

# FIGURES *of* EMPIRE

## SLAVERY AND PORTRAITURE

### IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ATLANTIC BRITAIN



Cover: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Charles Stanhope, third Earl of Harrington, and a Servant* (detail), 1782, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

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*Figures of Empire* has been organized by the Yale Center for British Art and curated by Esther Chadwick and Meredith Gamer, PhD candidates in the History of Art at Yale University, and Cyra Levenson, Associate Curator of Education at the Center.

*Figures of Empire: Slavery and Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Britain* will be on view from October 2 to December 14, 2014.

Between 1698 and 1807, roughly eleven thousand British ships transported at least three million enslaved men, women, and children from Africa to European colonies in North America and the Caribbean. While slavery itself was not new, the scale and profitability of the Atlantic slave trade, which the British came to dominate in the North Atlantic, was unprecedented. Goods from Europe and Asia were exchanged for enslaved Africans, who were forcibly carried to colonial plantations. There, in brutal conditions, they labored without pay to produce crops – mainly sugar and tobacco – which were shipped back to Britain for sale.

Wealth derived from the labor of enslaved Africans helped to transform Britain, and especially London, Bristol, and Liverpool, into dazzling cultural centers. Slavery was at once far away from and intimately near to those who benefited from its profits and products. While the vast majority of enslaved Africans were taken to the colonies, some were brought to Britain, where they lived and worked as domestic slaves or servants in affluent households. Some, including Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, Phillis Wheatley, Ignatius Sancho, Olaudah Equiano, Ottobah Cugoana, and Mary Prince, became important advocates for the abolition of slavery.

The art of portraiture was one key way in which Britons negotiated their relationship to slavery. Many of the white “sitters” (portrait subjects) in this exhibition chose to be portrayed alongside black servants, who often were explicitly identified as their chattel slaves. In these portraits, qualities that eighteenth-century Britons valued – freedom, whiteness, and refinement – were imagined in opposition to the bondage and blackness of those who arrived in Britain from Africa, the Caribbean, or North America as slaves. By the end of the century, portraiture would also become a means for some people of African descent who crossed the Atlantic aboard slave ships to forge new identities as both African and British.

*Figures of Empire* traces these developments through works from the collections of the Yale Center for British Art and neighboring Yale institutions. The objects on display – many of them well-known individually – have never before been brought together through the common link of slavery. Drawing on new archival research, as well as recent scholarship on the history of slavery in Britain, this exhibition challenges us to consider all of the figures depicted here as subjects with histories and as “figures of empire” – as people whose lives shaped and were shaped by Britain’s imperial world. To do this, we must view certain works “against the grain,” in ways that were not intended by their eighteenth-century makers and patrons. This exhibition asks us to think again about what exactly a portrait is and how the answer to this question might change over time.



Unknown artist, *An Unknown Man, perhaps Charles Goring of Wiston, out Shooting with his Servant*, ca. 1765, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

In a wooded landscape, a servant hands his master a woodcock, the latest catch of a shooting expedition that has just been retrieved by the spaniel. With his other hand he holds a tricorne hat and pats the young gentleman on the back. The relaxed intimacy and apparent affection between the two figures suggest that this servant was a favored footman and that whoever commissioned the painting specifically requested him to be portrayed—making this a double portrait. Unlike other black servants

depicted in this exhibition, this young man is wearing neither a slave collar nor exoticizing costume. Underlying the informality of the exchange between the two men, however, is a well-defined hierarchy in which the servant acts as an intermediary between the hunting dog and his master.

Until recently, this painting was thought to represent Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond, whose staff wore a livery of yellow and scarlet. Research for this exhibition has revealed that the blue and red livery worn by the servant here is much closer to that of the neighboring West Sussex estate of Wiston, inherited by Charles Goring (1744–1829) from his father in 1768.

## WHAT IS A PORTRAIT?

There is no single definition of a portrait. In his *Dictionary of the English Language* of 1755, Samuel Johnson defined a portrait simply as “a picture drawn from after the life.” Today, we tend to think of a portrait as an image of an individual. We have started from the premise that the portraits in this exhibition began with a social interaction. Each is the product of an encounter or series of encounters between an artist, a patron, and one or more sitters.

In eighteenth-century Britain, portraits were a principal means of self-fashioning. Portrait sitters conveyed information about themselves in a variety of ways—through the clothes they wore, the settings in which they were depicted, the things with which they surrounded themselves, and the people with whom they were pictured. One common way that sitters defined themselves was in relation to other figures who were explicitly understood as subordinate to them. Often, though by no means always, these figures were servants or slaves of African birth or descent, whose inclusion was intended to assert the power, prosperity, beauty, and benevolence of the portrait’s “primary” sitter or sitters. In some cases, artists modeled these figures on existing representations in earlier artworks, including portraits, allegorical depictions, or generic scenes of everyday life. In other cases, they were modeled after specific individuals, though information about their lives may since have been lost. In most cases, a combination of both methods seems to have been at work.

In the eighteenth century, these figures were rarely recognized as sitters in their own right. The tendency to marginalize them has largely persisted to this day, as evidenced most clearly by the fact that portrait titles rarely acknowledge their presence. In fact, however, they are integral to the meaning of the images in which they feature, and the works exhibited here have been retitled to reflect this. The lives, experiences, and histories that they invite us to imagine are as much a part of eighteenth-century British life as those of the white figures with whom they are pictured.

## A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

There was considerable variation in how eighteenth-century Britons understood the legal status of slavery in England. For that reason, the distinction between free and enslaved servants was often deliberately left unclear, both in everyday life and in the realm of representation. For example, contemporaries frequently used the term “servant” when referring to enslaved Africans. Written archives generally are unhelpful when trying to be precise about these distinctions. In preparation for this exhibition, research was undertaken in a number of family archives in an effort to identify the name and status of the now unidentified black servants depicted in some of the works on display. In no case did this prove possible.

The one clear signifier of slavery in British art of this period is the slave collar. These iron or silver neck braces often were inscribed with their owners’ name or coat of arms, and carried padlocks. They frequently were advertised for sale along with dog collars. Not all slaves were made to wear collars. However, we can be quite certain that anyone who is shown wearing one in the portraits displayed here was intended to be understood as property, and thus, as a slave. In this exhibition, we therefore have described any figure shown wearing a metal collar as enslaved.



Bartholomew Dandridge, *A Young Girl with an Enslaved Servant and a Dog*, ca. 1725, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

In a private garden, a young girl stands in a lace-trimmed dress, accompanied by a dog and an enslaved servant, who hands her a basket overflowing with peaches and freshly picked grapes. The servant and dog both wear metal collars that mark them as property. The dog's collar is inscribed with what may be a name, possibly referring to the girl's father; as a young woman, she could not own property.

In this portrait, Dandridge signals the girl's virtues in several ways. The servant and dog gaze up at her, while she looks out at the viewer, establishing her central role and position of power in this scene. Dandridge's painting gives especially clear expression to the way that many eighteenth-century portraits constructed their white sitters' identities in relation to perceived “others,” including non-Europeans and animals. (A commonly held view in this period was that white Europeans occupied the highest point in a hierarchy of being in which black Africans ranked lower, and animals lower still.)

## SLAVERY, EMPIRE, AND PORTRAITURE

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Britain's participation in the Atlantic slave trade had intensified dramatically. Roughly a quarter of a million enslaved Africans had been forcibly moved to the British Caribbean by 1700, mainly to work on sugar plantations. Fueled by an increasing European demand for sugar and other crops, the slave trade continued to grow. Profits from the slave trade contributed to British colonial expansion in other parts of the world, notably India, where the East India Company had been trading since 1600. In turn, Indian goods such as textiles and spices were used as trade items with West Africa. Elihu Yale (1649–1721), the founding benefactor of Yale University, profited immensely from Britain's expanding commercial empire. Born in Boston, Yale traveled to India at the age of twenty-three to serve as a clerk in the East India Company's settlement of Fort Saint George, Madras (now Chennai). He achieved the rank of governor, and by the time he retired to London in 1699, he had amassed an enormous fortune of nearly £200,000, much of it made through private trade in diamonds. The epitaph on Yale's tombstone in Wrexham churchyard, Wales, reads: "Born in America, in Europe bred, / In Afric' travell'd and in Asia wed, / Where long he liv'd and thriv'd; at London dead."

These words neatly capture the globally connected world in which Yale and his contemporaries lived. Although far away from the plantations and colonial outposts in the Caribbean, North America, and India, artists and patrons in Britain responded to the country's increasing involvement in slavery and the slave trade. From the 1660s onward, domestic servants of African (and, in some cases, Indian) birth or descent appear with greater frequency in portraits of wealthy white sitters—including two of Yale himself. In some cases, they wear metal collars around their necks, which identify them as enslaved. These works draw upon long-established European visual traditions in which black servants were depicted as subordinate to white masters. They also reflect demographic change, as the slave trade led to the transportation of growing numbers of enslaved Africans to the British mainland, as well as to North America and the Caribbean.

A number of the works in the exhibition were commissioned or owned by Elihu Yale, including a sundial (*fig. 1*) believed to have stood on Elihu Yale's estate, Plas Grono, near Wrexham, in Wales. The bronze dial, which bears Yale's coat of arms, is supported by the figure



Unknown artist, *Elihu Yale; William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire; Lord James Cavendish; Mr. Tunstal; and an Enslaved Servant*, ca. 1708, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Gift of Andrew Cavendish, eleventh Duke of Devonshire

Nothing is known about the boy on the right, who has just finished pouring Madeira (a sweet, fortified wine) into the glasses on the table. His fine red and grey livery (or uniform) identifies him as a servant, and the silver collar and padlock around his neck indicate that he is enslaved.

At the table sit Elihu Yale (center), William Cavendish, second Duke of Devonshire (right), and his younger brother James Cavendish (left). Near them is a man, who is identified on the back of the canvas as a lawyer named Mr. Tunstal. The portrait, which seems to be set on the Duke's estate, Chatsworth, is believed to commemorate the signing of a marriage contract between Yale's daughter, Anne, and James Cavendish. This union between a nobleman and a merchant's daughter was brokered by the immense fortune that Yale amassed during his time in India with the East India Company—a fortune symbolized here by his diamond ring. Yale's prominent position in the composition suggests that he commissioned the painting.

While archival sources reveal a great deal about Yale, the second Duke, and his brother, they tell us little about the young boy who serves them. We can fairly assume that he came to England on a slave ship. His proximity to the Duke suggests that he is a member of the Devonshire household. This cannot be confirmed, however, because servants' registers from this period do not survive in the Chatsworth archive and records of Devonshire livery do not describe its appearance. Alternatively, it is possible that the boy is present here as Yale's servant. There is no direct evidence that Yale personally owned slaves, though another portrait, now in the collection of the Yale University Art Gallery, shows him with an enslaved servant. From 1687 to 1699, Yale served as governor of the East India Company's settlement at Fort St. George, Madras (now Chennai). During that time, he oversaw the company's slave trading activities, records of which survive in archives in Chennai.

In the absence of documentary evidence about him, we need to find other ways to imagine this boy's history—a history which, much like Elihu Yale's own, was shaped by Britain's imperial expansion and the transatlantic slave trade. Although he has not traditionally been understood as one of the painting's sitters, this exhibition asks us to consider him as such.



John Obrisset, *Snuffbox*, ca. 1710–20, silver and tortoiseshell, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Ezra Stiles

The profile on the lid of this snuffbox is that of Elihu Yale. The materials from which the box was made and the substance it would have contained were imported into Britain through Atlantic trade routes: tortoiseshell from Africa and the Caribbean; and silver and snuff (a finely powdered tobacco) from the Americas.

of a kneeling man cast in lead. In the eighteenth century, this figure was commonly described as a “Blackamoor,” an “African,” or a “slave.” As these terms suggest, this depiction builds upon – and fuses together – several iconographic traditions: first, Renaissance and Baroque images of kneeling, subjugated slaves; and second, allegorical depictions of Africa as one of the “Four Continents.” In 1922, this sundial was given to Yale University, and it stood in the courtyard of Jonathan Edwards College from 1933 until the 1970s. The graffiti visible on its surface probably dates from this period.

FIG. 1: Attributed to John Nost I, *Garden statue with Sundial*, 1708, bronze, cast lead, and cement, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Ganson G. Depew, Yale BA 1919; Clarence W. Bowen, Yale BA 1873; Henry King Smith, Yale BA 1898; E. Byrne Hackett, Yale Hon. MA 1914; and R. Eden Dickson, Esq.



## PORTRAITS AND CONVERSATIONS

Rising commercial prosperity in eighteenth-century Britain led to a steadily increasing demand for domestic servants. Many of the enslaved who came to Britain from Africa, North America, or the Caribbean occupied similar roles to white servants, especially as pages, footmen, and butlers. However, a crucial inequality underpinned their experience. Whereas free servants received wages, enslaved servants were classed as property and therefore were unpaid. Increasingly, members of the black population in Britain challenged their masters' claims of ownership by demanding wages or running away (fig. 2).

A number of the paintings in this section belong to a type of portrait known as the “conversation piece,” which emerged in Britain around 1710 and was developed particularly by William Hogarth (1697–1764). Conversation pieces are group portraits of families, designed to display social relationships and virtuous refinement. They were especially favored by members of the mercantile elite, who were keen to assert the compatibility of commercial wealth and “politeness.” Black servants often appear in these paintings serving colonial consumables like tea, which was grown in China, introduced by the British to India, and sweetened with sugar from the Caribbean. Such figures also feature in genre paintings (imagined scenes of everyday life), and—in a more critical light—in graphic satires, or caricatures, which deliberately subvert the image of domestic virtue that the conversation piece sought to convey.

In Hogarth's *Portrait of a Family* (fig. 3), a small figure with brown hands and dressed in green and red livery holds out a silver tray, on which rests an overturned teacup. Several features of the painting—including its unusual dimensions, compressed composition, and the condition of the canvas—suggest that it was cut down sometime after Hogarth completed it. In its original state, the figure at left was almost certainly wholly visible and probably represented a young African servant. This work is characteristic of Hogarth's innovative approach to the conversation piece. Rather than arrange his sitters in formal, static poses, Hogarth frequently showed them engaged in an action or event—in this case, the disruption caused by the kitten's toppling of the yarn basket from the tapestry table. The scene is set within an opulent sitting room filled with expensive goods and furnishings, many of them imported to England through its expanding Asian and Atlantic trade networks or made from imported raw materials, including a silver chandelier and

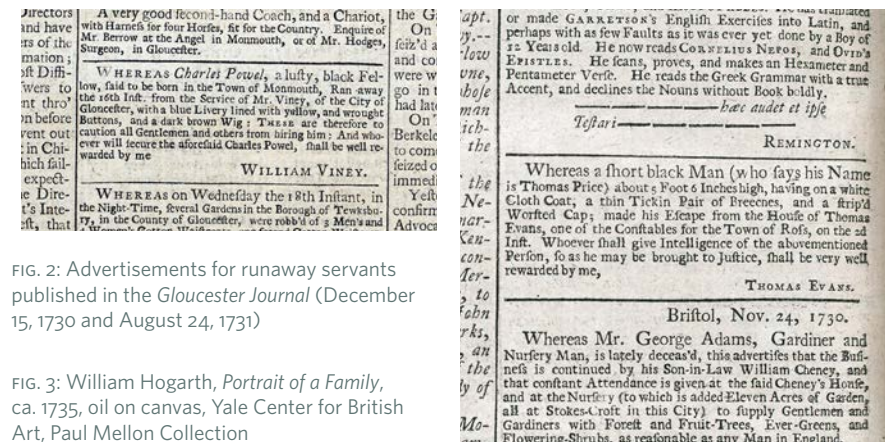


FIG. 2: Advertisements for runaway servants published in the *Gloucester Journal* (December 15, 1730 and August 24, 1731)

FIG. 3: William Hogarth, *Portrait of a Family*, ca. 1735, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection



Chinese vase and lacquer ware cabinet. The now partially cropped servant provides yet another sign of the family's worldly wealth.

Other works in this section are single- or double-figure portraits. Two of these depict African individuals, Ayuba Suleiman Diallo (1701–1773) and William Ansah Sessarakoo (ca. 1730–1770; fig. 4), who became well known in Britain, and whose portraits became a central part of their public identity there. In other cases, while we do not know who the sitters were, the presence of careful, individualized observation makes it is especially likely that their names and identities would have been known to contemporary viewers.



Arthur Devis, *John Orde, His Wife Anne, His Eldest Son William, and a Servant*, ca. 1754-56, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

From the open door at the right of this painting a servant enters carrying a letter. It is addressed to John Orde (ca. 1704-ca. 1786), a landowner based in Morpeth, in northern England. Orde, seated at the far left, has been reading the *Daily Advertiser*. Meanwhile, Anne, his second wife, receives the gift of a pheasant from her stepson William. On the wall behind them are two

further portraits of Orde family members. The mantelpiece displays fashionable blue-and-white porcelain vases exported from China. No records of the servant depicted here have survived, but the fact that Devis charged his patrons for each figure painted suggests that this young man's inclusion was important to the Ordes. While his green and gold livery is similar to that worn by white servants in this period, his luxurious silk turban deliberately marks him out. This scene of polite family sociability contrasts with the caricature made by Thomas Orde, son of John and Anne, shown on the next page.



James Bretherton, after Thomas Orde, later Lord Bolton, *High Life below Stairs*, 1774, hand-colored etching, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University

James Townley's farce *High Life Below Stairs* was first performed on the London stage in 1759. Famous on both sides of the Atlantic, it provoked outrage among servants for caricaturing their manners. The play's protagonist is a white Jamaican landowner, Lovel. Believing that his servants are cheating him, he infiltrates their quarters. Here we see the cook between a white coachman and servant named Kingston, both drunk on their

master's wine. Although Kingston occupies a lowly position in the servant hierarchy, he too refuses to answer Lovel's knock at the door. Kingston is referred to by the cook and coachman as "Sambo" and "Blackee," both names frequently applied to black servants (the latter epithet became especially common after the appearance of Townley's play). Kingston was played by white actors in blackface. Thomas Orde sketched this caricature while taking part in a private production of the play. It was common for amateur artists to circulate etchings like this among friends. The similarity of the servants' livery to that in Devis's painting suggests that, if Orde colored the print, he may have been thinking of his own household.



Attributed to Bernard Lens III (1682–1740).  
*Portrait of a Young Man*, undated, watercolor and gouache on vellum, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

This young man, whose identity is unknown, is depicted bust-length, wearing clothes that suggest his role as a page—a personal attendant to a person of high rank. Miniatures like this were usually made as precious keepsakes and were

either worn as jewelry or stored in cabinets with other images of loved ones. This painting may belong to the genre of “servant portraits” in which masters commissioned individual portraits of valued members of their staff. If so, the miniature format implies an especially intimate relationship, whose private nature contrasts with the page’s official function: to broadcast his master’s spectacular wealth in public.



Studio of Francis Harwood, *Bust of a Man*, ca. 1758, Black limestone on a yellow marble socle., Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

This remarkable bust may be a portrait: details such as the small scar on the man’s forehead and the subtle depressions in the skin around his temples, nose, and eyes suggest close study of an individual sitter. However, the sculptor Francis Harwood, who was based in Italy, specialized in making copies of classical statues for sale to English Grand Tourists, and so it is also possible that this is a copy or adaptation of an Antique model. A third possibility is that the bust was made as an allegorical image of “Africa.” A passage from Joseph Baretti’s *Guide through the Royal Academy* (London, 1781) suggests that, by 1781, Harwood’s *Bust of a Man*—or something very similar—had entered the cast and sculpture collection of the Royal Academy. Though we cannot be sure that Baretti is referring to the sculpture on display

here, his description suggests that works like it may have been difficult to categorize even in the eighteenth century:

AFRICUS. For want of a better, I give this name to a *Head of a Blackamoor*, which is in the Niche of this Room. A Friend of mine would have it called *Boccar*, or *Boccor*, an African King named in one of Juvenal’s Satires. But, as it has no ensigns of Royalty about it, I imagine it to be a Portrait of some Slave, if not a fanciful performance intended to characterise the general Look of the African faces. Whatever it be, I think it a fine thing of the kind.

In the nineteenth century, Harwood’s bust was mistakenly believed to be a portrait of an athlete named Psyche in the service of the first Duke of Northumberland. Another version of this sculpture, which bears Harwood’s signature and the date 1758, is now at the J. Paul Getty Museum.



FIG. 4: Unknown engraver, Ayuba Suleiman Diallo and William Ansah Sessarakoo, in *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (London, 1750), etching and engraving, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

## AMERICA AND BRITISH ABOLITIONISM

Britain emerged from the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) as a leading imperial power, with new territories in North America, the Caribbean, and India. Overseas expansion sowed doubts at home concerning the empire's character and consequences. The crisis of British authority in North America, which culminated in the American Revolution, forced Britain to reexamine its self-image as a “land of liberty” and to consider anew the sources of its wealth. As a result, the transatlantic slave trade became a focus of moral as well as economic debate even as it continued to expand.

In a pivotal lawsuit of 1772 known as the Somerset Case, James Somerset (b. ca. 1741) successfully challenged the right of his master as a slaveholder to force him to return to America. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, who presided over the case, was forced to conclude that England's laws did not sanction slavery. Although slavery did not cease to exist in Britain, Mansfield's decision was recognized as weakening the rights of slaveholders there and in the British colonies.

After the American War of Independence (1775–1783), the black population in Britain increased substantially with the arrival of formerly enslaved soldiers who had fought on the British side. Black and white antislavery activists began to make their voices heard. In the early 1780s, Olaudah Equiano, a former slave and leading member of the abolitionist group the “Sons of Africa,” was instrumental in exposing the horrors of transatlantic slavery, including the *Zong* massacre, in which an English captain threw 132 Africans overboard in order to claim insurance. In June 1783, a group of Quakers in London submitted the first petition to Parliament calling for the abolition of the British slave trade. The Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded four years later, in 1787.

Imagery was central to the abolitionist cause. The Society commissioned two pieces of official propaganda, both displayed in this exhibition: an emblematic seal, in which the single figure of a kneeling African man stands for all in bondage; and *A Description of a Slave Ship* (fig. 5), which emphasized the brutal conditions of the Middle Passage and the sheer numbers of those forced to endure it. As the abolitionist movement grew in popularity, painters, engravers, and publishers also took up the subject of slavery and its injustices in a range of portraits, genre scenes, and book illustrations.

The Society's seal, represented here on a signet ring (fig. 6), shows an African man with shackles around his ankles and wrists, kneeling in a pose of supplication. Hands clasped, head upraised, he seems to ask the inscribed question, "Am I not a man and a brother[?]" The design is engraved in reverse so that when pressed into hot wax (to seal a document), the resulting impression would have been legible. It was also printed on plates, enamel boxes, tea caddies, and tokens, and quickly became an icon of the abolitionist cause.

The Society's seal is among the most famous of all political images and also one of the most controversial. It appropriates and perpetuates the image of the subservient "kneeling slave," suggesting that freedom is a privilege to be bestowed upon a passive rather than an active subject. In fact, resistance and action on the part of the enslaved themselves was crucial to the abolition of slavery in Britain.

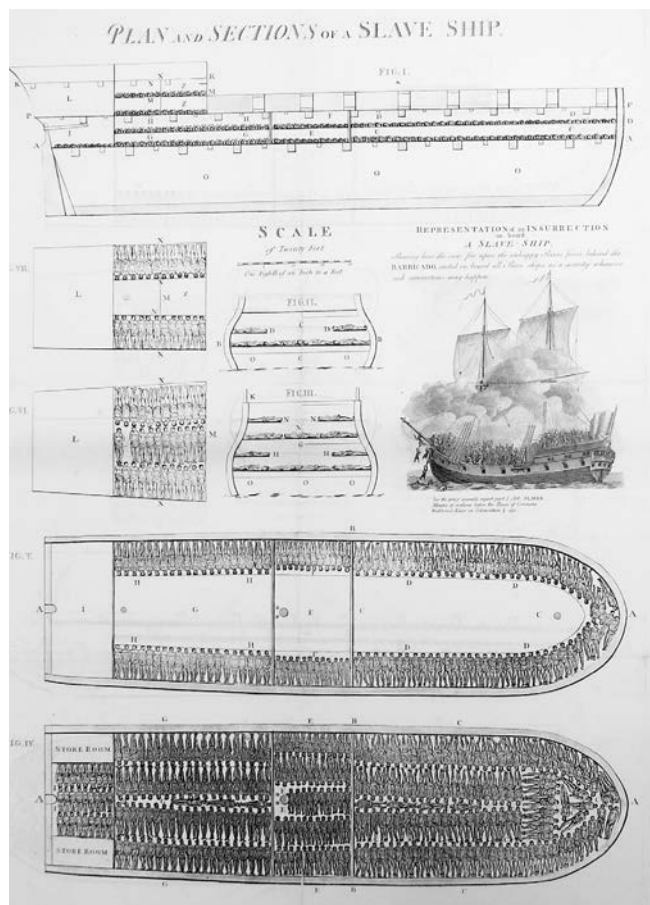


FIG. 5: *Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship*, from Carl Bernhard Wadström's *An Essay on Colonization Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794–95), line engraving with aquatint, engraved inscriptions, and letterpress on wove paper, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Conceived as a work of abolitionist propaganda, the *Description of a Slave Ship* drew attention to the brutal methods used by British traders to transport enslaved men, women, and children from Africa to the West Indies. Plan and section views of a typical British slave ship show it “stowed” with hundreds of enslaved people. The adjoining text details the cramped quarters and horrific conditions in the holds of the slave ships and implores its viewer to help “put an end to a practice, which may . . . be styled one of the *greatest evils at this day existing upon the earth*.” The *Description* was widely circulated and copied in Britain. The version displayed in the exhibition appeared in Carl Bernhard Wadström’s abolitionist *Essay on Colonization* (1794–95) and includes a vignette, “Representation of an Insurrection on board a Slave-Ship,” as yet a further argument against the trade.

W. Pyott’s print *The Benevolent Effects of Abolishing Slavery, or the Planter instructing his Negro* (fig. 7) is based on a painting by Carl Frederik von Breda, which was exhibited in 1789 at the Royal Academy in London with the title *Portrait of a Swedish Gentleman instructing a Negro Prince*. Von Breda’s portrait depicts the Swedish abolitionist Carl Bernhard Wadström with Peter Panah, son of the king of Cape Mesurado (in present-day Liberia). Panah was kidnapped in Africa and taken to the West Indies and then to London, where Wadström purchased his freedom. Pyott’s print converts von Breda’s portrait into an abolitionist genre scene. Wadström is here transformed into a white planter, and Panah into a freed African laborer—who is nonetheless still defined in the print’s title as the planter’s possession.



FIG. 6: Maker unknown, *Signet ring for wax seal*, after 1787, gold with red stone, possibly jasper, Yale Center for British Art, Gift of Susan M. Yecies, Yale BA 1971



FIG. 7: W. Pyott, after Carl Frederik von Breda, *The Benevolent Effects of Abolishing Slavery, or the Planter instructing his Negro*, 1792, mezzotint on wove paper, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund

Like Wadström, who also was responsible for the adapted *Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship*, Von Breda was an abolitionist. In the nine years that he lived and worked in England (from 1787 to 1796; fig. 8), Von Breda painted and exhibited the portraits of a number of other prominent abolitionists, including James Ramsay, Thomas Clarkson, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. Unlike the Society's seal or the *Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship*, John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a five years' expedition* (1796) was not intended as an abolitionist text. Stedman's original manuscript was heavily revised by a pro-slavery editor. Yet it became important to the antislavery cause, due in large part to the shocking images of cruelty it contained. The *Narrative* was based on Stedman's experiences in the Dutch colony of Suriname, where he was stationed in the 1770s to fight against rainforest communities of runaway and insurgent slaves known as Maroons. It was published in London two decades later. The frontispiece shown here contains a portrait of Stedman himself, standing over the body of a dying Maroon. The verse below the image invites readers to share with Stedman in the spectacle of the fallen man's suffering.



FIG. 8: Francesco Bartolozzi, after John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative, of a five years' expedition, against the revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America, from the year 1772, to 1777*, vol. 1 (London: Printed for J. Johnson & J. Edwards, 1796), frontispiece, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

The verse below the image reads: "From different Parents, different Climes we came, At different Periods; Fate still rules the same. Unhappy Youth while bleeding on the ground; 'Twas Yours to fall—but Mine to feel the wound."

## REYNOLDS'S MODELS

Sir Joshua Reynolds was the most prominent portrait painter in eighteenth-century Britain. His life and work powerfully illuminate the links between portraiture, slavery, and abolitionism in this period. As founding President of the Royal Academy from 1768 to 1792, Reynolds sought to elevate the status of the arts in Britain and especially the genre of portraiture. He often employed poses and other visual quotations borrowed from the work of earlier Continental artists. Among the traditions Reynolds adopted was that of depicting white Europeans in the company of black attendants.

One such example is his portrait of Lady Elizabeth Keppel and a servant (fig. 9). Reynolds's "sitter-book" records eight appointments with Lady Keppel. The woman who accompanies her had two independent morning sittings in December 1761 (both after Keppel had been painted). We do not know her name, in place of which Reynolds entered a single



FIG. 9: Edward Fisher, after Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Lady Elizabeth Keppel and a Servant*, ca. 1762, mezzotint, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund



FIG. 10: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Charles Stanhope, third Earl of Harrington, and a Servant*, 1782, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection



FIG. 11: Jean Joseph Balechou, after Hyacinthe Rigaud, *August III, King of Poland*, eighteenth century, engraving, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gift of William Gray from the collection of Francis Calley Gray, G131, © President and Fellows of Harvard College

word—“negro”—in his notebook. This terse archival trace confirms that she, like Lady Keppel, was painted from life. She is shown handing Keppel a garland of flowers with which to deck a statue of Hymen, the god of marriage. This detail alludes to Keppel’s recent role as a bridesmaid at the wedding of George III and Queen Charlotte.

The portrait was paid for by Lady Keppel’s brother, the third Earl of Albemarle (1724–1772). In 1762, shortly after the painting was finished, he would command British forces at the Battle of Havana, which resulted in Spain’s surrender of Cuba. This key victory of the Seven Years’ War reshaped the balance of power in the Atlantic.

Reynolds’s portrait of Charles Stanhope, third Earl of Harrington (fig. 10), emulates an earlier portrait by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743) of the King of Poland (fig. 11), in which a young page holds the King’s helmet. Charles Stanhope (1753–1829) served with British

forces in North America and the Caribbean during the American War of Independence. In 1780, his regiment arrived in Jamaica to defend Britain’s largest slave colony against French invasion. Stanhope was accompanied by his wife, Jane, who was the stepdaughter of a prominent Caribbean plantation owner. Soon after their return to England in 1782, Stanhope sat for Reynolds. There is no record of the young man who is shown here holding Stanhope’s helmet. When the painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1783 as *Portrait of a Nobleman*, critics likewise remained silent about his presence. Whether Stanhope specifically commissioned his inclusion, however, is unknown. He may represent a member of Stanhope’s regiment or household. Alternatively, he may have been modeled on somebody known to Reynolds.

For many years Reynolds employed a black footman. Very little is known about him, although he is believed to have come to England originally as the enslaved servant of a Caribbean governor. According to Reynolds’s student, fellow artist, and biographer James Northcote, he features in “several pictures” by Reynolds, including the portrait of John Manners, Marquess of Granby. He may also be the subject of a striking oil sketch that Reynolds painted around 1770 (fig. 12), though it has also been suggested that the sitter might be Francis Barber, servant to Reynolds’s friend, the author Samuel Johnson.

Toward the end of his career, Reynolds became involved in the nascent abolitionist movement. At a dinner hosted by prominent antislavery activists, he encouraged the politician and philanthropist William Wilberforce to raise the question of abolition in Parliament. Reynolds subscribed to the second edition of Ottobah Cugoana’s influential *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery* (1791; 1st ed. 1787). Reynolds’s evolving views about slavery may have informed his portraiture. In 1787, he exhibited a controversial portrait of the Prince of Wales being dressed in his Garter robes by a black footman (fig. 13). “His highness seems to take it very patiently,” remarked one reviewer, “and the black is pushing him about as he pleases.” The man depicted in this role had two separate appointments to sit for Reynolds in April 1787, both after the Prince had been painted. At the same time that this picture was being displayed at the Royal Academy’s summer exhibition, the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded in a nearby printing and book shop.



FIG. 12: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1770, oil on canvas, The Menil Collection, Houston



FIG. 13: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *George IV when Prince of Wales with a negro page*, 1787, oil on canvas, His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle/Bridgeman Images

## STAGING IDENTITIES

In November 1768, Ignatius Sancho (ca. 1729–1780) sat for his portrait with Thomas Gainsborough, one of Britain’s leading artists (fig. 14). Unlike Ayuba Suleiman Diallo and William Ansah Sessarakoo, who arrived in London as young men and soon returned to Africa, Sancho was born aboard a slave ship but spent most of his life in London. He arrived in England as a young boy, where he was enslaved for many years before becoming a free servant to the aristocratic Montagu family. When this portrait was painted, Sancho was working as a valet, or personal attendant, to the Duke of Montagu (1712–1790). During the same month, the Duke commissioned Gainsborough to paint a portrait of his wife, Mary, Duchess of Montagu, and it is possible that this portrait was also painted at the Duke’s or Duchess’s request. Alternatively, Gainsborough may have given it as a gift to Sancho. A note formerly inscribed on the back stated that it “was done in one hour and forty minutes,” which suggests that it may have been the product of an impromptu sitting. As befits a servant of his high status, Sancho is not dressed in livery, but in a fashionable gold brocade waistcoat, white ruffled shirt, and black necktie. His gentlemanly “hand-in-waistcoat” pose further marks him as a man of refinement and taste. Gainsborough’s portrait of Sancho is the earliest single-figure portrait made in Britain of an Anglo-African sitter whose name is still known.

The portrait, which remained in Sancho’s possession throughout his life, gave expression to his Atlantic identity as both African and British. In 1773, he brought it with him when he retired from the Duke’s service and opened a grocery shop in London with his wife, Anne. (Among other products, the Sanchos sold North American- and Caribbean-grown tobacco and sugar.) There, the highly educated and gregarious Sancho developed a wide circle of friends, which included a number of artists—the actor David Garrick (1717–1779), the sculptor Joseph Nollekens (1737–1823), and the painter John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–1779). In 1776, he came to prominence as an early and eloquent advocate against slavery through a widely publicized letter exchange with the author Laurence Sterne (whose portrait bust, by Nollekens, Sancho would later own). In addition to his posthumously published *Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, an African* (1782; fig. 15), Sancho authored four collections of music and several newspaper letters under the pseudonym “Africanus.”



FIG. 14:  
Thomas Gainsborough,  
*Ignatius Sancho*, 1768,  
oil on canvas, © National  
Gallery of Canada,  
Ottawa, Purchased 1907



FIG. 15: Ignatius Sancho, *Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, an African*, vol. 1 (London: Printed for J. Nichols; and C. Dilly, 1783), frontispiece, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

This section of the exhibition focuses on a number of portraits—painted, printed, caricatured, and concealed—produced in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. All of these individuals came to prominence at a time when British culture was undergoing dramatic transformation, due in part to the enormous influx of wealth generated by imperial expansion. By the end of the century, London had become a city of consumption and spectacle, filled with coffeehouses, newspaper and print shops, theaters, masquerade balls, pleasure gardens, and public exhibitions and shows. All of the images here represent figures who self-consciously fashioned themselves for this cultural stage.

These works also were created at the height of the British transatlantic slave trade. Many of them depict figures whose voices, texts, and images became central to the antislavery movement. This movement would achieve significant gains: in 1807, the abolition of the British slave trade and, in 1834, the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire. However, it did not bring an end to the economic, social, and cultural hierarchies that underpin so many of the works in this exhibition. In fact, these persisted and took new form in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as Western attitudes began to harden increasingly along racial lines.



John Raphael Smith, *Woman Holding a Mask*, ca. 1795–1800, pastel on paper, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

This young woman is dressed for a masquerade. Over her white dress is a black “domino,” or voluminous hooded cape. She holds a mask that bears the stereotyped features of a black man or woman with conspicuously pink lips and cheeks. When the mask was pressed to her face, and the hood was up, the woman’s identity would be completely disguised.

As fashionable fancy-dress entertainments, masquerades reached the height of their popularity in Britain in the 1770s and 1780s. Guests wore costumes that transgressed boundaries of gender, culture, class, and—as in this instance—

race. Sometimes white men and women attended as “blackamoors” or Africans. In 1770, one man was seen “in the character of Mungo.”

John Raphael Smith established a reputation for his female genre subjects, including depictions of actresses and prostitutes, which he exhibited at the Royal Academy and published as prints. By the 1790s he was also advertising “portraits in crayons” (i.e., pastels). Whether this pastel was intended as a portrait or a more generic image, it staged feminine whiteness through the juxtaposition of its perceived opposite. It did so at a moment when new biological theories of human difference were laying foundations for the scientific racism that would underpin colonialism and social inequality in the nineteenth century and beyond.



Unknown engraver, after Richard Cosway, *Richard and Maria Cosway, and Ottobah Cugoano*, 1784, sepia-colored soft-ground etching, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

In 1784, the fashionable artists Richard Cosway (1742–1821) and his wife Maria (born Maria Hadfield, 1760–1838) moved to a splendid London residence at Schomberg House. In this “fancy dress” self-portrait, Richard—styling himself in the manner of the Flemish court painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640)—shows himself and Maria seated in the garden of their new home. The servant who stands beside them presenting a platter of grapes is Ottobah Cugoano (b. 1757?), who worked for the Cosways from at least 1784 until about

1791. An early biographer of Cosway recounted that Cugoano was attired “in crimson silk with elaborate lace and gold buttons, and, later on, in crimson Genoa velvet, in imitation of the footmen at the Vatican.”

Born in present-day Ghana, Cugoano was sold into slavery in 1770. Two years later, he arrived in England, where he soon gained his freedom and was baptized John Stuart. In 1787 he published *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*, the most radical abolitionist text of its time. It called for an immediate end to slavery throughout the British Empire. Among subscribers to the second edition were the artists Sir Joshua Reynolds, James Northcote, Joseph Nollekens, and Cosway himself.

## PORTRAITS IN BOOKS, BOOKS AS PORTRAITS

By the end of the 1780s, a distinctive tradition of Anglo-African writing had emerged. All of the authors whose texts are displayed in this section of the exhibition had been enslaved. With the possible exception of Olaudah Equiano, who may have been born in South Carolina, all had been taken from their homes in Africa to the Caribbean or North America and eventually visited or settled in Britain. Their writings were published and circulated throughout the Atlantic world. They range from collections of poetry and letters, antislavery petitions, travel accounts, and spiritual autobiographies—or hybrid combinations of these genres. Some, though not all, were published with the collaboration of white editors or amanuenses (scribes). And some—notably the works of Wheatley, Sancho, and Equiano—contain frontispiece portraits.

The frontispiece portrait had become an established feature of book production in seventeenth-century Europe. It raised a book’s value and asserted the credibility and authority of the text. In the examples shown here, the authors’ African identities are fused with signs of simultaneous belonging to an Anglophone world, such as costume, writing implements, and the Bible.

The theme of portraiture connects all these books, even in the absence of a portrait image. Each brings the life and experience of a single person into view and establishes his or her presence as the work’s generative force.

following spread:

Phillis Wheatley, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (London: Printed for A. Bell, Bookseller, Aldgate; and sold by Messrs. Cox and Berry, King-Street, Boston, MDCCCLXIII [1773]), frontispiece and title page, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



Published according to Act of Parliament, Sept.<sup>r</sup> 1, 1773 by Arch.<sup>d</sup> Bell  
Bookfeller N<sup>o</sup> 8 near the Saracens Head Aldgate.

P O E M S  
O N 12  
VARIOUS SUBJECTS,  
RELIGIOUS AND MORAL.  
B Y  
PHILLIS WHEATLEY,  
NEGRO SERVANT TO Mr. JOHN WHEATLEY,  
of BOSTON, in NEW ENGLAND.  
L O N D O N:  
Printed for A. BELL, Bookseller, Aldgate; and sold by  
Messrs. COX and BERRY, King-Street, BOSTON.  
M DCC LXXIII.

## TIMELINE

- 1555** John Lok, a London merchant, brings a small group of enslaved Ghanaians to England.
- 1562–63** Sir John Hawkins's first English Atlantic slave voyage, selling slaves in Haiti to the Spanish.
- 1625–55** British settle Caribbean islands: Barbados in 1625; Jamaica in 1655.
- 1701** The case of *Smith v. Brown and Cooper* rules that “as soon as a negro comes into England, he becomes free,” but this ruling has little practical impact, and slavery continues in England nonetheless.
- ca. 1708** Unknown artist, *Elihu Yale, the second Duke of Devonshire, Lord James Cavendish, Mr. Tunstal, and an Enslaved Servant*
- 1713** Treaty of Utrecht. As part of the settlement, Britain is granted an absolute monopoly over the supply of slaves to Spanish colonies for a period of thirty years. This agreement marks a major turning point in the expansion of the British slave trade.
- 1729** Attorney General Sir Philip Yorke and Solicitor-General Charles Talbot rule that a slave does not become free upon arrival in Britain, baptism does not confer freedom, and a master may legally compel him or her to return to the plantations.
- ca. 1735** William Hogarth, *Portrait of a Family*
- 1737** Bristol supersedes London as Britain's most active slave-trading port. By 1747, Bristol is superseded, in turn, by Liverpool.
- 1756–1763** Seven Years' War.
- 1758** Studio of Francis Harwood, *Bust of a Man*
- 1760** Tacky's Revolt, Jamaica. This major slave uprising—one of the two largest in Jamaican history—is harshly repressed by British authorities. Four hundred rebels are killed in fighting and another one hundred are executed.
- 1768** Thomas Gainsborough, *Portrait of Ignatius Sancho*
- 1771–72** Somerset Case. James Somerset successfully challenges the legal right of his master to force him to return to America. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield concludes that England's laws do not positively sanction slavery. While the decision does not outlaw slavery in Britain, it severely undermines its legitimacy there.
- 1775** In the lead-up to the American Revolution, Dunmore's Proclamation offers freedom to any slave of any “rebel” (i.e., Patriot or pro-American) master who joins British forces.
- 1776–83** American Revolutionary War.
- 1782** Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Charles Stanhope, third Earl of Harrington, and a Servant* (exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1783)
- 1781–83** The captain of the slave ship *Zong* throws 132 African slaves overboard. The ship's owner claims insurance for lost “cargo.” The ensuing legal case galvanizes broad public support for abolition in Britain.
- 1786** Thomas Clarkson, *Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African*.
- 1787** Ottobah Cugoana's *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evils of Slavery*, the most radical challenge to slavery by an African-British author.
- 1787** Founding of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in London.
- 1789** Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* is the first full account of the slave trade and slavery published by a formerly enslaved African. (Nine editions between 1789 and 1794.)
- 1791–1804** Haitian Revolution. Slave revolt in St. Domingue, Haiti, culminates in the abolition of slavery there and founding of the Republic of Haiti.
- ca. 1795–1800** John Raphael Smith, *Woman Holding a Mask*
- 1807** The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act. British Parliament passes a bill to abolish the transatlantic slave trade.
- 1833** The Emancipation Act. British Parliament passes a bill ending slavery throughout Britain. The act stipulates an “apprenticeship period” for the enslaved prior to full freedom. British slave holders are promised £20 million in compensation.

## FURTHER READING

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## OBJECTS IN THE EXHIBITION

Unknown artist  
*Elihu Yale; William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire; Lord James Cavendish; Mr. Tunstal; and an Enslaved Servant*, ca. 1708, oil on canvas  
Yale Center for British Art, Gift of Andrew Cavendish, eleventh Duke of Devonshire, 81970.1

Unknown artist  
*Elihu Yale; William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire; Lord James Cavendish; Mr. Tunstal; and an Enslaved Servant*, ca. 1708, oil on copper (reverse of a disused copper plate, originally engraved by Richard Palmer with a map of ancient Egypt), Yale University Art Gallery, Transfer from the Yale University Library, Gift of Mrs. Arthur W. Butler, 1960.51

John Obrisset, active 1705–1728  
*Snuffbox*, ca. 1710–20, silver and tortoiseshell  
Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Ezra Stiles, 1788.1

Attributed to John Nost I, d. 1729  
*Garden statue with Sundial*  
1708, bronze, cast lead, and cement  
Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Ganson G. Depew, Yale BA 1919; Clarence W. Bowen, Yale BA 1873; Henry King Smith, Yale BA 1898; E. Byrne Hackett, Yale Hon. MA 1914; and R. Eden Dickson, Esq., 1922.8

Herman Moll, 1654?–1732  
*Map of Europe dedicated to Queen Anne*  
1708, hand-colored engraving, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, 30 1708

Herman Moll, 1654?–1732  
*A New Map of the Whole World with the Trade Winds*, published in *Atlas Minor, or, A new and curious set of sixty two maps*  
London, [1763?], originally published 1719  
Yale Center for British Art, Rare Books and Manuscripts, 61015 M64 1763

Herman Moll, 1654?–1732  
*Atlas Geographus: or, A Complete System of Geography*, frontispiece to volume 1  
London, 1711, etching and engraving  
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, 1973 391

Bartholomew Dandridge, 1691–1754 (or after)  
*A Young Girl with an Enslaved Servant and a Dog*  
ca. 1725, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, 81981.25.205

William Faithorne, 1616–1691, after Sir Peter Lely, 1618–1680  
*Beauty's Tribute (Elizabeth Cooper)*, undated mezzotint, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, 81974.12.440

Attributed to Bernard Lens III, 1682–1740  
*Portrait of a Young Man*, undated, watercolor and gouache on vellum, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, 82001.2.1392

Unknown author  
*The Royal African: or, Memoirs of the Young Prince of Annamaboe*, London: Printed for W. Reeve, G. Woodfall, and J. Barnes, 1749, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, College Pamphlets 1031 2

Thomas Bluett, ca. 1690–1749  
*Some memoirs of the life of Job, the son of Solomon, the high priest of Boonda in Africa; who was a slave about two years in Maryland; and afterwards being brought to England, was set free, and sent to his native land in the year 1734*  
London, 1734, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, College Pamphlets 553

Unknown engraver  
Ayuba Suleiman Diallo and William Ansah Sessarakoo, *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (London, 1750), etching and engraving  
Yale Center for British Art, Rare Books and Manuscripts, S 11

Studio of Francis Harwood, 1726/7–1783  
*Bust of a Man*, ca. 1758, Black limestone on a yellow marble socle, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B2006.14.11

William Hogarth, 1697–1764  
*Portrait of a Family*, ca. 1735, oil on canvas  
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.58

William Hogarth, 1697–1764  
*A Harlot's Progress*, Plate 2, 1732, etching and engraving, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Kinnaird 4K(b) Box 200

Unknown engraver, after William Hogarth, 1697–1764, *Taste in High Life*, 1746, etching  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Kinnaird 74K(b) Box 115

Hubert-François Gravelot, 1699–1773  
*A Game of Quadrille*, ca. 1740, oil on canvas  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund, in honor of Brian Allen, Director of Studies, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (1993–2012), B2011.34

Gawen Hamilton, ca. 1697–1737  
*Group portrait, probably of the Raikes family*  
 ca. 1730–32, oil on canvas  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1976.7.32

Arthur Devis, 1712–1787  
*John Orde, His Wife Anne, His Eldest Son William, and a Servant*, ca. 1754–56, oil on canvas  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B2001.2.65

James Bretherton, active 1770–1781, after Thomas Orde, later Lord Bolton, 1746–1807  
*High Life below Stairs*, 1774, hand-colored etching  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, Bunbury 774.02.23.01.1+

Unknown artist  
*An Unknown Man, perhaps Charles Goring of Wiston, out Shooting with his Servant*  
 ca. 1765, oil on canvas  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B2001.2.218

William Lutwyche, manufacturer, active 1790s  
 Roger Dixon, diesinker  
*Antislavery halfpenny token*  
 ca. 1796, copper  
 Made in Birmingham, England  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Transfer from the Yale University Library, Numismatic Collection, 2001, 2001.87.3462

Maker unknown  
*Signet ring for wax seal*  
 After 1787, Gold with red stone, possibly jasper  
 Yale Center for British Art, Gift of Susan M. Yecies, Yale BA 1971, Cabinet z1 5a

*Autograph letter signed from Thomas Clarkson to Reverend Thomas Middleditch concerning the possibility of meeting with James Phillippo, missionary in Jamaica*, 1842?, bearing black wax seal of the London Committee of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund, HT1163.C53 L47 1842

Thomas Clarkson, 1760–1846  
*The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*  
 London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, In w890 zz808

W. Pyott, active late eighteenth century, after Carl Frederik von Breda, 1759–1818  
*The Benevolent Effects of Abolishing Slavery, or the Planter instructing his Negro*, 1792, mezzotint on wove paper, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund, B2010.14

*Plan and Sections of a Slave Ship*  
 From Carl Bernhard Wadström's *An Essay on Colonization Particularly Applied to the Western Coast of Africa* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1794–95), line engraving with aquatint, engraved inscriptions, and letterpress on wove paper  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, BrSides Double Folio 2012 39

John Raphael Smith, 1752–1812, after William Redmore Bigg, 1755–1828  
*A Lady and her Children Relieving a Cottager*  
 1784, mezzotint and engraving on wove paper  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.9648

John Raphael Smith, 1752–1812, after George Morland, 1763–1804  
*Slave Trade*, 1791, mezzotint, printed in color  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1978.43.283

John Raphael Smith, 1752–1812, after George Morland, 1763–1804  
*African Hospitality*, 1791, mezzotint, printed in color, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1978.43.284

John Gabriel Stedman, 1744–1797  
*Narrative, of a five years' expedition, against the revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the wild coast of South America, from the year 1772, to 1777*  
 London: Printed for J. Johnson & J. Edwards, 1796, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, F2410 s81 1796

Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723–1792  
*Charles Stanhope, third Earl of Harrington, and a Servant*, 1782, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.69

James Watson, 1740–1790, after Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723–1792  
*Rt. Hon. John Manners, Marquess of Granby, and a Servant*, ca. 1767, mezzotint, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund, B1970.3.138

Edward Fisher, 1722–1785, after Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723–1792  
*Lady Elizabeth Keppel and a Servant*  
 1762, mezzotint, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.9748

Peter Martini, 1738–1797, after Johann Heinrich Ramberg, 1763–1840  
*The Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1787  
 1787, engraving and etching, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1978.43.1011

Johann Georg Nordheim, 1804–1853, after John Trumbull, 1756–1853  
*The Battle of Bunker's Hill (Die Schlacht von Bunker-Hill)*, undated, hand-colored engraving  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Robert L. McNeil Jr., BS 1936s, 2005.13.1

John Trumbull, 1756–1843  
*Lieutenant Thomas Grosvenor and his Servant, possibly Asaba Grosvenor*, ca. 1797, oil on wood  
 Yale University Art Gallery, Mabel Brady Garvan Collection, 1932.302

Thomas Gainsborough, 1727–1788  
*Ignatius Sancho*, 1768, oil on canvas  
 National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, (no. 58)

Ignatius Sancho, 1729–1780  
*Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, an African. Volume 1.*, London: Printed for J. Nichols and C. Dilly, 1783, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, IMSA55 782B

Phillis Wheatley, ca. 1753–1784  
*Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*  
 London: Printed for A. Bell, Bookseller, Aldgate; and sold by Messrs. Cox and Berry, King-Street, Boston, 1773, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Vanderbilt 175

Phillis Wheatley, ca. 1753–1784  
*Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley, a Native African and a Slave*, Boston: Published by Isaac Knapp, No. 25 Cornhill, [third edition] 1838  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, JWJ Zan w56834c

Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, d. 1775  
*A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, an African Prince*, Bath printed: Newport, Rhode Island: Reprinted and sold by S. Southwick, in Queen-Street, 1774, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, JWJ Zan G898 770NB

Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, d. 1775  
*The Black Prince; Being a Narrative of the Most Remarkable Occurrences and Strange Vicissitudes, Exhibited in the Life and Experience of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, an African Prince, as was Related by Himself*. Salem [NY]: Printed and sold by Dodd & Rumsey, 1809, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, JWJ Zan G898 770NM

Oludah Equiano, ca. 1745–1797  
*The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Oludah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, Dublin: Printed for, and sold by, the Author, 1791  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, NTF38 789ED  
 James Weldon Johnson's copy. Gift of Grace Nail Johnson

Olaudah Equiano, ca. 1745–1797  
*The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*  
 New York: Printed and Sold by W. Durell, at his Book-Store and Printing-Office, No. 19, Q Street. 1791, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, JWW Zan EQ51 789JF

Olaudah Equiano, ca. 1745–1797  
*The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, Dublin: Printed for, and sold by, the Author, 1791  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, JWW Zan EQ51 789JE

Mary Prince, b. ca. 1788  
*The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave*  
 London: F. Westly and A. H. Davis; Waugh & Innes, Edinburgh, 1831 [third edition]  
 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Slavery Pamphlets 32

Unknown artist; published by Matthew Darly (active 1741–1778)  
*The Bath Macaroni* (V.3, 12)  
 June 1, 1772, etching, hand-colored  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 772.6.11.1

Unknown artist; published by Matthew Darly (active 1741–1778)  
*A Mungo Macaroni* (V.4, 14)  
 September 10, 1772, etching  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 772.9.10.1

Unknown artist; published by Matthew Darly (active 1741–1778)  
*A Macaroni Waiter* (V.5, 5)  
 December 11, 1772, etching, hand-colored  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 772.12.11.1

Unknown artist; published by Matthew Darly (active 1741–1778)  
*The Oriental Macaroni* (V.5, 21)  
 January 16, 1773, etching, hand-colored  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 773.1.16.1

Unknown artist; published by Matthew Darly (active 1741–1778)  
*The Timorous Sporting Macaroni* (V.5, 22)  
 January 16, 1773, etching, hand-colored  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 773.1.16.2

Unknown artist; published by Matthew Darly (active 1741–1778)  
*My Lord—or the Chapeau Macaroni*  
 March 1773, etching  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 773.03.00.01

William Austin, 1721–1820  
*The D[uchess] of [Queensberry] playing at Foils with her favorite Lap Dog Mungo after Expending near £10000 to make him a-----\**  
 1773, etching, hand-colored on laid paper  
 Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, 773.05.01.09+

Unknown engraver, after Richard Cosway, 1742–1821  
*Richard and Maria Cosway, and Ottobah Cugoano*  
 1784, sepia-colored soft-ground etching  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.12240

John Raphael Smith, 1752–1812  
*Woman Holding a Mask*  
 ca. 1795–1800, pastel on medium, moderately textured, wove paper  
 Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1977.14.6285

The curators sincerely thank the following people, whose support has made this exhibition possible.

At the Yale Center for British Art: Amy Meyers, Director; Eleanor Hughes, Associate Director of Exhibitions and Publications; A. Robin Hoffman, Postdoctoral Research Associate; Shaunee Cole, Publications Assistant; Christopher Lotis, Editor; Diane Bowman, Senior Administrative Assistant; Richard F. Johnson, Exhibition Installation Manager, and his team: Kevin Derken, Greg Shea, Rachel Hellerich, Abraham Omonte, and Dylan Vitale; Sarah Welcome, Senior Curatorial Assistant, Rare Books and Manuscripts; Lyn Bell Rose, Senior Graphic Designer, and the design team: Michela Povoleri and Tracie Cheng; Beth Miller, Associate Director for Advancement and External Affairs; Betsy Kim, Head of Communications and Marketing; and Julienne Richardson, Senior Associate of Communications and Marketing.

Tim Barringer, Paul Mellon Professor History of Art, Yale University; Hazel Carby, Charles C. and Dorathea S. Dilley Professor of African American Studies, Yale University; Gillian Forrester, Curator of Prints and Drawings, YCBA; and James Walvin, Professor of History, University of York, read and commented on the exhibition text. Erica James, Assistant Professor, African American Studies and History of Art, Yale University, helped us develop the concept and structure of the exhibition.

Many others shared with us their time, knowledge, and intellectual guidance. We thank Cassandra Albinson, Elizabeth Alexander, Anna Arabindan-Kesson, Mark Aronson, Clare Backhouse, Mia Bagneris, Celeste-Marie Bernier, David Bindman, David Blight, Jill Campbell, Vincent Carretta, Jessica David, Fath Ruffins Davis, Ken Gonzales Day, Nick Draper, Madge Dresser, Martina Droth, Kristan Egan, Elizabeth Einberg, Kate Ezra, Theresa Fairbanks-Harris, Elisabeth Fairman, Lisa Ford, Douglas Fordham, Pam Franks, Linda Friedlaender, Lauren Jacks Gamble, Paul Gilroy, Cora Gilroy-Ware, Mark Hallett, Matthew Hargraves, Imogen Hart, Jonathan Holloway, Sylvia Houghteling, Titus Kaphar, Dian Kriz, JaeNa Kwon, Hew Locke, Juliet Losq, Kobena Mercer, Wayne Modest, Catherine Molineux, Temi Odumosu, Nell Painter, Tanya Pohrt, Rick Powell, Jules Prown, Richard Rabinowitz, Romita Ray, Joe Roach, Cindy Roman, Daniel Roza, Stuart Semmel, Holly Shaffer, David Spatz, Vron Ware, Roxanne Wheeler, and Chi-Ming Yang.

For generously granting access to family papers we are grateful to Michael and Samantha Orde and His Honour Judge D. A. Orde; and to Stoker Cavendish, twelfth Duke of Devonshire, and Amanda Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire. Many archivists, historians, and curators around the UK and in Jamaica facilitated research into individual paintings: Paul Beattie, Derbyshire Record Office; Charles Noble, Eleanor Brooke-Peat and Aiden Haley, Chatsworth; Michael Geary, Northumberland Archives; Kasiya Halstead, Jamaica Government Archives; Genevieve Jones-Edman, National Library of Jamaica; Frances Lansley, West Sussex Record Office; James Peill, Curator of the Goodwood Collection; Helen Timlin and Sarah Aitken, Gloucestershire Archives; and Hugh Worsnip, Gloucester Civic Trust.

## PROGRAMMING

### Interviews

This exhibition includes a series of interviews with academic and curatorial scholars, as well as artists, to help place the works of art in a contemporary context. The interviews are presented as part of an interactive presentation, accessible in the exhibition and on the Center's website. Please visit [britishart.yale.edu/Empire](http://britishart.yale.edu/Empire).

### Exhibition Opening Panel Discussion

Wednesday, October 8, 5:30 pm

A conversation with Tim Barringer, Paul Mellon Professor of the History of Art, Yale University; Kobena Mercer, Professor, History of Art and African American Studies, Yale University; and Titus Kaphar, artist.

### Art in Context Talks

Tuesday, October 14, 12:30 pm

*Figures of Empire: What Makes a Portrait?*

Meredith Gamer, PhD candidate, Department of the History of Art, Yale University

Tuesday, November 11, 12:30 pm

*Figures of Empire: Joshua Reynolds*

Esther Chadwick, PhD candidate, Department of the History of Art, Yale University

Tuesday, December 9, 12:30 pm

*Figures of Empire: Flexible Histories*

Cyra Levenson, Associate Curator of Education, Yale Center for British Art

### Exhibition Tours

Members' Tours:

October 2 & 9 (3 pm)

Public Tours:

October 9 & 16, November 20, and December 4 & 11 (11 am)

October 25, November 2 & 9, and December 14 (1 pm)

## PARTNERSHIPS

### Whitney Humanities Center

Film and Discussion

Thursday, October 30, 7–9:15 pm

*Belle* (2013), directed by Amma Asante (rated PG; 104 minutes, 35 mm), presents the story of Dido Elizabeth Belle, the daughter of an enslaved African and a British admiral who was raised by her aristocratic great-uncle, Lord Mansfield. This event is sponsored by the Yale Film Study Center (courtesy of Paul L. Joskow), Yale Film Studies Colloquium, and the Yale Center for British Art. Whitney Humanities Center, 53 Wall Street, New Haven, CT

### The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition

16th Annual International Conference

Friday, November 7–Saturday, November 8

*Visualizing Slavery and British Culture in the Eighteenth Century*

Using a cross-disciplinary approach, this international conference will help place the works in the *Figures of Empire* exhibition in a historical context—Britain and its empire from roughly the 1720s to the early 1800s—and explore the impact of slavery on British art and culture. This conference is jointly organized with the Gilder Lehrman Center and will be held at the Yale Center for British Art, 1080 Chapel Street, New Haven, CT. Free online registration is available at:

[gilderlehrmancenter.wufoo.com/forms/visualizing-slavery-and-british-culture](http://gilderlehrmancenter.wufoo.com/forms/visualizing-slavery-and-british-culture)

### Lewis Walpole Library

Exhibition

October 20, 2014–March 27, 2015

*Prospects of Empire: Slavery and Ecology in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Britain*

Curated by Heather V. Vermeulen (Doctoral Candidate in African American Studies and American Studies, Yale University) and Hazel V. Carby (Charles C. & Dorothea S. Dilley Professor of African American Studies and Professor of American Studies, Yale University), this exhibition explores the notion of empire's "prospects"—its gaze upon bodies and landscapes, its speculations and desires, its endeavors to capitalize upon seized land and labor, as well as its failures to manage enslaved persons and unruly colonial ecologies.

Lewis Walpole Library, 154 Main Street, Farmington, CT

For hours and directions, visit:

[web.library.yale.edu/building/lewis-walpole-library](http://web.library.yale.edu/building/lewis-walpole-library)

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