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Heathcliff, Race and Adam Low's documentary, *A Regular Black: The Hidden Wuthering Heights* (2010)

Claire O'Callaghan and Michael Stewart

Abstract

This paper presents an interview discussion of race and slavery in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847) in relation to Adam Low's documentary, *A Regular Black: The Hidden Wuthering Heights* (2010) and Michael Stewart's novel, *Ill Will: The Untold Story of Heathcliff* (2018). Our discussion originally took place after a screening of Low's documentary on the first day of the conference, 'Emily Brontë: A Peculiar Music', held in September 2018 in York to mark Emily's bicentenary. The material presented here is based on a recording of our evening event, but we continued our discussion afterwards in person and via email. Where possible we have nuanced our original talk and developed aspects of the discussion.

Keywords

Heathcliff, race, Emily Brontë, slavery, *Ill Will*, *A Regular Black*

At the conference to mark Emily Brontë's bicentenary celebration in 2018, I was fortunate to lead an evening discussion with award-winning writer, Michael Stewart. After a screening of Adam Low's documentary, *A Regular Black: The Hidden Wuthering Heights* (2009), we discussed the representation of race in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847) in relation to Low's production and Michael's own book, *Ill Will: The Untold Story of Heathcliff* (2018). Michael's novel takes as its focus the mystery of both the question of Heathcliff's origins and his missing years following his heated departure from Wuthering Heights.

Low's film provides an alternative origin myth for Heathcliff. During the event, we talked about our responses to the perspectives on Heathcliff's racial origins as laid out in *A Regular Black*, but we also explored the textual ambiguities of Emily's novel, the politics of reading Heathcliff's racial identity, and the connections between these issues and Michael's re-creation of Heathcliff in *Ill Will*.

The material presented here represents our discussion, which we continued afterwards in person and via email. Where possible we have nuanced our original talk with more detailed reference to Emily's book, relevant literary criticism, historical persons and documents, and relevant images.

Claire O'Callaghan (CO): In *A Regular Black*, the contemporary novelist, Caryl Philips, author of *The Lost Child* (2015), another contemporary novel that takes on Heathcliff's legacy, argues that the date of Mr Earnshaw's walk to Liverpool in the summer of 1771 makes it apparent that Earnshaw visits the city to participate in 'some kind of business' and that business must have been the slave trade.¹ Do you agree with Philips' assertion?

Michael Stewart (*MS*): Well, I think *A Regular Black* is a very interesting film, but I think that that point slightly over-states its case.

CO: Do you have any thoughts on how the suggestion that Earnshaw was participating in the slave-trading business impacts his character's dynamic? Is there a darker side to Mr Earnshaw? It seems to me that the idea makes him a far less likeable figure than if we read him solely as a philanthropist for bringing a young orphan home?

MS: Yes, I think there's a great dark side to Mr Earnshaw. He goes to Liverpool in the middle of summer as a gentleman farmer. There's no business for farmer's in Liverpool; it is a port, not a market town. He bypasses Bradford, Keighley, Leeds, all of the places where farmers *would* have had business. He travels on foot. I've done that journey myself to research *Ill Will* and it is a fair old way. He did it in three days there and back. It took me three days to get there, and I'm not a slow walker, I wasn't shirking. So, he goes on foot in the middle of summer, but he's got horses in the stable, as Joseph mentions, and there's a coach from Keighley to Liverpool. That begs the question: why is he covert in his movements?

CO: The purpose of his visit is never fully explained, but I wonder why he walks when he can take a horse too. After all, he tells us it is 'sixty miles each way' and that 'that is a long spell!'.²

MS: I made it more than that, I tracked closer to 70 miles. He comes back with what I think are joke presents, really: a fiddle and a whip. Very symbolic, actually.

CO: Why do you think they are joke presents? They are problematic objects in relation to the history of institutional slavery.

MS: What I mean is that they are actual objects that are also verbs. You can 'fiddle', as in, play around. And you can 'whip', as in, wind somebody up. That's representative of the children's respective characters. Anyway, he also brings back an orphan boy that Mrs Earnshaw takes an instant dislike to. I mean, Caryl Philips says that he sees Mr Earnshaw in the tradition of John Newton, the English Anglican clergyman and later abolitionist, who wrote 'Amazing Grace'.³ I think you have to leap forward to put those things together. There's no evidence for any of that. But certainly, what was interesting for me was the mystery of Mr Earnshaw going to Liverpool. He goes there and back in three days, so he has no time to hang around to see The Beatles' Magical Mystery Tour. He goes for a specific purpose. He has two or three hours when he gets there and then he'll have to walk back again. So, he is there for a specific purpose and he's already pre-arranged something. He's not just mulling about. So yes, absolutely, there is a dark side to Mr Earnshaw. I mean, why does he call him Heathcliff after his dead son? Why does he favour him?⁴ There are so many unexplained things there.

CO: Yes, there are textual absences in the book, in that respect.

MS: I find it a really interesting film, but it's a very provocative one. You know, Emily was six when she was at Cowan Bridge. She is unlikely to have remembered or have heard the story that is recounted in the film about Edmund Sill of Dent bringing back an orphan child. Or the story of a slave escaping from the Sill's farm. And she might have read Howitt's *Rural Life of England*, but we don't know.⁵

CO: Yes, the film raises the Sills in thinking about how Emily came up with the story of an orphan child, and the local historian, Kim Lyons, puts forward the suggestion of the Sill family history. She describes it in quite some detail. They were residents of Dent, residing in a small farmhouse called High Rigg End at the base of Whernside hill, but they moved to the much larger property, Whernside Manor, further down the hill, with the family's profits from the slave trade. They had slaves working *on* their property and, as the documentary shows, Edmund Sill placed an advert for a runaway slave in a newspaper in 1758. Lyons also mentions that the Sills adopted an orphan boy, Richard Sutton, who is brought up with the Sills' children, rather than kept with the other slaves, and that Sutton fell in love with the Edmund Sill's eldest daughter, Ann. This, for her, is the genesis of *Wuthering Heights*, and she claims that the Brontës must have 'heard about it' — 'it' being the story of the Sills' — 'fifty miles away'.⁶

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE. Figure 1 Edmund Sill's advert for a runaway slave that appeared in Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser and Mercantile Register on the 8th September 1758. Image © Liverpool record Office, Liverpool Libraries.

MS: The thing about the Sills story is that it is absolutely a facsimile of the Jack Sharp story of Law Hill from when Emily was there when she was twenty, and she is far more likely to have found that a formative influence.⁷ And prior to that there's the Hugh Brunty (or 'Prunty') story, which is another facsimile.⁸ So, these kind of origin myths for the novel keep appearing, don't they?

CO: And Lyon speculates as to whether Richard Sutton was black, doesn't she? She says he was 'probably a black man'.⁹

MS: Yes. Why? There's no evidence either side. Certainly, I think, for me, anyway, the evidence is that Heathcliff is black; if that's not clear in the book, then it is implicit. But I think we can't ever say anything for certain about Emily's book really. And I think the way that she writes Heathcliff is ambiguous, and she deliberately gives us this missing hole in the narrative. And, of course, it is great for people like me, and Caryl Philips, and Adam Low, and whoever, to fill that gap, isn't it?

CO: Importantly, black characters are not wholly new to Brontë fiction. The character 'Quashia' appears in their juvenilia, he is 'the only indigenous African in Glass Town'.¹⁰ However, on the point of potential historical sources for Heathcliff and the questions surrounding his racial origins, although Heathcliff is named after Mr Earnshaw's deceased son, Emily also draws attention to the fact that his name 'served him' both as a 'Christian and surname' (*WH*, p. 40). It is noted in the documentary that the single moniker was also used for enslaved people.¹¹ What are your thoughts on this?

MS: I think Caryl Philips nails this. And he also rightly points out the use of 'it' to refer to a child and the phrase 'his owner'. I like his phrase 'an act of unexplained intimacy' to refer to Mr Earnshaw's naming Heathcliff.¹²

CO: Yes, on the topic of language, the documentary notes that in chapter four of *Wuthering Heights*, the scene where Mr Earnshaw returns from Liverpool, the word 'it' appears prominently. I counted Emily's usage and it appears seventeen times here with reference to Heathcliff.¹³ Emily's phrasing, as Caryl Philips says, decidedly evokes the language of slavery and property, themes that the novel is concerned with more widely. What are your thoughts on Emily's deliberate use of language in this pivotal scene?

MS: Yes, Emily's such a clever writer in that sense. 'It' and 'its owner' are even more telling in that respect (*WH*, p. 39). But she never explicitly addresses the issue really, so all of these things are food for thought. The ethnicity of Heathcliff is another thing that she refuses to come down on – the idea that he could be a 'gypsy', a 'lascar', this or that, or as an 'American or Spanish castaway' (*WH*, p. 54). You know, the idea of a lascar in itself is ethnically very ambiguous. The term refers to a ship worker, but they could be from North Africa, India, Arabia, China. She doesn't want to close any doors, really, and it is absolutely open.

CO: Nelly complicates things by encouraging Heathcliff to 'frame high notions' of himself when she says, 'Who knows, but your father was Emperor of China, and your mother an Indian queen, each of them able to buy up, with one week's income, Wuthering Heights and Thrushcross Grange together' (*WH*, p. 61). This seems open to me. And yet, the documentary is adamant that the imagery is certain and explicit; the historian Iain McCalman claims that Victorian readers were 'likely to have known' that Emily was referring to a 'West Indian mulatto'.¹⁴ How do you respond to the idea that Emily's use of the term 'it' gives power and possibility for a whole range of identities and/or non-white subjects, rather than only black people as asserted in the documentary?

MS: Certainly, Heathcliff is described as 'dark almost as if it came from the devil' (*WH*, p. 39). He is also described as a 'black villain' (*WH*, p. 119) and as having a 'black countenance' (*WH*, p. 190), and reference is also made to his 'black father' (*WH*, p. 187) and the 'blackness [visible] through his features' (*WH*, p. 194). And some people say well, you know, that's a moral judgement, rather than an ethnic idea. It could mean that he's not black

or that he is black. 'A regular black' is another very telling phrase (*WH*, p. 61). And it is very interesting the way it is used there in the book, isn't it? Nelly says, 'if you were a regular', but she doesn't fully finish the sentence (*WH*, p. 61). It's just left there for the reader to think about.

CO: Yes, the key word there is 'if' (*WH*, p. 61). To me, 'if you *were* a regular black' implies that Heathcliff is not a 'regular black', whereas in Low's documentary, the quotation is being used with a different emphasis and omitting the 'if' to qualify a perceived textual certainty about Heathcliff, asserting that it is clear on the page that he is referred to as 'a regular black', so he *must* have been 'a regular black' (*WH*, p. 61). At the same time, it is also interesting that Heathcliff's voice is described as 'deep' and 'foreign in tone' (*WH*, p. 99).

MS: I think he's bi-racial. I mean, that's just the way that I interpret that. Of course, other people interpret it in different ways. Terry Eagleton is absolutely adamant that he's Irish, for instance. And you can make a compelling case for that too.¹⁵ One of the interesting things about Eagleton's point is that the language used to racially stereotype the Irish pejoratively in the nineteenth century overlaps with derogatory images and words used against black people.¹⁶ And Elsie Michie says, 'direct references to the Irish are difficult to identify [in Victorian literature] because they are screened by references to China, India, Turkey and the West Indies'.¹⁷ In some ways, those reminders leave open the possibility of reading Heathcliff as black, bi-racial, Irish, or, of course, as someone who is physically unclean, as he is when he first appears in the text. And cleanliness is an important context for how others perceive Heathcliff. On his arrival at Wuthering Heights, of course, he is described as 'dirty', and Mr Earnshaw instructs Nelly to 'wash it and give it clean things' (*WH*, p. 39). Later, when Catherine returns from Thrushcross Grange, she and Heathcliff have a heated exchange

about his cleanliness. She tells him ‘If you wash your face, and brush your hair, it will be all right. But you are so dirty’ (*WH*, p. 59). But interestingly he responds quite defiantly, telling her ‘You needn’t have touched me! [...] I shall be as dirty as I please, and I like to be dirty, and I will be dirty’ (*WH*, p. 58). So, there is not only a wider class connotation to her statement about being degraded if she married Heathcliff, but potentially something that is intersectional, rather than a binary either/or class or racial comment.

CO: Irrespective of how you read Heathcliff’s ethnicity, there are different implications for each of those possible readings. I’d like to come back to that in a moment, but to stick with Heathcliff’s racial origins momentarily, when you read *Wuthering Heights* for the first time did you immediately pick up on the idea and ponder the novel’s racial ambiguity?

MS: No, not at all. To be quite frank, when I first read *Wuthering Heights*, I wasn’t thinking along those lines at all. When I first read *Wuthering Heights*, I was sixteen or seventeen and I was at that age when love is a kind of obsessive, almost a pathological feeling, isn’t it? That was the thing that really struck me then. Of course, you come back to it again and again and get different things out of the book. It wasn’t until 1995 and I came across John Sutherland’s essay, ‘Is Heathcliff a Murderer?’, that I started to think more critically about Heathcliff, Mr Earnshaw and Liverpool and the slave trade.¹⁸ And in researching the book and going back to Liverpool, and looking at the public records there, it wasn’t until the 1990s that it was admitted that they were openly trading slaves in Liverpool. I mean, between 1763 and 1776 Liverpool was Britain’s main slave-trading port. Twice as many vessels engaged in the slavery business there than they did in Bristol. By the end of the century Liverpool merchants were responsible for 84% of the British transatlantic slave trade.¹⁹ And this is fascinating in

the film, actually, the whole idea of people being brought from Liverpool to Yorkshire to work on the farms. I mean, for most people, that's news really.

CO: Yes, and to circle back to this point, in the documentary, Caryl Philips says that when Hindley takes over the Heights after Mr Earnshaw's death, Heathcliff's life is analogous to that of a slave: he isn't living in the main house, he is beaten, he is given the worst domestic tasks to do, and he is treated as inferior to others around him.²⁰ Heathcliff, of course, also later says, 'The tyrant grinds down his slaves and they don't turn against him, they crush those beneath them' (*WH*, p. 120). So, with that information about Liverpool in mind and Philips' comments, to what extent do you read the different behaviours and happenings in the house in relation to slavery?

MS: I think one of the most interesting aspects of *A Regular Black* is that it exposes the practice of farmers using slaves in their farms in and around Yorkshire. I don't think that is common knowledge. But Emily may have been aware of this. We can't say for certain, but it's plausible. And knowing this, we can read the characters from that point of view. To come back to the notion of the whip, for example, read in that way, this takes on a further symbolic meaning.

CO: As I suggested earlier, one of the things that's also picked up on in Low's documentary is that whether you see Heathcliff as black or bi-racial, there are implications there for reading the relationship that he has with Catherine. I find it interesting to reflect on what Emily Brontë might have been doing knowingly with those rich textual suggestions. Such relationships would have been incredibly provocative in the nineteenth century and undoubtedly played into the suggestion that the novel was 'coarse', 'savage' and that the text

should be burned.²¹ I'm really interested to hear your take on that. How do you read Heathcliff's racial ambiguity in relation to his feelings for Catherine?

MS: Yeah, I think it is transgressive, and I think Emily was really interested in transgressive relationships. Edward Chitham, in his recent essay 'Law Hill and Emily Brontë: Behind Charlotte's Evasion' (2018), looks at the poems that Emily wrote at Law Hill that Charlotte later changed the dates of to make them appear as if Emily wrote them while she was at Roe Head.²² It's very odd that Charlotte would do that. And she didn't refer to Law Hill as 'Law Hill', she referred to it as the 'Halifax School'. Chitham makes some suppositions about the past and he talks about maybe Emily as having some relationships at Law Hill. And that's really fascinating – that maybe there's an analogue there between transgressive relationships she was exploring in her time and what she was later writing about in *Wuthering Heights*.

CO: In addition, if you have a bi-racial *or* black Heathcliff with a white Catherine, it evokes the similar transgressive dynamics at play in Charlotte's *Jane Eyre* (1847), with a white Mr Rochester and ambiguous descriptions of Bertha, which again is an overlap between the texts and might make one think that this was maybe a conversation point between the sisters.

MS: Yeah, the Reverend Patrick Brontë was an abolitionist. The siblings were home educated, and they would have had these kinds of conversations with Patrick, which ordinarily they wouldn't have had at school. And he lost his wife in 1821 so, in a way, they were playing a surrogate figure for him, and it is entirely plausible that they would have those kinds of conversations together. I believe Wilberforce was his mentor at St John's College in Cambridge and funded him to be there. So yes, absolutely, why wouldn't Patrick have had conversations about abolition with his children if there were, in fact, slaves working on farms

around Haworth? Of course, they'd discuss those things. They were interested in justice on all levels, whether that was for women's rights, the abolitionist movement, workers' rights. Patrick was very vocal about that. So all of those conversations would have been things they were talking about.

CO: At the end of the documentary, Caryl Philips makes the point that during Heathcliff's three years of absence, the *only* possibility for Heathcliff to have made money during his three-year absence would have been by participating in the slave trade. Philips says categorically that that's the only thing that both accounts for Heathcliff's rapid wealth and what made him 'unhinged'.²³ I know that your novel, *Ill Will*, offers some thoughts on that, but, when reading Emily's novel, what are your thoughts on Heathcliff's absence?

MS: Heathcliff is missing for three years. He runs away in the summer of 1780 and returns in the summer of 1783. He could have made his money through any form of criminality – as I imagine he does in my book. There's absolutely nothing in Emily's novel to suggest that Heathcliff is involved in the slave-trading business. Caryl Philips is very certain about the savagery that Heathcliff returns with is through the slave trade. They are abused and then they become abusers. I sort of get that. But it does feel to me to be about many other possibilities other than him entering the slave trade. Of course, that is one way to make money, but there were lots of other ways to make money too. Not all of them legal, but why would he have cared about that anyway? My book is about him going back to Liverpool to get revenge on the people that he blames. His mother is a slave. He discovers this in returning to Liverpool and he wants retribution for his mother's enslavement and imprisonment. You know, it's compelling, isn't it? Liverpool as a centre of the slave trade, but also, as the largest black community in Europe at that time, all of these things really make sense. Seeing it in

that light and the advert, from the *Liverpool Gazetteer*, the local paper, they call it in the film, you know, before I saw this film, I came across that in the archives of the public records of Liverpool Library. I also came across the bill notices of the slave auctions and I just cut and pasted one of the those into the book.²⁴ And when Heathcliff goes to Liverpool, in my book, he sees a list of people who are being sold that morning. I guess again, I hadn't given it that much thought – that it was so open, not just open, but on the streets, in people's faces, slavery wasn't hidden in some sort of auction room somewhere, it was an outside arena.

CO: There are some natural points of connection between Low's documentary and *Ill Will* then?

MS: In lots of ways the film connects with the kind of origin that I give Heathcliff, so I don't want to dismiss it at all. But there are lots of odd things in the documentary though. Earnshaw brings an orphan back from Liverpool and he must have been black, but he may not have been. Cassandra Pybus talks about the area around Whernside, around Dentedale, being more descriptive of and matching the description in *Wuthering Heights*. Well, it doesn't, really. The landscape in that area is markedly different to that of West Yorkshire. It is characterized by limestone rather than millstone grit. The rocks are porous, and water doesn't sit on top, it draws down into caves. It even smells different. The air around Haworth is earthy with the smell of peat bogs. You can see the description of Ponden Kirk in the book. You can see the description around Top Withens in the book too. Emily matches those very well. It is very odd that the documentary wants to state Dent. I'm not sure Emily would have been aware of that locale at six years of age. And, in any case, Cowan Bridge was twenty miles away from Dent, and the landscape is quite different. Once you get to Cowan Bridge it flattens out a lot,

it's not like *Whernside*, which is very dramatic. So, Low's piece seems to be very keen to stress certain things.

CO: Let's talk about your novel. *Ill Will* is very much about Heathcliff's pursuit of the truth, as it were. Without giving any spoilers away, how important was it for you to connect Heathcliff's mysterious origins and disappearance with the fact that by the time that he returns to *Wuthering Heights* he is somewhat gentrified?

MS: When Heathcliff leaves, he is one thing and when he returns, he is another. There has to be an explanation. My book is very interested in that transition. I'm exploring his character psychology and the paradoxes at the heart of his psyche.

INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE. Cover image of Michael Stewart's novel, *Ill Will: The Untold Story of Heathcliff* (2018). Image artwork by Sarah J. Coleman. Image © Harper Collins Publishers Ltd.

CO: If I can also return to our earlier discussion about the plural possibilities of race generated by Emily's text, your decision to situate Heathcliff's origins in the slave-trading business dispels with any racial ambiguity and firmly makes Heathcliff a black immigrant. Why did you do this and was the decision a conscious way for you to address debates about race and immigration in the present?

MS: I was really interested in exploring the world outside *Wuthering Heights*. The social history intrigued me. We are at a point of flux and cultural upheaval. I take him to Manchester, and he observes, is an eyewitness of, the Industrial Revolution. And then I take him to Liverpool where he observes the slave trade first-hand. What *Wuthering Heights* does so successfully is that atmosphere of claustrophobia. But I wanted to point the camera

outwards. Once I decided that he was the son of a slave, the decision of his ethnicity was made for me. But why write a historical novel? For me it is a way of looking at the world now through a different prism. There are analogues between then and now. Slavery is more prevalent now, actually, than it was then. In fact, just recently, a farmer was prosecuted for keeping a homeless man as a slave in Yorkshire. There was a huge fear in Liverpool and in Manchester, then, as there is now, of the other, of the immigrant figure.²⁵ And that's all there, in Emily's book, I'm just reconfiguring some of those ideas.

CO: Finally, like Emily's novel, *Ill Will* does not shy away from the representation of violence, and in the first few pages we learn very early (Reader, spoiler alert!) that Heathcliff and Catherine have had sex. Can you say something about why you made those fictional choices and how you saw them as impacting Heathcliff?

MS: I think Emily was constrained by the literary mores of her day. I'm not. I'm writing a work of fiction now. I don't need to be coy. I don't need to censor my work in the way that Emily may have had to. But that's not to say she did. We don't know. I think it makes it more real, in a way, that they knew each other intimately. The early sections of the book explore his psychic wound. The rejection he feels. And because they have taken their relationship to this stage, that wound is deeper, he feels it more keenly. I don't write fairy tales, I write books about real people. And I guess that's just another way of acknowledging their realness.

CO: Thank you for talking with me, Michael. You've not only provided some really interesting perspectives on *Wuthering Heights* and Low's documentary, but *Ill Will* reminds us of the transhistorical nature of Emily's novel and its continued relevance today.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

¹ Caryl Philips in *A Regular Black: The Hidden Wuthering Heights*, dir. by Adam Low (Lone Star Productions, 2010), 03.15 minutes.

² Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* [1847] (London: Penguin English Library, 2012), p. 39. Hereafter in-text as *WH*.

³ Philips, *A Regular Black*, 05.14 minutes.

⁴ The suggestion that Heathcliff was treated favourably by Mr Earnshaw is established, as Nelly says, 'from the beginning' on the night that Earnshaw brings him home (*WH*, p. 40). Brontë writes that Mr Earnshaw 'took to Heathcliff strangely [,] petting him up far above Cathy', and that this 'bred bad feeling in the house' (*WH*, p. 40).

⁵ William Howitt's *The Rural Life of England* was published in 1838. In it, Howitt presents a view of the English countryside and the changes brought about by industrialisation. In his discussion of Brontë's novel, Christopher Heywood has drawn on Howitt's text to contextualise Heathcliff's identity as a black slave, arguing that the author reveals an astute awareness of the ways in which the slave business was in existence in north-west Yorkshire. For more on this see Christopher Heywood, 'Yorkshire slavery in *Wuthering Heights*', *The Review of English Studies* (1987), 38: 150, 184-198.

⁶ Kim Lyons, *A Regular Black*, 18.02 minutes. Lyon's history of the Sill family and her views on its parallels to *Wuthering Heights* can be found in her book, *The Dentdale Brontë Trail* (Lyon Equipment, 1985).

⁷ Jack Sharp was a nephew of John Walker of Waterclough Hall. The property had belonged to the Walker family since the seventeenth century. Although he had two sons of his own, Walker favoured Sharp, and trained him to take over the family's thriving woolen business. Sharp eventually took on the business, and Waterclough Hall too, but by the time that Walker died in 1771, Sharp was in possession of the estate but had no legal claim on it. Following a lengthy familial and legal dispute, Walker's legal heir, his son, also named John Walker, ousted Sharp from the property. Before vacating the premises, however, Sharp sought vengeance on Walker junior by removing nearly all of the furniture and chattels, leaving merely the house. Sharp went on to build his own home, Law Hill, as near as legally possible to Walker's domain, but he also made a woolen apprentice of Sam Stead, the son of one of Mr Walker's sisters. Sharp worked Stead to a state of degradation with drink and gambling.

⁸ Emily's grandfather, Hugh Brunty (possibly 'Prunty'), was a cattle-dealer who made frequent business trips to Liverpool. On one occasion, a child was found hidden in the ship's hold. It is said he was young, dark and dirty, images not dissimilar to Heathcliff. There was no doctor on the ship and only Mrs Brunty would take care of him. The decision was made to adopt the child. It is suggested that the boy was Welsh, and he was called 'Welsh' by the Brunty family. Welsh was attached to Mr Brunty and the affection was reciprocated; he, rather than Mr Brunty's sons, accompanied the elder to fairs and markets, and became very able in business management. When Mr Brunty died and the family were unable to support themselves, Welsh proposed that he would take control of the business if the younger Brunty daughter, Mary, would marry him. The suggestion was rejected, and Welsh left the property, but claimed on his departure that Mary *would* marry him, and he would remove the family

from the home. Although he didn't continue in the cattle market trade, Welsh became a sub-agent, collecting rental payments, and he treated the tenants, including the Bruntys, rudely. Mary ultimately became involved with Welsh and, after their home burned down, the pair adopted their nephew, Hugh Brunty. Hugh was treated harshly by Welsh, but eventually escaped his 'uncle's' home aged fifteen.

⁹ Kim Lyons, *A Regular Black*, 22.24 minutes.

¹⁰ The Brontës, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria, and Gondal: Selected Writings*, ed. by Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. xxvii

¹¹ See Cassandra Pybus, *A Regular Black*, 06.22 minutes. Corinne Fowler also makes this point in her article 'Was Emily Brontë's Heathcliff black?' See *The Conversation*, 25 October 2017 <<http://theconversation.com/was-emily-bront-s-heathcliff-black-85341>> (accessed 25 April 2019)

¹² Philips, *A Regular Black*, 05.46 minutes.

¹³ Such references appear close together across pp. 39-40 in chapter four.

¹⁴ Iain McCalman, *A Regular Black*, 07.50 minutes.

¹⁵ See Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 1995).

¹⁶ Several images from nineteenth-century periodicals used the same dehumanizing stereotypes for both Irish and black people, portraying them as ape-like to suggest racial difference and inferiority. With respect to the Irish, see, for example, John Leech's 'The British Lion and The Irish Monkey' (1848), or 'Mr G-O'Rilla, I presume?' (1861). For more detail on this topic see L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, (Smithsonian Books: Washington, 1997), and Sheridan Gilley, 'English Attitudes to the Irish in England, 1780-1900', in Colin Holmes (ed.) *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (London, 1978), pp. 81-110.

¹⁷ Elsie Michie, 'From Simianized Irish to Oriental Despots: Heathcliff, Rochester and Racial Difference', *Novel: A Forum on Fiction* 25:2 (1992), 125-140, p. 125. Of course, there were Irish subjects in Liverpool too. For more on the connection between the description of Heathcliff's arrival at Wuthering Heights and Victorian representations of Irish children in Britain as a result of the potato famine, see Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

¹⁸ John Sutherland, *Is Heathcliff a Murderer? Great Puzzles in Nineteenth-century Fiction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

¹⁹ These statistics appear in Maja-Lisa Von Sneidern's 'Wuthering Heights and the Liverpool Slave Trade', *ELH* 62.1 (1995), pp. 171-196.

²⁰ Philips, *A Regular Black*, 07.00 minutes.

²¹ Anon, 'Unsigned review of *Wuthering Heights*', *Examiner*, January 1848, in Miriam Allott (ed.), *The Brontës: The Critical Heritage*, pp. 220–22 (p. 220); Anonymous, 'From an unsigned review', *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*, 15 January 1848, in Allott (ed.), *The Brontës: The Critical Heritage*, p. 227; Anonymous, *Paterson's Magazine*, March 1848, reproduced on *The Reader's Guide to Emily Brontë's "Wuthering Heights"* website (see <https://www.wuthering-heights.co.uk/wh/index>)

²² Edward Chitham, 'Law Hill and Emily Brontë: Behind Charlotte's Evasions', *Brontë Studies*, 43:3 (2018), pp. 176-187.

²³ Philips, *A Regular Black*, 13:56 minutes.

²⁴ See Michael Stewart, *Ill Will: The Untold Story of Heathcliff* (HarperCollins, 2018), p. 182.

²⁵ For more on the conception of *Wuthering Heights* and 'the other', see Steven Vine's 'The Wuther of the Other in *Wuthering Heights*', *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 49:3 (1994), pp. 339-359.

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