The power of context:

the portrait of Dido Elizabeth Belle Lindsay and Lady Elizabeth Murray

Drawing on her wealth of experience and expertise in using visual sources in the classroom, in this article Jane Card explores how a single painting, a portrait of Dido Elizabeth Belle Lindsay and her cousin Lady Elizabeth Murray, might form the basis for a sequence of lessons. Arguing that although highly accessible, images are not straightforward windows into the past, Card demonstrates the vital importance of rich contextual knowledge if teachers are to plan an in-depth enquiry based on a single visual source, and if students are to be able to interrogate in a meaningful way a visual image as a source of evidence. Card describes a number of strategies to help students do this and in so doing shows how a sustained focus on a 'little picture' across a sequence of lessons can help students to see a 'big story'.

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Media reviews of the film *Belle*, directed by Amma Asante, have drawn attention to the double portrait of Dido Elizabeth Belle Lindsay and her cousin Elizabeth Murray.[1] This was once, but no longer, thought to be by the society painter Zoffany, and is currently in Scone Palace, Perthshire, in the Earl of Mansfield Collection. Dido was a mixed-race girl brought up in the British aristocracy of the late eighteenth century. Images reflect the social customs and attitudes of the society in which they are produced and this double portrait is interesting because it was painted at a time when Britain participated in the trade in slaves. While Dido's portrayal to some extent reflects the conventions for painting 'exotic' people, in other ways it is unusual. Does it indicate the unique circumstances of one girl – or does it reflect the stirrings of a change in racial attitudes?

It is essential when asking such questions of a visual source to give pupils thorough contextual information. All images retain degrees of ambiguity, and we cannot cross-examine the patron and artist who created an historical image as to their purposes and intended meanings. Furthermore, images are not straightforward windows into the past: they are constructions showing what the patron wished to be shown. Artists deployed visual codes, symbols and conventions particular to their own time. The original viewers perceived the image through their own cultural expectations, ideas of morality, class and social order. The meanings they made would thus have been different from those our pupils naturally make when they first view such a picture. Setting a visual source in rich context can suggest interesting lines of enquiry, provide absorbing depth for pupil investigations and minimise the danger of allowing pupils to draw facile and anachronistic conclusions. Because images do not project fixed meanings, it is really important to provide enough background information to enable pupils to test their inferences for plausibility in the context of the period.

Dido's fascinating 'human interest' story clearly lies behind the portrait, but we lack the information which usually provides the starting point for using a visual source. We do not know when, why or by whom it was commissioned, or who painted it – only that it is a good quality 'society' portrait. Its imagery both borrows from conventions for the 'exotic' and simultaneously hints at an unusually equal relationship between the cousins. It provides a perfect example of the difficulties of drawing conclusions from visual evidence: the temptation to read into it what may not be there is very great. Yet the very ambiguities of the image open up opportunities for teachers wishing to explore attitudes to ethnic groups in the eighteenth century. As I have argued before, images have great power to stimulate productive class discussion.[2] The purpose of this article is to provide contextual information, and an analysis of the image, so that teachers may choose to deploy it in a variety of ways.

Dido Elizabeth Belle, *c.*1763-1819

Our lack of knowledge about the painting's commission is partly compensated for by contextual information about Dido's family. It is this which links the portrait to possible lines of enquiry about attitudes toward the slave trade, and towards free Africans, as well as the state of the law on slavery. Dido Belle was the illegitimate daughter of the aristocrat Captain Sir John Lindsay by a black slave, Maria Belle, whom he rescued from a Spanish ship in the Caribbean and brought to England. Dido was brought up in Kenwood House, the home of Lord and Lady Mansfield, Lindsay's uncle and aunt. William Murray, first Earl of Mansfield (1705-93) was Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The couple were childless and were already looking after another great-niece, Lady Elizabeth Murray, daughter of Mansfield's nephew and heir, Viscount Stormont. The name

Figure 1: Portrait of Dido Elizabeth Belle Lindsay and her cousin Lady Elizabeth Murray.



Dido – after the famous African Queen of Carthage – was used at Kenwood.[3] From the 1760s, Dido was brought up as a companion to Elizabeth.[4] Contemporaries noted that her great-uncle was very fond of her. She must have been well educated since she helped him with his legal correspondence. He gave her an allowance (around £30 p.a.) with presents at birthdays and Christmas, and she received expensive medical treatment when ill. She oversaw the household's dairy and poultry – tasks thought suitable for a gentlewoman.[5] The American Thomas Hutchinson's rather hostile account (Figure 2) still makes clear both the affection in which she was held and the ambiguity of her status – she was illegitimate, and a 'poor relation'. *The Times* obituary for her father in 1788 describes her as:

> *his natural daughter, a Mulatto ... whose amiable disposition and accomplishments have gained her the highest respect from all* [Lord Mansfields] *relations and visitants.*[6]

Dido Belle was possibly left money by her father.[7] Her great uncle left her the large sum of £500 plus an annuity of £100 a year. In 1785, he added a codicil, giving her £200 'to set out with'. This has been linked with a case he had just ruled upon, that of Charlotte Howe, a slave brought to England by Captain Tyringham Howe. On his death, she left the family, which arguably made her free. But when she applied for Poor Relief, two parishes refused this on the grounds that, first, she had not been born in the parish and, second, she had not been a *hired servant*, since she was a slave, and thus had no legal claim to 'settlement' – that is, to be a resident of the parish. In the ensuing court case, Mansfield supported the latter legal argument. Six weeks later, he made the codicil, Steedman suggests because the case caused him 'a frisson' of anxiety about Dido's possible future.[8] He had confirmed in his will that she was free, not slave; since the slave status of her mother meant that legally she had been born a slave, he must have freed her previously, and confirmed her status in order to protect her. She later married John Davinier. Her last

Figure 2: From the diary of the American Thomas Hutchinson, a Loyalist and former governor of Massachusetts who visited Kenwood on 29 August 1779

A Black came in after dinner and sat with the ladies and after coffee, walked with the company in the gardens, one of the young ladies having her arm within the other. She had a very high cap and her wool was much frizzled in her neck, but not enough to answer the large curls now in fashion. She is neither handsome nor genteel – pert enough. I knew her history before, but My Lord mentioned it again. Sir John Lindsay having taken her mother prisoner on a Spanish vessel, brought her to England where she was delivered of this girl, of which she was then with child, and which was taken care of by Lord M., and has been educated by his family. He calls her Dido, which I suppose is all the name she has. He knows he has been reproached for showing fondness for her – I dare say not criminal.

A few years ago there was a cause before his Lordship bro't by a Black for recovery of his liberty. A Jamaica planter being asked what judgement his Ldship would give? "No doubt" he answered "He will be set free, for Lord Mansfield keeps a Black in his house which governs him and the whole family."

She is a sort of Superintendent over the dairy, poultry yard, etc, which we visited. And she was called upon by my Lord every minute for this thing and that, and shewed the greatest attention to everything he said."[9]

known descendant died in South Africa in 1975, classified under the then-existing apartheid laws as 'white'.[10]

Lord Mansfield and the Somersett Case, 1772

The law was very unclear on slavery: some thought that baptising a slave brought into England automatically freed them, while others held that, while they were in England, their slave status was suspended but only temporarily.

In 1772, Lord Mansfield had to give judgement on the case of James Somersett, a slave who had been brought to England by his owner, escaped, been baptised (see above) and then recaptured. His owner proposed to sell him for plantation work back in America. Abolitionists argued that the law of England did not permit or acknowledge slavery. Mansfield was very cautious – slaves were considered valuable property, and the economy of the plantations in the West Indies depended on them. He eventually ruled that no slave could be forcibly removed from England, that slavery could not now be introduced into English law, and described slavery as 'odious'.[11] He did not state that there could be no slaves in England, and in 1785 commented that his 1772 judgement '(went) *no further than to establish, that the master had no power to take the slave by force out of the Kingdom*'. However, his ruling gave impetus to the idea that slavery could not exist in England. Contemporaries and historians have wondered whether his fondness for Dido contributed to his views. Dido was no more than nine years of age at the time of the case: as Adam points out, hardly in a position to 'govern him and the family'.

Lord Mansfield and the case of the slave ship *Zong* 1783

The *Zong* left Accra for Jamaica in August 1781, overloaded with 442 slaves. In late November and December, after navigational errors had lengthened the voyage, the crew threw overboard *c.*150 sick slaves in batches, justifying this on the grounds that water supplies were running so low that, to preserve the lives of the crew and some of the fitter slaves, the sick had to be jettisoned. Another 60 slaves died of thirst and 40 threw themselves overboard.[12] The owners claimed compensation from the insurers for the loss of their 'cargo' – the slaves. On reaching Jamaica on 22 December, however, the Zong had had 420 gallons on water left. Insurers were liable for slave deaths caused by common dangers at sea, but not for slave deaths on board ship. They claimed that Captain Collingwood had deliberately concocted the story of the water shortage in order to justify drowning the slaves so that insurance could be claimed. They refused to pay, and the case went to court in 1783.

The surviving evidence for events on the *Zong* is inadequate – for example the ship's logbook had gone missing, and the

Figure 3: Examples of conventional representations of Africans and Asians

To appreciate how the double portrait is different from many others, pupils need to see some conventional depictions. The blogspot http://hoydensandfirebrands.blogspot.co.uk/2012/05/early-africans-in-england.html gives many examples of conventional portraiture depicting black servants, with which to contrast this picture. (Click on the images to expand.) Other sources for particular images are:



Anthony van Dyck, 'Princess Henrietta of Lorraine attended by a page', 1634
www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/princess-henrietta-of-lorraine-16111660-attended-by-a-pag191703



Peter Lely, 'Lady Charlotte Fitzroy with her Indian page', 1674
www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/intro/docs/lely.htm

Joshua Reynolds, 'George Clive and his family with an Indian maid', 1765 (scroll right down)
http://www.hoocher.com/Joshua_Reynolds/Joshua_Reynolds.htm



Joseph Wright of Derby, 'Two Girls and a Black Servant', 1770
www.wikiart.org/en/joseph-wright/a-conversation-between-girls-or-two-girls-with-their-black-servant-1770



Wedgwood's famous medal, 'Am I not a man and a brother?', can be found on
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Official_medallion_of_the_British_Anti-Slavery_Society_(1795).jpg

captain had died. There are different versions of the events of the case. Mansfield presided over a jury who decided that the insurers must pay for the lost 'cargo'. On appeal, he ordered a re-trial to establish whether it really had been necessary to throw the slaves overboard. But new evidence – of heavy rainfall before the final batch of slaves was drowned – was presented, and this caused him to rule that the insurers should *not* pay – the crew had not handled the 'cargo' competently. This was not a ringing condemnation of the slave trade. An attempt by the abolitionist Granville Sharp to have the crew put on trial for murder did not succeed.

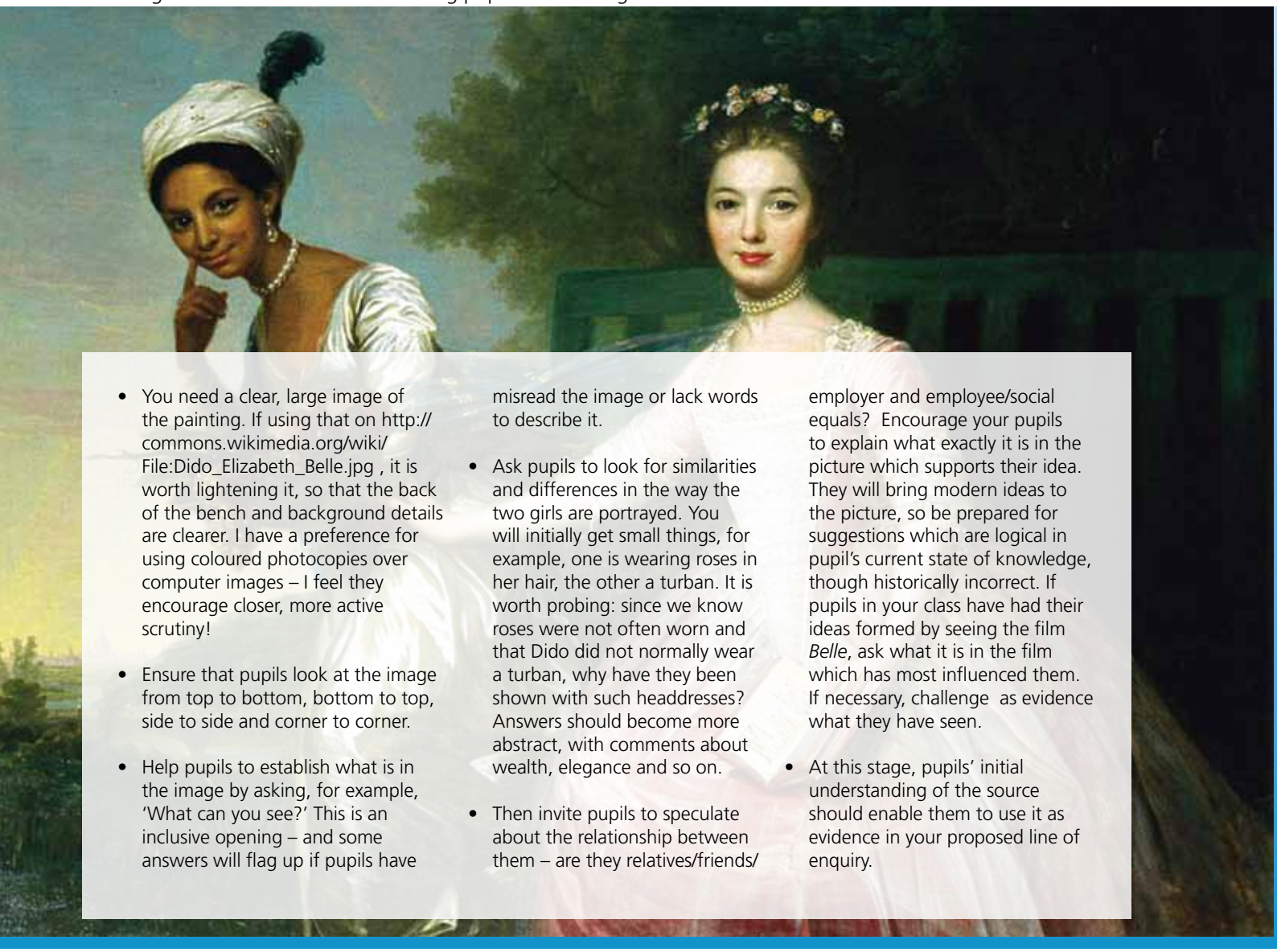
In the film *Belle*, it is the *Zong* case with which Mansfield is busy and on which Belle does some detective work, *but* we see and hear Mansfield saying the words used in the Somersett case.

Africans and Asians in eighteenth century British art

The evidential value of Dido's and Elizabeth's double portrait lies in its similarities with, and differences from, conventional representations of Africans and Asians in British portraits of the period. (See Figure 3 for resources.) Pupils should interrogate this context because *how* Africans and Asians were depicted in elite portraits and *why* were they included reveals a great deal about contemporary attitudes.

Africans and Asians are often shown as servants, or members of an underclass. Most white British people *also* belonged to those classes, but there are numerous counter-balancing representations of white bourgeoisie and aristocracy. David Dabydeen points out that in paintings prior to the 1700s, black servants hover in the background or to the side of the families they serve, or as children kneel, often in company with a pet dog, proffering exotic gifts. In prints, however, they are depicted as assimilated into lower-class society, though not always flatteringly portrayed.[13] Sir John Fielding, the blind magistrate, complained in 1768 that runaway black slaves were 'spirited away' by the London 'mob' – i.e. working-class Londoners.[14] Knowledge of Africans thus stemmed from the appalling trade in slaves but by the eighteenth century (and before) England had a population of free Africans. There are indeed wonderful portraits of gifted British Africans of the eighteenth century, but these are exceptional individuals and invariably male.[15]

Figure 4: Guidelines for introducing pupils to the image[16]



- You need a clear, large image of the painting. If using that on http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dido_Elizabeth_Belle.jpg , it is worth lightening it, so that the back of the bench and background details are clearer. I have a preference for using coloured photocopies over computer images – I feel they encourage closer, more active scrutiny!
- Ensure that pupils look at the image from top to bottom, bottom to top, side to side and corner to corner.
- Help pupils to establish what is in the image by asking, for example, 'What can you see?' This is an inclusive opening – and some answers will flag up if pupils have misread the image or lack words to describe it.
- Ask pupils to look for similarities and differences in the way the two girls are portrayed. You will initially get small things, for example, one is wearing roses in her hair, the other a turban. It is worth probing: since we know roses were not often worn and that Dido did not normally wear a turban, why have they been shown with such headdresses? Answers should become more abstract, with comments about wealth, elegance and so on.
- Then invite pupils to speculate about the relationship between them – are they relatives/friends/employer and employee/social equals? Encourage your pupils to explain what exactly it is in the picture which supports their idea. They will bring modern ideas to the picture, so be prepared for suggestions which are logical in pupil's current state of knowledge, though historically incorrect. If pupils in your class have had their ideas formed by seeing the film *Belle*, ask what it is in the film which has most influenced them. If necessary, challenge as evidence what they have seen.
- At this stage, pupils' initial understanding of the source should enable them to use it as evidence in your proposed line of enquiry.

There are no formal eighteenth-century paintings of Africans in an African setting. Indian retainers, in contrast, are often shown in India and performing tasks for which there was no equivalent in Britain.[17] The difference is possibly because Britons had been trading with India since the seventeenth century whereas Africa remained until the nineteenth century largely unknown.[18]

The advantages of portraying Africans and Asians

For patrons and artists, the inclusion in portraits of black servants or slaves (identifiable by silver collars) had decided social and artistic advantages. When looking at such pictures, your pupils might like to consider which of the following factors are present.

- Most obviously, the employment of a male black servant or page-boy indicated wealth and status.
- Africans and Indians were portrayed in rich, bright clothing because this added exotic visual interest, sometimes referring to the sitter's colonial links.
- The proximity of a black-skinned retainer highlighted by contrast the fashionable whiteness of a lady's skin.
- The convincing painting of light on a black or brown skin showed off the virtuosity of the artist.
- Africans were often shown presenting fruit or flowers to their employer – because they were thought to be closer to nature. For some artists Africans thus represented a more natural, noble society. Hogarth, for example, uses black figures to satirize what he saw as corruption in high society.[19]
- Servants of all races are shown looking up admiringly at their masters and mistresses. This demonstrated status but was also a clue as to how onlookers should think about the 'important' people portrayed.

Analysing the portrait

Figure 4 indicates how I would introduce the portrait into any investigation. I would not *at this stage* provide contextual information about the sitters, because pupils would 'read' this information into the picture rather than exploring it with open eyes and minds! In my experience, pupils need encouragement to scrutinise visual sources, to ask exploratory questions, and to be willing to proffer suggestions for debate – rather than seeking a 'correct' answer.

Figure 5: Summary and adaptation of T.S. Freeman's points

- If taken at face value commercial films distort pupils' perceptions of the past. The film *U-571*, for example, showed an American crew, not a British one, capturing the Enigma coding machine from a German submarine. In Britain, this caused public outcry and debate in Parliament.
- Huge effort goes into accurate reconstruction of the physical past in sets and wardrobe. This is sometimes taken to be evidence of a film's accuracy. Even here anachronisms are unavoidable because costume has to look appealing in terms of contemporary fashion.
- Historical films mix fictional events and characters with those that were real to make a good story.
- They simplify events so this story can be easily assimilated, preferably with 'goodies' and 'baddies' and a large dollop of romance
- Language has to be modernised.
- Nuances of behaviour are missed – for example, an Edwardian lady would not smoke in public as Kate Winslet's character does in Titanic.
- Characters are anachronistically shown to hold ideas with which modern viewers can sympathise.
- Gaps in available evidence – when we just don't know what happened – have to be filled with plausible events.
- Research suggests that young people assume a high degree of 'truth' in film, which can thus perpetuate stereotypes and myths about groups such as North American Indians/Native Americans or sixteenth-century Catholics, and individuals such as Elizabeth I or William Wallace.

Using the portrait and its context: little pictures and big stories

The picture lends itself to investigations using a range of images that target both 'Big Pictures' and 'Little Stories'.[20] The Biggest Picture is that of the abolition of the slave trade. We simply cannot know whether Lord Mansfield's 1772 and 1783 judgements were influenced by the existence of his great-niece: his judgements, which took a long time to arrive at, were cautious and considered, and are sometimes misinterpreted.[21] Yet our knowledge of both the artistic context and family background of Dido enables the portrait to demonstrate *nuances* of attitude towards race during the period of the abolitionist campaign.

One possible line of enquiry is 'How were black people shown in portraits before and during the eighteenth century? Why were they portrayed in these ways? What does this tell us about attitudes to race at the time?' Provided with a range of conventional pictures (Figure 3) and aided by prompts and questions, pupils can identify motifs in these depictions – servant or slave status, exotic elements in clothing or gifts, subordinate positions and poses – and discuss why Africans and Asians have been included in this way. The next step is to add complexity and nuance by introducing Dido's and Elizabeth's portrait, asking students to look for both similarities and differences between this and more conventional images.

It retains features in common with conventional portrayals.

- Dido is exotically dressed, with an Indian turban – not the fashionable high cap mentioned by Hutchinson. It is interesting to compare her white silk costume and turban with that of the East African prince in Barker's 1863 painting, 'The Secret of England's Greatness'.[22] Her necklace of *large* pearls also suggests the exotic.
- She carries imported luxury fruits.
- Elizabeth Murray's figure is slightly larger and seated. The sizes of the figures are not consistent – it is possible Dido's figure was added later.
- Elizabeth clasps a book, signalling leisure and education.
- Dido points to her face – perhaps referring to her brown skin in contrast to Elizabeth's pale complexion. The historian Mario Valdes has suggested that the gesture refers to a story of Krishna and signals the common humanity of the two girls; there is no documentary evidence to support this view.[23]

There are also many unusual features.

- Both girls look straight at the viewer.
- Both smile and as if sharing a joke.
- Although Dido is behind Elizabeth, their heads are at the same height.
- Dido is not looking admiringly at Elizabeth.
- Elizabeth is pulling Dido nearer to her.
- Dido is actively moving; Elizabeth is not.
- Both are equally elegant and beautiful …
- ...but Dido's movement tends to draw our eyes to her.
- The image is of a high-status black woman, rather than an exceptional man.

The art historian Chris Roulson speculates that it may have been painted to appeal to abolitionists. Interestingly, a niece of Lord Mansfield was married to the artist Sir Allan Ramsay. He several times painted Queen Charlotte – thought by some to have had African ancestry – and was an abolitionist himself.[24] However, the portrait contrasts greatly with the tone of many overtly abolitionist images – for example, Wedgewood's medal, 'Am I not a man and a brother?' – which stress the brutality and inhumanity of the slave trade. The portrait captures the ambivalence of Dido's position, so one could build on the enquiry by looking at The Little Picture – that of Dido herself.

Using contextual knowledge of her family history, pupils can consider 'Why was Dido Belle portrayed differently from other black people in the eighteenth century?' (Teachers and students may of course want to challenge the notion that the portrayal is *that* much different.) This offers the chance to balance the family/personal reasons behind the portrait against the possibility of wider changes in complex social attitudes. The class, wealth and influence of Dido's family offered her protection and Lord Mansfield's knowledge of the law safeguarded her independence. Yet Fielding's remarks quoted above may suggest that a dislike of slavery, of restrictions on freedom, counted for more among the London working class than the ethnic origin of slavery's victims. Contrasting Dido's atypical story with that of, for example, Olaudah Equiano or Mary Prince could add depth to a study of such attitudes. It was Equiano who drew the attention of Granville Sharp to the *Zong* massacre.

Film as interpretation

Using contextual details both about Dido's life and Lord Mansfield's judgements will enable your pupils to explore the differences between the work of academic history and film history if you wish to use the film *Belle* in your teaching; the portrait features in the film. The information derived from archives at Kenwood House, in Gene Adams's article is very helpful. Thomas S. Freeman's Introduction in *The Tudors and Stuarts on film* is an excellent guide to the factors which cause film-makers unavoidably to distort the historical record.[25] These are summarised in Figure 5.

Belle is, in my opinion, very watchable and well acted but it includes departures from historical fact. It has to – in order to tell a dramatic and appealing story. Most noticeably, the focus in on the slave ship *Zong* but Mansfield speaks words from the Somersett case. The effect is to make Mansfield's judgement more hostile to slavery and the slave trade than was actually the case. Next, Dido/Belle has been given an inheritance sufficiently large to make her an heiress attractive to high-status men. Kenyon-Jones has pointed out that Jane Austen knew Lady Elizabeth Murray, and that in the unfinished book *Sanditon*, there is a rich mixed-race heiress, Miss Lambe, who is considered a good marriage prospect.[26] In fact Dido's real inheritance was much less than in the film and, as the film does touch upon, she was illegitimate, which would have been a problem. In contrast, her cousin, Elizabeth Murray, is in the film effectively disinherited (which I think is untrue) and thus cannot make a good 'match'. In fact, she married George Finch-Hatton, and her son became the 10th Earl of Winchelsea. The role of John Davinier has been emphasised, whereas little is known about him except that he was a gentleman's steward. He provides the love interest and impetus for Dido to become interested in the *Zong* case, whereas Granville Sharp is less emphasised. Creative use is made of the double portrait. When Dido/Belle first enters Kenwood House as a child, she sees conventional portraits including some of black slaves. Later, she is uneasy when her part of the portrait is painted; Davinier realises it is because she feared how she would be shown. When the film version of the double portrait is revealed, she is *not* shown wearing a turban. This reduces further the difference between her and Elizabeth. However, the real portrait is fully shown at the end of the film. For many of the events shown there is no historical evidence whatever – but without them, there would be insufficient dramatic interest.

A class familiar with the historical evidence about Dido could compare it with Freeman's general points about historical films. These could be converted to a series of questions for investigation or discussion – for example, Is there a mixture of real and imaginary characters? (Give examples); Are there obvious 'goodies' and 'baddies'?; Is there a romantic interest (yes!) – how important is it to the plot? Have characters been given twenty-first-century opinions?.... Thus primed, the class could consider the important issues of why the *Zong* and Somersett cases had been combined and *how this affects* the opinions we form of Mansfield and Dido/Belle.

The most bogglingly inaccurate historical film I have seen in terms of events was the 1989 *Elizabeth*. An excellent break-down of its content can be seen in Wrenn and Worrall's *Presenting the Past*.[27] Its costumes were carefully done, but events were distorted to produce an exciting study of power.

Conclusion

Visual sources in history often provide accessible routes into historical investigations. They must, however, be deployed with as much contextual knowledge as possible in order to encourage rigour and plausibility in pupil analysis and discussion. The lack of information about this portrait's commission unfortunately makes the image more ambiguous; on the other hand, this problem exists with many other historical portraits and, properly handled, can make them more intriguing for pupils – because they feel licensed to think, suggest and debate. This is an engaging portrait, which, coupled with what is known of Dido's life, can serve as a powerful 'hook' into the study of social attitudes.

REFERENCES

[1] A shorter form of this article, with editorial material by Professor Jon Nichol, was published in *Primary History, 65, Diversity and Inclusion* in November 2013, under the title *Slavery in Britain and the portrait of Dido Belle and Lady Elizabeth Murray.*

[2] Card, J. (2012) 'Talking Pictures: exploiting the potential of visual sources to generate productive pupil talk' in *Teaching History, 146*, *Chattering Classes Edition,* pp. 40-47.

[3] Adams, G., (1984) 'Dido Elizabeth Belle: a Black Girl at Kenwood' in *Camden History Review, 12,* and on http://sharonlathanauthor.com/wp-content/uploads/Dido-Elizabeth-Belle_-a-black-girl-at-Kenwood.pdf , consulted 29 June 2014.

[4] See for what follows www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-justice-exhibition-at-kenwood-house/, consulted 29 June 2014. A video about Dido can be seen on http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-justice-exhibition-at-kenwood-house/kenwood-connections/ , consulted 29 June 2014.

[5] Adams, *op.cit*, p.3. This information comes from the Accounts Book kept at Kenwood 1785-93 by Lady Ann Murray.

[6] *The Times*, London, 10 June 1788, p. 2.

[7] There is some doubt about this. He left money – £1,000 – to a daughter Elizabeth, who may or may not have been Dido.

[8] Steedman, S., 'Lord Mansfield's Women' in *Past & Present*, no. 176 (Aug. 2002), pp. 132-140.

[9] Adams, *op.cit.*, p.1.

[10] Kenyon-Jones, C., 'Ambiguous Cousinship: Mansfield Park and the Mansfield Family', Persuasions On-Line, *31*, no.1 (Winter 2010).

[11] Fryer, P. (1984) *Staying Power: the history of Black people in Britain,* London and Stirling: Pluto Press, p. 125.

[12] Sedley, S. (2015) 'I have no books to consult', review of Norman Poset, *Lord Mansfield: Justice in the Age of Reason* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013) in the *London Review of Books*, 22 January 2015, p.22. There is little agreement about the number of slaves who died, and whether Collingwood, who was ill for much of the voyage, was responsible for the navigational errors or the decision to drown the slaves.

[13] Dabydeen, D. (1987), *Hogarth's Blacks: images of Blacks in eighteenth century British art*, Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, pp.17-40.

[14] Fryer, P., *op.cit.,* p. 73.

[15] A range of images, with expert commentary by David Dabydeen, can be seen on The Black Figure in 18th-century Art, www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/africans_in_art_gallery_01.shtml .

[16] I have written at length on fostering observation by questioning. See Card, J. (2008) *History Pictures: using visual sources to build better history lessons*, History in Practice series, ed. C.Counsell, London: Hodder Education.

[17] See www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/anthony-van-dyck-william-feilding-1st-earl-of-denbigh/*/x/-518/y/-1223/z/6 for William, Lord Denbigh in Indian dress in the jungle.

[18] Waterfield, G. (2004) *Below Stairs,* London: The National Portrait Gallery, chapter 5.

[19] www.historytoday.com/david-dabydeen/black-people-britain-hogarth-savage-and-civilised, consulted 30 June 2014.

[20] See *Teaching History* (2002) *107, Little Stories, Big Pictures Edition* on depth studies and overviews.

[21] For a detailed account of the trial, see Fryer, P. (1987), pp.120-27. This is available on Google Books. The Harvard law lecturer, Steven Wise, argues in his book *Though the Heavens May Fall: the landmark trial that led to the end of human slavery* (2005, Boston, Mass: Da Capo Press), about the Somersett trial, that Dido's presence in Mansfield's household did indeed influence Mansfield's decision.

[22] For the image and full analysis, see /www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw00071/The-Secret-of-Englands-Greatness-Queen-Victoria-presenting-a-Bible-in-the-Audience-Chamber-at-Windsor.

[23] This was reported in an article in the *Guardian* by Stuart Jeffries, on Thursday, 27 May 2014, which can be seen on http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2014/may/27/dido-belle-enigmatic-painting-that-inspired-a-movie

[24] Roulson, C. (2006) 'Framing Sensibility: The Female Couple in Art and Narrative' in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900, 46*, no.3 , pp. 647-49 and note 20, p.655. I am not suggesting the painting is by Ramsay.

[25] Freeman, T.S. (2009) 'Introduction', in S. Doran and T.S. Freeman (eds), *The Tudors and Stuarts on Film,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-28, especially pp. 15-28.

[26] The thrust of Kenyon-Jones' argument is that *Mansfield Park* by Jane Austen may have been greatly influenced by what she knew of Dido Belle and Elizabeth Murray.

[27] Wrenn, A. and Worral, K. (2002) *Presenting the Past 2 Teachers Resources: Britain 1500-1750*, London: Collins Educational.

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