Pictured but Unknown: Black histories in UCL Art Collections
Gemma Romain, January 2012.

Introduction.
During 2008 a short pilot project was commissioned by UCL Art Collections (now UCL Art Museum), scoping a portion of the collection in order to locate and research images and objects which had some relation to Black history. Of particular interest to the project was identifying visual representations of Black people throughout the centuries, but the project also sought to explore other images relating explicitly or implicitly to empire, imperial cultures, race, and colonialism. In the course of this research I identified several objects and images which could provide the basis of future extensive research, a selection of which appear in this gallery on the Equiano Centre's website.

As this was a pilot study, concerned with locating and recording relevant objects onto a database, extensive research has not yet been carried out on the findings. However, from January 2012 Dr. Caroline Bressey will be leading an AHRC-funded project entitled Drawing over the Colour Line: geographies of art and cosmopolitan politics in London 1919 - 1939 with myself as co-investigator, which will focus in more depth on these UCL pieces as well as other paintings, prints and drawings in private and public collections throughout the country, which relate to inter-war Black histories. As well as describing a selection of the objects documented in the 2008 pilot, this essay provides some background context and rationale of the project, ideas on how future work could be shaped and plans for future work relating to Drawing over the Colour Line.

Project Rationale – revealing the Black presence within British archives.

Although Black people were present in Britain in the Roman and medieval periods, and there has been a continuous settlement of people of African heritage from the sixteenth century to today, Black peoples' experiences and also the role they have played in shaping British history has often been hidden or marginalised. Up until recent decades, Black British history pre-1945 was little examined in public discourse and academic history writing. As a result of the work of some historians, genealogists, and grass-roots organisations this situation has improved. Still, much more needs to be done, particularly in terms of mainstreaming Black and other diverse ethnic histories into general academic writing on Britain, and in documenting the various and multiple everyday interactions between people of diverse ethnic backgrounds and to explore these interactions in regards to gender, class, sexuality, political identity, and other intersectional identities.
Historians and writers who have challenged these silences within British historiography and have explored some of these intersections and 'hidden histories' include: Peter Fryer, with his influential 1984 work *Staying Power*; Rozina Visram, exploring the history and experiences of Asians in Britain since the 1600s; Hakim Adi documenting the history of Pan-Africanism in Britain, and more recently looking at the role of Black people in the Comintern (Communist International) seeking to fight colonialism from a Communist standpoint; Caroline Bressey, exploring historical geographies of Black women in Victorian Britain and visual representations and archival documents about Black people in asylums and orphanages; Jeffrey Green, who has researched extensively on Black people in Edwardian Britain; Stephen Bourne, exploring amongst other subjects the history of Black people in British television and film; and Kathleen Chater, who has recently published a monograph on the history of Black people in the early modern period based on extensive archival research.\(^1\) Organisations such as the *Black and Asian Studies Association* (BASA) have highlighted and carried out new research and organised conferences and seminars on Black British history, and *rukus!* has documented and archived the history and experiences of Black LGBT peoples (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) in Britain.\(^2\) The recent cataloguing of the *Black Cultural Archives* (BCA) collections highlight the significant and diverse material relating to Black histories in existence.\(^3\)

Archives and other repositories which, at first glance, are not directly related to Black history have an important role in bringing these histories to light by revisiting their collections in order to explore and catalogue, in new and innovative ways, histories which reflect or allude to ethnically diverse experiences. As Kate Lowe stated in the 2005 publication *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* "at first glance, it might seem astonishing that the black African presence has been so completely ignored. The reasons for this are manifold, but an absence of material is not one..."


of them. ... The long history of black African settlement in many parts of Europe was denied for political and racial reasons, and the topic was successfully buried until the end of the twentieth century. So in general and with a few high profile exceptions, although copious material existed, each archival reference or image relating to black Africans in Europe brought into the public domain was treated as an isolated case.\textsuperscript{4} Inspired by grass-roots activism and heritage schemes such as Revisiting Collections and Revisiting Archive Collections, various museums, libraries, archives and galleries have been revisiting and reinterpreting their collections – seeking to explore histories within the collections that have been marginalised and to read and catalogue their archive collections 'against the grain', by documenting evidence of subaltern experiences within the records. However, the ideas within these schemes need to be applied on a larger scale and filter through to wider cataloguing practices.\textsuperscript{5}

Archives, museums, and galleries hold much evidence to aid this historical exploration of hidden and subaltern experiences. The examination of Black history needs to be carried out by using a range of sources – from parish and local authority records, newspapers, court records, government and parliamentary papers, diaries, literature, sound recordings, fragmentary ephemera and – important in the context of Pictured but Unknown - visual culture. Galleries throughout Britain hold a range of artwork which include images of Black people and/or histories relating to Black people. In recent years art historians and scholars of Black history have explored images from the early modern period, but the extent to which this research is reflected in gallery and auction catalogue descriptions and gallery object captions is somewhat limited – particularly in the portrait titles which do not include black servants in the title if they are sitting with an aristocratic main subject. However, some galleries have recently carried out community outreach and revisiting catalogue work relating to Black history in archives. For example, the National Portrait Gallery's online catalogue provides a diversity index in the subjects and themes section, which brings up 1179 portraits indexed with this term.\textsuperscript{6} The innovative work of Jan Marsh, based at the National Portrait Gallery, is notable for leading the way to provide counter-narratives to Victorian art history.


as well as providing invaluable information to researchers of Black history; Marsh has documented and uncovered many ethnically diverse images relating to the Victorian period, leading to an exhibition during 2005-2006 in Manchester and Birmingham on the subject of Black people in Victorian art.  

Artwork not considered aesthetically exceptional may have been forgotten in archival vaults and personal attics, never to be displayed in exhibitions; however these pieces may be historically important for many reasons, including what they can tell us about hidden or marginalized histories. As Beth Fowkes Tobin stated in Picturing Imperial Power “like the objects of many cultural studies analyses, most of the paintings discussed in this book have been overlooked as aesthetically inferior and culturally insignificant. By placing these ignored and forgotten images in tandem with colonial discourse theory, I hope to jog them out of the realm of trivia, memorabilia, and collectibles and into the realm of significant cultural production.”

The Pictured but Unknown pilot project at UCL Art Museum sought to continue work in this vein, documenting images of Black people in prints and paintings by established artists, but also in drawings and prints created by Slade School of Art students during their degrees. Most of these have never been displayed in high-profile exhibitions or galleries, particularly those created by students who did not move onto careers within the art world. Many pieces of artwork made by these students were not only prize-winning but also undoubtedly reveal significant gaps in our knowledge of Black history in the art world; about the links between artists, student artists and the Black community settled in Britain in the early twentieth century, how Black people were represented in portraiture, and about the diverse and hidden types of labour Black individuals undertook e.g. working as artists' models.

UCL Art Museum.

Most of the UCL Art Museum collections is based in the Strang Print Room and its repository, but the artwork is also displayed throughout the college. The collection contains over 10,000 objects which include paintings, prints, drawings and also sculpture. A substantial part of the collection consists of pieces of artwork by former Slade School of Art students from the early twentieth century up to today; a selection of pieces each year were kept by the school and deposited in the collection – the majority being prize-winning pieces of work (such as the Henry Tonks prize).

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There is a large collection of prints and drawings from English and continental European artists, including John Constable (1776-1837), Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851), and the Mezzotint printmaker John Smith (1652-1743), the latter whose works we see here in the gallery. Lastly, the collection consists of models of sculptures and drawings by the neo-classical sculptor John Flaxman (1755-1826), which the university obtained in 1842, forming the beginning of the UCL Art Museum.  

I spent one week exploring the collection. During this time I systematically looked through almost all of the drawings by Slade School of Art students within the archive. I was also able to explore most of the paintings and the prints of Slade students, the former guided by the printed catalogue of oil paintings within UCL collections and the prints guided by the internal collections cataloguing system.  

I explored parts of the Flaxman sculpture and drawing collection, and, based on my knowledge of colonial and imperial histories, selected pieces from the English prints collections using the printed catalogues (due to the size of the European prints collection and the project time constraints I could not systematically go through each piece in this latter series). In my research I came across roughly three subject divisions which relate to Black history and the history of Africans and Asians in Britain and the Empire, and documented 69 objects fitting into these three categories. This number undoubtedly represents just some of the items relating to Black history in the Museum, as most of the collection was not looked through, for example, most of the European prints and the Flaxman collection were unexplored.

The categories are:

1. Representations of Black people in early modern Britain, highlighting Britain’s involvement in slavery, the slave trade, colonialism and empire (also included in this category are objects which on the surface appear to have no connection to Black history, but are objects in which the portrait sitters, sculpture subjects, or artists have connections to that history i.e. slave traders, slave trade investors, owners of West Indian plantations, colonialists in India).
2. Representations of Black individuals within figurative artwork made by Slade School of Art students, mainly from the early twentieth century up to the 1940s.
3. Contemporary pieces of work from the 1960s onwards representing histories of empire and colonialism, and representations of national and cultural identity from a critical and post-

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colonialism perspective, which include Black students of the Slade and their representations of histories such as the civil rights movement.

Representations of Black people in early modern Britain.

One striking image found within UCL Art Museum's British prints created during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is that of the black enslaved servant within visual representations of British elites. The representation of black servants can be found in much of early modern European painting and represents a common motif adopted in elite domestic portraiture, and yet until recent decades it had not been analysed in any great depth in mainstream historical writing. Academics including David Dabydeen, David Bindman, Beth Fowkes Tobin, Kate Lowe, and Marcus Wood have now carried out significant work challenging this silence by exploring the uses of images of black servants in early modern European visual culture and asking questions about what these representations say about European society and fashion, class, race, gender, and wider themes of empire and imperialism.11

Black representation in visual culture expanded in early modern Europe as countries developed imperial economies, based on plantation slavery in the Portuguese sugar islands off the coast of west Africa then expanding and establishing itself in the Americas and on economic exploitation of the Indian subcontinent. A black enslaved population grew in European metropoles from Lisbon to Vienna.12 For example, in 1550 there were approximately 9,500 enslaved Africans in Lisbon.13 In the case of Britain, a Black presence grew in the port cities of Bristol, Liverpool, and London, which were heavily involved in the transatlantic slave trade. However, black people lived all over the country, in smaller towns and in rural areas. In this period of time, from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries most Black people in Britain could be found in domestic service, being brought over as enslaved Africans from the Caribbean – some were able to escape or


leave their owners but a large number seem to have remained in unpaid labour. However, it is difficult to quantify and explore with precise details the status of these individuals as their lives appear ambiguous in the records available, in terms of what type of servant they were.

As James Walvin and others such as Norma Myers and Kathleen Chater have shown, the term 'black servant' might mean someone enslaved or someone in paid employment. However, in the early period we see that when the word servant is used in many official documents relating to black attendants, it is meant that the person is a slave. The court proceedings of the Old Bailey, which have been digitised and are free to use, contain a wealth of information about black life, and can be used in an examination of terminology used and status relating to black servants. On 16th September, 1795 a theft trial against an enslaved girl called Susannah was conducted at the Old Bailey, whereby she was found guilty of stealing to the value of 39 shillings and sentenced to seven years transportation. She was aged about fifteen and was described as a 'negro' and a 'black girl.' Extracts of the transcript between the examiner and Polly Bridges, her former owner, is as follows: 

"Q. Do you know the prisoner at the bar? - Yes, she lived in my family, a servant, about nine years. I missed this property after this girl went away from my house; she left the house on the 19th of July last. Q. Were you apprized of her going away then? - No, I was not. Q. Was she a hired servant to you? - No. she was not. Q. Had she lived with you ever since she came from abroad? - Yes. Q. You paid her no wages? - None at all. Q. What name did she go by in your service? - Susannah. Q. You never knew any other name she had? - No."

Thus, in this court transcript, we find evidence of the use of the word servant, meaning enslaved person.

Some domestics left the service of those who had brought them over from the Caribbean, whilst others remained. Those who left service could be found in a diversity of professions, mixing with the white poor in employment and in setting up interracial families. There were also significant writers of African heritage living in Britain during this time, including abolitionists, who wrote key anti-slavery texts, such as Olaudah Equiano and Quobna Ottobah Cugoano. Additionally, a large influx of thousands of Black loyalists from North America after the ending of the American War of Independence in 1783 increased the black presence, particularly amongst the black poor, who received limited or no war compensation, in contrast to white loyalists. Black people worked in various other occupations and David Dabydeen observed the diversity of images in art alluding to


this, stating “seventeenth and eighteenth century art testifies to the variety of their occupations, blacks being depicted as footmen, coachmen, pageboys, soldiers, sailors, musicians, actresses, prostitutes, beggars, prisoners, pimps, highway robbers, streetsellers, and other similar roles.”

Black domestic servants were both male and female, though usually men. As well as adult domestic servants, children were also brought over to work as domestic servants and in fact the Black population in Britain was noticeably young. Black children and young adults were used by aristocratic men and women as personal attendants not only for practical but also for aesthetic reasons, notably as fashion devices. The use of Black boys and girls as fashion ‘accessories' started very early in the period of black settlement across Europe. Black servants were exhibited as ‘ornaments’ or symbols of eliteness and wealth; they were dressed in expensive clothing and often wore a collar around their necks made of silver, representing their enslaved status.

Peter Fryer states, “as early as 1628 Sir James Bagg of Plymouth ordered that his newly arrived 'negrowe' should be 'handsomely clothed.'" As well as servants of African heritage, it became increasingly popular to have child servants of Chinese or Indian heritage, as represented in domestic portraiture of the time, particularly those elites with connections to the East India trade. For example, the 1786 oil painting by Johan Zoffany (1733-1810) entitled Colonial Blair with his Family and an Ayah.

**Black servants in European portraits.**

The inclusion of Black servants in aristocratic European portraiture began at the earliest moment of the Black early modern presence. For example, the portrait painted in Lisbon by Cristóvão de Morais sometime between December 1552 and June 1553 of Juana, Catherine of Austria's daughter-in-law, includes an image of an African girl who was given to her as a wedding gift from her husband Prince João. Of notable importance is Holland, but Britain represents one of the countries where the device is most often utilised. In the 1993 publication *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*, Allison Blakely explored Black figures in artwork representing “Dutch burgher families, groups, and individuals” and stated the “Lowlands produced more of this type of art than any other area in the world. England was the only

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18 For example, see Fryer. *Staying Power*, p. 72.
country that even comes close in this regard to the Netherlands and Belgium.\textsuperscript{22}

It must be debated whether or not the black pages seen in all of these portraits were those owned or employed by the main subject of the artwork – probably so in many cases, but in other cases the inclusion of black servants was aspirational – indicating the desired status of the sitter in owning an 'exotic' servant, thereby linking them to imperial wealth and as well as allowing them to perform or portray certain perceived gendered and/or racial ideals (i.e. of compassion or bravery, or of European ideals of beauty such as pale skin) by symbolically utilising the image of the black servant, particularly boys. When referring to the seventeenth-century Dutch painter Jan Steen's fictional scenery depiction in the portrait of Van Goyen, Blakely states “the black servant, like most other items in the scene, symbolizes rather than reproduces the lifestyle which the artist wishes to chronicle.”\textsuperscript{23} Similarly, in a British context, Joshua Reynolds painted his own black servant in various portraits, for example in holding the Marquis of Granby's horse.\textsuperscript{24}

As Beth Fowkes Tobin observes from her study of colonial subjects in eighteenth century British paintings, the image of a Black person most commonly represented in eighteenth century art is of a Black boy dressed to represent a servant in livery and wearing ‘exotic’ head-dressing – either a turban or skullcap – thus fusing and mixing African, Indian, and Arabic cultures.\textsuperscript{25} This exotic status is then further supplemented by the inclusion of luxurious imperial goods such as tea, coffee, sugar and tobacco.\textsuperscript{26} These images act as a fashion device, often indicating the sitters’ links to colonial enterprises and wealth gained from imperialism. Blakely has also found this common motif in Dutch art, showing fashions to traverse national boundaries; the representations include a variety of poses, but some basic patterns within these poses which “were repeated with formula-like frequency.” One pattern shows the “servant in intimate contact with the principal figure”, such as Adriaan Hannerman representing a black servant putting jewellery on the wrist of the main female sitter, Maria Henriette Stuart; and another common pose shows a black servant holding a parasol over the head of the main sitter. As we also see in much British portraiture, the most common pose was the servant offering food or flowers to the main sitter.\textsuperscript{27} Additionally, in the images I have located in both UCL Art Museum collections and elsewhere, the main sitter is often looking straight ahead, while the servant looks towards the sitter, symbolically showing that they are a secondary

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[23]{\textit{Ibid}, p. 113.}
\footnotetext[24]{Fryer. \textit{Staying Power}, p. 72.}
\footnotetext[25]{Tobin. \textit{Picturing Imperial Power}, p. 27.}
\footnotetext[26]{Tobin. \textit{Picturing Imperial Power}, p. 27.}
\footnotetext[27]{Blakely. \textit{Blacks in the Dutch World}, pp. 105-106.}
\end{footnotes}
subject of the piece, and their subjecthood and individuality is not intended to be highlighted or focused upon.

This common pose of Black servants appearing in domestic portraiture in close contact with white aristocrats is striking when compared to pictorial (or lack of) representations of white servants in domestic conversational pieces of art. White labourers working in agriculture would be visually represented, showing their toil at a distance, but they are not usually represented in close contact with white elites. As Tobin argues, “black servants, even when portrayed in conversation pieces, maintain their difference through racialist and nationalist categories as well as visual traditions that regulate them to the realm of the decorative; for these reasons, their presence does not threaten colonial hierarchies in the same way that white domestic servants could have threatened class hierarchies at home.”

Black servants in early modern portraiture in the UCL Art Museum.

In the Equiano Centre gallery we have included prints found in the UCL Art Museum collections by the eminent engraver John Smith, working from paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller and J. Sommer, which all include images of Black boys acting as personal attendants to the aristocratic main subjects of the painting. This first image is a mezzotint dated 1700 by the engraver John Smith, based on a painting of Charles Napier by the artist J. Sommers. In my preliminary research, I have so far been unable to locate any significant information about either the artist or the sitter. Concrete information I have about the sitter is that Charles Napier was the second Baronet of Punknoll, the son of Robert Napier of the Middle Temple, who was knighted by Charles II in February 1681, and who died in November 1700. The image is striking in its desired representation of military authority and perceived masculine and imperial superiority and represents a common pose, symbolically using the black servant as deferential subject looking up in a pose suggesting admiration towards Napier. The active background image of military horses is included to represent the direct action of the military conflict. The black servant is dressed wearing a jewelled earring. Fryer has found black boys wearing jewelled eardrops in other images, such as in the portrait of Sir Thomas Herbert.

29 Sir Charles Napier, Sommers/Smith, 1700, UCL Art Collections, English prints; number 2066.
31 Fryer, Staying Power, p. 25.
The next piece of art in the gallery is another mezzotint by John Smith dated circa 1689; this time based on a Sir Godfrey Kneller portrait, a likeness of Frederick Herman de Schomberg, the first Duke of Schomberg. Schomberg was born in Heidelberg in 1615 and died in 1690. He became a key military figure in many campaigns throughout Europe; he also fought for a number of different countries, including England, Portugal, and France. He served for William of Orange and was killed during the Battle of the Boyne, in Ireland. Again, similar to the previous image, the use of a black servant is contrasted to the main sitter to signify strength and military prowess, and racial superiority. Peter Fryer believed that the black servant in Kneller's portrait of Schomburg to be a kettledrummer. Black musicians were used as military bandsmen in the British army from, it seems, the second half of the seventeenth century, reaching its peak at the end of the eighteenth century. This image of Schomburg is identical, with the exception of a different main sitter, to an image of Willem II Hendrik Prins van Oranje Nassau again painted by Kneller, with print by Smith, the latter which has been analysed by Allison Blakely; it has the same background scenery, main sitter pose, positioning of the sword, helmet, the same armour, and the same black servant in an identical pose. Blakely has found other paintings in the Dutch world with similar same poses, stating that in military portraits “a black servant usually holds the helmet for the armored warrior dressed for battle on land or sea.”

Another print in the UCL Art collections which portrays an aristocratic sitter with a black servant is the 1702 print of Mary Somerset, the Duchess of Ormond, again a mezzotint by Smith, based on a painting by Kneller. Mary Somerset was the second wife of James Butler, Duke of Ormond. This image represents a common pose for aristocratic women with black servants, in terms of seeking to show the main sitter's beauty and elegance, with a servant looking up adoringly. Often the white skin of the woman was used in contrast to the black skin of the servant, in order to highlight the fairness, and thus beauty in this racialised dichotomy, of a particular aristocrat. Tobin

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32 Frederick Duke of Schomberg, Kneller/Smith, 1700, UCL Art Collections, English prints; number 2023.
34 Fryer, Staying Power, p. 81.
37 Duchess of Ormond, Kneller/Smith, 1702, UCL Art Collections, English prints, number 2069.
has analysed this image by looking at the various binaries at work within the image, including the intersections of gender and race. Tobin states “his crouching body and boyish face emphasize her height; his round black face offers contrast to her white skin and elegantly long face, arms, and torso.”

Both male and female aristocratic representations, although often different in their common poses, had similar motifs at work - to display wealth and prestige though aligning oneself to the majesty of the empire and using the stereotype of the childlike, deferential, and inferior imperial subject.

These last two prints were based on paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646-1723). Kneller became the most significant portrait painter of his day, painting many portraits of the aristocracy and royalty. According to J. Douglas Stewart, he was “by the mid-1680s ... the most important portrait painter in England. His wide experience and the range of his work, especially in full-lengths, was unparalleled since Van Dyck.” We know Kneller had links with slavery as he was an investor in the South Sea Company, the slave trading investment company which crashed in 1720 in what became known as the South Sea Bubble. In his notebooks, George Vertue wrote that Kneller lost twenty thousand pounds in the company.

Images of Slavery and colonialism in UCL Art Museum.

There are various images within the collections that directly and indirectly relate to slavery, imperialism and colonialism. Along with the images of black servants, portraits which do not include Black figures but which represent elites involved in or connected somehow to slavery and imperialism were included in the pilot survey results. As well as mainstreaming Black history within British history, these objects were deliberately included in the survey to provide counter-narratives to the usual descriptions of these sitters, whereby biographical information excludes these imperial links, or if mentioning them often alludes to the ambiguous 'West India connections' they held, with little elaboration. Caroline Bressey's 2007 Portraits, People and Abolition exhibition trail at the National Portrait Gallery was important in challenging these silences, seeking to contextualise and bring to the fore histories of slavery and empire within existing gallery spaces. The National Portrait Gallery has created an online gallery for educational use, based upon this research. In the UCL Art Museum English prints, there are engravings by George Vertue (1684 – 1756) of King

Charles II, John Locke, and Alexander Pope.\textsuperscript{41} Charles II promoted and gave royal sanction to the slave trade; he supported the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa and in 1672 gave a charter to its successor the Royal African Company, which held the monopoly in British slave trading in west Africa.\textsuperscript{42} John Locke invested in the Royal African Company, was actively involved as a member of the Board of Trade and Plantations, and justified the slavery of Africans in the Americas, despite his declaration of slavery being vile and miserable in \textit{Two Treatise of Government}.\textsuperscript{43} The poet Alexander Pope invested heavily in the South Sea Company. There are also further mezzotints by John Smith including Sir Isaac Newton (after Godfrey Kneller) and of Mitford Crowe (after Thomas Murray).\textsuperscript{44} Newton also held stocks in the South Sea Company and Crowe was a colonial governor of Barbados.\textsuperscript{45}

The models created by neo-classical sculptor John Flaxman include many direct images of people of Indian heritage, as well representations of those involved in imperialism in India. Flaxman was the first Royal Academy Professor of Sculpture and in his career was commissioned to produce various monuments, some to be sent to India.\textsuperscript{46} Pieces include the model 'Instruction of the Heathen: Believe. Monument to the Reverend Christian William Gericke', c.1809, which currently hangs on the south east wall of the Flaxman Gallery (and which was the model for a section of the monument at St Mary's Church, Fort St. George, India). Four models representing Hindu and/or Muslim scholars are in the collection, including the piece 'A Hindu Pundit and a Muslim Sage. Monument to Josiah Webbe', c.1807) which hangs on the south west wall of the Flaxman Gallery (and was a model for the monument to Josiah Webbe, also in St Mary's Church, Fort St. George, India).\textsuperscript{47} Josiah Webbe was secretary to the government at Fort St. George.\textsuperscript{48} The model for part of a monument 'Hindu Law. Monument to Sir William Jones' (1801) can also be found on the south west wall of the Flaxman Gallery (with the monument at St Mary's Church in Oxford).\textsuperscript{49} Sir William Jones (1746-1794) was a colonial lawyer in India, Orientalist

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\textsuperscript{41} Vertue, UCL Art Collections, English prints, numbers 2490, 3024, and 3666.  \\
\textsuperscript{42} Walvin, James. \textit{Making the Black Atlantic: Britain and the African Diaspora}. London: Cassell, 2000, p. 29  \\
\textsuperscript{44} Sir Isaac Newton, Kneller/Smith, UCL Art Collections, English prints, number 2067 and Mitford Crowe, Murray/Smith, UCL Art Collections, English prints, number 2036.  \\
\textsuperscript{46} Groseclose, Barbara. \textit{British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858}. Associated University Presses, 1995 p. 63 and p.69.  \\
\textsuperscript{47} Flaxman Art Gallery UCL, Guide Leaflet.  \\
\textsuperscript{48} Severn, John K. \textit{Architects of Empire: The Duke of Wellington and His Brothers}. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007, p. 79.  \\
\textsuperscript{49} Flaxman Art Gallery UCL, Guide Leaflet.
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scholar and philologist.

This next piece represents some of the imagery within the collection which explicitly references slavery and the African diaspora. It is a woodcut print by Charles Jameson Grant and entitled *Slave Emancipation; or John Bull Gulled out of Twenty Million*. It was included in *The Political Drama* series, which began in 1833. This image represents the 1833 act for the 1834-1838 British abolition of slavery, in which slave owners were to be given £20 million in compensation for their formerly enslaved men, women and children. The formerly enslaved received nothing. For divergent reasons, various individuals were opposed to compensation being given to slave owners – from free traders to abolitionists in the Agency Committee. Various representatives in the image are illustrated with quotations, serving to show different reasons why the money should not be given to the slave owners – the abolitionists telling John Bull that surely the twenty million would not be begrudged for giving freedom to the suffering slaves; John Bull telling the abolitionists that he does begrudge it, that emancipation would be a curse, unlike for poor factory children in England, where it would be a blessing. The Whig politician is represented stealing money out of the pocket of John Bull, and the slave-owner describes himself as a slave robber who wants compensation, and doesn't care where from. The most striking image within the print is the racist caricatures of enslaved peoples in the Caribbean represented as not understanding or caring for freedom, drinking rum, and using stereotyped language. A section of this satire has recently been used as the logo for UCL's Legacies of British Slave-Ownership project, an extremely significant project which has traced the various British uses of the slave compensation money.

Charles Jameson Grant was a satirical caricaturist, who was prolific during the 1830s. Grant held radical Chartist sympathies and his satires, as stated by Richard Taws, “addressed a popular audience, taking on controversial subjects such as the Reform Bill, and consistently drawing on a repertoire of anticlerical and antipolice subjects.” However, as we can see in this

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50. *Slave Emancipation; or John Bull Gulled out of Twenty Million*, Grant, UCL Art Collections, English prints, number 8032.
53. Brian Edwin Maidment states “among the most significant and innovative of periodicals projected or illustrated by Grant were *The Caricaturist* (1831); *Everybody's Album and Caricature Magazine* (1834-5); *The Penny Satirist* (1837-46); and *The Political Drama* (1833-5).” Maidment, Brian E. 'Scraps and Sketches: Miscellaneity, Commodity Culture and Comic Prints, 1820-40'. 19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century, 5 (2007), www.19.bbk.ac.uk, footnote 26.
case, anger about wage slavery and the exploitation of the white poor in Britain did not necessarily correlate with feeling anger about the conditions of the enslaved or with any understanding of chattel slavery in the Caribbean. The competitive comparison between slavery in the Americas and the exploitation of the white poor in Britain (which John Bull crudely makes in the satire) was often used as a device in the Caribbean and the US South whereby pro-slavery advocates and plantation owners sought to minimise the brutality of life for the enslaved in the plantation economies of the Americas to fend off abolitionist pressure, by arguing exploitation of the poor in Britain was worse. Radicals in Britain during the time of Whig reforms in the early 1830s also compared the situation of slavery in the Caribbean with white worker exploitation, in order to fight for factory and labour reform, and references to white slavery became common when fighting against the abuse and exploitation of workers and the poor in Britain.\footnote{See chapter one: 'Factory Slavery' in Gray, Robert. The Factory Question and Industrial England: 1830 - 1860. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 22.} The racist image of the supposed unintelligent and ignorant enslaved, as seen in this satire, is typical of the nineteenth century caricatures examined by Marcus Wood in Blind Memory; he investigated the racialised ways in which black people were represented in the nineteenth century, as theories of racial superiority took hold.\footnote{Wood. Blind Memory.}

**Visual Representations of Black individuals in the modern period.**

The pilot study documented a range of items relating to modern Black history, a selection of images of Black people drawn by white Slade School of Art students during the 1900s-1940s, and artwork created by students of various ethnic backgrounds from the 1960s onwards. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a diverse Black community present in Britain, which primarily consisted of dockworkers, but also of domestics, students, pan-Africanists and Indian independence activists, doctors, and cultural figures such as writers, musicians, and actors.\footnote{For evidence of Black life in the early twentieth century, see, for example, Adi. West Africans in Britain; Fryer. Staying Power; Green. Black Edwardians; Lunn, Kenneth (ed). Race and labour in twentieth-century Britain. London: Frank Cass, 1985; Jarrett-Macauley, Delia. The life of Una Marson, 1905-65. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998; Matera, Marc. ‘Black Internationalism and African and Caribbean Intellectuals in London, 1919-1950.’ Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 2008; Tabili, Laura. We Ask for British Justice: Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994; and Visram. Asians in Britain.} Evidence gleaned from this pilot study and from a range of literature and other archival material shows that Black individuals also worked as artists' models during this period. Although there has been a limited amount of work focusing on the life experiences and identities of the artists' model, as opposed to the artists' gaze onto the model, this has changed recently with exhibitions and publications about the life experiences of artists' models, including the 2006 work of Jane
Desmarais, William Vaughan, and Martin Postle, *Model and Supermodel*. However, there has been little written on the subject of black models in this early period of the twentieth century. The *Drawing over the Colour Line* project will seek to explore these gaps and silences in historiography within the interwar period. The project aims to document the experiences of the models, how they started modelling and the nature of their relationship with the artists for whom they posed. In addition the project will ask if art students (and art schools) specifically sought out Black models, in the way Italian models had been fashionable in the late nineteenth century, or was there no discernible difference in popularity? How were models represented in artwork and was their representation influenced by ideas of primitivism and the exoticisation of African culture? In the context of the students based at the Slade, how did Henry Tonk's style and teaching of figurative painting influence the style in which these individuals were represented? How do gender and sexuality, intersected with racial discourses, influence the artworks and the experiences of the artist and sitter? In terms of Black models of which we already have much biographical information, the Jamaican poet and socialist Claude McKay who lived in London during 1919 to 1921 modelled in Paris when he could not support himself as a writer – in his 1929 novel *Banjo* he writes about a Black person modelling and the processes of exoticisation models faced.

**Black models and histories represented in Slade School of Art Collection during the Twentieth Century.**

The Slade School of Art based at UCL was founded in 1871 and its first Professor of painting was Edward Poynter. The school was set up as a different type of less rigid organisation, seeking to change art teaching by focusing on draughtsmanship and working from the life model. This emphasis on drawing and draughtsmanship continued in Henry Tonk's long tenure as Professor at the Slade, as evident in the range of student drawings in the archival holdings of the Slade. The gender composition of the school was striking, with an overwhelmingly female student body. However, the talent of female students was often not recognised in the same way as males, or written about as much in publicity and literature. Alicia Foster, who has explored Gwen John's time at the Slade, states “in much of the literature on the Slade during the late nineteenth century women students have been represented as a talented and decorative group, of less artistic importance than..."

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their male colleagues.” In terms of ethnic diversity, in a 1932 publication Henry Tonks recalled that, over the years, students had come from “the Dominions, America, France, Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, South America, India, Ceylon, China, and Japan” and that “so great is the ardour of the student in his pursuit of the fine arts that he forgets all differences of age, sex, rank, colour, or nationality.” The actual experiences of these students needs investigating to critique this latter comment, which appears somewhat romanticised, not appreciating both the subtle as well as the more obvious ways in which difference is experienced within hierarchically male and middle-class dominated environments. In terms of gendered experiences, we have information on the different experiences of female Slade students and the different ways in which gender was perceived and performed at the school and how female students responded to gendered ideals and stereotypes, as explored by Alicia Foster and others.

In the project findings the earliest representation of a person of African heritage within student drawings was from 1901; a male nude by the student Michael Carmichael Carr, who was at the Slade from 1898 to 1901. This drawing won the Second Prize Figure Drawing for 1901. Both men and women of African heritage were drawn by students. For example in the gallery we see Leila Leigh's 'Seated Woman', which won the Second Prize Figure Drawing in 1935. Leigh was a student at the Slade from 1932 to 1938. The student Denis Curry drew at least two different sitters of African heritage. Both in 1948, the 'Head of a Man', winning the First Prize Head Drawing in 1948 and 'Seated Girl and study of head', winning the Verso: Study of Heads First Prize Head Drawing in 1948. Curry is a sculptor and painter who trained at the Slade after serving in the Second World War, in North Africa and Monte Cassino. In 1948 another representation of a girl of African heritage was pencil drawn, this time by Ernest Pascoe. This drawing was also to receive First Prize Head Drawing in 1948. Pascoe was born in 1922 and died in 1996; he too served in the Second World War in the RAF, and attended the Slade from 1945 to 1948. In 1948 he started working at the West of England College of Art in Bristol, which became part of Bristol Polytechnic

63 Carr, Michael Carmichael. 'Standing Male Nude', 1901, UCL Art Collections, Slade Drawings, number 6004.
64 Leigh, Leila. 'Seated woman, resting right arm on back of chair', 1935, UCL Art Collections, Slade Drawings, number 6226.
65 Curry, Denis. 'Head of a Man', 1948, number 6409, and 'Study of a girl seated to the right and study of the head', 1948, number 6408, UCL Art Collections, Slade Drawings.
67 Pascoe, Ernest. 'Head and Shoulder of a Girl', 1948, UCL Art Collections, Slade Drawings, number 6404.
in 1969. He remained at this institution and in 1972 was appointed the Head of Fine Art, at the University of the West of England (formerly Bristol Polytechnic).\textsuperscript{68}

Although Tonks mentions the diversity of students, in terms of nationality, attending the Slade in his tenure, he did not specifically mention artists of African heritage in his list in the 1932 publication. This question will also be explored in \textit{Drawing over the Colour Line}, by examining the Slade School of Art administrative archival holdings to try to ascertain if there were any students of African heritage studying at the Slade in the early twentieth century. Additionally, we will also investigate whether women of African and Asian heritage studied at the Slade in the early to mid-twentieth century. The first known student of African heritage at the Slade was the Nigerian Ben Enwonwu, who studied at the Slade when it was based at Ruskin College, Oxford during the Second World War and then continued at the Slade until 1947. Enwonwu was to become an internationally renowned artist, achieving various recognitions and was commissioned to make a sculpture of Queen Elizabeth II. Enwonwu's experiences as a African modernist, including his study at the Slade, has recently been examined by Sylvester Okwunodu Ogbechie. This research is very revealing in terms of Enwonwu's identity and experiences as an African colonial subject studying in the metropole, grappling with living in an imperial society, and being faced with generalised images and stereotypes. As Ogbechie states “colonial culture circulated and consumed numerous stereotypical images about Africa, and the prevalent rhetoric of primitivism had a significant affect on Enwonwu's formal education.”\textsuperscript{69}

By the 1960s there were certainly more students of diverse ethnicity, including black students. This ethnically diverse intake increased as the decades went on. Some of these students created artworks responding to histories of empire and racism or exploring the imagery of their national and ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, some white students at this time continued exploring diverse cultures within their artwork. Themes to explore in relation to this history include: the experiences of students of African and Asian heritage when attending the Slade; whether they interpreted their life experiences as a Black person in Britain within their artwork; how world art history and art histories of primitivism and orientalism was taught at the Slade and how people of African and Asian heritage responded to these teachings. The African American artist Lev. T. Mills attended the Slade School of Art in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and his student work reflects on

\textsuperscript{68} Information found on the Royal West of England Academy Permanent Collection Online Archive[http://www.rwacollection.org.uk/media/pascoeo.htm](http://www.rwacollection.org.uk/media/pascoeo.htm) Accessed 19 December 2011.

the civil rights movement and Black power in the USA. There are five prints/or collections of prints by Lev T. Mills within the UCL Art Museum (one collection 'I Do' contains ten etchings with poems by Mukhtarr Mustapha, which were to be published by Cut-Chain Press, London in 1971). Two 1969 print pieces from the collections are included in the gallery, 'Out-Loud Silent' and 'Black Revolution'.

Other artists studying at the Slade, whose works are also represented in the gallery include Sunil Patel and Sally Crumbie, both students during the 1980s. There are four 1986 drawings of Sunil Patel's in the gallery, three with a common theme of landscapes with figures, and one of a tropical bird in a hand. Sally Crumbie represents themes of African identity and interracial experiences with the print piece *Ekpe* from 1989, showing a black man and a white woman in conversation, sitting in front of a leopard skin wall hanging. *Ekpe* is an Efik term for leopard.

**Future themes for ‘revisiting’ the UCL Museum collections.**

The UCL Art Museum collections is vast, numbering 10,000 items, so there is undoubtedly much more to discover within the collections. This essay has given a brief taste of what is within the collections relating to Black history. Along with *Drawing over the Colour Line* exploring Black art in the inter-war period, hopefully more researchers will build upon the findings of this small project (particularly in the interpretation of these items, by contextualising them within wider themes in art history and theories of race and ethnicity) and also add to the database of related objects by, for example, exploring the collections of continental European prints. This project highlights some of the diverse hidden histories which can be uncovered in all museum, archive and gallery collections. By revisiting these collections, and by reading along and against the grain of the collection, we can bring to the fore an array of marginalised and unexplored histories relating to ethnicity, as well as to disability, class, gender identity, sexuality and intersectional identities and experiences.

**UCL Art Museum contact information.**

The UCL Art Museum is based at the South Cloisters of UCL’s main Bloomsbury campus. Their exhibitions are free and open to the public on weekdays from 1pm to 5pm. Appointments for

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71 Patel, Sunil. UCL Art Collections, Slade Drawings, Figure in a landscape I, II, and III, 1986, numbers 6611, 6612, 6613 and 'Tropical Bird in Hand', 1986, number 6876.

72 Crumbie, Sally. 'Ekpe', 1989, UCL Art Collections, Slade Prints, number 7500.

research can be made by using the contact information on the museum’s website:  
http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums/uclart/research