





Global Encounters and the Archives

# GLOBAL ENCOUNTERS AND THE ARCHIVES

*Britain's Empire in the Age of Horace Walpole (1717–1797)*

An exhibition at the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University  
October 20, 2017, through March 2, 2018

Curated by Justin Brooks and Heather V. Vermeulen,  
with Steve Pincus and Cynthia Roman

## Foreword

On this occasion of the 300th anniversary of Horace Walpole's birthday in 2017 and the 100th anniversary of W.S. Lewis's Yale class of 2018, *Global Encounters and the Archives: Britain's Empire in the Age of Horace Walpole* embraces the Lewis Walpole Library's central mission to foster eighteenth-century studies through research in archives and special collections. Lewis's bequest to Yale was informed by his belief that "the most important thing about collections is that they furnish the means for each generation to make its own appraisals."<sup>1</sup> The rich resources, including manuscripts, rare printed texts, and graphic images, indeed provide opportunity for scholars across academic disciplines to explore anew the complexities and wide-reaching impact of Britain's global interests in the long eighteenth century

*Global Encounters and the Archives* is the product of a lively collaboration between the library and Yale faculty and graduate students across academic disciplines. A diverse selection of manuscripts, printed texts, and graphic images from the library's holdings have been gathered to elucidate the interrelated themes of political economy, diplomacy, slavery, and indigeneity. These topics are the subjects of the four essays published here. Associated online resources include an enhanced digital version of the exhibition (<http://exhibits.library.yale.edu/exhibits/show/globalencounters>).

In association with this exhibition the library will sponsor a two-day conference in New Haven on February 9–10, 2018, that will present new archival-based research on Britain's global empire in the long eighteenth century and consider how current multi-disciplinary methodologies invite creative research in special collections.

CYNTHIA ROMAN

Curator of Prints, Drawings and Paintings  
The Lewis Walpole Library

<sup>1</sup> W.S. Lewis, *Collector's Progress*, 1st ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), 231.





## *Britain's Empire in the Age of Horace Walpole*

STEVE PINCUS

Britain's imperial reach spanned the globe in the eighteenth century. Britons had established a dizzying array of outposts from Dublin to Bombay, from Edinburgh to New York, from London to Kingston. British merchants exported textiles, metalwares, ceramics, and furniture while importing slave-produced sugar, rice, indigo, and tobacco. At the same time, the British monarchs ruled over a wide variety of indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans.

The British conceived of their government in fundamentally imperial terms. British newspapers – whether published in Dublin, London, or Philadelphia – were filled with news items from across the Empire. Imperial rather than domestic issues dominated debate in the imperial Parliament in Westminster. Customers in coffee houses in Glasgow, Halifax, Charleston, Bridgetown, and Calcutta gossiped about events taking place half a world away.

The Empire – its goods, its peoples, its politics – fascinated Horace Walpole and those in his circle. This exhibition draws from the Lewis Walpole Library's rich collections to bring Walpole's global interests to light.

As befitting the son of a prime minister (Sir Robert Walpole), the nephew of the auditor-general of the Revenue of America (Horatio Walpole), and the close friend of a secretary of state (Henry

Seymour Conway) who oversaw important imperial affairs, Horace Walpole well understood the partisan conflicts that helped shape the British Empire. Through the eighteenth century Britons debated and disagreed profoundly about how best to govern the Empire. Horace's father, Robert, had long thought that the Empire should be organized hierarchically so as best to serve the people of England. He believed in a political economy of empire that gave preference to the colonial production of raw materials like sugar, rice, or tobacco. For this reason Walpole and his establishment Whig supporters gave preference to the sugar and slave colonies in the West Indies. After the accession of King George III in 1760, British politicians sought similarly to extract wealth from the newly conquered Asian provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orixá.

The self-described Patriot opponents of Sir Robert Walpole and his post-1760 ministerial successors advanced a radically different vision of empire. Where the establishment Whigs had emphasized colonial production, the Patriots emphasized the importance of colonial consumption of British manufactured goods. Where the establishment Whigs insisted upon a hierarchically organized empire with London at its center, the Patriots called for a confederal empire with sovereignty distributed among the

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Ranelagh Barrett (d. 1768). *Portrait of Henry Seymour Conway*, ca. 1765.  
Oil on canvas, 160.6 x 135.2 cm, framed. LWL Ptg. 129



various colonial assemblies, parliaments, and local institutions. Where the establishment Whigs insisted on the necessity of chattel slavery, the Patriots reasoned that slavery was not only morally suspect but also failed to create the kind of consumer society upon which imperial prosperity depended. Where establishment Whigs turned away from alliance to subjugate indigenous peoples – whether American Indian, Irish, or Bengali – the Patriots advocated a restoration of diplomacy as their primary mode of interaction.

These conflicting visions of empire – represented here in the domains of political economy, diplomacy, slavery, and indigenous peoples – dominated popular discussions. There were adherents of the establishment Whig vision in Calcutta, Boston, Dublin, and Kingston. There were Patriots in London, Edinburgh, Halifax, and Bridgetown. These competing visions of empire, always the source of conflict, came to a head in the 1760s and 1770s. In Ireland, in India, in Britain, and in America this struggle of ideas erupted into an imperial civil war. For the Patriots this was a struggle between Liberty and Tyranny, with the colonists often pictured as a woman being subdued by her tormentors. For the establishment Whigs, by contrast, the struggle was between Loyalty and Rebellion.

## *Political Economy and the British Empire*

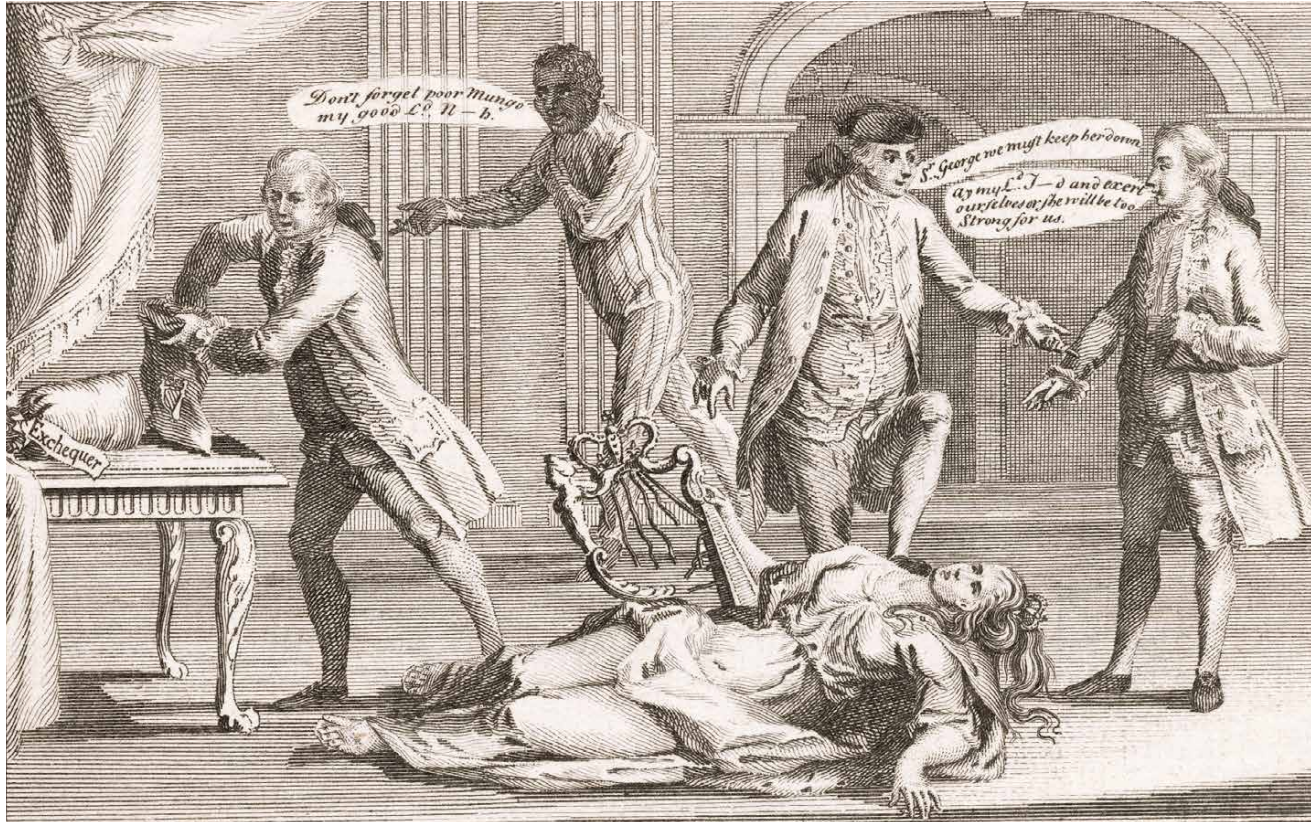
STEVE PINCUS

From its inception Britons everywhere, all along the social spectrum and in a dizzying array of imperial locales, debated the value of the British Empire. They conducted this lively debate in newspapers, political caricatures, pamphlets, political correspondence, merchant missives, and even in paintings. Debate was all the more lively and engaged because it took place in the context of the emergence of the Enlightenment discussion of what came to be known as political economy. Politicians, clerics, planters, humble manufacturers, and even indigenous peoples and occasionally the enslaved debated what government efforts could best promote the happiness or overall well-being of the subjects of the Empire. There was never a single imperial vision, a consensus about the best way to organize the Empire. Indeed what set Britain apart from its imperial rivals – the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and even the Dutch – was the very public nature of this debate about the political economy of empire. Other imperial states had similar debates, drew on a common transnational corpus of ideas and criticisms, but in those other empires the discussions took place exclusively in Royal Councils and among learned jurists. This exhibition brings together elements of this pan-imperial debate.

Political economy almost immediately became one – if not the central – organizing theme of the Enlightenment. Those who participated in, benefited

from, or suffered at the hands of the British Empire framed their arguments in terms of the economic consequences of the activity of the British state. While this exhibition, reflecting in large part the strengths of the Lewis Walpole collections, focuses heavily on the last three-quarters of the eighteenth century, this Enlightenment debate began in earnest in the wake of England’s Revolution of 1688–1689. With the establishment of the Board of Trade in 1696, a body that oversaw Britain’s commercial and overseas activities and reported on them to Parliament and to the Cabinet, Britain became an imperial state. Parliamentary debates, the ever proliferating colonial and provincial press, and coffee house chatter throughout the Empire focused on the question of how best to organize the Empire so as to maximize prosperity.

In essence the fundamental question that divided British subjects throughout the Empire was Prosperity for whom? There were those, especially those close to the governments of Robert Walpole in the 1720s and 1730s and those attached to the governments of Prime Ministers George Grenville and Frederick Lord North in the 1760s and 1770s, who insisted that the only folks who mattered were the political and social elite – the landed classes – in England. In their view the purpose of empire was to exploit the labor of African slaves in the West



Anonymous. *Hibernia in Distress*. Etching & engraving, 12 x 21 cm, sheet.  
Published 1772. 772.01.00.02

Indies and the tobacco and rice plantations of the American south, the work of English manufacturers in Birmingham, Manchester, and Sheffield, the weavers of Bengal, and the agricultural workers in Scotland and Ireland to decrease the burgeoning national debt and lower the tax burden on the English elite. They wanted a hierarchically organized empire in which the periphery served the center, and the lower orders worked to benefit the social elite.

This hierarchical imperial vision did not go uncontested. Throughout the British Empire English politicians like Henry Seymour Conway, merchants trading to North America and India, Irish men and women, slaves, indigenous people, and the increasingly significant workers in English manufactures resisted this understanding. They argued, instead, that if the British Empire was to live up the emancipatory principles of the Revolution of 1688, the British government should seek to improve the lot of everyone. In their view what distinguished the British Empire from its classical predecessors and its imperial rivals was that it was a commercial empire. The British Empire's prosperity depended, in the view of the Patriot proponents of this vision of empire, on the dynamic interplay between producers and consumers. The more people that were able to purchase British-produced goods, the more prosperous and happier would be everyone throughout the Empire. Colonists were valuable less for the raw materials – sugar, tobacco, rice – they could produce, than for the British manufactured goods they could consume. The greater the British population, the wealthier the British subjects, the more goods they would buy. This model of imperial inclusiveness, the Patriots argued in pamphlets, prints, songs, and correspondence, was especially important in a

world in which Britain's imperial rivals systematically excluded the exportation of British-made textiles, metalwares, and ceramics.

It was this alternative, but very prominent understanding of the political economy of empire that informed the protests against the actions of the British governments in the 1760s, 1770s. and beyond. These protests were less anti-imperial than they were calls for radical imperial reform along Patriot lines. This was the point being made in two of the exhibition's opening images, *Hibernia in Distress* and *The Able Doctor, or, America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*. These prints draw on remarkably similar visual vocabularies to highlight the improprieties of the political economy of Lord North's government. In both images the colonial subjects, figured as women, are being violated by Britain. The North American Stamp Act protests and the Boston Tea Party also protested the ministerial political economy that prioritized colonial taxation over attempting to stimulate the most vibrant areas of the imperial economy.

Perhaps more surprisingly, Patriot political economic arguments provided the rationale both for the opposition to British policies in India and for the case for the abolition of slavery. After Robert Clive had annexed the fabulously wealthy province of Bengal to the British Empire through his victory at Plassey (1757) and his assumption of the *diwani*, or right to tax, the British East India Company had sought to maximize profits from their new acquisition. They did so by militarizing the province and extracting as much revenue as possible from the Bengali textile manufacturers. The result was economic disaster and devastating famine. The Patriot critics argued that instead of pursuing policies aimed at providing revenue for the mother country,





Anonymous. *The Able Doctor, or, America Swallowing the Bitter Draught.*

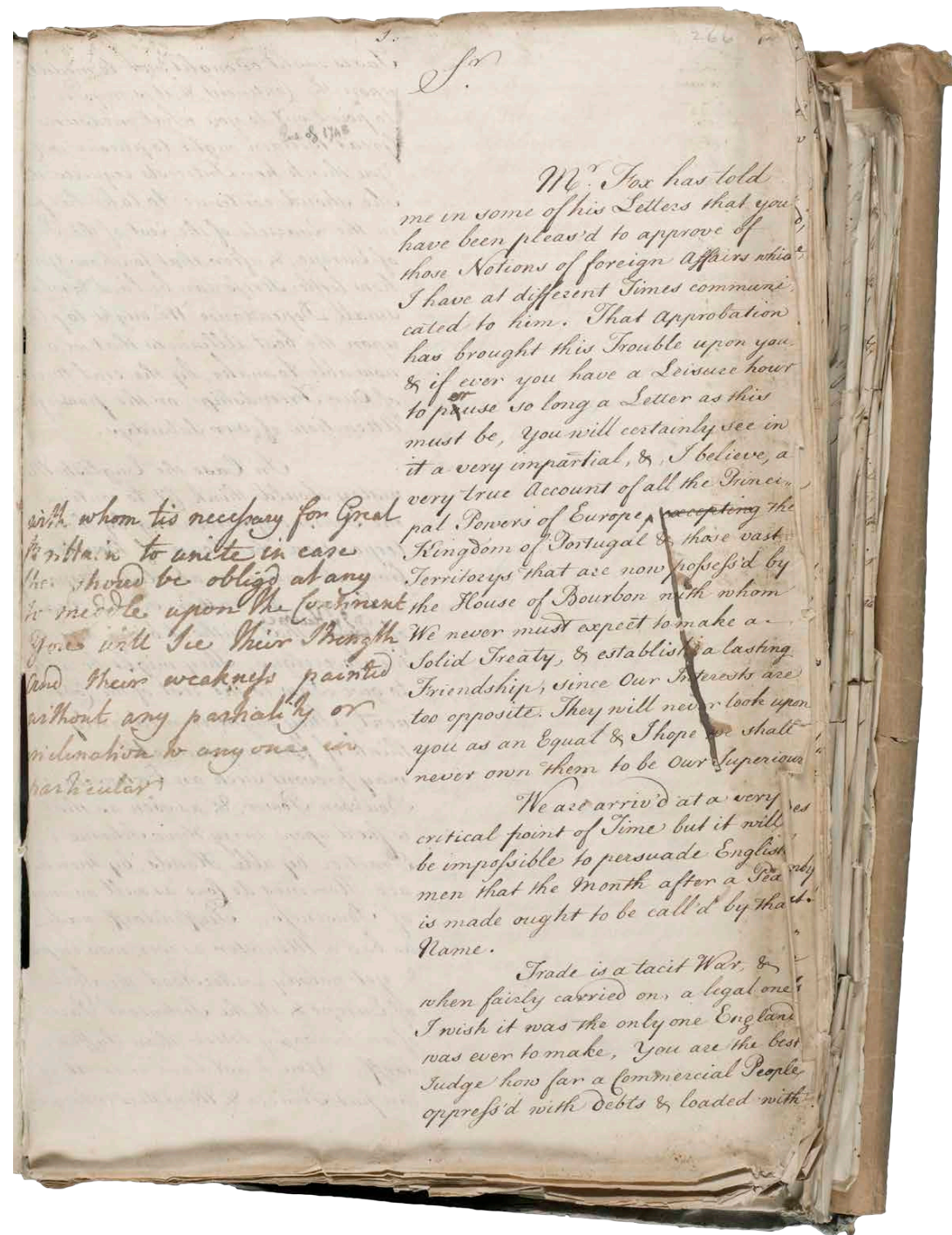
Etching & engraving, 13 x 21 cm, sheet. Published April 1774. 774.04.00.01

Britain should pursue a narrowly commercial policy aimed at protecting the world's most advanced manufacturing economy.

Similarly the Patriots had long decried Walpole's and North's preference for the sugar and slavery societies of the Caribbean. Like many, they deplored the cruelties and horrible abuses of the plantation system. But they developed a new and sharp critique of the slave trade and slave societies. They argued that insofar as consumption was a necessary component of promoting more equal societies and sustainable prosperity, slavery was an economic as well as a moral evil. Slave societies could not sustain growth, because slaves would never be good consumers. And slave societies necessarily promoted the most vicious concentrations of economic and social power. Slave societies promoted oligarchies of the worst kind. These Patriot arguments against slavery informed British policy when Patriots were closest to the center of power – in the 1750s and 1760s – and deeply informed resistance to the ministerial projects of the 1770s and beyond.

By recovering some of the contours and traces of the Patriot political economic argument, it becomes possible to reconfigure protest and resistance across the British Empire, less as isolated acts of desperation against imperial cruelty, and more as part of a global argument about how best to organize an imperial state.





## Bulwark Empire: British Alliance in Global Perspective, 1688–1815

JUSTIN BROOKS

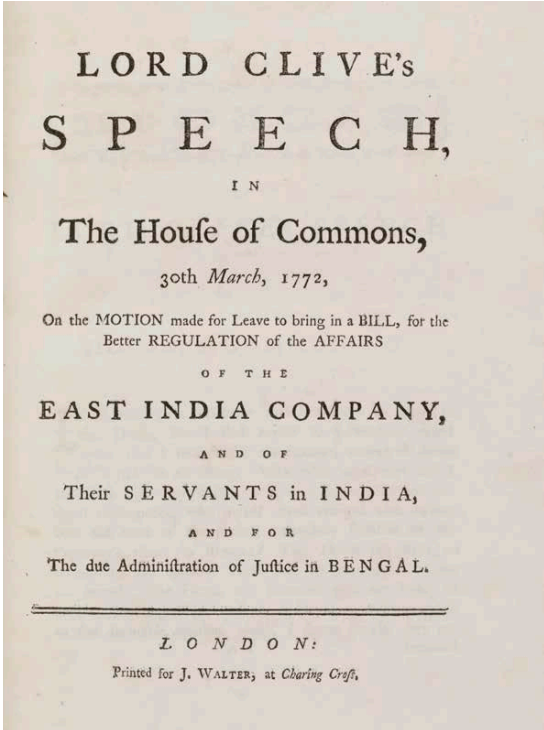
By the early eighteenth century, British statesmen had developed a coherent view of the European state system and a strategic framework for negotiating their place within it. At the center of these foreign policy views stood a commitment to preventing French universal monarchy—that is, the dominance of France over all other European and increasingly world nations—by way of maintaining a balance of power among European states. Charles Hanbury Williams’s *Observations on Trade in Europe after Peace* (1748), in particular, characterizes Britain’s foreign policy as a “Scheme of preventing by their interposition the [French] House of Bourbon from attaining an absolute Monarchy in Europe, or rather such a degree of Influence, without being directly the Sovereigns, They might be able to give Law to the rest of the Continent.” For him and for others, Britain’s 1688 Revolution had established the nation as Europe’s principal counterweight to French domination. This alone, statesmen argued, would prevent the specter of French domination to preserve both the “liberties of Europe” abroad and the integrity of the Revolution Settlement (1689) and the Protestant Succession at home.<sup>1</sup>

From 1688 to 1815, a series of wars threatened these interests: the War of the Grand Alliance (1688–1697); the War of the Spanish Succession

(1702–1713); the War of the Austrian Succession (1744–1748); the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763); the American Revolutionary War (1776–1783); and the French and Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815). The collections at the Lewis Walpole Library, which hold the papers of some of the most preeminent eighteenth-century British diplomats, afford compelling glimpses into how they executed their strategic vision of foreign affairs through these conflicts and the periods of peace that punctuated them. First and most significantly, the materials gathered in this exhibition indicate that British ministers’ foreign policy aims—maintaining a balance of power and preventing French absolute monarchy—were not strictly European but also *global* and *imperial* in scope. Thus Lord Clive’s 1772 *Speech to Parliament* on the history of East India Company involvement in Bengal reads like a page out of Hanbury Williams’s diplomatic correspondence: “If ever France should lay hold of our possessions, she will soon add to them all the rest of the East Indies. The other European nations there will immediately fall before her ... the Empire of the Sea will follow: thus will her acquisitions in the East, if any can, give her universal Monarchy” (47). Clive’s admonition to Parliament in 1772 fell on ministers well versed in thinking about their empire as the principal bulwark against French superiority; while

Charles Hanbury Williams (1708–1759) to Unknown. “Observations on Trade in Europe after Peace,” 1748. *Sir Charles Hanbury Williams Papers*. LWL MSS 7, vol. 29, page 266





Robert Clive (1725–1774). *Lord Clive's Speech in the House of Commons, March 30, 1772.* London: J. Walter 1773(?). 49 1609 58:3

they diverged on questions of policy, these individuals understood all too clearly the significance of Britain's imperial holdings in the preservation of the balance of power.

Diplomacy – as an elaboration of legal norms through social interaction between the representatives of governments of sovereign states – operated as the conduit through which eighteenth-century Britons pursued these foreign policy goals not just in Europe, but also across the rest of the Empire. While items like Hanbury Williams's *Observations on Trade* and Edward Digby's "Letter to Charles Hanbury Williams on Parliamentary Subsidy Debates" (January 24, 1752) highlight the central importance of European alliances to the foreign policy aims of Britain, Clive's *Speech*, alongside such other descriptions of indigenous alliance as that contained in *Short View of the Disputes between Merchants* (1750), reveals an acute awareness by British statesmen that European allies alone were insufficient. By positioning artifacts of European alliance like the letterbook of Hanbury Williams, ambassador to Saxony and envoy at the court of Russia, alongside artifacts of indigenous alliance, like the print of Mohawk ally "King" Hendrick Theyanooguin, this exhibition foregrounds the shared importance to Britain of negotiated rule with European and non-European polities alike. Together they reveal that diplomacy and alliance were in fact *global* strategies through which the British government pursued its larger foreign policy goals.

Britain's European and indigenous alliances shared these foreign policy objectives and negotiated modes of rule because they operated within the same networks of ministerial oversight. The Duke of Cumberland's letter to Secretary of State the Duke of Newcastle on the rebellious clans of the



Anonymous. *The Brave Old Hendrick, the Great Sachem or Chief of the Mohawk Indians.* Etching & engraving with stipple, 39 x 27.5 cm, sheet. Published 1755. 755.00.00.24+



Dear Sir Charles

London Jan 24 1752 <sup>54-244</sup>

Yr Treaty was Debated in  
a Committee of the whole House last  
Wednesday till about 8 o'clock. In the  
reading of it the number of C<sup>t</sup> Boult  
Tittles occasion'd a great laugh in every  
part of the House. Mr Pelham <sup>began the debate</sup> ~~then got~~  
~~up &~~ he explain'd the intention of the Treaty  
of which he said the Election of the K<sup>o</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> R.  
was the principal object, this Election he said  
he hop'd & trusted would be brought to an issue  
this very year.

Mr Horace Walpole then in a very long  
& extraordinary speech, for him to make declaim'd  
strongly against this & all other Treatys  
of subsidy, as a measure unnecessary & ruin

Edward Digby. "Letter to Charles Hanbury Williams on Parliamentary Subsidy Debates,"  
January 24, 1752. *Sir Charles Hanbury Williams Papers*. LWL MSS 7, vol. 54, pages 244

Scottish Highlands (1746), the "Copy of a Letter from the Secretary of State's Office" about the fall of Fort St. George (1747), and the letters from Indian Superintendents to Henry Seymour Conway regarding Britain's American indigenous alliances in 1765 – sent while he was Secretary of State – all establish this point conclusively. In each of these manuscript items, the very same British ministers who advocated European alliances to secure the balance of power in Europe – in this case, Britain's secretaries of state – simultaneously oversaw indigenous alliances as well. It is thus unsurprising that Britain entered into alliances with native peoples to achieve specifically the same strategic ends as those pursued on the Continent. Since Britain's European and indigenous alliances both promised to restrain French influence abroad, British ministers thought about their diplomatic arrangements with sovereign polities in connective and mutually reinforcing terms.

The tendency by British ministers to forward an integrated vision of European and indigenous alliances meant that both systems were discussed at the highest levels of government and were therefore inextricably linked to Britain's distinctive political structure. Within this structure, the monarch retained the right of making war and peace, signing treaties, appointing and dismissing diplomats, writing their instructions, and receiving their reports, all while consulting his or her ministers. Parliament, by contrast, held responsibility on matters of finance, and thus supported or rejected the military expenditures and subsidies to foreign powers that were deemed necessary for the pursuit of foreign policy.<sup>2</sup> The result of Parliament's involvement in questions of diplomacy – evident in exhibition manuscripts like "Minutes of the Houses of Lords and Commons" (1752) and Digby's letter on subsidy debates (1752)

was to make alliance the subject of political scrutiny and public debate. Set within the highly partisan climate of eighteenth-century Parliament, this also meant that the political-economic positions set forth by MPs about Britain's alliances with indigenous peoples often mirrored those same MPs' positions on alliances with European monarchs. Indeed, the debates over the expense and efficacy of gifts from Britain to its Native American allies – referenced in Conway's "American Drafts" – echoed almost exactly the Parliamentary debates outlined in Digby's letter to Hanbury Williams over whether Britain owed subsidies to its European allies in peacetime.<sup>3</sup>

Connective positions were not identical positions, however. And while this exhibition affords opportunities to bring Britain's European alliances and indigenous alliances into the same framework, it also highlights significant differences between these systems. Hanbury Williams's "Observations on Trade in Europe after Peace" (1748), which aims to provide "a very true account of all the Principal Powers of Europe," says nothing of those states' indigenous allies or their contributions in times of war. The print *What May Be Doing Abroad; What Is Doing at Home* (1769) reflects a longstanding eighteenth-century pattern in which European states took the lead – to the exclusion of indigenous polities – in matters of treating for peace and dividing the spoils of war. These patterns depended in part on characterizations featured in objects like "Letters to Charlotte" (1734) and "Humorous Song on the Cherokee Chiefs" (1762), which contradicted dignified representations of indigenous envoys like that of "King" Hendrick Theyanooguin and denigrated Britain's indigenous allies as "Scalpers," "savages," or "stranger [C]himpanzeys." These portrayals of indigenous diplomats contrasted with (and perhaps, reflected) a



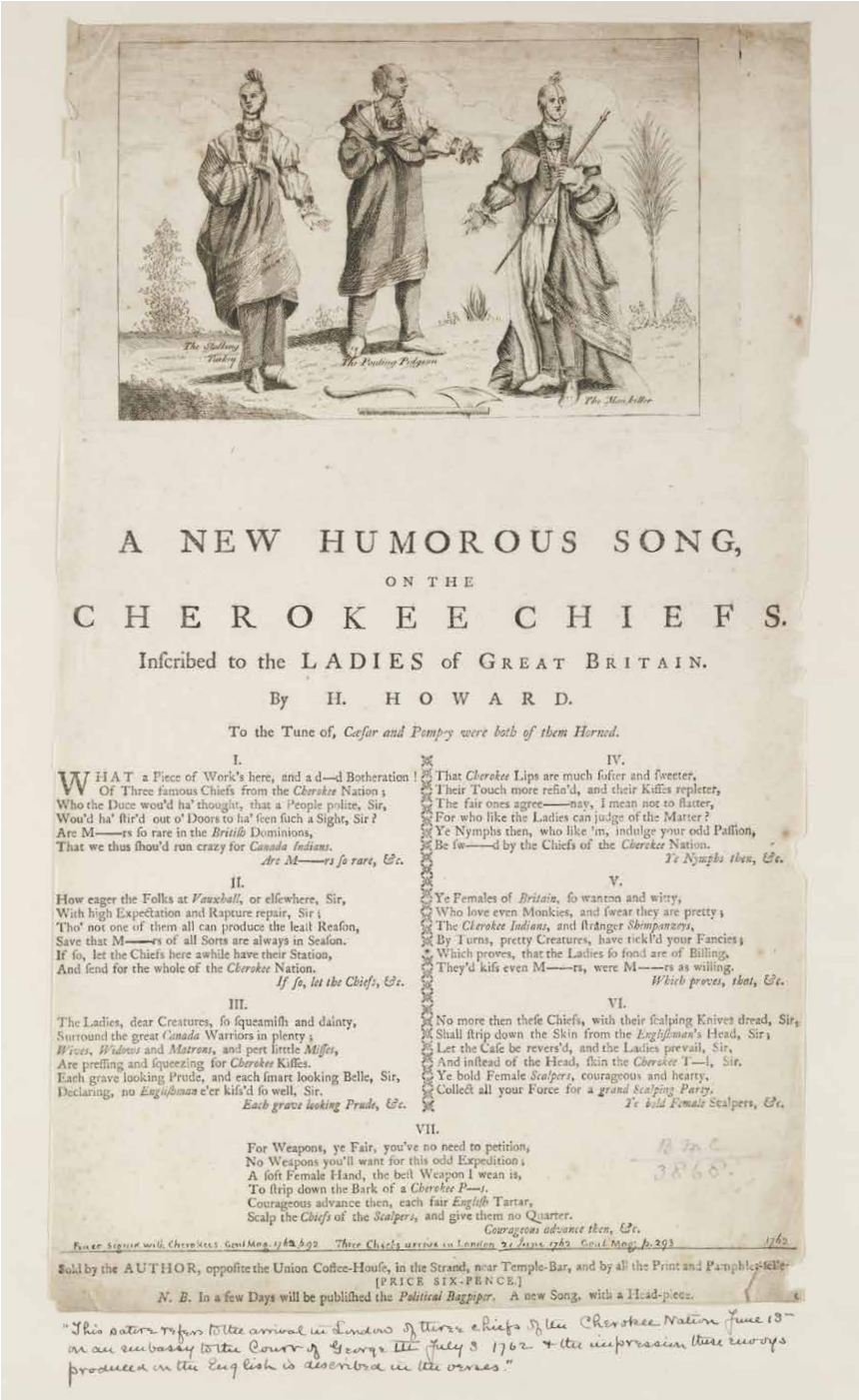


Anonymous. *What May Be Doing Abroad; What Is Doing at Home.* Etching, 20 x 13 cm, sheet. Published 1769. 769.06.00.03

tendency by British statesmen to reimagine Europe as its own law-bound community of nations over the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Still, together the diplomatic items presented in this exhibition reveal a world of connectivity between eighteenth-century Britain’s European and indigenous alliance systems. Britain’s European and non-European alliances shared in the foreign policy aim of preventing French universal monarchy, and they both relied on the negotiation of legal norms through social interaction between the representatives of governments of sovereign states to achieve this goal. These alliances formed part of an integrated ministerial view of foreign policy, and one that was highly subject to the vicissitudes of British political and economic debate. As such, even public and Parliamentary debates surrounding the usefulness of indigenous and European alliances drew on similar arguments and deployed connective reasoning. Ultimately, then, eighteenth-century British diplomacy was global, it was connective, and it cannot be disentangled from the functions of the British Empire.

- 1 Brendan Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat* (New York: Basic Books, 2009).
- 2 Treaties that entailed either a financial charge or a change in British law had to be brought before both Houses (HOC & HOL). Treaties were communicated to Parliament after they had been ratified, which limited the value of Parliamentary discussion, and certainly of advice that might be given.
- 3 Specifically, opponents of Indian presents like the Earl of Halifax argued that they were of “much Expence, and Trouble, and productive of little, or no, advantage.” The same argument prevails in Digby’s letter among those opposed to European subsidies to German princes in peacetime. Letter from the Earl of Halifax to John Stuart, February 11, 1764. British National Archives at Kew, CO 5/65/2 ff. 196197.
- 4 Eliga H. Gould, *Among the Powers of the Earth: The American Revolution and the Making of a New World Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).



Anonymous. *A New Humorous Song on the Cherokee Chiefs.* Etching, 39 x 23 cm, sheet. Published July 1762. 762.07.00.01+





Anonymous. *Slavery*. Etching, 24 x 38 cm, sheet. Published 1738. 738.00.00.01+

# Conscripted Labors and Convenient Metaphors: Transatlantic Slavery and the Global British Empire

HEATHER V. VERMEULEN

The earliest print included in this exhibition is titled, simply, *Slavery*. Published in 1738, its referent is not enslaved persons from the African continent and their descendants, but rather, according to the inscription, “the Worthy and most Injur’d MERCHANTS of Great Britain.” In the print’s upper left, Spanish captain Juan de León Fandiño cuts off the ear of English captain Robert Jenkins. This event, which occurred seven years earlier, serves as a metaphor for what was an imperial conflict among European nations, including Great Britain and Spain, over efforts to achieve global supremacy through trade.<sup>1</sup> In the print’s foreground, another Spaniard whips British “slaves,” forcing them to pull a plow. A lion (standing in for Great Britain) looks over his shoulder at Prime Minister Robert Walpole for orders and, in the process, threatens to impale himself—through his genitals—on the Spaniard’s sword. The print musters the language of “slavery” to cast Britain’s uncertain status among increasingly global empires in the language of compromised virility. However, without the context of *transatlantic* slavery, the print would lose its emasculating punch.

This essay reconsiders various forms of conscripted labor within a global British Empire that depended heavily—but neither solely nor consistently—on the enslavement of persons from the African continent. It asks how transatlantic slavery

might be resituated as part of a broader network of power relations structured around race, gender, and class in the long eighteenth century.

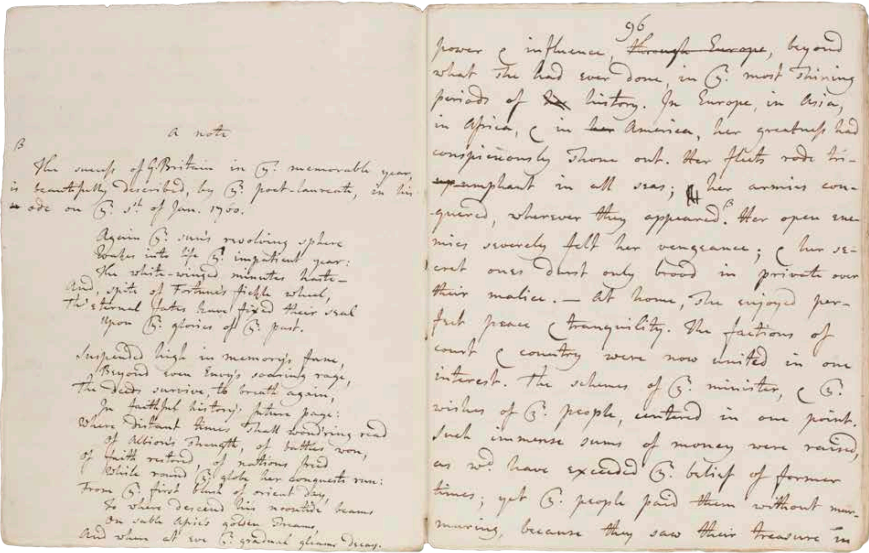
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Preceded by various charter companies, including the Company of Royal Adventurers into Africa, established by King Charles II in 1660 (just five years after England wrested Jamaica from Spain), the Royal African Company (RAC) was founded on September 27, 1672, to bring the West African and American colonial trade, including the trade in enslaved persons, more tightly under the Crown’s control. Simultaneously, then, it was an attempt to counter other European leaders’ aspirations to political and economic supremacy through trade, as well as an effort to keep the British colonies (especially Barbados, which was eager to purchase enslaved persons for its sugar plantations) subservient to the Mother Country.<sup>2</sup> The RAC, which forcibly transported over 90,000 enslaved Africans before its termination in 1752, nevertheless faced staunch opposition. Indeed, its deregulation in 1712 came in response to the outcries of those who, in historian William Pettigrew’s words, “mount[ed] a lobbying campaign that championed the right to trade in African slaves as a deeply cherished English liberty.”<sup>3</sup> Shape-shifting as trading companies did throughout



War and transatlantic slavery unite in Britain’s 1762 capture of Havana from the Spanish. In that year, George Keppel, Earl of Albemarle, who led the marine attack, “purchased some 100 slaves from the newly conquered island of Martinique and he bought from Antigua and hired from St. Christopher 500 more.” Once slaveholders in Jamaica felt that the threat of invasion by the French and Spanish had subsided, they provided Keppel with another 1,400 enslaved men.<sup>15</sup> As historian Maria Alessandra Bollettino explains, during West Indies battles, enslaved and free black soldiers served as “baggage negroes” or “pioneers,” who “cleared paths over rough terrain; landed and hauled artillery, provisions, and stores; and built breastworks and

He then crosses out the geographically delimited “**through Europe**” (alone) to declare that the nation’s successes lay “[i]n Europe, in Asia, in Africa, & in America . . . .Her fleets rode triumphant in all seas; her armies conquered, wherever they appeared.”<sup>12</sup> In his concluding remarks for the previous year, 1758, he praises the “marine society, . . . by which vagrants, & poor boys were fitted out for the sea.”<sup>13</sup> In other words, they were trained to join the British naval forces. According to the author, “[A]t least 6000 persons [were] enabled to serve their country.”<sup>14</sup> Given their precarious class status, these “vagrants, & poor boys” likely were, at times, forced to enter such service out of necessity (for example, to avoid imprisonment), only to be used as imperial fodder.



Anonymous. “Annus Mirabilis (Britain’s Year of Wonders)” in *History of the Seven Years’ War*, LWL MSS vol. 101, 1759, part III, page 96

Rejoicing further, the manuscript’s author transcribes the opening stanza of British poet-laureate William Whitehead’s 1760 New Year’s ode. There, Whitehead imagines future readers marveling over Britain’s history, “while round ye globe her conquests run: | From ye first blush of orient day, | To where descend his noontide beams | On sable Afric’s golden streams, | And where at eve ye gradual gleams decay.”

this trade. In consequence, those countries would “furnish their *own Colonies* with the *best of Negroes*, and suffer *Englishmen* to purchase their *Refuse* only; and that too at an exorbitant Rate.” Enslaved persons become either valuable commodities or overpriced “refuse.” Here, “Liberty” is the freedom to purchase the “best” of the former.<sup>5</sup>

Hayes also celebrated what he termed “Friendships and Alliances” that RAC officials formed with African leaders, comparing this strategy with practices of “cultivating a constant Friendship and Alliance with the *Indian Nations*” in the North American colonies.<sup>6</sup> The grim realities of these relationships appear between the lines. For example, the RAC’s Cape-Coast-Castle included “Repositories to lodge one thousand Negroes, and Vaults for Rum” — the latter being a product that those enslaved persons would be forced to produce in the British West Indies, if they survived the Atlantic crossing.<sup>7</sup> Multitudes did not.<sup>8</sup>

The anonymously authored pamphlet *A Short View of the Dispute Concerning the Regulation of the African Trade* (1750) hints at the opaque laws and practices by which the slave trade operated. For example, inland African traders often worked with coastal Africans to sell enslaved persons directly to independent merchants, thereby circumventing the RAC. In response, RAC officials sought to confiscate the payments received for those sales once the coastal African intermediaries returned to shore.<sup>9</sup> If an intermediary could not “make good the damage to the inland trader,” the author explains, “he [was] liable to be sold as a slave.”<sup>10</sup>

This exhibition’s manuscript history of the Seven Years’ War enables one to view the slave trade alongside other forms of labor that supported the British Empire globally. Summarizing the year 1759, the manuscript’s anonymous author first proclaims that “Great Britain displayed her power & influence.”<sup>11</sup>

this period, the RAC was succeeded by the African Company, which concluded its operations in 1821. British ships alone forcibly transported approximately 3 million enslaved African persons from the continent.

The same period that birthed the Enlightenment — hardly a uniform project, but a movement often characterized by notions of “universal” equality and freedom and an obsessive pursuit of knowledge — also saw the heights of transatlantic slavery, accompanied if not nurtured by the popularization of natural historians’ classificatory schemas. Works such as Carl Linnaeus’s widely influential *Systema Naturae*, first published in 1735, and in its tenth and massively expanded edition by 1758, sought to classify plants and animals, which included producing and ranking different “races” of people. Arguments for and against the enslavement of indigenous peoples and, subsequently, African peoples varied widely, drawing alternately on economics, theology, philosophy, and science. The racist hierarchies of being postulated by natural historians, which often positioned peoples from the African continent as a “missing link” between humans and apes, were among the sources mustered in support of their enslavement.<sup>4</sup> The slave trade was abolished in 1807, and Britain abolished slavery in its colonies in 1833; this legislation came after over a century of variously articulated arguments regarding the institution’s legitimacy, necessity, and morality.

Some eighteenth-century officials, such as Charles Hayes (1678–1760), stressed slavery’s central role in supporting the nation and its global ambitions. In *The Importance of Effectually Supporting the Royal African Company of England, Impartially Consider’d* (1745), Hayes, a mathematician and sub-governor of the RAC, worried over the possibility that the nation’s “Rivals” (such as Spain) might “monopolize”





Abraham James. *Martial Law in Jamaica*. Etching & aquatint with hand coloring.

Published November 28, [1801 or 1803] by William Holland; reprinted ca. 1824.

803.11.10.01++

This print mocks local militias, including their incorporation of black soldiers.

In the twelfth frame, the artist asserts, tongue-in-cheek, that “Manumitted Quashie”

is “ready to lay down his Life pro aris et Focis”—for home and hearth (ostensibly,

in defense of his former owner).

batteries,” and as “shot negroes,” or “armed rangers who performed reconnaissance and skirmished with their foes among the canes, forests, and peaks of the Caribbean islands.”<sup>16</sup> And yet, the author of the Seven Years’ War manuscript’s account of the battle over Havana omits any mention of non-English, presumably non-white, troops.<sup>17</sup>

The author does, however, remark upon the use of non-European soldiers two years earlier in another arena of the Seven Years’ War, India, where both the French and the British operated their respective East India Companies, each backed by military might.<sup>18</sup> In the Battle of Wandiwash, which took place on January 22, 1760, the English, led by Colonel Eyre Coote, attacked and defeated the French, led by Count de Lally. The British already had asserted control of Bengal with their victory in the 1757 Battle of Plassey. However, as historian Daniel Marston notes, it was not until the Battle of Wandiwash, and subsequently the siege of the French settlement at Pondicherry, that the British secured their imperial presence in the Indian subcontinent.<sup>19</sup> Significantly, it was at Wandiwash that “the native troops of the British”—known as sepoys—“were arrayed and equipped as European soldiers for the first time.”<sup>20</sup> The manuscript author reports that “[o]f the English forces [at Wandiwash] 53 only were killed, [...] and 139 wounded. Of the black troops in the English service [the sepoys], abt. [about] 70 were killed & wounded.”<sup>21</sup> When it comes to the non-English troops, in other words, the author lumps together the wounded and the dead.

As Abigail Swingen has argued, “The question of unfree labor was central to English imperialism as it evolved during the early modern period, even before the English became heavily involved in the slave trade.”<sup>22</sup> Thus it is possible to read Britain’s

subsequent use of conscripted “foreign” enslaved and colonized soldiers as a parallel strategy to the Marine Society’s suspect practices for recruiting domestic citizens.<sup>23</sup> It likewise resonates with the Royal Navy’s use of impressment (forced naval service), more broadly—a chief complaint against the Crown in its North American colonies.<sup>24</sup> “Though British officers routinely remarked upon the value of enslaved black West Indians’ military labors,” Bollettino explains, it was “because they died in the place of disciplined European regulars and sailors, whose lives they treasured more.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, perhaps another valence underlies the armed black soldiers’ designation as “*shot* negroes.” Moreover, Britain’s control of Havana, however short-lived, enabled British merchants to sell their goods there, including enslaved Africans, whose conscripted labor, in turn, drastically boosted the sugar industry in Cuba.<sup>26</sup> As Laird Bergad points out, “Between 1762 and 1792, land planted in sugar cane soared from 10,000 acres to over 150,000 acres.”<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, Britain’s enslaved soldiers were forced back onto plantations after their tours were complete. One wonders what became of the Marine Society’s “vagrants, & poor boys” when the wars ended. It is telling that military service did not seem to appeal to most *free* black people in the British West Indies, even with promises of compensation.<sup>28</sup> It did not appeal to most Europeans, either.

Other free black people combatted the Empire directly. The Maroons were enslaved persons who escaped to live in remote, difficult-to-access areas and founded rebel communities.<sup>29</sup> From the British capture of Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655 until the conclusion of the First Maroon War there (1727–1739), Maroons attacked and burned plantations, policed roads, and seized foodstuffs, terrifying and often killing white residents.<sup>30</sup> Eventually,





Thomas Vivarès (1735–1810). After George Robertson (1747/48–1788).  
*A View in the Island of Jamaica, of Roaring River Estate, Belonging to William Beckford Esqr. near Savannah la Marr.* Etching & engraving, 48.9 x 62 cm.  
Published March 25, 1778, by John Boydell. Babb-Beckford no. 116++

Jamaican governor Edward Trelawny made treaties with Maroon leaders. The treaties “gave them land and limited rights as British subjects, including the right to bear arms and administer justice for noncapital crimes,” provided that the Maroons “help return runaway slaves and defend the country in case of invasion.” In other words, their “freedom” came at the expense of those still enslaved. However, as Jamaica became an increasingly wealthy sugar colony, members of its Assembly sought to restrict the Maroons’ freedom and bring them further under the control of the colonial government.<sup>31</sup> As their ultimate status with respect to the British Empire and its Caribbean colonial representatives was never assured, the Maroons, in the words of Kathleen Wilson, were “formidable adversaries as well as loyal subjects.”<sup>32</sup>

Their ability, at turns, to assist and resist British rule became evident with the outbreak of Jamaica’s Second Maroon War (1795–1796) fifty-six years later, while Britain itself was at war with France – in the middle of the French Revolution, no less. As Wilson points out, the Maroons seem to have played one nation against the other: “the Windward Maroons [in eastern Jamaica] intransigently refused to declare their loyalty to the colonial government, and rumors swirled that the Leeward Maroons [in western Jamaica] were in contact with French agents.”<sup>33</sup> At the same time, as was the case following Jamaica’s Second Maroon War, in which General George Walpole (second cousin of Horace Walpole) led the British forces, colonial officials might refuse to honor treaties. Going against General Walpole’s negotiations with Jamaica’s Leeward Maroons of Trelawny Town, “which promised to enlarge their landholdings and protect their established rights,” Governor Alexander Lindsey deported the Maroons to Nova Scotia (and, subsequently, to Sierra Leone) and burned their habitations.<sup>34</sup> Included in this exhibition is a letter

sent by army officer and politician Henry Seymour Conway (first cousin of Horace Walpole) to Robert Melville (then-governor of Dominica, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, and Tobago) in 1766, in which the author expresses relief that Melville’s “Government is freed from the Outrages of the Maroon Slaves.”<sup>35</sup>

\* \* \*

Contemporary prints at turns crafted idyllic images of plantation slavery, sublimated its violence through “humor,” and spectacularized its horrors to elicit abolitionist sympathies. Thomas Vivarès’s engraving *A View in the Island of Jamaica, of Roaring River Estate, Belonging to William Beckford Esqr. near Savannah la Marr*, after George Robertson (pub. March 25, 1778), purports to represent one of the four sugar plantations that William Beckford, a white man born in Jamaica, inherited from his father in 1744. While, on Beckford’s plantations, nearly one thousand enslaved persons experienced brutal working conditions, the artist imagines an orderly, proto-industrial, and picturesque colonial stronghold carved out of an otherwise “unruly” and “uncultivated” landscape. Enslaved laborers are a minuscule presence within the scene. Moreover, the two most prominently figured individuals are depicted at rest, conversing casually, instead of engaged in grueling labor or undergoing the forms of “disciplinary” torture upon which plantation slavery relied.

In the first frame of the satirical print *West India Luxury!!* (1803), the artist labels the white male planter “A West India Nabob.” He thereby links British imperial rule in the West and East Indies – a “nabob” being an Englishman who acquired wealth working for the East India Company – and insinuates that some of this “Nabob’s” wealth is in enslaved women. In the final frame, a light-skinned and presumably enslaved woman washes his feet,



a euphemism for genitalia, reflecting a scarcely disguised reference to the sexual arrangements into which white male colonists forced enslaved women. Additionally, the *homoeerotics* of colonial power is suggested by the presence of the “Portable Boot Jack” (lower left frame), a black man who bends over to receive the “Nabob’s” feet.

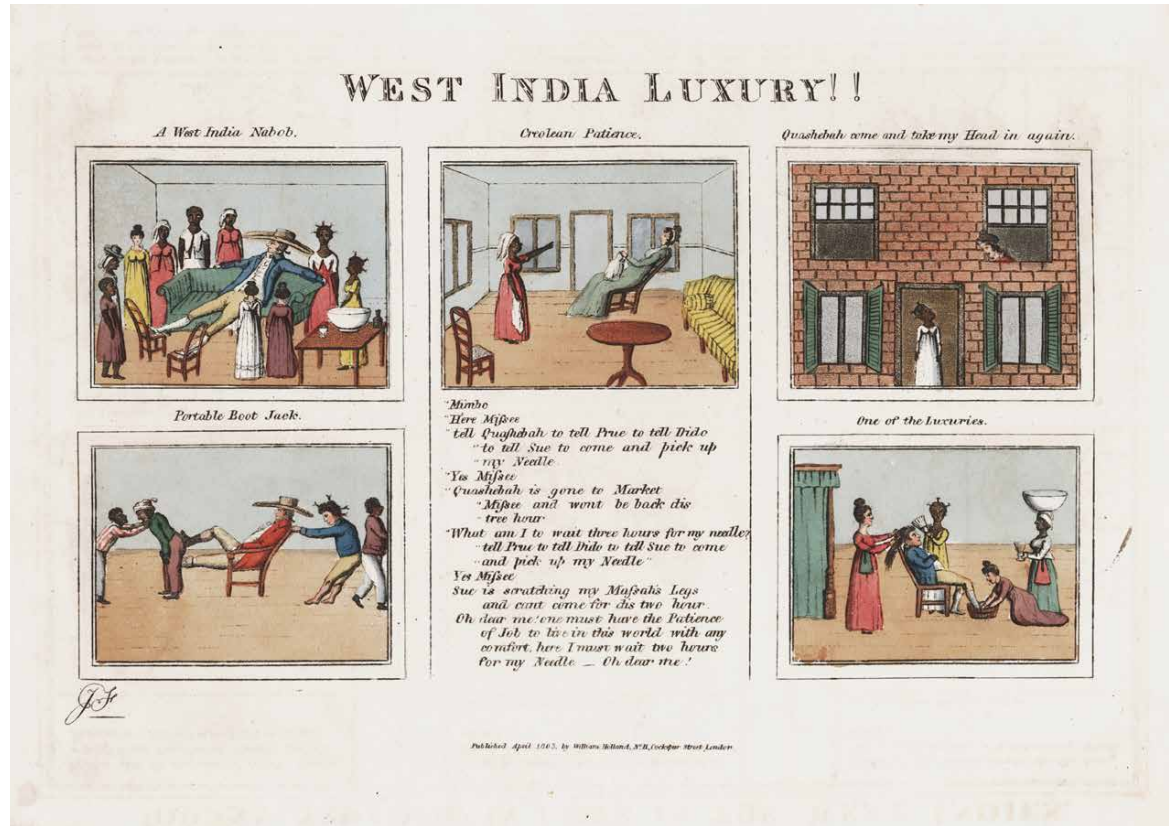
With the rise of abolitionism, depictions of the violence that undergirded and enabled transatlantic slavery became more common. As in William Elmes’s *The Horrid Torture of Impalment [sic] Alive as a Punishment on Runaway Slaves* (September 9, 1808),

black suffering was spectacularized in the name of inciting anti-slavery sentiments among whites. The pained and individualized expressions of the enslaved onlookers contrast starkly with the uniform, emotionless presence of the militiamen. At the same time, the representation, regardless of its potential sympathies with enslaved persons, partakes in what Saidiya Hartman has termed a “libidinal investment in violence.”<sup>36</sup>

The Haitian Revolution (1791–1804), during which enslaved and free black people overthrew the French to create the first free black state in the

Western hemisphere, also sparked panic among European nations—just as many in Britain recoiled at the bloody events accompanying the French Revolution (1789–1799). The latter is the ostensible subject of James Gillray’s print *Alecto and her Train at the Gate of Pandæmonium, or, The Recruiting Sarjeant [sic] Enlisting John-Bull into the Revolution Service* (July 4, 1791). Published, not coincidentally, on the anniversary of the declaration of American independence from Britain, it deploys the mythological fury Alecto, avenger of wrongs, as a furious personification of the seductive powers of (French) revolution.

Gillray critiques, in particular, British sympathizers, like Charles James Fox (second from right). Both Alecto and Fox endeavor to “recruit” British people to the new republic. Three months earlier, Fox had spoken out against the slave trade in Parliament. Thus the print—which dubs brown-skinned Alecto the “Black Sarjeant [sic]”—is also about the fate of transatlantic slavery.<sup>37</sup> French (and British) desires to overthrow metaphorical “slavery” rub uncomfortably close to enslaved persons’ demands for—and seizure of—their own liberty. The line between a convenient metaphor and a brutal reality bursts into flame.



Anonymous. *West India Luxury!!* Etching & aquatint with hand coloring, 26.5 x 39 cm, sheet. Published 1803. 803.04.00.02



William Elmes. *The Horrid Torture of Impalment [sic] Alive as a Punishment on Runaway Slaves*. Aquatint with etching, 18.5 x 27 cm, sheet. Published September 1808 by T. Tegg. 808.09.09.01





James Gillray (1756–1815). *Alecto and her Train at the Gate of Pandaemonium, or, The Recruiting Sarjeant [sic] Enlisting John-Bull into the Revolution Service*. Etching with hand coloring, 39.3 x 45.5 cm, sheet. Published July 4, 1791, by S.W. Fores. 791.07.04.01.1++ Impression 1

1 For a summary of scholarship on the War of Jenkins’ Ear and an argument that places it in the context of global imperial contests, see Steven Pincus, “Patriot Fever: Imperial Political Economy and the Causes of the War of Jenkins Ear” (forthcoming).

2 See Abigail Leslie Swingen, *Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), esp. ch. 3, “Restoration Imperialism: The Shaping of Imperial Administration, 1660–1671,” and ch. 4, “Politicized Empire: The Crown, the African Company, and Centralization, 1671–1678.”

3 William A. Pettigrew, *Freedom’s Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672–1752* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 2. <http://muse.jhu.edu/books/9781469611839>.

4 See Sylvia Wynter, “Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation – An Argument,” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 257–337.

5 Charles Hayes, *The Importance of Effectually Supporting the Royal African Company of England Impartially Considered...* (London: printed by E. Say; and sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane, 1745), italics in original, 3.

6 Hayes, *The Importance*, 19, italics in original, 21.

7 Hayes, *The Importance*, 32.

8 Estimates are notoriously difficult. See Herbert S. Klein et al., “Transoceanic Mortality: The Slave Trade in Comparative Perspective,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, 58, no. 1 (Jan. 1, 2001): 93–118.

9 Anonymous, *A Short View of the Dispute Concerning the Regulation of the African Trade*, included in *A Short View of the Dispute Between the Merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool [sic], and the Advocates of a New Joint-Stock Company, Concerning the Regulation of the African Trade* (London, 1750), 2.

10 Anonymous, *A Short View*, 3.

11 Anonymous, *History of the Seven Years’ War* manuscript (1762), 1759–1760, pt. 3, ff. 95–96.

12 Anonymous, *History of the Seven Years’ War*, 1759–1760, pt. 3, f. 96.

13 Anonymous, *History of the Seven Years’ War*, 1758, f. 48.

14 Anonymous, *History of the Seven Years’ War*, 1758, note BB, opposite f. 48.

15 Maria Alessandra Bollettino, “‘Of Equal or of More Service’: Black Soldiers and the British Empire in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century Caribbean,” *Slavery & Abolition* 37 (Nov. 10, 2016): 1–24 (12).

16 Bollettino, “‘Of Equal or of More Service,’” 4.

17 Anonymous, *History of the Seven Years’ War*, 1762, pt. Oct.-Nov.-Dec., Letter xxxi (London, October 1, 1762), f. 55.

18 See Daniel Marston, *The Seven Years’ War* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 45 ff.

19 Marston, *The Seven Years’ War*, 46.

20 Marston, *The Seven Years’ War*, 68.

21 Anonymous, *History of the Seven Years’ War*, 1760, pt. 2, f. 161.

22 Swingen, *Competing Visions of Empire*, 7.

23 Bollettino does suggest as comparable the British Empire’s use of sepoys (“‘Of Equal or of More Service,’” 3).

24 See Denver Brunzman, “Subjects vs. Citizens: Impressment and Identity in the Anglo-American Atlantic,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 30, no. 4 (Nov. 2010): 557–586.

25 Bollettino, “‘Of Equal or of More Service,’” 9.

26 Laird Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States*, New Approaches to the Americas (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 16–17.

27 Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States*, 17.

28 Bollettino, “‘Of Equal or of More Service,’” 11.

29 See Bernard Marshall, “Slave Resistance and White Reaction in the British Windward Islands 1763–1833,” *Caribbean Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (1982): 33–46.

30 Kathleen Wilson, “The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the Colonial Order in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica and the Atlantic Sound,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2009): 45–86 (56–57).

31 Wilson, “The Performance of Freedom,” 58.

32 Wilson, “The Performance of Freedom,” 47.

33 Wilson, “The Performance of Freedom,” 64.

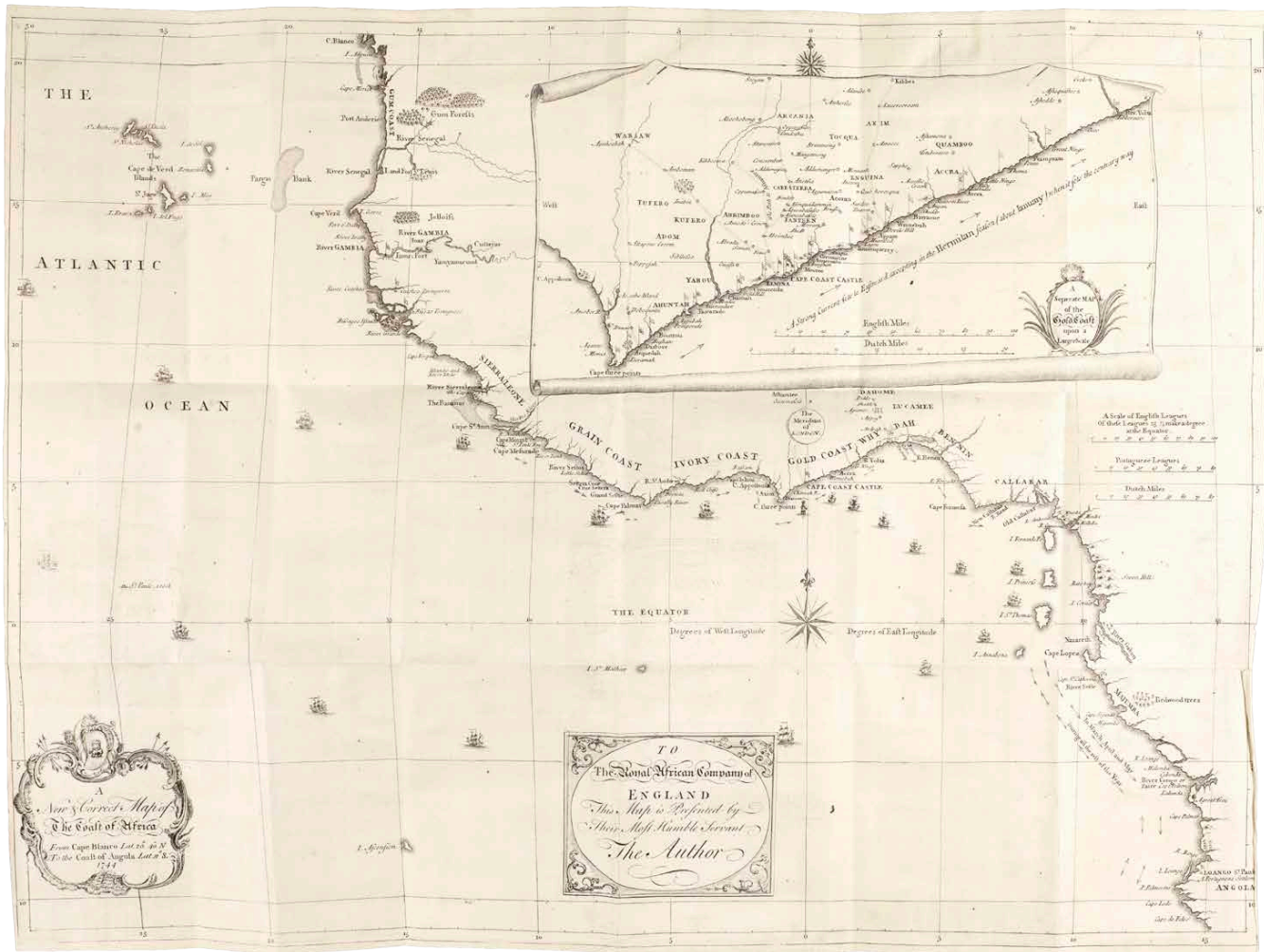
34 Wilson, “The Performance of Freedom,” 65.

35 Letter, Henry Seymour Conway to Robert Melville (March 13, 1766), ff. 43–44 (f. 43), “American Drafts,” vol. 9.

36 Saidiya V. Hartman, “Venus in Two Acts,” *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1–14 (5).

37 See also Katherine Hart, “James Gillray, Charles James Fox, and the Abolition of the Slave Trade: Caricature and Displacement in the Debate over Reform,” in Angela Rosenthal and David Bindman, eds., *No Laughing Matter: Visual Humor in Ideas of Race, Nationality, and Ethnicity* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 2015), 76–103 (100).





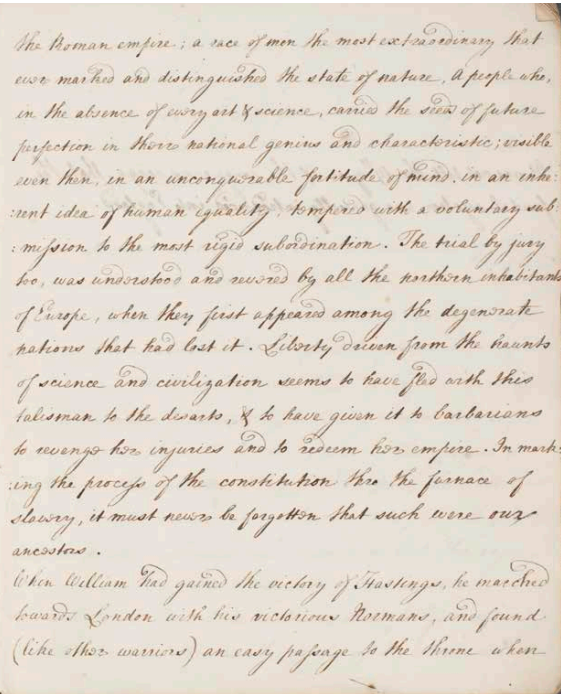
Anonymous. “Map of Africa” from *The Importance of Effectually Supporting the Royal African Company of England Impartially Considered*. London: E. Say, 1745. 49 2146 1:7

## Tracing Indigenous Power in the Collections of the Lewis Walpole Library

JUSTIN BROOKS

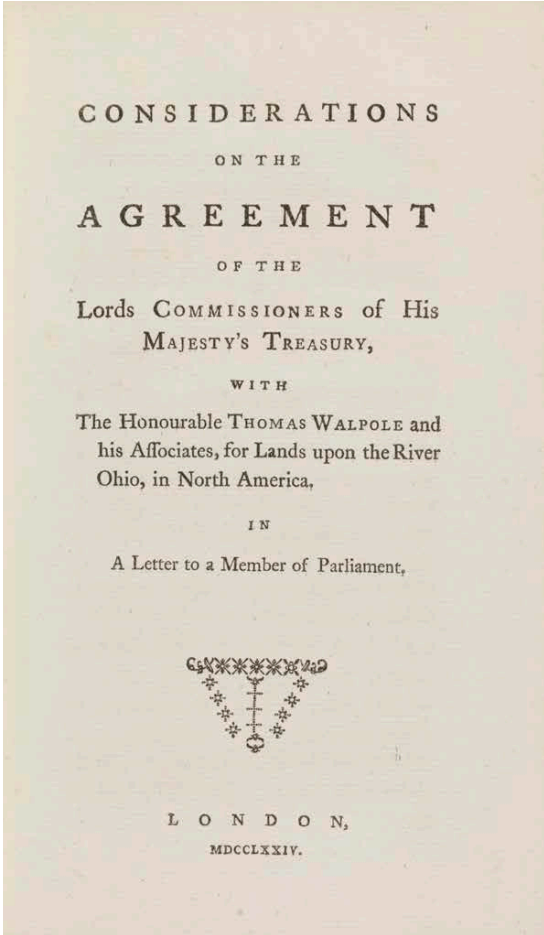
Across the British Empire, officials, merchants, and ordinary subjects of the Crown conceived of indigenous peoples – from North America, to Scotland’s Highlands, to Bengal – within a similar conceptual framework. Though Britons lacked a consistent term for bringing into one framework the sovereign peoples living at the frontiers of expansion, they nonetheless used a series of overlapping terms to indicate their thinking. On their own, the materials gathered in this exhibition offer only fragmentary insights into the ways in which British imperial officials ordered native peoples into a series of comparable categories across the globe. When brought together, however, they reveal some of the most significant axes along which policymakers framed these comparisons and reimagined both indigenous peoples and indigenous governance over time.

Britons believed that indigenous peoples shared in a certain relationship to state expansion that disposed them to overlap. Texts like *Reasons for Settling the Trade to Africa* (1750) and Lord Clive’s *Speech to Parliament* (1772) similarly framed West African and Bengali polities as targets of English expansion since at least the seventeenth century. Erskine’s tract on the ancient liberties of Britain (1777) shared this framework but opened it up to regions like the Irish and Scottish Highlands by highlighting Britain’s own history as a colonized space. In addition to



T. Erskine. “Tract to Lord Bishop of Petersborough on Ancient Liberties of Britain,” June 1777. *Thomas Walpole Papers*. LWL MSS 16, box 1





“Considerations on the Agreement of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty’s Treasury with the Honourable Thomas Walpole and the Associates for Lands upon the River Ohio, in North America,” 1774. *Thomas Walpole Papers*. LWL MSS 16, box 5, pages 8–9

sharing in this history of English expansion, the indigenous communities featured in this exhibition retained significant autonomy well into the eighteenth century. Highland clans retained the right of heritable jurisdictions, or a set of traditional rights that empowered chiefs to judge in cases among their dependents, until 1747. Lord Clive in his Speech (1772) was emphatic that indigenous potentates overwhelmingly held the power in India. A map published in *The Importance of Effectually Supporting the Royal African Company* (1745) featured the names of West African kingdoms for the same reason. The sovereignty of these indigenous polities, coupled with their shared encounters with expansion, formed two crucial axes of connection for eighteenth-century contemporaries.

Eighteenth-century observers also gestured toward more cultural connections. Indigenous peoples’ cultures differed from those of expanding European states. Many retained languages, cultural markers, and modes of social and political organization dissimilar to those of the English. Most continued to observe religious traditions that diverged from those of England’s established Church. Peoples native to sites of global English expansion therefore also, at times, became objects of stereotypes stressing what Britons believed to be their deviance from “civilized” society. The Duke of Cumberland wrote to the Duke of Newcastle of the “wild manner” of Highland clansmen (1746). An anonymous Seven Years’ War tract cast Native Americans as “savages” (1761). Lord Clive in his speech to Parliament contended that the “inhabitants, especially of Bengal, in inferior stations, are servile, mean, submissive and humble. In superior stations they are luxurious, effeminate, tyrannical, treacherous, venal, cruel.”<sup>1</sup>

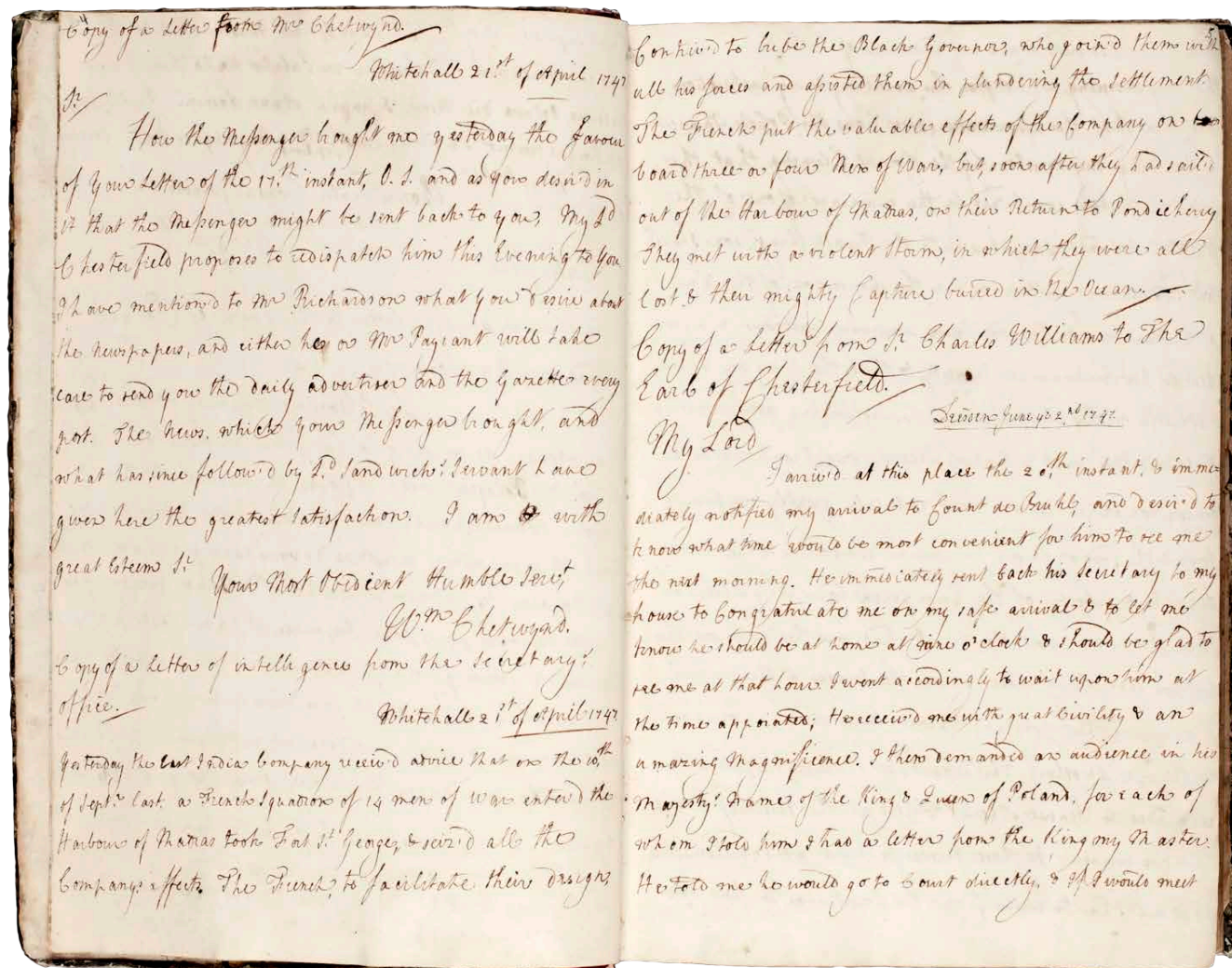
In policy terms, however, eighteenth-century British statesmen also took seriously the many considerations that prevented pejorative views from translating directly into state policies of violence. They advocated instead a negotiated mode of indigenous governance, by which Britain entered into alliances or diplomatic arrangements with native head people and exchanged gifts, protections, or patronage for concessions on the ground. The manuscript materials mentioned above demonstrate that this strategy transcended continents: both Lord Clive’s *Speech* (1772) and the anonymous Seven Years’ War tract highlight the historical importance of indigenous alliances in India and North America, respectively. The Thomas Walpole papers, moreover, establish that eighteenth-century Britons could be engaged in multiple, geographically disparate indigenous policies: after serving as an East India Company director from 1753, Walpole then led a group of investors to seek a land grant ceded by the Iroquois to the Crown in 1772. Finally, the materials in this exhibition conclusively prove that policymakers transposed insights about indigenous governance across regions: *A Short View of the Disputes between Merchants* (1750) calls for the extension of Britain’s North American indigenous strategies to alliances in West Africa, noting “that a great inland trade may be carried on in the country behind the Gold Coast, and that it is not more difficult there, than among the Indians of North America.” Doing so would “bring as much treasure into *Great Britain* as ever was brought into *Europe* from *New Spain*” while protecting Britain’s African alliances from French machinations.<sup>2</sup>

As *A Short View* suggests, however, Britain entered into alliances with indigenous peoples to achieve larger strategic ends. And whenever war erupted

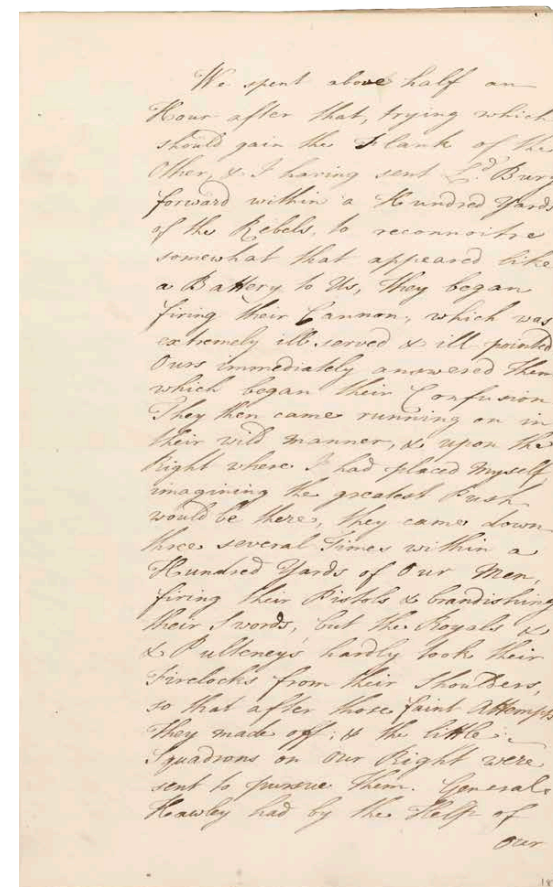
between Britain and its most powerful imperial rival, France—in the War of the Austrian Succession (1744–1748), the Carnatic Wars in the East Indies (1749–1754), the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763), and the French and Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815)—the conflicts rapidly engulfed arenas of Anglo-French imperial competition around the world. The manuscript materials selected for this exhibition convey an obsession on the part of British and French officials to compete for indigenous allies in each of these colonial arenas. In addition to the *Short View*’s concerns about French alliances with African Gold Coast kingdoms, Henry Seymour Conway’s *American Correspondence* offered glimpses into ministerial anxieties over French- and Spanish-allied Native American peoples. From South Asia, a “Copy of a Letter of Intelligence from the Secretary of State” (1747) informed Charles Hanbury Williams that “The French, to facilitate their design” of sacking Fort St. George in Madras, “contriv’d to bribe the Black Governor, who join’d them with all his forces and assisted them in plundering the settlement.”<sup>3</sup> These materials indicate that when conflicts flared, France and Britain doubled down on competing for indigenous allies globally.

Within these shifting geopolitical configurations, indigenous peoples found space to imagine new possibilities for withstanding or even resisting the pressures of imperial encroachment. Most native peoples entered into alliances with European powers not because they sympathized with European expansion, but because alliance enabled them to contain the deleterious effects of expansion and cement a position as coveted military or trading partners. Some—like the Mohawk and Cherokee delegations that visited London in 1710, 1730, and 1762—entered into alliances to maintain their prestige or preserve





“Copy of a letter of Intelligence from the Secretary’s Office, outlining French seizure of Madras,” April 21, 1747. Charles Hanbury Williams Papers. LWL MSS 7, vol. 10, ff. 4–5



William Augustus Duke of Cumberland (1721–1765). “Copy of a letter to the Duke of Newcastle,” April 1746. Edward Weston Papers. LWL MSS 6, vol. 1, page 187

their autonomy relative to rival or neighboring polities. Significantly, alliance also afforded opportunities to consolidate political power. Scottish Highland clans closely aligned with the Whig government received positions through patronage and served as MPs.<sup>4</sup> Others, like Suraj-ud-daula, Britain’s allied nawab of Bengal, and Orontony, ally and head of an Ohio Valley Indian republic, parlayed their respective accords with the British to forge distinct successor polities.<sup>5</sup> The Kingdom of Whydah in West Africa and the Iroquois in North America both emerged as regional power brokers by playing European powers off of one another.<sup>6</sup> Across the world, then, many indigenous peoples imagined new possibilities in defiance of the existing social and political order, shrewdly using alliance with Europeans to reclaim or newly assert power over the very diplomatic relations those allies sought to control.

Two items within this exhibition—the Duke of Cumberland’s account of the Battle of Culloden (1746), and the Secretary of State’s Letter of Intelligence regarding the fall of Fort St. George (1747)—attest to the ongoing power of indigenous resistance to challenge ministerial aims. Crucially, however, these artifacts of resistance also gesture toward an asymmetry of indigenous political outcomes that developed over the course of the eighteenth century. By Lord Clive’s account mentioned above, Bengalis faced an unprecedented escalation of East India Company involvement after that company deposed three successive nawabs and became sovereigns of Bengal in 1765. Britain’s American indigenous allies found themselves embroiled in an imperial civil war that, by 1834, had relegated their status to that of “domestic dependent nations.”<sup>7</sup> As prints like *The Able Doctor* (1774) and *The Female*





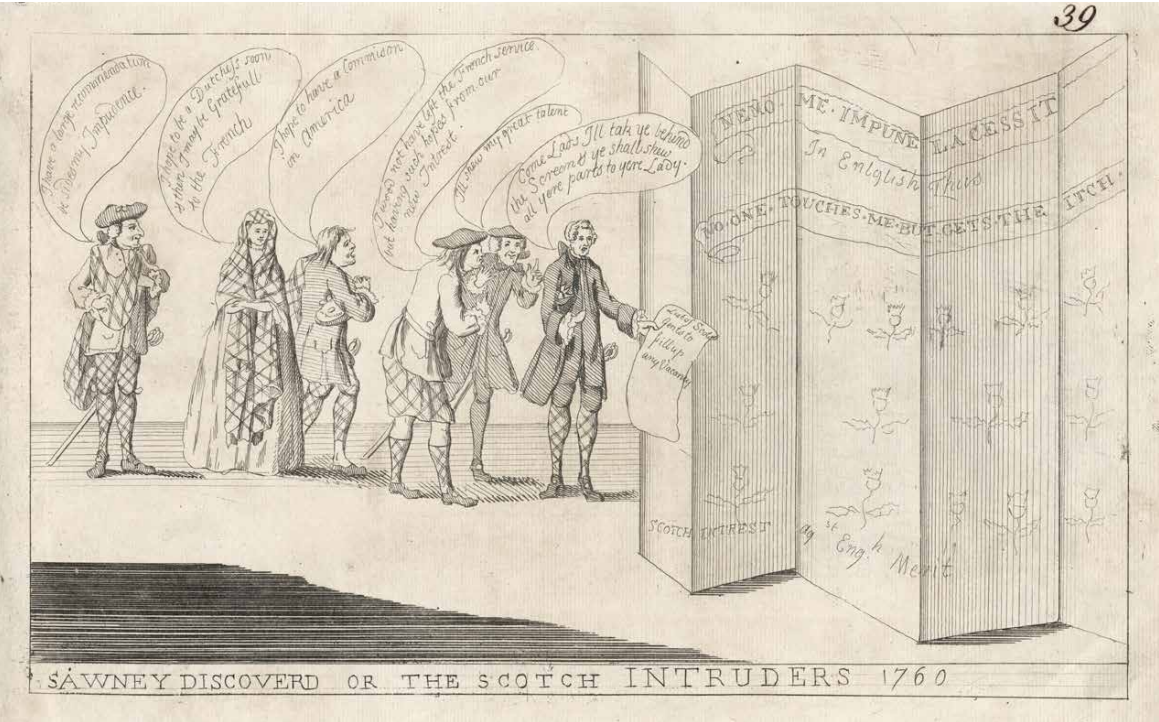
Anonymous. *The Female Combatants*.  
Etching & engraving with hand  
coloring, 22 x 17 cm, sheet. Published  
January 26, 1776. 776.01.26.01

*Combatants* (1776) attest, they also became mono-  
lithic symbols for a nascent American nationhood.  
These cases contrasted sharply with that of the  
Scottish Highlands. The clans after 1760 achieved an  
unprecedented degree of integration into the British  
Empire, becoming colonial administrators and taking  
on military posts in North America, India, South  
Africa, Australia, and the Caribbean. This exhibition  
traces this transition from “wild” Highland rebels  
(Cumberland, 1746), to skepticism over “Scotch  
Intruders” in British politics (1761), to the rise of the  
Earl of Bute – nephew of the British government’s  
key Highland ally, the Duke of Argyll – to Prime  
Minister of Britain and influential negotiator in the  
Treaty of Paris (1763).

These materials confirm one historian’s obser-  
vation that “the very notion of ‘indigenous  
people’ within the British Isles was fundamentally  
re-worked” in the decades after 1760, making the  
period covered by this exhibition “a critical one in the  
epistemological and economic creation of ‘indigenous  
peoples’ as a series of comparable categories across  
the globe.”<sup>8</sup> This alone may not surprise; indigenous  
peoples occupied a fluid place in the British imagina-  
tion – “allies” to “enemies,” “diplomats” to “savages,”  
transatlantic diplomatic envoys to icons of a nascent  
American nationhood – throughout the eighteenth  
century. As this exhibition suggests, however, the  
reworking of ideas about indigeneity owed not to  
British perceptions about indigenous “backward-  
ness,” but rather to ministers’ ongoing awareness of  
indigenous peoples’ indispensability to even the most  
powerful of European empires. One cannot account  
for the expansion of the eighteenth-century British  
Empire, these sources tell us, without confronting the  
central shaping role of indigenous peoples.

- 1 Robert Clive, *Lord Clive’s Speech in the House of Commons*, 30th  
March 1772, on the motion made for leave to bring in a bill for the  
better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company (London:  
J. Walter, 1773), included in Horace Walpole’s Tracts, Lewis  
Walpole Library LWL 49 1609 58:3, ff. 42–43.
- 2 Anonymous, *A Short View of the Dispute Concerning the  
Regulation of the African Trade*, included in *A Short View of the  
Dispute Between the Merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool*  
[sic], and the Advocates of a New Joint-Stock Company, Concerning  
the Regulation of the African Trade (London, 1750), 7.
- 3 To Charles Hanbury Williams, Copy of a Letter of Intelligence  
from the Secretary of State’s Office outlining French seizure of  
Madras (April 21, 1747) LWL MSS 7 Vol. 10 ff. 4–5.
- 4 Rosalind Mitchison, “The Government and the Highlands,”  
in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement: Essays in Scottish History  
in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Phillipson and Rosalind  
Mitchison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970).
- 5 P.J. Marshall, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead* (Cambridge:  
Cambridge University Press, 1987), 76; Richard White, *The*

- Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics, 1650–1815*  
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 196.
- 6 In Whydah, European trade companies were in constant  
competition to curry favor with King Haffon, while in North  
America the Iroquois used the Great Peace of 1701 to establish  
a “playoff system” to keep France and Britain at bay. Daniel K.  
Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois  
League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill:  
University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
  - 7 This legalistic creation was formed over the course of three  
Supreme Court cases – *Johnson v. M’Intosh* (1823); *Cherokee  
Nation v. Georgia* (1831); and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) – and  
forms the basis of Native Americans’ legal status in American  
Indian law.
  - 8 Christopher A. Bayly, “The British and Indigenous Peoples,  
1760–1860: Power, Perception and Identity,” in *Empire and  
Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850*,  
ed. Martin Daunt and Rick Halpern (London: UCL Press,  
1999), 20–21.



George Townshend (1724–1807). *Sawney Discover’d, or, The Scotch Intruders 1760*.  
Etching, 18 x 30 cm, sheet. Published 1761. 761.00.00.03.1



# Further Reading

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		<i>All items are from the collection of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University</i>		
Pincus, Steve. <i>The Heart of the Declaration: The Founders’ Case for Activist Government</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.	White, Richard. <i>The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics, 1650–1815</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.	Anonymous <i>The Able Doctor, or, America Swallowing the Bitter Draught</i> Etching & engraving, 13 x 21 cm, sheet Published April 1774 774.04.00.01	“Minutes of the Houses of Lords and Commons,” February 21–25, 1752 <i>Sir Charles Hanbury Williams Papers</i> LWL MSS 7, vol. 56, pages 111–112  Edward Digby “Letter to Charles Hanbury Williams on Parliamentary Subsidy Debates,” January 24, 1752 <i>Sir Charles Hanbury Williams Papers</i> LWL MSS 7, vol. 54, page 244	Horace Walpole (1717–1797) “Letter to Henry Seymour Conway,” June 16, 1768 <i>Horace Walpole Collection</i> LWL MSS 1, box 9, folder 12
Pincus, Steve. <i>1688: The First Modern Revolution</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.	Williams, Eric. <i>Capitalism and Slavery</i> . Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.			
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Rodning, Christopher B. “Cherokee Towns and Calumet Ceremonialism in Eastern North America.” <i>American Antiquity</i> 79, no. 3 (July 2014): 425–443.		Etching & engraving with hand coloring, 22 x 17 cm, sheet Published January 26, 1776 776.01.26.01	“Cabinet Minutes,” March 29, 1762 <i>Edward Weston Papers</i> LWL MSS 6 vol. 1, page 245	Carl Gottlieb Guttenberg (1743–1790) <i>The Tea-Tax-Tempest, or, The Anglo-American Revolution</i> Etching & engraving, 48 x 63 cm, sheet Published 1778 778.00.15.01++ Impression 1
Simms, Brendan. <i>Three Victories and a Defeat</i> . New York: Basic Books, 2009.		Ranelagh Barrett (d. 1768) <i>Portrait of Henry Seymour Conway</i> , ca. 1765 Oil on canvas, 160.6 x 135.2 cm, framed LWL Ptg. 129	John Stuart (1713–1792) “Letter to George Grenville,” November 1762 <i>George Grenville Papers</i> LWL MSS vol. 125, volume 5	Anonymous <i>The Peace Makers of India</i> Etching, 13 x 19 cm, sheet Published 1770 770.02.00.07 Impression 2
Smylitopoulos, Christina. “Portrait of a Nabob: Graphic Satire, Portraiture, and the Anglo-Indian in the Late Eighteenth Century.” <i>RACAR: Revue d’art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review</i> 37, no. 1 (2012): 10–25.		Charles Hanbury Williams (1708–1759) to Unknown “Observations on Trade in Europe after Peace,” 1748 <i>Sir Charles Hanbury Williams Papers</i> LWL MSS 7, vol. 29, page 266	“Circular from Henry Seymour Conway to the Governors of Jamaica, Grenada, and Bahama Islands, Outlining Repeal of the Stamp Act,” April 10, 1766 <i>Henry Seymour Conway Papers</i> LWL MSS vol. 87, volume 9, pages 2–3	Anonymous <i>The India Directors in the Suds</i> Etching & engraving, 12 x 21 cm, sheet Published 1772 772.00.00.49
Swingen, Abigail. <i>Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire</i> . New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.		Robert Nugent (1702–1788) <i>Considerations upon a Reduction of the Land-tax</i> London: R. Griffiths, 1749 49 1608 47:3	Anonymous <i>What May Be Doing Abroad; What Is Doing at Home</i> Etching, 20 x 13 cm, sheet Published 1769 769.06.00.03	Anonymous <i>Carlo Khan Dethron’d, or, Billy’s Triumph</i> Etching with stipple & drypoint, 25 x 32 cm, sheet Published March 24, 1784, by S.W. Fores 784.03.24.01+
Tobin, Beth Fowkes. <i>Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting</i> . Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press Books, 1999.				



Anonymous <i>An Indian Merchant in his Muslin Dress &amp; Turban: A Native Merchant in the English Costume</i> Etching with hand coloring, 19.2 x 24 cm, sheet Published 1802(?) 802.00.00.21	“Considerations on the Agreement of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty’s Treasury with the Honourable Thomas Walpole and the Associates for Lands upon the River Ohio, in North America,” 1774 <i>Thomas Walpole Papers</i> LWL MSS 16, box 5, pages 8–9	Anonymous <i>Farmington, Connecticut Land Deed, March 11, 1785</i> LWL MSS File 24	James Gillray (1756–1815) <i>A Sale of English Beauties in the East Indies</i> Etching & aquatint, 43 x 54 cm, sheet Published May 16, 1786, by W. Holland Drawer 786.05.16.05	George Cruikshank (1792–1878) <i>The Court at Brighton a Chinese!!</i> Etching & engraving with stipple with hand coloring, 28 x 38 cm, sheet Published March 1816 by J. Sidebotham 816.03.00.01+	47
Anonymous <i>An Indian Lady Amusing herself at her Leisure Hours: A Modernized Indian Lady Amusing herself at her Leisure Hours</i> Etching with hand coloring, 19.3 x 24.4 cm, sheet Published 1802(?) 802.00.00.20	Anonymous <i>A Short View of the Dispute between the Merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, and the Advocates of a New Joint-Stock Company: Concerning the Regulation of African Trade</i> London, 1750 Quarto 63 752 R812	Anonymous <i>The Dance of the Calumet of the Sun, or, Pipe of Peace, Performed on the Most Solemn Occasions by the Indian Nations in North America</i> Aquatint with etching, 18.5 x 27 cm, sheet Published January 21, 1809, by T. Tegg 809.01.21.01	Anonymous <i>Disappointed Dandies, or, A Vain Attempt to Get a Peep at the Fair Circassian</i> Etching with hand coloring, 35 x 36 cm, sheet Published May 1819 by S.W. Fores 819.05.00.02+	Mrs. Percivall “Observations made by Mrs. Percivall when in London,” 1713 or 1714 LWL MSS vol. 70, page 59	
T. Erskine “Tract to Lord Bishop of Petersborough on Ancient Liberties of Britain,” June 1777 <i>Thomas Walpole Papers</i> LWL MSS 16, box 1	“Map of Havana” <i>History of the Seven Years’ War</i> LWL MSS vol. 101, 1762	William Elmes (1797–1820) <i>Capt. Keith &amp; Family Betrayed &amp; Made Prisoners by the American Indians</i> Aquatint with etching, 18.5 x 27 cm, sheet Published October 22, 1808, by T. Tegg 808.10.22.01	Anonymous <i>West India Luxury!!</i> Etching & aquatint with hand coloring, 26.5 x 39 cm, sheet Published 1803 803.04.00.02	James Gillray (1756–1815) <i>The Reception of the Diplomatie &amp; his Suite at the Court of Peking</i> Etching & engraving with hand coloring, 32 x 41 cm, sheet Published September 14, 1792, by H. Humphrey 792.09.14.01+	
William Augustus Duke of Cumberland (1721–1765) “Copy of a letter to the Duke of Newcastle,” April 1746 <i>Edward Weston Papers</i> LWL MSS 6, volume 1, pages 186–187	George Keppel, Earl of Albemarle (1724–1772) “Letter to Mr. William Adair on Slaves in Havana,” December 28, 1763 <i>Keppel Papers</i> LWL MSS vol. 93 folder 127	Anonymous “Map of Africa” from <i>The Importance of Effectually Supporting the Royal African Company of England Impartially Considered</i> London: E. Say, 1745 49 2146 1:7	Anonymous <i>A Lady’s Dressing Room in Calcutta</i> Etching & aquatint with hand coloring, 27 x 40 cm, sheet Published 1813 by William Holland 813.00.00.08+	Alured Clarke (1696–1742) “Letter to Charlotte,” August 3, 1734 <i>Letters to Charlotte, Lady Sundon</i> LWL MSS vol. 74	
“Remarks on Reduction of the Cherokee,” July 21, 1761 <i>History of the Seven Years’ War</i> LWL MSS vol. 101	Abraham James <i>Martial Law in Jamaica</i> Etching & aquatint with hand coloring Published November 28, [1801 or 1803] by William Holland; reprinted ca. 1824 803.11.10.01++	William Elmes <i>The Horrid Torture of Impalment [sic] Alive as a Punishment on Runaway Slaves</i> Aquatint with etching, 18.5 x 27 cm, sheet Published September 1808 by T. Tegg 808.09.09.01	James Gillray (1756–1815) <i>Alecto and her Train at the Gate of Pandaemonium, or, The Recruiting Sarjeant [sic] Enlisting John-Bull into the Revolution Service</i> Etching with hand coloring, 39.3 x 45.5 cm, sheet Published July 4, 1791, by S.W. Fores 791.07.04.01.1++ Impression 1	John Trusler (1735–1820) <i>Memoirs, Part 2</i> LWL MSS vol. 71, pages 13–14	
Copy of a letter of Intelligence from the Secretary’s Office, outlining French seizure of Madras, April 21, 1747 <i>Charles Hanbury Williams Papers</i> LWL MSS 7, vol. 10, ff. 4–5	Anonymous <i>The Brave Old Hendrick, the Great Sachem or Chief of the Mohawk Indians</i> Etching & engraving with stipple, 39 x 27.5 cm, sheet Published 1755 755.00.00.24+	Anonymous <i>Slavery</i> Etching, 24 x 38 cm, sheet Published 1738 738.00.00.01+	George Townshend (1724–1807) <i>Sawney Discover’d, or, The Scotch Intruders 1760</i> Etching, 18 x 30 cm, sheet Published 1761 761.00.00.03.1	Anonymous <i>A New Humorous Song on the Cherokee Chiefs</i> Etching, 39 x 23 cm, sheet Published July 1762 762.07.00.01+	
Robert Clive (1725–1774) <i>Lord Clive’s Speech in the House of Commons, March 30, 1772</i> London: J. Walter 1773(?) 49 1609 58:3	Thomas Burford (1710–1779) <i>Loum Kiqua</i> Mezzotint, 37.4 x 37.3 cm, sheet Published April 1757 Portraits L886 no. 1+	Thomas Vivarès (1735–1810) After George Robertson (1747/48–1788) <i>A View in the Island of Jamaica, of Roaring River Estate, Belonging to William Beckford Esqr. near Savannah la Marr</i> Etching & engraving, 48.9 x 62 cm Published March 25, 1778, by John Boydell Babb-Beckford no. 116++	Anonymous French “Women’s March on Versailles” <i>Letters Describing Life in England, 1790</i> LWL MSS vol. 115, not paginated		



COVER Emam Bowen. “An Accurate Map of the World”  
(detail), in Patrick Gordon, *Geography Anatomiz'd or, the  
Geographical Grammar*. London, 1754.

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