



Research Unchained:
The Multidisciplinary Future of Antislavery Studies

A Special Issue of the Journal of Modern Slavery in collaboration with the Antislavery Early Research Project supported by the AHRC Antislavery Usable Past

**“A Colossal Work of Art”:
Antislavery Methods of Visual
Protest From 1845 to Today**

Hannah Jeffery

PhD candidate

Dr. Hannah-Rose Murray

Volume 4, Issue 2
December 2018

“A Colossal Work of Art”: Antislavery Methods of Visual Protest From 1845 to Today

Hannah Jeffery

Hannah Jeffery is a 3rd year Ph.D. student at the University of Nottingham. She completed a BA Hons in American Studies at the University of Nottingham and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and completed an MRes in American Studies at the University of Nottingham where she wrote on the cultural memorialisation of Fred Hampton. Funded by the AHRC, her thesis unpacks the intersections between art, radical black memory and space by examining why murals are an enduring and unique cultural form used throughout the Black Freedom Struggle, from the Harlem Renaissance to Black Power to #BlackLivesMatter. She is the creator of ‘Murals: Walls of Slavery, Walls of Freedom’ (www.antislavery.ac.uk/murals) - a constantly growing digital archive that brings together, for the first time, U.S. murals connected to themes of abolition, slavery, Black Power, black protest and resistance. She has written about murals of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, as well as contemporary slavery murals worldwide, and she currently has an exhibition of Frederick Douglass murals on display at the Boston Museum of African American History.

Dr. Hannah-Rose Murray

Dr. Hannah-Rose Murray received a Ph.D. from the Department of American and Canadian Studies at the University of Nottingham and has been a postdoctoral fellow there since April 2018. Her research focuses on African American transatlantic journeys to Britain between the 1830s and the 1890s. Murray has created a website dedicated to their experiences and has mapped their speaking locations across Britain, showing how Black men and women travelled far and wide, from large towns to small fishing villages, to raise awareness of American slavery. She has written about Black performance, celebrity and networking strategies in Britain, and has organized numerous community events including talks, plays and exhibitions on both sides of the Atlantic. Murray’s maps and research can be viewed on her website: www.frederickdouglassinbritain.com

Abstract

In 1967, the faces of black antislavery figures were woven into the fabric of the urban US environment to showcase radical black narratives and empower segregated black communities. Murals depicting the faces of Frederick Douglass, Nathaniel Turner and Ida B. Wells lined the streets alongside visualizations of self-emancipated figures slashing chains and unshackling bodies. Although these 1960s murals visualized subversive antislavery narratives in the streets for the first time, the cultural form of black protest murals was not new. In this paper, we trace the visual lineage of antislavery protest from the nineteenth century panorama to the modern antislavery mural.

Key words: Abolition; mural; Black Power; panorama; visual culture

“A Colossal Work of Art”: Antislavery Methods of Visual Protest from 1845 to Today

When I was growing up, I was taught in American history books that Africa had no history, and neither did I—that I was a savage, about whom less said the better—who had been saved by Europe and brought to America. And of course I believed it. I didn’t have much choice. Those were the only books there were, and everyone else seemed to agree.¹ – *James Baldwin* (1965)

“Why did black people leave Africa?” Miss Martin asked a group of young African American school children as they toured around the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum (ANM) in Washington D.C. “Because they were afraid of animals,” the school children shouted back in unison.² Reported in a 1973 article in the *Washington Sunday Star*, ANM assistant director Zora B. Martin recalls how a young class were unaware of their own history whilst touring one of the capital’s museums. “Black people didn’t want to leave their homes. White people came to Africa, separated the families, and put them into boats. When black people were brought to America, they called them by a different name. Do you know what that

¹ The Riverbends Channel, “James Baldwin Debates William F. Buckley (1965),” *YouTube* video. 57:57. 27 October 2012 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oFeoS41xe7w> accessed 14 July 2017.

² Andrea Burns, *From Storefront to Monument: Tracing the Public History of the Black Museum Movement* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 72

was?” Miss Martin asked as a follow up question, this time with less expectation in her voice.³ “White people?” a child retorted. “No,” Miss Martin replied, “they called them slaves.”⁴

For centuries, African American history and culture has been erased from dominant historical narratives in the US, leaving a void in public knowledge about the experiences of America’s black population since their physical removal from Africa in the seventeenth-century. Ever since, the horrors of slavery have been conveniently airbrushed out of America’s historical narrative, leaving a historical amnesia untreated for decades — and to a large degree still untreated today. Pervasive white supremacist discourses perpetuated the myth that African Americans were, as James Baldwin acknowledges in 1965, “savages, about whom less said the better.”⁵ As a result, since the nineteenth century, the lived experiences of African Americans in the US — like the institution of slavery — have been largely absent from official modes of documentation like school curriculums, university degrees, the media and history textbooks, as well as dominant cultural outputs like art, theatre, poetry and literature. Yet throughout the nineteenth and twentieth-century, the erroneous but ubiquitous narratives of US history did not exist unchallenged in the transatlantic public consciousness.

Since the 1850s, antislavery visual culture has existed to recuperate black history from the grips of white historical bias. Pulling back the heavily draped curtain obfuscating black history, antislavery visual culture challenges dominant, biased, historical narratives in order to fill the many gaps in black American history. Starting in the 1850s in both the U.S. and the U.K., William Wells Brown and Henry ‘Box’ Brown reclaimed the use of the nineteenth-century panorama after witnessing the omission of enslaved individuals from a panorama detailing a journey along the Mississippi River. Formerly enslaved themselves, Brown and ‘Box’ Brown, subverted the idyllic, picturesque, large-scale drawings to instead depict the horrors of slavery. The panorama gave the two activists a platform upon which to illustrate the terror of enslavement into the public consciousness when the panorama became a visual protest tool to convince white audiences of the true nature of slavery, as so many were blissfully ignorant of its horrors. As an essential part of transatlantic abolition throughout the nineteenth century, activists travelling abroad to Britain gave men like Wells Brown and ‘Box’ Brown the opportunity to

³ *ibid.*

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ We are referring strictly to the fact that slavery is overlooked in dominant white, mainstream discourses here. Black cultural outputs like music, poetry, literature, theatre and gallery art constantly reference slavery and seek to write it into the public consciousness, and this chapter is not seeking to erase their significance and position in American culture. Instead this chapter makes the point that African American literature, artwork, music etc. are seldom sat alongside Eurocentric, white outputs in America’s mainstream.

challenge and criticize the land of their birth, as well as those who sought to defend the stain of slavery.

As antislavery content in the panorama slowly began to fade away, such iconography was later portrayed in interior murals of the 1920s Harlem Renaissance and African American murals from the 1940s Works Progress Administration era. Murals depicting revolutionary abolitionist figures then exploded in the streets for the first time in black history against the backdrop of the Black Power Movement. Unlike the earlier panorama however, Black Power murals were aimed at black audiences in the enclaves of black America. Instead of using their visual protest tool to wake white Americans up to the horrors of enslavement, muralists in the 1960s wove radical scenes of black rebellion and resistance into the streets of America’s black communities for educational purposes. Whilst the panoramas of Brown and ‘Box’ Brown visually wrote the reality of enslavement into America’s historical narrative despite battling Victorian racial dynamics, the murals of the Black Power Movement recuperated an erased narrative of black strength, empowerment, survival and unity during enslavement. History textbooks, the media and school curriculums failed to teach this history and therefore murals of the Black Power Movement textured the streets of Detroit, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, St Louis and Boston with radical black narratives of rebellious enslaved figures alongside the likenesses of Nathaniel Turner, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass. With an ideological backdrop of Black Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, separatism and self-defense, imagery depicting the brutal reality of slavery was no longer the order of the day. Instead, a subversive aesthetic depicting self-emancipating slaves slashing their own chains and forging their own freedom served as the most important use of their visual protest platform.

The historian Alan Rice has described how activists — like formerly enslaved individual Henry ‘Box’ Brown — engaged in “guerrilla memorialization,” a process where activists politicize the process of “making individual diasporan African stories live and breathe.”⁶ By sharing their testimony, challenging white preconceptions of slavery and racial stereotypes, or by intervening in traditional white dominant spaces, such resistance strategies offered a “signal intervention into a landscape that has traditionally elided their presence.”⁷ Rice points to city walking trails as just one example of the “potential to educate and politicize their audience” and “shows that the performing of guerrilla

⁶ Alan Rice & Johanna C. Kardux, “Confronting the Ghostly Legacies of Slavery: The Political of Black Bodies, Embodied Memories and Memorial Landscapes,” *Atlantic Studies* 9:3, (2012), 252-256. For further discussion on guerrilla memorialization, see Rice, “Tracing Slavery and Abolition’s Routes and Viewing Inside the Invisible: The Monumental Landscape and the African Atlantic,” *Atlantic Studies* 8:2, (2011), 253-274.

⁷ *Ibid*, (2012), 252-256.

memorialization is made possible by a civic engagement that might involve merely the walking of a city with new information that provides radical new perspectives that transform the cityscape.” Building on this concept, this article uncovers how radical antislavery visual culture has been employed throughout the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries to recuperate erased black narratives of slavery. Such radical iconography was created to visually subvert dominant white narratives of history. Throughout the article, we unveil how formerly enslaved individuals have employed these methods of visual protest to celebrate their self-reflexive identities and freedom from slavery. We also assess how the mural is used to resist pro-slavery narratives and empower black communities with subversive aesthetics, detailing self-emancipation and resistance. This article ends with a call to arms to the modern abolitionist movement, as there is an urgent need to fill a gap with survivor led artwork today. Although differing in content, context and circumstance, survivors of oppression in the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first century have, and should, engage with antislavery visual culture that offers a depiction of freedom and liberation from a first-hand perspective.

A “Beautiful Series of Views”: Antislavery Panoramas in the Nineteenth Century

Since the dawn of the nineteenth century, transatlantic antislavery activists placed heavy emphasis on visual culture. As early as the 1830s, American abolitionists were printing and distributing over 40,000 illustrations of slavery every year, primarily to white audiences who were transformed from distant participants to witnesses in the violent drama of slavery, forcing them to *act* against such an injustice. The abolitionist newspaper *The Emancipator* wrote that images could “excite the mind” and “awaken and fix attention” like no other medium.⁸ Abolition was a visual protest movement that relied on images and photography to raise awareness, share testimony from witnesses, and paint graphic pictures in order to persuade the transatlantic (and specifically, *white*) public of slavery’s horrors.⁹

Artfully negotiating multimodal means of self-representation, formerly enslaved African American abolitionists constructed a visual protest tradition that challenged white supremacy in both private and public spheres. For example, African Americans adapted to, and exploited, the revolutionary changes in technology in the nineteenth century in order to harness the visual culture of

⁸ Teresa A. Goddu, ‘Antislavery’s Panoramic Perspectives’, *MELUS*, 39:2, (Summer 2014), 1-3.

⁹ See Jasmine Nichole Cobb, *Picture Freedom: Remaking black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century*, (New York, New York University Press, 2015) and Martha J. Cutter, *The Illustrated Slave*, (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 2017).

protest: daguerreotypes and photographs were used by both free blacks and formerly enslaved individuals to highlight their liberty and civility, and to challenge ugly racial caricatures which pervaded the transatlantic.¹⁰ Frederick Douglass in particular used photography to counteract racial stereotypes and orchestrated more images of himself than any other American in the nineteenth century.¹¹ Other figures such as Olaudah Equiano, Phyllis Wheatley, William Wells Brown, and Sojourner Truth used the frontispiece portraits in their slave narratives to demonstrate their identity and authenticate their written testimony. Furthermore, activist-authors such as Moses Roper and Henry Bibb used illustrations alongside their narrative texts of barbaric plantation life to counteract popular, contemporary stereotypes of a happy and peaceful life in slavery.¹²

During their transatlantic visits to Britain, black American activists continued to create a unique, visual, multimodal response to racism and slavery. Throughout the nineteenth century, scores of African Americans travelled to Britain to raise awareness of American slavery, some of whom exhibited panoramas. Some wanted to raise money to free themselves, enslaved family members or for a particular antislavery society. Others sought to write and publish their narratives, or even find employment. They spoke to thousands of Britons and styled their lectures around the weapons of slavery or visual representations of the ‘peculiar institution’, travelling hundreds of thousands of miles to large cities and far-flung rural villages. While many experienced racism on British soil, most were welcomed, particularly those who exploited narratives of British moral superiority.¹³ An essential part of their performative and educative strategies included a complex and extensive interaction with nineteenth century visual culture. Protesting against the erasure of black bodies and voices, they used

¹⁰ Jasmine Nichole Cobb, *Picture Freedom: Remaking black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century*, (New York, New York University Press, 2015), 3-5.

¹¹ Celeste-Marie Bernier, ‘A Visual Call to Arms against the “Caracature [sic] of My Own Face:” From Fugitive Slave to Fugitive Image in Frederick Douglass’s Theory of Portraiture’, *Journal of American Studies*, 49, 2, (2015), 327-328.

¹² Marcus Wood, ‘The Slave Narrative and Visual Culture’, 196-219, in John Ernest, *Oxford Handbook of the African American Slave Narrative*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014), 198-204.

¹³ Audrey Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1-10. Hannah-Rose Murray, “‘It is Time for the Slaves to Speak:’ Transatlantic Abolitionism and African American Activism in Britain 1835-1895’ (PhD Diss., University of Nottingham, 2018) and the accompanying website www.frederickdouglassinbritain.com, and R.J.M Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University press, 1983).

illustrations, panoramas, exhibited whips and chains, made woodcuts and printed photographs.¹⁴

African Americans also exploited the largest visual medium of the nineteenth century — the panorama. First produced in England during the 1790s, most early panoramas concentrated on specific conflicts or landscape views that, according to Daphne Brooks, “evoked a sense of visual impressiveness by virtue of their size and their ability to convey the illusion of reality.”¹⁵ Initially, the panorama — or “all-embracing view” in Greek — was stationary and audiences paid a small entry fee to view a 360-degree painting from a central circular platform. Moving or “peristrepthic” panoramas were created in 1819 and were defined by a series of scenes on one large canvas, kept in rolls on either side of the exhibiting stage. The painting was then unrolled from one side of the stage to “evoke the sense of large-scale spatial movement.”¹⁶ Brooks describes antislavery panoramas as “a kind of moving revolution in space, time, form, and content.” Not only was the format a “provocative space to mine the politics of freedom, travel, and representational agency” it also provided a way for black activists to escape controlling or paternalistic white abolitionists who sought to edit their performances on the Victorian stage. Indeed, they sought to become the subject rather than the object of their own stories, and were free to relate their experiences in their own voices rather than being restricted by white activist frameworks.¹⁷

Henry ‘Box’ Brown and William Wells Brown remain the prominent examples of activists who employed the panorama as a visual form of protest and a medium through which they could share their testimony of slavery to white audiences. Both noticed the glaring nonexistence of slavery in American panoramas, and devised their own to challenge such silences and reclaim their own space to make a political intervention into the landscape. Where were the scenes of torture, family separation and death in such beautiful paintings of the Mississippi River? Wells Brown challenged the “very mild manner in which the ‘Peculiar Institution’ of the Southern States was represented,” and his enormous painting together with his aural testimony was a political and radical expression of his freedom and activism.¹⁸ Not content with merely educating transatlantic audiences,

¹⁴ Murray (2018). See also Emilie Boone, ‘The Likeness of Fugitivity: William Notman’s Carte-de-visite Portrait of John Anderson’, *History of Photography*, 37:2, (2013), 221-234; Martha J. Cutter, *The Illustrated Slave*, (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 2017); Matthew Fox-Amato, *Slavery, Photography, and the birth of Modern Visual Politics in America* (London, Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹⁵ Daphne Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom 1850-1910*, (Durham, Duke University Press, 2006), 79-81.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

he inserted his own testimony into a politically dominant white supremacist narrative that sought to erase his own history and memory. Brown’s escape from slavery was an incredible feat of resistance in itself, but his decision to pull back the curtain on slavery’s reality abroad was a direct challenge to those who supported slavery, including his former slave-owners.¹⁹ Unlike the 1960s protest mural, African Americans such as ‘Box’ Brown and Wells Brown could not take their art into the streets of America — abolition was dangerous and often life-threatening, particularly for men of color who risked re-capture into slavery. While they performed to white audiences in the northern states (who were often hostile to black people as well as to the prospect of antislavery), both men had particular success in the theatres, lecturing venues, chapels and village halls of the British Isles. Again, unlike the 1960s mural, these panoramas were designed to educate white audiences.

Before arriving in Britain, Wells Brown requested American artists sketch his designs. Avoiding the demanding competition in London, he exhibited his panorama in the provinces first, and used his oratory, together with whips and chains, to illustrate slavery’s horrors.²⁰ In Nottingham in 1851 for example, Wells Brown and fellow formerly enslaved individuals William and Ellen Craft organized three consecutive antislavery meetings, where both men would discuss their experiences of slavery alongside Brown’s panorama. The local newspaper correspondent described how Brown narrated “his beautiful series of views, painted on two thousand feet of canvas” which depicted “many characteristic incidents in the escapes and re-captures of slaves, their mode of labour, their prisons, the kidnapping of free and colored men without their free papers.”²¹ Henry ‘Box’ Brown was a virtuoso of the Victorian stage and approached his panorama with unrivalled versatility and flexibility.²² Born enslaved near Richmond, Virginia in 1816, Henry Brown was desperate to escape after his family were sold and used a trusted carpenter to make him a box within which he might flee. In what is now known as one of the most miraculous escapes from slavery, Brown then posted himself from Richmond to Philadelphia.²³ Brown discovered

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 81-92.

²⁰ Ezra Greenspan, *William Wells Brown: An African American Life*, (New York: W.W. Norton Co, 2014), 239-249.

²¹ *Nottingham Review*, 4 April 1851, 3.

²² Hannah-Rose Murray, “‘It is Time for the Slaves to Speak’: Transatlantic Abolitionism and African American Activism in Britain 1835-1895’ (PhD Diss., University of Nottingham, 2018) and Daphne Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom 1850-1910*, (Durham, Duke University Press, 2006)

²³ Brown, *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown*, 1; 42-59. See Alan Rice, “Dramatising the Black Atlantic: Live Action Projects in Classrooms,” in *Teaching Transatlanticism: Resources for Teaching Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Print Culture*, ed. Linda K. Hughes and Sarah R. Robbins (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 82-95. Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent*; Cutter, *The Illustrated Slave*; and Jeffrey Ruggles, *The Unboxing of Henry Brown*, (Richmond, University of Virginia Press, 2003).

his life-story lent very well to the dramatic stage, and travelled to England in 1850 to educate British and Irish audiences; raising awareness of American slavery via his lectures and visual panorama. His first design (of which there were many throughout the 1850s) contained painted images of the slave trade; African families before enslavement, a slave ship, an auction block, torture scenes such as the burning alive of an enslaved individual, the plantation, and famous escapes by formerly enslaved individuals such as Ellen Craft and ‘Box’ Brown himself. The last scene involved a future where slavery did not exist, a hopeful and moral aim for all audiences to wish and agitate for. Chipping away at the historical amnesia of slavery that was created and sustained by white supremacy, ‘Box’ Brown literally pulled back the curtain that rendered black lives invisible. Brown was not only rewriting, representing and re-visualizing history, he was depicting scenes that had been deliberately obfuscated, and created his own lesson to teach transatlantic audiences, who were unaccustomed to seeing such staggeringly large paintings of slavery’s brutality. ‘Box’ Brown did not hesitate to challenge white misconceptions of European colonialism, the slave trade and the heartbreak on the auction block to thousands of people across Britain and Ireland.²⁴

With his panorama and the story of his thrilling escape, ‘Box’ Brown and his “colossal work of art” created an entertaining spectacle while simultaneously presenting a horrific account of slavery.²⁵ On both sides of the Atlantic, ‘Box’ Brown exploited the Victorian press and enlisted the growing mass media market to produce posters, adverts and copies of his narrative to promote his unique performances. He turned his story and indeed himself into a commodity, capitalizing on its thrills, twists and turns and became famous based on his escape, not for his oratory or account of slavery.²⁶

Furthermore, by creating such an impressive visual performance and exhibiting his panorama in industrial towns such as Manchester and Bolton, ‘Box Brown’ was politically intervening in a landscape that directly profited from the blood and sweat of enslaved labour. His panorama contained scenes of European violence against peaceful African tribes, and he subverted the hypocritical antislavery narrative within British society to remind audiences of the hidden roots of their wealth.²⁷ Thus, the panorama was a form of activism, a political and anti-colonial intervention into a white supremacist landscape which sought to erase black bodies and voices. It was an educational tool, for audiences of all age, class

²⁴ Brooks, *Bodies in Dissent*, 86-92.

²⁵ Preston *Guardian*, 5 March 1853.

²⁶ Cynthia Griffin Wolff, “Passing Beyond the Middle Passage: Henry ‘Box’ Brown’s Translations of Slavery,” *The Massachusetts Review* 37:1, (1996), 23-24; 28-29.

²⁷ Suzette A. Spencer, ‘An International Fugitive: Henry Box Brown, Anti-Imperialism, Resistance & Slavery,’ *Social Identities*, 12:2, (2006), 237-242.

or creed and raised awareness of slavery’s horrors. It was also a visual form of expression, exploiting the popular entertainment sphere and antislavery’s reliance on the image to convey brutality and inspire action.

Over the course of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, African Americans continued to adapt modern technology to their advantage. Obscured or forced to remain absent from mainstream narratives, they continued to rely on visual art to challenge the parameters of the white supremacist society. As Celeste-Marie Bernier argues, the “black visual arts have taken many forms including mural, portrait, landscape, and abstract painting, sculpture, daguerreotyping and photography, pottery, quilting, and collage, assemblage, installation, street and performance art.”²⁸ They have “repeatedly pushed the boundaries of media and materials in search for a visual language which would represent the difficult realities of African American struggles for existence,” in most cases displaying “radical act[s] of self-expression and resistance.”²⁹ Counteracting racial caricatures and white abolitionist paternalistic images from Josiah Wedgwood’s 1787 ‘Am I Not A Man And A Brother’ medallion, to stereotypes of black aggression in the riots of the twentieth century, African Americans fought against the ugly visualization of their corporeal selves to achieve education and empowerment.³⁰

“I’m just getting my strength”: Resistance, Revolution and Emancipation in Murals of the Black Power Movement

In the summer of 1967 against the volatile backdrop of the Long Hot Summer riots, the booming declarations of ‘Black Power!’, and the growing presence of the Black Panther Party nationwide, a mural emerged on a single street in Chicago’s south side that altered the face of public art in the US. Named the *Wall of Respect*, it was the first African American mural to be painted in the streets. It depicted heroes of a radical black past and present — people like Frederick Douglass, Nathaniel Turner, Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, and Marcus Garvey — and placed them in visual dialogue with empowering scenes of revolutionary black history. The *Wall* became a touchstone of pride for the black community of Bronzeville, and catalysed the black mural movement throughout the US that saw murals showing resistance, revolution and emancipation painted in every major

²⁸ Celeste-Marie Bernier, *African American Visual Arts: From Slavery to the Present*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 1-2.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780-1865*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000), 19-20.

northern city.³¹ By the mid-1970s, the streets in the black enclaves of cities like Boston, Detroit, Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles and Chicago, all had murals commemorating radical heroes from the past and present — many of whom were antislavery or abolitionist figures — whilst also displaying narrative scenes of individuals breaking their own chains and engaging in the subversive act of self-emancipation.

The mural became a visual language to display “radical act[s] of self-expression and resistance” in the streets of black America at a time when to be black was to be beautiful.³² Unlike the panorama which was created to subversively educate white audiences on the horrors of slavery, murals of the 1960s were created to educate, inspire and empower black communities who were told “in a million different ways, that they were not beautiful, that whiteness of skin, straightness of hair, and aquilineness of features constituted the only measures of beauty.”³³ As a result, inspirational figures from an unremembered history, specifically those from the anti-slavery past like Nathaniel Turner, Frederick Douglass, Denmark Vesey, David Walker, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Wells, Martin Delany and Gabriel Prosser, were recovered as symbols of black pride in the 1960s because they spoke to the consciousness of the decade — they were resurrected “in order to inspire black political and cultural liberation.”³⁴

Given the ideological reverberations from certain nineteenth-century abolitionists to twentieth-century Black Power activists, murals lined the streets of black America during the 1960s and 1970s for two main reasons: to educate, and to empower. Whilst Alan Rice discussed guerrilla memorialization in relation to the cultural outputs of formerly enslaved individuals, the idea that the panorama had the potential “to educate and politicize their audience,” also applies to these twentieth-century murals depicting antislavery content. Just like the nineteenth-century panorama, the mural was a medium to challenge silent narratives and historical inaccuracies, as well as being a medium to catalyse an empowering and introspective search for the redefinition of oneself.³⁵

The mural was a visual protest tool that could, just like the panorama, un-silence a stifled black history. They emerged in the streets during the Black Power

³¹ Abul Alkalimat, Romi Crawford and Rebecca Zorach, *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*, (Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2017), 2.

³² Bernier, *African American Visual Arts*, 1-2.

³³ Hoyt Fuller, “Towards a Black Aesthetic,” in *The Black Aesthetic*, (New York: Anchor Books, 1972) ed. Addison Gayle Jr., 8.

³⁴ Celeste-Marie Bernier, *Characters of Blood: Black Heroism in the Transatlantic Imagination*, (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 119.

³⁵ Bernier, *African American Visual*, 1-2.

Movement for educational purposes at a time when black history was — and to a large degree still is — peripheral to the white American experience. Institutional spaces of knowledge, like museums, schools, the press and history books, were full of biased narratives catering to white only history, relegating black historical experiences like slavery to the sidelines. “All the history books have been untruthful... — not with lies — but by what it excluded from the material,” ANM museum director John Kinard lamented.³⁶ The effects of mis-education were “emotionally exhausting” to black school students, as one young girl recounts:

I was taught to worship Western civilization, and I could hardly believe that racial repression was also a fact of history. Balancing inconsistencies and omissions of knowledge is too much for a black student to take alone. When the movement hit Radcliffe — it was a matter of clutching for a straw to save my very soul.³⁷

In response to the pervasive, deliberate and systematic mis-education of black people through white controlled institutions across the country, there was a pronounced nationwide push at the height of the Black Power Movement to bring African American history out from the shadows and place it firmly into the public consciousness — and murals were one of the ways in which this was done.

Murals emerged in the streets of black America in an educational capacity to erase the images of white only history assaulting the optics of black communities. “What led me to make murals was my need to record African American history,” San Francisco-based muralist Dewey Crumpler told James Prigoff and Robin Dunitz for their seminal book *Walls of Heritage, Walls of Pride: African American Murals* (2000).³⁸ “For me... murals became a way to writing novels, writing the history that had not been written,” he continued — a purpose not dissimilar to the creation of panoramas to challenge the erasure of black voices and bodies in a nineteenth century white supremacist landscape.³⁹ As Crumpler acknowledges, murals inserted an unknown, alternate history into the public consciousness via the streets by decorating the walls with narrative scenes of revolution and self-emancipation. However, these images served, not only to shed light on heroic narratives of enslavement, but to also counter the ubiquitous assumption that

³⁶ Andrea Burns, *From Storefront to Monument: Tracing the Public History of the Black Museum Movement* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 72.

³⁷ James Turner, “Black Students and their Changing Perspective,” *Ebony*, (August 1969), 139.

³⁸ James Prigoff and Robin J. Dunitz, *Walls of Heritage, Walls of Pride: African American Murals* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Press, 2000), 169.

³⁹ *ibid.*

enslaved individuals were docile and subservient, akin to the supplicant figure depicted in Josiah Wedgwood’s paternalistic ‘Am I Not a Man and a Brother.’ As the mood of militancy rained down throughout 1968, a powerful mural emerged in the streets of Chicago’s south side to visually defy the erroneous claims of passive slaves, and to also offer an alternate curriculum in the streets of black America omitted from official textbooks.

Muralists Bill Walker and Eugene ‘Eda’ Wade decorated the Bronzeville community with a revolutionary likeness of Nathaniel Turner — an enslaved individual on a Southampton County plantation in Virginia, whom in 1831, led a rebellion that left fifty-five whites dead and cost him his life after being tried and hanged in November the same year. Historians, scholars, abolitionists and pro-slavery advocates frequently attempted to reclaim and reframe Turner’s existence in many ways, as David Blight, acknowledges in an article for *The New York Times*:

Nat Turner is a classic example of an iconic figure who is deeply heroic on one side and deeply villainous on the other... For those who need a slave rebel, he serves that purpose. For those who need to see him as a deranged revolutionary who likes slaughtering people, they can see that, too.⁴⁰

Turner’s identity as both a slave and a man who threatened the core values and institutional structures of the antebellum South means he remains a complex figure for historians to reconstruct, and the lack of textual and visual language surrounding him leaves his historical memory open to misinterpretation.⁴¹ Throughout history, his memory is frequently negotiated, yet his presence on the *Wall of Truth* in 1968 serves as a fundamental barometer for the hotbed of revolutionary activity in the 1960s. The mural militantly reclaims Turner as a hero in the American public imagination, subverting the inaccurate portrayal of enslaved figures as supplicant and passive, whilst also educating the public on a seldom-discussed figure of black history.

At around ten feet tall, a shirtless portrait of Nathaniel Turner lines the street of 43rd and Langley. In the *Wall of Truth*, created by Wade and Walker, Turner brandishes a bloodstained sword that has perhaps just taken the life of the man who shackled his wrists and stole his liberty. In an act of self-emancipation, he swipes

⁴⁰ Felicia R. Lee, “Nat Turner in History’s Multiple Mirror,” *The New York Times*, February 7, 2004, http://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/07/books/nat-turner-in-history-s-multiple-mirrors.html?mcubz=1&_r=0 Accessed: March 20, 2017.

⁴¹ Kenneth S. Greenberg, “The Search for Nat Turner: Name, Face, Body,” in *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion in History and Memory* ed. by Kenneth S. Greenberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3; also see Bernier, *Characters of Blood* for more information of the invisibilisation of Turner.

the sword through the chains binding his freedom and breaks himself free, sending a fragment of the manacles flying into the distance. The sword is gripped firmly as the muscles on his right arm twitch with the thought of revolution. Braced at his hip, the handle of a shotgun is supported as he wields it upwards in military-esque fashion, pressing the cold steel into his cheek, perhaps about to fall in line with an army of Black Panthers. The use of color is cleverly manipulated in this mural when Turner’s torso is highlighted with accents of red to depict where the light contours his skin. In selecting red as the primary contrasting color, however, Wade and Walker convey the aftermath of a bloody and violent confrontation upon Turner’s body. The inflections of red upon his torso, as well as smattered across the background, resemble smudged, blood-ridden handprints grasping for mercy at the feet of the self-emancipator. Unshackled and liberated, the giant Turner wears a hardened expression on his face, eyes fixed and focused on his freedom. Whilst the image remains largely static — metaphorically representing the quiet after the storm — the dynamism of the swinging chains haunt the panel to the point where the viewer can almost imagine the sound of slashed and clinking metal.

One reason Wade was so intent on visualising figures of black history like Turner, he told the author, Jeffery, in a 2017 interview, was because “we did have our own sheroes and heroes, that made a contribution, that may not be included in a textbook because of whatever political or social reason”.⁴² By depicting a revolutionary portrait of Turner in Chicago, Wade was able to recuperate his memory from inaccuracy and obscurity and place it in the streets of Bronzeville for the black community to learn from. Whilst Wade clearly sought to educate individuals on the memory of Turner, by painting him in the streets, he also invokes the second reason for the emergence of a 19th century memory of enslavement during the Black Power Movement - to empower individuals.

The resurrection of an unseen black historical memory in the streets of black America fostered a space for individuals in communities to renegotiate the conception of themselves. To Black Arts Movement cultural theorist Larry Neal, learning black history enabled black Americans to finally be “comfortable in the knowledge of themselves” so they no longer attacked the “lips, skin, hair, legs... and self that we had been trained to hate.”⁴³ Through showing radical, revolutionary images of enslaved figures breaking their own chains and forging their own freedom, murals of the Black Power Movement partook in this relationship of self-exploration and consciousness-raising. In a 1991 interview, muralist Bill Walker reflected on an anecdote that exemplified how the recuperative memories upon the *Wall of Respect* provided a space for the elevation

⁴² Hannah Jeffery telephone interview with Eugene Eda Wade, June 1, 2017.

⁴³ Larry Neal, “New Space/The Growth of Black Consciousness in the Sixties,” in *The Black Seventies* (Boston: Sargent Porter, 1970) ed. Floyd Barbour, 15.

of a consciousness: “I saw a young man sitting [outside] and I was in the television shop, and I walked out of the television shop. He was sitting in front of the wall. So I said, “How are you doing, brother?” [and] he said, “I’m getting my strength.””⁴⁴ To the anonymous man on the street at 43rd and Langley, the historic and contemporaneous narratives included on the mural created a safe space for the contemplation of his identity. The untold stories of black America’s history satiated his desire to learn about himself, and in return he became energized, charged and empowered with the knowledge of a radical black past that could be carried with him throughout the turbulent racial present.

When asked the purpose of creating murals like the *Wall of Truth* and the *Wall of Respect*, Eugene ‘Eda’ Wade replied, “We were doing art that can hopefully uplift the spirit of the people and also bring about conscious awareness instead of dumbing down — we want to try and elevate the thinking in the mind,” he continued.⁴⁵ In 1976, at Howard University, Wade created a mural that resurrected the veiled memories of radical black revolutionaries in order to awaken and augment a consciousness of blackness amongst the university students. The *Cramton Auditorium Mural* recovers the historical memories of Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman and Nathaniel Turner, and places them in visual dialogue with their contemporary counterparts, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. The two recent martyrs of the black liberation movement occupy the central two panels of the mural, and instead of being placed in an ideological binary, King and X coexist to present a unified black historical continuum. They offer an accessible entry point into an otherwise untold black history when they stand back-to-back, facing their nineteenth century ancestors. King faces left, pointing directly to Douglass and Tubman, whilst X faces right, pointing toward Truth and Turner.

Douglass and Truth, flanking the two martyrs, stand to attention with an upright posture and straight arms by their sides. Douglass wears a suit and holds a rolled-up written document in his left hand. His well-dressed appearance and written possession of officiality reflect his intellectual work towards abolition and black liberation, and his intellectual likeness is countered by the dynamic, physical presentations of both Tubman and Turner as they wield weapons and break chains. To the right-hand side of the mural, a shirtless Turner brandishes a sword (akin to his visual resurrection on the *Wall of Truth*) and pulls with all his strength at a chain in the distance. To the far left of *Cramton Auditorium Mural*, Tubman’s engaged body leans back and pulls tightly on the same series of chains shackling an unknown figure out of sight. Her animated body uses an oversized rifle as a

⁴⁴ William (Bill) Walker Oral History, Interviewed by Victor A. Sorrell, June 1991 – Smithsonian Archives of American Art, 33.

⁴⁵ Jeffery interview with Wade, June 1, 2017.

pillar of stability, and Wade uses her presence on the mural to, once again, invalidate the ubiquitous belief that enslaved individuals were passive and submissive. Tubman, Truth, Douglass and Turner stand proudly as symbols of defiance and bravery, and through their inclusion in the mural, they not only challenge misconceptions of enslaved supplication, but also awaken a liberating cultural awareness of oneself that was achieved in the 1960s through an examination and deeper understanding of black revolutionary history.

As with the nineteenth-century panoramas that sought to reclaim black history from the grips of a pervasive white supremacist narrative, murals of the Black Power Movement displayed radical abolitionist and antislavery memories in the streets of black America to educate and empower local communities. Similarly to the panorama, they circumnavigated biased institutional white spaces such as museums or the art galleries to ensure black history was recorded. Muralists like Wade visually recuperated nineteenth-century black heroes that risked their lives in the pursuit of freedom and liberation to help rewrite erased narratives of black strength, empowerment, survival and unity, and to instil pride and empowerment at a time when to be black was to be beautiful.

The visual protest tradition of antislavery visual culture arcs across the centuries, honoring marginalized voices and raising awareness of slavery and its legacies. Activists have sought to reclaim sites of their oppression, challenging white supremacist narratives and the erasure of their voices. In the nineteenth century, ‘Box’ Brown and Wells Brown used their panoramas as a visual form of protest to educate and remind their primarily white audiences that slavery could not be erased from transatlantic society. Both men subverted traditional white spaces and contested the great panoramas of the Mississippi River in particular with its deliberate silences around slavery’s cruelty. Both ‘Box’ Brown and Wells Brown thus used the panorama as a visual protest against white supremacist narratives, as an awareness-raising and educative tool, and as a medium to forge an independent path away from white abolitionists who sought to curtail their lectures.

While antislavery panoramas were designed primarily for white audiences who had little idea of slavery’s brutality, Black Power activists created murals solely for African American audiences. Muralists like Bill Walker, Eugene ‘Eda’ Wade and Dewey Crumpler, inspired by the radical backdrop of the Black Power Movement, recuperated the memories of radical antislavery figures like Tubman, Truth, Douglass and Turner and placed them alongside militant iconography of self-emancipating figures. In awakening a radical black memory and placing it directly into the streets of black America, muralists used subversive aesthetics to educate and empower communities in an era when black self-determination and pride was everywhere.

Panoramas and their contemporary progeny — murals — represent a visual form of activism that celebrates black activist resistance, testimony and survival. They embody an artistic and political intervention into a landscape that seeks to erase their activist bodies and voices, as well as the existence of the artistic piece itself. For marginalized voices, the panorama and the mural form an essential legacy of artistic defiance. Being traditionally excluded from political or mainstream narratives, African Americans fashioned their own resistance strategies that deserve not only a place in the lineage of antislavery iconography, but also within art history as a whole.

Conclusion: Contemporary Antislavery Visual Culture

In the first edition of his newspaper, *The North Star*, Frederick Douglass stated, “that the man who has *suffered the wrong* is the man to *demand redress*,— that the man STRUCK is the man to CRY OUT—and that he who has *endured the cruel pangs of Slavery* is the man to *advocate Liberty*.” Ultimately, Douglass believed survivors must be their “own representatives and advocates.”⁴⁶ In order to heed Douglass’ call, artists, scholars, and the public in general must create spaces for a radical survivor antislavery visual culture.

As of 2016, there were antislavery murals in every habitable continent. This revolutionary inheritance of the radical tradition of abolitionist and activist visual culture clearly has a significant place in the contemporary movement against human trafficking. As the US Goodwill Ambassador, Ross Bleckner, has said, “art is one of the most powerful advocacy tools to raise awareness and move people to take action. A painting says a thousand words.”⁴⁷

However, there is a disturbing tradition of victimization in contemporary visual art that demeans and dehumanizes survivors. As Zoe Trodd has suggested in her work on protest memory, modern antislavery charities and NGOs often rely on specific imagery lifted from the eighteenth century, including images of “bleeding hands, hunched bodies, barred windows, dust-covered arms, [and] meat-market brothels.” In doing so, “contemporary artists and activists often repeat the same mistakes as their abolitionist forebears”, which often “heroises the abolitionist liberator, minimizes slave agency, pornifies violence and indulges in voyeurism.” The infamous Wedgewood medallion, “Am I Not a Man and a Brother?” is a

⁴⁶ Frederick Douglass, *The North Star*, 3 December 1847.

⁴⁷ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “Combating Human Trafficking Through Collective Action and Art,” *United Nations on Drugs and Crime*, 11 May 2009, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/combating-human-trafficking-through-collective-action-and-art.html> accessed: 19/11/2017

common image, along with the cramped deck of the slave ship *Brookes*, commonly layered over images of modern transportation such as cars and airplanes.⁴⁸

To combat this victimization, contemporary antislavery visual culture should be survivor-led, informed by the oppressed themselves. For example, in 2008, Elena, a survivor of human trafficking, worked in conjunction with actress and activist Emma Thompson on ‘Journey,’ an art installation in Vienna. The project consisted of seven transport containers, each with a painting on the side illustrating women exploited through sexual slavery. Designed to raise awareness of human trafficking, partly through shock tactics, the artwork was informed in part by Elena’s experiences.⁴⁹

Going one step further, in 2015, in the rolling hills of West Bengal, a US-based muralist with the moniker Joel Artista created an evocative and empowering mural that gave agency to a survivor of contemporary slavery. Working with the Indian NGO, Shakti Vahini, Artista and a group of local artists created “a large-scale mural in a highly visible location in order to raise awareness” of human trafficking in the area.⁵⁰ Nestled at the foothills of the Himalayas, and in the “epicenter for human trafficking in South Asia,” stands a brightly coloured wall of hope, inspiration and strength.⁵¹ The mural depicts Sangeeta, a formally trafficked woman who now works with the organization *Kolata Sanved*—a group that uses dance as a form of therapy for survivors of trafficking. Prior to Artista’s arrival, Sangeeta and a host of female survivors of trafficking worked with photographer Brooke Shaden to create a series of self-portraits that creatively represented their story of survival. Immediately drawn to the powerful yet graceful image of Sangeeta, Artista received her permission to paint her likeness on his mural.

The beautifully dressed figure of Sangeeta extends across the mural. Painted in a glowing palette of yellows, reds and burnt oranges to stand in stark contrast to the purple background, she extends her left hand towards an unseen figure and raises her head to the meet their gaze as she glides across the artwork. She looks up with hope, determination and strength in her face. Whilst the grip of a menacing red hand envelops her left ankle, she continues forward with stoicism and power—the experiences of trafficking do not show on her face; she is so much more than her experience. Artista’s mural demonstrates a positive step towards survivor collaboration, yet there are still steps to be taken. From the nineteenth century to

⁴⁸ Zoe Trodd, ‘Am I Still Not a Man and a Brother? Protest Memory in Contemporary Antislavery Visual Culture’, *Slavery & Abolition*, 34:2, (2013), pp.338-347

⁴⁹ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “Emma Thompson’s Journey”, 8 February 2008, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/emma-thompsons-journey.html>

⁵⁰ Joel Artista, “Combating Human Trafficking Through the Arts,” *Joel Artista*, 18 March, 2016, <https://joelartista.com/2016/03/18/combating-human-trafficking-through-the-arts/> accessed: 17/10/2017

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

the present day, activists, survivors and liberators have, and should continue to build on, this visual legacy, to challenge historical amnesia and to fight against the invisibility of their bodies and voices in mainstream and public narratives.

Bibliography

Alkalimat, Abul, Romi Crawford and Rebecca Zorach. *The Wall of Respect: Public Art and Black Liberation in 1960s Chicago*. Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2017.

Artista, Joel. “Combating Human Trafficking Through the Arts,” *Joel Artista*, 18 March, 2016, www.joelartista.com/2016/03/19/combating-human-trafficking-through-the-arts/

Bernier, Celeste-Marie. *African American Visual Arts: From Slavery to the Present*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

----- *Characters of Blood: Black Heroism in the Transatlantic Imagination*. Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2012.

----- “‘A Visual Call to Arms against the “Caracature [sic] of My Own Face:” From Fugitive Slave to Fugitive Image in Frederick Douglass’s Theory of Portraiture.’ *Journal of American Studies*, 49, no. 2, (2015): 323-357.

Box Brown, Henry. *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown*. Manchester: Lee and Glynn, 1851.

Brooks, Daphne. *Bodies in Dissent: Spectacular Performances of Race and Freedom 1850 1910*. Durham, Duke University Press, 2006.

Burns, Andrea. *From Storefront to Monument: Tracing the Public History of the Black Museum Movement*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013.

Cobb, Jasmine Nichole. *Picture Freedom: Remaking black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century*. New York, New York University Press, 2015.

Douglass, Frederick. *The North Star*, 3 December 1847.

Fisch, Audrey. *American Slaves in Victorian England: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Fox-Amato, Fox. *Slavery, Photography, and the Birth of Modern Visual Politics in America*. London, Oxford University Press, 2017.

Fuller, Hoyt. “Towards a Black Aesthetic.” In *The Black Aesthetic*, edited by Addison Gayle, Jr, 3-24, New York: Anchor Books, 1972.

Goddu, Teresa A. ‘Antislavery’s Panoramic Perspectives’. *MELUS*, 39, no. 2, (Summer 2014): 12-41.

Greenberg, Kenneth. S. *Turner: A Slave Rebellion in History and Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Greenspan, Ezra. *William Wells Brown: An African American Life*. New York: W.W. Norton Co, 2014.

Lee, Felicia R, “Nat Turner in History’s Multiple Mirror,” *The New York Times*, February 7, 2004, http://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/07/books/nat-turner-in-history-s-multiple-mirrors.html?mcubz=1&_r=0

Murray, Hannah-Rose. “‘It is Time for the Slaves to Speak:’ Transatlantic Abolitionism and African American Activism in Britain 1835-1895’. PhD Diss., University of Nottingham, 2018.

Neal, Larry. “New Space/The Growth of Black Consciousness in the Sixties.” In *The Black Seventies*, edited by Floyd Barbour, 9-33. Boston: Sargent Porter, 1970.

Prigoff James, and Robin J. Dunitz. *Walls of Heritage, Walls of Pride: African American Murals*. San Francisco: Pomegranate Press, 2000.

Rice Alan & Johanna C. Kardux, “Confronting the Ghostly Legacies of Slavery: The Political of Black Bodies, Embodied Memories and Memorial Landscapes”. *Atlantic Studies* 9, no. 3, (2012): 245-272.

Roth, Mark, “Martin Delany ‘Father of Black Nationalism’” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, February 6, 2011, <http://www.post-gazette.com/life/lifestyle/2011/02/06/Martin-Delany-Father-of-Black-Nationalism/stories/201102060355>

The Riverbends Channel, “James Baldwin Debates William F. Buckley (1965),” *YouTube* video. 57:57. 27 October 2012 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oFeoS41xe7w>.

Spencer, Suzette A. ‘An International Fugitive: Henry Box Brown, Anti-Imperialism, Resistance & Slavery’. *Social Identities*. 12, no. 2, (2006): 227-248.

Trodd, Zoe. ‘Am I Still Not a Man and a Brother? Protest Memory in Contemporary Antislavery Visual Culture’, *Slavery & Abolition*, 34:2, (2013), pp.338-347.

Turner, James. “Black Students and their Changing Perspective”. *Ebony*. (August 1969): 135-140.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “Emma Thompson’s Journey”, 8 February 2008, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/emma-thompsons-journey.html>.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, “Combating Human Trafficking Through Collective Action and Art,” *United Nations on Drugs and Crime*, 11 May 2009, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/combating-human-trafficking-through-collective-action-and-art.html>.

Wolff, Cynthia Griffin. “Passing Beyond the Middle Passage: Henry ‘Box’ Brown’s Translations of Slavery”. *The Massachusetts Review*. 37, no. 1, (1996): 23-44.

Wade, Eugene Eda interviewed by Hannah Jeffery, 1 June 2017.

Walker, William, Oral History, Interviewed by Victor A. Sorrell, June 1991. Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

Wood, Marcus. *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780-1865*. Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000.

-----‘The Slave Narrative and Visual Culture’, in John Ernest, *Oxford Handbook of the African American Slave Narrative*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014. 196-219.