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Visual Representations of Slavery

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Introduction

From the first encounters of Africans and Europeans to the transatlantic slave trade to the abolition of slavery to emancipation and freedom, visual representations of slavery and enslaved persons proliferated in material culture, painting, print culture, sculpture, and photography. Contemporary artists continue to explore the visual representation of slavery in multimedia and new media. The most iconic of the images of the 18th and 19th centuries are Josiah Wedgwood's medallion of a kneeling slave, titled "Am I not a Man and as Brother?" (1787); the London Committee of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade's broadside *Description of a Slave Ship* (1789); and McPherson and Oliver's medical photograph of ex-slave Gordon's whipped, scarred back (1863). Under the rubric of "the image of the black," scholars have considered the wide range of representations of African peoples in the art of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, in painting and print culture of the age of exploration, and in the material culture of the age of transatlantic slavery and abolition. These studies include images of Africans, of free persons in Europe and the Americas, and of the enslaved. More recently, scholars have engaged the photographic archive to understand the ways in which photography was used as both scientific and ethnographic (with racist implications) and self-fashioning tools in the visual representation of slavery and the individual black body. In the aftermath of the abolition of slavery, memorializing slavery in public space has preoccupied nations and communities as well as scholars in the 20th and 21st centuries. Contentious and difficult conversations have taken place on how to best visually represent slavery in the public sphere. Contemporary artists in the United States, such as Fred Wilson, Glen Ligon, Carrie Mae Weems, and Kara Walker, continue to engage the history and legacies of slavery and to wrestle with the meaning and representation of slavery for present-day audiences. This article focuses on the visual representation of slavery in the United States, Great Britain, and the British West Indies.

General Overviews

A number of works have been published that survey the image of the black in Western art, including visual representations of slavery. Bindman 2002 provides a solid summary of the philosophical underpinnings of 18th-century aesthetic theory as it relates to race. Bindman and Gates 2010–2014, an edited work of ten volumes treating the image of the black in Western art, is the go-to source for the subject. In 1960, Dominique de Menil conceived of the series. Fifty years later, Menil's vision was expanded with involvement of Harvard University Press and the W. E. B. Du Bois Research Institute at the Hutchins Center for African and African American Research, which revised the original five volumes and added five new books to the series. Volume 1 covers Egypt to the fall of the Roman Empire; Volume 2 in two parts continues from the early Christian era to the "Age of Discovery." Volume 3, in three parts, covers the "Age of Discovery" to the age of abolition. Volume 4 considers the American Revolution to World War I; this volume is divided into two parts: slaves and liberators and black models and white myths. Volume 5 covers the 20th century with attention to the African diaspora and the rise of contemporary black artists. During the early 1990s, three important books carried forward the work of documenting the image of blacks in Western art: Boime 1990, McElroy 1990, and Pieterse 1992. Boime 1990 points to how racial attitudes about African Americans infiltrated

19th-century art in the United States. McElroy 1990 surveys more than sixty artists working in the United States from 1710 to 1940, investigating how art reflected changing social attitudes toward African Americans. Beginning with a historical survey of the representation of race in the medieval period, Pieterse 1992 concentrates on European and American attitudes to race through a close look at racist imagery and caricature in engravings and lithographs, advertisements, memorabilia, and comic strips. Kriz 2008 and Gikandi 2011 argue for the entwinement of 18th-century ideas on refinement and slavery. Both are concerned with how British identity and the culture of taste was created in relation to the West Indies, empire, and slavery. Eltis and Richardson 2010 provides a much-needed resource that reveals the dynamics of the transatlantic slave trade through maps. The volume of maps includes an excellent introduction to the complexity of the slave trade. The maps in the atlas are derived from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database and Voyages Database website, sponsored by Emory University. Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past and Institute of Historical Research 2007 is another excellent online resource related to the commemoration of the abolition of slavery in Britain, which covers history to art.

Bindman, David. *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Traces the origins of the 18th-century idea of race and its influence on aesthetic theory, including the ideas of John Locke, Immanuel Kant, Johann Wincklemann, Johann Caspar Lavater, and Pieter Camper. Includes twelve color and sixty-five black-and-white illustrations.

Bindman, David, and Henry Louis Gates Jr., eds. *The Image of the Black in Western Art*. New ed. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2010–2014.

This comprehensive series of ten volumes focuses on the representation of African diasporic peoples from Antiquity to the present. Each book includes essays from noted specialists in art history and extensive color illustrations.

Boime, Albert. *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990.

An important early consideration of the representation of African Americans by white artists in the United States. Examines how stereotypes of African Americans in popular art and literature shaped generations of 19th-century American artists. Includes eight color and 101 black-and-white illustrations.

Eltis, David, and David Richardson. *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

This invaluable resource presents 189 color maps that detail the transatlantic slave trade. The themes of the maps range from nations transporting slaves from Africa to African coastal origins of slaves to the abolition and suppression of the transatlantic slave trade. See Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database website.

Gikandi, Simon. *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Demonstrates how the violence of enslavement shaped theories of taste (the world of aesthetics, manners, and politeness) and the practices of high culture during the 18th century. Focusing on Britain, the antebellum South, and the West Indies; explores portraits, period paintings, personal narratives, and diaries. Numerous black-and-white illustrations.

Kriz, Kav Dian. *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies 1700–1840*. New

Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

Five chapters focus on scientific illustration, images of free mixed-race women, humor and print culture, scenes of everyday life, and landscape painting through the lens of slavery, sugar production, and the creation of a culture of refinement in the British West Indies. Includes forty color and eighty black-and-white illustrations.

McElroy, Guy C. *Facing History: The Black Image in American Art, 1710–1940*. San Francisco: Bedford Arts, 1990.

Exhibition catalogue features ninety-eight paintings, sculptures, and drawings from approximately sixty artists from the United States. Traces the way in which white American artists portrayed African Americans, both enslaved and free. Includes an informative introduction by McElroy. Excellent color reproductions of every object included in the exhibition. Published in association with The Corcoran Gallery of Art.

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen. *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

Originally published as *Wit over Zwart: Beelden van Afrika en Zwarten in de Westerse Populaire Cultuur* (Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 1990), surveys the visual history of European and American stereotypes of Africans and peoples of African descent in a range of media from the 18th century to the late 20th century. Illustrations are in black and white.

Institute for the Public Understanding of the Past and Institute of Historical Research. *1807 Commemorated: The Abolition of the Slave Trade*. York, UK: University of York, 2007.

Created in 2007, this collaborative website explores the ways in which the bicentenary of the abolition of slavery was commemorated in Britain.

Painting

Artists in the United States and Britain exploited painting as an important medium in the visual representation of slavery. Wood 1988, Johns 1991, and McInnis 2011 foreground American genre painting, often described as scenes of everyday life, by focusing on artists' inclusion of images of enslaved persons in paintings and prints. Wood 1988 draws attention to a wide range of images of African Americans produced by Winslow Homer during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. An award-winning text, Johns 1991 considers the role of American genre painting in shaping the body politic in the United States during the thirty years leading up to the Civil War. The chapter entitled "Standing Outside the Door," evaluates William Sidney Mount's scenes of African Americans on the margins, engaged in producing and/or listening to music. Discussed in Johns 1991, Davis 1998 provides a more detailed consideration of Eastman Johnson's *Negro Life at the South*. Evaluating the stories that have been told about this image, the author proposes that the painting is a depiction of slave life in the nation's capital. McInnis 2011 discusses the work of the British painter Eyre Crowe as a means to evaluate the visual culture of the transatlantic slave trade. The author uses Crowe's *Slaves Waiting for Sale, Richmond, Virginia* (1861) to examine how his abolitionist art was made as well as its influence on the British public's understanding of slavery in the United States. Harvey 2012 constitutes a massive exhibition catalogue that traces the impact of the Civil War on American landscape and genre painting and on photography. The section on abolition and emancipation looks at the genre painting of Eastman Johnson and Winslow Homer, presenting their move from caricature to more sensitive renderings of the African American subject. Wood 2000 provides a highly readable and deeply researched examination of images and artifacts used in British and American fights over slavery and abolition. Arranged into four thematic areas, Wood 2000 focuses on the middle passage, the slave flight/escape, popular imagery

generated by *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and slave torture/punishment as key sites that describe and complicate what we think we know about the experience of slavery. Vlach 2002 and Mack and Hoffius 2008 investigate the less-studied images of plantations in the American South, reading the images as assertions of the planter's class position and dominance, and as pictures that reveal the antebellum desire to avoid the laboring black body in ideal views of the South's productive landscape.

Davis, John. "Eastman Johnson's *Negro Life at the South* and Urban Slavery in Washington, DC." *Art Bulletin* 80.1 (March 1998): 67–92.

Refutes traditional readings of Eastman Johnson's *Negro Life at the South* (1859) as a southern plantation scene. Argues for the geographic specificity of the image, placing the painting within the context of the history of urban slavery in Washington, DC. Includes one color illustration and fifteen black-and-white illustrations.

Harvey, Eleanor Jones. *The Civil War and American Art*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2012.

Exhibition catalogue assesses how the Civil War profoundly shaped the nation's visual culture. Focus on American landscape and genre painting, and photography, highlighting the art of Winslow Homer, Eastman Johnson, Frederic Church, and Sanford Gifford. Images of abolition and emancipation are considered in chapter 5. Includes 103 color illustrations and 110 black-and-white illustrations. Published in association with Yale University Press.

Johns, Elizabeth. *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991.

A groundbreaking study of American genre painting during the thirty years before the Civil War. Explores how genre painting participated in the formation of American citizenry and the body politic with insightful consideration of the representation of African Americans in the antebellum period. Contains fifty-five black-and-white and twenty-five color illustrations.

Mack, Angela, and Stephen G. Hoffius. *Landscape of Slavery: The Plantation in American Art*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008.

Exhibition catalogue examines depictions of plantations, plantation views, and related imagery of slavery from the 18th century to the present. Provides an interdisciplinary study of the aesthetic motives and social uses of plantation imagery in shaping culture and history in the American South. Includes eighty-nine color illustrations.

McInnis, Maurie D. *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Study of the visual culture of the American slave trade through the work of British painter Eyre Crowe. Uses Crowe's painting *Slaves Waiting for Sale, Richmond, Virginia* (1861) to explore the iconography of abolitionist art and its role in the transatlantic abolitionist movement. Includes a companion website.

Vlach, John Michael. *The Planter's Prospect: Privilege and Slavery in Plantation Paintings*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Proposes that plantation scenes of the South controlled the viewer's gaze, asserted the social dominance of the planter class, and provided a nostalgic vision of black subservience. Includes twelve color and 110 black-and-white illustrations.

Wood, Marcus. *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780–1865*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Asks how paintings and printed materials in the late 18th century and the 19th century as well as 20th-century artifacts exerted an often contradictory and lasting influence on British and North American culture. Includes seven color and 168 black-and-white illustrations.

Wood, Peter H. *Winslow Homer's Images of Blacks: The Civil War and Reconstruction Years*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988.

Exhibition catalogue that concentrates on thirty-four of Winslow Homer's wood engravings, drawings, watercolors, and paintings of African American life during the Civil War and Reconstruction. The first detailed social history of the significance of Homer's imagery of blacks. Includes eight color illustrations.

Portraiture

In recent years, portraiture and the black subject have received renewed interest. Central to these inquiries are questions of empire, transatlantic slavery, and self-representation and self-fashioning. One of the first exhibitions of its kind, Kaplan 1973 focuses on portraits of African Americans during the Revolutionary period, including patriots, clergy, mathematicians, writers and poets, ship captains, and doctors. The volume includes a broad array of primary sources related to individual African Americans, including documents on Benjamin Banneker, Paul Cuffe, and Phillis Wheatley. Over thirty years later, Shaw 2006 reevaluates portraiture of African Americans during the tumultuous 19th century in the United States. A response to McElroy 1990 (cited under General Overviews), this highly readable exhibition catalogue explores the problems of self-representation and self-fashioning for African Americans during a period of slavery, war, emancipation, and freedom. Instead of a broad survey of images of African Americans by white artists, Shaw 2006 constitutes a critical study of images made of and by African Americans, to highlight individual identities, as does Kaplan 1973, an exhibition catalogue. In the same vein as Shaw 2006, Lugo-Ortiz and Rosenthal 2013 investigates individualized portraits of enslaved people. The collection of essays is divided into four sections: visibility and invisibility; slave portraiture, colonialism, and modern imperial culture; subjects to scientific and ethnographic knowledge; and facing abolition. Lugo-Ortiz and Rosenthal 2013 is a good resource with highly readable essays appropriate for undergraduate and graduate students. Both Molineux 2012 and Yale Center for British Art 2014 explore formal portraiture as well as a wide range of material culture objects, including shop signs, trading cards, and decorative objects.

Kaplan, Sidney. *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution 1770–1800*. New York: New York Graphic Society, 1973.

Exhibition catalogue examines images of African Americans, free and enslaved, in early America. Includes portraits of men such as Absalom Jones and James Armistead Lafayette with documentary evidence as a means to locate their activities and character. Includes eight color plates and numerous black-and-white illustrations. Published in association with the Smithsonian Institution Press.

Lugo-Ortiz, Agnes, and Angela Rosenthal, eds. *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Substantial collection of essays on slave portraiture in the Atlantic world from discussions of Scipio Moorhead (best known for his purported portrait of Phillis Wheatley) to portraiture of sailors and slaves to the heroic images of Cinqué, leader of the

mutiny aboard the slave ship *Amistad* (1839). Includes 159 black-and-white illustrations.

Molineux, Catherine. *Faces of Perfect Ebony: Encountering Atlantic Slavery in Imperial Britain.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Examines popular images of blacks as servants and slaves in London in the 17th and 18th centuries, including not only traditional portraits, but also representations on shop signs, trading cards, and porcelain. Asserts these kinds of images shaped the popular consciousness of empire in Britain. Includes seventeen color and sixty-nine black-and-white illustrations.

Shaw, Gwendolyn DuBois. *Portraits of a People: Picturing African Americans in the Nineteenth Century.* Andover, MA: Phillips Academy, 2006.

Considers the role of portrait painting in shaping racial identity and fashioning selfhood during the 19th century in the United States. The earliest portrait is Scipio Moorhead's engraving of Phillis Wheatley (1773), the latest portrait is Henry Ossawa Tanner's *Portrait of the Artist's Mother* (1897). Numerous color and black-and-white illustrations. Published in association with the University of Washington Press.

Yale Center for British Art. *Figures of Empire: Slavery and Portraiture in 18th-Century Atlantic Britain.* Exhibition. New Haven, CT: Yale Center for British Art, 2 October 2014–14 December 2014.

Important exhibition examined portraits as individual histories and as images of people who were shaped by British imperialism and transatlantic slavery. Featured more than sixty paintings, sculptures, prints, drawings, and decorative objects. Online exhibition includes images of objects, a timeline of events, and interviews with scholars and artists.

Sculpture

For centuries, artists have wrestled with the representation of the black body in three dimensions. In the United States, sculptors attended to the issues of slavery, emancipation, and freedom beginning in the 19th century. Murray 1916 is the first significant scholarly work on American sculpture, race, and slavery. The author surveys an array of monuments, including John Quincy Adams Ward's *The Freedman* (1863), Thomas Ball's *Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln* (1876), and Augustus Saint-Gaudens's *Shaw Memorial* (1883–1897) on Boston Common, insisting that citizens take into account the ways in which public space shaped meaning around slavery, emancipation, and freedom. Hatt 1992 examines the nature of manhood and the representation of the male nude during the mid-19th century, focusing on Thomas Ball's *Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln* (1876) and John Quincy Adams Ward's *The Freedman* (1863). Carrying forward the work of Murray 1916, Savage 1997 is essential reading for those wishing to understand how slavery and the Civil War were represented in public monuments. Tracing public opinion and the commissioning of individual monuments, the author provides in-depth analysis on how communities understood and made meaning of the slavery and the Civil War in both the North and the South. Dabakis 2006, Nelson 2007, and Buick 2010 attend to varying degrees to the art of Edmonia Lewis. Dabakis 2006 proposes that Lewis was engaged in a project to reclaim black womanhood through sculptural form. Nelson 2007 considers Lewis's artistic production within the broader problem of representing the black female subject in white marble, proposing that Lewis created ideal types rather than contemporaneous images of African American women. A monographic study, Buick 2010 argues that the art of Lewis should be understood within the context of an "American" national art, and not solely defined through her biracial identity, African American and Native American. Greenough and Anderson 2013 reconsiders and recontextualizes Augustus Saint-Gaudens's *Shaw Memorial* (gilded plaster cast, 1900), reading it through photographs and documents related to black soldiers of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment.

Buick, Kirsten Pai. *Child of the Fire: Mary Edmonia Lewis and the Problem of Art History's Black and Indian Subject*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.

First book-length study of the neoclassical sculptor Edmonia Lewis. Focuses on Lewis's participation in the creation of an "American" national art. Argues that *Forever Free* (1867), a sculpture of recently freed slaves, spoke to the solidarity of African American men and women at the time of emancipation. Includes sixteen color and thirty-three black-and-white illustrations.

Dabakis, Melissa. "'Aint I a Woman?' Anne Whitney, Edmonia Lewis, and the Iconography of Emancipation." In *Seeing High and Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture*. Edited by Patricia Johnston, 84–102. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.

Reconsiders Anne Whitney's *Ethiopia* (1862–1864) and Edmonia Lewis's *Forever Free* (1867). Proposes that the two artists created a new sculptural vocabulary for black womanhood that refuted racist stereotypes. Includes ten black-and-white illustrations.

Greenough, Sarah, and Nancy K. Anderson with Lindsay Harris, and Renée Ater. *Tell It with Pride: The 54th Massachusetts Regiment and Augustus Saint-Gaudens' Shaw Memorial*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2013.

Award-winning exhibition catalogue that presents the gilded plaster cast of Augustus Saint-Gaudens's *Shaw Memorial* (1900). Includes discussion of the memorial, vintage photographs, and archival documents related to the 54th Massachusetts Regiment and emancipation. Includes 210 color illustrations.

Hatt, Michael. "Making a Man of Him: Masculinity and the Black Body in Mid-Nineteenth Century American Sculpture." *Oxford Art Journal* 15.1 (1992): 21–35.

Essay explores 19th-century social shifts in the understanding of manhood and the black body as it relates to slavery and freedom. Examines popular culture imagery as well as public sculpture, including Thomas Ball's *Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln* (1876) and John Quincy Adams Ward's *The Freedman* (1863).

Murray, Freeman Henry Morris. *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture*. Washington, DC: Murray, 1916.

Significant early source on 19th-century American sculpture and the representation of the black body. Discusses the public role of sculpture and its content as it relates to the image of the enslaved body. Foundational text for undergraduates, graduate students, and scholars alike. Includes thirty-four black-and-white illustrations. A digital version is also available.

Nelson, Charmaine. *The Color of Stone: Sculpting the Black Female Subject in Nineteenth-Century America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

Part 2 examines neoclassical sculpture and the black female enslaved subject. Highlights Hiram Power's *Greek Slave* (1844), Anne Whitney's *Ethiopia* (1862–1864), and Edmonia Lewis's *Forever Free* (1867). Argues cogently that 19th-century artists refused to create contemporaneous black female subjects, instead sculpting distinct racial types.

Savage, Kirk. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*.

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Award-winning book asks how the history of slavery and the Civil War were represented in sculptural monuments. Includes discussion of Henry Kirke Brown's model for the pediment of the South Carolina State House (1860–1861), Thomas Ball's *Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln* (1876), and Antonin Mercié's *Robert E. Lee Monument* (1890).

Public Space and Memory

In the disciplines of history and art history, scholarly effort has focused on slavery in the context of public monuments, public space, and memory. Brown 2002 and Horton and Kardux 2004 provide specific case studies of contemporary monument building and the complicated issues that arise for local and national governments and communities trying to reconcile the slave past in today's world. Brown 2002 looks at four memorials to the abolition of slavery in Martinique, Antigua, and Barbados. Horton and Kardux 2004 offer a comparative study of the United States and the Netherlands, analyzing the approach to slavery by the National Park Services on Civil War battleground sites and the Dutch government's commissioning of the *National Slavery Memorial* (1998). Bernier and Newman 2008 and Ater 2010 consider more broadly memorial building to the transatlantic slave trade, slavery, and emancipation in England and the United States during the late 20th century. A good overview for undergraduates, Bernier and Newman 2008 ties the rise of memorialization to heritage tourism. Ater 2010 discusses the ways in which North Americans have attempted to reconcile their painful slave past through public memorials. Bonder 2009, written by one of the designers of *The Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery* (2011) in Nantes, France, discusses the difficulties of memorializing trauma and violence. Rice 2010 and Araujo 2010 both consider the broad implication of the public memory of slavery in relation to victims and perpetrators. In the edited collection Araujo 2012 scholars delve into the ways in which the public memory of the transatlantic slave trade shaped and rearticulated public space in the United States, South America, and England.

Araujo, Ana Lucia. *Public Memory of Slavery: Victims and Perpetrators in the South Atlantic*. Amherst, NY: Cambria, 2010.

An important multidisciplinary and nuanced study that fills the gap on the memorialization of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade in the Republic of Benin and modern-day Brazil. Argues the public memory of slavery was plural in the South Atlantic, including the descendants of both victims and perpetrators.

Araujo, Ana Lucia, ed. *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in the Public Space*. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Edited volume of fourteen essays asks how the public memory of the slave trade and slavery shaped, displayed, and reconstructed public space. Essays in Part 1 focus on slavery and the slave trade in national narratives and memorials including Gambia, Mauritius, Bermuda, France, New England, and North Carolina.

Ater, Renée. "Slavery and Its Memory in Public Monuments." *American Art* 24.1 (Spring 2010): 20–23.

A short essay on the commemoration of enslavement and emancipation in public monuments in the United States. Includes discussion of Mike Walsh's *Middle Passage Monument* (1999), Dorothy Spradley's *The African American Monument* (2002), and the proposed *North Carolina Freedom Monument Project* (2008).

Bernier, Celeste-Marie, and Judie Newman. "Public Art, Artefacts and Atlantic Slavery: Introduction." *Slavery and Abolition* 29.2 (June 2008): 135–150.

Introductory essay discusses the ways in which commemoration of the transatlantic slave trade and memorial building are tied to the rise of heritage tourism in the early 21st century.

Bonder, Julian. "On Memory, Trauma, Public Space, Monuments, and Memorials." *Places: Forum of Design for the Public Realm* 21.1 (May 2009): 62–69.

A brief and complex consideration of the issues related to public space, memorials, trauma, and public memory. With Krzysztof Wodiczko, Bonder designed *The Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery* (2011) in Nantes, France, which is briefly discussed and illustrated.

Brown, Laurence. "Monuments to Freedom, Monuments to Nation: The Politics of Emancipation and Remembrance in the Eastern Caribbean." *Slavery and Abolition* 23.3 (December 2002): 93–116.

Evaluates four memorials to the abolition of slavery in Martinique, Antigua, and Barbados, placing them within the context of present-day debates on the meaning of freedom and the birth of the modern nation.

Horton, James Oliver, and Johanna C. Kardux. "Slavery and the Contest for National Heritage in the United States and the Netherlands." *American Studies International* 42.2–3 (June–October 2004): 51–74.

Offers reflections on differences and commonalities in the approaches to the public presentation of the history of slavery in the United States and the Netherlands. Includes discussion of the National Park Service regarding Civil War battle sites and southern heritage, and the Dutch *National Slavery Memorial* (1998).

Rice, Alan J. *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic*. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

Examines physical memorials and the practice of remembering at museums and plantations houses and in contemporary art. Two case studies focus on the complex memorial process and monument building related to slavery and the transatlantic slave trade in Lancaster and Manchester, England. Includes twenty-six color illustrations.

Photography

From the announcement of the first complete photographic process in 1839 in France, 19th-century photographers used the camera as a tool to capture the physiognomy of individuals; to record views of the land, historic events and sites, and changing towns and cities; and to categorize difference. Few photographs exist of enslaved persons or their labor on plantations in the United States. Best 2011 considers this thorny dilemma in relation to the visual archive of slavery and what remains by considering the recent discovery of a daguerreotype of two enslaved children in Charlotte, North Carolina. Most famously in 1850, the biologist and geologist Louis Agassiz (b. 1807–d. 1873) with the photographer Joseph T. Zealy (b. 1812–d. 1893) captured the images of seven South Carolina enslaved men and women. These images have been at the heart of much scholarly writing. Wallis 1995 is the first to deal with the images as objects that tell us something about museum collection practices as well as the development of racial typologies of the day. Rogers 2010 also responds to the Agassiz project and to the interpretation of the images presented in Wallis 1995. The author foregrounds the biographies of Agassiz and Zealy, and she outlines the histories of the enslaved sitters. An edited volume, Wallace and Smith 2012 begins in asserting the importance of photography as a watershed invention. The essays in the book explore the early history of photography in African American cultural and political life, including an essay on the Agassiz and Zealy daguerreotypes. Willis and Krauthamer 2013 begins with

a discussion of the Agassiz and Zealy photographs and then traces the alternative ways in which enslavement, emancipation, and freedom were represented, documented, and debated in photographs from the 1850s through the 1930s. Zackodnik 2005 and Grigsby 2011 both consider Sojourner Truth's representation in cartes de visite from the 1860s. Thompson 2011 offers an important discussion of the absence of a photographic archive of slavery in the British West Indies and the conscious substitution of a photographic archive of laboring black bodies from the late 19th century as a stand-in for slavery and historical memory.

Best, Stephen. "Neither Lost nor Found: Slavery and the Visual Archive." *Representations* 113.1 (Winter 2011): 150–163.

Asks us to consider what it means to engage the visual archive of slavery, considering the distance and deferred relation to the actual event of slavery. Discusses a recently discovered photograph of two enslaved slave children in Charlotte, North Carolina, in order to explore ideas of absence in the archive.

Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo. "Negative-Positive Truths." *Representations* 113.1 (Winter 2011): 16–38.

Considers Sojourner Truth's photographic representation on cartes de visite in relation to the text that accompanied her image, "Soujourner Truth. I Sell the Shadow to Support the Substance." Argues these images are Truth's mediations on value and authorship and that she aligned her photographs with paper money, federally issued banknotes known as greenbacks.

Rogers, Molly. *Delia's Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

In-depth history of Louis Agassiz and Joseph T. Zealy's 1850 daguerreotypes of seven South Carolina slaves. Traces the story of the photographs, the enslaved people depicted in the images, and the ways in which scientific theory and race collided in 19th-century photographic practice.

Thompson, Krista. "The Evidence of Things Not Photographed: Slavery and Historical Memory in the British West Indies." *Representations* 113.1 (Winter 2011): 39–71.

Investigates the use of late-19th-century photographic archives to represent slavery in the British West Indies, asking "how does photography cloud or bring into focus the memory of slavery?" (pp. 39–40). Argues that we must consider this usage within the context of the absence of photographs from the pre-emancipation period in the anglophone Caribbean.

Wallace, Maurice O., and Shawn Michelle Smith, eds. *Pictures and Progress: Early Photography and the Making of African American Identity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

Impressive collection of eleven essays explores the ways in which African Americans, including Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, used photography to shape perceptions about race and to effect social and political justice. The editors argue that photography was a watershed invention, shifting Americans' perception of themselves as subjects and citizens.

Wallis, Brian. "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes." *American Art* 9.2 (Summer 1995): 38–61.

Considers Louis Agassiz's daguerreotypes of seven South Carolina enslaved persons in the context of changing attitudes

about race and transformations in museum collection practices. Provides historical background on Agassiz and his desire to study the physical differences between races in order to create racial typologies.

Willis, Deborah, and Barbara Krauthamer. *Envisioning Emancipation: Black Americans and the End of Slavery*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013.

This accessible volume examines the ways in which enslavement, emancipation, and freedom were represented, documented, and debated in photographs from the 1850s through the 1930s. Begins with a discussion of Louis Agassiz and Joseph T. Zealy's 1850 daguerreotypes and concludes with a discussion of the legacies of emancipation. Includes 150 black-and-white illustrations.

Zackodnik, Teresa. "‘The Greenbacks of Civilization’: Sojourner Truth and Portrait Photography." *American Studies* 46.2 (Summer 2005): 117–143.

Argues that Sojourner Truth's use of photography on cartes de visite should be understood within the context of evidentiary photography and conventions of portrait photography of the bourgeoisie in the 19th century rather than as images that resist racial stereotypes and empowered self-presentation.

Contemporary Art

Contemporary artists have engaged and theorized through their art the legacy of the transatlantic slave trade and slavery. Corrin 1994 examines Fred Wilson's intervention into the permanent collection of the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, Maryland. Wilson mined the collection for rarely seen objects related to difficult histories in the United States: slavery and the suppression of Native Americans. He then juxtaposed these objects, including iron manacles and a whipping post, to those objects that are typically seen in history museums: portraits, refined furniture, and silver. On the bicentenary of the abolition of the British slave trade (1807), several museums mounted exhibitions. Hulser, et al. 2006 presents a broad range of reflections on slavery by African American artists on exhibit at the New-York Historical Society. Victoria and Albert Museum 2007 is an exhibition, *Uncomfortable Truths*, in London that provided a counterpoint to the New-York Historical Society exhibition, highlighting the responses of eleven international artists to the legacy of the slave trade in the context of the Victoria and Albert Museum's permanent collection. Shaw 2004, Finley 2011, and Copeland 2013 all focus on the engagement with slavery of contemporary African American and Caribbean artists. Shaw 2004 evaluates carefully the now famous silhouettes of Kara Walker and their complex relationship to the slave past. Finley 2011 examines the way in which contemporary artists, such as Maria Magdalena Campos-Pons, engaged the 18th-century broadside, *Description of a Slave Ship* (1789), in their artistic production. Copeland 2013 considers the art of Fred Wilson, Lorna Simpson, Glenn Ligon, and Renée Green, exploring the importance of the transatlantic slavery to their aesthetic practices. Davis 2000 deals with the portrayal of the resistance to slavery in film, focusing on *Spartacus* (1960), *Burn!* (1969), *The Last Supper* (1976), *Amistad* (1997), and *Beloved* (1998). Kimberly 2015 delves into the way that black women artists and writers have grappled with the violence committed by slavery on the black female body, including discussion of the work of Carrie Mae Weems and Maria Magdalena Campos-Pons.

Copeland, Huey. *Bound to Appear: Art, Slavery, and the Site of Blackness in Multicultural America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.

Explores the significance of the transatlantic slavery for contemporary artistic practice at the end of the 20th century. Focuses on four artists: Fred Wilson, Lorna Simpson, Glenn Ligon, and Renée Green. Includes sixty-five color and eighty-two black-and-white illustrations.

Corrin, Lisa G. *Mining the Museum: An Installation by Fred Wilson*. Baltimore: Contemporary, 1994.

Groundbreaking exhibition/installation by contemporary artist Fred Wilson that engaged the permanent collection of the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore concerned with the exclusions of Native Americans and African Americans from museum exhibitions. Included such juxtapositions as colonial silver and slave shackles and furniture and a whipping post.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Slaves on Screen: Film and Historical Vision*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Investigates the depiction of the resistance of slavery through the modern medium of film, including discussion of the films *Amistad* (1997) and *Beloved* (1998).

Finley, Cheryl. "Schematics of Memory." *Small Axe* 15.2 (July 2011): 96–116.

Considers the ways in which contemporary artists have engaged *Description of a Slave Ship* (1789), an 18th-century broadside widely circulated by the London Committee of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Focuses on the art of Maria Magdalena Campos-Pons, Fred Wilson, Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gomez-Peña, and David Hammons.

Hulser, Kathleen, Lowery Stokes Sims, and Cynthia R. Copeland. *Legacies: Contemporary Artists Reflect on Slavery*. New York: New-York Historical Society, 2006.

A small exhibition catalogue that focuses on the responses to slavery in the United States of thirty-two contemporary artists, including the work of Mel Edwards, Glenn Ligon, Whitfield Lovell, Faith Ringgold, Betye Saar, Kara Walker, Carrie Mae Weems, and Fred Wilson.

Kimberly, Juanita Brown. *The Repeating Body: Slavery's Visual Resonance in the Contemporary*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015.

Traces slavery's violence and its afterlife on the black female body in the work of black women writers and artists, including the work of Toni Morrison, Audre Lorde, Carrie Mae Weems, and Maria Magdalena Campos-Pons.

Shaw, Gwendolyn DuBois. *Seeing the Unspeakable: The Art of Kara Walker*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.

Considers Kara Walker's silhouettes, gouache drawings, and prints on the subject of slavery and racial stereotypes. Argues that Walker is challenging her viewers with her de-sentimentalized images of slavery and racial stereotypes and forcing them to confront the unspeakable horror of the slave past in the United States.

Victoria and Albert Museum. *Uncomfortable Truths: The Shadow of Slave Trading on Contemporary Art and Design*. Exhibition. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, February–June 2007.

A series of installations by international artists on the bicentenary of the abolition of the British slave trade at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Includes the art of El Anatsui (b. 1944, Ghana), Tapfuma Gutsa (b. 1956, Zimbabwe), and Romuald Hazoumè (b. 1962, Benin).

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