

# Remapping Resistance

## *The Place of Slavery in The Washington Family*

Jennifer Van Horn

- 1 Andrew Ellicott, *Plan of the City of Washington in the Territory of Columbia*, Thackara & Vallance (publishers), Philadelphia, 1792. Engraving on paper, 20 1/2 x 31 1/2 in. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.

Geographic positioning is integral to Edward Savage's monumental group portrait *The Washington Family* (1789–96). Savage presents the first U.S. president, his wife, and adopted grandchildren around a table on which a plan of the District of Columbia is unfurled. Drawn by the surveyor Andrew Ellicott after the architect Pierre L'Enfant's plan, the map was engraved in 1792 (fig. 1). The president rests a hand on the plan while his step-granddaughter holds its rolled edge in place and Martha Washington notes a location with her fan. George Washington's step-grandson stands beside another cartographic representation—a globe—with a divider, an instrument for measuring distance, gripped in his hand. In the background, framed between two columns, the viewer glimpses the Potomac River—the waterway at the city's southern



and western boundaries—winding its way to the horizon.<sup>1</sup> The multiple forms of cartographic projection Savage juxtaposes in the painting—map, globe, and picturesque landscape—form a spatially complex dynamic; the painting thematizes but defies precise location. The Washingtons hold a plan of the national capital but where are the figures physically placed?

By depicting the Washingtons on a portico overlooking the Potomac River, the artist intimates that the family is at their Virginia plantation Mount Vernon, which sits on a bluff above the Potomac. Savage is believed to have visited Mount Vernon sometime between 1787 and 1791, and likely painted two views of the house and landscape from the east and west. However, the prospect of the river in *The Washington Family* does not correspond to what a visitor to the plantation would have seen. According to Savage, the painting shows instead “a view of thirty miles down the Potowmac River, from Mount Vernon.”<sup>2</sup> The viewer sees the site of the future capital in the background, the same place the figures study in the plan, but the Washingtons stand neither in Washington, D.C., nor at Mount Vernon. Indeed, Savage captured the family’s likenesses far from Virginia, first in New York City, and later in Philadelphia, then the nation’s capital, after working on the canvas in London, as Jennifer Germann explores. Though the portrait’s current placement at the National Gallery of Art in Washington reinforces a connection to the nation’s capital for contemporary viewers, the artwork’s earlier sites of display, like its creation, occurred separate from that locale. Savage’s monumental portrait first went on view in his Philadelphia museum in 1796 (through 1801), then in New York City (1801–10) and Boston (1810–91).<sup>3</sup>

The Washingtons’ setting is uncertain, yet the painting argues strongly for the racialized basis of the geographic knowledge the figures perform. Whereas each of the White family members touches a cartographic representation, the enslaved manservant positioned at the right margin is denied that tactility and tucks his hand into his waistcoat. The bondman has visual access to the map, yet he does not exercise it; he stares stoically ahead rather than down at the table’s surface or the Potomac River to his right.<sup>4</sup> Savage depicts the Black manservant as sensorially separated from geographic experience. If the bondman was like many enslaved people in the United States, he was excluded from cartographic literacy. Frederick Douglass reminded, “Every slaveholder seeks to impress his slaves with a belief in the boundlessness of slavery territory, and of his own almost illimitable power. We all had vague and indistinct notions of the geography of the country.”<sup>5</sup> By representing the bondman’s disengagement with the map, Savage indicates enslaved people’s frequent lack of access to knowledge of conventional techniques for recording and navigating spaces.

Savage employed cartography in *The Washington Family* not to fix the viewer or the family in a specific location, but for a political purpose. The art historian Ross Barrett has explored how Washington’s physical engagement with the plan celebrates the president’s involvement in the capital’s development. Equally important, as the scholar of cartography Martin Brückner has noted, is how the artist detached the Black figure from the map.<sup>6</sup> Separating the bondman from both the plan and the landscape marked him as spatially disconnected from the location and cartographically illiterate. The cartographic dislocations in Savage’s painting open a space to consider slavery as both a political question and a geographic one. The slave trade and the anti-slavery movement were transatlantic in scope, and, as Germann investigates, Savage’s time in England influenced his production of *The*

*Washington Family*. Yet, determining slavery's geographic boundaries was also a national problem, one of the most important and divisive issues Americans faced in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That geopolitical contest shaped both Savage's painting and a later copy made for Kentucky statesman Henry Clay. Considering *The Washington Family*'s history as a racially carto-coded artifact, one in which a map was deployed for political or cultural aims, illuminates the ways Savage's depiction intersected with attempts to curtail Black agency and mobility.

For enslaved people, location determined the difference between freedom and bondage. Place thus mattered immensely for Christopher Sheels, the enslaved man probably pictured in the group portrait. Long thought to be William "Billy" Lee, Washington's enslaved manservant who gained fame for accompanying the general during the American Revolution (see Bagneris, fig. 1), the figure was instead likely Sheels, who served Washington during the presidential years both at Mount Vernon and the president's houses in New York City and then Philadelphia. Washington referred to Sheels in 1799 as "the servant who waits upon me," and Sheels's assignments from 1789 (when he was thirteen) until Washington's death in 1799 included work as a waiter, valet, and carpenter. The reattribution of this Black attendant as Sheels cannot be conclusive. It rests on the fact that Lee suffered physical injuries that forced him to stop serving as Washington's manservant and return to Mount Vernon in 1789, as well as the discrepancy between Lee's advanced age and descriptions of him as a heavy and muscular man, and the depicted figure who appears relatively young, tall, and with a lean physique. Moreover, given Savage's earlier commitment to painting a specific Black manservant (John Riley), it seems probable that Savage asked Sheels, Washington's enslaved acting valet, to pose.<sup>7</sup>

Sheels's temporary residence in Pennsylvania is significant, as gradual emancipation laws passed in 1780 dictated that uninterrupted residency in the state for six months qualified a bondperson for eventual freedom. Sheels's time living in Pennsylvania (between 1791 and 1796) meant that he might have had the legal right to gradual emancipation. On being advised of the law in April 1791, however, the Washingtons fabricated reasons to remove Sheels and the other bondpeople in the president's house from the city approximately every six months, thereby interrupting their opportunity to legally self-emancipate. Sheels likely posed for Savage in 1795 while the Washingtons shuttled him between Pennsylvania and Virginia to protect their right to enslave him. Given Sheels's mobility, the bondman—knowingly or unknowingly—moved from freedom to slavery more than once. Indeed, his experiences traveling between Virginia and Pennsylvania might have encouraged Sheels's later attempt to self-emancipate.<sup>8</sup>

Sheels's story exposes how states' separate stances on slavery destabilized geographic parameters for bondage. During his presidency, Washington sought to eliminate such flexibility with the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, which he signed as Savage worked on the painting. The act put a legal system in place for enslavers, or their agents, to seize and reclaim fugitives, and made it illegal to aid freedom seekers in any state.<sup>9</sup> The Fugitive Slave Act did not, of course, end self-emancipation, but it reinforced a definition of bondage as tied to a person's body no matter their location. When viewed alongside the president's political actions and Sheels's experience, Washington's cartographic control in Savage's portrait deliberately affirmed racialized geographic power. Location might have determined Sheels's status, but Washington controlled his location.



## The Washington Family in Kentucky

The intertwined political and geographical concerns visible in *The Washington Family* intensified in the nineteenth century, especially in relation to a second version of the image (fig. 2). In 1844 the New York City artist Henry Inman produced a copy of Savage's painting for the Kentucky statesman Henry Clay. Clay displayed the canvas at his plantation, Ashland, where he claimed it was "admired by all who visit me."<sup>10</sup> Inman's copy dominated Ashland's parlor; scaled more like a mural than a domestic portrait, it occupied an entire wall. Because Inman freed Savage's work of its gridded floor pattern, the painted portico functioned as an extension of Ashland's interior, with the almost life-size Washingtons seeming to inhabit the drawing room. Painted in the midst of Clay's third presidential bid, Inman's copy was part of a campaign to cast him as a second Washington. The North Carolinian James Cathcart Johnston, who commissioned the work and sent the canvas to Clay as a gift, assured the statesman, "I esteem you more worthy to fill the seat of that great man as President than any successor he has had."<sup>11</sup>

*The Washington Family* was part of a carefully orchestrated interior that featured images of and objects related to the first president. Clay believed that when visitors to Ashland, of which there were many, saw "a broken goblet . . . used by General Washington," also on display in his parlor, it fostered "not merely a private feeling of attachment" but "a broader, more comprehensive, and national feeling" than that which dominated antebellum politics.<sup>12</sup> The Kentucky statesman's renown rested on his ability to bring the divided nation together in the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which confined slavery south of 36° 30' latitude for future territories. Clay's famed cartographic resolution for the slavery problem likely created a new topographic association for viewers of *The Washington Family* at Ashland, with its prominent map of Washington, D.C., and enslaved attendant reinforcing the statesman's role as a nationally unifying figure and thus Washington's worthy successor.<sup>13</sup>

The map at the center of *The Washington Family* potentially undermined a message of sectional accord, however. The city's symbolic status as the nation's capital meant that disagreement over allowing the sale of enslaved people and holding of people in bondage in Washington, D.C., raged for decades between pro- and anti-slavery activists, as well as elected officials and residents. The broadside *Slave Market of America*, produced in New York in 1836, was part of abolitionists' efforts, conducted through visual and printed materials as well as petitions to Congress, to condemn human trafficking in the district (fig. 3). The printmaker deployed a plan of Washington, D.C., at the top center of the broadside. The city map is bracketed on the left by "THE LAND OF THE FREE," a depiction of the reading of the Declaration of Independence, and on the right by "THE HOME OF THE OPPRESSED," a scene of a coffin passing before the U.S. Capitol.

- 2 Henry Inman, after Edward Savage, *The Washington Family*, 1844. Oil on canvas, 98 × 123 in. (framed). Courtesy Ashland, The Henry Clay Estate, Lexington, Kentucky. Photo: Bob Willcutt
- 3 William Dorr (printer), *Slave Market of America*, 1836, American Anti-Slavery Society, New York City. Engraving on paper, 25 1/3 × 19 1/4 in. Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Washington, D.C.









Images of the kneeling slave and a freedom seeker, the latter reminiscent of the icons that announced runaway advertisements in newspapers, overlay the city streets, rendering the plan a landscape of unfreedom, “THE RESIDENCE OF 7000 SLAVES,” as the title proclaims. Thanks to abolitionists’ campaigning, slavery in Washington became such a contentious issue that it featured in the Compromise of 1850, which Clay helped orchestrate. That compromise abolished the slave trade in the District of Columbia, although slaveholding was permitted until 1862.<sup>14</sup>

Slavery in the nation’s capital also featured in a public scandal that haunted Clay’s presidential bids of the 1830s and 1840s. Clay enslaved 122 people at his Kentucky plantation over his lifetime, including his manservant Aaron Dupuy and Dupuy’s wife Charlotte or “Lotty.” Clay brought the couple with him to Washington, where they lived and worked at Decatur House during his tenure there. When the politician returned to Kentucky in 1829, at the end of his service as secretary of state, Charlotte Dupuy made a legal bid for her freedom and that of her two children. Unwilling to return to Kentucky and leave the city where she had enjoyed greater mobility and visits to her relatives on Maryland’s Eastern Shore, Charlotte Dupuy sued Clay. She claimed that her original enslaver in Maryland had promised to manumit her after a period of service, a form of bondage common in the state. Clay angrily retorted that his political opponents had put her up to the lawsuit to embarrass him and regretted allowing her the freedom to travel, which he believed fostered her discontent with bondage. Dupuy remained working in Washington until she lost the court case. Clay then sent her to his daughter and son-in-law in New Orleans. His decision in 1840 to manumit Charlotte and her daughter might have been a strategy to lessen her and her family’s ongoing resistance. The statesman had lamented earlier that Dupuy’s actions “created insubordination among her relatives here” in Kentucky.<sup>15</sup>

Although Clay manumitted a few individuals during his lifetime, he also promoted colonization, free Black people’s removal to Africa. This geographic relocation was consistent with the Missouri Compromise’s strict linear distinction between freedom and unfreedom. Clay thus embraced a national model of slavery in which location unequivocally determined status—an enslaved individual in a free state had the right to freedom—even as he personally manumitted select bondpeople who did not depart for Africa but stayed in Kentucky, a slave state. Many argued that his conflicted stance on slavery—which satisfied neither pro-slavery nor anti-slavery advocates—cost Clay the presidency. Display of Inman’s painting attempted to legitimize Clay’s protection of enslavement by tying his position to Washington’s political legacy. Upon Clay’s defeat in the election of 1844 and retirement to Ashland, *The Washington Family* and the plan at its center gained new associations. The painting perhaps reminded the statesman of abolitionists’ success at politicizing slavery in Washington and of Charlotte Dupuy’s legal battle for freedom waged there.<sup>16</sup>

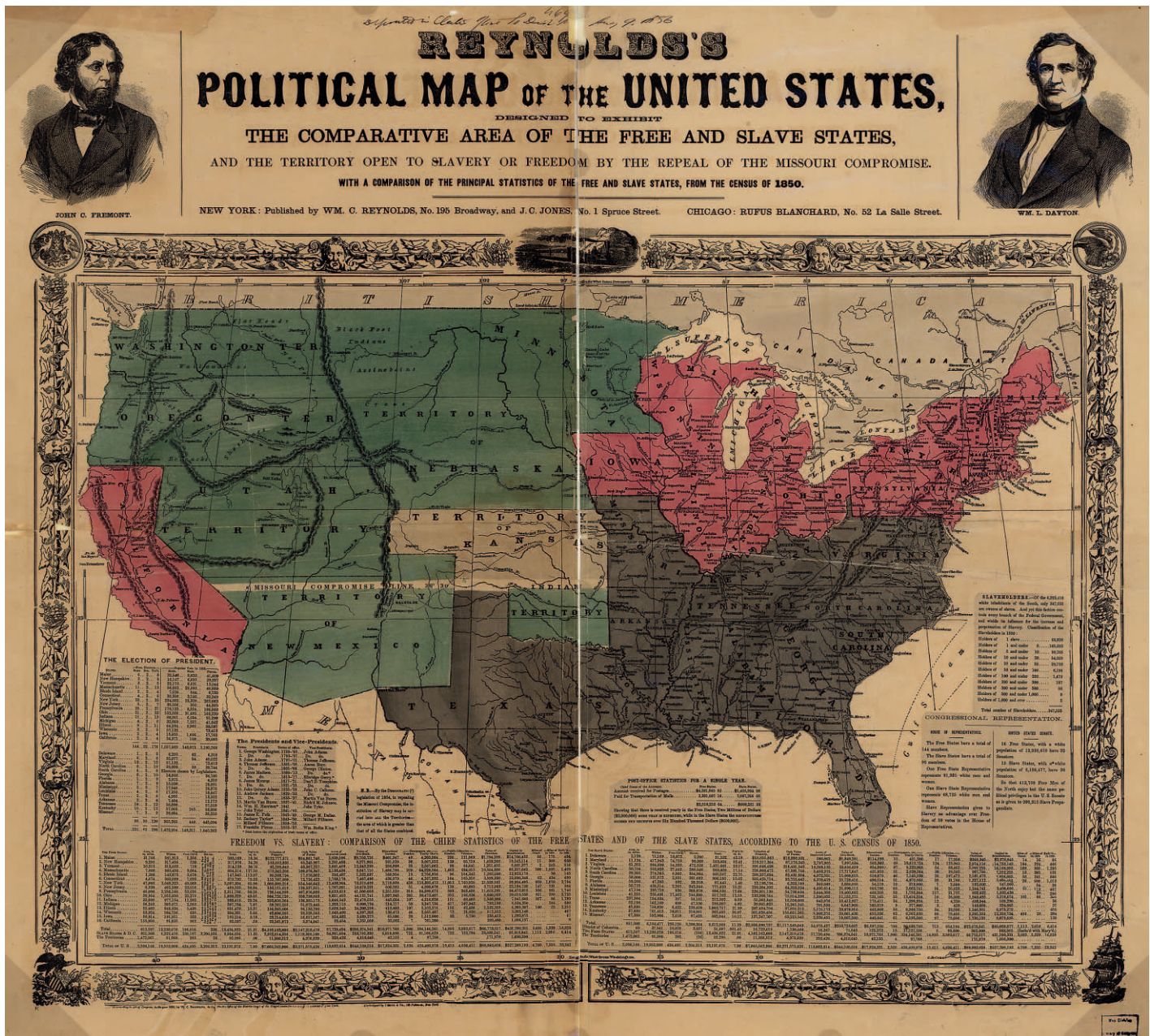
### The Cartography of Enslavement

In the Missouri Compromise, Clay relied on cartography to provide political resolution to the issue of slavery’s boundaries, but Americans continued to acrimoniously debate slavery’s expansion into new territories. In 1854, Clay’s spatially based solution began to fall apart with passage of the Kansas–Nebraska Act, which mandated territories would decide for themselves whether to allow slavery. Abolitionists and those who wanted to check the spread of bondage were quick to use cartographic evidence to sway public opinion. William C. Reynolds’s *Political Map of the United States*, from 1856, is one



- 4 William C. Reynolds, *Reynolds's Political Map of the United States, Designed to Exhibit the Comparative Area of the Free and the Slave States*, 1856. Lithography on paper, 19 × 27 1/2 in. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C.

example (fig. 4). There free states are red, slave states are black, and territories “Open to Slavery or Freedom By the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise” are green. Green had long been used on maps to denote territory owned by the United States as opposed to foreign governments, leading to a popular association of the color with democracy and freedom. Reynolds’s use of green for territories where slavery encroached was a deliberate inversion.<sup>17</sup> The darkness of this green also suggests the possibility of the territories becoming black slave states unless immediate action is taken. The failed Missouri Compromise appears as a bright slash through the dark landscape. Images like Reynolds’s worked alongside those of Northern abolitionists, such as John Jay’s reference to “the map [of America], blackened by slavery,” to connect the shading of cartographic representation to the immorality of the institution. Even Clay, speaking before the

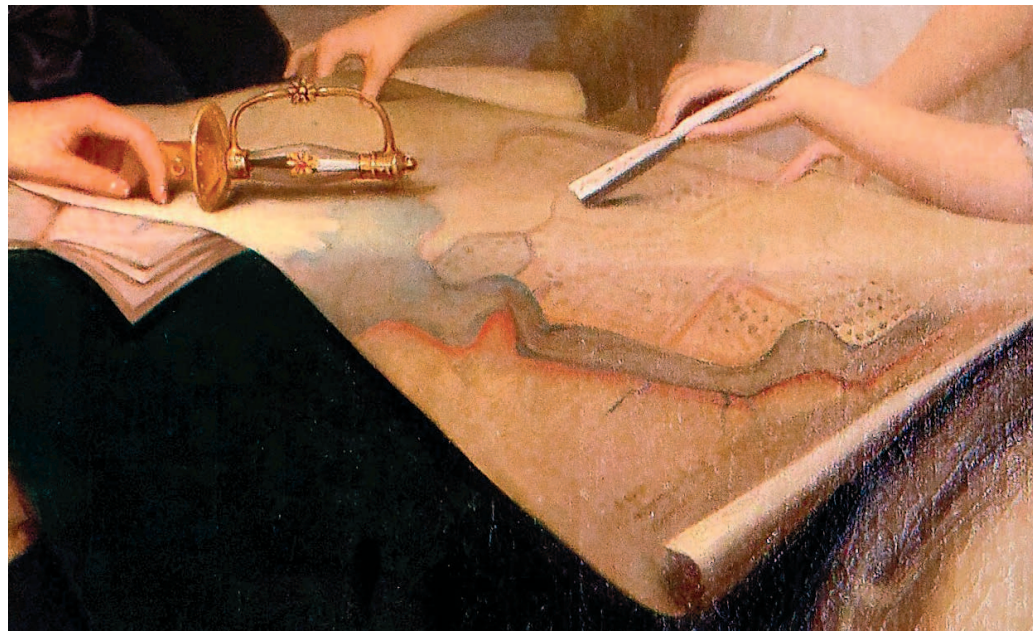




Senate in 1833, had claimed that slavery, “this great evil,” formed “the darkest spot in the map of our country.”<sup>18</sup>

The statesman’s cartographic analogy might have resonated with the map he saw before him in *The Washington Family*. Inman eschewed the subdued grayscale of the engraved plan in Savage’s original painting, adding blue paint to the Potomac River and red to its banks, to create a blot which appears to spread erratically over the map’s primarily white surface (fig. 5). These coloristic effects recall Thomas Jefferson’s description of slavery as a “hideous blot” and evoke the institution’s uncontainable spread; Inman’s map seems to anticipate the failure of political compromises that rested on determining slavery’s geographic boundaries. In 1857 the Supreme Court’s ruling in the Dred Scott case declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional and disassociated slavery from location, as the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 (and a second in 1850) had begun to do earlier. Ruling that Black people (enslaved and free) were not citizens, the court held that residence in a free state did not give enslaved persons the right to sue for their freedom, as had many. The court conclusively dictated that slavery was tied to the bondperson rather than a geographic locale.<sup>19</sup>

Cartography is a visual technology that promises spatial fixity; its graticule secures places in longitude and latitude, but ultimately it was unable to delineate spaces of slavery and freedom because those spaces were never truly discrete for the individual or the nation. Nor did enslaved people allow themselves to be fixed in location as enslavers desired. Charlotte Dupuy refused to return to Kentucky and sued for her freedom. Sheels attempted self-emancipation after being returned to Mount Vernon. In September 1799 Sheels planned to flee with his wife. Their intended destination is unknown, but a note detailing their plan to take passage on a boat from Alexandria was discovered after Sheels accidentally dropped it in Mount Vernon’s yard. Forewarned, Washington foiled the couple’s attempt. As Katherine McKittrick, a scholar of gender studies and Black studies, has argued, enslaved people’s spatial knowledge responded to, but was not controlled by, cartographic systems of domination. Instead, Black geographies offered alternative understandings of space and place



5 Inman, after Savage, *The Washington Family* (detail), 1844





6 David Hartley, *A Map of the United States East of the Mississippi River*, 1784. Pen and ink, 7 × 9½ in. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

the painting could be subterfuge while he plotted a path to freedom. Perhaps the painted Sheels's seeming blindness as he stares off into an unrecorded distance is an unwitting record of how painters and enslavers misread bondpeople who were, in reality, capable of navigating spatial conventions. Or Sheels's disinterest could be understood as a rejection of cartography's empirical claims and an acknowledgment of alternative spaces of solace and freedom, Black geographic knowledge unlocatable on a printed map.<sup>21</sup>

Yet, the tan-and-white gridded floor of the portico suggests how systems of spatial control ensnared African Americans despite their hard-won geographic knowledge. The floor conjures the larger grid called into being by the Land Ordinance of 1785 (passed four years before Savage began his painting), which set up a surveying system to regulate land ownership in Western territories. David Hartley's 1784 sketch of Thomas Jefferson's vision for the land ordinance system shows territory east of the Mississippi River "divided by parallels of latitude and longitude" into a rectangular grid of nascent states (fig. 6). Savage's similarly divided floor marks the pictorial space the Washingtons occupy as a symbolic landscape that extends outward from the first president to encompass the entire United States. Notably, the enslaved figure does not occupy a square but has been pushed to the side. His physical removal from both the family circle and the cartographic grid echoes the racialized disenfranchisement that excluded many African Americans from land ownership. His displacement also reminds us of the dispossession of Indigenous peoples' homelands (Washington negotiated with Native nations' leaders as Savage worked on his painting), suggesting the ways that further research could bring settler colonialism and Indigenous perspectives to bear on this artwork.<sup>22</sup>

Today as *The Washington Family* hangs in the National Gallery of Art—the nation's art museum—it continues to send a carto-coded message about who belongs at the seat of government and who does not, who is granted the right to claim public space and who is denied it. The painting also asks what the place of slavery should be in the field of American art history. These essays argue for the necessity of moving enslaved people

formed through personal and shared experiences of mobility and resistance.<sup>20</sup>

Christopher Sheels's and Charlotte Dupuy's geographic agency encourages us to reconsider the Black figure in *The Washington Family*. The painting depicts a bondperson who appears cartographically unaware. At the same time, the image contains a means for a careful observer to obtain competency in map reading. To study the plan of Washington and then to glance up at the river behind it is to discover how cartographic representation works: that bend in the map is the same as the one visible in the distance. The visual access this Black figure has to the map and the landscape suggests that the depicted bondperson could decipher, or maybe already has deciphered, the painting's cartographic code. Like Sheels's deferential pose, the enslaved figure's stasis in

to the center of our inquiry as we work to ethically attend to both the anti-Black racism embedded in much American art and the stories of African Americans that racism obscured. Perhaps the National Gallery of Art will point the way forward with a commitment to greater inclusivity under the leadership of its director Kaywin Feldman. I look forward to seeing how *The Washington Family* can be incorporated into educational programs and tours that engage audiences with histories that encompass all Americans.<sup>23</sup>

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## Notes

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- 1 Richard W. Stephenson, "The Delineation of the Grand Plan," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 36, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 207–24. For a discussion of the engraved versions of this work, see Scott E. Casper, "First Family: Seventy Years with Edward Savage's *The Washington Family*," *Imprint: Journal of the American Historical Print Collectors Society* 24, no. 2 (Autumn 1999): 2–15.
- 2 Edward Savage, *Columbian Gallery: At The Pantheon, no. 80, Greenwich-Street, near the Battery*, 1802, 3–4, cited in Ellen G. Miles, *American Paintings of the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1995), 145–59, quote at 154.
- 3 Miles, *American Paintings of the Eighteenth Century*, 145–59; Wendy C. Wick, *George Washington: An American Icon: The Eighteenth-Century Graphic Portraits* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1982), 40–44; and Carol Borchert Cadou, *The George Washington Collection: Fine and Decorative Arts at Mount Vernon* (Manchester, Vt.: Hudson Hills, 2006), 206–7.
- 4 Ross Barrett, "Landscape and Real Estate," *American Art* 31, no. 2 (Summer 2017): 45–47, esp. 47. Due to paint loss of the enslaved figure's face, it is difficult to make out his expression. Martin Brückner reads the figure as "eyeing the map from the margins." While that potential for viewership exists, such a gaze does not register in the figure's head placement. See Brückner, *The Social Life of Maps in America, 1750–1860* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2017), 7.
- 5 Frederick Douglass, "The Runaway Plot," in *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855), 281, quoted in Rebecca Ginsburg, "Escaping Through a Black Landscape," in *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*, ed. Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2010), 51–66, quote at 60. On spatial control and Black resistance, see Katherine McKittrick, *Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2006), 37–63.
- 6 Ross Barrett, "'Capital Likenesses': George Washington, the Federal City, and Economic Selfhood in American Portraiture," in *Beyond the Face: New Perspectives on Portraiture*, ed. Wendy Wick Reaves (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2018), 61–81; and Brückner, *Social Life of Maps*, 7–9.
- 7 For reidentification as Christopher Sheels, see Carolyn J. Weekley, *Painters and Paintings in the Early American South* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2013), 392; and Mary V. Thompson, research historian at George Washington's Mount Vernon, e-mail to the author, November 18, 2013. On William Lee, see Mary V. Thompson, "*The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret*": George Washington, Slavery, and the Enslaved Community at Mount Vernon (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Press, 2019), 53–54, 235; and for a description of Lee, see George Washington Parke Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington, by His Adopted Son*, ed. Benson J. Lossing (Philadelphia: J. W. Bradley, 1861), 224. For more on Sheels, see Thompson, "*The Only Unavoidable Subject*," 129, 192, 282; and Jessie MacLeod, "Christopher Sheels," *Digital Encyclopedia of George Washington*, George Washington's Mount Vernon, accessed January 18, 2018, mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/christopher-sheels-1776. For Sheels's work assignments, see "Database of Mount Vernon's Enslaved Community," accessed January 18, 2018, mountvernon.org/george-washington/slavery/slavery-database.
- 8 Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1988); and Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *Never Caught: The Washingtons' Relentless Pursuit of Their Runaway Slave Ona Judge* (New York: Atria, 2017).
- 9 Paul Finkelman, *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), 80–104; and Dunbar, *Never Caught*, 106–7.
- 10 Henry Clay to Ebenezer Pettigrew, January 13, 1845, in *The Papers of Henry Clay*, vol. 10, *Candidate, Compromiser, Elder Statesman: January 1, 1844–June 29, 1852*, ed. Melba Porter Hay and



- Carol Reardon (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1991), 192; and Wendy Bright, "George Washington at Ashland," in *History of a House Museum: Ashland, the Henry Clay Estate* (blog), February 23, 2019, historyofahousemuseum.com/2019/02/23/george-washington-at-ashland-5.
- 11 William Gerdtz and Carrie Reborz, *The Art of Henry Inman* (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1987), 52; and James Cathcart Johnston to Henry Clay, July 24, 1844, in *Papers of Henry Clay*, 10:89, and transcribed in "The Washington Family" collections object file, National Gallery of Art.
  - 12 The broken glass remains in Ashland's collection; see "Rummer," online collections object record, Ashland, the Henry Clay Estate, accessed June 3, 2019, henryclay.pastperfectonline.com. See also Henry Clay, "Comment in Senate, January 24, 1850," in *Papers of Henry Clay*, 10:652–53; Wendy S. Bright-Levy, "Ashland, the Henry Clay Estate, as House Museum: Private Home and Public Destination" (master's thesis, Univ. of Kentucky, 2008), 102–6; and Wendy Bright, "An American History Museum . . . in Henry Clay's House," *History of a House Museum* (blog), October 17, 2011, historyofahousemuseum.com/2020/10/12/an-american-history-museum-in-henry-clays-house-2/.
  - 13 Kate Retford, "The Topography of the Conversation Piece: A Walk Around Wanstead," in *Placing Faces: The Portrait and the English Country House in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Gill Perry, Retford, and Jordan Vibert (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2013), 38–62.
  - 14 John Davis, "Eastman Johnson's *Negro Life at the South* and Urban Slavery in Washington, D.C.," *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1998): 67–92, esp. 71–75; and Maurie D. McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2011), 46–47.
  - 15 Gilbert King, "The Day Henry Clay Refused to Compromise," *Smithsonian Magazine*, December 6, 2012, smithsonianmag.com/history/the-day-henry-clay-refused-to-compromise-153589853; "Charlotte Dupuy: 'She Has Been Her Own Mistress,'" The White House Historical Association, accessed April 8, 2019, whitehousehistory.org/decatur-house-and-charlotte-dupuy; "Names of People Enslaved at Ashland," Ashland: The Henry Clay Estate, accessed May 17, 2021, henryclay.org/list-of-names; Henry Clay to Philip Fendall, September 10, 1830, *The Papers of Henry Clay*, vol. 8, *Candidate, Compromiser, Whig: March 5, 1829–December 31, 1836*, ed. Robert Seager II and Melba Porter Hay (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1984), 261–62; and David Stephen Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Henry Clay: The Essential American* (New York: Random House, 2011), 217.
  - 16 James C. Klotter, *Henry Clay: The Man Who Would Be President* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2018), 188–221; and James A. Ramage and Andrea S. Watkins, *Kentucky Rising: Democracy, Slavery, and Culture from the Early Republic to the Civil War* (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 2011), 257–76. For colonization as a spatial strategy, see Martha Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2014), 125–60.
  - 17 Susan Schulten, *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2012), 127–31; Brückner, *Social Life of Maps*, 68–69; and Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2006), 256–57.
  - 18 John Jay, *America Free; or, America Slave: An Address on the State of the Country* (New York: Office of the New York Tribune, 1856), 9, quoted in Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*, 129. Henry Clay speech in the Senate (1833) quoted in Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Life of Henry Clay* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1937), 311.
  - 19 Kelly M. Kennington, *In the Shadow of Dred Scott: St. Louis Freedom Suits and the Legal Culture of Slavery in Antebellum America* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 2017); and Thomas Jefferson to William Short, September 8, 1823, Founders Online, National Archives, founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/198-01-02-3750.
  - 20 Thompson, "The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret," 282; George Washington to Roger West, September 19, 1799, Founders Online, National Archives, founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-04-02-0262; McKittrick, *Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, ix–xxxi; and Camille Hawthorne, "Black Matters are Spatial Matters: Black Geographies for the Twenty-First Century," *Geography Compass* 13, no. 11 (November 2019): 1–13.
  - 21 Brückner, *Social Life of Maps*, 202–5, 228–30; Stephen P. Hanna, "Cartographic Memories of Slavery and Freedom: Examining John Washington's Map and Mapping of Fredericksburg, Virginia," *Cartographica* 47, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 50–63; and McKittrick, *Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*, xix, xxiii–xxiv.
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