ENTANGLED PASTS, 1768–NOW
Art, Colonialism and Change

Dorothy Price, with Sarah Lea

What does it mean for the Royal Academy to stage an exhibition in 2024 that reflects on its role in helping to establish a canon of Western art history within the contexts of British colonialism, empire and enslavement? Why now, and why does it matter? What were the conditions that led the Royal Academy, along with many other nationally significant cultural institutions (including the National Trust, English Heritage, Fitzwilliam Museum, Tate and the National Gallery), so recently to investigate their own entanglements with Britain's colonial pasts? What can art bring to the wider public conversation about history?

When John Cassidy's 1895 statue of the notorious slaver Edward Colston (1636–1721) was toppled from its plinth by Black Lives Matter activists, dragged to the nearby harbourside and thrown into the water in Bristol on Sunday 7 June 2020, the reverberations were keenly felt around the world (fig. 1).[1] For those willing to listen, however, debates about the moral bankruptcy of many public monuments had been raging for decades.[2] Already in 2006 the Royal Academician Hew Locke had been engaged in a commission from Spike Island in Bristol that focused on the city's public monuments. Locke's fascination with public statuary was initially sparked by the fate of the statue of Queen Victoria in his birthplace, Guyana: as a political symbol of colonialism, this statue was removed after Guyanese independence from the British and 'dumped' at the back of Georgetown's botanical gardens, only later to be restored to its former position in front of the law courts but now 'battered and bruised' and with 'a broken nose and a broken arm' (fig. 2).[3] In *Restoration* for Spike Island, Locke produced four C-type photographs with mixed media of statues in the city, including the Victorian monuments dedicated to Edward Colston (fig. 3) and Edmund Burke (1729–1797) (fig. 4). Locke's ongoing interest in 'dressing' public sculptures is motivated by questions of encounter; as he travels to different cities he often reflects on the question: 'Why have they got a statue to this person?'[4] By embellishing photographs of these statues he draws attention to works that we might otherwise have become inured to, reopening important debates about cultural politics in the public realm. In his reworked image of the Colston monument, Locke overloads the photograph with pieces of gold-coloured jewellery, trinkets, baubles and other shiny objects that symbolically reference the slaver's ill-gotten gains.

The eventual fall of Colston's statue and the subsequent symbolic drowning of his effigy in the waters from whence his profits arose, almost fifteen years after Locke's intervention, was the dramatic culmination of a long-running campaign to have the work removed – or at the very least re-labelled – which had been consistently thwarted by local Conservative politicians.[5]

The global pandemic of 2020 made manifest the stark injustices of dominant political systems embedded in colonial matrices of economic power that continue to affect Black and Brown bodies disproportionately and adversely, and the brutal murders of the Black American citizens Breonna Taylor and George Floyd were a tipping point. On social media, the world watched in horror as footage emerged of a white police officer kneeling on Floyd's neck and squeezing the life out of him in eight minutes and forty-eight seconds. The deeply etched fault lines of social injustice thrown into sharp relief by Covid-19 fatally exposed the intersections of race, class, gender, poverty and vulnerability that crystallised around Floyd's death.[6] It was this that incited the Black Lives Matter activists in Bristol to take matters into their own hands, reclaim their space and dispense with one of the city's most potent visible symbols of racial injustice, in an act of necessary civil disobedience.[7] As the Argentinian scholar Walter D. Mignolo has argued, decoloniality 'calls for both civil and epistemic disobedience', through which his readers are urged to 'delink' from the colonial order so that they can

Fig. 1
The toppling of the Colston monument into Bristol Harbour, June 2020.

Fig. 2
The statue of Queen Victoria at Georgetown, Guyana, being restored in June 2018 after it had been vandalised earlier in the year.

'strive for re-existence'.[8] This is what is at stake in the fiercely contested physical spaces of civic memorialisation across the Global North. Shortly after the action against the Colston statue, a spate of colonial sculptures in America and Europe were either daubed with paint in protest or removed, notably several of King Leopold II (1835–1909) whose twenty-three-year reign saw the worst atrocities of colonial rule by Belgium against the Congolese during the long nineteenth century.

Mignolo identifies 'the Colonial Matrix of Power' as one that 'controls and touches upon all aspects and trajectories of our lives'.[9] His analysis of the necessity for civil and epistemic disobedience has been central to rethinking the relationships between modernity and coloniality. Mignolo's writing seeks methods for delinking from the formations of knowledge and power that structure contemporary society as an inheritance of colonial pasts.[10] As an institution founded with the backing of King George III in 1768, at the industrial height of Britain's Atlantic trade in enslaved African people and only four years after the founding of the nation's vigorous colonial regime in India – a moment glorified in a painting by Benjamin West (fig. 5) – the Royal Academy is one such formation.[11] Yet although structurally, institutions like the Royal Academy are closely entwined with matrices of colonial power, individual, independent artists operating under its auspices also have the capacity for epistemic disobedience through artworks that interrogate, subvert and nuance the prevailing order and whose meanings shift over time and in different viewing contexts. As an organisation made up of individual artists and architects, known as Academicians, and one that has moved its physical home within London several times during its two-and-a-half-century history, the Royal Academy's entanglements with empire and colonialism are complex and the institution's research into them is ongoing.[12] As the Royal Academy's Collections team notes: 'Everyone living in Georgian and Victorian Britain was implicated in enslavement and empire, whether actively or passively.'[13] To date, research has focused on individual Academicians from the foundation of the Academy until 1850; ownership of enslaved persons was made illegal in 1834 but, as they observe, 'this does not mean that links with and profits from enslavement did not continue beyond this date'. Indeed we know that British slave ships were still active well beyond it, operating from Africa to the Caribbean and trading in enslaved people with the Americas.[14] We also know that, after eventual abolition, the economic imperatives of the plantation economy drove enslaved African labourers to be replaced with indentured South Asian labourers instead. As Brij V. Lal has commented, 'Colonial governments in the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, Africa and the Pacific turned to India after other sources of cheap labour supply had failed or were insufficient.'[15] The exact conditions for indentured labourers in the colonies are still to be properly understood, with some scholars suggesting that the system offered opportunities for emigration and resettlement, and others arguing that the only advantage for indentured labourers on the plantations was that their 'indenture was a temporary institution, while slavery was a lifelong bondage.'[16]

While the essays here elaborate some of this ongoing research in more detail as it pertains to specific artworks and artists included in our selection, neither this book nor the exhibition could ever hope to offer a comprehensive history of enslavement, resistance, indenture and the long and violent

roads towards abolition or the end of empire. We aim instead to highlight specific moments when art and colonialism have collided in different forms during the Royal Academy's history. 'Entangled Pasts' does not attempt to cover the geographic extent of British colonialism, but conceives colonial interventions in disparate countries as intimately connected through fluctuations of international geopolitical, economic power and public opinion. The task of an exhibition of only around one hundred carefully selected works is not to presume that the multitude of links between the Royal Academy and colonialism could ever be fully addressed but instead to think about how we might read orthodox histories against the grain at specific moments or flashpoints. How have artists responded to colonialism, then and now? How does their art produce its own structures of engagement, establishment, debate or resistance?

The Royal Academy as an institution has always functioned in various ways: as a platform that endorses and promotes artists; as a social network within a wider system of patronage; as a barometer of public taste through reactions to exhibited works; as custodian and curator of narratives about the organisation through caring for, interpreting and publishing around its collection; and as an art school that trains future artists. Yet, as Audre Lorde so effectively comments: 'The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.'[17] In relation to the staging of an exhibition that interrogates an institution in relation to its pasts, her statement remains both remarkably prescient and extremely relevant. This is of course an open question for all British institutions founded within, and intrinsic to, the operations of colonialism and empire. We are all living in the long shadows of colonialism, ones that demand a new address to racial justice. And although many of the physical buildings and institutions of empire still stand today, the individuals who inhabit them in the twenty-first century find themselves at a crossroads.[18] Although a long road ahead remains to be navigated, it is hoped that an ethics and politics of racial justice and human care might prevail as the departure points from which better futures for all might be arrived at.

As the exhibition developed, we began to ask ourselves some key questions and to devise some curatorial principles to guide our selection. How do we read against the grain of history as codified through the Royal Academy? How could we stage an exhibition that would address the role of art and artists within these entangled histories and their lived legacies without replicating violence and violent imagery for

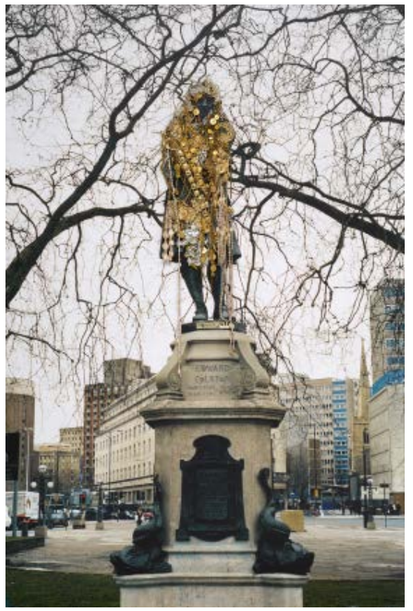


Fig. 3
Hew Locke, *Colston (Restoration series)*, 2006. C-type photograph mounted on aluminium, MDF and formica, with metal and plastic items fixed to front, 183 x 122 x 7 cm. Courtesy of the artist, Hales Gallery and P·P·O·W

Fig. 4
Hew Locke, *Burke (Restoration series), 2006.* C-type photograph mounted on aluminium, MDF and formica, with metal and plastic items fixed to front, 183 x 122 x 7 cm. Courtesy of the artist, Hales Gallery and P·P·O·W

Fig. 5
Benjamin West, *The Grant of the Diwani*, c. 1818. Oil on canvas, 290 x 400 cm. The British Library, London

contemporary audiences, but without 'whitewashing' them either? One of the most troubling points of tension was the desire to avoid re-creating spaces of trauma while not glossing over the horrors of colonialism, racism, enslavement and indenture. How can those two principles be reconciled? The conclusion we came to very quickly was that they cannot. As such, there is inevitably some uncomfortable historical work included here. Early in the process, an extremely helpful curatorial conversation with the British artist, curator, archivist and activist Ajamu X suggested that this kind of exhibition was precisely about holding those tensions in play and navigating their unease.[19] Our guiding principle in preparing the exhibition was to centralise Black and Brown subjectivities and experiences *wherever possible*, whether that be through artworks brought into dialogue and/or their interpretation. The physical, emotional, psychic, epistemic and systemic violence of colonialism, enslavement and indenture will never lessen and no amount of exhibition-making can hope to heal the wounds it has caused, but it is hoped that as a minimum, 'Entangled Pasts' might provide a space for contemplation and debate, as well as future conversations. Our selection of artworks grew organically through many conversations between the curatorial team, artists, curators at lending institutions, Royal Academy staff, Royal Academy students and external 'critical friends'.[20] We acknowledge that it is, and only ever could be, a small, selective slice of the kind of work that has been critically important to debates around empire and its aftermath.

The twelve galleries of the Academy's main exhibition space are organised into three overarching themes: 'Sites of Power', 'Beauty and Difference' and 'Crossing Waters'. Within each theme, artworks are gathered in constellations of different media, genres and styles, clustered into conversations with one another, crisscrossing their – and our – entangled pasts with the complexities of the present. Driven visually and spatially, the final presentation is structured around a series of visual conversations – some based on direct historical connections between artists, patrons, sitters and artworks, others based on speculative or poetic threads of connection.

The first thematic section, 'Sites of Power', considers the ties between the historical backdrop of shifting geopolitical boundaries and the networks of patronage that sustained artists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially as expressed through the visual tropes established in Grand Manner portraiture and history painting at the Royal Academy's Annual Exhibitions. The exhibition opens with a group of portraits of named and unnamed Black sitters, both those arriving in Georgian London as a direct result of the vast industrial complex of marine transport required for the plantation slave economy – powerfully alluded to in Hew Locke's *Armada* (2017–19) – and those reimagined by contemporary artists including Kerry James Marshall and Kehinde Wiley where archival or visual records no longer exist. In some cases, migrants of colour who forged lives for themselves in Britain or who were kept in servitude to the military, academic, cultural and aristocratic elites of British society at home and abroad wrote of their experiences. Narrative accounts by Olaudah Equiano, Ottobah Cugoano and also African American Frederick Douglass provide first-hand accounts that centralise their agency in the long road towards abolition. Through historic works of empire in India depicting ruling British military elites in a variety of functions, seen in dialogue with works by contemporary artists of South Asian heritage including Shahzia Sikander, Mohini Chandra and the Singh Twins, connections between the Royal Academy and the East India Company are also explored.[21] As Romita Ray has argued in her analysis of tea consumption, illusions of civility were constructed and maintained in the colonies for the purposes of exercising colonial control, and while tea-drinking was one such pursuit, art-making was another.[22] As the managers of the industrial trade complex of the British Empire from 1757, following the Battle of Plassey and the granting of the *Diwani* (the right to collect revenue) to the Company in 1765, until 1858, when its rule over India was terminated (a year after the Indian Uprising against colonial rule of 1857), the East India Company and its officers exercised unparalleled and often cruel and violent control in the region.[23] The works of art and the monuments commissioned by the organisation and individuals associated with it and exhibited 'at home' in institutions including the Royal Academy became powerful cultural signifiers of British dominion over India.

The second theme, 'Beauty and Difference', traces the proliferation of aesthetic norms via the mass media of the nineteenth century: prints, poetry, sculpture and photography. Together, these works embody the moral contradictions of the Enlightenment and Victorian eras and the Industrial Revolution, during which abolition became a fashionable theme for some artists, despite Britain's continued aggressive colonial expansion. The afterlife of historic imagery made by white artists and designed to aestheticise enslavement for the sake of palatability for its supporters is explored through works by Kara Walker and Robin Coste Lewis, and is considered in relation to abolitionist imagery of extreme pain and suffering designed by white artists to elicit sympathy for the abolitionist cause within prevailing British narratives of white saviourism. Figurative sculptures, together with genre paintings both accepted and rejected for exhibition at the Royal Academy, entail the construction and upholding of racial categorisation that originated as far back as the 1661 Barbados Slave Code, which, as David Olusoga notes, 'drew clear distinctions' in law 'between white "servants" and "negro" slaves'. Indeed, as Olusoga explains, 'The code set out a long litany of punishments, most of them brutal and exemplary, to which only Black slaves could be exposed.' Crucially, racial difference was highlighted more than class distinction in order to justify the enslavement of Africans over and above the pre-existing indentured white labourers:

> The Atlantic slave trade had taken Africans from numerous and widely differing cultures and ethnic groups and defined them *en masse* as 'negroes'. Now the pioneers of English plantation slavery, driven by their desperate desire for security, ushered all Europeans, irrespective of their ethnic or social backgrounds, into the new category of 'white'.[24]

Acknowledging that the current conditions of racism and anti-Blackness experienced in our own time have their origins in the legal codes invented to justify the enslavement of Africans on the plantations is a first step to understanding how Western visual culture, alongside emergent pseudo-scientific/biological racism, served to encode, normalise and embed racial difference under empire well into the twentieth century. 'Beauty and Difference' explores how colonial conceptions and hierarchies of Western beauty were structured through visual culture.

The third thematic section, 'Crossing Waters', considers the widespread legacies of the Middle Passage through immersive spaces that reflect on our common history, its ramifications and on parallels today, as migrants continue to seek refuge on safer shores.[25] The ocean as a site of mourning and collective memory is evoked through large-scale paintings and sculptures by Sir Frank Bowling, Ellen Gallagher and El Anatsui among others; in these, the visual language of abstraction becomes a cipher for the devastating human cost of colonialism that goes beyond the reach of mimetic representation. Difficult questions concerning the operations of imperial power and its impacts across generations and geographies, in which many people

were forced to part from their families and were scattered across continents, are linked with the far-reaching ecological consequences of extraction economies. Sir John Akomfrah's *Vertigo Sea*, structured through references to epic literature and historical painting, is a poignant palimpsest of traumatic histories and the legacies of enslavement. The work makes connections across time between plantation slavery and contemporary ecological disaster, both of which were initiated by human exploitation in the name of capitalism with devastating consequences then and now.

As Sathnam Sanghera has commented, 'Imperialism is not something that can be erased with a few statues being torn down or a few institutions facing up to their dark pasts … it exists as a legacy in my very being and, more widely, explains nothing less than who we are as a nation.'[26] He notes the myriad ways in which colonialism is still in operation through the architectural spaces and material traces of hotels, like Raffles in Singapore or the Imperial Hotel in Delhi, the latter opened in 1936 and designed by an associate of the former RA President Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944), who 'in turn designed what became the capital city of the British Raj'.[27] Indeed, Lutyens's architectural imprint on the city was so pervasive that Ranjana Sengupta has referred to the 'Lutcult' of New Delhi, and when Lutyens was elected a Royal Academician in 1920, his Diploma Work was his design for the Jaipur Column, New Delhi. As Sengupta reminds us:

> The conception and design of the new imperial capital set in stone, quite literally scored into the ground, many of the hierarchies of today. And, as so much of our thinking is conditioned by the physical structures around us, we need to lift the stones, one by one, and examine what lies beneath.[28]

British colonialism was arrogant, violent and all-encompassing, and its legacies are still being felt today. For several generations of British artists of the African, Caribbean and Indian diaspora, including the generation whom Stuart Hall referred to as 'the first post-colonials', an exploration of colonialism and the Black Atlantic has been fundamental.[29] One of the most powerful ways in which we might activate a decolonial mode of looking and thinking is by bringing historical and contemporary artworks together in a new visual conversation that illuminates both. What we hope this exhibition might offer, through time spent with artworks that embody the complexity of these histories, is a forum for acknowledgement, reflection and imagination – a place to inhabit the past together, to discover individual responses to these moments seen through the eyes of artists, to feel the reverberations of images and ideas down the centuries, and to question them.

Lubaina Himid's magnificent multi-figure installation *Naming the Money*, accompanied by its poetically mesmerising soundtrack, composed in collaboration with fellow artist Magda Stawarska-Beavan, is an ode to human resilience, community and creativity, despite all the humiliations and horrors of enslavement and the Middle Passage. It is one of the culminating works in the exhibition. As Himid has astutely observed, 'We need to ask the questions and give the answers: creative people are the best people to give the answers, we *can* imagine untold layers of history, we are able to do it, we can summon it up, and we can tell those truths.' She also comments that 'acknowledgement of what's been hidden, what's been erased, is *more* important than destroying something that's already there. We can outclass that any day.'[30] After experiencing the mixed emotions of joy, togetherness, melancholy, loss and mourning activated by *Naming the Money*, the final room of the exhibition places Olu Ogunnaike's work *I'd Rather Stand* in dialogue with Yinka Shonibare's *Justice for All*. Visitors will need to pass between the two sculptures on their way out, becoming part of a three-way open conversation between themselves and the artworks.

Ogunnaike graduated from the Royal Academy Schools in 2021 with a work entitled *The Same Way You Came In?* (fig. 6). In this virtuoso spatial and architectural intervention into the heart of the Royal Academy he clad one of David Chipperfield's monumental internal doors with 'offcuts of colonial hardwood veneers, manually broken up and shredded before being "reformed" into chipboard'.[31] Smoked acacia, smoked aspen, smoked chestnut, Macassar ebony, smoked pomelle eucalyptus, jarrah, smoked larch, Brazilian mahogany, smoked oak, smoked dark-hearted pear, Sapele mahogany, black American walnut, wenge, ziricote and tree sap bio-resin all constituted an address to the complex histories of colonial extraction. As Neal Shasore comments, 'That process of chipping and binding with resin under intense heat and pressure reifies the hybridity and complexity of our own entanglements with Empire.'[32]

Indeed, throughout Ogunnaike's practice to date there has been an overriding interest in the global histories of trees and wood. In his exhibition 'London Plain' (fig. 7), opened at Cell Project Space, London, during the 2020 pandemic, Ogunnaike staged a spatial intervention by laying a herringbone-patterned floor using the timber from seven London plane trees that had been felled on Kensington High Street in 2012. During the run of the exhibition, visitors were able to chisel away at the floor, slowly revealing a hidden text beneath that concluded with the lines: 'Do we burn away / for a better state of play.'[33] As the curator of 'London Plain', Milika Muritu, commented, 'Ogunnaike cites wood as a marker of possible encounters: between past and present; between people and the spaces they inhabit.'[34] She notes that he 'is interested in the parallels' between 'humans and trees, tracing the moment a tree is uprooted from one geographical setting and placed in another, where it might be transformed.'[35] By drawing attention to the floor and inviting people into – and physically onto – the space he created, Ogunnaike's 'desire to create situations for togetherness' was subtly realised.[36]

I'd Rather Stand was first shown in the exhibition 'Testament' at Goldsmiths Centre for Contemporary Art in 2022. Ogunnaike built a scaled-down version of Trafalgar Square's empty fourth plinth clad with discarded scraps of 'luxurious wood veneers that were gathering dust on a factory floor'.[37] According to the accompanying exhibition booklet, 'they were selected to mirror various tree species found growing on London's streets. Were it not for their rejected appearance, these veneers would have adorned the surface of countless doors, wardrobes, tables and chairs around the globe. Perhaps an ode to fallen trees, here they stand at 6ft 5in, covering one of the few monuments that are seemingly dedicated to nothing.'[38] *Testament* had invited 47 contemporary artists to participate in a 'conversation about what it means to think about monuments today'. It raised a number of pertinent questions about monuments including 'whose narratives do they preserve, and whose do they suppress?' and 'can they still play a vital role in mediating communal grief and providing a locus for memory?'[39] Such questions return us full circle to those asked in 2006 by Hew Locke's *Restoration*, with which this essay began. They are questions that remain important in their ability to channel ongoing dialogues. Indeed, artworks have always been agents of change, flashpoints of contemporary debate and producers of meanings that are never fixed or stable. Inevitably, an exhibition such as this can only ever represent a tiny proportion of the artists and artworks engaged in its themes. But we hope that this is only the beginning of an important conversation for the Royal Academy as an institution, just one milestone on the long road towards necessary change as we collectively reflect on our entangled pasts.

Fig. 6
Olu Ogunnaike, *The Same Way You Came In?*, 2021.
Installation view, The Royal Academy of Arts, London.
Courtesy of the artist

Fig. 7
Olu Ogunnaike, *London Plain*, 2020 (detail). London plane, bronze, parquet adhesive, silkscreen on substrate, underlay, 5.2 x 11.1 m.
Courtesy of the artist and Cell Project Space, London

SITES OF POWER III
Imagining India

Sarah Lea

The Royal Academicians enjoyed the patronage not only of individuals or families, but also of the East India Company (1600–1874), a corporation with its own armed forces, which it used to propel British colonial expansion in the Indian subcontinent. In 1772 Edward Penny, the Royal Academy's first Professor of Painting, exhibited a work at the Academy (cat. 243) that had been commissioned by the East India Company's Court of Directors as an explicit piece of propaganda. In this painting, discussed in a recent study by Jennifer Howes, the controversial figure Robert Clive is depicted in an act of philanthropy: he is shown presenting a group of destitute British soldiers to Nawab Najm-ud-daula in order to persuade him to support their plight. Penny thus visualises Clive's success in creating a pension fund for elderly or injured East India Company employees, or their widows and children. The same fund paid Penny's fee. Clive was the first British Governor of Bengal. He returned to England in the late 1760s and used the vast personal fortune he had amassed in India to create several landed estates and art collections, during the years that ten million people lost their lives in the Bengal Famine (1769–70). Although Clive was previously celebrated as a military hero, public opinion was reflected in a cartoon based on Penny's painting (fig. 3.1) that echoed its composition, with two figurative groups either side, but replaced the central vignette (a mother flanked by children) with the East India Company's chairman and directors. Thus the cartoon reversed the intended meaning of the painting. It was accompanied by a satirical text that referred to a financial crisis occurring in the City of London in 1772 involving East India Company shares: deemed 'too big to fail', the East India Company received a substantial Bank of England loan to bail it out and prevent further economic instability. Significantly, the exhibition of Penny's painting coincided with a House of Commons Select Committee of Enquiry into corruption committed by Clive and his officials in India. In the cartoon, Clive has moved, backing away from the advancing Indian men, with the warrant now cast on the floor, reading 'Apology'.[1]

Aesthetically, Penny's painting recalls Mughal portraiture in the profile depiction of the Nawab. The work proclaims British sovereignty over Indian territories through East India Company control of local rulers, but also sends a message that Indian art, too, is ripe for appropriation. The vital impact of Indian art on Royal Academicians at this moment is registered in the interest taken by Reynolds – who was close to Penny at this time – in an album of seventeenth-century Mughal miniatures, for which he expressed deep admiration.[2] The album may originally have belonged to Ashraf Khan, an important member of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb's elite (see cat. 251).

In the late eighteenth century, while the movement for abolition was gathering pace, the rhetoric of 'freedom' was foregrounded in relation to the American Revolution (1765–91) and the French Revolution (1789–99), and defended by Thomas Paine in *The Rights of Man*, published in Britain from 1791–92. The instability of the British political system, debates about religious choice and equal rights, the loss of colonies in North America, and the Slave Trade Act of 1807, which abolished the slave trade but not slavery itself, all threatened the power of the British ruling elite. It took until 1833 for the Slavery Abolition Act finally to set out measures for the gradual cessation of slavery in the British colonies, with the exception of some territories controlled by the East India Company.[3] To supplement the shortage of plantation labour, colonial administrations in the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the Pacific looked to India for cheap workers to continue the production of sugar, cocoa and other commodities through systems of indentured labour (see introduction, p. 00).

One type of commodity essential to this so-called 'triangular trade' was textiles, both the raw materials and

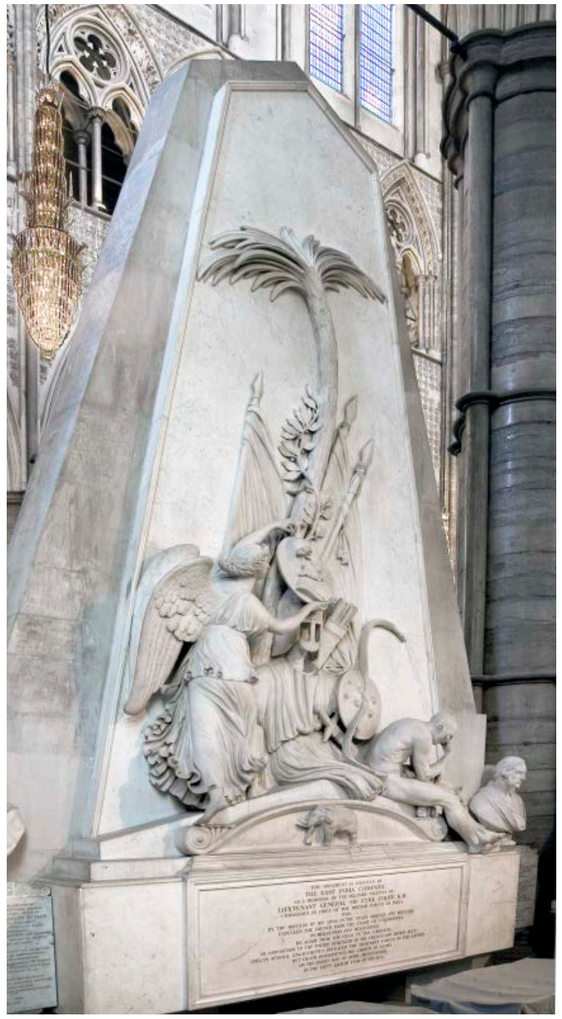
the products made with them. The role of South Asia in the intertwined narratives of enslavement, conflict, luxury consumerism and cultural exchange is explored in *Indiennes: The Extended Triangle* (2018; cat. 238), one of the 'Slaves of Fashion' series by the Singh Twins. The central figure quotes a late nineteenth-century painting of Fanny Eaton (1835–1924), a model of Jamaican heritage who posed for many British artists in the period (see p. 000). The Singh Twins draw on a wide range of artistic traditions, including Indian miniatures, eighteenth-century British satirists, and Persian and European medieval manuscripts. The detailed composition of this back-lit work is rich in symbolism, from the logo of the East India Company on Eaton's arm to the rifle she bears in reference to the business and military interests that intersected with the trade in textiles between India, Europe, Africa and America.

Layered symbolism is also found in monumental sculptures commissioned by the East India Company, such as the monument to Sir Eyre Coote by Thomas Banks (fig. 3.2), represented in 'Entangled Pasts' by a delicate stipple engraving by John Condé (cat. 206). This is one of several works by Banks destined for Westminster Abbey where it remains today, and which, in the winter months, functioned as an alternative public space where people could view art, beyond the spring and summer exhibitions at the Royal Academy and the Society of Artists. At the lower right (the left in the engraving) sits an Indian man, a figure exhibited by Banks separately at the Academy's 1789 Annual Exhibition under the title *Statue of a Mahratta Captive*, to be erected on 'Sir Eyre Coote's monument in Westminster Abbey'. The East India Company would most likely have interpreted the detail as a celebration of Coote's subjugation of Indian people, but an understanding that Banks's own political convictions diverged from those of his corporate patron allows a reading of this naked, forlorn figure as expressive of a strong degree of reservation: head in hands, he appears more human than the strangely abbreviated fallen hero Coote, represented here as a disembodied cameo held by a winged figure of Victory above the hollow shell of a Roman military uniform.

Banks also took commissions from another disgraced former Governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings, who was

Fig. 41
'The India Directors in the Suds', *Town and Country Magazine*, December 1772, pp. 705–06. Etching, 10.7 x 17.5 cm. British Museum, London

Fig. 42
Sir Thomas Banks, Memorial to Sir Eyre Coote, 1789. Marble, 792.48 x 365.76 cm. Westminster Abbey, London



impeached for corruption and controversially acquitted (he was at various intervals portrayed by Reynolds, Cosway, Lawrence and Zoffany). Yet other works, such as *The Hindu Deity Camadeva with his mistress on a crocodile* (*c.* 1794; cat. 171), seem to have been created for the amusement of Banks's circle, a group that included the radical artist, writer and activist George Cumberland. Like his close friend William Blake, Cumberland was fascinated with Indian mythology and explored syncretic connections between Hindu imagery and Greco-Roman aesthetics. This work in painted plaster depicts the Hindu god of love, Kamadeva, and his female companion Rati, aboard a makara – a mythical creature that in this case appears in the form of a crocodile. While Banks's radical politics were at odds with the East India Company's aims, his sheer skill as an artist made him an attractive choice. Banks himself had never travelled to India, his understanding of the art that so intrigued him was mediated by patrons, friends, the writings of William Jones on comparative religion and the collection of Indian art belonging to the antiquarian Charles Townley, which are indicative of a surge of interest in the art, languages and cultures of India at this time.

Questions of cultural identity in the context of British colonial rule in India are explored by Shahzia Sikander's broad-ranging practice, which stems in part from the traditions of Persian-Pakistani miniature painting and Urdu calligraphy. Her animation *The Last Post* (fig. 3.3) takes its title from the end-of-the-day bugle call of the British Army, still used in ceremonies today, and was created in collaboration with the experimental musician Du Yun. A mesmerising, shifting rhythm accompanies layers of swirling inks and detailed drawings that glide and transmute, sometimes alighting on subtle references to 'Company School', a hybrid Indo-European style of painting arising from the patronage of Indian artists by British officers of the East India Company. At one point, the red-coated figure of the 'Company' man shatters into countless fragments. *The Last Post* was originally created for an exhibition in Shanghai in 2010, and has been seen in many locations since, including Hong Kong, which became a British colony during the Opium Wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the addictive drug was grown by British colonists in India and smuggled into China to be exchanged for tea, silks and other luxurious commodities. Research by Sikander into the opium trade, especially in Shanghai, informed the project. *Incapsulated Confrontation* (2011; cat. 253), the related large-scale work on paper, uses layered ink, gouache, charcoal and graphite drawing to distil the rhythms of *The Last Post*,

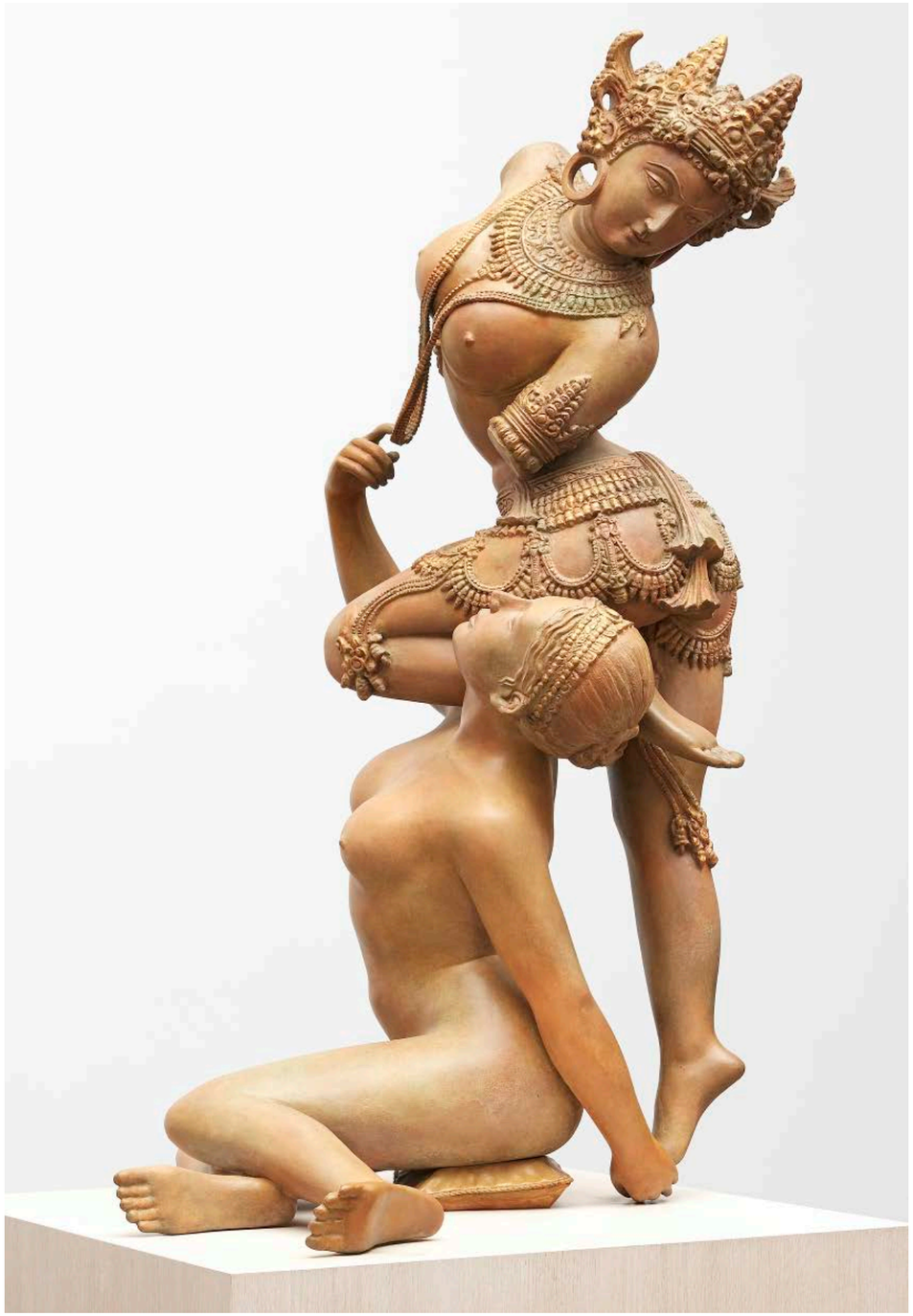
focusing on the encounter between a silhouetted figure and the Company man, who stand breath to breath amid circling objects, including a French horn. A very different work, the sculpture *Promiscuous Intimacies* (2020; cat. 176) likewise entwines two figures; the delicately patinated bronze surface is animated as the viewer encircles the bodies and the complex dynamics between them are gradually revealed. As Sikander has noted of the piece, it works 'by entangling Mannerism, the anti-classical impulse within the Western tradition, alongside Indian art, both as accomplice-witnesses of a one-sided history'. In so doing it mounts a challenge to the stability of fictions of national or cultural authenticity.[4]

Fig. 43
Shahzia Sikander, *The Last Post*, 2010.
Video Animation with music. Live performance of the score by Du Yun, San Francisco Institute of Art, 2011, as part of the solo exhibit curated by Hou Hanru 'The Exploding Company Man and Other Abstractions'. Courtesy the artist; Pilar Corrias, London and Sean Kelly, New York

Cat. 29
Shahzia Sikander
***Encapsulated Confrontation,* 2011**
Ink, gouache, graphite and charcoal on paper, 203 x 132 cm
Bristol Culture & Creative Industries, Bristol Museum & Art Gallery. Given by Art Fund under Art Fund International, 2011

Cat. 33
Thomas Banks
***The Hindu Deity Camadeva with His Mistress on a Crocodile*, c. 1794**
Painted plaster, 61 x 63.5 cm
By courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum, London

Cat. 34
Shahzia Sikander
***Promiscuous Intimacies*, 2020**
Patinated bronze, AP1, 106.7 x 61 x 45.7 cm
Courtesy of the artist, Sean Kelly New York, and Pilar Corrias Gallery



Joshua REYNOLDS (1723–1792)
Sir Joshua Reynolds was an English painter who became the first President of the Royal Academy in 1768. Reynolds was considered the leading portrait painter of his day, and wrote the influential *Discourses on Art*, based on a series of fifteen lectures given at the Royal Academy Schools between 1769 and 1790, which is still in print today. In it, he argued for the 'Grand Manner' of art, whereby painters should look to classical and Renaissance examples and should seek to idealise, rather than imitate, nature. A statue of Reynolds stands before the entrance to the Royal Academy, in the Annenberg Courtyard of Burlington House.

Betye SAAR (b. 1926)
Betye Saar grew up in Los Angeles and Pasadena, California. Trained as a printmaker, Saar is today renowned for her influential assemblages that activate the power of objects to communicate emotions and ideas across time. Sometimes autobiographical, her works connect themes of cosmology, family, mysticism, the political and the occult, as in the pivotal *Black Girl's Window* (1969; MoMA, New York). The assassination of Dr Martin Luther King Jr in 1968 prompted a shift to works such as *The Liberation of Aunt Jemima* (1972) and the 'Washboard Series', which address racist ephemera. As Saar commented of her tactile, intimate, commanding works in 1986: they hold the potential 'to convey to someone else the mysterious transforming gifts by which dreams, memory, and experience become art'.

Ignatius SANCHO (1729–1780)
Born aboard a slave ship in the Atlantic Ocean, as a child Sancho was enslaved in Grenada, then brought to England where he lived in a household in Greenwich before working for the Duke of Montagu. Sancho became a successful and socially well-connected composer of music. In his extensive correspondence, he called for attention to the injustice of slavery. His exchanges with popular novelist Laurence Sterne were published in 1775, bringing Sancho's words to a wide audience. In 1773 Sancho and his wife Anne opened a grocery shop in Westminster; as a male property owner Sancho was able to vote in British parliamentary elections in 1774 and 1780. Following his death, Sancho's letters were published in a best-selling book of enduring international influence.

Frederick SANDYS (1829–1904)
Frederick Sandys was a British painter, illustrator and draughtsman associated with the Pre-Raphaelites and the Norwich School of painters. He was born in Norwich and received lessons in art from his father, Anthony Sands, who was also a painter. He was educated at Norwich Grammar School and at the Government School of Design at Norwich. Sandys exhibited drawings at the Norwich Art Union from 1839 and won Royal Society of Arts medals in 1846 and 1847. He worked primarily as an illustrator and portraitist, but in the late 1850s and early 1860s he also painted in oils. Sandys showed regularly at the Royal Academy from 1851 to 1886.

Yinka SHONIBARE (b. 1962)
Yinka Shonibare is of Nigerian heritage and was born and studied art in London at Byam Shaw School of Art and Goldsmiths College. Shonibare works with painting, sculpture, photography, film and installation, using his artistic practice to explore colonialism, post-colonialism, globalisation and the construction of cultural identity. Often his work makes political statements about the tangled relationships between Europe and Africa. Key works include *Diary of a Victorian Dandy* (1998) and *Double Dutch* (1994). Shonibare was elected a Royal Academician in 2013 and in 2017 co-curated the 253rd Summer Exhibition, 'Reclaiming Magic', which aimed to be increasingly inclusive towards artists previously marginalised by the RA.

Shahzia SIKANDER (b. 1969)
Shahzia Sikander was born in Lahore, Pakistan, where she initially trained as a miniaturist at the National College of Arts. Since the 1990s, Sikander has pioneered an experimental approach that radically rearticulates and recontextualises the tradition of Indo-Persian miniature painting. Through her multi-dimensional practice, which spans painting, drawing, animation, sculpture, installation and video, Sikander has rediscovered a rich archive of imagery, infusing it with new dialogue that is often subversive and polemical. Recurrent themes in her work include transformation as narrative, the exploration of disruption as a means to cultivate new associations, and issues concerning labour, scale and time.

The Singh Twins (b. 1965)
Artists Amrit Kaur Singh and Rabindra Kaur Singh, known as the Singh Twins, live and work in Wirral. They studied Comparative Religion and Ecclesiastical History with Art History at Chester College. Inspired by Eastern and Western art forms, their highly decorative and narrative works often draw on the history of Indian miniature painting and contemporary culture. Their recent exhibition 'Slaves of Fashion' explores hidden narratives of empire, colonialism and enslavement through the lens of India's historical textile trade, reflecting on continued debates around the politics of this trade.

Thomas Stuart SMITH (1815–1869)
Thomas Stuart Smith was a Scottish painter and philanthropist who founded the Smith Institute, now known as the Stirling Smith Art Gallery and Museum, in 1869. Smith became interested in painting after meeting an Italian painter while serving as a travelling tutor to a British family. In 1840 he went travelling and painting in Italy with funding from his uncle, Alexander Smith. By the end of the 1840s, Smith had had his work accepted by both the Royal Academy in London and the Salon de Beaux Arts in Paris. Smith's two portraits of Black men, *A Fellah of Kinneh* and *The Pipe of Freedom* (both submitted to the Royal Academy in 1869), are remarkable for the fact that they show his subjects as independent, as opposed to the more common portrayal of Black figures as servants.

Thomas STOTHARD (1755–1834)
A painter, illustrator and engraver, Stothard was a student of the Royal Academy Schools in 1778 before being appointed a Royal Academician in 1794. He was a versatile artist, mainly painting small-scale historical scenes but also occasionally undertaking more ambitious commissions such as decorating the staircase at Burghley House (1799–1803) and the dome of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh (1822). During his time at the RA he began producing book illustrations, mainly specialising in English novels and poetry, and was appointed librarian to the Academy in 1814.

Tavares STRACHAN (b. 1979)
Tavares Strachan is a Bahamian conceptual artist based in New York City, whose practice explores the intersections of art, science and politics. Themes of invisibility, displacement and loss are frequently addressed in his work, and he questions canonised historical narratives, which marginalise or obscure certain groups. He began compiling his well-known *Encyclopaedia of Invisibility* in the 2010s, a compendium of 17,000 entries describing the legacies of under-recognised people, places, concepts, objects and phenomena, organised in the format of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Aeronautical exploration, expeditions to extreme environments and the desire to overcome mortal limitations are also recurring themes in Strachan's practice.

J. M. W. TURNER (1775–1851)
Joseph Mallord William Turner began his formal training at the Royal Academy Schools at the age of fourteen and remained closely involved with the RA throughout his life, becoming elected a full Academician in 1802. He began exhibiting watercolours at the RA's Annual Exhibition in 1790 and showed his first oil painting, *Fisherman at Sea*, in 1796. Often depicting maritime scenes, Turner's most famous paintings include *The Fighting Temeraire* (1839) and *The Slave Ship (Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying, Typhoon Coming On)* (1840), which was exhibited at the RA the year it was made.

Barbara WALKER (b. 1964)
Barbara Walker is a British artist based in Birmingham. Her work is informed by the social, political and cultural realities that affect her life and the lives of those around her. Growing up in Birmingham, her experiences have directly shaped a practice concerned with issues of class and power, gender, race, representation and belonging. Her figurative drawings and paintings tell contemporary stories hinged on historical circumstances, making them universally understood and reflecting a human perspective on the state of affairs in her native Britain and elsewhere. Walker was elected an RA in 2022.

Kara WALKER (b. 1969)
New York-based artist Kara Walker is best known for her candid investigations of race, gender, sexuality and violence through silhouetted figures that have appeared in numerous exhibitions worldwide. Born in Stockton, California, Walker was raised in Atlanta, Georgia, from the age of thirteen. She studied at the Atlanta College of Art (BFA, 1991) and the Rhode Island School of Design (MFA, 1994). Walker's *Fons Americanus*, a 13.5-metre functioning fountain, was exhibited at the Turbine Hall in 2019. She works in a wide range of media and scales including monumental sculpture, animation, video, film, cut-paper installations, drawings and artists books.

Henry WEEKES (1807–1877)
Henry Weekes was an English sculptor specialising in portraiture, and was one of the most successful sculptors of the mid-Victorian period. After working as an apprentice for sculptor William Behnes, Weekes was admitted as a student of the RA Schools in 1823, where he won a silver medal for sculpture in 1826. He was involved with the RA throughout his life, exhibiting 124 works (including many portraits), becoming an RA in 1863 and then Professor of Sculpture in 1868. Weekes joined the studio of Sir Francis Chantrey, a leading portrait sculptor, and took over his studio upon his death. He earned a reputation for his portraiture and was asked to execute a bust of Queen Victoria upon her accession to the throne.

Benjamin WEST (1738–1820)
Benjamin West was born in Pennsylvania in 1738. He established himself as a portrait painter in Philadelphia and travelled to Europe with the support of local patrons, making him the first American artist to visit Italy. After spending three years copying Italian masterpieces, West arrived in London aged 25 and established connections with influential Londoners. In 1768, along with other leading artists and architects, West successfully appealed to King George III for support in establishing the Royal Academy of Arts. West exhibited his painting *The Death of General Wolfe* at the Royal Academy's Annual Exhibition in 1771. An engraving of the painting enabled reproductions to be sold which made the image very commercially successful. The following year, West was made official history painter to King George III, and in 1792, became the second President of the Royal Academy.

Phillis WHEATLEY (1753–1784)
Born in West Africa, Phillis Wheatley was kidnapped and enslaved at the age of seven or eight. Her enslavers transported her to North America, and sold her to the Wheatley family of Boston. After Wheatley learned to read and write, her enslavers encouraged her talents as a poet. On a trip to London in 1773, Wheatley met prominent people who became her patrons. The publication in London of her *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* in 1773 made her famous in England and the American colonies. Shortly after the publication of her book of poems, Wheatley was emancipated by her enslavers.

Kehinde WILEY (b. 1977)
Kehinde Wiley is an LA-born painter based in New York. He is known for his large-scale, naturalistic portraits of contemporary Black figures. Wiley's oeuvre is largely influenced by the maximalism of European Baroque and Neoclassical portraits but he also draws on Romantic paintings, medieval stained glass and Japanese landscapes of the Edo Period. The figures in his paintings are often friends, family or passersby scouted on the streets. Wiley has also painted many public figures; he became particularly renowned after being chosen by President Barack Obama to paint his official portrait to be displayed in the Smithsonian National Portrait Gallery. In 2019 Wiley founded Black Rock, a multi-disciplinary artist in residence program in Dakar, Senegal.

William WOOLLETT (1735–1785)
William Woollett was an English engraver born in Maidstone. He was an apprentice to John Tinney, an engraver on Fleet Street in London, and studied in the St Martin's Lane Academy. In 1775, Woollett was appointed Engraver-in-Ordinary to George III. He was also a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists, and acted as Secretary for several years. Woollett engraved *The Battle of La Hogue* (1781) and *The Death of General Wolfe* (1776) after paintings by Benjamin West. The latter print proved highly lucrative and, building on the success of his Niobe (1761) after Richard Wilson RA, cemented Woollett's reputation as the foremost engraver in Europe.

William YOUNG (1749–1815)
Sir William Young was a British colonial governor, politician and owner of Caribbean sugar plantations which, in 1788, included 896 enslaved Africans. Young was a key figure in the First Carib War (1769–73), which was criticised at the time as a violation of the natural rights of mankind. *The Family of Sir William Young* was painted by the Royal Academician Johann Zoffany between 1767 and 1769 and includes a Black man (possibly named John Brook) who was likely enslaved by the family, helping Young's son down from a horse. Young died in St. Vincent in 1788, on a visit to one of his estates. In his will, recorded at St Vincent, Tobago and Antigua, he stipulated that 'John my mulatto' be granted his freedom. It is unclear whether this refers to the Black figure in Zoffany's painting.

Johann ZOFFANY (1733–1810)
Johann Zoffany was a German neoclassical painter who was born near Frankfurt and was mainly active in England, Italy and India. Zoffany was a founding member of the Royal Academy in 1768, and was popular for his society and theatrical portraits, which included many prominent actors and actresses. Zoffany spent 1783–89 in India, under British colonial rule, and painted prolifically. His works made in India include portraits of British officials and an altarpiece for St John's Church, Calcutta.

Biographies written by Alayo Akinkugbe, Natasha Fyffe, Sarah Lea and Rose Thompson

15 A 1796 inventory records Belle by her married name: 'Lady Elizabeth, and Mrs Davinier'. In 1904, the inventory reads 'Portrait of Lady Finch Hatton [...] seated in a garden with an open book and negress attendant' and in 1910, only 'Portrait of Lady Elizabeth.' See BBC 'Fake or Fortune', Series 7, episode 4.
16 See Esther Chadwick, '1776: The Edges of Empire' at https://chronicle250.com/1776.
17 *Portrait of Mai* was recently acquired by the National Portrait Gallery, London, and the John Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles: https://www.npg.org.uk/support/the-portrait-of-omai.
18 See Gibson's extended biography: https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/name/john-gibson-ra. The lease is in the RA archive: RAA/TRU/1
19 Quoted in https://chronicle250.com/1869.
20 The artists represented are: Leonardo da Vinci (north); Michelangelo (north east); Raphael (south east); Christopher Wren (east); Titian (south); Reynolds (north west); Flaxman (west); and an currently unknown sitter (south west).

Sites of Power II: Conflict and Ambition, pp. 64–89

1 Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, London, 1789, pp. 220, 224.
2 See 'War's Empire', Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War*, Cambridge, 2020, pp. 17–43.
3 By 1770 British traders were trafficking roughly 42,000 enslaved Africans across the Atlantic every year.
4 See Copley's extended biography: https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/name/john-singleton-copley-ra.
5 See Copley's extended biography: https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/name/john-singleton-copley-ra for his connections with slavery.
6 https://collections.mfa.org/objects/34280 1. Captain R. G. Bruce to Copley, 4 August 1766, in Guernsey Jones (ed.), *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham*, 1739–1776, Boston, 1914, p. 41. This text was adapted from Elliot Bostwick Davis et al., *American Painting, MFA Highlights*, Boston, 2003.
7 For detailed discussions of both paintings see Emily Ballew Neff and Kaylin Weber, *American Adversaries: West and Copley in a Transatlantic World*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2013.
8 British Museum objects owned by West and referenced in *Wolfe* include Am1991,09.1, Am1991,09.9.
9 This first version of West's *Wolfe* was given by the 2nd Duke of Westminster to the Canadian Government War Memorials in 191
10 Ernst, S. A, 'Indigenous Sovereignty and Settler Amnesia: Robert Houle's Premises of Self Rule', *RACAR: Canadian Art Review*, 2017, Vol. 42, No. 2, p.108-120, p. 110.
11 Wanda Nanibush (ed.), *Robert Houle, Red is Beautiful*, Art Gallery of Ontario, Del Monico, New York, 2022, exh. cat., Ontario, Calgary, Winnipeg, Washington DC., p. 98.
12 Robert Houle, quoted in ibid., p. 97.
13 W. Jackson Rushing III, 'Beautiful Object = Paradigm of Power: Robert Houle from A to Z' in *Robert Houle, Sovereignty over Subjectivity*, Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1999, p. 30.
14 A contemporary account suggests Oswald, who was deemed 'ugly', did not wish his appearance to be recorded in any portrait. See John Quincy Adams, quoted in Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West*, New Haven, 1986, no. 105.
15 See David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History*, London, 2017, pp. 154–56.
16 Hew Locke interviewed by Louisa Buck, 'Hew Locke: Power Boats', *Art Newspaper*, March 2019, pp. 4–5 (https://halesgallery.com/usr/documents/press/download_url/438/louisa-buck-hew-locke-power-boats-the-art-newspaper-march-2019-p-4-5.pdf).

Sites of Power III: India, pp. 90–101

1 Jennifer Howes, *The Art of a Corporation: The East India Company as Patron and Collector*, 1600–1860, London and New York, 2023. See 'Scandals' (pp. 107–14) for a full discussion of Penny's painting.
2 Natasha Eaton, 'Nostagia for the Exotic: Creating an Imperial Art in London, 1750–1793', *Eighteenth-century Studies*, 39, 2, 2006, pp. 227–50. See especially p. 247, endnote 32.
3 https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/slavery/.
4 Shahzia Sikander, quoted in https://sculpture magazine.art/a-conversation-with-shahzia-sikander/.

Beauty and Difference I: Landscape and Architecture pp. 102–117

1 For example, in the exhibitions *Constable, Gainsborough, Turner and the Making of Landscape* (2013) and *David Hockney: A Bigger Picture* (2012).
2 See William Hodges RA 'Select Views In India', book in RA collection, record number: 03/2612 and https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/name/william-hodges-ra.
3 Artist's statement on website: http://www.mohinichandra.com/about-imaginary-edens, 1 June 2023.
4 Translation by Ananda Lal and Sukanta Chaudhuri, quoted on http://www.mohinichandra.com/about-belated. This project was commissioned by Autograph for 'Care | Contagion | Community – Self & Other' (2020).
5 Martin Postle (ed.), *Johann Zoffany: Society Observed*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, 2011; entry by Gillian Forester, no. 92, p. 279.
6 Brunias exhibited three works at the RA. The scale of the present work indicates it was likely an exhibition picture but from title alone it is not possible to determine if this is *A view on the River of Roseau in [Dominica].*
7 Shonibare, correspondence with author, 2023.
8 Greg Wiggan, 'Afterword: Black Migrations and Urban Realities', *Black History Bulletin*, 81, 2, 2018, pp. 30–33. See: https://doi.org/10.5323/blachistbull.81.2.0030.

Beauty and Difference II: Prints, Poetry, Sculpture and Photography, pp. 118–141

1 David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History*, London, 2017, pp. 228–31. The Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery has created a pioneering database drawing on compensation records. This database has been the foundation for a new understanding of the extent of slavery's impact on the development of modern Britain: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/.
2 Phillis Wheatley, *Complete Writings*, New York, 2001, p. 53.
3 Barbara Walker interviewed by Anneka French: https://www.a-n.co.uk/news/qa-barbara-walker-artist-making-black-histories-visible/.
4 An early nineteenth-century reduced-scale painted copy of the fresco by an unknown artist (RA inv. 03/806) exists in the Royal Academy's collection but this seems too late to have been a reference for Stothard, who likely referred to prints (see p. 00).
5 Robin Coste Lewis, *Voyage of the Sable Venus and other poems*, New York, 2017: prologue, p. 35.
6 For more information on Baartman see C. Crais and P. Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*, Princeton, 2009.
7 Kara Walker, 'Fons Americancus: Notes on the Figures', in Clara Kim (ed.), *Kara Walker, Fons Americanus*, London, 2019, p. 57.
8 See Martina Droth, 'Mapping The Greek Slave', digital interactive: https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer16/droth-on-mapping-the-greek-slave
9 See Isaac Julien, Cora Gilroy-Ware and Vladimir Seput (eds), *Lessons of the Hour: Frederick Douglass*, New York, 2021.
10 John Stauffer, Zoe Trodd and Celeste-Marie Bernier (eds), *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American*, New York, 2015.

11 See 'Pictures and Progress', 1864–65, in John Stauffer, Zoe Trodd and Celeste-Marie Bernier (eds), *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American*, New York, 2015, p. 155.

Models, Exhibitors and Presidents: Constructing Whiteness, pp. 142–163

1 Alex Clayton-Payne, forthcoming article.
2 The derogatory term 'mulatto' is used to describe her on her birth certificate and intermittently throughout her life and after her death.
3 *Fellah* was the term for a peasant in Egypt, and Kinneh refers to the town of Qena, on the Nile Delta.
4 For more on this see Dr Isabelle Charmantier, 'Linnaeus and Race', 3 September 2020: https://www.linnean.org/learning/who-was-linnaeus/linnaeus-and-race.
5 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, New York, 1952.
6 Frank Dicksee, 'Discourse Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy', 10 December 1925.
7 https://chronicle250.com/1938.
8 It was first popularised by the 1955 translation of Pierre Daninos's *Les Carnets du Major Thompson* (1954), a French satire on upper-class British culture.

Crossing Waters: The Aquatic Sublime, pp. 164–177

The title of this essay is taken from John Akomfrah's
1 Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, or *Gustavus Vassa, the African, written by Himself*, London, 1790, pp. 51–54.
2 For the full text of Turner's verse, see A. J. Finberg, 'The Life of J. M. W. Turner R.A.', second edition, London, 1961, p. 474.
3 https://www.hauserwirth.com/hauser-wirth-exhibitions/6185-ellen-gallagher-accidental-records.
4 https://www.hauserwirth.com/hauser-wirth-exhibitions/6185-ellen-gallagher-accidental-records.
5 https://www.smokingdogsfilms.com/projects/exhibition/vertigo-sea.

Where to from here? pp. 178–185

1 My thanks to Olu Ogunnaike for this suggested title.
2 [Add *Naming the Money* book and page refs – also check setting out of texts and punctuation.]
3 See Milika Muritu on Ogunnaike's *London Plain, 2020–2021*: https://www.cellprojects.org/exhibitions/olu-ogunnaike.
4 The work was first shown at Goldsmiths Centre for Contemporary Art in 'Testament', an exhibition exploring questions around public art.
5 Simon Bradley and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: London 6, Westminster*, Yale University Press, 2003.

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