a lighter "dusky dun colour." In other words, if his skin were lighter, or more "dun"-colored, it would lack freshness; however, because it is clearly categorized as dark to the point of the "brownest" "glossy", it does have freshness.

Her description explicitly indicates that this foreign man is naturally dark, and that he possesses a kind of gloss that is permanent and therefore cannot go “stale”, or fade like a suntan.

This basic information about his trade and colour primes him for further racially-charged associations that stuck to him, per Fanny’s description. As I have discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, dark skin has historical associations with animality, savagery, a general disregard for sexual normativity, and inability to keep up with everyday social and moral demands per the standards of this period. As such, it becomes unsurprising that those same temporal failures manifest in this man’s primal exchange with Polly. His physique is described differently than the Englishmen who make appearances in Cleland’s work because of his notably curly long hair—but not so curly that it takes away from his overt masculinity—and the hair that "garnish’d his chest in a stile of strength and manliness" (30). While Fanny describes many impressive phalluses throughout both volumes, what makes this man’s different has less to do with the size of his "weapon" and more to do with the way the masculinity that has been tied to his skin and hair, and continues down his body to his "grand movement"—a peculiar metaphor for the male phallus (31). Fanny makes sure to note that his appendage "seem’d to rise out of a thicket of curling hair that spread from the root, all round his thighs and belly up to the navel, [standing] stiff, and upright, but of a size to frighten her" (30), which primes the reader for the type of sexuality to expect from this man.

The question remains: how do these ultra-masculine descriptions relate to discussions of racialized shame(lessness)? We must first make the connection clear between the period’s attitudes about dark complexions and sexual voracity. If time for the shamed subject slows

down—stretches out—because of an extreme sense of embarrassment or shame-humiliation, per Sedgwick—then time for the shame*less* subject must be sped up, effortless, and lack regard for external opinions. The descriptions assigned to this "glossy" Italian man—that he is hyper masculine, hypersexual, all due to his "brownest" racial designation—make it so time speeds up for him, and therefore allows him to exist and enjoy sexual encounters shamelessly. Freeman and Sedgwick agree that "stigmatic histories" associated with undesirable people cease to apply when those people are either conventionally attractive or exoticized for their attractiveness (Freeman 91).[53] In the case of our Italian man, while his complexion would garner racism outside the brothel, in the context of sex-work he is praised for his exotic features and so his "brownest" tone becomes a benefit (30). Ahmed discusses temporality beyond categories of past/present/future to include the time-scapes which shape our relationships with each other (Ahmed, "Phenomenology" 560). While Ahmed discusses this in the context of colonial exploitation reinforcing capitalist temporal relations, I am interested in how this unnamed "brownest" man is deemed a shameless subject by Fanny when she inextricably links his subjectivity to his allegedly exotic nature. I turn to cognitive psychology—specifically the concepts of automatic cognition and long-term memory—to help support my case for assumptions of shamelessness assigned to this man. Automatic cognition is stored in our long-term memory in the form of interconnected nodes organizing information about anything we encounter in our environment, activated when triggered by stimuli, and potentially brought into short-term memory to inform thought, action, and feeling (Hewstone et al 300; Baron and Ranaji 55; Bracher 85). Therefore, shame is significant to the formation of subjectivity as it

[53] In their works, both Freeman and Sedgwick turn to the slur "fat dyke", which is applies both to "large-sized straight wom[e]n as well as ordinary-sized lesbians", so the issues people have with these groups have less to do with who they actually are and more to do with what they look like (91).

intentionally or unintentionally becomes associated with people, events, and ideas and activates pre-consciously.

Fanny ascribes racialized descriptors to the Italian man because of pre-conscious associations she makes about him. Freeman's concept of chrononormativity helps to concretize Ahmed's theorizations on sticky affects because in her view, there are gendered and sexed designations that give away shameful qualities of the subject in question. For Freeman, an example of a stuck affect is seen in abhorred physical qualities like fatness (91). She leans on Lauren Berlant who carries this impulse further and notes that "'Fat' also suggests the failure of a subject to be chrononormative" (qtd in Freeman 92). In contrast, the descriptors of shamelessness that have stuck to Cleland's "glossy" Italian man are flattering at first glance but carry with them deeply racist historical assumptions about dark-skinned people. Inextricably related to the Italian man's presumed shamelessness is the violence-based rhetoric ascribed to him by Fanny. Following the first round of activities with Polly where Fanny observes that the man "frightens her", Phoebe carries on stimulating her as they observe the man's allegedly violent performance. The descriptors used to capture this scene indicate a type of fear that is connected to shame. In Shouse's "Feeling, Emotion, Affect", he takes up notions of the automatic and unconscious which lend themselves to experiences of shame-fear quite well (14); in his view, affect is a pre-conscious experience of intensity, potentially triggered by external interactions (qtd in Leys 442). Shame-fear, then, is an affective experience that is uncontrollable and unpredictable because it manifests on the body suddenly and often without the subject's awareness. Similarly, for Tomkins and Sedgwick, there exists shame-humiliation because of how interconnected those affective states are; shame and fear are sufficiently similar because Fanny admits that after observing the man's performance, she was indeed stimulated, "entirely transported, tho' ashamed

of what [she] felt" (Cleland 33). Fanny describes the man as "a lazy young rogue", a perpetrator of "fierce action [and] sweet violence", and labels him "the enemy" (33). It would be reductive to claim that because he is dark-skinned and hypermasculine looking (according to Fanny), that she is right to be afraid of him; even relying on the period's attitudes about dark skin and violence is insufficient. Shame is a universal experience, and because of the experience of overlapping affects, shame highlights the visceral experience further: Fanny is exposed to graphic scenes and automatically responds, resulting in visible physical evidence of pleasure, and visible manifestations of embarrassment.

There are far more sophisticated cognitive aspects at play that allow Fanny's fear of the "brownest" Italian man to be blindly accepted by readers, and we can understand this automatic acceptance of both her fear, her shame, and the shamelessness she ascribes to the Italian man through automatic cognition. These networks provide the content for automatic and rational thought, but it is the former which explains the processes often described as instinct, common sense[54], or gut reactions. Shame-humiliation, and here, shame-fear, are forms of automatic thought and occur pre-consciously, without intentional activation, and always precede and frequently inform rational thought. Put differently, our gut reactions and affective associations shape how we can rationally process information and how we think about, feel about, and act toward people, events, ideas, and so on (Snow 546: Bargh et al. 600; North and Fiske 88). Most importantly, shame in particular has been shown to be one of the most potent nodes of a network of meaning, such that more affectively charged associations (i.e. with patriarchal ideas) are the ones most likely to become entrenched in long-term memory (North & Fiske 88; Snow 547). What this means for Fanny is that her seemingly automatic shame-fear response to the Italian

[54] Automatic thought in cognitive psychology is exceptionally similar to Gramsci's notion of 'common sense', described as a spontaneous and naturalized way of thinking and living (Knight 106; Hall and O'Shea 20).

man feels well-founded and valid for her, because of cultural assumptions made about dark skinned people and their sexual propensities.

Automatic thought becomes stronger through repetition—in this case, Fanny appears to have encountered her first non-white person and is being sexually stimulated by a white woman all at the same time—thus placing her in that double-sided shame that Sedgwick refers to because of the facial flush/blush that is attached to this affect. By encountering feelings of pleasure shamefully administered by another woman, in the face of a man, even one that frightens her, the ideas and affects associated in the same (or similar) ways over time allow certain networks to become dominant, such that they will be the first and most potentially activated when triggered by relevant stimuli. While the particular context of a stimuli will trigger a particular combination of networks, giving the appearance of flexibility, they are more difficult to amend the stronger and more connected they are (a hallmark of automatic cognition) and may adapt new information to 'fit' existing networks (Snow 546, Hewstone et al. 300). As such, the repeated act of shameful sex ceases to be shameful because it automatically triggers thoughts of pleasure about men, and phallus-centric experiences. Phoebe forcing her to observe the Italian man, knowing that Fanny fears him, is an attempt to make her lesson more firmly stick to Fanny, such that even the sight of a shameless dark-skinned man brings her the required amount of stimulation. Automatic cognition does not undermine the possibility of agency, reflection, or resistance, but they often do constitute a hurdle to thinking and acting in certain ways (Hewstone et al 381; North and Fiske 90). As such, Fanny's learning from Volume I repeatedly ties particular ideas to strong affects, making both stick to her—and we can see that these ideas have remained entrenched in Volume II.

Conclusion

In recovering these under-studied memoirs, my examinations reveal evidence of the relationship between shamelessness as a dialogic affect and the implications it has on racialized subjects. My theoretical approach proves that shamed racialized subjects are not necessarily sex workers but are inevitably shamed for their sexual propensities in ways that preclude white European subjects. When the sex worker in question is dark-skinned, they are immediately marked as social deviants, already thought to be devoid of shame because of the colour of their skin and their workforce. Likewise, the African populations exoticized by Madan did not participate in any sex work but are ascribed similar descriptors to those in that trade because of racial assumptions made about their customs and behaviours. Cleland's depiction of the "brownest" and alluringly "glossy" Italian man inextricably links him to shamelessness rhetoric because his sexual propensities were misunderstood and exoticized by onlookers at the brothel. Binding all of these shamed/shameless individuals is that their observers felt sufficiently different from them and therefore simultaneously feared and lusted them. These subjects were feared and lusted after because they indolently deviated from the chrononormative expectations of their spectators.

Characteristic of the memoir genre is the insight that readers are given into subjects' innermost feelings. This doorway into people's secret affects is where shame and shamelessness could be exposed; however, in both works, this backstage privilege is only afforded to white European subjects. For example, as author of the memoir, Madan only creates space for his thoughts and anxieties about his observed populations, purporting to understand this people's shameless state in the time that no primary evidence was ever shared. Similarly in Cleland's narrative, ample insight is provided into Fanny's inner turmoil about the Italian man and yet no

firsthand accounts of the foreigner himself were shared. Privileged voices are afforded the affective airtime to express ways they feel embarrassed or even unashamed, but observed groups are assumed to just exist in their shameless state without question. This ascription of shame(lessness) lends itself to the discussion of decadence in the following chapter, but the major difference is that decadence is predominantly attributed to dark-skinned subjects.

Chapter 4

Decadent Dark Bodies: Physiological Delay and Savage Time Inevitably Lead to Sex Work

> "Their manner of living is slovenly and hoggish, though they seem to have plenty of fresh stock, and provisions of almost every kind—they are very inactive and indolent, which I am not astonished at, for such must ensue from the lassitude produced by the unhealthiness of this place."
> Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters,* Letter IV

As an affective state of decay, decadence and its attribution to sex workers of colour demonstrates how these women experienced a double burden: they were thought to be lazy, shameless, and lacking industriousness, but, unlike white sex workers, incurably so because of a pathological predisposition to lethargy (Sanders 124; Turner 2; Jones 25). These workers exist in Decadent Time—a term I have coined—which is a version of time that includes the labour and effort, both physical and emotional, invested by dark-skinned sex workers. I mobilize my concept in tandem with Johannes Fabian's theory of Savage Time to examine two letters from Anna Maria Falconbridge's *Narrative of Two Voyages to Sierra Leone* (1791-1793) and compare her memoirs to James Makittrick Adair's *Unanswerable Arguments Against the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (1790). In this chapter I draw on the original definition of "decadence", which refers to a state of moral and social decay, and a fall from a prior state of excellent; this definition is complicated because the subjects examined in this chapter are framed in such a way that deprives them of that prior state of moral and social progress. As such, I frame decadence as an affective state ascribed and administered by white subjects to dark-skinned subjects, and I read Falconbridge's retelling of her observations of populations in Sierra Leone as evidence of decadence rhetoric being mobilized. My comparative analysis of decadence as a physiological

prognosis assigned to dark-skinned labourers reveals that the racist rhetoric deployed by Falconbridge manifests in the very real policy proposals in London during this period.

Both documents show a correlation between discussions of decay and physiological passivity in sex workers from minority groups, and my analysis of these documents proves the importance of differentiating between decadence and idleness as raced affective states. By studying decadence and its ties to inactivity, excess, and lack of control, I prove how such documents reinforce the racial hierarchies which inform racialized sex workers' relegation to the margins of their own trade. It is also important to acknowledge the "white reading" of decadence: the kind of decadence that is afforded to white bodies with privilege. Decadence is made synonymous with leisure when the body that is enjoying this affective state has some amount of social or cultural privilege. I recover key evidence of this longstanding link and contend that decadence in relation to labour—not leisure—refers primarily to dark-skinned subjects. The "network of meaning" (Ricoeur 80) with which I am working allows my previous chapters to serve as the support structure to my claim: that decadence not only differs from idleness but also is an active affect that racializes the subject in question. Similar to the three other affective states—idleness, shame, and industriousness—decadence is applied to dark-skinned subjects in the eighteenth century. However, because decadence is rarely, if ever, applied to white subjects, it possesses a unique affective potency because of its overwhelmingly racist and colonial lexical-cultural history. Unlike the other three affects examined in my dissertation, decadence is the only explicitly racialized state. In my first chapter, I address laziness as an affective state and apply it to discussions of sex workers in the English Poor Laws, acknowledging that it is a sociocultural marker assigned to both white and racialized workers even though the metaphors attached to the latter marginalized group are often more complicated

and pejorative, usually including suggestions of a lack of motherly behaviour, and a brand of laziness that is distinctly innate as a result of ethnic background. Scholarship on these two affective states, laziness and decadence, often brings them together and although this is productive, we lose sight of the explicitly racial aspect of decadence that is not found in laziness.

Decadence rhetoric and its related terminology allow me to locate racialized women who might have been both enslaved and prostituted. Eighteenth-century writers often use terms like "disease", "sloth", "delay", and "endemic" to describe people who are either enslaved or dark-skinned and people who are both. Using these search terms in my case studies helped locate the purportedly decadent labourers that otherwise would have remained unfound in these records. Of course, "idleness", as I discuss in Chapter 1, is often made synonymous with decadence. What differentiates idleness from decadence is the latter's inextricable connection to dark-skinned labourers. What is more, decadence has a farther-reaching network of meaning that haunts the lives of dark-skinned sex workers. I view decadence through Jacques Derrida's concept of "hauntology" (82) to understand this affective state as an ever-present spectre. In his *Spectres of Marx*, Derrida admits that he was "initially thinking of all the forms of a certain haunting obsession that seem[ed] to [him] to organize the dominant influence on discourse today" (34). He concluded that "hegemony still organizes the repression and thus the confirmation of a haunting. Haunting belongs to the structure of every hegemony" (34). For my research, the hegemony of eighteenth-century attitudes regarding dark skin, disease, and the "non-work" façade of sex work organizes the repressive hauntology of decadence. This hegemony is constructed through language and sign networks such that these larger meaning structures function as the ghosts which haunt references to dark-skinned sex workers in memoir and policy documents. Because records are widely race-neutral or at least assume whiteness as default when

referring to sex workers, it is important to recognize the vast network of meaning associated with decadence and its related search terms in order to locate these historically absented women.

My chapter departs from other studies on decadence and race by examining this affective state in relation to working women who were medically classified as indolent, whether it be because of their labour as sex workers or because their race pathologizes them in the eyes of their observers. My findings reveal a re-ordering of logic: while a white woman who has fallen from polite society can be a sex worker as a result of personal choice or economic need, she cannot be decadent because her whiteness protects her from it; however, a racialized woman is born into Decadent Time and therefore writers assume that she is most likely a sex worker or someone sexually deviant or insufficient. I ask whether decadence can racialize someone: how does decadence as an explicitly racialized affective state operate in the context of racially ambiguous subjects? Does whiteness make subjects immune to decadence? Does darker skin make subjects more susceptible to sex work? Unlike the assignations of laziness and shamelessness, writers link decadence to visibly darker skin and an exclusively racialized temporal existence.

Decadence and time are necessarily connected concepts in studies of eighteenth-century memoir and policy documents because of how writers conceived of race in this period. Contemporary thinkers "linked climate and sexual desire to define a temperate, civilized Europe" that stood in direct opposition to those bodies from "libidinous and indolent torrid zones" that embodied sexual excess and lacked a productive work ethic (Wheeler 204). These "delayed" workers were allegedly unable to "engage in the work-discipline productive of political liberty and civic virtue" (204) that their white counterparts were born to do. Because their ancestral lineage supposedly linked them to a history of "primal" tendencies concerned with sex and a lack

of work, dark-skinned subjects were labelled decadent from birth and this marker remained as they entered workforces. This entanglement between decadence and time is only exacerbated in the lives of dark-skinned sex workers, who were pathologized as they laboured in a trade that allegedly amplified their vices: decadence and excessive sexuality. I use Decadent Time to refer to the experiences of dark-skinned subjects in an effort to differentiate their lived experiences from "normative" or "white" time. While critical race theorists have fought to counter racist retellings of history that place Black and Brown workers on different temporal coordinates and striations from their white counterparts, acknowledging Decadent Time allows us to disrupt the racial homogeneity in the genres I am examining.[55] My goal is not to reaffirm the racial stereotypes associated with time, but to recover evidence of absented women and present a more inclusive understanding of the eighteenth-century sex trade. Because dark-skinned workers have been erased from history, it is especially important to trace how decadence was a marker of unproductive and libidinous subjectivities.

While Johannes Fabian's concept of Savage Time is crucial to understanding eighteenth-century attitudes about racialized workers, it elides the individual lived experiences of those people. Much like the Lupton and Wright's balanced theories of temporal coordinates and striations, Decadent Time serves as the needed weight on Fabian's scale to refer to the physical and emotional nuance of racialized labourers' lives. In developing this term, I relied on Fabian's discussion of this racialized affect in *Time and the Other*, which examines primitivity and time.

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[55] Peter Fryer, in his *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (1984), examines the temporal journey of "Black Harriot", a successful sex worker from the 1770s who "was taken to Jamaica and sold to a planter [who later] brought her to England" where she educated herself and expanded her clientele (76). Fryer emphasizes the social impediments that were meant to stop this woman's ability to live a temporally normative life and the ways she surpasses those hardships despite her alternate timeline. Similarly, Edward Said's, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), charts the long-term consequences of attitudes of superiority over Black subjects, drawing on eighteenth-century discussions of the transatlantic slave trade to posit that "slaver and empire are shown to […] have been a powerful ideological system whose original connection to specific economic interests may have long gone, but whose effects continued for decades" (94).

Fabian criticized the eighteenth-century notion that time for dark-skinned subjects was unable to move forward and was perpetually cyclical. He theorized that "primitive" was a temporal concept and a category—not an object—of whiteness (18), and this means that Western thinkers created a binary to define primitivity in opposition to savagery. As they "th[ought about], observe[d], [and] studie[d]" primitivity, it came to be used as a distancing device that positioned them away from savagery. Fabian's (Fig. 2) chart explains how time took place in different spaces for those in "Savage Society" (depicted on the low end of the line, operating in the then/there), and for the rest of society (depicted on the highest point of the line, operating in the now/here). He explains that these charted conceptions positioned dark-skinned subjects in "another time" (27). Time for dark-skinned sex workers was classed in these same savage and delayed temporal categories because they were thought to be unable to move forward, perpetually stuck in their place or in the past. For Fabian, eighteenth-century attitudes about savagery placed it as a marker of the past, allowing those civilized enough the ability to move forward and look backward at this delayed group. I mobilize Fabian's definitions by reading labouring African women as the Othered subjects, and therefore temporally delayed because of their trade.

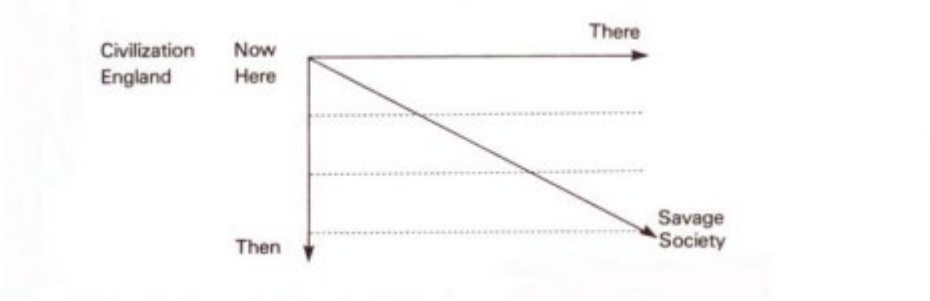

Figure 2: "Chart of Civilized and Savage Time", cited in Fabian p 27.

The crucial difference between Fabian's Savage Time and my Decadent Time is simply when time starts. Because pathologized dark-skinned labourers, including sex-workers, were

thought to be already delayed before they entered the workforce, they were born decadent, and therefore a temporal map that depicts their pre-determined labour and placement in everyday life should start at birth. By pushing back the mapped temporal placement, the difference between the progress made and productive labour generated by dark-skinned versus white sex workers becomes even more stark. I am, in other words, starting with Fabian's chart and then zooming out to provide a larger and more detailed version of racialized time. The concept of Decadent Time takes into account how decadence is a marker assigned at birth for dark-skinned people that is carried on throughout their lifespan. Both Fabian's Savage Time and my Decadent Time help us more fully examine the eighteenth-century comparisons between the sex trade and the slave trade. According to Fabian's chart, many eighteenth-century writers would have understood dark-skinned sex workers to have "lived in another Time" (27), that they not only are different from humans (white people) because they are base creatures akin to animals, they also labour on a different timeline than humans (still white people in this metaphor). Fabian notes that this facetiously progressive understanding of time and space "drew its ideological justification [for racist conceptions of productivity and time] from Enlightenment thought" (Fabian 27). His chart demarcates a clear distinction between time for savages and time for everyone else (read: civilized people), and so when those savages are born into decadence they arguably remain stationary on Fabian's chart of temporal progress. Decadence as an affective state is inescapable and physiological, and white-skinned authority figures historically mobilize this decadence for their own benefit.

Decadence is an Active Affect That Pathologizes Dark-Skinned Labourers

In *Narrative of Two Voyages to Sierra Leone*, Falconbridge's account of sex-workers who became colonists in Sierra Leone focuses on her confusion regarding their complexion. Because this chapter is dedicated to a study of decadence as an affective state, it is important to investigate the relationship between decadence and racial ambiguity in this period. Falconbridge's observations of "seven of [her] country women, decrepid [sic] with disease, and so disguised with filth and dirt, that [she would have] never supposed they were born white" (39) indicate a racist binary opposition. I focus on the third letter of her memoir due to the culturally fraught comparison of prostitution to slavery, the way she confuses white women for Black women, and how she takes up a conversation about the elasticity of race and sex work within the transatlantic slave trade. Her misreading of race/complexion is significant because it reveals that white colonizers are solely culpable for placing dark-skinned workers in Decadent Time. While Fabian's concept allows for an understanding of the distinctions Falconbridge makes between herself (civilized) and the "sooty" women she encounters (savage), the descriptions of these allegedly morally failed women demand a more nuanced analysis of racialized temporal placements. Falconbridge assumes these women are Black *because* they are filthy and diseased. This alleged confusion highlights the power of decadence as an affective state. The definition of decadence in this context refers to that which is dirty, diseased, and so pathologically unavoidable for these subjects that Falconbridge's decadence rhetoric is *active* because it racializes the subject in question. Rosenthal has also examined this excerpt and suggests that "these prostitutes hover between black and white, exotic and familiar, tragic 'others' and points of sympathetic identification" (*Infamous Commerce* 202). This state of in-betweenness that Rosenthal identifies is especially interesting to my investigation because it skirts around the controversial topic of biracial people in the eighteenth century who are often described as

confusing, misplaced, and unwanted. We cannot know for certain whether the women observed by Falconbridge are white Englishwomen or if they are biracial or Black women, but their racial ambiguity coupled with their trade places them in the realm of Decadent Time. Their decadence racializes them. By equating the white women's filth with dark skin, Falconbridge thereby ties prostitution to Decadent Time and genders this temporal existence. The associations she creates and communicates to her English readers allow for the entrenchment of these affective assumptions.

Like Fabian's Primitive Time, decadence rhetoric extends beyond explicit references to the deep network of meaning attached to it. Fabian's nuanced discussion suggests that "anthropological discourse about the 'primitive' or 'savage' is *not about peoples in a real world*, at least not directly. First and immediately, it is about the primitive as *internal referent of a discourse* or as a scientifically constituted object of a discipline" (77, emphasis mine), which is to say that references to primitive or decadent subjects cannot be examined in a vacuum; their cultural and political context—the context which enslaved them and labelled them inherently decadent—must be considered first. Falconbridge's confusion, then, stems from this deep network of meaning associated with decadence that compels her to associate filth and disease with Black women. As a frequent defender of the slave trade, she is complicit in the power structures that determined who or what was primitive or savage. For Fabian, the women Falconbridge observed are not the source of decadence, but the victims of it—the perpetrator here being the white people in charge of anthropological discourse.

This memoir is written by a white woman of the respectable middle class and thus offers a useful text in which to examine an affect that was born from whiteness and solely applied to Brownness and Blackness. While idleness, the lack of industriousness, and shamelessness are

ascribed to sex workers and are used by sex workers to describe themselves and others in their trade, decadence is unique in this group of affects because it is only ever employed by the colonizer. To draw on Ricoeur's theory of meaning networks: the other three affects have wide but shallow networks (i.e. they are applied to sex workers of all complexions, used by observers and practitioners of the trade alike), whereas decadence has a small but deep network (i.e. it is exclusively used by observers and has deep colonial meanings associated with disease and a lack of physical and moral hygiene). Falconbridge's letters serve as an example of the multiplicity of ways that decadence rhetoric can be mobilized, and how this rhetoric is wielded by white writers in white histories. Throughout this third letter, she employs a common-sensical tone when describing British colonial goals that tie hygiene to whiteness and productivity. Falconbridge and her husband would frequently visit the important commercial outpost at Bance Island[56] and meet with important officials to plan out future infrastructure and villages that emigrating Londoners—some of them manumitted Black Britons and others white lawbreakers--were meant to inhabit. Rosenthal tells us that "the vision of prostitutes as colonists [was] such a widespread notion that Falconbridge could believably report such a transportation project may or may not have ever taken place" (*Infamous Commerce* 201). Certainly, other prominent thinkers of the period "proposed to colonize Sierra Leone with impoverished black men from London", raising the issue of how to deal with London's increasing population of the "Black poor" (201). The term "Black Poor" had become even more resonant after the Mansfield decision in 1772, when "a large number of slaves brought to England to work in domestic households were liberated, largely from the homes of absentee British plantation owners in the Caribbean" (Farfán and del Pilar López-Uribe; see also Gerzina 133-164). This group, "along with African-Americans who

[56] In most twenty-first century spellings, it reads "Bunce" Island instead of "Bance" Island". I use the eighteenth-century spelling in this chapter.

served the British Army in the American Revolution (Black Loyalists), living in London in difficult conditions" (Farfán and del Pilar López-Uribe) were simultaneously undesirable exports and a group evidently in need of charitable assistance.

Falconbridge's depiction of decadent colonists is complicated by her descriptions of Britain's colonial interactions with the Indigenous people of Bance Island. She states that the Temne people living on this island "consented to re-establish the people and to grant to the St. George's Bay Company, all the land King Naimbana had formerly sold Captain Thompson, for a paltry consideration of about thirty pounds" (Falconbridge 36). Her sense of racial superiority emerges in her use of the term "paltry" to describe how little was paid by this group for the land; she is essentially bragging about the bargain that the English settler-colonialists managed to swindle from Temne people. We follow Falconbridge's movements around the island as she explains her husband's important meetings and that she would promptly take her leave before the meetings started—partly because she held opposing views about slavery to her abolitionist husband, and mostly because she preferred to spend as little time as possible with the people of the island (Falconbridge 33-36). References to the disgruntled and inactive affective state of dark-skinned subjects in this letter serve as means to understand Othered subjectivities in contrast with the more lively and active dispositions of white English settlers. Falconbridge supports her claims by describing large numbers of active and lively white colonizers who share the island with "lethargic" dark-skinned people. As such, it is not the climate causing the lethargy. Falconbridge uses the phrase "the unhappy people" (17, 133) to refer to the Indigenous people of Bance Island. Her use of the term "unhappy" to describe the Island people is prevalent throughout all her letters and is relevant to my investigation of decadence. Here, "unhappy" is a patronizing description of the affective state Falconbridge ascribes to the people living on the

island, but she does not apply this term when referring to the white prostitutes whom she mistook for Black women. This term is also extended to the continent, "unhappy Africa" (133), in her explanation of her brief stint as a former abolitionist, "before [she] had acquired information enough to form […] independent thoughts upon the subject" (133) and eventually found that slavery was "in no shape objectionable either to morality or religion, but on the contrary consistent with both" (133). Unhappiness can be linked with decadence because both states seem to be ascribed to the dark-skinned subject because they are thought to be inherently devoid of their opposites: happiness and energy, physical and moral enthusiasm about movement and labour. For example, on the same page, Falconbridge refers to England as her "happy enlightened country" (133) and thus she reinforces the affective binary opposition.

Falconbridge mobilizes decadence rhetoric as a distancing device to delineate the ways that her fellow white people differ and are indeed superior to those she observes and documents because they exist on different temporal timescapes. To return to Fabian's definitions of time, he notes that "Physical Time" differs from Western clock time and is often used as a "distancing device […] when we are told that certain elements of our culture are 'neolithic' or 'archaic'; or when certain living societies are said to practice 'stone age economics'; or when certain styles of thought are identified as 'savage' or 'primitive'" (Fabian 30). Falconbridge's descriptions of unhappiness as they pertain to African people and lands are examples of Fabian's Physical Time being mobilized in everyday life. In his chart (see Fig. 1), there is a notable space between the "Now/Here" and "Then/There" because Physical Time "include[s] space, bodies, and motion" (Fabian 29), all things Falconbridge summarizes in her description: in her view, those people Indigenous to Bance Island are completely different from her physically, different from her because of their climate and living conditions, and different from her because of the way they

comport themselves. In this way, her use of the term "unhappiness" is part of decadence's network of meaning and is therefore fraught with related racist conceptions such as lethargy, filth, and a lack of enthusiasm. Falconbridge's description is an example of Physical Time being mobilized, and we can see how it distances European colonizers from the inhabitants of Bance Island because it creates a divide between each group's inherent state of being/living/moving. Fabian explains that Physical Time essentially makes it easier for observers to separate themselves from those they observe. He emphasizes that "Physical Time is seldom used in its naked, chronological form" (Fabian 30) because it has far more substantial and often problematic and pejorative uses that allow the architects of this variety of time to condemn the inferior groups classed as savage for their styles of thought and ways of living.

Falconbridge's deployment of Physical Time builds an affective wall between herself and the Island people she observes and ultimately this makes her miscolouring of the seven prostitutes she encounters plausible. In that exchange, Falconbridge provides evidence of Rosenthal's claim that "the vision of prostitutes as colonists [was] so widespread" (Rosenthal 201) because she notes that she "always supposed these people had been transported as convicts" (Falconbridge 39) and it was only through conversation with one of the women that she was "partly undeceived" (Falconbridge 39) and told that "the women were mostly of that description of persons who walk the streets of London, and support themselves by earnings of prostitution" (Falconbridge 39) until "men were deployed to collect and conduct them to Wapping, where they were intoxicated with liquor, then inveigled on board of a ship, and married to *Black men*, whom they had never seen before" (Falconbridge 39, emphasis original)[57]. Since learning that the

[57] It is important to note that while the editors of the edition I am referencing of Falconbridge's letters note that there is no record pertaining to the "embarkation of the Black Poor and the listing of white women passengers" (40) that involves "their having been abducted" (40), Gretchen Gerzina has recovered evidence that proves otherwise in her, *Black England* (2022). Gerzina's archival research reveals that the same ship that arrived while

filthy-looking figures that she mistook for Black women were in actuality her "countrywomen", her descriptions shift from disgust to surprise to pity because their whiteness earns her sympathy. These women were not decadent Black women with a voracious sexual appetite who *deserved* this impressment at sea, they were women of her own country who had been kidnapped, drugged, and married off to Black men. Even their occupation as sex-workers began to matter less to Falconbridge because she was more invested in what her country's government had done to these poor women. She was outraged, citing this decision as a "disgrace of [her] mother country [because] upwards of one hundred unfortunate women were *seduced* from England to practise their iniquities more brutishly in [the] horrid country" (39) of Sierra Leone. In her outrage, Falconbridge accuses the British government of treating her countrywomen like Black women because they used their power over these women's bodies to transport them against their will—something that was happening already to enslaved Black people, a trade that at this point Falconbridge openly supports. She rages at her country, questioning how in their "enlightened age", how in a time where England is "envied and admired as it is by the universe" (39-40) they "could be capable of exercising or countenancing such a Gothic infringement on human Liberty" (39-40). Ironically, she is simultaneously astonished that white women vagrants are kidnapped and forced to relocate their lives and colonize a new land and also fully supportive of the forcible transportation of London's Black Poor because in her view, "the slaves [she] had the opportunity of seeing in Jamaica, seemed vastly well satisfied, [and] their conditions appeared to be far preferable to what [she] had expected, and they discovered more cheerfulness than [she] ever observed the Blacks show in Africa unless roused by liquor" (133). The "happiness" she

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Falconbridge was on Bance Island contained "a wholly unexpected group of white women: the prostitute wives of the black poor, forced by the English authorities in London to marry settlers and leave the country" (168-169). As such, Gerzina's findings further assert that even if Falconbridge is lying, my argument still stands on the way she disproportionately allots her sympathies to her own "countrywomen" instead of to the African subjects involved.

attributes to these enslaved people only exists on her terms; she defines the type and amount of happiness enslaved people have the capacity to feel or how much happiness they deserve to feel. As one of the affects at odds with decadence, happiness is meted out by the white colonizing subject. Indeed, even when a description of happiness is bestowed on enslaved groups, it comes on the observer's terms. As such, this description of happiness comes to serve as another distancing device between observers and the observed, because its definition shifts depending on to whom it is ascribed.

Decadence is an Affective Poorness Tied to Dark Skin

My analysis thus far demonstrates how decadence behaves on skin that is "born white": it does not stick, it can be shed or washed off, and it is only accidentally ascribed when mistaking the white individual for someone darker. While writers typically make moralistic judgements about sex workers, Falconbridge's group of "born" white women operate outside of Decadent Time, they dodge those judgements when she affords them her compassion despite the disparity between their social classes. Such consideration does not extend to dark-skinned women regardless of their class standing because, in the colonizer's view, dark-skinned subjects are born into Decadent Time. Falconbridge gives ample sympathy to the "filthy" and deceptively decadent white prostitutes she encounters, but she does not afford the same emotional response to Princess Clara despite her royal status[58] on Bance Island. Clara serves as an example of the inescapability of decadence. Because decadence as it is ascribed to dark-skinned subjects by

[58] It is important to note that Clara is not the birth name of King Naimbana's daughter, but the anglicized name given to her upon marriage to a British settler, Abram Elliot Griffith. It is rare that any search queries entered into Google yield only one to two pages of results, but "Clara Naimbana Sierra Leone" is one of those queries, bringing in only two full pages of results, and none of them shed light on her birth name. Reference to Falconbridge's exchanges with the Princess, and cultural scholars' analysis of Falconbridge's writings make up most of the results, thus allowing the white narrative to continue being in charge of historical retellings of this moment in Sierra Leone.

white observers evokes ideas of filth, disease, ugliness, undesirability, and a lack of motivation to move or work, it is important to take into account not only racialization but also class. My following class-based analysis proves that no dark-skinned subjects, no matter their class or social status can be immune to this affective disease. The only caveat is that immunity can be granted at the white observer's pleasure. For example, Roxann Wheeler and others tell us that Christianity superseded complexion—but did it supersede class?[59] By focusing on the classed dimension of decadence, Savage/Civilized time placements on Fabian's chart are complicated, demanding an expanded approach to his theory. Because Decadent Time begins at the start of a dark-skinned subject's life, class status cannot grant her immunity from decadence. In relation to Falconbridge's observations, then, she assigns racialization to the group of women discussed above because she could not have supposed them to be "born white." She herself cannot help but go back to the moment of their birth in her confusion about their "colour".

The first reference to Clara in Falconbridge's memoir appears in the third letter and significantly, Falconbridge describes her as "the wife of Elliotte"[60] rather than by her royal title (37). Falconbridge's first description of the Princess is notable for her obsession with Clara's clothing and her attempts to "try her disposition" (37). Falconbridge made it her duty to observe Clara and come to conclusions about her behaviour.[61] Falconbridge found Clara "impetuous, litigious and implacable" (Falconbridge 37). Presumably, Falconbridge would not say such

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[59] See Wheeler's *The Complexion of Race* (2000), Mallipeddi's *Spectacular Suffering* (2016), and Gerzina's *Black London* (2022).

[60] Abram Elliot Griffith is one of the English settlers who arrived with Ann and Alexander Falconbridge who was made King Naimbana's clerk and later, his chief adviser ("Nemgbana (ca. 1710-1793) Last Temne Ruler of the Sierra Leone Peninsula").

[61] This decision is blatantly reminiscent of the hobby that Dutch colonizers took up in their observations of the Khoikhoi people in South Africa in that a white person holding social authority is making concrete decisions about the subjectivity of a dark-skinned subject, and further, determining the way that their people in Europe and people in the future would understand the groups they observed.

things about European royalty but yet gives herself permission to do so with Princess Clara because she believes that she outranks her despite her comparatively low rank as a surgeon's wife. She often cites her own superior status, noting that "some situations make it necessary for superiors to be feared, and all situations require they should be beloved" and her claims are based entirely on her whiteness instead of her actual rank because her complexion ties her to the colonizing power on the island (Falconbridge 127). Here, a hierarchy of nation and skin colour transcends traditional cultural rank.

Falconbridge intertwines decadence rhetoric with class when she judges Princess Clara on her dress, which she deems insufficient by European standards. By "endeavour [ing] to persuade [Clara] to dress the European way" (Falconbridge 37), she highlights the connection between decadence and apparel because many populations in African countries dressed in ways that colonial European imposers found abhorrent. For example, Christopher Fryke's infamous "Account of the Hottentots" discussed in Chapter 1, deploys decadence rhetoric when observing the Khoikhoi people. He finds evidence for their profound primitiveness in the fact that their clothing practices permitted them to "displa[y] their sexual organs openly" (Fryke qtd. in Shahani, 16). His observations of the Khoikhoi construct a racialized identity that revolves around decadence as it was tied to primitiveness as signifiers of inferiority, inadequacy, and lack of progress—all of which were opposites of signifiers which constructed ideals tied to whiteness such as activity, hard work, and progress. These entrenched beliefs manifest in Falconbridge's reflections on Clara's irredeemable condition when she concludes that "no credit could be gained by trying to new fashion this *Ethiopian* Princess" (Falconbridge 38). Here, Falconbridge not only conflates African nations by referring to Clara as Ethiopian instead of Temne, she surmises that

her choice of dress is tied to her inferior class and racial status.[62] Similarly, Fryke regards racialized subjects as idle or in a state of perpetual sloth and "sentences" the Khoikhoi to this state of being based solely on assumptions tied to their darker skin and uninformed observations of differences in dress. As such, Falconbridge's complaints about Princess Clara's dress are not a superficial observation about differing aesthetics but a commentary fraught with racist and imperialist connotations.

We can read these pejorative observations about Princess Clara as examples not only of Fabian's Physical Time, but also as mechanisms that bind the affective association between dark-skinned subjects, their sexualization, and their animality. As J.M. Coetzee notes, "idleness, indolence, sloth, laziness, torpor—these terms are meant both to define a Hottentot vice and in the same movement to distance the writer from that vice" (123). In other words, decadence and its connected referents taken up by Falconbridge and other white travellers come to be a kind of central signifier for moral, spiritual, and physical decay and inferiority (Turner 5). The inverse of this binary is represented as that which is active and hardworking: whiteness. Falconbridge is the opposite and natural superior to Princess Clara because she positions herself as the representative of "the European way" (Falconbridge 37), meaning she is calm, flexible, forward-thinking—all signifiers of conceptions of maturity, stability, and crucially, the whiteness of the Protestant middle class. Falconbridge creates an affective distance between her and Princess Clara and reasserts her status, in Fabian's words, as "the knower" and the Princess as "the Object of knowledge" (Fabian 121). For Fabian, "[…] the Other, as the object of knowledge, must be separate, distinct, and preferably distant from the Knower. [He suggests that] we do not 'find' the savagery of the savage or the primitivity of the primitive, we posit them, and we have seen […]

[62] During the eighteenth century the term, "Ethiopian" could have also referred to someone with dark skin. Both readings involve the conflation of African identity.

how anthropology has managed to maintain distance, mostly by manipulating temporal coexistence through the denial of coevalness" (Fabian 121). In Falconbridge's exchange with Princess Clara, her evaluations serve as a denial of sameness and a reassertion of her feelings of superiority over this member of the Temne royal family. Her memoir employs decadence to "maintain distance" from people like Clara, thus concretizing the space between their placement on Fabian's chart.

Falconbridge's comments on Princess Clara "having neither shoes nor stockings" (29) and needing to be "persuaded to dress in the European way" (37), hint at savagery, per Fabian, and ultimately put Clara in a class lower than the white prostitutes Falconbridge encounters. [63] Wheeler notes that "European clothing was a spectacle to other people—both for the improbable amount of it in hot climates and for its intricacy" (Wheeler 20) in reference to Falconbridge's experience walking through Bance Island and having its people "crowd to see [her], [gaz]ing with apparent astonishment [she] supposed at [her] dress…" (Falconbridge 19). In Wheeler's view, Falconbridge's comments are far more innocent, citing that "her response to their native attire was not astonishment as much as injured "delicacy" and that Falconbridge was reminding readers how integral dress is to Christian European identity, even in hot climates" (Wheeler 20). I suggest that delicacy is a clear binary opposite to decadence. Eighteenth-century writers defined "delicacy" as a "sensitivity, fragility" ("Delicacy") and "a refined sense of what is proper or appropriate—a sensitivity to feelings of embarrassment, [and] shame" ("Delicacy"). Knowing

[63] Typically, poorness in the Heideggerian sense, refers to poverty or precarious living, and that it is an intrinsic limitation in the world, a barrier that does not allow for world-making, echoing the way that decadence has historically been assigned to Black subjects as an intrinsic limitation.[63] For example, Martin Heidegger posits that animals are "poor in the world" (Heidegger qtd. in Baker 151) and are excluded from world-making because humans do not have direct access to their everyday lived experiences. In his "Letter on Humanism", Heidegger discusses animals' and humans' ability to make the world by "addressing the relation of humans and other animals [in an effort to] assess how it was possible to know or to have access to the experiences of the world" and among his conclusions were that "animals are poor in the world; [and] man is world forming" (Heidegger in Baker 151).

that eighteenth-century markers of Blackness were an assumed physical robustness, an inability to feel shame, and crucially, an innate state of physical and moral decay, then Falconbridge's "delicacy" stands in direct opposition to Blackness. The period's definition of "delicacy" is also distinctly non-animalistic because presumably, only human beings can value sensitivity and refinement. When Falconbridge describes her exasperation with Clara "tear[ing] the clothes off her back immediately after [she] put them on [her]", the Princess is portrayed like both a child and an animal: a child because she cannot be pacified, and an animal because as a Black woman experiencing coerced control by a white woman, she is resisting (37). As such, the opposite adjectives allow for more animalistic connotations to manifest.

Eighteenth-century comparisons of sex-workers to slaves demonstrate the overlap between sex workers of all skin colours and decadence as an affective state. Despite Clara's royal status, Falconbridge belittles her rank, and provides descriptions that link her behaviour to animality, and "got rid of her as soon as [it was] possible" to leave her company (38). In Falconbridge's view, Clara is no different than the enslaved subjects who were traded at the Fort on Bance Island, especially after Falconbridge fails to convert her to European standards of dress and behaviour. Rosenthal suggests that sex workers come to accept their "instrumentalized body"—that their physical form is merely a vessel for labour totally separate from their mental and emotional self—and therefore "an excellent candidate for […] menial labour […] [and ultimately] becomes barely recognizable as human" (*Infamous Commerce* 115) because her trade strips away her personhood. Rosenthal goes on to explain that eighteenth-century attitudes about the prostitute liken her to an animal and it is not a far leap from animality to slavery, as far as the period is concerned (*Infamous Commerce* 115-18). Fabian tells us that anthropologists used animalistic and savage rhetoric to "separate primitive mentality from modern rationality" (152),

which is to say that the archetype of the eighteenth-century animalistic sex worker that Rosenthal takes up has significant temporal connotations when the sex worker in question has dark skin (*Infamous Commerce* 152). The type of labour completed by enslaved people was deemed similarly menial, a brand of work that real (i.e. white) people would not allow themselves to do. Similarly, sex work was a brand of work that real people looked down upon as part of "the abhorred gulf of degradation" (Anonymous qtd. in *Infamous Commerce* 115). This comparison between sex work and enslavement points to how decadence can be assigned regardless of complexion and melanin levels; both sex workers and enslaved workers were thought to be intrinsically decadent. But unlike their white counterparts, dark-skinned sex workers were *born* poor and decadent, *born* into Decadent Time, and they re-asserted this affective state by working in this trade (Carson 480; Quinlan 670).

Ascribing decadence to dark-skinned subjects signals a poverty that can only be inherited, a poorness that is inextricably racialized. Fabian uses the term "animism" to refer to what "anthropologists have used […] in order to separate primitive mentality from modern rationality", and suggests that animism as an anthropological practice is extremely damaging because it does not allow for coeval fieldwork and it consequently "reproduces allochronic discourse" (152). Here, "allochronic" is a temporal term Fabian redefines from anthropology to refer to an uncountable culture or group of people under observation. And so "allochronic discourse", then, "denied the shared time of different cultures by operating an existential, rhetorical, and political device that negated the co-presence of difference" (32). I agree with Wheeler that in the case of Clara wildly "tear[ing] the clothes off her back immediately after [Falconbridge] put them on" (Falconbridge 37), "whether these apocryphal stories are true is hardly the point" (Wheeler 29). However, I want to suggest that situating Princess Clara's

decadence as the affective opposite to Falconbridge's delicacy reasserts the temporal divide between them. What is more, my reading also illustrates the way that Falconbridge hierarchizes the Princess below the white sex workers that she describes in the same letter. Despite their status as sex-workers, their whiteness precludes them from animism, and from decadence and all its moralistic signifiers.

Decadence is an Incurable Disease Ascribed to African Labourers

Like Falconbridge's memoir, James Makittrick Adair's *Unanswerable Arguments Against the Abolition of the Slave Trade with a Defence of the Proprietors of the British Sugar Colonies* describes enslaved subjects who exist within Decadent Time. I now turn to an interesting temporal tension: the active commercial world surrounding enslaved people is operating at a highly productive and efficient speed at the same time that slaves were allegedly static and unmoving, or slowly moving. Fabian's chart would undoubtedly depict these people in Savage Time, but he had specific criticisms of policy documents such as Adair's that employed the use of the "possessive past" (95). For Fabian, this figure of speech, "the use of possessive pronouns, first person singular or plural, in reports on informants, groups or tribes—are the signs in anthropological discourse of relations that ultimately belong to political economy, not psychology or ethics" (95). This is to say that Adair's use of first-person pronouns asserts that his "personal presence was required for the collecting and recording of data prior to their being deposited and processed in Western institutions of learning" (Fabian 95); here the Western institution is the Committee of His Majesty's Council in 1790. Where the possessive past is not explicitly mobilized via first-person pronouns, the other speakers in the document would directly cite him as the author of the arguments. For example, one speaker, notes that before "Dr. Adair

enters […] the consideration of the *Queries* transmitted to him by Mr. Burton, [he has] some preliminary Observations" (Adair 110), highlighting that even when other people might have contributed to these records, Adair is the main observer and main presenter of the document. Fabian's thoughts on anthropological discourse place Adair in charge of the hegemonic narrative in this policy document, and therefore in a position to dictate what decadent bodies and their labour look like for Western observers.

In *Unanswerable Arguments*, Adair provides three reasons why enslaved labourers are predisposed to a type of endemic disease that positions slavery as a social service to their people. The format of Adair's "Answers to Queries" section presents inflammatory questions about the slave trade and follows them with reductive answers to defend colonizing actions. It is important to note that these specific questions were both posed and answered in front of the 1790 Committee of His Majesty's Council, further officialising their validity. The format is significant because it allows Adair to employ a "what-aboutist" approach to the defence of the Slave Trade; this is to say that in colloquial conversations, an eighteenth-century abolitionist would propose questions like, "what about the enslaved subject's human rights?", "what about fair labour?", "what about feeding and clothing people properly so they can find real employment?", "what about their health"? Adair presents his valid arguments in direct response to all these allegedly superfluous questions under headings like, "Moral and political character of African Slaves", "Distribution of the Labour of Slaves", "Of the food, cloathing [sic], and conversion of Slaves", "On the employment of supernumerary house-slaves", and "Means of preserving the health of Slaves" (7). The format highlights how each aspect of the Slave Trade was categorized and justified, very much like the enslaved subjects themselves. European writings about enslaved subjects and dark-skinned subjects alike have historically turned to rigid categories to restrict

these groups and justify colonial actions against them. For example, Fryke's letters that observed the Khoikhoi people presented charts of supposedly quantifiable "data" that explained and justified how different these people were from Europeans (qtd. in Shahani 16). Adair carries on this tradition in long-form prose that has been rhetorically polished for presentation in Parliament.

The questions that prompt Adair's three replies are as follows: "are the Negroes subject to any peculiar diseases to which white inhabitants or free Negroes are not subject; and if they are so subject, assign the cause?" (114). Prior to unpacking the question and its answers, it is crucial to note that Adair was convinced that emancipated Black subjects "d[id] not enjoy any solid advantages over well-disposed and industrious slaves" (114) and so in his view, it was in their best interest to be enslaved in order to make the most of their physical and mental limitations and achieve a level of industry that he deemed sufficient. He found that when Black subjects were emancipated, "instead of deriving benefit from their new situation, [they] became indolent and worthless" (113), a position that he used to reaffirm the necessity of enslavement for Black subjects. As a synonym for decadence, Adair's mention of indolence in this claim implies that prior to emancipation, during enslavement, Black people are not decadent because enslavement "cures" them of this state of physical and moral decay. Here, decadence is a disease ascribed to Black subjects by white slave owners like Adair; it is a disease of convenience for Adair and he capitalizes on it to affirm the necessity of the slave trade. Character witnesses for Adair testify that he was simultaneously a staunch defender of slavery as well as someone who was especially compassionate towards those he enslaved, allegedly "treating them like his own children" (Rose 83). While that raises concerns about Adair's treatment of his own children, more importantly, it sheds light on the contradiction inherent to the state of dark-skinned

decadence. If Adair believes that he is defending slavery for the good of Britain's economy *as well as* the good of those enslaved, then the most generous description of his white supremacist argument for slavery would be that he is "saving" enslaved people from a special category of indolence that only dark-skinned subjects can contract. He has positioned himself as the expert who can diagnose this disease. It is also important to bear in mind that Adair is referred to as a medical doctor—despite his educational certifications being questionable (Rose 83)—and so his observations about the purported decadent/indolent state of these enslaved subjects are given more validation in the space of Parliament because he is expected to understand the diseased state of darkness more than other politicians or non-medical practitioners who own or sell enslaved people. His credentials make this policy document even more crucial for study because his use of decadence rhetoric is not simply a metaphor or a casual reference that might have been popular in the period, it is used in the clinical and physiological sense and thus bears more pathologized significance.

Adair prefaces his response to the noted query by gesturing to general opinions about climate and race in the period and ultimately proposes that "other circumstances" (114) than climate are responsible for rendering enslaved subjects vulnerable to endemic diseases. His reference to timed labour—specifically the "nine hour" work day that he says is typical in both his home country and the West Indies—is important to examine alongside these "other circumstances" because it highlights the real work completed by those thought to be otherwise incapable due to entrapment in Decadent Time. British discourses about labour are often aligned with the tenants of the Protestant work ethic: a type of physical and mental enthusiasm about one's labour that is productive and consistent with moral purity. Adair, in line with popular British opinions about labour, defends the slave trade because it allows those enslaved to be

productive despite their natural inclinations not to be. I use the term "popular" because his argument is very similar to the type of slavery occurring at sea in this period, extensively taken up in Chapter 2 of this manuscript. The labour those enslaved prostitutes were forced to complete, much like the labour Adair discusses, is framed as useful because the "quality", "regularity", and the difficulty of their work are bound up with their complicated status as convicts (115). Adair notes that despite "labouring nine hours, exposed to the rays of the sun" (Adair 114) there are far more important circumstances that affect enslaved subjects and ultimately render them more prone to diseases. Wheeler tells us that the "profound respect Europeans granted climate accounts for their superficial and malleable beliefs about skin colour and race during the eighteenth century" (Adair 115), but I am suggesting that the period's understanding of time and labour further adds to this elastic approach to race. We see this in Adair's comparison of the regular workday completed by enslaved people.

Despite the arduous and unending labour that enslaved subjects completed, their ascribed decadence puts their life at a standstill: they were non-working workers in the eyes of those who enslaved them. In his first of three responses to the query, Adair criticizes the labourers' ability to quickly transition from strenuous physical work to less strenuous labour that he likens to leisure, which evokes a contradiction between his and the period's attitudes about leisure as an earned reward for hard work; it seems that only certain work, completed by certain (white) people is deemed worthy enough for leisure time. Adair is surprised at "their sudden transition from labour to the almost sedentary employment of collecting grass for the plantation horses, during which time, and by being unnecessarily detained afterwards for the purpose of being mustered [by white overseers], they are exposed to the noxious night dews" (Adair 115). In this reply, it becomes abundantly clear that there is no leisure time at all: the first nine hours consist

of the ordinary plantation work, and the following, uncounted hours consist of picking grass for the horses. This elision of their labour is an example of what Fabian calls the "manipulation of temporal coexistence through the denial of coevalness" (Fabian 121) because Adair spends a good deal of his pages asserting that the nine hours of work completed by those enslaved is not dissimilar to the work hours of Britons—proposing a coevalness in a way—but in his reply to the query, he denies any similarity to these enslaved labourers (Adair 121). In referring to their 'second shift' as "sedentary employment" he immediately discounts their labour and evokes decadence rhetoric by suggesting that their second job involves a slowed-down physical pace (essentially unmoving) and a slowed-down version of time (at a standstill). Despite these labourers performing two kinds of labour, Adair firmly places them in Savage Time per Fabian's chart because their second shift of hard work does not, in his view, count.

The second reply offered by Adair scrutinizes what his enslaved subjects do when they are neither "labouring" nor "almost sedentary." He criticizes "their frequent migrations after work to other plantations, often very distant, for the purpose either of merry-making or of visiting their husbands or wives, so that the greatest part of the night is often consumed in travelling from and to their master's estates" (Adair 115). His disgruntlement with what these alleged non-labourers do when they are not working leads to him attributing this physical exertion to a vulnerability to disease. As stated earlier, decadence is a multi-faceted affect—drawing in conceptions of sloth, indolence, laziness, and the like—but what remains consistent about this affective state is who ascribes it to dark-skinned subjects. Adair blames the labourers' "merrymaking" and visits with family on their vulnerability to diseases unique to their race, and further, he attributes their physiological vulnerability to "noxious night dews", or the poor air quality to which they are exposed while walking long distances at night (115). Fabian reminds us

that “anthropological discourse about the ‘primitive’ [here, the enslaved workers] or ‘savage’ is not about peoples in a real world, [but rather] it is about the primitive as internal referent of a discourse of as a scientifically constituted object of a discipline” (Fabian 77). What this means for Adair’s reply is that the connection between “merrymaking” and physiological vulnerability is implied through the period’s understanding of leisure enjoyed by enslaved people. References to merrymaking are inextricably linked to conversations about leisure and scholars urge us to see this relationship; for example, Simon Gikandi suggests that “our challenge” as eighteenth-century scholars “is how to provide a descriptive and analytical response to […] scenes of happiness, not so much to figure out whether they were genuine or affected, but to understand the role they played as a means of recording social life for a people excluded from multiple domains of freedom” (Gikandi 202). Here Gikandi uses the term “happiness” to describe merrymaking, something that Falconbridge explicitly avoids ascribing to the Islanders whom she describes as “unhappy” unlike her “happy” and Enlightened Britons (Gikandi 202, Falconbridge 133). Adair’s disapproval of the enslaved worker’s merrymaking then appears to be more connected to physiological vulnerability in his view because this specific merrymaking is not sanctioned by him. It is an activity out of his control, wherein those enslaved by him move and behave on their own terms, even if it means spending the majority of the night travelling to their destinations. And so, this temporal disjuncture at which these workers travel within Savage Time, contrary to their ascribed sedentary status, is certainly disconcerting for Adair. He blames these activities and unnecessary physical exertion and tiredness from travel and self-sanctioned happiness on a potentially deteriorated physical state.

Adair’s final reply criticizes the preferred food ingested by enslaved workers, allowing him to blame their diet for their poor health. He notes that “the scantiness and […] bad quality of

their food" (Adair 115) is to blame for physiological vulnerability and frequent mortality, reminding his audience in Parliament that these physical downfalls are not due to climate or even "the result of labour" (Adair 115) as much as it is the personal choices that these labourers make. He positions English eating habits as the neutral default and healthier diet and disparages the food preferences of these labourers rather than the neglect of slaveowners. Regardless of food availabilities and preferences, Adair connects diet to decadence. To return to Fryke's racist observations of the Khoikhoi people, it is important to note that he too made a connection between indolence and the group's preference to eat "cowhide and guts" (Fryke qtd. in Shahani16) rather than proper cuts of meat. Like Fryke, Adair is linking enslaved decadence to diet, reminding his political audience that "industrious slaves have generally so many other resources as to procure them [better food]" but they *choose* to consume food that harms their physical constitution (Adair 116). He employs language that could have easily been misconstrued as sympathetic when he claims that because of their poor diet, it is difficult to make a distinction between those enslaved people and other workers who are merely "indolent and thriftless" (Adair 116). He employs a facetious "coevalness", per Fabian, when he simultaneously positions English eating habits as the default healthy choice, a choice that is allegedly available to those enslaved, and therefore the option of being like the English is a choice they are opting out of. They are allegedly choosing decadence, according to Adair, but the clear reality is that he assigns decadence to them.

Decadence is a Sexed and Racialized Affective Disease

Adair contends that labour completed by African subjects is insufficient in quantity and quality because of a presumed incurable diseased state. We know from etymology that the

meaning of decadence dates to the sixteenth century, described as "the process of falling away or declining (from a prior state of excellence, vitality, prosperity, etc.)" ("Decadence"). Conversely, eighteenth-century European opinions of dark-skinned subjects treat these subjects as though they were born decadent, which negates the earlier denotation of having had a "prior state of excellence". Adair's *Unanswerable Arguments* inextricably ties decadence to women's sexuality and motherwork. The seventh section, "Reasons Against the Abolition of the Slave Trade Thrown into One Point of View", explicitly mentions prostitution and also mirrors several other parts of the work in which Adair discusses Antiguan women's sexuality (90-1, 114,192, 194-5). In his discussion of African women's prostitution, he emphasizes his concern with diseases contracted as a result of their participation in this trade. This is a concern that is not unique to Black sex workers but what does stand out in his critique is the presence of decadence rhetoric. Sex work is not, as it is for white women, the limit case of moral or affective failing for enslaved women. My analysis of Adair's references to prostitution and Black femininity and sexuality reveals a trend in this policy document's framing of decadence in relation to these women: namely, that decadence for African women is entangled with their maternity.

In Chapter 1 I proved that Black women were framed as both hyper-sexual for engaging in prostitution, as well as not sexual enough, or not sexual in the ways deemed productive by white observers because of their alleged insufficiencies as mothers. Similarly, in Adair's context, these women were temporal failures no matter the type of labour in which they participated. Adair does not, to use Fabian's terminology, provide the observed women with any options for working their way out of Savage Time and instead demonstrates that they exist firmly in a temporality of Decadent Time such that their decadence is inescapable. Adair demonizes their choice to enter sex work to generate personal income, and expresses visceral disgust at their

apparently inevitably diseased bodies (192-94). When discussing their sexed labour of motherhood, he labels them indolent and incontinent—affective states that I connect with decadence. Hortense Spillers reminds us that "the African female's reproductive uses within the diasporic enterprise of enslavement" (Spillers 74) essentially renders her a slave-making device because her offspring would never "belong" to her. As such, even when labouring in a manner productive for her "master", the African woman in question would still be stuck in Savage Time.

While sex work is famously one of the activities to which the "fallen" white woman turns and thus reaches her moral and social nadir, the same standard does not apply to African women, who, because of their allegedly decadent state, can fail and fall even further. For example, *The Vagrancy Act of 1744* brought about prosecutions of "known or suspected bawdy houses" (Henderson 92), which built upon the 1609 iteration of the Act that targeted a capacious group of people including "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars" (Henderson 92). The Act was revised again in 1822 and the net was made even wider to explicitly name "prostitutes or Night Walkers wandering in the public Streets or public Highways, not giving a satisfactory account of themselves" (Henderson 97) emphasizing that these individuals would "be deemed idle and disorderly persons" (Henderson 97). These Acts were primarily concerned with social deviancy bound up in (im)morality, and as such, British policies became increasingly bolder in their language when denouncing and policing prostitution. If we are to assume that these acts were written with white women in mind, the epitome of the "fallen woman" is one who chose to sell sex for money. The same limit or rock-bottom of moral failing is not extended to the women observed and enslaved by Adair; while he condemns their prostitution, their greatest failing lies in their lack of motherhood—which he ties to their unique physical conditions as enslaved women.

When Adair puts forward twelve reductive answers for the query about the dwindling numbers of slaves it is significant that prostitution is only third on this list. While numerous laws police white women's participation in this trade, sex work as it is completed by enslaved women is not as worrisome. His chapter opens by responding to an apparent concern from those in Parliament about the sickly constitutions of those they have enslaved, and he reassures them that if slaveowners address his solutions that there is still "a degree of labour […] to be obtained from them (the slaves)" (191). He responds to their query by listing "the chief causes of the decline in numbers" (191), with the caveat that "hard labour, scanty fare, and ill treatment" (191) do not factor into this list of causes. While to today's reader it seems outrageous that in a discussion of sick and dying enslaved people the impact of arduous labour, insufficient diet, and poor treatment is not considered, we must assume that Adair believes his synopsis to be rational. The twelve causes he lists, in the order, they appear, are: "polygamy, […] night walking, […] prostitution, […] the unhealthy situation of plantations, […] improper situation of Negro huts, […] the prevalence of endemic, epidemic, and infectious disease, […] the loss of imported slaves, […] a sufficient number not being imported to slave the estates fully, […] a great number of infants lost by the Tetanus, […] want of proper hospitals, […] want of due attention of proprietors and managers, […] [and] the ignorance or inattention of the medical men" (191-99). He does not explain whether this list is offered in the order of importance or priority but it seems to start with moral concerns and end with infrastructure issues. As such, there is a reason for this specific order because there are more emphatic claims made about the savagery of polygamy than there are made about the need for more invested proprietors and managers. Prostitution's position in third place still makes it a high priority, but it is worth noting that it comes second to

polygamy—a disease for which Adair suggests Christianity is the cure—and "night walking", an activity that causes extreme enough exhaustion to deter from productivity during the workday.

Adair's concerns regarding "the prostitution of young [Black] females" (Adair 192) centre entirely on the diseases they may contract and crucially, how those diseases render them "totally steril" [sic] (Adair 192), thus impeding their ability to become pregnant and create new enslaved humans. From his writing it becomes clear that these women's trade is not as morally demonized as their motherhood—or rather their irresponsibility with their potential motherwork. Extensive research has been completed on motherhood and race, but most notably, Jennifer Morgan's scholarship reminds us that in English colonies African women's labours in enslavement and motherhood became intertwined. She reminds us that "expectations regarding gender and reproduction were central to racial ideologies, the organization of slave labour, and the nature of the slave community and resistance" (Morgan 25). This means that Adair's brief discussion of prostitution is no accident. The short text offered to Parliament about sex work was entirely occupied with motherwork and the ways that these women were potentially losing slaveowners money by causing their own sterility. Adair's other references to motherhood, by contrast, are entangled with mentions of African women's sexuality, either its surplus or its insufficiency. In this third item of his list, it is notable that Adair reduces the discussed women to their sex by referring to them as "female". Of course, the period does not differentiate between gender and sex, but it is noticeable that nearly all other mentions of African women refer to them as "women"[64]. This differentiation is significant in the context of reproduction because it reduces African women to their biological capabilities, and elides all other uniquely "womanly" qualities they possess, thereby dehumanizing them.

[64] Interestingly, all mentions of English women referred to them either as "women" or "ladies", but never as "females" in the way Adair does in reference to African sex workers.

I draw on Fabian's theorizations of Physical Time and coevalness to read Adair's list as a distancing device; Adair suggests that these women not only exist in another time than Englishwomen but also are regarded as a different variety of human than Englishwomen. Adair also highlights the "incurable" (Adair 193) state of disease in which these workers find themselves, which highlights how decadence is at once an affective, physiological, and pathological state. Important for this period is that affective states are always physiological, therefore inextricably linking the disease and decadence that was assigned to dark-skinned subjects. There is no difference between regular decadent slaves and sex-working decadent slaves, for Adair, because both groups are "incurable" (Adair 193). He moralizes them for their trade, sentences them to incurable decadence because of their alleged diseases, and crucially, highlights their temporal failure resulting from their self-inflicted sterility. My analysis of Adair's entire *Unanswerable Arguments* reveals that he is very concerned with Black motherhood, its apparent insufficiencies due to decadence, and the ways he could improve Black women's reproductive capabilities to ultimately create more enslaved people. Adair responds to another question pertaining to the apparent challenges to maintaining the birthrate of new slaves and centres the blame on African women and their insufficient motherhood. His list format offers another six reductive responses. Most pertinent to this case study are answers one through four:

> "First, the enervating heat of the climate which disposes to abortion, secondly, the practice of polygamy, thirdly, the incontinence of the female slaves [and their] frequent attempts to procure abortion […] with a view of preserving their persons longer […] and thereby inducing sterility, [and] fourthly, the indolence of the pregnant females during the last months of gestation [due to] the excessive indulgence of both sexes in the use of spirituous liquors and tobacco." (Adair 121-22)

What these four answers share is a focus on African women's decadent sexualities. This focus highlights the relationship between sex work and sexed work completed by these African women: on the one hand, critiques of their prostitution are bound up in anxieties about sterility and worries about the future generation of slaves; and on the other critiques of their motherwork are bound up in anxieties about faulty procreation. Because eighteenth-century attitudes about prostitution shame women for a moral and physical fall from virtue, these enslaved women appear to experience twice the fall: prostitution is not their rock-bottom, but their resulting failed motherhood is. In several instances throughout his document, and in the passages highlighted in this case, Adair gestures to the issue of polygamy among the observed subjects—and crucially, he offers up Christianity as a cure for this social disease. Because Adair includes polygamy in several lists referring to diseases, we can then read it as an example of decadence rhetoric in itself and another way by which African women are failing to keep their families together. Adair frames it as the reason for the breakdown of African family structures and notes that this breakdown is absent in English homes because of the binding ties of Christianity. By repeatedly referencing polygamy as a social disease, he suggests that these enslaved groups exist outside of Western Physical Time and should seek salvation in the form of Christian Civilized Time.

I read Adair's allusions to indolence as examples of decadence rhetoric and of the temporality of Decadent Time. We know from the above analysis that Adair's perception of the African body is one of physical and moral decay because of its allegedly inherent diseases, and his four listed reasons above reveal that the African woman in particular is decadent in her own way—a way that is inextricably tied to her ability to reproduce. He is abundantly concerned with there being an excess of sexual autonomy because there are apparently too many women seeking abortions and "inducing sterility" (121-22). It is clear his real issue is that he is having trouble

maintaining control over these women. Adair's disgruntlement even leads him to blame the climate for helping to induce these abortions. The most significant part of this passage is where Adair allows us a glimpse into the likely accurate reason for some women's desire for an abortion: "to preserve their person longer" (121). This reasoning stands in direct opposition to the portrait of decadence and carelessness that Adair paints of these women because it seems to indicate careful forethought about their bodily health and ability to capitalize on their personal appearance. Adair's oversight of these women's admirable foresight regarding the consequences of pregnancy is not unique to this passage. Throughout the document, he continues to make connections between their labour and sexed work to express how insufficient their constitutions are in comparison to those of white Britons. For example, when listing some of the reasons for the great number of African infants' deaths, he names Tetanus but largely blames "the want of the affectionate care of the mother" (198). He explains that Black mothers are so overwhelmed "by drowsiness from excessive labour, or a want of interesting ideas" (198) that they find themselves unable to attend to their motherly responsibilities. In assigning decadent traits like lethargy and indolence here Adair denies that he and other slaveowners are responsible for these mothers' exhaustion and goes on to disparage them for not keeping up with the demands of their sexed work.

Conclusion

The famous Sally Salisbury (born Sarah Prydden), serves as an excellent eighteenth-century example of how the marker of decadence "skips over" white sex-workers who are immune to this affect. There are conflicting accounts of Salisbury's life, some more moralizing than others; for example, in *Authentick Memoirs of the Life, Intrigues, and Adventures of the Celebrated Sally Salisbury (With True Characters of her most Considerable Gallants)* (1723) by

Captain Charles Walker, the record focuses largely on her triumphant and saucy conquests and frames her as a legendary figure in her own time (*Nightwalkers* 1). In contrast, *The Genuine History of Mrs. Sarah Prydden* (1723) offers a more sexually judgemental account of her life but usefully reflects the period's attitudes about prostitution and its apparent similarities with the slave trade. Rosenthal's foundational studies[65] of Salisbury's history not only provide an understanding of her popularity but also establish how her sex work was akin to slavery. For example, in a passage from *The Genuine History*, the narrator explains Salisbury's experience of being 'vetted' by her first bawd by being made to "pluck off all her Cloths, [being] felt every Limb one by one, touch'd […] to see if she was sound […] as a Jockey handles a Horse or Mare in Smithfield; or as the Planters in America, the Features of the Negroes before they purchase 'em" (Walker 22).

This moment serves as a clear example not only of the comparison of sex work to slavery but also of the comparison of the sex worker to an animal. What is more, the narrator's focus on enslavement in America avoids indicting the less prevalent but nevertheless cruel forms of enslavement allowed on English soil in the 1720s. Somehow, despite being likened to a slave, Salisbury dodges decadence and despite her animalization, she is historically praised and hugely popular. Per Fabian's chart (see Fig. 2), despite her chosen occupation, she arguably remains in the now on the civilized portion of the chart. This is entirely due to her fair complexion making her immune to Decadent Time. A footnote in Rosenthal's book chapter, "The Whore's Estate: Sally Salisbury, Prostitution, and Property in Eighteenth-Century London", makes a passing suggestion that "prostitute narratives can […] disturb 'racial' categories" (*Women, Property, and*

[65] Rosenthal's chapter, "The Whore's Estate: Sally Salisbury, Prostitution, and Property in Eighteenth-Century London", in *Women, Property, and the Letters of the Law in Early Modern England*, and her books, *Infamous Commerce*, and *Nightwalkers* all provide substantial historical information on Sally Salisbury's life and experiences.

the Letters of the Law 116). The consequence here is that decadence as an affective state has the ability to target racial categories (like complexion), making certain groups more susceptible to affective infection, and so mentions of decadence or markers of decadence attributed to sex workers, seem to skip over fair-skinned women like Salisbury.

This chapter presented evidence of the decadence rhetoric that places labourers in Decadent Time in Falconbridge's letters, as well as in James Makittrick Adair's *Unanswerable Arguments Against the Abolition of the Slave Trade.* The analysis proves that there is indeed a significant departure from discussions of decadence as we currently know it because of this affect's ties to racialized experiences of time. Extending Fabian's theory of Savage Time to include Decadent Time, revealed that it is possible, and indeed more productive, to map temporal delays earlier in workers' normative timelines. As such, presenting a wider scope through which to examine racialized labourers allowed for a clearer understanding of the racial hierarchies which pushed those people to the margins of their own trade. Because decadence is associated with conceptions of sexual excess and a lack of physical control of one's body, this chapter demonstrated the inextricable link between sex work completed by African women, and the simultaneity of their alleged promiscuity and sterility. The archival evidence collected in this chapter showed that any anxieties expressed about these women's physiologically delayed dispositions were grounded in worries for future generations of enslaved people.

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This project sought to recover evidence of dark-skinned sex-working women in eighteenth-century London and British-colonized countries. Historical accounts of this period are widely Eurocentric and the systematic elision of dark-skinned labourers from histories of work was explicit and purposeful. In a period notorious for its racism, there is still much to be gained

from examining constructions of race in obscure texts such as those selected for this project. The reason for this is quite practical: people do not spend their leisure time reading policy documents, but they may spend their leisure time writing about their own lives and labours and assume no one will read their memoirs. This is why the obscurity of these two genres—policy and memoir—allowed for especially illuminating discoveries about the ways that labour completed by dark-skinned workers was tied to sexuality, class, and measures of time. If no one is really reading works from these genres, then surely that is where truly accurate and 'recoloured' versions of history are to be found. This project echoes the foundational work of Sian Ngai and is organized by affect; my four chapters—on idleness, shamelessness, industriousness, and decadence—are rooted in complex questions of affective experiences that operated differently for dark-skinned sexualized women.

When conceptualizing the theoretical framework of this project, I approached the balance of affect and time theory in these terms: while often the use of two theoretical lenses to create one hybrid methodological approach seemed overly complex, I knew that they were inextricably linked and I just needed to figure it out. After all, how could one experience shame, for example, without experiencing time slow down or speed up. I thought of eighteenth-century texts that showcase progress in the way of women's abilities to write and speak about their own issues as explicitly exclusionary of Black and Brown women. How could we speak of progress when the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade looms over this century? As such, this project explains why and how in the "liberated century" that dark-skinned women were still written out of conversations about their own labour and consequently written out of normative time. My research reveals that eighteenth-century racially exclusionary attitudes are embedded into everyday, seemingly normal sentences that have shaped, and continue to shape, contemporary constructions of race today.

There is value in analyzing pejorative social characteristics and the way they are tied to racialized bodies by mapping the temporal placements and spatial coordinates of marginalized people. This approach was crucial to all my thesis chapters. For example, in Chapter 1 I grappled with the challenge that idleness was widely ascribed to dark-skinned workers as well as white sex workers, but my findings revealed that descriptions of idleness in reference to a dark-skinned sexualized worker almost always came with more pejorative rhetorics in tow. Evidence of how those rhetorics worsen can be seen in my fourth chapter, where I examine decadence per the original definition which refers to a state of moral and social decay, and is a physiological state overwhelmingly ascribed to dark-skinned sex/sexualized workers. I read Johannes Fabian's concept of Savage Time such that merging temporal and spatial mapping provided a clearer picture of the way that decadence is often a temporal and physical setback for those experiencing it. In this way my methodological approach to time theory in Chapters 1 and 4 neatly bookends the dissertation.

My reading of the affective states of idleness and decadence as temporal experiences directly influenced the analysis that comprised the rest of the project. My research for the middle two chapters—on industriousness and shamelessness respectively—pushed me explain how those two affective states that are widely assigned to white sex workers as well, operated differently in reference to racialized people. That assertion really formed the crux of my dissertation: I was aware that these affects could be tied to white workers and my evidence strived to explain how and why they were tied to dark-skinned people when mentioned together, thus giving the impression that these affective experiences are simultaneously applied together and separately for those marginalize workers. The middle two chapters, therefore, elaborate the social aspect of temporally experienced affects. My argument is invested in temporal

displacements, or what it is about social influences that push dark-skinned workers into different temporal trajectories. In discussing industriousness—the topic of Chapter 2 and the only complimentary affect of group—I chose to focus on the interpersonal nature of that affective state: that you are only as hardworking as those who are observing you deem you to be. I relied on Michelle Wright's observation that Black women do not share the same timeline as men, when examining my selected entries from the eighteenth-century directory of sex workers, *Harris' List of Covent Garden Ladies.* That *List* served as a clear example of what happens when the white gaze observes a hardworking Black woman and the ways her labour is rendered insufficient or invisible. Similarly, when discussing shamelessness—the topic of Chapter 3—I had to explain how the labour of a dark-skinned Italian man was exoticized and sexualized not because he was actually a racialized person but because his observer is a white person. Throughout my dissertation, I studiously avoided identifying or "naming" race because of the fluid nature of race in this period.

One of my primary goals through this project was to expand what we know about constructions of race and racism in the understudied, publicly available but "private" genres of eighteenth-century memoir and labour policy that have contemporary implications. From the very start of this project, I prioritized the inclusion of a Coda in place of a concluding chapter in order to demonstrate a way to move outward from my literary-historical analysis to contemporary political conversations about sexualized women and policy. In a way, the Coda is on the peripheries of my dissertation: not only demonstrating how what I learned about constructions of race and racism in the eighteenth-century context has real-world implications in current policy conversations, but also that the methodological approach I employed for my academic project is urgently needed at those policymaking tables. By writing the final words of

my dissertation, I began to see how my own project was really part of contemporary conversations about the relationship between racial subjectivities and social and labour policy, and crucially, how much more there is to learn moving forward.

Coda: Absented Indigenous Women and Girls in 21st-Century Canadian Social Policy

This dissertation uses affect and time theory to recover evidence of dark-skinned sexualized workers in Eurocentric memoir and labour policy documents; those workers endured precarious employment and racialized suffering while their labour was either discounted or unrecognized. By reappropriating the pejorative conceptions of idleness, shamelessness, the lack of industriousness, and decadence for this progressive archival work, this dissertation provides a recoloured understanding of the eighteenth-century sex trade. Mobilizing idleness rhetoric, for example, to search for mentions of allegedly lazy workers revealed markers of race and racialized temporal placements that allowed for forgotten and overlooked labourers' histories to surface. While one might assume that this type of analysis is bound to the realm of literary-historical studies, using this approach to examine historical memoir and policy documents is a method that will continue to be useful beyond the focused scope of this project. Indeed, the anti-racist discourse analysis used in the chapters of this dissertation is still badly needed today. Current Canadian social policy and legislature elide the lived experiences and suffering of Indigenous women and girls in Canada, who continue to disappear at staggering rates.[66] The 2019 Canadian National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) "terms the high rates of murder and disappearance an ongoing genocide", an epidemic that goes largely unreported in both mainstream news and policy discussions. Indigenous scholar Audra Simpson echoes Saidya Hartman's language when she refers to this unjust silence as "violent indifference" (150). Rebecca Macklin's article, "Natural Violence,

[66] According to the *Federal Pathway to Address Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, Girls and 2SLGBTQQIA+ People*, Indigenous women and girls make up only 4 percent of the Canadian population and yet, in 2019 they represented 28 percent of all homicides committed against women. Further, data from the Canadian Femicide Observatory for Justice and Accountability reveals that "in 2020, approximately one in five female victims killed by a male accused was an Indigenous woman or girl" (*Federal Pathway*, "Section 2: Changing the Relationship").

Unnatural Bodies: Negotiating the Boundaries of the Human in MMIWG Narratives", puts forward an interdisciplinary approach to this crisis by taking up chilling statistics, gesturing to works of film and literary fiction about Indigenous women and girls, and examines those materials through Mel Y. Chen's work on animacy hierarchies and Judith Butler's theory of ungrievability.[67] Similar to this dissertation, Macklin's work must draw connections between seemingly disparate fields in order to tell the stories of those forgotten women and girls. As with this project's examination of a broad body of literature about labour, counted and uncounted work, and temporal impediments tied to gender and race—including Poor Law documents (Chapter 1), House of Commons policy papers (Chapter 2), non-fictional memoirs (Chapter 3), and Parliamentary presentations (Chapter 4)—it is necessary to consider diverse social factors pertaining to Indigenous women and girls to understand tragic statistics about murder, disappearances, and gendered violence.

Despite increased attention on uninvestigated MMIWG cases, seemingly race-neutral statistics on labour elide Indigenous women and girls' hardships, and this whitewashing bears important similarities to that in the eighteenth-century policy documents that I examine.[68] It is

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[67] Macklin's article compares representations of dehumanization in the film *Wind River* (2017) and the novel, *The Round House* (2017) and contends that this violent rhetoric "disrupts the boundaries between human and nonhuman [and] locates a discourse that de-animates Indigenous women in the public sphere" (1089-90).

[68] Most discussions of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls are found in news articles whereas peer-reviewed scholarship more often focuses on the historical contexts of these issues. See the following recent MMIWG sources:
Benson, Stuart. "International Oversight Needed into 'Consistently Inadequate' Police Response to MMIWG, Says MP Gazan." *Hill Times*, no. 1986, 2022;
Gazan, Leah. "No Reconciliation Without Justice for MMIWG." *Hill Times*, no. 1965, 2022;
"NATIONAL DAY OF ACTION FOR MMIWG, CALLS FOR MUCH MORE TO BE DONE." *The National – CBC Television*, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2022.;
Ficklin, Erica, et al. "Fighting for Our Sisters: Community Advocacy and Action for Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls." *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 78, no. 1, 2022, pp. 53–78, https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12478.;

insufficient to analyze the traumatic effects of Euro-Canadian settler colonialism on Indigenous communities; instead, to dismantle colonial structures and rhetoric it is necessary to identify the overlap between colonialism and patriarchy to highlight the double-burden experienced by Indigenous women and girls. For example, current statistical evidence indicates that histories of genocide are consistent with current socio-economic outcomes of Indigenous women: today, Indigenous women are less likely to be employed than Indigenous men and, on average, First Nations women earn less money than non-Indigenous women.[69] Indigenous women are more likely to work part-time or have less job security because of work interruptions and disjunctures in their temporally normative timelines to care for family. Unlike in traditional Indigenous communities, the westernized cultural norm of strict separation between work and childcare is often imposed on modern Indigenous communities and results in women having to choose between their careers and home lives (*Power and Place*, 91). Not only does this mean Indigenous women are more likely to take on the role of family care, but also these statistics indicate that attitudes about racialized women's work have persisted and continue to be influenced by disrupted temporal trajectories. Indigenous women, therefore, continue to experience a double form of discrimination as a result of the overlap between racist colonial policies and the enforcement of patriarchal European systems.

In 2015 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission released 94 Calls to Action (CTA), in partial response to the oppressive policies that perpetuate these violences. Among those 94

Rindfleisch, Bryan C. "A Pattern of Violence: Muscogee (Creek Indian) Women in the Eighteenth Century and Today's MMIWG - the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women & Girls." *The Historian (Kingston)*, vol. 82, no. 3, 2020, pp. 346–62, https://doi.org/10.1080/00182370.2020.1824966.

[69] In 2021, the median income of First Nations women was about $4500 less than that of non-Indigenous women. Furthermore, there were differences in median income among the three Indigenous identity groups: First Nations women had a median income of $32,800, while the median income was $35,200 for Inuit women and $36,000 for Metis women. (Statistics Canada, Table 98-10-0281-01, Income Statistics by Indigenous Identity and Residence by Indigenous Geography: Canada, Provinces and Territories).

CTAs, only 1 explicitly refers to the "disproportionate victimization of Indigenous women and girls" (*Calls to Action*, 4). [70] The MMIWG horizontal initiative in the Federal Government is led by the MMIWG Secretariat within Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada (CIRNAC).[71] In my capacity as a Policy Analyst at the MMIWG Secretariat, I write, review, and analyze social policy concerned with missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, and currently, one of the main priorities of the Secretariat is urging other government departments to respond to the 76 Calls to Action. The Secretariat works with other governmental departments as well as provincial and territorial partners to speed up the rate of these changes. The CTA that pertains to MMIWG is number 41:

> We call upon the federal government, in consultation with Aboriginal organizations, to appoint a public inquiry into the causes of, and remedies for, the disproportionate victimization of Aboriginal women and girls. This inquiry's mandate would include:
>
> i. Investigation into missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.
>
> ii. Links to intergenerational legacy of residential schools (*Calls to Action*, 4).

While CTA 41 is one of the few marked "complete" because the Call only demands that an investigation be opened, the Commission of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls published their final report in 2019 that put into motion foundational initiatives that indicate long-term commitments to CTA 41. Indeed, the work is far from complete because the 2019 *Reclaiming Power and Place* report "provides over 231 calls for

[70] While there are 94 Calls to Action in total, the Federal Government is only able to respond to 76 of them as the remaining 18 are outside its jurisdiction. For example, while 76 of the calls are directed at the Federal government ("we call upon the Federal Government to…", the remaining 18 call are addressed to other groups like churches of various religious denominations, the Pope, chief coroners, and provincial vital statistics agencies, to name a few (*Calls to Action,* 5-8).

[71] The term "horizontal" refers to the involvement of multiple partners across the Federal Government.

justice (CFJ) directed at all levels of government, various service-delivery organizations and the Canadian public to help address violence towards Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQQIA+ people" (*Delivering on Truth and Reconciliation*). The Secretariat works to keep other government departments accountable to their commitments to all CFJs and spearheads the writing and submission of related Memorandums to Cabinet (MC).[72]

Writing an MC requires the same type of research and analysis conducted for this dissertation; for example, this dissertation has consisted of analyzing policy documents and searching for both what is unsaid and workers who are unrecognized. The eighteenth-century labour policies that I examined in these chapters share with current policy conversations about MMIWG a systematic elision of suffering. Across both contexts, these documents are written by people concerned with outward messaging, public response, and language that represents the Crown in a flattering light. In the case of the Secretariat's work, and indeed across CIRNAC, new progressive policies are being developed using GBA Plus considerations which place Indigenous women and girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA+ people at the forefront of proposals, and prioritize innovative ideas that help to move away from older oppressive policies.[73] My literary-historical work on this doctoral thesis has prioritized representations of racialized women and

[72] These documents are essentially project proposals that are tabled at Cabinet for approval as part of the work required to make policy changes.

[73] Based on the Women and Gender Equality (WAGE) Department's step-by step guide, the stages of GBA Plus are: identify the issue, identify people and their needs, identify differences and inequalities, develop options, and implementation, monitoring and evaluation (WAGE, *Action Plan on Gender-Based Analysis* 2016-2020). For example, the newly minted 2019 policy titled, "Recognition and Reconciliation of Rights Policy for Treaty Negotiations in British Columbia", often referred to as the RRR Policy, was developed by CIRNAC with a 'land back' approach at its core. This policy acknowledged pre-existing Indigenous sovereignty and created new ways to "support, improve, and enable, and not limit, approaches to the negotiation of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between and among Canada, British Columbia and Participating Indigenous Nations". Arguably, one of the most innovative features of this policy is that is allows for "flexible, innovative and collaborative approaches to the negotiation of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements, including through the co-development of mandates" This means that all decisions pertaining to treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements must be developed alongside Indigenous groups as partners (*RRR*, 2019).

their unrecognized work, and thus aims to fill another gap in what continue to be predominantly Eurocentric archives.

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