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**‘Entangled Pasts, 1768–now:  
Art, Colonialism and Change’**

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EDITORIAL NOTE  
Dimensions of works of art are given in centimetres, height before width (before depth).

We have made the decision to capitalise Black, Brown and Indigenous in ethnic, cultural and racial contexts to reflect and respect the shared senses of identity, community and history that these terms denote. We do not capitalise white in these contexts; while there are arguments that this risks white being seen as the deracialised norm, the term does not represent the same sense of collective identity and history, and to capitalise it – a practice adopted by white supremacists – can be seen to carry a different set of meanings.

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## REPAIRING THE SABLE VENUS

*Cora Gilroy-Ware*

Late in the summer of 1977, two linocuts by the Chicago-based artist and educator Margaret Burroughs were printed in editions of fifty.<sup>1</sup> One, entitled *On the Beach* (fig. 18), depicts a seaside scene. A pair of women sit on an inked expanse of sand, their faces shown in profile as they look towards a girl in a swimsuit holding a baby. Near to the shoeless feet of the woman in the foreground, children are busy playing. In the margin of the image the date 1950 is written in the same scrawl as the artist's signature.<sup>2</sup>

The sabbatical leave that allowed Burroughs to travel to Mexico and learn how to make this kind of linocut had been granted in 1952, making the year on the print most likely a fabrication. Coming to terms with mysteries and delicately calculated revisions is an unavoidable part of researching the artistic achievements of African-American women working in the twentieth century. Together, potent strains of racism and misogyny create the need for a self-mythologisation that runs counter to the art historian's conventional quest for truth. Perhaps underestimating her life and her art's capacity to be subject to empirical scrutiny, Burroughs herself claimed that *On the Beach* gives form to a memory from Montego Bay, Jamaica, a place that she did not actually visit until later on.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the precise origins of its imagery, this print and the too-early year written by the artist in the margin hold the researcher at bay, resisting the scholarly gaze and the desire to illuminate. The Martinican philosopher Edouard Glissant defended this quality as 'opacity' (*opacité*); works of art by oppressed people are entitled to evade 'possession and conquest' by upholders of 'Western ... metropolises of knowledge'.<sup>44</sup> For Glissant, opacity is rich and generative. An opaque work, Burroughs's *On the Beach* calls on the scholar to imagine alternative ways of seeing and responding.

By contrast, *Black Venus* (1957; cat. 212) – the second linocut by Burroughs printed that summer – sits more comfortably in relation to what Glissant neatly sums up as

'Western thought'.<sup>5</sup> On the one hand, its patently mythological subject envelops the print in layers of meaning that threaten to impose if not opacity, then another kind of distance. Yet instead of mystifying the object, myth makes its imagery more lucid, constituting an iconographic scheme that yokes it to the orthodox history of Western art. Again, the sea is central, but on a different register. Here, a dark, almost naked woman takes centre stage. Holding the reigns of a chariot drawn by fish, this figure glides upright on the surface of the water. She is surrounded by an arc of putti, some fanning her with large plumes. In the lower right-hand corner, a male figure wields a sceptre. The title's classical allusion affirms that he is a god and she an iteration of the goddess of love, famously born from the waves in Greco-Roman myth. Numerous works of post-antique European art adopt this trope, but when asked by the Great American Picture Company, in 1977, to provide some text to accompany the image for advertising purposes, Burroughs chose to cite what had become the most familiar material representation of the subject. 'When I came across Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*,' the artist explained, 'I saw a parallel between the fantasy he depicted and the very reality of black American womanhood.' Burroughs goes on to qualify her apparent integration of Renaissance goddess with the bodies of women whose ancestors were brought from Africa and sold as chattel: 'History tells us how slave masters selected the most beautiful of the virgin black slave women for their own personal use. And yet these women survived to become mothers of a nation.'<sup>6</sup>

Burroughs's claim to have responded directly to Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* chafes against the inherent radicalism of her printmaking technique. During the sabbatical from her teaching position at Chicago's DuSable High School, she had been shown how to make linocuts in the tradition cultivated by Leopoldo Méndez, an activist and graphic artist who, in 1937, helped found the socialist printmaking collective Taller



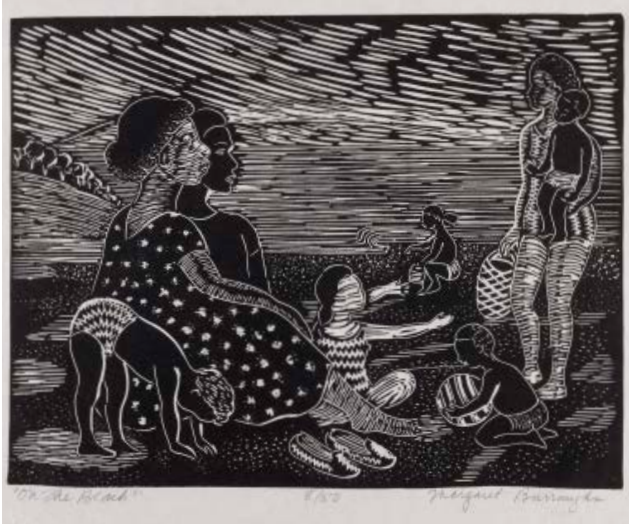


Fig. 18  
**Margaret Burroughs, *On the Beach*, c. 1957.**  
Linocut, Reba and Dave Williams Collection,  
Gift of the Print Research Foundation, 2008.115.340

de Gráfica Popular in Mexico City. In the hands of Méndez and his comrades, the linocut evolved into a fundamentally left-wing medium that is difficult to distinguish from its deployment as propaganda. Although the incorporation of Botticelli into the pantheon of the most cherished Old Masters happened comparatively late in relation to the likes of subsequent artists such as Raphael and Michelangelo, his *Birth of Venus* would have stood, for Burroughs and others in the US in 1977, as an encapsulation of the very idea of the Renaissance, and therefore worlds away from the deeply politicised folk art of the Taller. Burroughs's decision to travel to Mexico in the first place had been motivated by the mounting pressure she faced as someone with socialist connections in McCarthy-era America.<sup>7</sup>

Reconciling the gallery and the street, Burroughs's intrinsically radical reference to Botticelli is an affront to residual tensions between 'high' and 'low' culture. Her profanation of Botticelli is also healing. Rather than the source of generational trauma, the sexual exploitation of enslaved women is visualised as a monumental image of resilience, for which the precious and timeworn image of Venus offers an ideal device. Subtly, her statement simultaneously harks back to Black American culture of the 1920s and 1930s. Known during the period itself as the New Negro Movement, this lively phase of synaesthetic expression had come to be commonly referred to as the 'Harlem Renaissance' at precisely the same time Burroughs offered her explanation of *Black Venus*.<sup>8</sup> By insisting that the

linocut is a response to an Italian Renaissance painting, and, by extension, an image of birth, Burroughs takes up the theme, associated with her predecessors, of the regeneration of Black American subjectivities through art.

Burroughs's citation of Botticelli, then, is strategic. The Black artist plays on the familiarity of the Quattrocento painter's name in order to afford African-American women a dignity, beauty and history they have systematically been denied. In turn, the familiar name serves to elevate her own subject position and, at the same time, allows audiences to connect to her adoption of a classical trope. But Botticelli turns out to be a ruse. Our first clue that Burroughs's citation of this particular Renaissance name is purely tactical is the fact that, looking at the work, we can clearly see that *Black Venus* does not quote from the visual content of the *Birth of Venus*. There are no personifications of winds blowing the goddess, for example, which was the detail identified by Giorgio Vasari and other authors as the definitive feature of the Florentine painting. We might deduce from this omission that Burroughs's response to Botticelli takes a more abstract and imaginative form. Yet there is, in fact, another work of Western art that provided her with a visual model.

In terms of both composition and subject, Burroughs's print is a direct response to an object made in Britain hundreds of years after Botticelli's death. Although today his name does not possess the cachet of a Renaissance Master, the London-born Royal Academician Thomas Stothard produced an image, in 1794, that Burroughs evidently set out to transform. Although the original design was untraced throughout Burroughs's lifetime and remains lost to time, Stothard's *Voyage of the Sable Venus from Angola to the West Indies* was reproduced and disseminated that same year as an engraving (cat. 148) by William Grainger, a prolific yet under-studied British printmaker. The arc of putti, the feathers, the fish-drawn shell-chariot, the male god in the periphery, the reins wielded by the goddess, indeed, almost every form we see in *Black Venus*, are heralded in Grainger's engraving. Adapted into the stark black-and-white contrasts and rudimentary mark-marking that characterise the linocut, Grainger's translation of Stothard's design is purged of its tonal values and fine detail. A few putti are missing, and a second male figure – twisting away from the foreground with his face concealed – does not survive in Burroughs's work. Yet the composition is virtually the same, suggesting that Burroughs had Grainger's print before her when she produced *Black Venus*. This is not, as Burroughs herself suggested, an instance of a rarefied painting being adapted into a

more accessible medium, but a case of unexpected kinship between two works on paper: an eighteenth-century British engraving and a linocut tied to Mexican political radicalism.

Most significantly, it is the blackness of Stothard's goddess that carries over from one print to the other. Rather than turning, as she claimed, a European Venus into an icon of black American womanhood, Burroughs does something quite different. And it is only possible to appreciate the complexity of her revision when we consider the circumstances of the British print's production. In 1794 Thomas Stothard had been called upon to provide an illustration for the second edition of a book centred on trade, natural resources and human and non-human life in the Caribbean. First published the previous year, Bryan Edwards's *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* is less a history book than a wilful effort to present the slave trade as humane and above all, essential.<sup>9</sup> Designed for learned readers back in the metropolis, it glorifies the British presence in, to use the author's own phrase, 'that part of the New Hemisphere'.<sup>10</sup> Barely veiled attacks on the growing abolitionist movement haunt the text, but in disguise so that the book does not read as a diatribe. So successful was the 1793 edition that a follow-up was planned and made available months later, complete with a set of engraved plates. Next to this inclusion of images, the most obvious register of the book's triumph was the election of Edwards – a relatively minor politician and plantation-owner based between England and Jamaica – as a Fellow of the prestigious Royal Society. Throughout the book, Edwards continually emphasises the veracity of his claims; the Royal Society's accolade cemented his reputation as a contributor to universal knowledge instead of simply a man who was seeking to uphold the institution of slavery, which benefitted him personally.

The year the second edition was published, Thomas Stothard received an elevation in his own professional status. Compared to Edwards's fortunate break, Stothard's election to Royal Academician in 1794 seems inevitable. In his early twenties by the tail end of 1777, the artist had entered the Royal Academy Schools as a student. Already he had begun to establish his reputation as an illustrator, providing vignettes to be engraved in such light-hearted yet edifying journals as the *Novelist's Magazine* and the *Lady's Poetical Magazine*. Training at the Royal Academy Schools allowed him to fuse what was fast becoming his charmingly recognisable approach to well-known and more recent works of literature with the lofty theory espoused by the founding President of the Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds. Although he continued

to produce literary illustrations and design ephemera from theatre tickets to banknotes, Stothard was adept at positioning himself as a history painter, the most elite and high-ranking kind of artist in Britain at the time. His election to Royal Academician in 1794 was preceded by his incorporation as an Associate in 1791; in 1810 he was appointed Deputy Librarian, going on to serve as Librarian from 1814 until his death in 1834. The majority of Stothard's life was entwined with the Royal Academy, rendering him a product of the institution's culture, pedagogy and values.

As a history painter, however, Stothard was all the more successful for the distinctive look and emotional tenor of his achievements, his individuality as an artist. According to the prevailing theory of the day as advocated by Reynolds in the *Discourses* he delivered at the Royal Academy between 1769 and 1790, only the most learned, tasteful, inventive and high-minded practitioners were capable of excelling in this genre. History paintings were those that depicted episodes from myth, the Bible, worthy post-Antique authors, such as Shakespeare, Spencer or Milton, or scenes from distant history from which a moral could be visually extracted, spurring on the (traditionally male, aristocratic) viewer to acts of virtue. This last domain – that of history not as tales fabricated by poets and playwrights but as a past event said actually to have occurred – is the least resolved in terms of its parameters and criteria. Just like the reliance of early historical writers on embellishment and anecdote, for the majority of Stothard's career, history painting was not considered a means of empirical learning but rather a mode of representation that could convey something transcendent and inspiring about the human condition. Yet as the genre developed into the nineteenth century, British critics increasingly looked for accuracy in this kind of art, and were frustrated when history painters took obvious licence with the past.<sup>11</sup> Such a shift was anticipated by the words of the writer John Williams who, reflecting on Thomas Stothard's 1794 painting *The Interview Between Henry VIII, and the Emperor Charles V*, pronounced him 'the only Artist in this country who can comprehend, with keen precision, a subject dependent on historical fact'. In the same breath, Williams congratulates the Royal Academy for its 'acquisition' of Stothard as a full Royal Academician.<sup>12</sup>

Lauding the historical accuracy of Stothard's painting seems an odd way to praise this particular artist. Indeed, Stothard's rise to obtain, in Williams's words, 'a celebrity which has never been surpassed by any native of these realms' was rooted in the fanciful, at times playful aspects of his signature manner. Stothard's art was all the more beloved for

its stylised qualities: characteristically hazy, broken outlines (called 'blundering blurs' by William Blake), the doe-eyed gazes of his figures, the intensely lyrical tone with which he interprets even the most austere subject-matter.<sup>13</sup> Looking at his work, it is easy to see why his paintings and their engraved reproductions were frequently labelled 'sweet' by his contemporaries, and, after he eventually fell out of fashion in the late Victorian era, 'saccharine' by his detractors.<sup>14</sup> It was this unusual combination of clout as a painter of historical truth, and his own familiar, beloved, capricious style, that rendered Stothard the perfect artist to enlist to provide a plate for Edwards's book. With its author granted legitimacy by his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society, the 1794 edition of *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* would be upgraded by an association with this newly minted Royal Academician, whose art delighted a spectrum of British consumers.

Stothard was not the only artist associated with the Royal Academy to be called upon to provide an illustration for Edwards's *History*. Benjamin West, President of the institution since Reynolds's death in 1792, contributed a drawing that was reproduced by Francesco Bartolozzi, the renowned Anglo-Italian engraver and a founding Royal Academician. West's work imagines a Taino community, the pre-colonial inhabitants of the Antilles, in conversation with a group of Spanish conquistadors (fig. 19). Early modern chroniclers had told of an eloquent Cacique – a Taino chieftain – who greeted Columbus and his men with a speech on the difference between evil people and those who do good, describing the respective punishments and rewards to which each will be subjected after death. The Cacique's words were apparently translated by an Indigenous man who was part of the Spanish coloniser's crew. In one of the few parts of the book to delve into the historical past of the Caribbean as opposed to life as it was in the eighteenth century, Edwards had mentioned this incident, emphasising its unquestionable veracity. Readers of the first edition were evidently not convinced. The British author's decision to include the story provoked those who could not believe that the 'natives of the West Indies had ... attained' such a degree of civilisation.<sup>15</sup>

This reaction prompted Edwards to insert a note into the follow-up edition insisting that, although 'doubts have been suggested concerning the fact', the Cacique's speech, did, believe it or not, take place. For substantiation, Edwards cites two texts he posits as primary sources: the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italian historian Peter Martyr d'Anghiera's account of Spanish exploration, known as the



Fig. 19  
**Francesco Bartolozzi after Benjamin West, *An Indian Priest Addressing Columbus in the Island of Cuba, 1794*.**  
Etching and line engraving, 19.9 × 16.9 cm. The Baltimore Museum of Art: Garrett Collection, BMA 1946.112.6557

*Decades*, and the Spanish chronicler Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas's early seventeenth-century history, *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*.<sup>16</sup>

Yet, more than these texts, it is Bartolozzi's contemporaneous engraving after West that is called on to instil the claim that this incident actually occurred. As an artist who had migrated to London, via Rome, from what was then a British colony in North America, Benjamin West 'branded' himself as having a special connection to Indigenous peoples of the so-called New World. Celebrated for its revolutionary depiction of figures in modern dress as opposed to the conventional Greco-Roman drapery, his large historical tableau *The Death of General James Wolfe (1727–1759)* (cat. 106) – exhibited at the RA to great acclaim in 1771 – features an Indigenous man placed conspicuously in the foreground. Sitting less than a metre from the body of the dying British war hero, the figure is naked apart from the feathers and *wampum* that decorate his mostly shaven hair, and a trade blanket concealing his lower back and pelvis. Markings are seen on his skin, and he has with him a beaded bag slung around his torso. Despite the fact that West painted a generic

sign of Indianness, the artist's careful inclusion of actual things made and worn by Indigenous people – collected by the artist and kept in his London studio – lent this portrayal an impressive authenticity, together with his own American origins. The work had proved West capable of painting Indigenous bodies in a truthful way, a theme that continued to inform his paintings.<sup>17</sup> In the case of Edwards's *History*, West's association with Indigenous Americans is mobilised to prove the integrity of the book's historical content.<sup>18</sup> The artist's knowledge and reputation as a history painter are summoned to aid the writing of actual history. Thus the power of the genre becomes instrumental rather than theoretical, even though, visually speaking, his Taino are as flattened and idealised as the figure in *Wolfe*.

But it was Thomas Stothard, who, as we know, could be praised as an artist – 'the only Artist' – in Britain who, in 1794, had the ability to capture the essence of 'historical fact' in painting. Although he could not boast direct knowledge of non-European people through his origins or global travel, Stothard frequently depicted not just Indigenous Americans, but people from the Indian subcontinent, China and elsewhere around the world.<sup>19</sup> And although West's art – the triumph of *Wolfe* aside – increasingly faced harsh criticism in the public journals, Stothard's endeavours received unprecedented

praise. By the end of his life, Stothard could happily be referred to as 'the English Raffaello' or, with a more recent twist, 'our English Watteau'.<sup>20</sup> According to J. M. W. Turner, Stothard was 'the Giotto of England'.<sup>21</sup> In 1816 an author in *The Examiner* declared that 'Mozart has not more melody and elegant spirit than is often seen in Mr Stothard's colouring'.<sup>22</sup> Attaching to him the prestige of continental virtuosi from various places and times, each of these hyperbolic claims stresses Stothard's inherent Englishness. In turn, the geniuses of Raphael, Watteau, Giotto and Mozart are amplified by their reconciliation with a sense of Anglo-Saxon identity.

It was this Englishness that imbued Stothard's portrayals of non-Europeans with a palatability that made the foreign familiar. Around 1800 he was employed to 'correct' a series of Chinese paintings purchased in Canton by George Henry Mason, a British Army officer.<sup>23</sup> Stothard's brief was to recast some of these 'foreign' images into watercolours to be disseminated in the form of engraved plates for British (and French) audiences.<sup>24</sup> Some of these images were consolidated by Mason into a volume entitled *The Punishments of China*, published in London in 1801 as part of a series on Chinese costume. Although not credited in the volume itself for his intermediary work, Stothard and only Stothard was capable of taking scenes of disturbing physical cruelty, such as 'Burning a Man's Eyes with Lime' (plate XI), and turning them into amusing Westernised glimpses into the strange customs of a faraway people (fig. 20).<sup>25</sup>

Likewise, a painting such as Stothard's *The Surrender of the Children of Tippoo Sultan* (fig. 21), engraved by Charles Turner in 1800, gives the young Mysorean hostages received by the British army in 1792 the same wide-eyed, honeyed look as the figures in his vignettes from Shakespeare and Milton. Here, saris, veils and turbans collide with British military

Fig. 20  
**J. Dadley, *The Punishments of China, 1801*.** Hand-coloured engraving, for W. Miller, Old Bond St, London

Fig. 21  
**Charles Turner after Thomas Stothard, *The Surrender of the Children of Tippoo Sultan, 1800*.** Mezzotint, 53.8 × 73.8 cm. British Museum, London







Fig. 22  
**Thomas Stothard, *Calypso with Her Nymphs Caressing Cupid*, exhibited 1814.**  
 Oil paint on mahogany, 48 x 38 cm.  
 Tate: Presented by Robert Vernon 1847



Fig. 23  
**Domenico Cunego after Raphael, *Galatea*, c. 1513.** Engraving, 34 x 27 cm.  
 Royal Academy of Arts, London

uniforms, yet there is a fundamental harmony between all figures, whose skin-tones range from dark to light without deviating into conspicuous phenotypical difference. A bevy of Indian maidens cling to each other like the elemental feminine spirits in Stothard's mythological scenes, such as his *Calypso with Her Nymphs Caressing Cupid* (fig. 22). *The Surrender of the Children of Tippoo Sultan* and the artist's other images of colonised people allow us to see how his art could be useful as a means of, in Sean Willcock's words, 'moral rehabilitation of British (imperial) rule'.<sup>26</sup> The perceived sweetness of Stothard's style aided in wider political efforts to make colonial domination seem humane in the eyes of British consumers.

Commissioned as an illustration to a pro-slavery text, *The Voyage of the Sable Venus from Angola to the West Indies* (1794; cat. 148) is another image that domesticates a non-European body, rendering it tasteful in order to further an imperial agenda. Stothard's engagement with the art of the Old Masters – moreover his status as the English equivalent to the likes of Giotto and Raphael – worked with his signature style to reconcile established tastes with representations of people of colour. In 1827 the writer Maria Graham wrote, from Italy, that 'Botticelli is so like Stothard that one might fancy the old Tuscan's spirit had taken its abode in our veteran'.<sup>27</sup> But although it would be tempting to assume that his depiction of an African woman in the guise of the classical goddess was itself based on the work cited by Margaret Burroughs

in 1977, the Florentine *Birth of Venus* was still a relatively obscure work in 1794. Though the image of a seaborne Venus is derived from the same ancient source to which Botticelli was responding – Pliny the Elder's description of damaged and lost works by the Greek painter Apelles (352–308 BC) – Stothard's figure is a visual adaptation of a later Renaissance composition. Although he did not visit Europe until 1815, Stothard would have had access to Domenico Cunego's engraving of Raphael's 1512 fresco *The Triumph of Galatea*, which had been acquired by the Royal Academy in 1773 as part of a volume of prints after Italian works published by the Scottish historical painter Gavin Hamilton (fig. 23).<sup>28</sup> Crucially, Raphael's *Galatea* is not an image of birth but of apotheosis. The triumphant tone of this visual exemplar carries over into the corresponding image of a Black woman as the goddess of love. Although shackles are on her feet and she travels from southern Africa to the Caribbean as a chattel, this is a celebratory image that, happily for Edwards, makes enslavement look like a glorious thing.

Scholars who discuss *The Voyage of the Sable Venus from Angola to the West Indies* tend to focus on its relationship to a poem Edwards chose to include in the first and subsequent editions of his book. Written by his teacher and friend, the Revd Isaac Teale, 'The Sable Venus: An Ode' does explain the origin of the unusual subject. In twenty-six stanzas, Teale offers a satirical pastiche of Virgil written from the perspective

of a man ensnared by the intense physical charms of a Black woman glimpsed on her passage from 'Angola's shores' to 'Jamaica's isle'.<sup>29</sup> The crux of the ode is the mocking suggestion that the Black Venus is just as beautiful as her 'sister' goddess, the inanimate Greco-Roman sculpture of the *Venus de' Medici*, and far more sexually alluring and sexually available than her 'white' rivals, be they marble or flesh. By the time the poem appeared in Edwards's *History* it had already been published twice in Jamaica, first anonymously and then under Edwards's own name.<sup>30</sup>

Although the ode is endlessly fascinating for the extent of its racist classicism, focusing on the poem obscures the fact that, in this instance of publication, Teale's verse is contained within a text that strives to be pragmatic as opposed to satirical. Stothard's image was created not as an illustration to the poem as an autonomous literary work, but as a visual supplement to the poem as it appears in relation to the rest of Edwards's desperately factual *History*. The chapters preceding and following the poem describe the 'present inhabitants' of several Caribbean islands, the first centred on the Creole population, the second on 'Negroes in a state of slavery'.<sup>31</sup> The poem is placed between these chapters so as to lubricate the transition from one topic to another. At the end of the preceding chapter, Edwards writes that 'The free Blacks ... differ but little from their brethren in bonds, whose manners, genius and character, will be the subject of my next enquiries.' The author then segues into introducing Teale's poem: 'I shall therefore conclude the present chapter by presenting to my readers, a performance of a deceased friend, in which the character of the sable and saffron beauties of the West Indies, and the folly of their paramours, are portrayed with the delicacy and dexterity of wit, and the fancy and elegance of genuine poetry.'<sup>32</sup>

The insistence that the poem describes both 'sable and saffron' beauties betrays the author's conviction – also expressed earlier on in the chapter – that lighter-skinned Creole women of mixed European and African descent are more sexually desirable than the darker-skinned figure Teale satirises, thereby highlighting that the poem, which centres on the latter, is facetious as opposed to sincere. At the same time, Edwards's lauding of the ode as 'genuine poetry' serves to justify the inclusion of this satirical verse within a book that claims to offer its readers authentic information about Caribbean life. Following on from Edwards's preface, the engraving of Stothard's *Sable Venus* mediates between fact and fantasy, or 'fancy', to use the period's term. As a Royal Academician and as a history painter, Stothard could

turn fancy into history, and history back into fancy, blurring the division between the two even as this division became important in the eyes of critics. Although Edwards did not seek to elevate Black women, as the illustration and the poem both playfully do, he did want to present enslavement as a harmless institution. Stothard's image of a Black woman in chains dutifully performs this task, representing the subject with a combination of grandiose classical and Old Master sources with his 'sweet', definitively 'English' style.

So important was Stothard's design to Edwards's project at large that the author placed it centrally within the supplementary volume of plates published at the time of the second edition. This slim volume – a kind of picture booklet – was intended for those readers who already possessed the 1793 edition so that they did not need to purchase the second in order to have access to the plates by Stothard, West and others reproduced in the follow-up. Whereas in the 1794 edition itself *The Voyage of the Sable Venus* appears in the second volume, tucked between lengthy chapters, Edwards made it the frontispiece to the supplementary booklet. Here, completely detached from Teale, it offers an instance of what one scholar of the period's illustrated books calls an 'epitome' frontispiece: a convention – established in Stothard's lifetime – in which the image chosen for the frontispiece operates as a visual distillation of the orientation of the publication as a whole.<sup>33</sup> As frontispiece, the *Sable Venus* encapsulates the essence of Edwards's text: his desire to vindicate enslavement in the face of a growing abolitionist movement. With her characteristically Stothardian wide eyes and a proud contrapposto loosely based on Raphael's nymph-apotheosis, this figure embodies the author's attempt to sanitise the activities of the British in the Caribbean, including the relentless sexual exploitation of Black women, evoked here in an eccentrically ideal guise.

For Margaret Burroughs to turn this visual defence of cruelty and dehumanisation into an icon of resilience is, then, a much more radical gesture than her strategic insistence on Botticelli suggests. The African-American artist performs what Eve Kosofsky-Sedgwick describes as a 'reparative reading' of Stothard, or rather of Grainger's print. Compared to the 'paranoid' reader, who, according to Kosofsky-Sedgwick's logic, would be inclined to reject, perhaps even censure Stothard's image on the grounds of its patent racist fantasy, the reparative reader seeks to transform and to subvert the racist fantasy into something hopeful. In this context, reparation is an attempt 'to organise the fragments and part-objects' encountered in culture and in archives. 'Because',

writes Kosofsky-Sedgwick, the reparative reader 'has room to realise that the future may be different from the present, it is also possible for her to entertain such profoundly painful, profoundly relieving, ethically crucial possibilities as that the past, in turn, could have happened differently from the way it actually did.'<sup>34</sup> With *Black Venus*, Burroughs repairs the *Sable Venus*, offering an alternative vision of what happened in the past in the way that only artists have licence to do. Though Kosofsky-Sedgwick writes of the distinction between the 'paranoid' and 'reparative' reader in relation to queer expression, her idea is pertinent to Burroughs, as the very word 'reparation' has a special resonance in relation to the descendants of colonised and enslaved people.

The question remains: how on earth did Burroughs encounter this work? Besides Edwards's *History* and the corresponding picture-book, the image was reprinted later on in several other bibliographic contexts, including James Rodway's *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*, first published in 1896, and Dorothy Carrington's *The Traveller's Eye* of 1947.<sup>35</sup> Unlike Bartolozzi's engraving of West's portrayal of the eloquent Cacique, Grainger's print was not sold as an autonomous work in 1794 nor later on; when up for sale at various auctions in the late nineteenth century, the work is always presented as a component of Edwards's *History*. Yet it should come as no surprise that Burroughs 'came across' – to use the words she herself used in relation to Botticelli – Grainger's comparatively obscure print. She was an avid researcher as well as an artist, writer, teacher and curator, and her personal archive of materials relating to the history of African and African-descended people in the Western world evolved into the collection of what is now Chicago's DuSable Black History Museum and Education Center. Crucially, she was not alone in her mapping of this image onto African-American politics of liberation. In 1975 – just two years before her linocut was printed by the Great American Picture Company – an author named Thomas L. Green published an essay, 'The Voyage of the Sable Venus: Black Women in Slave Narratives', in an anthology entitled *Perspectives on Afro-American Women*.<sup>36</sup> The essays in this volume were written for a conference on the cultural and sociological fortunes of Black women, held in Louisville, Kentucky, in March 1974. Given the marginal status of the topic in America at the time and its direct relevance to Burroughs's lifelong practice, it is quite possible that she was herself in attendance. Her name does make an appearance in another essay in the same book: 'The English Language and Black Womanhood: A Low-blow at Self-esteem' by Patricia Bell Scott. Centred, as the title

suggests, on the written and spoken word, Scott's essay quotes at length from a 1963 poem by Burroughs, 'What Shall I Tell My Children Who Are Black (Reflections of an African-American Mother)'.<sup>37</sup>

Pages earlier, Green's essay opens by describing Stothard's image as 'a study in the contradictions of the Black Female Experience' and the figure of the Sable Venus herself as 'the object of an admiring and confused member of England's prestigious Royal Academy'.<sup>38</sup> Green is hesitant to view the print as purely a racist fantasy that mocks the very idea of a beautiful Black woman. Instead, he offers his own reparative reading of the print, one in which the calculated sweetness of Stothard's design is viewed, despite its unavoidably violent implications, as a harbinger of slavery's abolition in the British Empire. The author goes so far as to infer that the image may possibly be an index of the relative 'benevolence' of the English (compared to American enslavers), a claim that shows both Edwards's success in using Stothard to make enslavement palatable, and Green's own desire to heal, or repair, the past.<sup>39</sup>

Almost sixty years after the dissemination of Stothard's engraving, another prominent British artist represented an enslaved Black woman in a classical form. This time the artist's medium was sculpture. Although his work does not refract the subject through the prism of myth, John Bell's *A Daughter of Eve – A Scene on the Shore of the Atlantic* is a naturalistic portrayal of a female form that, despite the illusion of textured hair and phenotypically Black facial features, possesses the same idealised bodily proportions as the era's most famous classical sculptures. The figure was first exhibited in the form of a plaster cast in 1853 at the Royal Academy, in whose Schools Bell, like Stothard before him, had been a student. An artist with loose ties to the abolitionist movement, Bell presents his enslaved woman, or rather girl – for her youthful appearance is underscored by the word 'daughter' in the title – as an embodied moral condemnation of enslavement as it was being practised in the Antebellum South.

With the horrors of slavery displaced onto another nation, this amnesiac, self-congratulatory work was placed repeatedly before the British public. Reproduced in parianware and as a bronze-patinated electrotype (cat. 047), it was disseminated on various scales with the help of the most cutting-edge technologies of reproduction. In 1862 not one but two bronze electrotypes of the figure were featured on the so-called Elkington Trophy, a large assemblage of electrotyped figures triumphantly displayed on a wooden structure at the International Exhibition in London (fig. 24). Credited as inventors of the electrotype process, the Birmingham-based



Fig. 24  
**William England, 86 Stereographic Views of The International Exhibition of 1862, 1862.** Albumen silver prints from glass negatives with applied colour. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gilman Collection, Museum Purchase, 2005

Fig. 25  
View of the 1853 plaster of ***A Daughter of Eve*** in the basement of Kensington Town Hall, 1977

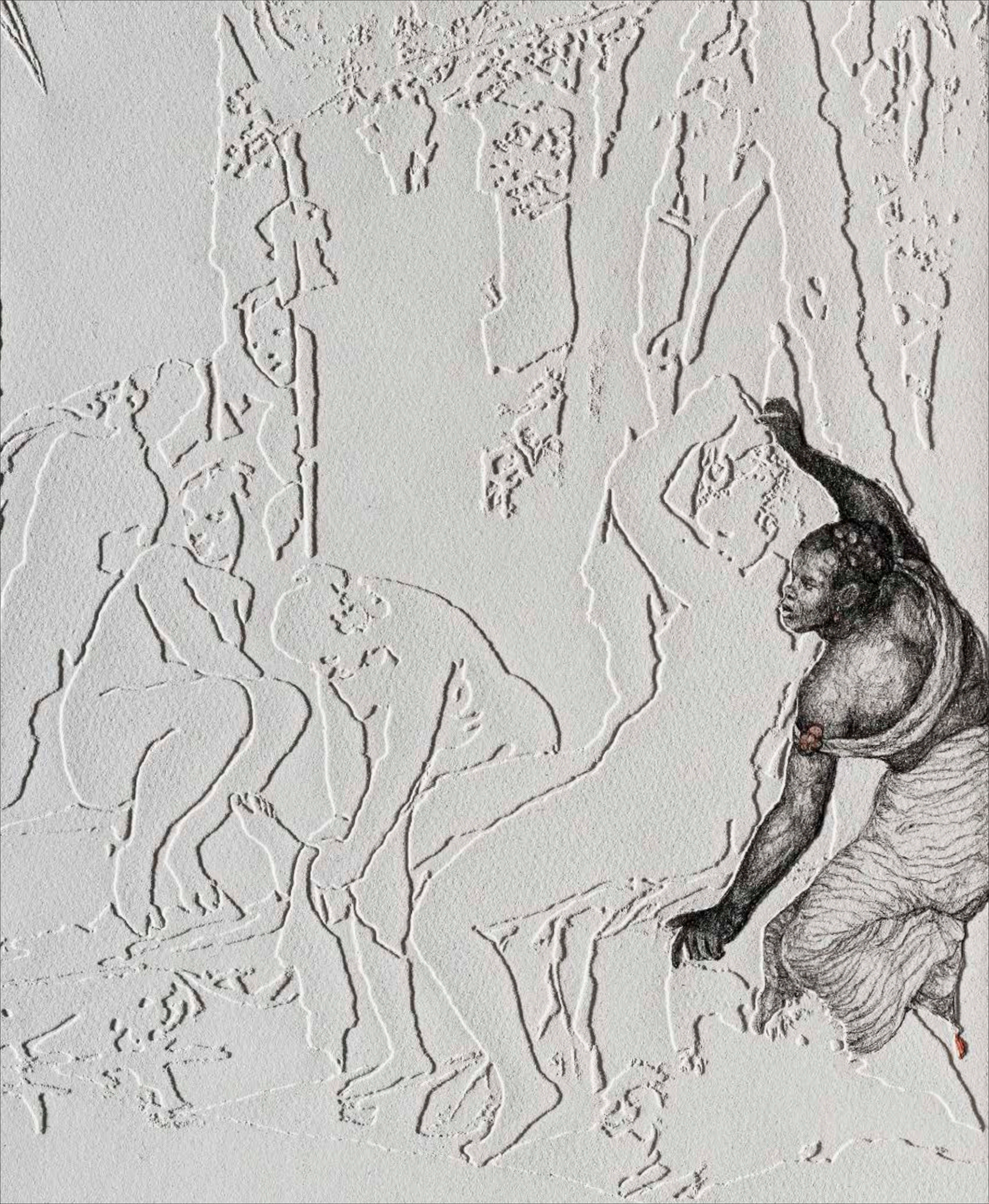
Elkington & Co., used their wares to form a monument to British industrial and imperial excellence, placing bronze figures of *Boadicea and Her Daughters* and both large and small-scale versions of the enslaved Black girl together, along with candelabra, other statues and statuettes.<sup>40</sup> While Stothard's work had been tasked with carrying out a pro-slavery agenda, Bell's is inherently critical of slavery. Yet the emphatic inclusion of the figure on the Elkington Trophy points to a disturbing commodification of enslavement at play in Bell's work that exposes the hollow sanctimony of its abolitionist politics. *A Daughter of Eve* – given, at subsequent exhibitions, the less egalitarian title, the *American Slave* – traps the Black female body in the trauma of racist violence. The distinctly un-salvageable qualities of the work are reflected in the fate of the first version shown to the public. In 1977, the figure exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1853 was photographed abandoned and damaged in the basement of Kensington Town Hall. A gash in the plaster is clearly visible, violently marring the figure's jaw and chin (fig. 25).

That same year, 1977, Margaret Burroughs's *Black Venus* was printed in Chicago, and another British fantasy



of an enslaved woman's body was repaired rather than left to decay. But there was something already latent within Stothard's image that allowed for this intervention almost two centuries later. Perversely, given the circumstances of its production, Stothard's work sets the Black female body free. It embeds Black women within classical culture, giving them a connection, via Stothard, to the likes of Virgil, Pliny, Raphael, Botticelli and each of the other rarefied continental practitioners with whom Stothard was aligned in the imaginations of critics. In *A Daughter of Eve*, Bell perpetuates the idea that the Black woman has no history, that in place of history there is only dislocation, isolation and pain. Contrastingly, Stothard's image lends her a history, allowing her to stray into a visual and literary tradition that has nothing to do with enslavement, but that was marshalled by Edwards to make the slave trade seem just. For this reason, Margaret Burroughs, and, more recently, the poet Robin Coste Lewis and the artist Kara Walker (see cats 208.1–5), have been drawn to the *Sable Venus*.<sup>41</sup> Their respective engagements with Grainger's print suggest that there is something about this British pro-slavery image that invites iconoclastic reinterpretations, thereby permitting Black women to move from the position of object to subject, from the body depicted in the work to the author of a healing counterwork. In this way, the reparations of Burroughs, Coste Lewis and Walker align with a premise of eighteenth-century history painting: that the facts surrounding a work of art matter less than what it inspires us to do next.





# BEAUTY AND DIFFERENCE II

## Prints, Poetry, Sculpture and Photography

*Sarah Lea*

Although the transatlantic slave trade was made illegal across the British Empire in 1807, it took decades of parliamentary debate, and the tipping point of the Baptist War/Sam Sharpe Rebellion in Jamaica (1831–32), until enslavement in British colonies in the Caribbean, Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope became illegal with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. This took effect on 1 August 1834, but was followed by a further period of 'apprenticeship' – another form of unfree labour – before emancipation in 1838, after which enslavement and trading of enslaved people continued illegally. No provision was made to support formerly enslaved people, while compensation of £20 million was awarded to 46,000 enslavers.<sup>1</sup>

Amid public discourse, artists created both pro-slavery and abolitionist imagery. The latter became increasingly popular over the nineteenth century, during which technical inventions and the Industrial Revolution led to widely reproduced imagery in both photography and sculpture. Prints and poetry both extended and framed the public consumption of art in an era during which literacy rates increased significantly.

At the Royal Academy in these years, artists would sometimes choose to include excerpts of poetry in the Annual Exhibition catalogues to frame reception of their paintings (see p. 00 [Price]), and this is echoed in Phillis Wheatley's ekphrastic response (cat. 139) to Richard Wilson's classical landscape scene *Niobe* (1760; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven). Wheatley probably knew Wilson's painting through William Woollett's famous engraving (cat. 034), published in 1761. This was the same year in which Wheatley was kidnapped and forcibly transported from the Senegambia region of West Africa to North America and enslaved by a family in Boston. The first ten lines of her poem, entitled 'Niobe in Distress for her children slain by apollo, from *Ovid's* Metamorphoses, Book VI, and from a view of the Painting of Mr *Richard Wilson*', read:

apollo's wrath to man the dreadful spring  
Of ills innum'rous, tuneful goddess, sing!  
Thou who did'st first the ideal pencil give,  
And taught'st the painter in his works to live,  
Inspire with glowing energy of thought,  
What Wilson painted, and what Ovid wrote.  
Muse! lend thy aid nor let me sue in vain,  
Tho' last and meanest of the rhyming train!  
O guide my pen in lofty strains to show  
The Phrygian queen, all beautiful in woe.<sup>2</sup>

Invoking the same muse who guided both the British painter Wilson and the Latin poet Ovid, Wheatley claims an artistic authority that was otherwise the preserve of those of European descent, describing herself as part of the same 'rhyming train' as these distinguished men.

The reiteration and reinterpretation of subjects and tropes through artistic and literary canons are also evident in British artist Barbara Walker's expansive and influential *Vanishing Point* series (see fig. 5.1), which combines printmaking with drawing on scales varying from the minute to the monumental. From all-encompassing, over-life-size wall drawings to small-scale works that immerse the viewer in close looking, the series considers discourses of erasure in Old Master paintings and the discipline of art history. *Vanishing Point 18 (Titian)* (2020; cat. 098) is but one example of this ambitious, ongoing project. In it, Walker reappraises the National Gallery's famous *Diana and Actaeon* by Titian (1556–59; NG 6611). The single Black figure in Titian's composition is intricately drawn, in the artist's words, 'foregrounded in high definition, while the visibility of the other components in the work is diminished – embossed to leave just a trace' through the technique of blind intaglio printing. Walker uses processes that come close to erasure to address 'a compelling absence of black representation in our national archives and, by



extension, in the collective memory of British society.<sup>13</sup> The title of her series, *Vanishing Point*, refers both to the technique of linear perspective, central to canonical Western painting since the Renaissance, and the occlusion of the identities of the many Black figures who inhabit these paintings during centuries of art-historical and scholarly neglect. Walker's works, now exhibited in collections across the UK, make visible this disappearance, and engage the viewer's senses to recognise and challenge it.

Thomas Stothard was a household name in his day, famed for his distinctive style of drawing, which was reproduced in popular engravings; he also held the position of Librarian at the Royal Academy between 1814 and 1834. In 1794 he designed a frontispiece to the second edition of Bryan Edwards's book *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. Stothard's design was engraved by William Grainger: *Voyage of the Sable Venus from Angola to the West Indies* (cat. 148) underlines the text's disingenuous presentation of the slave trade as humane, recasting the horror of the Middle Passage in the guise of a Black goddess riding a shell chariot, reminiscent perhaps of Botticelli's famed *Birth of Venus* (1485; Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) although in fact the composition is derived from Raphael's fresco *The Triumph of Galatea* (c. 1511; Villa Farnesina, Rome), a better-known work in Stothard's time through the circulation of prints after it.<sup>4</sup> Stothard's subject was taken from a poem by the Revd Isaac Teale entitled 'The Sable Venus. An Ode', first published anonymously in Jamaica in 1765. This poem and Grainger's print have caught the attention of recent generations, who have challenged their intent and effect through a critical reactivation or 'repair' of historic imagery and terminology. Works by the poet Robin Coste Lewis, the educator, writer, artist and activist Margaret Burroughs (cat. 212) and the artist Kara Walker (cats 116, 220, 208.1–5) exemplify some of the posthumous responses by Black women to Stothard's deeply problematic image.

Robin Coste Lewis's *Voyage of the Sable Venus* provides the title for, and forms the central section of a three-part collection of poems published in 2015. A conceptual poem, it comprises solely 'the titles, catalogue entries and exhibit descriptions of Western art objects in which a black female figure is present, dating from 38,000 BCE to the present'. These phrases could not be broken or changed, although the punctuation was removed. In a prologue, Lewis sets out her evolving framework, which immediately grew beyond "Art" ... because black female figures were also used in ways I could never have anticipated,



Fig. 46  
**Barbara Walker working on her wall-drawing *Vanishing Point* at Cristea Roberts Gallery, 2022**  
(see cat. 098)

I was forced to expand that definition to include other material and visual objects, such as combs, spoons, buckles, pans, knives, table legs.<sup>15</sup> Lewis's haunting and moving narrative poem uses archival traces to draw out the historic embeddedness of language in constructions of race, desire and self.

Burroughs's *Black Venus* – discussed at length on pages 00–00 – adapts Stothard's composition, but through its title it may also reference a term historically used to describe Saartjie (Sara) Baartman, a South African woman who was sold into slavery and exploited for public display in Europe during the eighteenth century. It is believed that Baartman was first exhibited in London at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, almost opposite Burlington House, on 24 November 1810. Now demolished, the Egyptian Hall was thus a near neighbour of the Royal Academy between 1867 and 1905.<sup>6</sup>

The association between the Black female body and the ocean is reiterated in Kara Walker's *no world* (2010; cat. 116). In the left background is a vignette of a plantation scene featuring the artist's signature racialised silhouette caricatures; in the foreground is a submerged female body, and in between, giant hands lift a ship. In her writings, Walker describes seawater as an 'amniotic' fluid, casting the ocean – particularly the Atlantic, which carried slave ships between Africa, Europe and the so-called 'New World' – as the protective liquid that surrounds a foetus in the womb. From these waters, this 'no world', the African-American subject

was born.<sup>7</sup> Walker's sketches for her *Fons Americanus* (see cats 208.1–5), a Turbine Hall commission at Tate Modern in 2019, refer to Stothard's print (cat. 148) and Copley's *Watson and the Shark* (cat. 089), among other art-historical quotations. *Fons Americanus*, a 13-metre-high functioning fountain, united the form of the 'Black Venus' with water in a sculptural parody of the multitude of Victorian monuments found across London, Britain and the British Empire.

John Bell, a student at the RA Schools, became a successful sculptor of the mid-nineteenth century. A version of Bell's *Andromeda* (cat. 048) – which happens to have been cast by the Coalbrookdale Company, which also produced the Bristol statue of Edward Colston (see fig. 00) – adorns the fountain at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, the summer retreat of Queen Victoria, who purchased the sculpture from the Great Exhibition in 1851. Bell went on to produce a series of enchained female figures including *The American Slave* (1853; cat. 047) and *The Octoroon* (1868; cat. 049). Like many sculptors of his day, his work was reproduced at varying scales (see cat. 230). Bell was interested in working with new technologies, such as electrotype, which produced the distinctive patinas of *The American Slave*. Dating from after British abolition but before emancipation in the United States, the subject draws

Fig. 47  
**'View in the East Nave of the Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, showing *The Greek Slave*, by Hiram Power', 1851,**  
from John Absolon, *Recollections of the Great Exhibition*, London, 1851. Hand-coloured lithograph with gum, 27.2 × 37.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



attention to the ongoing system of slavery across the Atlantic, and would have been interpreted at the time as supporting abolitionist sentiment. Yet the eroticism and commodification at play in the representation of an enslaved Black woman in classical form disturbingly replicate the dynamics of viewing and possession of an enslaved person on an auction block. Stylistically and commercially, Bell was looking to the precedent of the American sculptor Hiram Powers, the maker of *The Greek Slave* (see cat. 189), arguably the most famous western sculpture of the nineteenth century. This much-reproduced work was embroiled in complex national and transatlantic cultural politics.<sup>8</sup> When one of Powers's six marble versions was exhibited in 1851 at the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, it was the focus of demonstrations by abolitionists, including fugitives from slavery (see fig. 5.2).

The visionary abolitionist Frederick Douglass owned a ceramic statuette of *The Greek Slave* with painted chains. Douglass was a talented orator whose speeches included 'What to the Slave is the 4th of July?' and 'Lessons of the Hour'. The latter is also the title of Isaac Julien's extensively researched filmic journey into Douglass's life. Julien focuses on the years 1845–47 when Douglass travelled to Scotland, Ireland and England to campaign against slavery.<sup>9</sup> Douglass is thought to have been the most photographed person of the nineteenth century in the USA (Queen Victoria held that distinction in Britain).<sup>10</sup> Douglass insisted on being seen against a blank backdrop to distance himself from the elaborate painterly scenography used in photographic studios at the time, foregrounding instead his individuality and personhood. Douglass lectured on the emancipatory potential of photography. In one such lecture, entitled 'Pictures and Progress', he said:

Men of all conditions and classes can now see themselves as others see them, and as they will be seen by those [who] shall come after them. What was once the special and exclusive luxury of the rich and great is now the privilege of all. The humblest servant girl may now purchase a picture of herself such as the wealth of kings could not purchase fifty years ago.<sup>11</sup>

Isaac Julien's multivalent work based on Douglass, *Lessons of the Hour* (cats 222, 223), exists in various forms. Parts of it were filmed at the Royal Academy of Arts, and the project includes a series of tintypes, photographs taken on thin tin plates made using nineteenth-century processes, which depict the actors who play the roles of Douglass and his circle.



The Ships’ Inventory:

Four-Breasted Vessel, Three Women  
in Front of a Steamy Pit, Two-Faced  
Head Fish Trying on Earrings, Unidentified.

Young Woman with Shawl  
and Painted Backdrop, Pearl  
of the Forest, Two Girls

with Braids People  
on a Ship with Some Dancing  
Girls. Our Lady of Mercy, Blue.

Nude Iconologia Girl  
with Red Flower Sisters  
of the Boa Woman Flying a Butterfly.

|       |        |
|-------|--------|
| Kite  | Empty  |
| Chair | Pocket |
| Book  | Girl   |

in Red Dress with Cats and Dog’s Devil.  
House Door of No Return. Head-of-a-Girl-  
In-the-Bedroom in the kitchen.

Contemplation Dark-Girl Girl.  
In the Window Negress with  
Flower Sleeping Woman

(Negress with Flower Head  
of a Woman-Nude in a Land  
scape)—Libyan Sybil: Coloured, Nude-High

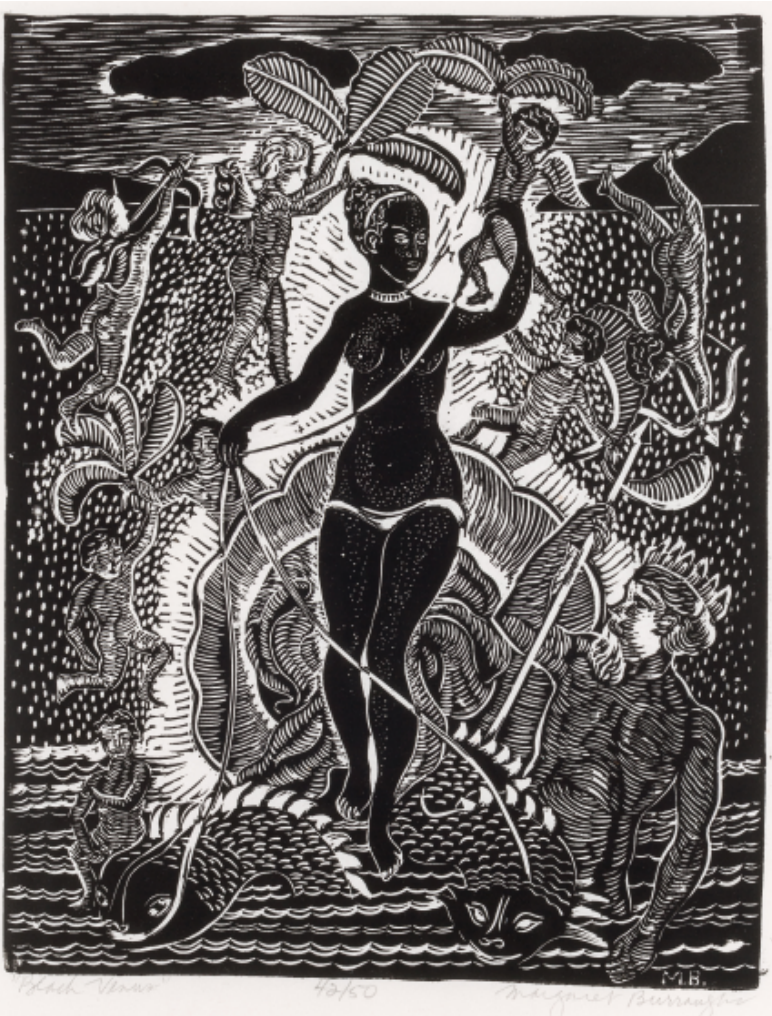
Yellow Negro Woman  
and Two Children—The Flight  
of the Octoroon: the Four Quarters of

the World, Holding  
a Celestial Sphere.

Cat. 49  
Robin Coste Lewis  
*The Ships’ Inventory*, 20xx



Cat. 50  
William Grainger, after Thomas Stothard  
*The Voyage of the Sable Venus, from  
Angola to the West Indies, 1794*  
Etching and engraving on paper,  
23.3 x 16.6 cm (sheet)  
Royal Academy of Arts, London



Cat. 51  
Margaret Burroughs  
*Black Venus, 1957*  
Linocut on Japanese paper,  
35.6 x 28.3 cm  
Petrucci Family Foundation Collection of African  
American Art



## Biographies of Sitters and Artists

The works in this exhibition include a number of sitters whose identity is unknown and are thus absent from these biographies. Further reading is available in the catalogue bibliography and research continues.

##### John AKOMFRAH (b. 1957)

John Akomfrah is an artist and filmmaker living and working in London. He co-founded the Black Audio Film Collective in 1982 alongside artists David Lawson and Lina Gopaul, who he still collaborates with today. His works are characterised by their investigations into memory, post-colonialism, temporality and aesthetics and often explore the experiences of migrant diasporas globally. In 2015, Akomfrah premiered his three-screen film installation *Vertigo Sea*, which explores man’s relationship with the sea and its role in the history of slavery. Akomfrah was elected an RA in 2019 and has been selected to represent Great Britain at the 2024 Venice Biennale.

##### EI ANATSUI (b. 1944)

El Anatsui is a Ghanaian sculptor based in Nigeria. He typically uses discarded objects such as liquor bottle caps, cassava graters and newspaper printing plates to create his sculptures. His work interrogates the history of colonialism and draws connections between consumption, waste, and the environment. Anatsui is best known for his large-scale sculptures composed of thousands of crumpled aluminium bottle caps, bound together with copper wire. In 2013, Anatsui created the monumental work *TSIATSIA – searching for connection*, which was draped over the façade of the Royal Academy. Anatsui was elected an Honorary RA in 2014.

##### Thomas BANKS (1735–1805)

Born in London, Thomas Banks was a neoclassical sculptor. He apprenticed as a mason and woodcarver before studying in the studio of the sculptor Peter Scheemakers. In 1769 Banks was admitted to the RA Schools and first exhibited at the RA in 1770. Driven by a desire to realise large-scale projects, Banks created a vast monument to Sir Eyre Coote which still stands in Westminster Abbey. In 1785 Banks was elected an RA and presented his Diploma Work *Falling Titan* to the RA Collection. Banks was arrested on suspicion of treason in 1794, leading to the withdrawal of a bust of Oliver Cromwell from the 1803 RA exhibition.

##### Francis BARBER (c. 1742–1801)

Francis Barber was born enslaved on a sugarcane plantation in Jamaica which belonged to the Bathurst family. At around the age of ten he was brought to

England by his enslaver, Colonel Richard Bathurst. Barber was sent to school in Yorkshire by the Bathursts, and eventually to work as a valet for the renowned writer Samuel Johnson. Barber worked as a servant to Johnson from 1752 until his death in 1784 and was made Johnson's residual heir.

##### John BELL (1811–1895)

John Bell entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1829. His first work was shown at the RA in 1832 and he exhibited regularly throughout his life. Bell was one of the most commercially successful sculptors in Victorian Britain. In 1837 he exhibited a model of *The Eagle Slayer*, which was to become one of his most celebrated statues. Throughout the mid-nineteenth century he produced several works depicting female figures in chains. Cast around 1851, *Andromeda* was the first of these sculptures and a version was purchased by Queen Victoria for her garden at Osborne, on the Isle of Wight.

##### Dido BELLE (1761–1804)

Born in the West Indies, Dido Belle was the illegitimate daughter of a young Black woman named Maria Belle, believed to have been enslaved aboard a Spanish slaving ship travelling across the Caribbean, and a Royal Naval officer, Sir John Lindsay. Dido Belle was brought to London and sent to live with Lindsay's uncle, William Murray, 1st Earl of Mansfield and Lord Chief Justice, at Kenwood House in Hampstead Heath, alongside her second cousin, Lady Elizabeth Murray, where she was brought up as part of the aristocratic family. Belle married a French steward called John Davinier and the pair had three sons, which they raised in London.

##### Frank BOWLING (b. 1934)

Sir Frank Bowling is a British painter whose work demonstrates legacies of both the English landscape tradition and American abstraction. Bowling's iconic series *Map Paintings* (1967–71) are his most widely recognised works; they include stencilled landmasses of Africa, Australia and South America and are seen to embody his transition from figuration to abstraction. In the 1980s Bowling made sculptural paintings, which evoke landscape, riverbeds and geologic strata, and include embedded objects attached to roughly textured canvases. Bowling’s recent work engages with collage, poured paint, stencilling, staining and stitching canvases. Bowling became the first Black artist to be elected a member of the Royal Academy of Arts in 2005.

##### Sonia BOYCE (b. 1962)

Sonia Boyce is a British African-Caribbean artist and professor based in London. Her research explores art as a social practice and the debates that arise from

this area of study; her practice spans drawing, print, photography, video and sound. Boyce has been closely collaborating with other artists since 1990 and has taught Fine Art for over 30 years in art colleges across the UK. In 2016 Boyce became the first Black female Royal Academician and in 2022 she was the first Black woman to represent Britain at the Venice Biennale.

##### William Morison BROWN (1808–1861)

William Morison Brown was born in Kingston, Jamaica. It is unknown when he migrated to England, but he became the first Black British student on record at the Royal Academy Schools, and was admitted to the Antique School on 14 June 1830. He is recorded in the 1851 census as a ‘Portrait and Animal Painter’ living in Kensington with his wife and two daughters. Brown exhibited genre and animal paintings between 1849 and 1856.

##### Agostino BRUNIAS (c. 1730–1796)

Born in Rome around 1730, Agostino Brunias was a painter trained at the Accademia di San Luca. In 1758 he moved to England, where he worked for the architect Robert Adam. In 1765 Brunias travelled to the West Indies on a ship owned by the sugar plantation owner and Governor of Dominica Sir William Young. Brunias spent the rest of his life travelling around the Caribbean islands under the patronage of Young, depicting scenes of seemingly carefree work among enslaved and mixed-race inhabitants and creating a picturesque vision of the Caribbean that he sought to promote to audiences in London. In the late 1770s Brunias exhibited three West Indian landscape paintings at the RA.

##### Margaret BURROUGHS (1915–2010)

The artist, poet and educator Margaret Burroughs lived in Chicago, where she played a seminal role in preserving and promoting the work of African-American artists and writers. She was an artist and wrote children's books alongside her role teaching at the DuSable High School. Burroughs co-founded two arts institutions in Chicago: the South Side Community Art Center, established in 1940, and the Ebony Museum of Chicago, now the DuSable Museum of African American History, which she established from her living room in 1961. The latter, now a Smithsonian-affiliated museum, currently holds over 15,000 objects dedicated to African-American history and culture.

##### William CHAMBERS (1722–1796)

Chambers was educated in England before beginning a mercantile career as a teenager, joining the Swedish East India Company (1740–49), and travelling to Bengal and China. Returning to Europe, he studied architecture in Paris and Italy before settling in London in 1755 and establishing his own practice. In 1757

Chambers was appointed as architectural tutor to the nineteen-year-old Prince of Wales, later King George III, becoming his architectural advisor in 1760. He served as the RA's first treasurer and from 1776 designed its first purpose-built home, Somerset House. In 1778 Chambers's youngest daughter Selina married William Innes, a plantation owner and merchant in Jamaica – a union that, for unknown reasons, Chambers opposed.

##### Mohini CHANDRA (b. 1964) [approved by artist]

Mohini Chandra is an international artist based in the UK. As a child Chandra spent time in Fiji and travelled widely with her family within the Indian-Fijian diaspora. She has an interest in photographic histories and the processes of visual culture within colonial, anthropological and ethnographic discourses. Chandra's art encompasses photography, collage, performance, installation and film in order to articulate identities and globalised spaces, and to interrogate the role of the photographic in relation to memory and migration. For example, *Paradise Lost* (2020), made in collaboration with the Archaeological team SHIPS Project and MIRROR at Arts University Plymouth, explores the history of shipwrecks in Plymouth, UK, in relation to empire, slavery and indenture.

##### Henry CHRISTOPHE (1767–1820)

Henry Christophe was a military leader in the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804), during which he served under the formerly enslaved Toussaint L'Ouverture. He later became President and then King Henry I in the northern Kingdom of Hayti. It is not known whether Christophe was enslaved in childhood, but it is claimed that he travelled to Georgia to aid American revolutionaries in the Battle of Savannah in 1779. As King of Hayti, Christophe became a patron of the arts, and commissioned paintings by Richard Evans of himself and his son the Prince Royal. These were first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818.

##### John Singleton COPLEY (1738–1815)

Copley was an Anglo-American painter born in Massachusetts. In the 1760s and early 1770s Copley established his reputation as the leading portraitist in Boston, painting prominent members of the colonial elite. He also sent paintings across the Atlantic for exhibition at London's Society of Artists (a forerunner to the Royal Academy). He married Susanna Clarke, daughter of Richard Clarke, an official agent of the East India Company in Boston. After his father-in-law's cargo was tipped into the harbour during the Boston Tea Party of 1773, Copley emigrated with his family to Europe to escape the political situation. Copley's fame continued to rise in England during the 1770s. He repeatedly exhibited at the Royal Academy and created high-profile history paintings on contemporary subjects. He was elected a Royal Academician in 1779.

##### Richard COSWAY (c. 1742–1821)

Richard Cosway was born near Tiverton, Devon, and was sent to London aged twelve to train as an artist. In 1760 Cosway embarked upon a career as an independent artist, swiftly establishing himself as a society portraitist. He produced miniatures and drawings 'stained' or 'tinged' with watercolour. In 1769 Cosway was admitted as a student to the Royal Academy Schools, leading to his election as one of the first Associate RAs in 1770, and he became a full RA in 1771, exhibiting in the Annual Exhibition until 1806. Around 1784, Cosway began to employ Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, a formerly enslaved Black man, as a servant. Cugoano became an influential campaigner calling for abolition of the slave trade and the end of enslavement of Africans.

##### Quobna Ottobah CUGOANO (1757–1791)

Quobna Ottobah Cugoano was born in present-day Ghana and was enslaved in 1770, before being trafficked across the Atlantic to Grenada. After two years of enforced labour in Grenada, Cugoano was taken to England by his enslaver, a merchant called Alexander Campbell. The circumstances in which Cugoano regained his freedom are unclear, but he began working as a servant to Richard and Maria Cosway in around 1784. Cugoano was an influential campaigner calling for abolition of the slave trade and the end of enslavement of Africans. He published a treatise entitled *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* in 1787.

##### Frank DICKSEE (1853–1928)

Frank Dicksee was an English painter and illustrator best known for his works of literary and historical scenes; he was also a successful painter of portraits of fashionable women of the time. He enrolled in the Royal Academy Schools in 1870, was elected an Academician in 1891, and became President of the RA in 1924. Dicksee rejected the contemporary avant-garde, especially work related to Primitivism that was being produced in Europe. He stated, in an explicit expression of his white-supremacist views, in his *Discourse Delivered to Students of the Royal Academy* (1925), 'Our ideal of beauty must be the white man's'.

##### Fanny EATON (1835–1924)

Fanny Eaton was an artist's model and domestic worker. Eaton was born in Jamaica in 1835, ten months after the enactment of the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire on 1 August 1834. She emigrated to England with her mother in the 1840s and is recorded as living in London by 1851, working as a domestic servant. In 1859 she began to model for artists in the Pre-Raphaelite circle and in life classes at the Royal Academy School of Painting. The painting

*The Mother of Moses* by Simeon Solomon, for which she modelled, was shown in the 1860 exhibition at the Royal Academy.

##### Frederick William ELWELL (1870–1958)

Elwell was an English painter best known for his portraiture, figurative subjects and domestic interiors. He studied at the Lincoln School of Art, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp and the Académie Julian in Paris. In 1895 he exhibited for the first time at the RA in London and continued to exhibit throughout his life. He became a Royal Academician in 1938 and served on the Council and on the Selection and Hanging Committees, the latter of which became the subject of his Diploma Work. He established a successful reputation painting portraits for a wealthy clientele including King George V (1932), as well as more intimate settings including *The First Born* (1913).

##### Olaudah EQUIANO (c. 1745–1797)

Olaudah Equiano was an African writer whose autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, published in 1789, was instrumental to the abolition of slavery. In his autobiography Equiano states that he was born in the Eboe province, now southern Nigeria, and was kidnapped at the age of eleven, sold into slavery and trafficked to the West Indies. Equiano was taught how to read and write during his enslavement. While working as a deckhand, Equiano traded on the side and was able to use the money earned to buy his freedom. Following his emancipation, Equiano became a leading voice within the London abolition movement and was a member of the 'Sons of Africa,' a group of twelve Black men who campaigned for the abolition of slavery.

##### Richard EVANS (1783?–1871)

Richard Evans was a British portrait painter and copyist. Evans moved to London with his childhood friend David Cox and supported himself by copying Cox's sketches. He eventually entered the studio of the artist and future president of the RA, Sir Thomas Lawrence. Evans was admitted to the RA Schools in 1815 and exhibited 42 pictures at the RA between 1816 and 1845.In 1818 he exhibited a portrait of His Majesty Henry Christophe, King of Hayti, and another of Christophe's son Jacques-Victor Henry, Prince Royal of Hayti. He continued as an assistant to Lawrence and spent time in Rome as a copyist, where he was also a founding figure of the British Academy of Arts (disbanded 1936).

##### Thomas GAINSBOROUGH (1727–1788)

Thomas Gainsborough was a leading portraitist of late eighteenth-century England and was favoured by King George III and Queen Charlotte. He was raised in Suffolk



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26 Sidney C. Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy, 1768–1968*, London, 1968, p. 96.

27 Hutchison, *History of the Royal Academy*, p. 74.

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29 RAA/TRE/1/2, RAA/TRE/2/1. For Consols, see Larry Neal, *The Rise of Financial Capitalism: International Capital Markets in the Age of Reason*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 117. For a discussion of the RA's early finances, see Holger Hoock, *The King's Artists: The Royal Academy and the Politics of British Culture, 1760–1840*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 34–47.

30 P. K. O'Brien, 'Mercantilist Institutions for the Pursuit of Power with Profit: The Management of Britain's National Debt, 1756–1815', in Fausto Piola Caselli (ed.), *Government Debts and Financial Markets in Europe*, London, 2008, pp. 179–208.

31 See Eleanor Hughes, 'Ships of the "Line": Marine Paintings at the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1784', in Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham (eds), *Art and the British Empire*, Manchester, 2007, pp. 142–43.

32 *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* database: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21466633095>.

33 Martin Postle, 'Cotes, Francis (1726–1770), portrait painter', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; William Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672–1752*, Chapel Hill, NC, 2013, p. 11.

34 *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* database: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146662605>.

35 Martin Myrone, 'A Biographical Dictionary of Royal Academy Students, 1769–1830', in Gillian Forrester (ed.), *The Eighty-fourth Volume of the Walpole Society*, 2022, pp. 63–64.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

37 Martin Myrone, *Making the Modern Artist: Culture, Class and Art-educational Opportunity in Romantic Britain*, New Haven and London, 2020, p. 72.

38 See Algernon Graves, *A Dictionary of Artists who Have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760 to 1893*, third edition, Bath, 1901, p. 39, and Algernon Graves, *The British Institution 1806–1867*, London, 1908, p. 72.

39 *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* database: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146662657>.

40 See the list of subscribers in Quobna Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil of Slavery*, Vincent Carretta (ed.), London, 1999, pp. 147–50.

41 G. Kelly, 'Opie [*née* Alderson], Amelia (1769–1853), novelist and poet', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

42 James Montgomery, James Grahame and Elizabeth Benger, *Poems on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, London, 1809.

43 Martin Greenwood, 'Gibson, John (1790–1866), sculptor', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. See also *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* database: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8821>.

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45 For these works, see Meredith Gamer, 'George Morland's *Slave Trade* and *African Hospitality*: Slavery, Sentiment and the Limits of the Abolitionist Image', in Jean Michel Massing and Elizabeth McGrath (eds), *The Slave in European Art: From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, London and Turin, 2012, pp. 297–319, and Martin Postle, 'The Captive Slave by John Simpson (1782–1847): A Rediscovered Masterpiece', *The British Art Journal*, 9, 3, spring 2009, pp. 18–26.

46 Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780–1865*, Manchester and New York, 2000, pp. 41–77.

47 Thomas, *Witnessing Slavery*, p. 221.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

49 William Wells Brown, 'A Lecture Delivered Before the Female Anti-slavery Society of Salem, 1847', in Larry Gara (ed.), *The Narrative of William Wells Brown a Fugitive Slave and a Lecture Delivered Before the Female Anti-slavery Society of Salem, 1847*, Reading, 1969, p. 82.

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and the San Domingo Revolution, London, 1938; 2022. For a more recent history, see Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*, Harvard, 2005.

51 For Christophe, see Laurent Dubois, *Haiti: The Aftershocks of History*, New York, 2013, and the work of Marlene Daut, including *Baron de Vastey and the Origins of Black Atlantic Humanism*, New York, 2017. For the portraits, see Erica Moiah James, 'Decolonising Time: Nineteenth-century Haitian Portraiture and the Critique of Anachronism in Caribbean Art', *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, 44, May 2019, pp. 8–23, and Tabitha McIntosh and Grégory Pierrot, 'Capturing the Likeness of Henry I of Haïti (1805–1822)', *Atlantic Studies*, 14, 2, 2017, pp. 127–51.

52 Diana Seave Greenwald, 'Implied But Not Shown: Empire at the Royal Academy', in her *Painting by Numbers*, Princeton, 2021, pp. 115–52.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

55 Angela Rosenthal, 'Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness', *Art History*, 27, 4, September 2004, pp. 563–92, and 'Bad Dreams: Race and the Nightmare of 1781', in Peter Wagner and Frédéric Ogée (eds), *Representation and Performance in the Eighteenth Century*, Trier, 2006, pp. 97–126. On portraiture at the Royal Academy's Annual Exhibitions, see Marcia Pointon, 'Portrait! Portrait! Portrait!', in David H. Solkin (ed.), *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House*, New Haven and London, 2001, pp. 93–110.

56 See Jennifer Thorn, '"All beautiful in woe": Gender, Nation and Phillis Wheatley's "Niobe"', *Studies in Eighteenth-century Culture*, 37, 2008, pp. 233–58, and Nicole A. Spigner, 'Phillis Wheatley's Niobean Poetics', in *Brill's Companion to Classics in the Early Americas*, Leiden, The Netherlands, 2020, pp. 320–42.

#### Repairing the Sable Venus, pp. 28–37

1 It is certain that this version of *On the Beach* was printed in the summer of 1977 because, that year, an organisation called the Great American Picture Company commissioned the artist and printmaking instructor Robin Freedenfeld to produce the editions. Originally from New Jersey, Freedenfeld had recently set up her workshop in Chicago, moving from Boston the previous year to become Director of the Printmaking Department at Evanston Art Centre. The bon-à-tirer prints of Burroughs's linocuts remain in Freedenfeld's possession.

2 Several impressions of the print do not bear this date, but '1950' is clearly written on the version advertised by the Great American Picture Company, in 1977, for their series of affordable prints by black

artists, Pebbleford Editions. In other impressions, the artist has written 'At the Beach' in the margin, rather than 'On the Beach'.

3 Details of Burroughs's trip to Jamaica and other places can be found in Margaret Burroughs Travel Diary, 23 February 1973, Box 116, Folder 1208, and Margaret Burroughs to Slim Coleman, 29 August 1983, Box 16, Folder 119, Margaret Burroughs Papers, DuSable Museum of African American History Archives and Special Collections, DuSable Museum of African American History, Chicago.

4 Edouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsey Wing, Ann Arbor, 1997, p. 111.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

6 This quote by Burroughs appears on the advertisement for *Black Venus* produced by the Great American Picture Company for their imprint Pebbleford Editions in 1977. The document can be found in Archibald Motley Jr Papers, Box 6, Folder 9, Chicago History Museum.

7 Burroughs's connections to communism and socialism are relatively well-documented. In 1949 she had married Charles Burroughs, who possessed strong, active ties to the Soviet Union. Suspicion around her own political beliefs came to a head in the early 1950s when she found that her job at DuSable High School was under threat. Her trip to Mexico was somewhat of an escape from this tense and threatening atmosphere. Later on in her life she reflected on this time: 'Since the government felt that it had to quash all socialist views, its solution was to offer us the unpleasant choice of renouncing socialist leanings in order to win greater civil rights freedoms...' Margaret Burroughs, *Life With Margaret: The Official Autobiography*, Chicago, 2003, pp. 70–71. This phase of her life is discussed in: Mary Ann Cain, *Southside Venus: The Legacy of Margaret Burroughs* Evanston, 2018, pp. 95–105.

8 The first instance of the term appearing in the title of a work of scholarship is Trudie Engel's Master's thesis, 'The Harlem Renaissance', written for the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in 1959. Published in 1972 and 1976 respectively, books such as Arna Bontemps's *The Harlem Renaissance Remembered: Essays*, New York, and Nathan Irvin Huggins's *Voices from the Harlem Renaissance*, Oxford, indicate the establishment of the phrase in the 1970s; in 1927, Alain Locke, one of the architects of the movement, did write an essay entitled 'Our Little Renaissance' in a volume of essays and original works of art edited by Charles Johnson, *Ebony and Topaz: A Collectanea*, New York. In 1944 Locke and Burroughs collaborated on an exhibition of African art. See Anne Meis, *Chicago's Black Renaissance and Women's Activism*, Urbana, 2006, p. 69.

9 Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial,*

*of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, London, 1793.

10 Edwards uses this phrase in a later text, *An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St Domingo*, London, 1797, p. i.

11 For an account of this shift, see Hugh Dunthorne, 'Retracing the History of Our Country: National History Painting and Engraving in Britain and the Low Countries in the Nineteenth Century', in Hugh Dunthorne and Michael J. Wintle (eds), *The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Britain and the Low Countries*, Leiden and Boston, 2013, pp. 219–42.

12 John Williams (under the pseudonym Anthony Pasquin Esq.), *Memoirs of the Royal Academicians, Being an Attempt to Improve the National Taste*, London, 1794, p. 6.

13 Blake, a former friend of Stothard, who had engraved some of his earliest designs, writes that the artist is a 'fool as to suppose that his blundering blurs can be made out and delineated by an engraver who knows how to cut dots and lozenges, equally well those little prints which he got his reputation as a draughtsman'. Reprinted in Alexander Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake, with Selections from His Poems and Other Writings*, London, 1880, vol. 2, p. 164.

14 A characteristic example of the kind of praise lavished on Stothard comes from the younger British artist Benjamin Robert Haydon, who wrote that he 'seemed to have dreamed of an angel's face in early life, and to have passed the remainder of his days trying to combine in every figure he touched something of its sweetness'. Haydon, *Lectures on Painting and Design*, London, 1846, p. 33. Countless other examples abound of this kind of language being used, for better or for worse, to describe the artist's achievements.

15 Edwards writes this note in the first volume of the second edition, in a section entitled 'Illustration of the Frontispiece to Vol. 1'. See *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, London, 1794, p. li.

16 *Ibid.*, p. liii.

17 West's usage of Indigenous American bodies to 'brand' himself in England is discussed in numerous articles, including, most recently, Julia Sienkewicz, 'Beyond the Mohawk Warrior: Reinterpreting Benjamin West's Evocations of American Indians', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 9, doi: <https://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.515>.

18 Along with the engravings after Stothard and West, works by Agostino Brunias (see cat. 109) that had previously been exhibited at the Royal Academy between 1777 and 1779 were also featured.

19 Among numerous works by Stothard that depict non-European figures, see, for example, his watercolour of a *Dying Indian* (an illustration to be engraved for an edition of Alexander Pope's

'Essay on Man', British Museum, London). See also his representations of Chinese figures, including a *Chinese Youth (Balancing a Jar Held Aloft)* and *Chinese Flower Seller*, both Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

20 See for example *Gentleman's Magazine* (U.S. edition), July to December, September, 1840, p. 111; *Art-Union*, 1840, p. 15. There are numerous other articles in which Stothard is described as the English Raphael. He is likened to Watteau in the *London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, Etc.* for the year 1830, p. 675; and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1852, p. 146.

21 Turner is quoted in Philip Gilbert Hamilton, *The Life of J. M. W. Turner RA*, Boston, 1879, p. 220.

22 *The Examiner*, 12 May 1816, p. 43.

23 The circumstances around this particular commission are complex. The publisher of Mason's book, William Miller, employed Stothard to '(correct) five drawings' by the Chinese artist Pu Qua, whose works were apparently purchased by Mason in Canton (though the veracity of this claim has been probed by Eric Hayot). For a discussion of the drawings and of Mason's project at large see: Shelagh Vainker, 'Costumes of China', *Orientalions* 34: 9, November 2003; Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours*, London, 1984, pp. 33–42, and most recently, Eric Hayot, 'The Compassion Trade: Punishment, Costume, Sympathy, 1800–1801', in his *The Hypothetical Mandarin: Sympathy, Modernity and Chinese Pain*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 60–94.

24 George Henry Mason, *The Punishments of China, Illustrated by Twenty-two Engravings with Explanations in English and French*, London, 1801.

25 It appears that 'correcting' the image was, in this case, redrawing it. Stothard's watercolour of this image differs from the plate in the book, but without access to the Chinese 'original', it remains impossible to determine whether this is simply down to the image being engraved (by 'Dudley').

26 Sean Willcock, 'A Neutered Beast? Representations of the Sons of Tipu Sultan – the "Tiger of Mysore" – as Hostages in the 1790s', *Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies*, 36, 1, 2013, p. 122.

27 Quoted in Rosamund Brunel Gotch, *Maria, Lady Calcott*, London, 1937, pp. 263–64.

28 Cuengo's engraving is a plate in the volume: *Schola Italica Picturae Sive Selectae Quaedam Summorum e Schola Italica Pictorum Tabulae Aere Incisae*, Rome, 1773.

29 Edwards, *History*, 1794, vol. 2, pp. 28–29.

30 The poem was first published as a pamphlet, *The Sable Venus: An Ode. Inscribed to Bryan Edwards, Esq.*, Kingston, Jamaica, 1765. It also appears in Edwards's own poetry book, *Poems, Written Chiefly in the West Indies*, Kingston, Jamaica, 1792, pp. 21–29.



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