Carole McNamara
with an essay by Clayton A. Lewis

Benjamin West: General Wolfe and the Art of Empire

UMMA BOOKS
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN MUSEUM OF ART

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Contents

5 Director's Foreword
Joseph Rosa

6 Acknowledgments
Carole McNamara

8 **Benjamin West and the Art of Empire**
Carole McNamara

26 **William L. Clements and *The Death of General Wolfe***
Clayton A. Lewis

34 **Plates**

56 Checklist of Works in the Exhibition

58 Selected Bibliography

Lenders to the Exhibition

Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology,
University of Oxford

Detroit Institute of Arts

National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

New Brunswick Museum, Saint John

Quebec House, Westerham, Kent
(The National Trust, United Kingdom)

University of Michigan Museum of Art,
Ann Arbor

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

William L. Clements Library,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Director's Foreword

UMMA and the William L. Clements Library have long been neighbors on campus, and the close partnership that brings us together to showcase art and history in this exhibition and publication grew organically out of the richness and complementary nature of our American collections. Centered on Benjamin West's breathtaking 1776 painting—a version of his iconic portrayal of the death of Major-General James Wolfe acquired by William L. Clements himself in 1928—this insightful exhibition includes loans from the United States, Canada, and Great Britain never before brought together to tell an extraordinary story. The exhibition also exemplifies the Museum of Art's increasing collaboration with its sister campus institutions, which allows us to leverage each others' collections and initiatives to showcase the incredible depth of resources at the University of Michigan.

West, an American-born painter, interpreted the British major-general's death on the Plains of Abraham in Québec during the French and Indian War as a secular lamentation propagating the power and prestige of the British Empire. The essays in this volume, by Carole McNamara, UMMA Senior Curator of Western Art, and by Clayton Lewis, Curator of Graphic Materials and Head of Reader Services at the Clements, situate West's celebrated painting among important historical and aesthetic documents and objects that allow us to imagine a critical time in our shared history that shaped both the British Empire and the future of the United States.

First and foremost I would like to express my gratitude to Carole McNamara for her dogged research, meticulous organization, and inspired conception of this exhibition. My thanks also to a wonderful group of colleagues at the Clements—Director J. Kevin Graffagnino, Associate Director and Curator of Maps Brian Leigh Dunnigan, and Clayton Lewis—without whom of course this project never would have gotten off the ground. I would like to extend my thanks as well to the generous funders of this exhibition and publication: the Joseph F. McCrindle Foundation, the University of Michigan Health System, the University of Michigan Office of the Provost and Office of the Vice President for Research, the Richard and Rosann Noel Endowment Fund, and THE MOSAIC FOUNDATION (of R. & P. Heydon). I am grateful to the Museum's excellent staff, as always, for their professionalism and commitment to the project.

Joseph Rosa
Director
The University of Michigan Museum of Art

Acknowledgments

Those of us in museums are often blessed with the best of colleagues—never has that been truer for me than in this instance. I wish to express my warm thanks to UMMA's staff, from the support and leadership of our director, Joseph Rosa, to every branch of the museum's operations: Stephanie Rieke Miller, Lisa Bessette, and Charlotte Boulay in editorial; Ruth Slavin and Lisa Borgsdorf in education and programming; Carrie Throm, Amee Spondike, and Courtney Lacy in development; Orian Neumann and John Hummel in registration and installation; and Katharine Derosier in exhibitions, among many others. I would also like to thank Jennifer Goltz from the University of Michigan School of Music, Theatre, and Dance for her collaborative musical programing in connection with the exhibition and to thank James Williams for designing this beautiful catalogue.

But excellent colleagues do not end there; no one could have a more wonderful constellation of associates than the staffs of the lending institutions. First and foremost is that of the William L. Clements Library: J. Kevin Graffagnino, Brian Leigh Dunnigan, and Clayton Lewis. Their willingness to make works available for study and loan, their expertise, and their unflagging courtesy and generosity made every aspect of this project a pleasure. Likewise, my deep gratitude is offered to the curatorial staffs at the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, and the New Brunswick Museum, whose initial enthusiasm was matched by sustained support. Christopher Etheridge and Sonia Couturier at the National Gallery and Peter Larocque at the New Brunswick Museum shared information about the works in their collections and provided invaluable assistance. This project also had critical support from other individuals and institutions whose loans were pivotal to its shape and success: Colin Harrison at the Ashmolean Museum; Kenneth Myers at the Detroit Institute of Arts; John Rawlinson from Quebec House and his colleagues at the National Trust; and Hilary Young at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Finally, I would like to give my thanks to Dennis Moore at the Consulate General of Canada in Detroit for assistance with loans and shared programing with our neighbors to the north.

The majority of objects in this exhibition come from two rich collections that stand as American and Canadian counterparts: the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan and the Webster Canadiana Collection at the New Brunswick Museum. Both William L. Clements and John Clarence Webster began seriously collecting documents as a second career (Clements was an engineer, Webster a physician) and they amassed astonishingly parallel collections. Clements collected early Americana, including maps, diaries, and other original documents; Webster began by focusing on the history of New Brunswick but soon broadened his collecting to Canadiana. A common focus for both was British colonial military history, especially the Battle of Québec and the death of Major-General James Wolfe. Both collections hold a great number of the prints created in the later eighteenth century in the wake of Wolfe's death and at the height of the frenzied enthusiasm for all things relating to Wolfe. Each acquired important period paintings of the fallen hero: Clements purchased Benjamin West's third version of *The Death of General Wolfe* and Webster the fine study by George Romney as well as James Barry's canvas depicting the death of Wolfe. As I worked with both institutions I marveled at the complementary strengths of their remarkable holdings; the exhibition could not have happened without their generosity.

Two other individuals deserve special note. Alice Isabella Sullivan served as my indefatigable research assistant for this project. Her resourcefulness and persistence allowed it to assume an accelerated pace as she hunted down a daunting variety of detailed information and secured reproductive permissions related to the book and installation. My husband, Dennis McNamara, enthusiastically supported this project from the first, patiently followed its evolution, and provided that first critical reading of my essay.

Carole McNamara
Senior Curator of Western Art

Carole McNamara

Benjamin West and the Art of Empire

Perhaps the most celebrated painting in eighteenth-century England, Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* depicts one of Great Britain's most famous military victories (Cat. 1). Completed in 1770, West's canvas appeared at the height of the public's excitement for anything associated with Major-General James Wolfe, whose stunning triumph at the 1759 Battle of Québec gave Britain control of New France (present day northeast Canada). Although Wolfe died in the brief but decisive battle, the taking of Québec became the pivotal engagement of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the North American campaign of the Seven Years' War (1756–63), and signaled Britain's ascendency in the New World; Wolfe instantly rose in its pantheon of heroes. The Wolfemania that followed in the 1760s and 1770s coincided with a period of cultural transition in which newspapers and the expanding availability of consumer goods meant that Wolfe's exploits at Québec—particularly his death—could be commodified and disseminated in a variety of media, from decorative objects to prints. It was in this cultural, artistic, and political milieu that West's painting emerged as the consummate portrayal of the nation's most iconic hero, one that helped to forge a distinctive British imperial identity that galvanized society in the period before the American Revolution.

Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe* (detail), 1776, oil on canvas,
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Gift of William L. Clements (overleaf)

The Struggle for Dominance in the New World

The Seven Years' War was a contest for power among the leading nations of Europe waged at home and in their colonial territories. For the main protagonists, France and Britain, the theatre of battle included the West Indies, the Caribbean, and North America. At stake in the latter was the future expansion into the vast interior of the territory to the west of Britain's colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. When the conflict in this region began, the French-speaking lands had a population of only 60,000, whereas the English-speaking colonies to the south had over a million inhabitants. But while the English were confined to the coast of the continent and were oriented towards the east, trading with the Caribbean and England, the French had spread far into the interior of North America, its vast system of rivers allowing trappers and settlers to travel up the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, and then to navigate the Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri river networks, extending their influence to the Gulf of Mexico.[1] A further distinction between the colonies was how France and Britain approached their relationships to the Native Americans whose land was being claimed for European nations; the French were more successful in establishing alliances with the Native American tribes in North America.[2]

The conflict between France and Britain to control North America came to a head as the French army, accompanied by Native American allies, made forays into lands that both France and England claimed. The French, who had established a fort on Cape Breton Island protecting the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, recognized the importance of the St. Lawrence River as the gateway to the extensive waterways of the interior. Québec was the easternmost city guarding the St. Lawrence and holding that site, situated on high cliffs overlooking the river, was paramount (Cat. 2). In 1759, William Pitt, the architect of Britain's military strategy, decided that an aggressive campaign to take New France must involve an assault on Québec and appointed James Wolfe, a British officer who had been made a Major-General only in January of that year, to take the city. Wolfe arrived at Québec on June 28 and throughout the summer he tried to engage the French troops, but his counterpart, the Marquis de Montcalm, resolutely refused. General Montcalm had built fortifications downriver of the city, expecting a British assault from that direction. At the end of July, Wolfe planned such an attack, but it was aborted, with significant losses on the British side.

Frustrated and increasingly impatient, Wolfe realized that the advent of winter meant that British vessels must leave the St. Lawrence River or risk becoming icebound. In September of 1759, he devised a bold plan: his ships would move upriver, to the less well defended western flank of the city and, under cover of darkness, troops would climb the perilous 175-foot cliffs to the upper city of Québec and attack the French garrison defending it. Dawn on September 13 saw Wolfe and seven battalions standing outside the city walls on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm, located at Beauport to the east of Québec, ordered his 4,500 troops to be arrayed around the city and the battle was joined around ten in the morning. Within little more than an hour, it was over. Wolfe, shot first through the wrist and then in the lungs and abdomen, died shortly after receiving word that the French had been routed. The Marquis of Montcalm, an experienced field commander, was injured in the leg and abdomen but remained in charge; he died of his wounds the following morning. The city had provisions for only three days and on September 17 the French surrendered it to the British.

The British triumph at Québec stood out among the stunning military and naval victories of 1759, which has been called Pitt's "annus mirabilis"—a miraculous year—and was commemorated by a specially issued medal with the Battle of Québec at its apex (Cat. 3).[3] Just over ten years later, Benjamin West, a colonial subject raised in Pennsylvania, trained in Italy, and settled in England, seized the moment of frenzied admiration of Wolfe to gain fame, fortune, and immortality by paying homage to the national hero in paint. His sensational *The Death of General Wolfe* became the definitive portrayal of the battle and served for generations as the quintessential projection of British military, moral, and cultural supremacy—a celebration of empire that both shaped and was shaped by a nationalist fervor marking Great Britain's transition into a cultural, economic, and military power that was heir to Imperial Rome.

In Praise of Victory

September 1759. The nation is at war; armies are engaged in a distant land as loved ones take the field against a sworn enemy. After a siege that has lasted all summer, a thrilling victory has been achieved. The French and British commanding officer on each side has fallen in battle. Tributes are offered to those who made this year the country's annus mirabilis. Chief among those warriors and heroes is the commander at Québec, Major-General James Wolfe, whose loss is commemorated by a grateful nation.

In the age of the twenty-four-hour news cycle, the Internet, and social media, it is difficult to imagine the anguish and suspense in England as the approaching winter weather forced fighting between British and French troops to resolve their months-long stalemate. In the period preceding the Battle of Québec, newspapers in London had anticipated a major confrontation, but transatlantic communication was by ship, and word of the outcome did not arrive until weeks later. Amid the private mourning of fathers, sons, and brothers was the recognition of a momentous public victory—a true game-changer.

The cult of General Wolfe reached far into the consciousness of the British public as soon as the battle's outcome was known and he was lionized in the press and celebrated in verse, sermons, songs, and the visual arts. In England and in the American colonies the drama of Wolfe's heroic death was embraced and praise for his glorious victory and personal sacrifice took many forms. There were numerous observances honoring the

commander: just a month after the battle, a celebration in Portsmouth, New Hampshire featured a bonfire and fireworks offered in thanks for the victory, plus a painted "Scene…a Discription [sic] representing the City of Québeck [sic] in its Ruins, after the Surrender thereof, with General WOLFE ascending in a victorious Chariot, attended by Victory…," while at nearly the same time the citizens of Oxford, England, celebrated with bonfires, "and every other Demonstration that could flow from Hearts affected by a laudable Zeal for the Welfare of Britain, and for humbling a perfidious Enemy."[4] Poems submitted to London newspapers extolling the fallen hero's virtues were expressed in language that invoked ancient Rome and the notion of sacrifice as a civic duty, their authors often quoting writers such as Virgil and Cato. And when plans for a Wolfe memorial were announced in 1759, huge numbers of readers submitted to newspapers their suggestions for epitaphs to be inscribed on the monument.[5]

General Wolfe's death at Québec was also commemorated in paintings of the battle. Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* is the best known version of the subject, but it was not the first. A work by J. S. C. Schaak exhibited with the Free Society of Artists in 1762, believed until recently to be lost, but well known through engravings and mezzotint prints, was described as "a small whole length of General Wolfe" (Cat. 4).[6] The following year, George Romney exhibited at the Society of Arts the first larger-scale canvas depicting Wolfe's death. It was purchased and sent to India to adorn the Council Chamber in Calcutta and its removal from England effectively denied it further influence in Britain. Though the composition of the Romney painting, which was subsequently lost, remains unknown, there are several studies of the heads, including a fine one of Wolfe's (Cat. 5).[7]

There are some important differences between these first portrayals of Wolfe in public venues. Though both paintings showed the general in military dress, the small size of Schaak's canvas made it a portrait, while Romney's life-size version, which survives only in fragments, was a history painting.[8] Another difference is the attitude towards Wolfe. In Schaak's painting he dominates the distant landscape, unwounded and

projecting an image of confident command. Romney's painting focuses instead on the heroic drama of Wolfe's death. According to descriptions from the battlefield, an artillery man and two grenadiers had attended Wolfe as he lay dying of his wounds, witnessing his final moments after learning that the French had been defeated; Wolfe was reported to have said, "Then I, thank God, I die contented." Romney's dramatic portrayal of Wolfe's death clearly engaged the sympathies of viewers and the ardor and pathos of the scene was an important psychological component of later depictions, including Benjamin West's.

Hoping to make a name for himself in London's art circles, the young Romney had deliberately broken with the conventions of history painting by portraying Wolfe not in the classical robes considered appropriate for heroic figures but in the uniform of a British serving officer. The use of contemporary dress in Schaak's earlier work was less radical because it was a posthumous portrait. Considered the most prestigious genre of painting, European history painting virtually required that artists create large-scale works involving many figures with a heroic or moralizing theme. Its subjects, meant to educate or elevate the viewer, were drawn from the Bible, antiquity (especially Roman history), and mythology, and often involved depictions of the nude figure.

The Wolfe Memorial at Westminster Abbey, the national pantheon for English kings, generals, and cultural icons, may stand for the expected presentation of such subjects (Cat. 6). The abbey's memorials, whether bombastically ornate or austerely classical, portrayed generals and admirals in the guise of antique heroes. Shortly after word of Wolfe's death, popular fervor dictated that a monument be erected in Westminster Abbey to honor him; the king offered to pay for it from his own funds but, for only the second time, Parliament, on Pitt's recommendation, authorized that the memorial be paid for by the British people.[9] The prominent English sculptor Joseph Wilton won the commission. Like Wilton's portrait bust of Wolfe executed around 1760 (Cat. 7), the final work, designed in 1765 and opened to the public in 1773, is a hybrid of classical and contemporary, esoteric and emotional. In the bust Wilton combined a recognizable

likeness and long hair in the contemporary style with Roman armor—including the visual pun of a wolf's head as epaulets. Similarly in the memorial, in which victory descends bearing a laurel wreath and palm branch, the faithfulness to Wolfe's features speaks to the sculpture's modernity while the dying general's semi-nude form and ancient drapery adhere to the convention that a heroic memorial be invested with the gravitas associated with Roman history.

Because of its contemporary treatment of the event, Romney's portrayal of Wolfe in modern military dress was considered to debase its heroic subject and generated a good deal of criticism. And though it was initially awarded a second prize by the Society of Arts in 1763,[10] disagreements behind the scenes involving objections to the prosaic presentation of the event led to the assignment of the prize to another painter.[11] The public didn't seem to mind. As Romney's friend and early biographer William Hayley described it, "...the death of General Wolfe, painted the size of life, [was] universally admired for its sentiment and nature by crouds [sic] of spectators at the first exhibition in the Strand."[12] A painting by Edward Penny shown at the Society of Artists' exhibition in 1764 also showed Wolfe's death on the battlefield in contemporary terms (Cat. 8).[13] Adhering faithfully to what was known about the event, Penny depicted Wolfe apart from the battle itself, injured wrist wrapped, attended by a doctor and two grenadiers. In the middle distance a courier approaches with the news that the French have been defeated. The "sentiment and nature" for which Romney's painting was admired were an important aspect of Penny's painting, although it has a gentle, elegiac quality that speaks not so much to nationalistic fervor and heroic action, as to a more private and sympathetic melancholy.

Benjamin West's first iteration of the death of General Wolfe (now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) was painted in 1770 and debuted to the public at the recently-founded Royal Academy of Arts in 1771.[14] In August of 1763 West had traveled from Italy to England, where he exhibited to great acclaim several paintings based on ancient and mythological subjects, and by 1768 he was producing portraits of the royal

family and large-scale mythological and Roman scenes. He chose to paint Wolfe, however, in contemporary rather than ancient dress, paying careful attention to the accuracy of details. During a visit to West's studio when the painting was still in progress, the artist and critic Sir Joshua Reynolds counseled West not to make Romney's and Penny's mistake of clothing the hero in modern dress, thus diminishing an important subject. West recalled, "he concluded with urging me earnestly to adopt the classic costume of antiquity, as much more becoming the inherent greatness of my subject than the modern garb of war." West countered that

> the event intended to be commemorated took place on September 13, 1758 [West was in error; it was 1759], in a region of the world unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and at a period of time when no such nations, nor heroes in their costume, any longer existed. ... I consider myself as undertaking to tell this great event to the eye of the world; but if, instead of the facts of the transaction, I represent classical fictions, how shall I be understood by posterity! The only reason for adopting the Greek and Roman dresses, is the picturesque forms of which their drapery is susceptible; but is this an advantage for which all the truth and propriety of the subject should be sacrificed?

When the painting was finished, West invited Reynolds and West's patron Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York, to see it and Reynolds, "after his first cursory glance, seated himself before the picture, and examined it with deep and minute attention for about half an hour. He rose, and said to His Grace, Mr. West has conquered."[15]

The painting proved an instant and enduring success with the public and quickly became the essential portrayal of the event, as well as central to the emerging appreciation of Britain's new status as an empire. Though the king had initially rejected it because of how West chose to approach the subject, the work was such a popular and critical triumph that he quickly commissioned a replica by West's own hand (still in the British Royal collection) and appointed him Historical Painter to the King;[16] West produced six versions of the painting in total, the third of which is now in the collection of the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.[17]

Despite the concern West expressed for the "truth and propriety of the subject" and his desire to eschew the "classical fictions" of traditional history painting, he nevertheless constructed an effective hybrid of history painting that resonates with powerful visual, emotional, and political allusions. The artist, familiar not only with contemporary Italian painting, but also classical art and the great masters of the Renaissance and Baroque, arranged the figures into a pyramidal composition focusing on the reclining Wolfe, supported by his followers. Flanking Wolfe on either side is a group of soldiers of all ranks; like a Greek chorus, they incline towards their fallen leader, registering emotions from stoic resignation to open distress, cueing the viewer to the appropriate responses of sympathy and anguish. The assemblage of figures arranged in a shallow space, behind which are composite views of the battle reading from right to left, recalls a *tableau vivant* or theatre scene.[18] The composition also recalls iconic portrayals of the Lamentation of Christ, a moment of intense sorrow following his deposition from the cross; the flag behind Wolfe serves as a stand-in for the cross, while the soldiers take the positions of the grieving disciples.[19] The poignancy of a veiled allusion to Christ elevates Wolfe's death to something more significant than the usual military event and invests it with enormous emotional power. From the moment he died, Wolfe had been compared to legendary Roman commanders and even to Achilles, but equating his death to that of Jesus gave it an authority beyond the reach of most antiquarian allusions.

For all of West's claims to remaining faithful to the "facts of the transaction," *The Death of General Wofle* represents a tour de force in mythmaking. Wolfe died attended by only a handful of soldiers that did not include the men identified in the painting.[20] The surrounding figures are likely meant to signal the unity of the diverse new British Empire: General Monckton, second in command and standing supported with his hand at his chest wound, represents England; the figure bending on the left in a red coat and tartan kilt is perhaps Simon Frasier, of the Scottish Frasier's Highlanders;[21] the Rogers' Ranger, dressed in green and wearing moccasins and a beaded garter, and the seated Native American represent the British colonies in America; and the figure at the far left bringing the flag of surrender heralds the addition of the French territory to the British domains with the Treaty of Paris of 1763. Thus all of Great Britain is united in lamentation of Wolfe's death.

In West's painting, no figure stands out more than the somewhat enigmatic Native American warrior seated at the lower left. Certainly none was recorded as being in attendance when Wolfe died. A contemplative pose and close observation mark his response, in contrast to the other figures, most of whom are standing in either grief or resignation. On the one hand, this is an important addition to the composition, firmly placing the scene outside the European theatre of combat. But this exotic, semi-nude figure is also perhaps West's concession to the heroic nude of classical history painting that Reynolds felt imperative for a successful and dignified portrayal of the scene. Without setting Wolfe's death in a Greco-Roman past, West employed a nude Native American figure to create the requisite ennobling distance—one of locale rather than historical time.[22]

It is difficult to establish how apocryphal are the descriptions of Wolfe's exploits on September 13, but he was not uniformly perceived as the heroic, Christ-like figure that he became in West's painting. Brigadier George Townshend has left the most extensive record of Wolfe's time in Canada. A noted caricaturist and Member of Parliament before he rejoined the army, Townshend had a strong personal dislike of Wolfe. He produced numerous quick satirical drawings while at Québec that provide a view of Wolfe sharply different than the virtuous commander of popular imagination.[23] Wolfe is seen, for example, obsessing over the latrines and making lewd references to the local French-speaking women (Cat. 9), though Townshend also made a more developed watercolor portrait of Wolfe (Cat. 10).[24] This critical view of Wolfe supports descriptions of his actions, even Wolfe's own words, in his ruthless treatment of French colonists whose farms, livestock, and families were pillaged in July and August prior to the attack on Québec. Wolfe is reported to have had a difficult relationship with the three Brigadier-Generals under his command: Townshend, Robert Monckton, and James Murray were from aristocratic families, whereas Wolfe, though from a reasonably

affluent background, was not. These three officers had begun to lose confidence in Wolfe in the summer of 1759 and Wolfe devised his plan to attack Québec without consulting any of them.

The painting also belies Wolfe's relationship to the original inhabitants of the North American territories. Indeed, as commander in the field at Québec, James Wolfe had quite a negative attitude towards them. During the French and Indian War, Native Americans had engaged in guerrilla warfare that contravened the European military tradition of opposing armies facing one another across an open battlefield. Wolfe wrote, "I take them to be the most contemptible *canaille* upon earth...these are a dastardly set of bloody rascals. We cut them to pieces whenever we found them in return for a thousand acts of cruelty and barbarity."[25] West's experience was quite different. According to his early biographer, John Galt, he learned to mix pigments from Native Americans as a youth in Pennsylvania and when he first saw the Apollo Belvedere, the famous Roman sculpture in the Vatican, the largely untutored American exclaimed, "My God, how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior!"[26] The disappointment of his audience at having Europe's paragon of antique beauty likened to what was considered a rough savage was somewhat mitigated when West clarified, "I have seen them often standing in that very attitude, and pursuing, with an intense eye, the arrow which they had just discharged from the bow." The newly arrived West saw nothing to shock in comparing a brave and accomplished Native American to the classical embodiment of reason, balance, and beauty.

Ultimately West sacrificed facts from the battlefield to serve a different truth—one signaling Britain's emerging dominance as a multi-national empire and catering to a widespread surge of nationalism. His iconic portrayal of Wolfe's personal courage and sacrifice, witnessed in the painting by representatives of the far-flung lands of the empire, achieved in the public imagination what other depictions had not. In 1781, essayist William Hayley wrote a tribute to George Romney in which he summarized the importance of West's painting to Britain:

Supremely skill'd the varied group to place,
And range the crowded scene with easy grace;
To finish parts, yet not impair the whole,
But on th' impassion'd action fix the soul;
Thro' wondering throngs the patriot Chief to guide,
The shame of CARTHAGE, as of ROME the pride;
Or, while the bleeding Victor yields his breath,
Give the bright lesson of heroic Death.
Such are thy Merits, WEST: by Virtue's hand
Built on the human heart thy praise shall stand,
While dear to Glory in her guardian Fane,
The names of REGULUS and WOLFE remain.
lines 177-185[27]

Disseminating Wolfe

Wolfe's victory and death led a vigorous British print market to meet the demand for images of the fallen hero. The immense public enthusiasm that followed Britain's success at Québec found expression in several engravings and mezzotints of General Wolfe. It is not certain, however, that any of the early portraits of Wolfe were based on a likeness drawn during his lifetime. It has been the traditional view that Hervey Smyth and John Montresor had each produced one at Québec, but the Montresor drawing is only known through a mezzotint published in England in 1783; the original drawing has not been traced (Cat. 11).[28] Many of the prints showed, like one after Schaak's painting, the distinctive profile of General Wolfe, but a number are more generic "type" portraits of British officers (Cat. 12–13).

Reproductive prints also popularized—and made accessible to a broad market—recent paintings. In 1772, Richard Sayer published a mezzotint after Penny's *Death of General Wolfe,* but by far the most successful print related to the cult of Wolfe was William Woollett's engraving after Benjamin West's celebrated painting (Cat. 14).[29] Published in 1775 by John Boydell, later Lord Mayor of London, Woollett's print was sold widely and became one of the most commercially successful prints ever published. British

prints also enjoyed great popularity in Europe, where many engravers copied Woollett's engraving, further broadening its distribution; in some of the European copies the details of the original are compromised and even misattributed (Cat. 15). The composition of West's *The Death of General Wolfe* became so iconic that it even appears in the far distance of François-Louis-Joseph Watteau's depiction of the death of Wolfe's adversary, General Montcalm (Cat. 16).

In addition to Wolfe's immortalization through this proliferation of prints, his image and story entered popular culture in various decorative arts including textiles, such as a toile de Jouy panel depicting the death and apotheosis of Wolfe, a Wedgwood transfer-printed earthenware jug depicting his death, a Bow porcelain figurine after Schaak's painting, and a hand-painted covered cup from the Nyon porcelain manufacture in Switzerland (Cat. 17–20). The portrayal of Wolfe's death even appeared in carved gems late in the eighteenth century, after which engravings were produced (Cat. 21). The participation of the public in the veneration of Wolfe and the dissemination of his story through poetry, music, painting, the decorative arts, and the print market in Britain and Europe ensured that his deeds—and especially his death—would remain a subject of celebration.

Forging Empire: The Contributions of Officers and Engineers in Consolidating Britain's Gains

As impressive and significant as West's canvas was in projecting the vigorous and heroic image of Great Britain distilled in the figure of its fallen commander, officers trained as draftsmen who had been at Québec made important contributions to the consolidation of Britain's notion of empire. These officers filled different bureaucratic niches as information about military engagements, local scenery and customs, and field surveys became integrated into the official records of the government and made the rapidly expanding empire visible to the public.

Within days of news of the victory reaching England, notices appeared in the papers advertising the creation of a new map showing the St. Lawrence River and the city of Québec, along with accurate descriptions of the battlefield, most likely provided by Captain Hervey Smyth, Wolfe's aide-de-camp, who was wounded and left for England immediately after the battle. The rapid production of this engraved plan of Québec allowed the publisher, Thomas Jefferys, to capitalize on the fervent excitement of the victory; the incorporation of information provided by an officer under Wolfe's command augmented its appeal and gave it a degree of immediacy and veracity.[30] Smyth also executed a number of on-site sketches of the dramatic topography around Québec, featuring some of the places where the French and British armies clashed, such as the city of Québec and the Montmorency Falls at the eastern end of the French fortifications. Six of his views along the St. Lawrence were published by Jefferys and were incorporated several years later into the more comprehensive portrayal of Great Britain's holdings in the western hemisphere, the monumental *Scenographia Americana* (Cat. 22–23).[31] Naval officers also contributed sketches for the *Scenographia Americana* and purser Richard Short, who served under Admiral Saunders, recorded the devastation in the City of Québec following the naval bombardment during the summer of 1759 (Cat. 24). Engravings after sketches by officers such as Smyth and Short provided the British public with a glimpse of their new lands.

Perhaps one of the most valuable contributions of draftsmen in the British army was produced under the direction of the British military governor appointed to govern Québec, Wolfe's third brigadier James Murray, who took command in the wake of Wolfe's death. In the autumn of 1760, shortly after the surrender of all of Canada to General Jeffery Amherst at Montréal, Murray directed his engineers to conduct a detailed survey of Canada. This set of plans, never intended to be published, constituted a comprehensive assessment of the colony, detailing in pen and ink and watercolor the distribution of towns, farms, roads, and rivers in the settlements along the St. Lawrence and its tributaries. Only seven versions of this manuscript map, known as the *Murray Atlas of Canada,* were produced; five copies remain.[32] Several army engineers worked on

the plans that comprise the *Murray Atlas,* which was completed in November 1761 (Cat. 26), including Captain John Montresor (Cat. 25) and Samuel Holland, who was responsible for drawing the three "repetition" plans of Québec.[33] Murray sent copies of the atlas to King George III, William Pitt, the Board of Ordinance in London, General Amherst, the commander-in-chief of British forces in North America, and General Thomas Gage (then governor at Montréal). Brian Leigh Dunnigan has speculated that the last two copies were for Murray himself and possibly for the governor of the other major jurisdiction in French Canada, Trois-Rivières. Suggesting the future significance of the map, Murray wrote to Pitt, "Happen what will, we never again can be at a loss how to attack and conquer this country in one campaign." Dunnigan has observed that should Britain retain possession of Canada, the knowledge of the land contained in the *Murray Atlas* would contribute to the good governance of the colony.[34]

Many forces converged in the 1750s and 1760s to create and define Britain's future as a world power, but the Seven Years' War, particularly the victories of 1759 and the new lands confirmed in the peace accords of 1763, which included control of continental North America, marked the shift in the public's perception of itself as heir to the grandeur of the Roman Empire. Britain's emerging visual culture helped to reinforce the importance of these events to the public at home. Wolfe's death occurred as British artists were assuming an increased prominence and the government began to foster the public exhibition of art, and painters and sculptors played an important role in codifying his position as a supreme figure of admiration and representative of an emerging ideal of national character. The development of the technologies of and market for mechanical reproduction meant that the distribution of their work could be quite broad. The draftsmen and engineers among the corps of British officers in the field provided an equally substantive contribution to the British understanding of their new status. As multiethnic populations and distant lands became part of the realm, surveys and maps consolidated the new political and territorial gains in the public imagination, helping to shape Britain's identity as an empire.

1. See John Keegan's introduction to Francis Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe,* xii.

2. The French did not encourage emigration to New France and Protestant emigration was actually prohibited. In contrast, the English permitted fractious elements of society—the Scots and the Irish—to emigrate freely, so the British colonies were more heterogeneous both in religious affiliation and national origin.

3. The fall of Québec in September was only one of several important victories in 1759; battles at Guadeloupe (May); Niagara (July); Crown Point, Lagos, and Minden (August); and Quiberon (November) also augmented territories held by Britain.

4. Notice from *The New Hampshire Gazette,* October 19, 1759, quoted in "1763: Britain Victorious," in *Making the Revolution: America, 1763–1791: Crisis,* National Humanities Center, Primary Resources in U.S. History and Literature (http://nationalhumanities-center.org/pds/makingrev/crisis/text1/read.htm). The Oxford celebrations are recorded in the *London Evening Post,* October 20–23, 1759, issue 4987.

5. For example, from the *Whitehall Evening Post Or London Intelligencer,* October 16–18, 1759, issue 2119:

> The late brave General Wolfe was about thirty-five Years of Age, an Ornament to the Army, the Parent of a Soldier, and quite the humane and humble Man, which fitly qualified him for the great Post in which he died, doing immortal Service and Honour to his King and Country, and immortalising his Name throughout the World to future Ages.

From the *Universal Chronicle Or Weekly Gazette,* October 20–27, 1759, issue 82:

> How beautiful is Death when earned by Virtue!
> Who would not be that Youth? What pity is it
> That we can *die but once,* to serve our Country.
> Cato

Or published in the *London Chronicle (semi-annual),* October 25–27, 1759, issue 442:

> *The* Triumvirate
> Addressed to Mrs. WOLFE [Wolfe's mother].
> ROME has beheld her much lov'd Cato bleed
> An aged Priam mourn'd his Hector dead:
> Grieve not, *thou honor'd Parent,* Wolfe shall live
> While grateful Britain can just praises give;
> In list of *Fame, her hero* great shall stand,
> His compeers *Fredrick, Minden Ferdinand.*
> Nor least, O Wolfe, of the illustrious *Three,*
> Québec gives *Immortality to Thee.*
> A.F.

6. A work corresponding to the description of Schaak's painting in the 1762 exhibition was sold recently at Sotheby's (London, *Important British Paintings,* June 6, 2007, lot 28); it shows the figure of Wolfe with the assault on Québec in the background. The painting is referenced in Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits,* vol. 1, 315 and in McNairn, *Behold the Hero,* 184.

7. David A. Cross, *A Striking Likeness: The Life of George Romney,* 23–25.

8. Although portraiture had always enjoyed a vigorous market in England, there was no continuous tradition of large-scale history painting. This stems, in part, from the break with the Catholic Church during the reign of Henry VIII, after which Biblical paintings were not in fashion. Another contributing factor is that, unlike the French, whose Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture was established in 1648, by 1750 there was no British national academy to promote the practice and education of painters in a national school. As Andrew Rouquet noted of the 1750s in "The Present State of the Arts in England": "History painters have seldom an opportunity of displaying their abilities in England, that it is surprising there are any at all who apply themselves to this branch" (quoted in Brian Allen, "Rule Britannia?," 13).

Although William Hogarth and other painters earlier in the century had tried their hand at history painting, there was not a ready audience for such works in Britain and most history paintings were executed by artists from the Continent. This situation began to change at mid-century as the rise of several exhibiting groups provided opportunities for artists to show paintings. The Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacturers, and Commerce (more commonly known as the Royal Society of Arts) was founded in 1754 with a broad mission of furthering commerce, manufacturers, science, and art. In 1759 they established a "premium" (monetary prize) for history painting. In 1761, the Society of Artists was established; it allowed artists more say about the exhibition of their works than the Society of Arts. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who later became the first President of the Royal Academy, was an early member of this group. Dissention within the Society of Arts led to the formation of a splinter group, the Free Society of Artists, in 1761.

9. The monument was to have been paid for "at the King's private expense." Submissions for the inscription on the monument were sent to the press in October and November of 1759 and in 1772 in anticipation of the unveiling of the monument the next year. See: *Whitehall Evening Post Or London Intelligencer,* November 13–15, 1759; *Middlesex Journal Or Universal Evening Post,* September 29–October 1, 1772, issue 547; *Public Advertiser,* October 16, 1772, issue 11728. The final inscription actually comes from Pitt's address to the House of Commons on November 22, 1759. See Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda. Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire,* 103–46.

10. After months of negotiation, the Treaty of Paris ending the Seven Years' War was signed February 10, 1763; an explosion of works celebrating its victorious generals followed. The anticipation of peace in Europe may have partly inspired the production of paintings in 1762 and 1763 celebrating Wolfe's death. Edgar Wind believes that this coincides with the return of General Monckton to England. See Edgar Wind, "Penny, West, and the 'Death of Wolfe,'" 160.

11. Edward Edwards, writing about the disputed second prize stated that Reynolds "interested himself much upon the occasion." Edwards supported the award of the second prize to another artist

"for Romney's was a coat and waistcoat subject, with no more accuracy of representation than what might be acquired by reading in the Gazette an account of the death of any General. Such productions should never be classed among the efforts of historic painting." For Edwards, a heroic subject, even if drawn from contemporary events, was debased when shown in an everyday manner and not with the grand and universal qualities embodied in antique dress; Edwards's analogy to reading a prosaic news account suggests such a depiction is lacking in imagination or creativity. See William Hayley, *The Life of George Romney,* 308; Edward Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painters,* 277.

12. It is useful to recall that there were many opportunities for the British public to see artwork, including images of modern military engagements. The Vauxhall Gardens, a pleasure ground with gardens, concert venues, and an ale-house allowed nearly all of London (entrance charge: 1 shilling) to mingle. Under the management of Jonathan Tyers (1729–1767), Vauxhall Gardens exhibited original works of art including a suite of four paintings that Tyers commissioned from the painter Francis Hayman (1708–1776) depicting victories of the Seven Years' War. Executed between 1761 and 1764, Hayman's paintings included two narratives depicting the surrender of Montréal to General Amherst and showing Lord Clive after the Battle of Plassey, as well as two allegorical works, the *Triumph of Britannia,* celebrating victories of naval commanders, and *Britannia Distributing Laurels to the Victorious Generals,* honoring field commanders such as Jeffrey Amherst, the Marquis of Granby, Robert Monckton, and, naturally, Wolfe. In the *Triumph* mythological figures and Roman deities carry portraits of the honored British admirals. The paintings are all lost but are known through studies, modellos, or reproductive engravings; the fourth painting is only known through contemporary press accounts, which state that the generals were portrayed in "Roman habits." The conflation of the genres of portraiture and allegory in the *Britannia* paintings is a precedent upon which West builds in his *Wolfe.* See Brian Allen, "Rule Britannia?," 17, and de Bolla, *The Education of the Eye,* 72–103.

13. David H. Solkin places Penny's painting within the context of both the emotional written descriptions of Wolfe, such as Sir John Pringle's *The Life of General Wolfe…,* 1760, and the writings of David Hume, who proposed that a sympathetic and beneficent hero who values tenderness and friendship evokes empathy without envy. See *Painting for Money: Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England,* 199–213. The pendant to Penny's painting of Wolfe was his sentimental and affecting image of charity, *The Marquis of Granby Relieving a Sick Soldier,* dated 1764.

14. The Royal Academy of Arts was founded by King George III on December 10, 1768 in order to provide appropriate instruction to aspiring artists and to impart the "Principles and Laws of Composition to strengthen their Judgement [sic], to form their Taste of Design and Colouring," thus establishing a national school and raising the social standing of artists in Great Britain. Among the founding members and officers of the new academy were a number of important artists: Joshua Reynolds, the President; Edward Penny, the first Professor of Painting; Benjamin West; and Joseph Wilton, who sculpted the Wolfe Memorial in Westminster Abbey.

15. John Galt, *The Life, Studies and Works of Benjamin West,* 47–49. Galt's enthusiastic biography may strain credulity in its descriptions of some of the events of West's life, but regardless of whether the exchanges took place as described, West's response became a heroic stand against Reynolds's academic strictures. The possible influences that Penny's painting might have had on the evolution of West's version are discussed in McNairn, *Behold the Hero,* 121–22.

16. When King George III commissioned his version of the painting, West suggested complementing it with *The Death of Epaminondas,* an antique subject, and *Death of the Chevalier Bayard,* a medieval subject. Wolfe had been compared to the Greek general Epaminondas by John Knox in 1769, and to the Chevalier Bayard, both of whom died in battle. These parallels would have provided an epic framework for *The Death of General Wolfe.* See Erffa and Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West,* 211–14; also Captain John Knox, *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North-America,* 79.

To Lord Grosvenor, who purchased the Royal Academy version of *The Death of General Wolfe,* West suggested as a pendant *Finding of the Bones of Braddock's Army;* Lord Grosvenor felt that this incident from the Seven Years' War was too obscure and did not wish to recall a defeat.

17. There are five full-size versions and one smaller version of West's *The Death of General Wolfe:*

1. 1770, Royal Academy version, purchased by Richard, Lord Grosvenor, now at National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.
2. 1771, slightly larger than no. 1, for George III, still in the royal collection.
3. 1776, same size as no. 2, commissioned by the Prince of Waldeck in 1776; purchased by William L. Clements in 1927; now at University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library.
4. 1779, painted for Hervey family; with descendants; National Trust, Ickworth, Suffolk.
5. Painted by circa 1804, smaller version for Robert Monckton's family; with descendants.
6. 1776–1806, largest version, chiefly by a studio assistant; offered to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts; purchased by Monckton family; purchased by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

For further details on the Clements Library version, see Clayton Lewis's essay in this volume.

18. The connections to theatre are very germane; soon after word of the battle there were notices in the papers of poems and theatre pieces celebrating the siege of Québec. The theatre connections with Wolfe and West's painting can be found in George Cockings's 1766 "historical tragedy" *The Conquest of Canada.* See Ann Uhry Abrams, *The Valiant Hero, Benjamin West and Grand-Style History Painting,* 163–64. In 1772, David Garrick, the famous actor of the age, was advised to produce a theatre piece based on Wolfe, but he declined, saying that it was too recent an event to be a subject for theater. See Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750–1810,* 107. Garrick did understand the theatrical quality of West's painting as he is reputed to have lain down in front of the painting at the Royal Academy exhibition and assumed the pose of Wolfe and "displayed in his features the exact countenance depicted by the artist" (quoted in Alan McNairn, *Behold the Hero,* 127–28).

The interest in Wolfe remaining constant toward the end of the century, "A Grand HEROIC and HISTORICAL PANTOMIME" in three parts entitled "The Siege of Québec" was advertised in the *World,* April 26, 1790, issue 1033; the theatre piece culminated in the death of Wolfe. It stated that the actor who played Wolfe, Philip Astley (1742–1814), had brought the play from his theatre in Paris.

19. Other writers have recognized the extended parallels with Deposition and Lamentation iconography that extends to envisioning Wolfe's officers and soldiers as the disciples; see, for example, Simon Schama, *Dead Certainties.*

20. Wolfe's death was in fact attended by two Louisbourg Grenadiers and an artillery officer. He had been offered a surgeon, but declined; General Robert Monckton and Major Isaac Barré had been wounded elsewhere on the battlefield; the surgeon Adair also was at Crown Point.

21. The Frasier's Highlanders was the same unit of Highlanders that Wolfe had faced during the ferocious Battle of Culloden in Scotland in 1745, during which the English army put down the Jacobite uprising. See Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe,* 406, and Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War,* 360–64.

22. Edgar Wind first proposed that West's inclusion of the Native American provided the psychological distance of antiquity—also the nude figure—an argument that has been built upon by later writers. See Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting," 116–27.

23. Returning to London shortly after the battle, Townshend found himself under attack for criticizing Wolfe's actions in Canada—an unsupportable position given Wolfe's near deification by the British public. Walpole observed that "George Townshend has thrust himself again into service [in the military]; and as far as wrong-headedness will go, is very proper for a hero…[he is] of a proud, sullen and contemptuous nature…saw everything in an ill-natured light" (quoted in McLynn, *1759: The Year Britain Became Master of the World,* 207). Wolfe may have guessed that he was an object of sport to Townshend, a sharp, acerbic aristocrat under his command.

24. McGill University's McCord Museum has an extensive collection of ink drawings executed by Townshend in Québec that capture the physical traits that became typical of "portraits" of Wolfe: sharp features, sloping forehead, weak chin. These drawings are quite different from the lovely watercolor that he executed of Wolfe, perhaps intended as a presentation drawing for his commander, although inscribed to Wolfe's adjutant general, Major Isaac Barré.

25. McLynn, *1759: The Year Britain Became Master of the World,* 206.

26. John Galt, *The Life, Studies and Works of Benjamin West,* 105.

27. William Hayley, *An Essay on Painting: In Two Epistles to Mr. Romney,* 37–38.

28. Kerslake, *Early Georgian Portraits,* vol. 1, 315; McNairn, *Behold the Hero,* 184-86. According to McNairn, Smyth's drawing is presumed to be a tracing and Montresor's name was added to the print of Wolfe to provide a greater measure of authenticity as a likeness.

29. Louis Alexander Fagan, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Engraved Works of William Woollett,* viii. Following the Treaty of Paris, there was greater freedom to travel on the Continent. See Cross, *A Striking Likeness,* 20. The popularity of Woollett's print in Europe was so great that engravers in Germany, France, and other countries made their own versions of West's painting—some quite far removed from the original or reversed in orientation. This is also discussed in McNairn, *Behold the Hero,* 149–53.

30. A new plan of Québec drawn by T. Jefferys, Geographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, advertised in the *Whitehall Evening Post Or London Intelligencer* on October 20, 1759 and again on November 3–6, 1759 (issue 2127), was described as "An Authentic PLAN of the River St. Laurence, from Sellerly to below the Falls of Montmorence, with the Operations of the Siege of QUEBEC, under Command of Vice-Admiral Saunders and Major-General Wolfe, down to the 5th of September 1759. Drawn by a Captain in his Majesty's Navy. To which will be added, A View of the Action of the 13th, brought from thence by an Officer of Distinction." Captain Hervey Smyth returned not only with details about the battlefield that informed this new plan of Québec, but with sketches of the region that were produced as a set of six engravings entitled *Six Elegant VIEWS of the most remarkable Places in the River and Gulph of St. Lawrence* in 1760; he has traditionally been considered the author of a pencil sketch of Wolfe, presumably taken from life during the summer of 1759, in the collection of Quebec House.

31. Smyth's *Six Elegant VIEWS of the most remarkable Places in the River and Gulph of St. Lawrence* was announced in the *London Evening Post,* March 7–10, 1760. The plates were later incorporated into the *Scenographia Americana,* published in 1768, which sold for four guineas and would have been priced for more affluent collectors. The title page describes the engravings as having been made after "drawings taken on the spot by several officers of the British Navy and Army" and provided views not only of Québec, but also of the Caribbean and of American cities such as New York, Boston, and Charleston. See discussion in Clayton Lewis, "Taking Havana," 4.

32. Two copies of the *Murray Atlas* are in the British Library, two in the Library and Archives of Canada, and the remaining version containing sixty-three maps and five sheets of manuscript text is in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

33. The repetition plans show troop placements during three different events at Québec: the battle for the city on September 13, 1759; the battle of St. Foy on April 28, 1760; and the siege that was France's final attempt to regain the city later that spring.

34. See Brian Leigh Dunnigan's discussion of the Clements Library's *Murray Atlas* in "Governor Murray's Map," 10–12.

Clayton A. Lewis

William L. Clements and *The Death of General Wolfe*

All collectors know the feeling of being haunted by the one that got away. "Buyer's remorse" from an expensive impulse purchase can hurt, but the pain of having hesitated and then lost is much worse. This was likely how William L. Clements felt after the Sotheby's auction of February 10, 1921, where he bid $4,000, a huge sum for the day, on a full-size version by Benjamin West of his masterpiece *The Death of General Wolfe*—but to no avail.[1]

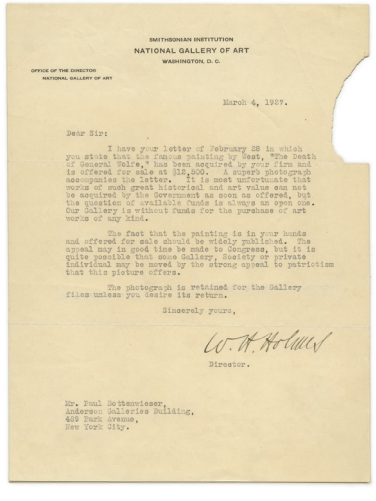
At the time, Clements was steeped in the design of his proposed Library of Americana, which he planned to build on the campus of his alma mater, the University of Michigan. What better statement of purpose and identity could his collection of early American history have than *The Death of General Wolfe* hanging high on the oak-paneled wall of the Great Hall he envisioned? Clements must have struggled to put the West painting out of his mind as he buried himself in the complications of constructing the library that would bear his name, the first collection of its kind of rare Americana at an American public university.

Fortunately for Clements and for the University of Michigan, Benjamin West painted five full-size versions of his most popular painting. Across the Atlantic, in Germany, the third version was starting on a course destined to end in Ann Arbor. The Prince Regent of Waldeck, Landgrave of Hesse, had commissioned this painting from West after seeing the original on display in London in 1775. Its themes of national unity, imperial power, and martyrdom must have resonated with the Prince, who had just agreed to send troops to help Britain fight the rebelling colonists in North America, the scene of the painting.[2]

The Prince's version of *The Death of General Wolfe* became the centerpiece of the collection at Castle Waldeck in Arolsen, which was filled with grandiose portraits and minor masterpieces.[3] The epic sweep and emotion of West's painting set it apart from the rest of the rather staid Waldeck collection. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), professor of medicine and natural history at Göttingen University, described the painting in a 1777 letter to his father,[4] shortly after its arrival:

> The Castle is very modern, built circa 1720, where lives the Prince of the region[5] and his mother.[6] In a great hall, hung painted portraits of great heroes, statesmen and scholars. What charmed me more than anything was the famous painting by B. West, *The Death of the General Wolfe* (it cost 600 pounds sterling).[7] The bravery and calm in the dying Wolfe's face, while at the same time learning about the victory from his men, the numbness and grief in the faces of the surrounding officers, the pensiveness of the brave surgeon who, abandoned by his art, kneels next to him, the astonishment of an American native who is in front of him, all that can be seen from every eye and felt from every heart, but certainly can't be described by a quill.
>
> The color palette is muted, but one is sure that the hand of the master has moved one, not like the French pictures where one is deceived by the paint box. I stood daily and long in front of it, each time with new enjoyment. The Count has the famous original painting by H. Tischbein,[8] *Herman after the Victory over Varus,* which clashes terribly with West. Full of forced theatrical arrangements, so little nature, such unimportant faces, such a garish color palette. Luckily, it hangs in another room, one should see it first before West's so it doesn't lose so much in comparison.

Figure 1. The Smithsonian Institution declines to purchase *The Death of General Wolfe* in this letter of March 4, 1927. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
WASHINGTON, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

March 4, 1927.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of February 28 in which you state that the famous painting by West, "The Death of General Wolfe," has been acquired by your firm and is offered for sale at $12,500. A superb photograph accompanies the letter. It is most unfortunate that works of such great historical and art value can not be acquired by the Government as soon as offered, but the question of available funds is always an open one. Our Gallery is without funds for the purchase of art works of any kind.

The fact that the painting is in your hands and offered for sale should be widely published. The appeal may in good time be made to Congress, but it is quite possible that some Gallery, Society or private individual may be moved by the strong appeal to patriotism that this picture offers.

The photograph is retained for the Gallery files unless you desire its return.

Sincerely yours,

W. H. Holmes
Director.

Mr. Paul Bottenwieser,
Anderson Galleries Building,
489 Park Avenue,
New York City.

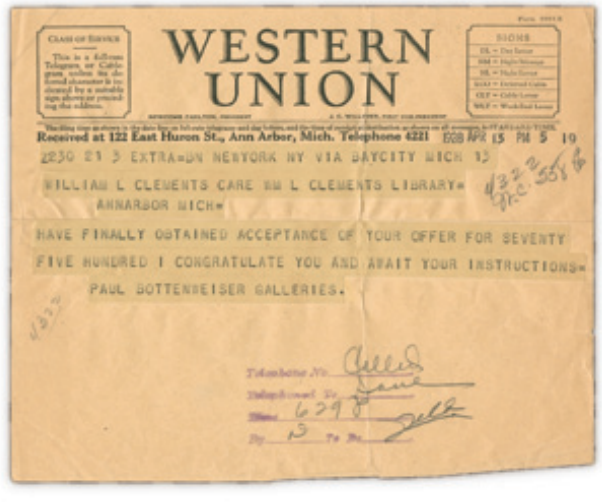
The painting remained at the castle for 150 years until it was shipped to the New York gallery of Berlin dealer Paul Bottenweiser in 1927. Acting as agent for Waldeck, Bottenweiser Galleries offered it privately to the Smithsonian Institution, but the national collection was strapped for cash and declined to purchase it (Fig. 1).[9]

Another Chance

The William L. Clements of 1928 was greatly changed from the man who failed at the auction in 1921. After the dedication of his library in 1923, Clements had written, "I have returned home to a house empty of nearly all books, so it is needless to tell you how totally lost I am."[10] There were indications that his marriage was not a happy one and with his son James having died of influenza in France in 1918, he showed signs of loneliness and resentment that would surface periodically for the rest of his life.[11] But in the late 1920s, Clements was rebounding and filling his empty bookcases with manuscript collections of major players from the American Revolution—the collections that would jumpstart reconsideration of that event by twentieth- and twenty-first-century historians.

On April 1, 1928, the *New York Times* reproduced the Waldeck painting in its Sunday supplement with an announcement that it was on display and available for purchase at Paul Bottenwieser Galleries. Clements was in New York on business, staying at the Hotel Belmont on 42nd Street. He wrote to his library director, Randolph G. Adams, saying he intended to see the painting immediately: "I am interested in seeing the Benj. West picture of the 'Death of Wolfe' now on exhibition here and reproduced in today's (Sunday) Times. It is probably very expensive.... It would be a wonderful hanging for the large room but I must stop my extravagance."[12]

Figure 2. The telegram announcing the acceptance of William Clements's offer for *The Death of General Wolfe.* William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.



WESTERN UNION

Received at 122 East Huron St., Ann Arbor, Mich. Telephone 4221 ECB APR 15 PM 5 19

2230 21 3 EXTRA=BN NEWYORK NY VIA BAYCITY MICH 15

WILLIAM L CLEMENTS CARE WM L CLEMENTS LIBRARY=
ANNARBOR MICH=

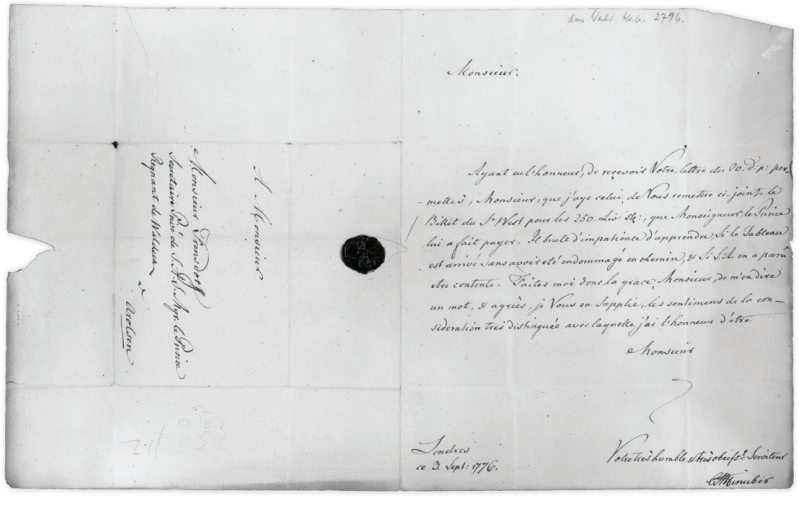
HAVE FINALLY OBTAINED ACCEPTANCE OF YOUR OFFER FOR SEVENTY FIVE HUNDRED I CONGRATULATE YOU AND AWAIT YOUR INSTRUCTIONS=
PAUL BOTTENWEISER GALLERIES.

Clements was deeply moved, however, by the stunning painting and its wonderful condition. Bottenweiser Galleries told Clements that the picture was "never retouched in any way, only washed in clear rainwater and varnished."[13] The provenance was rock-solid and fascinating in and of itself, especially to a collector of American Revolutionary materials. The significance of this particular painting's having come from the collection of a provider of Hessian soldiers that fought General Washington was certainly not lost on Clements.

Ever the shrewd businessman, Clements risked making an offer of $7,500—much less than the asking price of $12,500, but considerably more than his failed bid of $4,000 at the Sotheby's auction. While his offer may seem modest in the extreme compared to today's overinflated art market, Clements had purchased one of the most famous rare books in his collection, the Rome 1493 edition of Christopher Columbus's *Epistola,* for $1,650 a few years earlier[14] and the construction budget for his luxurious library of cut sandstone, carved oak, and polished brass was $175,000.[15] Julius Roedelsheimer wrote to his client in Waldeck for a response to the offer while Clements headed back to his Bay City home to wait.

On April 7, 1928, Paul Bottenwieser Galleries sent Clements a wire to report that there was no news from Waldeck. Six days later, they congratulated him (Fig. 2)—the price

Figure 3. The cover letter dated September 3, 1776 from C. H. Hinuber to the Prince Regent of Waldeck's secretary that accompanied the original 1776 purchase receipt from Benjamin West. Though promised to William Clements upon his purchase of the painting, it was never delivered. Photostat courtesy Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Germany.


Monsieur.

Ayant eu l'honneur de recevoir Votre lettre du 20. d'p. prés
-mettrai, Monsieur, que j'ay celui de Vous remettre ci-joint le
Billet du S.r West pour les 250. Liv. St.: que Monseigneur le Prince
lui a fait payer. Il brule d'impatience d'apprendre, si le Tableau
est arrivé sans avoir été endommagé en chemin, & si S.A. en a paru
être contente. Faites moi donc la grace, Monsieur, de m'en dire un
mot, & agréés je Vous en Supplie, les sentiments de la con-
sidération très distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être
Monsieur
Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur
C. H. Hinuber

Londres
ce 3. Sept: 1776.

was agreeable and the owner would include with the painting a letter from 1776 that accompanied the original purchase receipt from Benjamin West (Fig. 3).[16] Clements asked his trusted advisor, New York City book dealer Lathrop C. Harper, to deliver the check for payment and to oversee the crating and shipping of the painting by railway express.[17] *The Death of General Wolfe* arrived in Ann Arbor by the end of April 1928.[18] Randolph Adams had the frame repaired and re-gilded and ordered a special light fixture to illuminate the painting more effectively. On June 8, 1928, he wrote to Clements to let him know the painting was on the wall in time for University commencement visitors, including Lathrop Harper, who would receive an honorary degree.[19] There is no record of how many visitors came to see Clements's new purchase, but the Library set up velvet ropes in the Great Room to control crowds.

Home at the Clements

Hanging high on the oak-paneled north wall of the Great Hall, *The Death of General Wolfe* is breathtaking. Not only does the painting add to the unique aura of the institution, it contextualizes the scope of the collections. It is a highly visible signal that the Americana collection one is entering has an orientation different from the Massachusetts Bay-Jamestown view of early American history offered by many East Coast institutions.

The Clements Library collection has a broader perspective that focuses on the swing of power from Native American to French to English, from the Atlantic to the Old Northwest, reflecting both the interests of an early twentieth-century Michigan industrialist and the range of historical scholarship at a great midwestern university.

In spite of the impression that it seems to have made, Clements showed concern that his purchase was not having the effect that he had hoped for. Adams reassured him that

> with regard to the degree of appreciation shown the West picture—I would say there is nothing in the library which has excited greater interest among the casual visitors. Among the academic sort of callers, the presence of the West picture has had a rather unexpected and distinctly gratifying effect. More than one has remarked, "Now I see why Mr. Clements has given this library." This, I take it, means that previously the Library had meant to some of them only a collection of tools—whereas now its more spiritual and less intellectual aspects begin to dawn upon them.[20]

Since Benjamin West's theory of "epic representation" in historical depictions gives license to the fictionalizing of historic events in artistic depictions, what does it mean for the Clements Library, an institution that stakes its reputation on authentic primary source documentation, to display a powerful fictional rendition of what historian Fred Anderson has called the "most important event in eighteenth century North America?"[21] It very much depends on whether one is seeking documentation of the facts of the event itself or facts of the event's larger meaning and influence. As evidence of conventional military history, West has given us a very misleading image. But as evidence of the power of visual culture to shape perceptions of history, the conscription of art to the cause of patriotism, the emergence of an independent American identity, the rise of American influence on European culture, and of European participation in the American Revolution, *The Death of General Wolfe* is an articulate and convincing "document."

As for the significance of the event itself, University of Michigan Professor Emeritus of History John Shy has said, "Viewers of this painting have always seemed to sense

Figure 4. Since 1928 the Clements Library has collected examples of the theme of the death of General Wolfe in popular culture, such as this circa 1810 Wolverton, England-painted iron tea tray. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

that this dramatic tableau of mourners grouped around a dying young general signifies a major turning point in modern history. The British victory at Québec came close to deciding the future of North America. With the elimination of the French threat, the American colonists soon grew obstreperous and, before long, were confronting the British government. The line between Wolfe's victory and Jefferson's Declaration of Independence is not simple or straight, but surely there is a close connection."[22]

A vital part of the Clements Library's mission is to provide not just access to information, but the meaningful immersion in historical materials that comes closest to replicating time travel. Its mission is thus as much about *inspiration* as it is about information. *The Death of General Wolfe,* "a stupendous piece of drama" according to Professor Simon Schama of Columbia University,[23] and "a spectacle presented to raise and warm the mind" according to Benjamin West himself, has often ignited that spark of brilliance in scholars working at the Clements, whether specifically on the painting or on other eighteenth-century subjects (Fig. 4).

Since 1928 Benjamin West's *The Death of General Wolfe* has left the Clements only for conservation and repair at the Detroit Institute of Arts in the 1980s, to serve as the gateway piece of the 1993 exhibition *Picturing History: American Painting 1770–1930* in New York and Washington, DC,[24] and now to anchor the University of Michigan Museum of Art's *Benjamin West: General Wolfe and the Art of Empire.* It remains in magnificent condition, and many more have now, like Johann Blumenbach, "stood daily and long in front of it, each time with new enjoyment."

1. This is known as the fifth version, painted in 1776 and retouched by West in 1806 and now at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The winning bidder at the auction, the industrialist Sigmund Samuel, presented the painting to the Canadian government.

2. This was noted by Allen Staley in "Benjamin West and the Revolution in History Painting," a paper presented at "History in Art: The World of Benjamin West," William L. Clements Library, October 30, 1986.

3. Dr. F. W. P. Dougherty, Blumenbach-Briefwechsel Institute fur Geschichte des Medizen, Gottingen, Germany to Arlene Shy, Head, Reader Services, William L. Clements Library, 4 May 1993. I am grateful to Janet Bloom for translating this letter. Subjects of additional paintings in the Waldeck collection, described in the Blumenbach letter: "Gustavus Adolpus [of Sweden], Charles the 12th [of Sweden], Peter the Great, John Sobiesky, [John III Sobieski of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth] the King of Prussia… [Friedrich II von Preuben], Prince A [illegible], Duke Ferdinand [Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick?], Turenne [Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Vicomte de Turenne], Condé [Louis-Joseph de Bourbon, eighth Prince de Condé], Louis of Baden [Ludwig-Wilhelm I von Baden, "Türken Louis"], Marschall of Saxony [Maurice, Maréchall de Saxe], Leibnitz [Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, philosopher-mathematician]. In another room was a small collection of paintings, mostly very exquisite. A family of the Count of [von] Egmond by van Dyk [Phillip van Dijk, court painter from the Netherlands], and one of Herodias by [Lucas] Cranach. In another room were paintings of his ancestors from Querfurt [Germany]."

4. Quoted in F. W. P. Dougherty to Arlene Shy.

5. Friedrich von Waldeck, reigned 1763–1812.

6. Christine, dowager Princess von Waldeck, née Pfalzgräfin zu Zweibrücken.

7. C. H. Hinuber to the Prince Waldeck's secretary, 3 September 1776, Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Germany; photostat in William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. The letter written to accompany the receipt of payment to West says the actual price was £250.

8. [Johann] H[einrich Wilhelm] Tischbein, Court painter to the Prince, may be the artist who appears in a sketch sent from the Prince to West of himself and an artist examining *The Death of General Wolfe.* Helmut Von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West,* 214.

9. W. H. Holmes to Paul Bottenwieser, 4 March 1927. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

10. William L. Clements to Worthington Ford after dedication of library in 1923. Quoted in John C. Dann, Opening remarks, "History in Art: The World of Benjamin West," William L. Clements Library, October 30, 1986.

11. Ibid.

12. William L. Clements to Randolph G. Adams, 1 April 1928. In this letter Clements is incorrect in his recollection of who purchased West's painting at the Sotheby's auction; it was Canadian industrialist Sigmund Samuel.

13. William L. Clements to Randolph G. Adams, 8 May 1928.

14. Margaret Maxwell, *Shaping a Library,* 59. In 2008 the library received a quote from a dealer offering an inferior copy of the Columbus letter, price $1.4 million.

15. Ibid., 197.

16. In spite of promises from Bottenweiser and much pressure from an annoyed Clements, this letter documenting the original sale of the painting never made it to the Clements collection.

17. William L. Clements to Lathrop C. Harper, 19 April 1928.

18. Lathrop C. Harper to William L. Clements, 28 April 1928.

19. Dann, as in note 10.

20. Randolph G. Adams to William L. Clements, 12 December 1928.

21. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War,* xv.

22. John Shy, "Quebec, 1759: In North American History," presented at "History In Art: The World of Benjamin West," William L. Clements Library, October 30, 1986.

23. In "Wolfe Must Not Die Like a Common Soldier," *New York Times,* May 12, 1991, Schama calls the painting "A stupendous piece of drama: brilliance and gloom, victory and death, saintly sacrifice and inconsolable sorrow set side by side, the sunlight sky of the imperial future banishing the grim clouds of past dissatisfactions."

24. The exhibition, organized by the Fraunces Tavern Museum, New York, appeared at the IBM Gallery of Science and Art, New York and at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, DC and was accompanied by a catalogue of the same title, *Picturing History: American Painting 1770–1930.*

Plates

Benjamin West

—1— *The Death of General Wolfe*

1776, oil on canvas
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Gift of William L. Clements

—2— *A Correct Plan of the Environs of Quebec*

1768, hand-colored engraving
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

—3— Medal inscribed "Georgivs II Rex" (obverse)/"Perfidia Eversa MDCCLIX" (reverse)

1759, bronze
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

J. S. C. Schaak

—4— *Major-General James Wolfe*

1759, oil on canvas
National Army Museum, London, Courtesy of the Council of the National Army Museum, London

George Romney

—5— Study of General Wolfe, for *The Death of Wolfe*

circa 1763, oil on canvas
New Brunswick Museum, St. John, New Brunswick

Joseph Wilton

—6— The Death of General Wolfe
as depicted on his monument in Westminster Abbey

circa 1760–73, marble

Joseph Wilton

—7— *General James Wolfe*

circa 1760, marble
© National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

Edward Penny

—8— *The Death of General Wolfe*

1763, oil on canvas
Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford

George Townshend

—9— *General James Wolfe, at Quebec, 1759*

1759, ink on paper
Gift of Mr. David Ross McCord, McCord Museum, Montréal (M1794) © McCord Museum

George Townshend

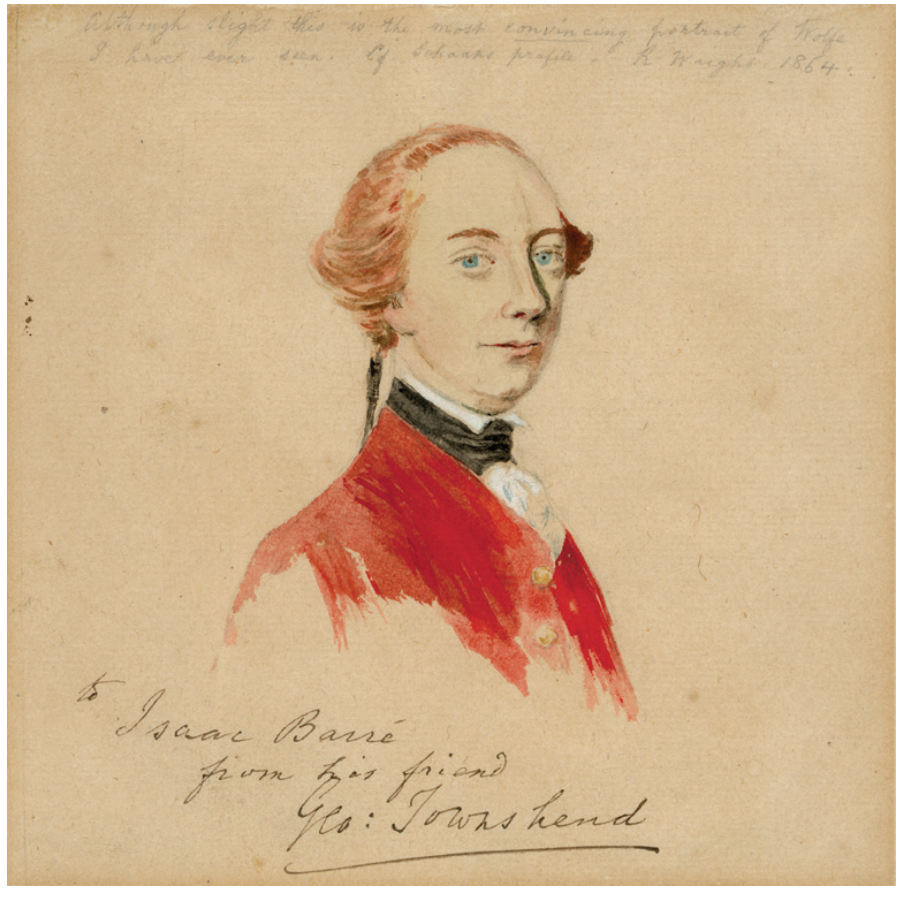
—10— *Portrait of General James Wolfe*

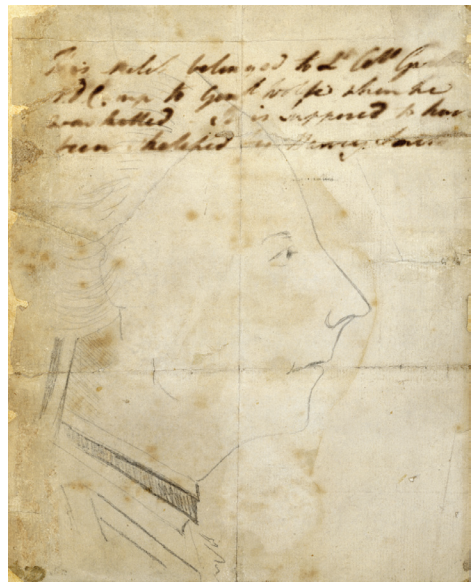
1759, watercolor on paper
Gift of Mr. David Ross McCord, McCord Museum, Montréal (M245) © McCord Museum

Hervey Smyth

—11— *Portrait of Wolfe*

1759, pencil on paper
Quebec House, Westerham, Kent (The National Trust, United Kingdom) (90586)
© National Trust Images/John Hammond





Richard Houston, after J. S. C. Schaak

—12— *Major-General James Wolfe*

1759–75, mezzotint
National Portrait Gallery, London (D8784) © National Portrait Gallery, London

Anonymous, after Hervey Smyth

—13— *Major General James Wolfe*

n.d., engraving
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

William Woollett, after Benjamin West

—14— *The Death of General Wolfe*

1775, published 1776, engraving
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

Jacques Barbié

—15— *General James Wolfe*

circa 1760–79, engraving and mezzotint on paper
Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, St. John, New Brunswick

Attributed to François-Louis-Joseph Watteau

—16— *The Death of Montcalm*

circa 1783, brush and brown and grey wash over black and red chalk, heightened with white, on laid paper
© National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

—17— Toile de Jouy panel depicting *The Death of General Wolfe,* after Benjamin West

1776–1811, printed cotton
Quebec House, Westerham, Kent (The National Trust, United Kingdom)
© National Trust Images/John Hammond

Josiah Wedgwood

—18— Jug with *The Death of General Wolfe*

circa 1778–80, transfer-printed earthenware
Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, St. John, New Brunswick

Bow Porcelain Factory

—19— *Statuette – General Wolfe*

circa 1760, soft-paste porcelain painted with enamels and slightly gilded
© V&A Images/Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Nyon

—20— Covered cup and saucer with *The Death of General Wolfe*

1795–1800, porcelain, overglaze enamels, and gold
Collection Musée Ariana, Geneva, Dépôt Fondation Jean-Louis Prevost
Inv. AR 10718

Luigi Schiavonetti, after Nathaniel Marchant

—21— *The Death of General Wolfe*

circa 1790–1800, stipple engraving
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

Peter Paul Benazech, after Hervey Smyth

—22— *A View of the City of Quebec,* from the *Scenographia Americana* (London, 1768)

1760, published 1768, engraving
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

William Elliot, after Hervey Smyth

—23— *A View of the Fall of Montmorenci,* from the *Scenographia Americana* (London, 1768)

1760, published 1768, engraving
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

Antoine Benoit, after Richard Short

—24— *A View of the Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire; Built in Commemoration of the Raising of the Siege in 1695, and Destroyed in 1759,* from *Twelve Views of the Principal Buildings in Quebec*

1761, hand-colored engraving
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

John Singleton Copley

—25— *Colonel John Montresor, (1736–99)*

circa 1771, oil on canvas
© Detroit Institute of Arts/The Bridgeman Art Library

Samuel Johannes Holland

—26— Plan of Québec from the *Murray Atlas of Canada: Plan of Québec with the Positions of the British and French Armys on the Heights of Abraham, 13th of Sept., 1759*

1761–63, pen and ink and watercolor
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

Checklist of Works in the Exhibition

Anonymous (England, 18th century), after Edward Penny (England, 1714–1791), *The Death of General Wolfe,* 1779, mezzotint, 36 x 26 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W1990)

Anonymous (England, 18th century), after Hervey Smyth (England, 1734–1811), *Major General James Wolfe,* n.d., engraving: 12 x 10.5 cm; plate: 11.5 x 10 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-1640.57) **page 45**

An Authentic Plan of the River St. Laurence from Sillery to the Fall of Montmorenci, 1759, engraving published by Thomas Jefferys (England, 1719–1771), 34.3 x 48.9 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (M-145)

Jacques Barbié (France, active 1735–1779), *General James Wolfe (1727–1759),* circa 1770–79, engraving and mezzotint, support: 23 x 15 cm; plate: 21.5 x 13.7 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W1860) **page 47**

Peter Paul Benazech (England, circa 1744–after 1783), after Hervey Smyth (England, 1734–1811), *A View of the City of Quebec,* from the *Scenographia Americana,* 1760, engraving published by John Bowles (England, 1701–1779), Robert Sayer (England, 1725–1794), Thomas Jefferys (England, 1719–1771), Carington Bowles (England, 1724–1793), and Henry Parker (England, circa 1725–1809), 47 x 62.2 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (12128) **page 53**

Antoine Benoist (France, 1721–1770), after a drawing by Richard Short (England, fl. before 1754–after 1766), *A View of the Church of Notre Dame de la Victoire; Built in Commemoration of the Raising of the Siege in 1695, and Destroyed in 1759,* from *Twelve Views of the Principal Buildings in Quebec,* 1761, hand-colored engraving published by Thomas Jefferys (England, 1719–1771), 35.5 x 52 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-2749) **page 54**

Bold General Wolfe, 1760–1800, engraved poem published by Catnach Press, 25.5 x 19 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (F565)

Bow Porcelain Factory, London, England, *Statuette – General Wolfe,* circa 1760, porcelain painted with enamels and slightly gilded, height: 35.2 cm, Given by Lady Charlotte Schreiber, Victoria and Albert Museum (414:5-1885) **page 50**

P. C. Canot (England, born France, 1710–1777), after a drawing by Hervey Smyth (England, 1734–1811), *A View of the Landing Place above the Town of Quebec,* 1760, hand-colored engraving published by Robert Sayer (England, 1725–1794), 34.3 x 47 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-2748.3)

Juste Chevillet (Germany, active in France 1729–before 1791), after François-Louis-Joseph Watteau (France, 1758–1823), *Death of Montcalm,* circa 1783, engraving, 54 x 67.3 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-2748.1)

T. Cook (England, 18th century), after Nathaniel Smith (England, circa 1741–after 1800), *Model of an Original Design for a Monument to the Memory of Genl. Wolfe,* published in the *Gentlemen's Magazine,* 1789, etching and engraving, 24 x 18 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W1926)

John Singleton Copley (United States, 1738–1815), *Colonel John Montresor (1736–99),* circa 1771, oil on canvas, 76.2 x 63.5 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Gibbs-Williams Fund, 41.37 **page 55**

A Correct Plan of the Environs of Quebec, 1768, hand-colored engraving published by Thomas Jefferys (England, 1719–1771), 48.2 x 93.3 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (M-469) **page 36**

Robert de Launay (France, 1749–1814), after Benjamin West (United States, 1738–1820), *La Mort du Général Wolf à Québec,* 1776–1800, hand-colored engraving, 43.8 x 56.5 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-2748.2)

Maarten de Vos (Attrib.) (Flanders, 1532–1603), *Allegorical Representation of America,* circa 1594–1600, pen and black ink with ink wash, 12.5 cm, University of Michigan Museum of Art, Museum purchase, 1960/2.24

William Elliot (England, 1727–1766), after Hervey Smyth (England, 1734–1811), *A View of the Fall of Montmorenci,* from the *Scenographia Americana,* 1760, engraving published 1768 by John Bowles (England, 1701–1779), Robert Sayer (England, 1725–1794), Thomas Jefferys (England, 1719–1771), Carington Bowles (England, 1724–1793), and Henry Parker (England, circa 1725–1809), 47 x 62.2 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (12128) **page 53**

Samuel Freeman (England, 1773–1857), *Major-General James Wolfe,* possibly 19th century, hand-colored engraving, 20.3 x 12.7 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-1640.60)

General Wolfe: A New Song Engraved for the Pennsylvania Magazine, March 1775, engraved music published by Robert Aitken (United States, born Scotland, 1734–1802), 20.2 x 41.8 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W1985a)

Carl Guttenberg (Germany, 1743–1790), after Benjamin West (United States, 1738–1820), *Der General Wolf,* circa 1789, steel engraving, 36.8 x 44.4 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-70)

Samuel Johannes Holland (Netherlands, 1728–1801), Three repetition plans of Québec from the *Murray Atlas of Canada: Plan of Quebec with the positions of the British and French army's on the Heights of Abraham, 13th of Sept., 1759; Plan of the Battle and Situation of the Brittish and French armys on the Heights of Abraham the 28th of April 1760; Plan of Quebec and the heights of Abraham, shewing in particular the French Encampment after the battle of the 28th April; Key to Repetition Plans of Quebec,* 1761–63, pen and ink and watercolor, each sheet: 54.6 x 77.4 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (M-675) **page 55**

Lock of Hair of General James Wolfe, 1759, hair tied with silk ribbon, in gold frame, frame: 9.5 x 6.4 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W5234)

Medal inscribed "Georgivs II Rex" (obverse)/"Perfidia Eversa MDCCLIX" (reverse), 1759, bronze, 4 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-2725) **page 36**

On the Death of General Wolfe, as Sung at the Anacreontic Society by Mr. Sedgwick, circa 1790, engraved music published by Jonathan Fentum (England, 1763–circa 1784), 35.6 x 51.0 cm (2 pages of music), John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W1985)

Edward Penny (England, 1714–1791), *The Death of General Wolfe,* 1763, oil on canvas, 102 x 127 cm, The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Presented by Edward Penny, the artist, 1787 (WA 1845.38) **page 41**

George Romney (England, 1734–1802), Study of General Wolfe, for *The Death of Wolfe,* circa 1763, oil on canvas, 59 x 54 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W1842) **page 38**

Luigi Schiavonetti (Italy, circa 1765–1810), after Nathaniel Marchant (England, 1739–1816), *The Death of General Wolfe,* circa 1790–1800, stipple engraving, 39 x 25 cm; 35 x 23 plate, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-1396.7) **page 52**

Seal matrix with *The Death of General Wolfe,* possibly England, 18th century, intaglio engraved carnelian in gold mount, 4.5 x 3.5 x 2.7 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W5231)

Nathaniel Smith (England, circa 1741–after 1800), after Louis-François Roubiliac (France, active England, 1695–1762), *Project for a Monument to General Wolfe,* circa 1760–1771, pen and brown ink with grey and brown wash and graphite on laid paper, mounted on heavy wove paper, 23.8 x 21.5 cm, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Purchased 1954 (no. 6228).

P. Somebody (England, 18th century), after Benjamin West (United States, 1738–1820), *The Death of General Wolfe,* circa 1780, engraving, 29.2 x 43.1 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-177.1)

P. Somebody (England, 18th century), after Benjamin West (United States, 1738–1820), *The Death of General Wolfe,* circa 1780, engraving, 22 x 26 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W2009)

E. W. Thompson (England, 18th century), *Wolfe's Monument by Wilton in Westminster Abbey,* 1798, engraving, 30 x 22 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W1927)

Toile de Jouy panel depicting *The Death of General Wolfe,* after Benjamin West, 1776–1811, printed cotton, overall: 196 x 70 cm, Quebec House, Westerham, Kent (The National Trust, United Kingdom) **page 49**

A View of the Taking of Quebec September 13th 1759, 1795, hand-colored engraving published by John Bowles (England, 1701–1779), 33.6 x 47 cm, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-28)

Attributed to Francois-Louis-Joseph Watteau (France, 1758–1823), *The Death of Montcalm,* circa 1783, brush and brown and grey wash over black and red chalk, heightened with white, on laid paper, 43.2 x 59.6 cm, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Gift of W. A. Mather, Montréal, 1953 (no. 6172). **page 48**

Josiah Wedgwood (England, 1730–1795), Jug with *The Death of General Wolfe,* circa 1778–80, transfer-printed earthenware, 22 x 23 x 16 cm, John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection, New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, New Brunswick (W2024A) **page 49**

Benjamin West (United States, 1738–1820), *The Death of General Wolfe,* 1776, oil on canvas, 154 x 245 cm, Gift of William L. Clements, acquired 1928, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-2750) **pages 34–35**

Benjamin West (United States, 1738–1820), Study for *The Death of General Wolfe,* circa 1769, pen and ink and oil paint on laid paper, 43 x 61.4 cm (irregular), The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Purchased 1984 with the assistance of a grant from the Government of Canada under the terms of the Cultural Property Export and Import Act (no. 28524).

Joseph Wilton (England, 1722–1803), *General James Wolfe,* circa 1760, marble, 74 x 56 x 31.8 cm, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. Bequest of the 6th Earl of Rosebery, Dalmeny House, West Lothian, Scotland, 1975 (no. 18376) **page 40**

William Woollett (England, 1735–1785), after Benjamin West (United States, 1738–1820), *The Death of General Wolfe,* 1775, engraving published by Woollett, Boydell, and Ryland, London, 50 x 63 cm; 48 x 61.5 plate, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (P-1405.1) **page 46**

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