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Illustration on p. 2: Joseph Cornell, *Tamara Toumanova (Daguerreotype-object)*, 1941. See fig. 1, p. 60

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MANUSCRIPT GUIDELINES FOR THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

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Joanna de Silva, a native
of Bengal, the faithful
and affectionate Nurse
of the Children of
Lieutenant Colonel Charles Dears.
Painted by Will: Wood, 1792.



An “Effaced Itinerary”: *Joanna de Silva* by William Wood

ADAM EAKER

In 2020, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired a portrait from the estate of the art historian John Richardson (fig. 1).¹ The portrait has no known publication or exhibition history, but an inscription identifies its sitter as “Joanna de Silva, a native / of Bengal, the faithful / and affectionate Nurse / of the Children of / Lieutenant Colonel Charles Deare,” and records that she sat for the artist William Wood in 1792. These bare facts establish that the painting is something extraordinary: an independent portrait of a female Indian servant by an eighteenth-century British artist, and moreover one whose name was preserved for posterity. Although ayahs—Indian nurses or lady’s maids—frequently figure within Anglo-Indian family portraits, no other independent likeness of an ayah is known to survive before the

fig. 1 William Wood (British, 1769–1809). *Joanna de Silva*, 1792. Oil on canvas, 30 × 25 in. (76.2 × 63.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Bequest of Mary Jane Dastich, in memory of her husband, General Frank Dastich, by exchange and Charles B. Curtis Fund, 2020 (2020.234)

nineteenth century.² Recent archival discoveries about Joanna de Silva's life clarify much about the circumstances and anomalous composition of her portrait. Painted in the wake of warfare between the British East India Company and indigenous Indian rulers, the painting attests to the complex and uneasy intimacies of Anglo-Indian domestic life in the early colonial period. An account of Joanna de Silva's employment and her journey to London can shed light on the seeming contradiction between Wood's autonomous depiction of his sitter and the inscription's insistent placement of her in a relationship of servitude to a British family. In this account, the portrait emerges as one among several traces of de Silva's life in the archive of Anglo-Indian colonialism, inflected, like all of these, by complex relations of power and subordination.³

"A NATIVE OF BENGAL"

Three names feature in the inscription on Joanna de Silva's portrait: the sitter's, her employer's, and that of the artist who painted her in 1792. Each name provides an essential clue to the origins of the portrait and its possible significance. But the most informative name

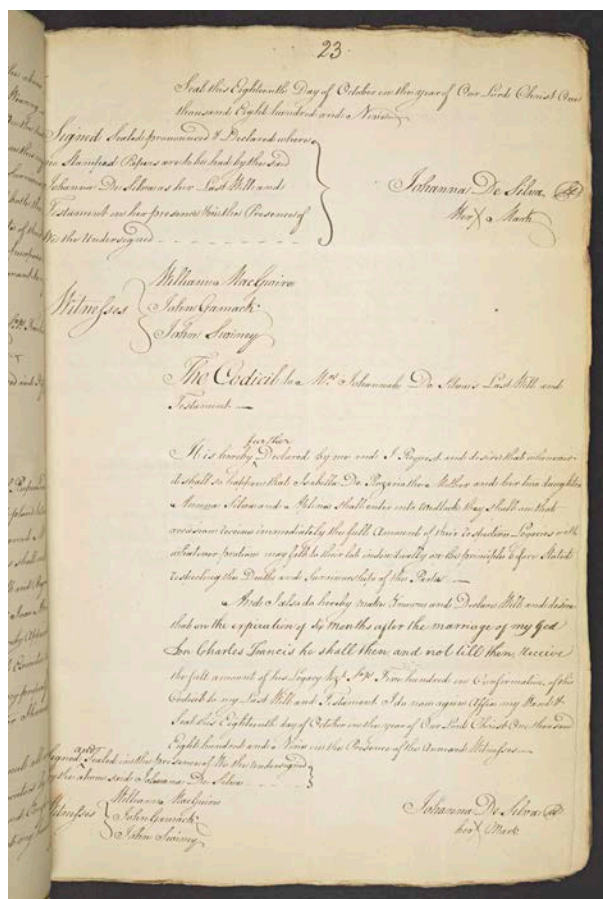
is that of de Silva herself, a household servant documented in the India Office archives now in the British Library. Alongside these archival traces, de Silva's first and last names identify her as a member of the Catholic Indo-Portuguese community. In India, Portuguese names do not necessarily entail Portuguese descent; in many instances, enslaved people of various geographic origins adopted Lusophone names upon their manumission and conversion to Catholicism.⁴ Joanna de Silva's exact ancestry may never be established, but it is not surprising to find a woman with a Portuguese name employed as a nurse within an eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian household. As noted by the English traveler Jemima Kindersley, who visited Calcutta in 1768, "The servants who attend in a lady's apartment are generally slave girls, or Portuguese women; and the nurses for children are Portuguese."⁵

In her portrait by William Wood, Joanna de Silva's clothing and jewelry express her hybrid Indo-European identity.⁶ Her hair uncovered, she wears a white chemise with ruffled collar and cuffs under a fringed and lightly patterned shawl that is pinned together at the chest. Strands of gold beads are looped around her



fig. 2 Johan Zoffany (German, 1733–1810). *Group Portrait of Sir Elijah and Lady Impey with Their Children and Household*, ca. 1783–84. Oil on canvas, 36 × 48 in. (91.5 × 122 cm). Madrid, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid (inv. 445 [1986.11])

fig. 3 Last will of Johanna De Silva, 1809. The British Library, London (inv. IOR/L/AG/34/29/22, fol. 23)



neck, along with a thin gold chain bearing a scapular, or Catholic devotional pendant, made of pink silk.⁷ Propping herself on an upholstered armrest, she displays three rings, including one with a prominent rose-colored gem. Her hair ornaments and earring are of complex workmanship and in a style associated with the Indo-Portuguese community.

While the armrest in the lower right-hand corner anchors de Silva in space, the background of drifting clouds dislocates her from any specific setting, either English or Indian. Only the inscription gives her a geographic point of origin as “a native of Bengal.” Against the hybridity of de Silva’s attire, the inscription clarifies her racial status for a British (and English-speaking) audience. De Silva’s distant gaze, conveyed in three-quarter profile, renders her a more comfortable object of contemplation, one who does not return the viewer’s scrutiny. The inscription’s characterization of the sitter as “faithful and affectionate” mitigates the relative emotional blankness of her portrayal.

The singularity of Joanna de Silva’s portrait becomes clear in comparison with other contemporary representations of Indian women who worked for British families.⁸ In one typical example, an ayah sits on the ground on the far right of Johan Zoffany’s portrait of

the family of Sir Elijah Impey, first chief justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta (fig. 2).⁹ Zoffany depicted the Impeys listening to a group of Indian musicians, with their daughter Marian, in Indian clothing, striking a dancer’s pose. The youngest child, Hastings, sits on the lap of his ayah; another woman wields a fly whisk above them. The ayah’s hand rests on the stomach of her towheaded charge, his fingers clasping hers in a detail that conveys bodily intimacy at the same time as it stages racial difference. Zoffany’s painting explores themes of hybridity and cross-cultural emulation through the central figure of Marian, whose costume and dancing suggest an emergent Anglo-Indian identity among the family’s youngest members.¹⁰ Simultaneously, it mobilizes the ayah as a foil whose attire (with prominent nose hoop) and lowly positioning reinforce the white British femininity of the children’s biological mother, seated at far left.¹¹

In contrast to the pose of the ayah in Zoffany’s conversation piece, nothing in Joanna de Silva’s portrait, apart from the inscription, explicitly places her in a position of servitude.¹² Indeed, as suggested above, the tension between the autonomy of her representation and the inscription’s emphasis on her relationship to the Deare family is one of the most pressing questions raised by the portrait. Why, if she was intended to figure as “the faithful and affectionate Nurse” of the Deare children, does Joanna de Silva appear without them, breaking with the conventions of Anglo-Indian portraiture? Like her jewelry and hybridized dress, the fact that de Silva was the subject of an independent portrait hints at an exceptional status compared to other servants in late eighteenth-century Bengal. Recent archival discoveries reinforce this supposition.

Perhaps the most intriguing of these documents is a will drawn up on October 18, 1809, by one “Johanna De Silva of the town of Calcutta in Bengal.”¹³ The will records the testator’s assets as well as her devotional practices, with the second clause stipulating that “after my decease my body . . . be Interred in the Roman Church at Calcutta as near to the Holy Altar as circumstances may admit,” and setting aside five hundred rupees “for the ground and five hundred Rupees for all other charges incident to my funeral.” De Silva further specified that her remaining one thousand rupees be bequeathed “to the confraternity of the Lady Monte de Carmo Roman Catholic Church.” Affidavits preserved with the will record that de Silva died on January 7, 1810, that she was “a Portuguese Christian and Inhabitant of Calcutta,” and that “she understood English.” Illiterate, at least in English, she signed her will with an X (fig. 3).

The Johanna De Silva who dictated this will owned a "house and ground . . . at Chowringee," a prosperous and largely European section of Calcutta. Her property was to "be held in durance" by her executor, Mr. João de Abrue, on the condition that he arrange a series of bequests and annuities to her dependents, godchildren, and gardener, Emomdy. Apart from the gardener, all of the legatees in the will have Portuguese or English names. For example, a "Mrs. Rose" was to receive a ring, perhaps a significant detail in light of the prominent ring in William Wood's portrait.

But was the "Johanna De Silva" who made these bequests in 1809 the same "Joanna de Silva" who sat for her portrait in 1792? The appearance of status and wealth conveyed by the portrait would seem to support this conclusion, while the sitter's identification as a servant might at first glance undermine it. Establishing a possible link between the portrait and the will requires a closer look at Joanna de Silva's role within the household of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Russel Deare.¹⁴ As will be seen, the death of Joanna de Silva's employer directly precipitated the painting of her portrait.

"IRREPARABLE LOSS"

In November 1790, the *Calcutta Monthly Register* published its first issue. Much of the magazine was devoted to the progress of the Third Anglo-Mysore War, fought between the British East India Company and the Kingdom of Mysore in southern India. The *Monthly Register*'s account of the war interweaves imperial and domestic tragedy, with the author particularly struck by one "irreparable loss, which a respectable family experienced in the present contest": the deaths, within a week of one another, of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Russel Deare, who had commanded the corps of artillery at Sittimungulum, and of his wife, Catherine, who had remained behind at Calcutta.¹⁵ Lieutenant Colonel Deare died on September 13, killed by cannon shot from the troops of Tipu Sultan, ruler of Mysore.¹⁶ The writer for the *Calcutta Monthly Register* declared that Mrs. Deare's death, seven days before her husband's, was "an instance of conjugal affection, not more uncommon, than extraordinary."¹⁷ Indeed, it was believed that her "apprehension for [her husband's] safety, and strong prepossession, that she should never see him more, occasioned her death."¹⁸ Dying of anxiety for her soldier husband, Mrs. Deare came to figure as a tragic heroine of the imperial home front.

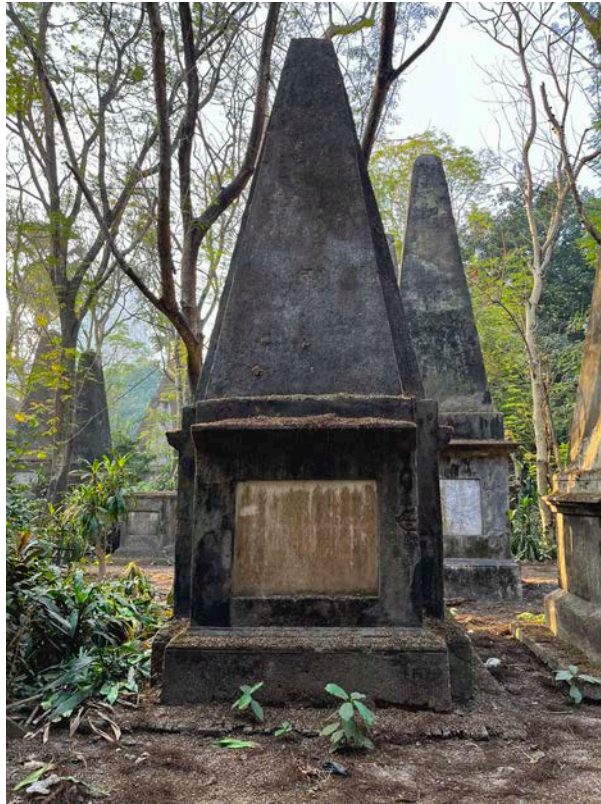
Lieutenant Colonel and Mrs. Deare died more than three decades after the British East India Company had achieved control of Bengal, a vast and wealthy region in

the east of India, following the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Rule over Bengal marked a decisive step in the company's evolution from a trading corporation into a quasi-governmental entity with its own standing army and rapacious territorial ambitions. Charles Russel Deare died in the course of one of the wars fought by the company against Indian rulers as the British pursued ever greater economic exploitation of the subcontinent. The short life spans of many East India Company soldiers, officials, and their dependents prompted a culture of commemoration that has left numerous physical traces in both India and the United Kingdom to this day.¹⁹

Alongside the newspaper tribute discussed above, the deaths of Lieutenant Colonel and Mrs. Deare inspired a large memorial obelisk, commissioned by Charles's brother and co-executor George, that still stands in South Park Street Cemetery in the city now known as Kolkata (fig. 4).²⁰ The Deares also left behind three young daughters and a complex estate for their executors to unravel. Charles Russel Deare's probate inventory, drawn up at Fort William in Calcutta in August 1791 and signed by his brother George, documents the arrangements taken to dissolve the Deare household and to provide for its surviving members.²¹ These included multiple auctions, the first of which alone brought in some 28,452 rupees. The executors were also responsible for paying the wages of household servants. Among their expenses can be found forty-eight rupees, "By Cash paid Johannah De Silva nurse attending Miss Sophia Deare her wages for September October & November [1790]." These records show that de Silva was a relatively well-paid member of the Deare household, although her salary was far below that of the Englishmen listed in the inventory. While "Mr. Thompson Superintendent [*sic*] of the Gun Carriage Yard" made fifty-eight rupees in one month, the "derwanah," or porter, made just eight rupees for two months' work. Moreover, de Silva's wage of sixteen rupees per month compares favorably with the average salary of between five and twelve rupees for an ayah in nineteenth-century Bengal, when more comparative data is available.²²

Two more payments to de Silva appear in the probate inventory. The first is for one hundred rupees paid to her "to purchase Cloaths for Miss Deares Passage to Europe." The second records a payment of six hundred rupees to "Johannah De Silva Servant for Attending on Miss Sophia Deare on her Passage to England." This last payment is particularly important as the primary piece of evidence, beyond the portrait itself, that Joanna

fig. 4 Funerary monument to Charles Russel and Catherine Deare, ca. 1790. South Park Street Cemetery, Kolkata



de Silva traveled to London and sat for William Wood there. The payment of six hundred rupees for the journey appears to have been unusually substantial. When, for example, the executors of Edward Close, a British merchant who died at Rangamati in 1790, arranged for his daughter Marianne Windsor to travel to England, they paid an unnamed ayah only two hundred fifty rupees to accompany her.²³

Beyond establishing de Silva's wages and the fact that she made a well-remunerated voyage to England, the probate inventory gives greater precision to her work for the Deare family. As the inventory makes clear, de Silva was the nurse of Sophia Deare, who was born on May 26, 1786, and thus was just over four years old at the time she lost her parents.²⁴ Although her portrait's inscription refers to de Silva as "Nurse of the *Children* of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Deare" (emphasis added), the inventory makes no reference to her taking care of either of the couple's two other surviving daughters, Helen, born in 1780, or Mary Anne, born in 1789.²⁵ Nor does it mention payments for Helen's and Mary Anne's passages to Europe, indicating that they traveled separately from their sister Sophia.²⁶

Lieutenant Colonel Deare's last will was proved at London on July 8, 1791, suggesting that Sophia Deare and Joanna de Silva may have arrived in England with the will by that date.²⁷ Corroboration for this thesis appears in a series of entries from both the probate

inventory and the ship's journal of the *Rodney*, an East Indiaman that docked at Diamond Harbour (the port for Calcutta) on August 6, 1790.²⁸ On November 22, thirteen days after Joanna de Silva received funds to purchase clothing for Sophia Deare's journey, the executors recorded a payment of fifteen hundred rupees to Captain Chatfield of the *Rodney* "for the Passage of Miss Sophia Deare to Europe." In the meantime, the *Rodney* had moved downriver to Sagar Island, where, on December 22, it received onboard "Col: Elliot a Passenger for Europe." This is almost certainly the same Colonel Elliot who on December 10 had received from the executors "100 Spanish dollars . . . to pay Washing and other Charges for Miss Sophia Deare on her Passage to England." Although they are not listed in the ship's journal (perhaps because their passage represented private income for the captain), Joanna de Silva and Sophia Deare presumably boarded the *Rodney* in the company of Colonel Elliot.²⁹ On June 11, 1791, the *St. James's Chronicle* in London announced a "Miss Deare" among the passengers from Bengal imminently expected aboard the *Rodney*.³⁰ The ship reached moorings in England on June 15, 1791, allowing plenty of time for Charles Russel Deare's will to be proved at London on July 8.

For all their apparent dryness, these archival documents establish a crucial timeline for Joanna de Silva's journey to London. The deaths of Charles Russel and Catherine Deare in mid-September 1790 necessitated the rapid dissolution of their household and the placement of their orphaned children with relatives. At least one of these, Sophia Deare, was en route to England three months after her parents' deaths, accompanied by her nurse, Joanna de Silva. The pair arrived in England in the summer of 1791, and de Silva sat for William Wood the following year. The portrait's inscribed mention of de Silva's "faithful and affectionate" service to the Deare children can now be given greater precision as a testimony to her guardianship of the four-year-old Sophia Deare during the perilous six-month sea voyage from Bengal to England.

AYAHS AND NABOBS

By the time of Joanna de Silva's arrival in London, the presence of ayahs there had become a matter of considerable controversy. It was common for British women returning from India to bring ayahs with them for the lengthy journey home; and ayahs also might be employed to travel with otherwise unaccompanied children, as Joanna de Silva was hired to accompany Sophia Deare. But despite the East India Company's

requirement that employers post bonds guaranteeing their servants' return passage to India, many ayahs faced abuse, exploitation, or abandonment upon their arrival in England.³¹ In public discourse, the figure of the abandoned ayah came to stand in for the cruelty of the "nabobs," or wealthy British returnees from India. At the same time, the presence of indigent women of color on the streets of London stoked alarm in some observers about interracial mixing among the capital's ever more globalized residents.³² In one representative protest, a writer signing himself "Truth" published a letter in the *Public Advertiser* in 1786 in which he decried "the number of those poor wretches who are daily begging for a passage back" to India. He declared himself "not such a fool . . . as to expect much humanity from a *female adventurer to Bengal*; but the nation has a right to demand common justice from their husbands."³³ Characteristically, the author expressed particular hostility to the female members of nabob families.

At the same time that they experienced extreme economic and physical vulnerability, ayahs came to be sentimentalized within imperial discourse. Satya Shikha Chakraborty has described ayahs in literature

and the visual arts "as a distinct signifier of elite Anglo-Indian domestic morality," a desexualized and wage-earning counterweight for the repressed history of concubines and enslaved workers in earlier East India Company households.³⁴ In the eighteenth century, Indian wives or concubines of East India Company officers were sometimes the subject of independent portraits, as was the case with Amber Kaur, *bibi* or concubine of the British resident at Poona, Sir Charles Malet (fig. 5). James Wales painted Amber Kaur in the same year that Joanna de Silva sat for William Wood, in a portrait that conveys both the sitter's beauty and her high rank.³⁵ But the closing years of the eighteenth century, when both of these women had their portraits painted by British artists, saw dramatic shifts in the sexual politics of the East India Company. Long accepted practices of interracial marriage and concubinage became taboo, especially for elite men, as colonial officials embraced newly rigid ideals of sexual and racial purity.³⁶ As a result, many Indian wives and concubines, including Amber Kaur, were abandoned, while some mixed-race children were separated from their mothers and sent to relatives in England in an attempt to disguise their Indian heritage.³⁷

Within this climate, the emphatically desexualized ayah came to supplant the *bibi* or concubine as the emblematic image of Indian womanhood within imperial discourse. The ayah furthermore served as an essential foil to the white memsahib, the idealized colonial matron who replaced, in the British popular imagination, the "female adventurer to Bengal."³⁸ We can see this process already at work in Zoffany's Impey portrait, described above, where an ayah appears on the floor with one of the children while Lady Impey (in fact a highly engaged patron of Indian artists) sits demurely on the periphery, seemingly oblivious to the concert of Indian music.³⁹ As two paradigmatic female identities in British India, the ayah and the memsahib came to define one another. This dynamic also inflected the texts and images that responded to the deaths of Charles Russel and Catherine Deare. While newspaper accounts and a funerary monument celebrated Catherine Deare's tragic devotion to her fallen husband, William Wood's portrait enshrined Joanna de Silva's "faithful and affectionate" service to the orphaned Deare children; the tributes to ayah and memsahib both reinforced the family's narrative of self-sacrificing imperial service.

To this date, no documentation for the commission of Joanna de Silva's portrait or its provenance prior to its acquisition by John Richardson has come to light.⁴⁰ The

fig. 5 James Wales (British, 1747–1795). *Amber Kaur*, 1792. Oil on canvas, 31½ × 25⅝ in. (80 × 65 cm). Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkata



most likely patron for the portrait, however, was Philip Deare, Charles Russel Deare's brother and the co-executor of his estate, with whom his daughters lived after their arrival in London.⁴¹ Of course, we should not rule out the possibility that de Silva might have commissioned her own portrait. However, the inscription's emphasis on her service to the Deare family makes this less likely.⁴² As one of his late brother's executors and the guardian of his children, Philip Deare had a strong sentimental investment in preserving Charles Russel Deare's memory. In his own will, for example, written in 1807, he bequeathed a "gold stopwatch" to his eldest son, "it having been the watch of . . . my brother Lieutenant Colonel Charles Russel Deare and in his pocket when he fell at the battle of Sattamungalum [*sic*] in the East Indies on the 13th of September 1790." With this bequest came "an injunction that it may be carefully preserved as I have hitherto preserved it."⁴³

East India Company officers and their relatives, maintaining kinship ties across vast geographic distances, had a particular investment in the preservation of family memory and the sentimental circulation of heirlooms.⁴⁴ As Charles Russel Deare's executors, George and Philip undertook both to fulfill the material provisions of their brother's will and to honor his memory. In Calcutta, George Deare not only organized auctions of household effects and arranged Sophia Deare's passage to England with her ayah but also commissioned the obelisk in the South Park Street Cemetery that commemorated his brother and sister-in-law. In London, meanwhile, Philip Deare provided a home to his orphaned nieces, administered their inheritances, and preserved his brother's watch as a cherished family relic. He also very likely commissioned Joanna de Silva's portrait. In the wake of the Third Anglo-Mysore War—a conflict that had claimed Charles Russel Deare's life—Joanna de Silva provided a reassuring image of "faithful and affectionate" Indian servitude to a newly bereft East India Company family.

As a commemorative object, the portrait could have spoken to both an intimate and a national audience. Lieutenant Colonel Deare's death was a much-publicized tragedy, reported in newspapers in both Calcutta and London. For example, on August 16, 1791, the London *Public Advertiser* printed an extract from the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*, in which Deare was described as a man "who, from his rank, situation, and abilities, must be considered as an irreparable loss to the army he served with; and who, from his personal good qualities, and acknowledged worth, must be universally lamented."⁴⁵ His name and fate could have

been familiar to a metropolitan public reading the inscription on Joanna de Silva's portrait, whether they saw it in the artist's studio, the Deare family home, or some other space of display.

In commissioning the portrait, Philip Deare would have paid tribute to an honored family retainer who had done a great service to his orphaned niece, a practice with some precedent in British portraiture.⁴⁶ But why, then, did he not have William Wood depict Joanna de Silva together with Sophia Deare, *visualizing* the bond between ayah and charge in accordance with a long tradition in East India Company portraiture? His decision may reflect the rapid transition, discussed above, in Anglo-Indian domestic morality of the 1790s, with new taboos placed on established practices of interracial concubinage, and new pressures brought to bear on the depiction of Anglo-Indian intimacies.⁴⁷ Such a shift was particularly pertinent to the Deare family, since a young woman of mixed British and Indian parentage was already living in Philip Deare's household at the time that Joanna de Silva and Sophia Deare arrived there, namely Sophia's older half sister, Elizabeth.

The second clause of Charles Russel Deare's will, drawn up on February 15, 1790, makes a bequest of "one thousand five hundred pounds Sterling" to "my natural daughter Elizabeth now in London under the care of my Brother Philip Deare."⁴⁸ Baptismal records show that Elizabeth Deare was christened in Calcutta on August 17, 1780—the same day as her half sister Helen. But whereas Helen is listed as the "Daughter of Capt. Charles Russel Deare . . . and Anne Catherine his Wife," Elizabeth is listed as the "natural Daughter of the above Capt. Deare," leading to the supposition that he had a child with an Indian woman.⁴⁹ Charles Russel and Catherine Deare had married on June 5, 1779; Elizabeth may already have been born by this date but had her baptism deferred until that of her half sister Helen. As recorded in Charles Russel Deare's will, Elizabeth was living in London by the time of her father's death, and she remained in England for the rest of her life, eventually marrying the clergyman Philip Wynell Mayow in 1806.⁵⁰

The private history of the Deare family, in which a mixed-race daughter born out of wedlock shared a home (and a substantial inheritance) with the legitimate daughters of Charles Russel and Catherine Deare, provides another crucial piece of context for the painting of Joanna de Silva's portrait. As an heiress born in India, or so-called *nabobina*, Sophia Deare would have had a tenuous claim to social respectability.⁵¹ British people who returned from India frequently brought

with them enviable wealth, nonwhite servants, and foreign modes of living that all made them objects of popular fascination and suspicion. Much of this suspicion focused on children, like Elizabeth Deare, who were the product of relationships between British men and Indian women. With mixed-race children facing increasing pressure to "pass" as white (indeed, they were officially banned from traveling to England in 1786), their mothers occasionally posed as ayahs in order to accompany them abroad without exposing their true racial identities.⁵²

In the face of sparse evidence, it is tempting to imagine an even more intimate link between Joanna de Silva and the Deare family than the archival sources reveal. In fact, nearly every reader of this essay in manuscript has raised the possibility that Joanna de Silva was the mother of either Elizabeth or Sophia Deare. Yet, to this date, I have uncovered no indication that Sophia Deare was anything but the daughter of Charles Russel and Catherine Deare, or that Joanna de Silva had any relationship to Charles Russel Deare other than that of nurse to his children. The desire to speculate otherwise, to imagine a more salacious history, would also not have been lost on Philip Deare, the guardian of Sophia Deare, who received her into his home alongside her ayah in 1791. As a young and wealthy orphan who had lost her mother in Calcutta, traveled in the company of an Indo-Portuguese woman, and occupied the same London household as her mixed-race half sister, Sophia Deare would have been subject to heightened levels of scrutiny and suspicion. Philip Deare's desire to commemorate Joanna de Silva's service to the family through a portrait might have conflicted with the need to shore up his niece's social standing and racial identity—and to establish her difference from her half sister, Elizabeth. A depiction of Sophia Deare and Joanna de Silva together may simply have been too suggestive, too easily mistaken for the portrait of a mother and daughter. Wood's independent portrait of de Silva, which conveys her intimacy to the Deare children verbally but not visually, effectively quarantines her likeness from the complex attachments of earlier Anglo-Indian family portraits.

Philip Deare's efforts to introduce Helen, Sophia, and Mary Anne in London society, and to distinguish them from Elizabeth, also extended to publicizing philanthropy carried out in their names. On April 2, 1793, the sisters were all listed as contributors, at a rate of five pounds and five shillings, to a "Ladies' Subscription for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Soldiers and Seamen."⁵³ The naming of the three

girls in the subscription advertised their status as charitable "ladies," who, like the objects of their generosity, were also war orphans. No mention is made of their half sister, Elizabeth.

Sophia Deare grew up to make an excellent marriage, in 1810, to Sir Frederick Leman Rogers, 7th Baronet Rogers of Blachford House, near Plymouth. Their son, Frederic, 1st Baron Blachford, continued the family's tradition of imperial service as permanent under-secretary of state for the colonies, from 1860 to 1871.⁵⁴ Lord Blachford died childless; his estate eventually passed to the granddaughters of Helen Deare. In the extensive surviving Deare and Rogers family papers now in the Plymouth archives, I have been unable to find any record of Joanna de Silva's portrait.⁵⁵ Perhaps in a climate of Victorian imperialism, the portrait became an embarrassment, like the Deare family's own history of colonial intimacies. Following its acquisition by The Met, conservation treatment revealed extensive punctures to the sitter's eyes and mouth.⁵⁶ Were these the result of darts flying in a nursery, a fit of derangement, or mere household neglect? The damage to the canvas is a chilling physical trace of the two centuries when Joanna de Silva's portrait was kept out of sight.

THE MINIATURIST

One key proper name from the inscription on Joanna de Silva's portrait remains to be considered, that of its painter, the twenty-two- or twenty-three-year-old William Wood. Known today almost exclusively as a miniaturist, Wood was born in 1769 and entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1785.⁵⁷ Wood kept meticulous records of the miniature portraits he painted, as well as of the materials and techniques he used, in ledger books now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.⁵⁸ From this source, it is clear that much of his clientele consisted of returnees from the British East and West Indies, including, for example, a "Miss Smith," the "demi-dark daughter of Mr. Alexander, of Calcutta."⁵⁹ The Deare family likely came to know Wood through shared Anglo-Indian circles. In 1799, Wood painted two miniatures, one a copy of the other, of a "Mrs. Deare." This may have been Helen Deare, the eldest daughter of Charles Russel and Catherine Deare, who had married her first cousin (and Philip Deare's son), the Reverend James Russell Deare, one year before.

Unlike the rest of Wood's surviving body of work, *Joanna de Silva* is an oil painting on canvas, not a miniature portrait, and as such is not recorded in his memorandum books. It was a statement of ambition on the

fig. 6 Sir Joshua Reynolds (British, 1723–1792). *Portrait of a Man, probably Francis Barber*, ca. 1770. Oil on canvas, 31 × 25½ in. (78.7 × 63.8 cm). The Menil Collection, Houston (1983-103 DJ)

part of a young painter who had already exhibited six miniature portraits at the Royal Academy in 1791. In his ledger, Wood wrote that the “first miniature I ever painted” was a copy after the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds.⁶⁰ In painting Joanna de Silva, he also drew upon the precedent of the Royal Academy’s founding father, specifically the unfinished portrait of a Black man, sometimes identified as Samuel Johnson’s servant Francis Barber, now in the Menil Collection (fig. 6).⁶¹ Like Reynolds’s portrait, Wood’s painting depicts a figure of color at bust length, with an upward, averted gaze, against a cloud-streaked sky. The many surviving copies of Reynolds’s portrait suggest that it was made available to Royal Academy students as an aid to instruction. Indeed, Wood’s estate sale listed as one lot, “A small Portrait of Sir Joshua Reynolds, ditto of a Negro, unfinished.”⁶²

Wood found in Reynolds an authoritative precedent for the depiction of a servant of color, and such sitters can be said to have become a subspecialty for him in subsequent years. In 1798, for example, he exhibited at the Royal Academy a portrait of “Shaich Emanum Bux, Consumat to Lord Mornington.”⁶³ A *khansamah* was a house steward or butler, and Lord Mornington was Richard Wellesley, the future Marquess of Wellesley, who served as governor-general of India from 1798 to 1805. In his ledger, Wood records that Bux wore “white muslin with a scarlet turban” in



this untraced portrait.⁶⁴ In 1800, the group of miniatures Wood sent to the academy included the portrait of a man the exhibition catalogue termed “a Chinese” (fig. 7).⁶⁵ Wood’s ledger gives the further information that his sitter was “A Servant of Mr Hotson’s,” identifiable as John Hotson, a purser of the East India Company, who also sat for his portrait by Wood.⁶⁶ These two portraits, like that of Joanna de Silva, suggest complex relationships of affection and subordination between British imperialists and their Asian servants. At the same time, in exhibiting portraits of these servants, Wood capitalized on a contemporary taste that reduced his sitters to exotic types. In the case of John Hotson’s servant, Wood did not even record the sitter’s name.

In the absence of any documentation, the possibility remains that William Wood painted Joanna de Silva not on a commission from the Deare family or the sitter herself, but rather on his own initiative. As the portrait of an individual that a white British public would have considered “exotic,” made in clear emulation of Reynolds, the painting would have lent itself to display at the Royal Academy, where portraiture had begun to occupy an increasingly central position as the object of public fascination and commentary.⁶⁷ But there is no record of the painting being exhibited at the academy, and Wood never seems to have succeeded as an exhibitor of oil paintings. Wood’s posthumous studio inventory contained a number of unsold (and now untraced)

fig. 7 William Wood. *The Servant of John Hotson of the East Indiaman Arniston*, 1800. Watercolor on ivory, 3⅞ × 2⅞ in. (8 × 6.2 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Purchase 2019 Hjalmar and Anna Wicander Fund (inv. NMB 2770)



works by the artist "in oil," including a portrait of "a Paphian [courtesan]" and a "Portrait of a Female in a Gold frame."⁶⁸ But it is difficult to imagine a record of Joanna de Silva's portrait, with its distinctive sitter and prominent identifying text, hiding beneath these vague descriptions.

POSTSCRIPT

William Wood died in 1809, the same year that "Johanna De Silva of the town of Calcutta" dictated her last will. But was this woman, with her house and gardener, her bequest to her confraternity, and her desire to be buried near the altar of Calcutta's Catholic church, the same Joanna de Silva who sat for her portrait in London in 1792? Keyword searches through the digitized records of the India Office indicate that while "de Silva" was a very common name, "Jo[h]anna de Silva" was not. Yet, against the record of the prosperous and pious Johanna De Silva's last will, we must posit another possible fate for the sitter of Wood's portrait: the parish registers of the Presidency of Bengal list the burial, on February 11, 1833, in Calcutta, of the one-hundred-year-old "Pauper," Johanna D'Silva.⁶⁹

Through the archival research described above, I have outlined de Silva's relationship to the Deare family and shown how her ocean voyage could have helped her obtain substantial personal assets. I have also traced circumstances, both domestic and historical, that might have prompted Philip Deare to commission a portrait of his niece's ayah that alluded verbally, but not visually, to her close relationship to the orphaned Deare children. At this stage of research, however, I have not yet been able to establish a conclusive link between the sitter of the portrait and the testator of the will, or, for that matter, the centenarian pauper buried at Fort William in 1833. Nor have I uncovered any further evidence for de Silva's return to India or her subsequent life there. Her voice and her agency in such matters as her voyage to London and the making of her portrait remain beyond the frame.

Of course, one foundational assumption within postcolonial studies is that imperial archives, such as those I have relied upon here, are built upon the erasure of the subaltern, and particularly the female subaltern, as a speaking subject.⁷⁰ Against this pessimism, other scholars have attempted acts of archival retrieval, salvage, or bold speculation, "listening for the unsaid, translating misconstrued words, and refashioning disfigured lives."⁷¹ In this article, I have attempted my own admittedly cautious reconstruction of the "effaced itinerary" of Joanna de Silva.⁷² Working at a time of surging

nationalism, pandemic illness, and closed borders, I have been repeatedly reminded that archives remain physical spaces, often difficult to access. The question of which archives transcend these limitations through digitization is directly linked to the question of whose history is valued. It is no coincidence that a monthly subscription provides access, for anyone with an internet connection, to the probate inventory of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Russel Deare, while the archives of the Catholic community of Kolkata remain, for the moment, out of reach.⁷³

After the bulk of this article was written, I was able to make my own journey to Kolkata, traversing half the globe in less than twenty-four hours. With permission from the Indian army, I toured Fort William, where Joanna de Silva and the Deare family lived together centuries ago, where Catherine Deare died, and where her husband's probate inventory was drawn up. At the South Park Street Cemetery, I located the Deares' obelisk, its inscription browned but still legible. And one morning, I took a car to the Cathedral of the Most Holy Rosary—still, as in the early nineteenth century, the center of Catholic worship in the city. I presented the parish priest, Father Franklin Menezes, with a photograph of Joanna de Silva's portrait, and together we went looking for her grave.

In her will, de Silva asked to "be Interred . . . as near to the Holy Altar as circumstances may admit." Father Franklin told me he believed that only clergymen had been buried on the high altar, but he generously asked the custodian to pull up the worn burgundy carpet covering the floor. There, we discovered richly carved eighteenth-century grave markers, ornamented with flowers and skulls. Some did record the names of women—Sebastiana Shau, Maria Tench—but not Joanna de Silva. In fact, all of the stones predated the construction of the church itself in 1799, indicating they must have been transported there at a later date. A cursory examination indicated extensive architectural interventions on the high altar, with some grave markers sliced in two. If Jo[h]anna de Silva's final wish was honored, no evidence of her last resting place remains.

Following its conservation treatment, William Wood's portrait of Joanna de Silva has been installed on public view at The Met in a gallery of other British portraits, including Thomas Lawrence's 1823 portrait of Emily and Laura Anne Calmady (fig. 8).⁷⁴ These two young girls, aged five and three, romp across Lawrence's canvas in a whirl of dimpled limbs, rosy cheeks, and rumpled chemises. Described by Lawrence

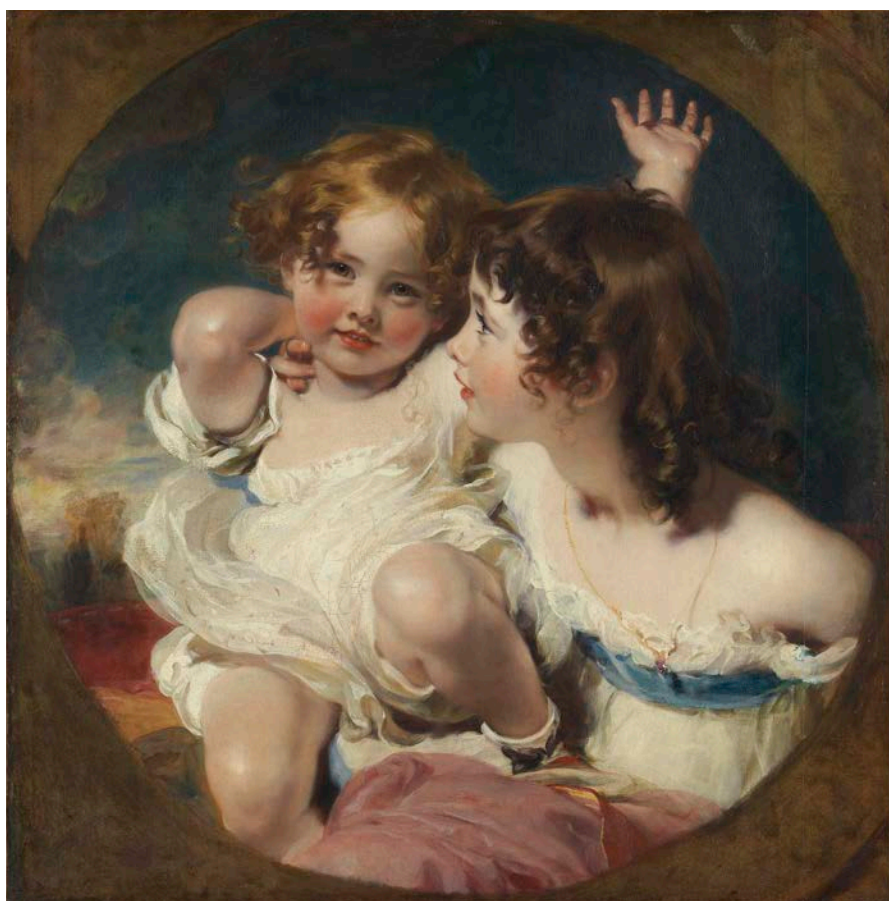


fig. 8 Thomas Lawrence (British, 1769–1830). *The Calmady Children* (Emily, 1818–?1906, and Laura Anne, 1820–1894), 1823. Oil on canvas, 30% × 30% in. (78.4 × 76.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Collis P. Huntington, 1900 (25.110.1)

as “my best picture,” it is a consummate image of unfettered and winsome childhood, one that leaves the entire apparatus and labor of child-rearing decidedly out of sight. Hung next to this painting, William Wood’s *Joanna de Silva* makes domestic labor visible. As the only figure of color in the gallery, she provides an intervention that brings it one step closer to representing the globalized and multiracial population of London at the close of the eighteenth century.

Against this optimistic account of the painting’s current work within the Museum, I have attempted to show that *Joanna de Silva* cannot be understood outside the context of Anglo-Indian imperial politics, including the sentimentalized politics of family life. It is a painting of an Indian woman by a British man, almost certainly painted at the behest of a British family. Likewise, every archival record of Joanna de Silva’s life recovered so far—her salary, her sea voyage, her possible last will—stems from an encounter with British authority. The autonomy of de Silva’s likeness exists in permanent tension with the deference conveyed by her portrait’s inscription. Nonetheless, placed on public view after more than two centuries of apparent neglect, *Joanna de Silva* emerges as the embodied trace of a woman’s life, far more than the sum of the words that circumscribed her.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research for this essay required the expertise, guidance, and support of many colleagues and institutions, in addition to those named individually in the notes. Above all, I would like to thank Swapna Banerjee, Romita Ray, Holly Shaffer, and Allison Stielau for being impassioned interlocutors and readers throughout the project. At The Met, Associate Curator Asher Miller, in the Department of European Paintings, first alerted me to the portrait’s existence, while Andrea Bayer, Deputy Director for Collections and Administration; Keith Christiansen, Curator Emeritus, Department of European Paintings; Michael Gallagher, Sherman Fairchild Chair of Paintings Conservation; Max Hollein, Marina Kellen French Director and CEO; Denise Murrell, Merryl H. and James S. Tisch Curator at Large in the Director’s Office; and Stephan Wolohojian, John Pope-Hennessy Curator in Charge, Department of European Paintings, all enthusiastically supported its acquisition. Marina Kliger provided essential research support and many insights during her time as Eugene V. Thaw Fellow for Collections Cataloguing at the Museum, and Deborah Watson scrutinized the Deare family papers in the Plymouth archives. Swapna Banerjee, Victoria Haskins, Claire Lowrie, and Lauren Samuelsson allowed me to organize a workshop around the portrait as part of their research initiative “Ayahs and Amahs: Transcolonial Servants in Australia and Britain 1780–1945.” Elizabeth Benjamin, as well as two anonymous peer reviewers, provided invaluable suggestions. The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art funded my archival research in London, while a Theodore Rousseau Memorial Travel Grant from The Met allowed me to visit Kolkata. There, Romita Ray and Jayanta Sengupta were the kindest of hosts, and Father Franklin Menezes welcomed me to the Cathedral of the Most Holy Rosary.

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NOTES

- 1 MMA 2020.234. For the portrait and its provenance, see the online catalogue entry at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/846945>, accessed December 31, 2021.
- 2 For one late Victorian portrait of an ayah, see Gertrude Ellen Burrard's *Nussiban, Our Ayah* (1895), now in the National Army Museum, London (inv. NAM. 1951-11-8). I am grateful to Farhanah Mamoojee of the Ayahs' Home Project for bringing this work to my attention and confirming the uniqueness of Joanna de Silva's depiction.
- 3 My thinking about colonial archives is particularly indebted to Hartman 2008 and Odumosu 2020, as well as exchanges with Meredith Gamer.
- 4 For an overview of Indo-Portuguese domestic workers in early modern Bengal, see T. Chakraborty 2019.
- 5 Thompson 2020, 114.
- 6 I am grateful to Usha Balakrishnan; Navina Haider, Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah Curator in Charge, Department of Islamic Art, MMA; Sylvia Houghteling; Amin Jaffer; Romita Ray; and Holly Shaffer, who all discussed Joanna de Silva's clothing and jewelry with me.
- 7 I thank Deepthi Sasidharan, who first identified the scapular in our correspondence.
- 8 For an overview of the representation of servants in Anglo-Indian family portraits, see Tobin 1999, 110–38.
- 9 For the painting, see Gillian Forrester's entry in Postle 2011, 265, no. 81.
- 10 For theorizations of cultural hybridity and exchange under East India Company rule, see Eaton 2013, de Silva 2018, 77–80, and Shaffer 2022.
- 11 Zoffany's painting provides a visual analogue to what Satya Shikha Chakraborty has written of ayahs in general: "By cleaning and folding the mistress's clothes, by making the mistress's bed, by bringing the mistress's breakfast and by taking care of British children, ayahs enabled the creation of memsahibs as a new racially elite feminine social class in empire. The domestic labours of South Asian ayahs allowed memsahibs to become companionate imperial wives." S. Chakraborty 2019, 54–55.
- 12 Conservation treatment has indicated that the inscription is contemporary with the rest of the portrait; moreover, the signature conforms with Wood's usual manner of signing his paintings. I am grateful to Michael Gallagher, Sherman Fairchild Chair of Paintings Conservation, MMA, and to Alan Derbyshire for discussing these matters with me.
- 13 "Last Will of Johanna De Silva," IOR/L/AG/34/29/22, Wills-Bengal 1780–1938, India Office Wills & Probate, The British Library, London.
- 14 Confusingly, the lieutenant colonel appears to have preferred the spelling "Russel" while other family members adopted "Russell."
- 15 "The Monthly Chronicle," *The Calcutta Monthly Register; or, India Repository, of Instruction and Entertainment* 1, no. 1 (November 1790): 105. Charles Russel Deare had married Catherine Stark on June 5, 1779, in Calcutta; see "Parish Register Transcripts from the Presidency of Bengal: 1713–1948," IOR/N/1/2, fol. 278, India Office Marriages, The British Library, London.
- 16 For a detailed account of the battle and Lieutenant Colonel Deare's death, see Buckle 1852, 128–31.
- 17 "Monthly Chronicle," 105.
- 18 Ibid., 111.
- 19 See Travers 2007.
- 20 Find a Grave, accessed December 27, 2021, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/105887126/charles-Russel-deare>.
- 21 "An Inventory of the Effects of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Russel Deare," IOR/L/AG/34/27/14, Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates-Bengal 1780–1937, India Office Wills & Probate, The British Library, London.
- 22 Banerjee 2004, 50. I am grateful to Swapna Banerjee for discussing Joanna de Silva's wages with me.
- 23 "The Estate of the deceased Edward Close," L/AG/34/27/14, Inventories and Accounts of Deceased Estates-Bengal 1780–1937 (1792), India Office Wills & Probate, The British Library, London.
- 24 For Sophia's date of birth, see "Baptisms in Calcutta: 1786–1788," *Bengal Past and Present* 30, pt. 1, no. 59 (1925): 79–88, listed on p. 80.
- 25 Helen's baptism is recorded on August 17, 1780; see "Baptisms in Calcutta: 1778 to 1782," *Bengal Past and Present* 26, pt. 1, no. 51 (1923): 142–68, listed on p. 148; for Mary Anne Deare's birth on November 28, 1789, see "Parish Register Transcripts from the Presidency of Bengal," IOR/N/1/4, fol. 87, India Office Births & Baptisms, The British Library, London.
- 26 The probate inventory lists payments through 1792 of wages to "Servants" attending "Miss A Deare," presumably the infant Mary Anne, who was still in the care of a wet nurse and must have remained in Calcutta beyond Sophia's departure. The fact that there is no mention of Helen Deare in the probate records of her father's estate suggests that she had already left Calcutta by the time of his death. A "Miss A. Deare" is listed among the passengers "hourly expected" to arrive aboard *The Ganges* in *The Morning Chronicle* (London), February 15, 1793, 2.
- 27 "Last Will of Charles Russel Deare," Wills-Bengal 1780–1938 (1790), IOR/L/AG/34/29/6, fol. 30, India Office Wills & Probate, The British Library, London.
- 28 "Rodney: Journal," IOR/L/MAR/B/4425: 8 Feb 1790–15 Jun 1791, India Office Records and Private Papers, The British Library, London.
- 29 The ship's journal records that "42 invalids" also came aboard the same day.
- 30 *The St. James's Chronicle; or, British Evening-Post*, June 9–11, 1791, 1.
- 31 S. Chakraborty 2020. The records of these bonds appear in the L/MAR/1/* Minutes of the Committee of Shipping series, now at the British Library, but are incomplete, and I have found no record of a bond for Joanna de Silva's travel. I am grateful to Michael Fisher for discussing these bonds with me and reviewing his records for a mention of Joanna de Silva.
- 32 For responses from a later period, see Datta 2021.
- 33 Emphasis in the original; cited in Fisher 2004, 218–19.
- 34 S. Chakraborty 2019, 41–42.
- 35 For more on the portrait and its context, see de Almeida and Gilpin 2005, 83–84. I am grateful to Holly Shaffer for bringing this portrait to my attention.
- 36 On this shift, see S. Chakraborty 2019; for relationships between British men and Indian women in the early colonial period, see D. Ghosh 2006.
- 37 For one detailed case study, see Dalrymple 2002.
- 38 S. Chakraborty 2019.
- 39 For Lady Impey's patronage, see Topsfield 2019.
- 40 The executors of Richardson's estate had no record of the portrait's acquisition, nor have interviews with his associates shed any

- light. I have not been able to trace the painting in any databases of auction records from the nineteenth or twentieth century.
- 41 *The Account of Philip Deare as Executor to Lieutenant Colonel Charles R. Deare, from 20th April 1791* sold at Forum Auctions, London, on March 16, 2017, lot 27; I have been unable to trace its current whereabouts.
 - 42 Another possibility, that the portrait was painted at the instigation of the artist, will be discussed below.
 - 43 “Will of Philip Deare of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex,” PROB 11/1544/506, Prerogative Court of Canterbury and Related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers, The National Archives, Kew.
 - 44 On this topic, see Finn 2019. The commemorative practices of the Deare brothers complement Finn’s account of the practices of East India Company women.
 - 45 *The Public Advertiser* (London), Tuesday, August 16, 1791, 2.
 - 46 For the tradition of British servants’ portraits, see Waterfield and French 2003. There is a brief discussion of Indian servants’ portraits in *ibid.*, 146–51.
 - 47 On the representation of mixed-race families during this transitional period, see de Silva 2018, 32–82.
 - 48 “Last Will of Charles Russel Deare,” IOR/L/AG/34/29/6, fol. 30, Wills-Bengal 1780–1938, India Office Wills & Probate, The British Library, London.
 - 49 For Elizabeth and Helen’s baptisms, see “Parish Register Transcripts from the Presidency of Bengal,” IOR/N/1/2, fol. 300, India Office Births & Baptisms, The British Library, London. The dual baptisms are discussed, along with the assumption that Elizabeth’s mother was “an Indian consort,” in S. Ghosh 1970, 74.
 - 50 “Proposals for marriage settlement, P.W. Mayow and Miss Elizabeth Deare,” BRA1737/75, Archives and Cornish Studies Service, Redruth. Confusingly, Philip Deare also had a daughter named Elizabeth who married in 1806. That the Calcutta-born Elizabeth married Philip Wynell Mayow is established by the fact that a copy of Charles Russel Deare’s will is housed with her marriage settlement.
 - 51 See Nechtman 2010, 189.
 - 52 S. Chakraborty 2019.
 - 53 *Morning Post* (London), April 2, 1793, 1.
 - 54 For Frederic, Lord Blachford, see H. C. G. Matthew’s entry in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed September 5, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23974>.
 - 55 I am deeply grateful to Deborah Watson, who conducted a thorough review of these papers for me.
 - 56 I thank Michael Gallagher, Sherman Fairchild Chair of Paintings Conservation, MMA, for discussing his treatment of the painting with me.
 - 57 The most extensive account of Wood’s life and career remains Williamson 1921, 156–73. I thank Richard Hark for sharing his forthcoming research with me, which establishes William Wood’s correct date and place of birth. I am grateful to Mark Pomeroy, archivist of the Royal Academy, for discussing the documentation of Wood’s career and exhibiting practices with me. The William Wood (1769–1810) who painted Joanna de Silva’s portrait should not be confused with the other William Wood (1774–1857) who published a series of panoramic views of Calcutta in 1833.
 - 58 “Memorandum of miniatures painted and finished by William Wood, of the Royal Academy,” MSL/1944/434, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. I am grateful to

Victoria Button, Alan Derbyshire, and Catherine Yvard for facilitating my access to Wood’s manuscripts.

- 59 Cited in Williamson 1921, 291.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 158.
- 61 For the Reynolds portrait, see Mannings 2000, 1:498, no. 2003.
- 62 Wood sale 1810, lot 96.
- 63 *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCXCVIII. The Thirtieth* (London: J. Cooper, 1798): 29, no. 851.
- 64 Williamson 1921, 166.
- 65 *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, MDCCC. The Thirty-Second* (London: B. McMillan, 1800): 32, no. 809.
- 66 *The Collector: European and English Furniture, Ceramics, Portrait Miniatures & Works of Art*, sale cat., Christie’s, London, November 13, 2019, lot 170.
- 67 On this development, see Pointon 2001.
- 68 Wood sale 1810, 11, lots 93 and 95.
- 69 “Parish register transcripts from the Presidency of Bengal: 1713–1948,” IOR/N/1/37, fol. 13, India Office Deaths and Burials, The British Library, London.
- 70 Spivak 1988; for archival projects that nuance Spivak’s famous formulation, see Datta 2021 and S. Chakraborty 2020.
- 71 Hartman 2008, 2–3.
- 72 For the phrase, “effaced itinerary,” see Spivak 1988, 287.
- 73 I am deeply grateful to Romita Ray for drawing on her family connections in Kolkata to make initial introductions for me to the Catholic community there; to Swapna Banerjee for her own attempts to access local parish archives; and to Father Franklin Menezes for discussing the fragmentary records of the Cathedral of the Most Holy Rosary in Kolkata with me.
- 74 For the painting, see Baetjer 2009, 215–17, no. 106.

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