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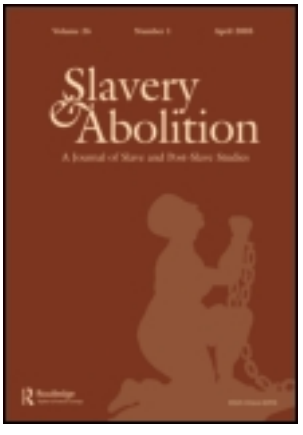

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Identifying pictorial images of Atlantic slavery: Three case studies

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Identifying Pictorial Images of Atlantic Slavery: Three Case Studies

Jerome S. Handler and Annis Steiner

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Introduction

During the last several decades, the number of publications on New World slavery and the Atlantic slave trade has increased tremendously, including specialized scholarly studies, websites, and books for the general reader. Sometimes these works, particularly those for the general reader, are lavishly illustrated. But the illustrations are usually not taken directly from the primary sources. Rather, they are purchased from commercial photo libraries/houses, such as the Mary Evans Picture Gallery, Corbis (Corbis-Bettmann), Hulton Archive (Radio Times Hulton Picture Library), the Bridgeman Art Library, or Getty Images. Alternatively, illustrations are taken from secondary works which themselves have depended on commercial houses or the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress. To construct a website database of pictorial images of New World slavery and the Atlantic slave trade, Handler has consulted hundreds of volumes and collections.[1] His general impression is that authors, especially of books or encyclopedias destined for a commercial market and wide general readership, pay insufficient attention (or no attention) to the historical and bibliographic contexts of the illustrations they use, often relying on publishers and photo researchers to acquire images for them.

Commercial photo libraries that sell images of slavery and the slave trade rarely give bibliographic information on their images, and if they do, the information is often inadequate and misleading at best and inaccurate at worst. Even the Library of Congress attributions to primary sources are occasionally imprecise or incorrect. Moreover, the commercial libraries often provide misleading historical contexts, if they offer a historical context at all. Authors or their agents who use illustrations from these houses frequently (unwittingly) perpetuate the bibliographic and historical errors. Unsuspecting users of these works, including the authors of websites, compound the errors even further.

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As a result, the serious researcher is in no position to evaluate the historical 'authenticity' of images. For example, a researcher might want to know whether a published engraving or lithograph is based on an eyewitness sketch done in situ, accompanied by a text that elucidates the picture. Or does the scene come out of an artist's imagination a century or more after the event? Alternatively, is the image no more than a copy, or, worse, a fanciful modification or embellishment of the original illustration? The following three published images illustrate these issues. At least one, possibly two, or perhaps all three, are familiar to most readers of this journal. But their original sources and historical contexts are rarely, if ever, accurately identified in secondary published works or websites.

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A Slave Coffle in Central Africa

This well-known engraving of a slave coffle, first published in David and Charles Livingstone's 1865 *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*,[2] shows men, women and children linked by forked logs and ropes, with their African guards armed with guns. Its caption reads: 'Gang of Captives met at Mbame's on their way to Tette'. Livingstone witnessed this scene in July 1861. Mbame was a village chief, friendly to Livingstone. Tette/Tete, a village (now a town) located in present-day western Mozambique, was a Portuguese outpost on the Zambezi river. While in Tette, the slave coffle passed through the village. Livingstone describes what he saw in the following passage:

> The slave party, a long line of manacled men, women, and children, came wending their way round the hill and into the valley .... the black drivers, armed with muskets, and bedecked with various articles of finery, marched jauntily in the front, middle, and rear of the line ... [the women and children were fastened by ropes but each adult male] had his neck in the fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long and kept in by an iron rod which was riveted at both ends across the throat.[3]

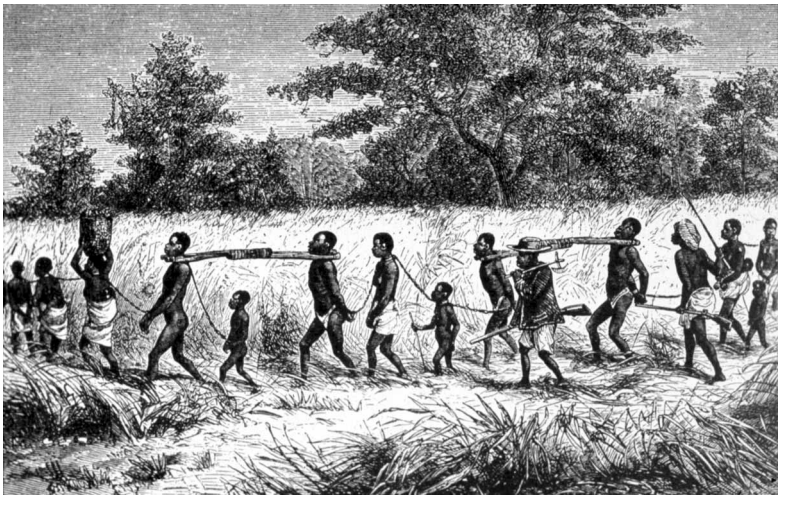

Figure 1 Slave Coffle, from Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 1865

Although there is no doubt that the engraving (done by Josiah Wood Whymper, a well-known English illustrator) was first published in the Livingstones' book, identifying the artist who developed the original image is problematical. The English artist Thomas Baines was appointed artist to the Livingstones' Zambezi expedition and accompanied them to Tette. He made a number of drawings from June 1858 to around October 1859, when he left the expedition, having been dismissed by David Livingstone because, as Livingstone wrote, 'of gross breaches of trust'.[4] However, since Livingstone writes in *Narrative of an Expedition* that the coffle scene was witnessed in July 1861,[5] Baines probably did not make the original drawing. Instead, it was probably derived from a photograph taken by Charles Livingstone or John Kirk, another member of the expedition. In the preface to the *Narrative*, David Livingstone thanks and acknowledges 'Lord Russell in lending me the drawings taken by the artist [who is very pointedly not named] who was in the first instance attached to the expedition. These sketches, with photographs by Charles Livingstone and Dr. [John] Kirk, have materially assisted in the illustrations'.[6] The fact that Livingstone did not name Thomas Baines as the artist who was initially attached to the expedition undoubtedly stems from the deterioration of the relationship between the Livingstones and Baines before the latter departed. It is likely that the engraving was based on a photograph taken by either Charles Livingstone or, most probably, John Kirk, although it is possible that it was derived from a rough sketch drawn by David Livingstone himself.[7]

The engraving was also published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (December 1865–May 1866, vol. 32: 719), not long after the appearance of the New York edition of the Livingstones' book, to accompany an article, 'Livingstone's Last African Expedition' (709-23). The article gives a summary account of the Livingstones' *Narrative of an Expedition*, and is sometimes incorrectly cited in modern secondary works as the engraving's original source.

Although the captives shown in the illustration were destined for the East African slave trade, the image has been regularly employed to illustrate how captives were taken overland for the transatlantic trade.

The coffle engraving was reprinted in Charles C. Coffin's profusely illustrated nineteenth-century history of the United States in colonial times, and was simply captioned 'to be sold as slaves'; the source was not given, but it might have been taken from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.[8] In any case, Coffin's reproduction, in turn, may be the ultimate source for later publications and modern books, but we are aware of only one modern secondary work that gives an accurate citation to the original Livingstone source, Patrick Manning's 1990 *Slavery and African Life*.[9] In Drescher and Engerman's major source book on slavery, the reference is given as *Harper's Weekly*, rather than *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, but the original Livingstone source is not cited,[10] and Hugh Thomas's massive volume on the slave trade reproduces the image, but only acknowledges a commercial photo house as the source.[11] Although the caption in Thomas's book states that 'slaves were transported to the port or market in long marches lasting for weeks, as graphically described by Mungo Park (c. 1790)', a hasty reading of this caption could lead a naive reader to

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attribute this illustration to Mungo Park.[12] This mistaken reading clearly occurred in the publication *Captive Passage*, a profusely illustrated catalog for a traveling exhibition, organized by the Mariners' Museum (Newport News, Virginia), which also contains essays by some leading scholars of slavery. In this publication (for which, it must be stressed, the authors of the essays bear no responsibility for the illustrations and their captions), the Livingstone illustration is reproduced with the following totally erroneous bibliographic and historical caption: 'This lithograph by British botanist Mungo Park depicts slaves being marched to a port or market in Africa around 1790'.[13]

As a final comment, there are several embellished and modified versions of the original Livingstone engraving. Figure 2 shows one of the more commonly reproduced of these. Although we have been unable to identify the original source for this illustration, none of the secondary works or websites we have seen cites the primary source and all appear to ultimately depend on the Mary Evans Picture Library, which shows the image on its website.[14]

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Africans Thrown from a Slave Ship

The broader bibliographic and historical issues described above are also reflected in another widely used illustration, that of enslaved Africans being thrown from a slaving vessel.

This illustration was originally published in *The Liberator*, the American abolitionist newspaper, on 7 January 1832 (vol. 11: 2) to accompany a brief article on Brazil.[15] The artist is not identified and the scene depicted seems to have been constructed/imagined, and not based on the artist's own eyewitness observation; moreover, the illustration appears to have been done specifically for *The Liberator*. Likewise, the author of the accompanying article is unknown, but seems to have had first-hand

Figure 2 Slave Coffle, based on Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 1865

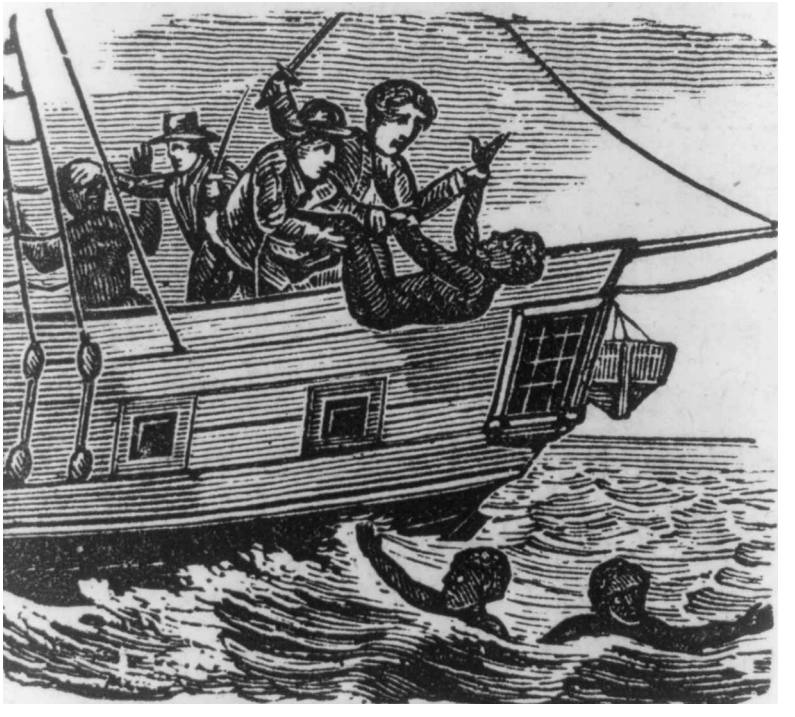

Figure 3 Africans Thrown from Slave Ship, first published in *The Liberator*, 1832

knowledge of Brazil. The article was published by the editor of *The Liberator* in the form of a brief 'Extract of a Letter dated Rio de Janeiro', and is reproduced below in its entirety:

> The Brazilian Government derives large revenue from the importation of slaves, by laying a duty of so much per head immediately on their arrival, without regard to their health or condition. When vessels, therefore, which have slaves on board, arrive off the port, a general survey takes place by the physician, and those poor wretches whose existence is doubtful, are thrown overboard alive, in order to save the duty!

The illustration was published in the following year in the popular French magazine *Le Magasin Pittoresque* (vol. 1 [1833]: 80) to accompany a brief report on the slave trade, but the image's source was not cited.[16] Quite independently, the illustration was also later published in various nineteenth-century American abolitionist works, but the original source is never identified and no explanatory labeling or commentary is given. One of these works is *The Slave's Friend* (New York, Anti-slavery Office, 1836), a pamphlet designed for children, and another is A. M. [Austa Medinda] French, *Slavery in South Carolina and the Ex-Slaves* (New York, 1862).[17] It is the illustration from the A. M. French book, a photographic copy of which is readily available from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs division (LC-USZ62-30833), that is reproduced in modern secondary sources without any reference to its original context.

Although sometimes reproduced in modern works on the slave trade, to our knowledge this illustration is never properly identified. It is published, for example,

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in Burnside and Robotham's widely known *Spirits of the Passage*, but *Harper's Weekly*, 1860, is inaccurately given as the primary source. Moreover, the accompanying text implies that the picture relates to an incident in 1819, wherein the captain of a French slaving vessel had 39 enslaved Africans, assumed to be permanently blind, thrown overboard so that he could claim his losses from the ship's insurance underwriters.[18] This image is also sometimes used to depict the so-called Zong case or incident, with the implication that the original illustration was produced around the time of the event. The slave ship Zong, bound from West Africa to Jamaica in 1781, had a serious epidemic on board, and over a three-day period the captain threw 131 weakened and sick slaves into the sea; the incident provoked a controversy in England.[19]

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An Enslaved Brazilian with Face Mask and Neck Collar

The enigmatic and somewhat androgynous picture of an enslaved Brazilian man show in Figure 4 was initially sketched or drawn by the French artist and writer, Jacques Etienne Victor Arago, during his almost two-month-long visit to Brazil from early December 1817 to late January 1818; or, possibly, during his subsequent three-month visit from June to September in 1820. Derived from that drawing was the lithograph shown here. It was first published in 1839, in one of Arago's accounts of his visit to Brazil.

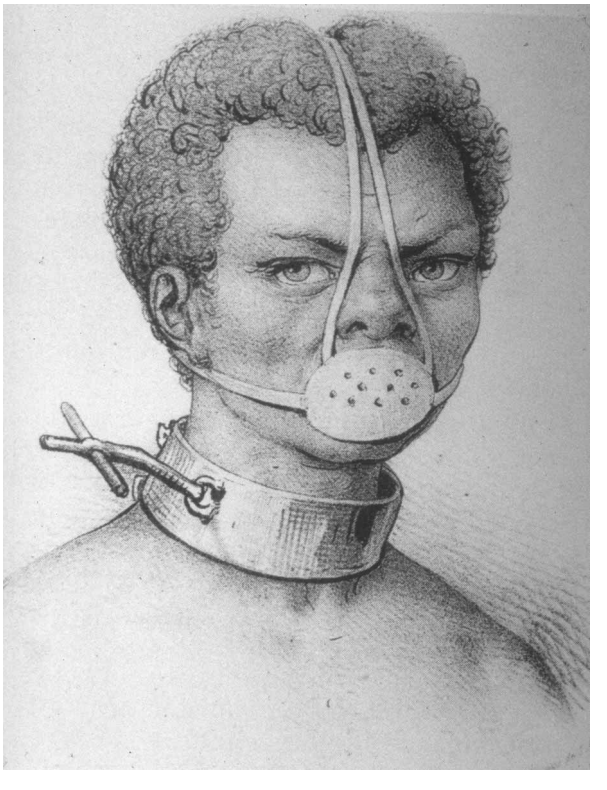

Figure 4 Brazilian Slave, from Arago, *Souvenirs d'un Aveugle*, 1839

Jacques Arago was born in southwestern France in 1790. In 1817, at the suggestion of his brother François (who later became a celebrated naturalist), the French government permitted Jacques to join a scientific expedition to the Pacific under the command of Captain Louis de Freycinet. Leaving his wife and children, Arago embarked on the ship Uranie as its official draftsman ('dessinateur') and as the only civilian member of the expedition. The ship left Toulon in September 1817 and, after brief stops at Gibraltar and Tenerife, arrived at Brazil in early December. It spent close to two months in Brazil, primarily in Rio de Janeiro, and it was on this visit that Arago first experienced enslaved Africans. The Uranie then proceeded across the South Atlantic by the Cape of Good Hope, through the Indian Ocean, and from there to various Pacific islands, and ultimately to Sydney, Australia, where the expedition remained until December 1819. On the return trip to France, the expedition again stopped at Rio in mid-June 1820, staying for three months, and finally arrived at Le Havre in November 1820—in all, a voyage of nearly three years and two months.

Arago's participation in the expedition and the approximately 500 drawings that were produced (most never having been published and some of which may have been done by other illustrators), of landscapes, coastal views, zoology, botany and the native inhabitants of the areas where the expedition landed, were highly lauded by the expedition's leaders, governmental officials and scientific personnel. After his return to France, Arago developed a career in literature, journalism and the theatre. However, in 1837 he was forced to abandon his position as co-director of a theatre in Rouen because of diabetic blindness. Nevertheless, he continued to be highly productive throughout his life: he founded a few literary journals, produced plays, traveled and published prolifically—poetry, plays, literary essays, newspaper articles, travel accounts. He returned to Brazil, for which he had developed a lifelong attraction during his first voyage, four or five times during his lifetime; he ultimately died there in November 1854.[20]

In 1822, not long after returning to France, Arago published his first account of the Freycinet expedition as *Promenade Autour du Monde Pendant les Années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820, sur les Corvettes du Roi l'Uranie et la Physicienne* (Paris, 1822). In this two-volume work he briefly records his observations on the plight of Rio's enslaved Africans. Witnessing the arrival of one of the many slaving vessels in Rio's port, he expressed his dismay and indignation at the abject condition of the Africans aboard. He also visited the slave markets of Rio's Valonga (Val Longo, Vallongo) Street and described the 'damp, dirty, and pestilential/pestiferous room, open on all sides, [where] they have thrown together men, women, children, and old people, all naked and bowed down by the most dreadful misery'.[21] Rose de Freycinet, the wife of the expedition's commander, had persuaded her husband to allow her—at the risk of official censure—to stow away and accompany him on board the Uranie. While the ship stopped at Rio in 1817–18, she was also disturbed by the slavery she witnessed and 'found the slaves even worse housed, even dirtier, even more the victims of disease than the lowest class of Brazilian'. She also recorded how Arago observed the sales at Rio's slave markets, and that during his walks around the city or exploring the surrounding mountain paths he met slaves on their errands and talked to them. It

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was he, among the members of the Uranie expedition, Mme. de Freycinet reported, who 'enter[ed] most deeply into the feelings of the slaves themselves'.[22]

Although an *Atlas* of 26 plates (mostly of Indian Ocean inhabitants and Pacific islanders) accompanied Arago's 1822 work, the picture of the enslaved Brazilian was not included.[23] Despite his increasingly failing eyesight, brought on by diabetes, Arago continued to write and publish, completing a revised and very much expanded version of his successful 1822 *Promenade Autour du Monde*. This new five-volume edition, completed when he was already blind, was published in Paris in 1839–40 as *Souvenirs d'un Aveugle; Voyage Autour du Monde, Enrichi de 60 Dessins et de Notes Scientifiques*, and also achieved a great success. It was in Volume 1 of this work that the lithograph of the Brazilian slave derived from a drawing executed years before Arago became blind—was initially published with the brief caption 'Chatiment des Esclaves (Brésil)'.[24]

Although the 1822 *Promenade* does *not* contain the 'Chatiment des Esclaves' lithograph, it does include a critical discussion of Brazilian slavery, part of which briefly describes the use of the iron collar and mask:

> A slave who attempts to escape is flogged and around his neck is placed an iron collar [anneau de fer] with a short sword attached; the tip of this sword is directed against his shoulder and he continues to wear this collar until his master thinks fit to remove it. I have seen two Negroes whose faces were covered with tin masks [masques de fer blanc] with holes made for the eyes. They were punished in this manner because their misery caused them to eat earth to end their lives.[25]

In his 1839 *Souvenirs d'un Aveugle*, Arago provides a few more details on the illustration that is now published for the first time:

> . . . see this man who passes by [voyez cet homme que passé la], with an iron collar [anneau de fer] to which is vertically attached a sword [épée] of the same metal . . . tightly squeezing his neck; this is a slave [c'est un ésclave] who tried to escape and who his master identifies as a fugitive . . . And here is an other [voici un autre] whose face is entirely covered with an iron mask [masque de fer] which has two holes for the eyes, and which is locked behind the head with a strong padlock.[26]

Arago briefly indicates that the face mask was used to prevent dirt eating, a practice, he was told, that slaves followed in order to commit suicide and escape punishment by whipping. This was a common reason given by slaveholders throughout the New World for 'dirt eating' or geophagy, a behavior that, in fact, was prompted by nutritional deficiencies.[27] What is puzzling, however, is that although Arago illustrates and describes the iron collar with the attached short sword or dagger, he *does not* describe the metal plate over the mouth that he illustrates; rather, he describes *but does not illustrate* another type of face mask slavemasters used as punishment. What Arago was referring to in his 1822 and 1839 *written* descriptions of the mask, one that covered the face entirely, can be clarified by other illustrations of enslaved Brazilians around the same period.

Jean Baptiste Debret lived in Brazil from 1816 to 1831, and illustrated a man wearing such a tin mask ['masque de fer blanc'] (Figure 5); slaves with a 'a passion/compulsion for eating earth', he wrote, 'are forced to wear it'.[28]

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Figure 5 Brazilian Slave with Face Mask, from Debret

Not many years later, in 1846, Thomas Ewbank visited Brazil for about seven months. He illustrated this type of mask (Figure 6), but, according to him, slaves were forced to wear it as 'the reputed ordinary punishment and preventative of drunkenness . . . . [It] is to hinder him or her from conveying the liquor to the mouth'.[29]

This type of mask was also shown in *Le Magasin Pittoresque* (1846, vol. 14: 229; see Figure 7), over the caption 'Esclave Marron a Rio de Janeiro'. The drawing, made in situ by 'M. Bellel', illustrates a brief article on Brazilian slavery. Captured fugitives, the unidentified author wrote, are treated so brutally that their despondency inclines them to suicide. Thus, they 'poison themselves' by drinking large quantities of strong liquor at one time or by eating dirt. Slave owners affix these masks so as to prevent these behaviors.[30]

However interpreted, it is absolutely clear that the image produced by Arago was not of a slave he identified by name. In fact, because the image shows both a mouth-mask as well as an iron collar, it probably represents a composite of different slaves he observed in Rio. And his brief descriptions in 1822 and 1839 that explicate the picture (see quotations above) also make it plain that he is referring to at least several people. Moreover, the male pronouns that Arago used in his references to

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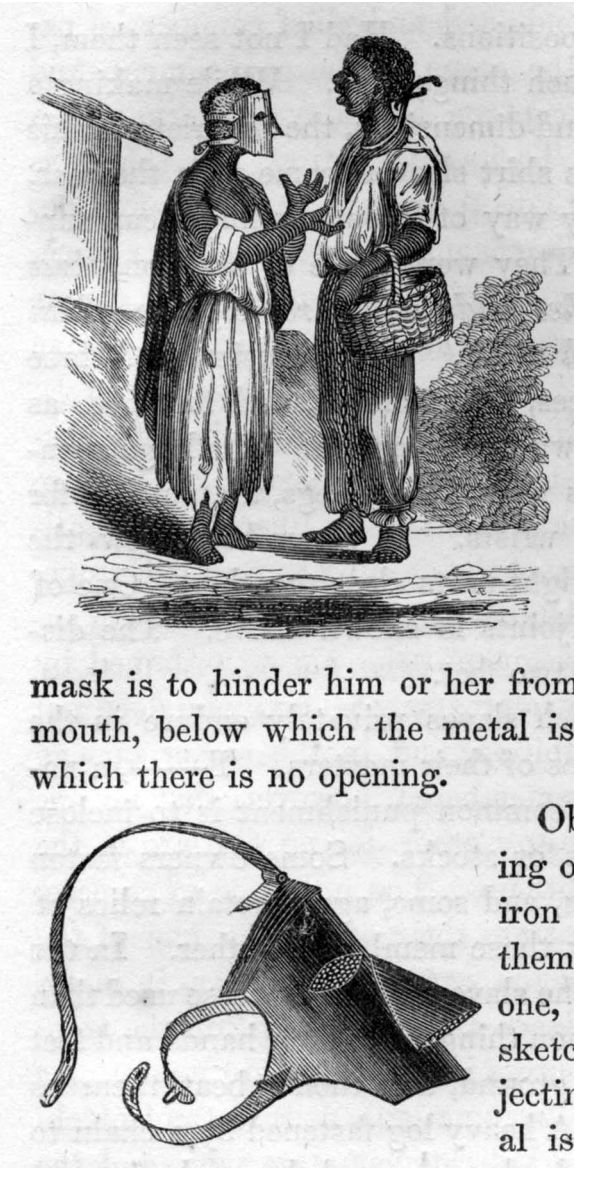

Figure 6 Brazilian Slave with Face Mask, from Ewbank, *Life in Brazil*, 1856

this image (e.g. 'voyez cet homme,' 'c'est un ésclave,' 'voici un autre'; see above) make it equally clear that despite its somewhat androgynous perspective the image was intended to depict a male, not a female.

The Arago illustration has been published or reprinted in modern books and appears on current websites that deal with Atlantic slavery. These reproductions are generally used to illustrate the brutality of the slave regime, but Arago's 1839 book is rarely cited as the image's primary source, and Brazil is seldom mentioned.

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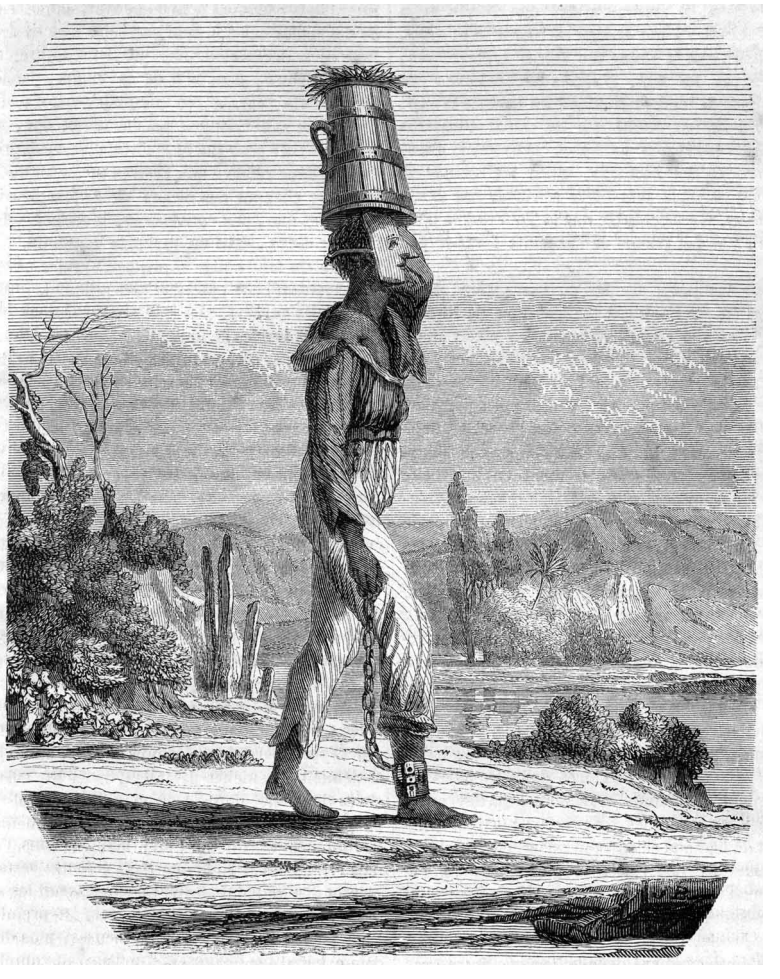

Figure 7 Enslaved Brazilian with Face Mask, *Le Magasin Pittoresque*, 1846

Moreover, although there are some pictorial variations between the lithograph that first appeared in the 1839 work (Figure 4) and the images that appeared in several of its nineteenth-century translations into foreign-language and later French editions (Figure 8),[31] the original image has been embellished in some modern publications to make it appear more feminine. This feminization appears in works that discuss an Afro-Brazilian Catholic movement devoted to Anastacia, an enslaved woman who suffered greatly at the hands of her tormenters.[32] Even when the image has not been embellished or altered, it is often misinterpreted, misidentified, or not identified in secondary sources on slavery.[33]

It is very likely, and should be made clear, that some or most of the authors of books or websites who reproduce this image are unaware of its origins, having obtained it from either a commercial photo bureau or another secondary

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Figure 8 'El Castigo de la Argolla', Arago, *Recuerdos de un Ciego*, 1851

source that, in turn, may have relied on a commercial outlet or even still another secondary source.[34] In such cases, captions can be incorrect or misleading. For example, a website for a public/state school system in Paw Paw, a town in Michigan, shows the Arago image and describes it as a 'slave with iron muzzle worn to keep him from stealing extra food'. Another site designed to 'provide historical information linked to the English National Curriculum, for teachers, pupils, parents and anyone who wishes to further their historical knowledge', tells us 'This picture shows a slave who has been muzzled. Probably as a punishment for talking too much'. Still another website shows the image, gives it an 1839 date, but provides no source, and states that the artist is unknown; further, the website notes that this 'image comes from a French publication, highlighting the importance of the international arena of public opinion in supporting the American Abolitionist movement'.[35]

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Conclusion

It is almost axiomatic that images do not 'speak for themselves'. Early historical images, even those that purport to be 'realistic', can easily be misinterpreted unless the primary source is known and the historical context and conditions under which the image was created can be assessed. For example, the well-known illustrations in D. O. Dapper's seventeenth-century history of Africa are often taken, particularly in modern works for the general reader, to more or less accurately depict early African social and cultural scenes and have been used as historical evidence for pre-colonial Africa. However, Adam Jones has effectively argued that Dapper—who had never visited Africa—took little, if any, 'interest in what sort of visual material was to accompany his text', and that the engravings were probably done by his publisher Van Meurs. 'For those interested in seventeenth-century black Africa', Jones concludes, 'rather than in the history of European perceptions, few of the plates showing human beings and artefacts are of any value . . . . [and] originated solely from Van Meurs' imagination'.[36] Other examples that come to mind are in the well-known, and often reproduced, scenes purporting to show a 1643 slave auction in New Amsterdam (New York City) or the 1619 landing of the first enslaved Africans at Jamestown, Virginia. These are often taken in secondary sources whose authors are unaware of the primary source—as accurate representations of the events they are intended to portray; they are, in fact, the imagined reconstructions of the prominent late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century American artist, Howard Pyle.[37] We can also cite the well-known illustrations of Brazilian slavery by the Bavarian artist Johann Moritz Rugendas. These are often assumed to be precise renderings of what Rugendas observed during his three years in Brazil in the 1820s. Although Rugendas was concerned with accuracy, and the illustrations can be very useful sources of data, Robert W. Slenes has recently argued how much Rugendas' drawings were informed by his anti-slavery views; that is, his drawings were more of a 'lamp, directed with political intent, than . . . a "mirror". Rugendas had an intellectual and artistic agenda that guided his "documentary" work and that must be understood before his scenes may be safely scanned for other purposes.'[38] As a final example, we note an illustration of a purported 'slave emancipation festival' in Barbados which is sometimes reproduced in secondary sources as a faithful rendition of an actual scene viewed by an eye-witness; it is, however, a late-nineteenth-century artist's imaginative rendering which has nothing to do with the island itself.[39]

Although illustrations can be highly useful as sources of data and in portraying past events and social scenes, by this article we hope to convince historical researchers (and, by extension, their publishers) to pay as much attention to the illustrations, and the context in which they were created, that accompany their publications as they do to citing the written sources upon which their research depends. Needless to say, images are also useful in evoking scenes of the past, but we urge researchers to clearly specify the contexts of their images and clarify how much they can be relied on as 'authentic' representations of the scenes and events they purportedly represent.[40]

Acknowledgements

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Notes

[1] Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/.

[2] Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition*, facing page 356. One of the objectives of this work, David Livingstone wrote in the preface, was 'to bring before my countrymen, and all others interested in humanity, the misery entailed by the slave-trade in its inland phases . . .' (5).

[3] Ibid., 355–57. The 'stout stick' could also be called a 'Goree' or 'slave stick'. See Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, image references GOREE, PRO-4, LCP-17, VILE-43.

[4] Livingstone briefly gives his reasons in letters of 17 October 1859 and 30 July 1865; see Foskett, *The Zambesi Doctors*, 58–59, 120–21. For biographical information on Baines, his participation in the Zambezi expedition, and samples of his work, see Wallis, *Thomas Baines.* Other biographical data as well as examples of Baines' drawings and sketches are published in Thomas Baines, *The Victoria Falls Zambesi River*; see particularly preface by M. A. Baines.

[5] Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition*, 355–57.

[6] Ibid., vii. From 1858 to 1863 John Kirk was Livingstone's chief assistant on the Zambezi expedition, serving as both a medical doctor and naturalist. Kirk was an 'enthusiastic amateur photographer, and although Charles Livingstone was the official photographer, almost all the surviving photographs were made by Kirk' (see McMullen, "Kirk, Sir John", http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/34336 [one must be a subscriber to access this website]). On Kirk's photography, see also Foskett, *Zambesi Doctors*, 3, 13–14.

[7] Waller, the editor of *The Last Journals of David Livingstone* (vol. 1: 15), notes that Livingstone, 'though no great artist, had acquired a practice of making rude sketches of scenes and objects', and reports that the illustrations in *The Last Journals* were based on these sketches.

[8] Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, 48; also published in later editions, e.g., New York, 1881, 1908. This history was written for children.

[9] Manning, *Slavery and African Life*, 158. This work came to our attention very late in our research, after we had consulted many secondary works on the slave trade and were not aware of any that properly cited the primary source.

[10] Drescher and Engerman, *A Historical Guide to World Slavery*, 291; a typo (?) also mistakenly identifies Tette as Teffe. The caption writer for illustrations in the volume, James Smalls, made the error (James Smalls, e-mail communication to Handler, 30 March 2001). As an aside, but something which well illustrates the issues we are discussing in this article, at least several other images in the Drescher and Engerman volume (70, 277) which purport to show aspects of the transatlantic slave trade and middle passage have nothing to do with that trade. One shows an Asian being whipped aboard a British or American vessel (the correct citation is not as given in Drescher and Engerman, but rather *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* [June 1864], vol. 29: 5). The other shows convicts receiving their water supplies on the deck of a British ship taking them from India to Java (originally published in ibid. [August 1857], vol. 15: 325).

[11] Thomas, *Slave Trade*, fig. 48. The image is also reproduced in Postma, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, following page 85, where it is captioned 'Slave coffle, marching in chain-gang style to the East African Coast'; no primary source is given, although there is an imprecise and vague reference to the 'Collections of the Library of Congress'. Similarly, in his recent history, Joe William Trotter does not cite a primary source, merely acknowledging the Library Company of Philadelphia, but erroneously captions the image as follows: 'enslaved Africans march overland to forts on the West African coast' (*The African American Experience*, 32).

[12] *Mungo Park's Travels* contains a few illustrations but none of coffles.

[13] *Captive Passage*, 42. However, the caption and its font face suggest the image used in *Captive Passage* was actually taken from Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, 48 (see above) or from some other secondary source that itself relied on Coffin's publication. (There are quite a few misleading or inaccurate captions and bibliographic citations to the illustrations in *Captive Passage*.) Other secondary works which reproduce this image but do not cite the original source, and imply or state it refers to the Atlantic slave trade, include: Walvin, *Slavery and the Slave Trade*, 45; Ortiz, *Los Negros Esclavos*, but taken from some other unidentified secondary work; Svalesen, *Slave Ship Fredensborg*, 98; and Capela, *Escravatura*, front cover. A number of websites use this image, but they fail to give a primary source and imply or state the image refers to the transatlantic slave trade. See, for example, "Bristol Slavery: The City of Bristol and its Links with the Transatlantic Slave Trade" at http://www.headleypark.bristol.sch.uk/slavery/background/whyafricanslaves.htm; "Africans in America", the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) series at http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part1/1h316.html which credits a commercial supplier, the Granger Collection); "History on the Net, Black Peoples of America" at http://www.historyonthenet.com/Slave_Trade/effectsonafrica.htm; Anti-Slavery Society at http://www.antislavery.org/breakingthesilence/upfromslavery.shtml; and the website of the public schools in Paw Paw, Michigan at http://www.pawpaw.k12.mi.us/cedarstreet/0kidkorner/free/journey/journey.htm.

[14] The Mary Evans Picture Library (MEPL) appears to be the main, if not the only, source for this illustration in modern secondary works. The MEPL (picture number 10012240) gives its source as Vernon Lovett Cameron, *Travels in Central Africa*. However, we could not find a work by that title under Cameron's authorship; moreover, Cameron's *Across Africa* (New York, 1877) does not contain this illustration. In *An African's Life*, 11, James Walvin publishes this illustration, acknowledging his source as the MEPL, but also repeats the MEPL's erroneous Cameron citation and inexplicably adds an 1873 publication date. He also publishes the MEPL image in his *Black Ivory*, as does Anthony Tibbles in *Transatlantic Slavery*, 106. The MEPL, either directly or indirectly, is also the source of the image shown on various websites, e.g., http://www.channel4.com/history/microsites/U/untold/programs/slave/page2.html; http://www.blackpresence.co.uk/pages/slavery/slavery4.htm. Adopting the image from a vaguely identified collection in France (but not from a primary source), Simone Schwarz-Bart also publishes this illustration without comment in her essay on the Brazilian slave, Anastacia (*In Praise of Black Women*, vol. 2: 20 [see below, note 34]). Another variation and an even more embellished version of this illustration (not shown in this article) is also distributed by the MEPL which imprecisely cites the primary source as *Life & Travels of David Livingstone*. What seems to be the MEPL illustration (picture 10012238) occasionally appears on websites but the primary source is not cited. In Finkelman and Miller, *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, vol. 1: 242, the illustration is reproduced, but is incorrectly located in Zanzibar and the only source cited is the commercial house of Corbis-Bettmann. Neil Grant also publishes this image, captioning it as 'captured villagers on their way to be sold at the coast', gives a non-supported date of c. 1894, and credits Radio Times Hulton Picture Library (*Savage Trade*, 51,139).

[15] Phillip Lapsansky was instrumental in identifying this illustration and locating its original source as *The Liberator*.

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[16] The illustration is captioned 'Négriers jetant leurs cargaison a la mer' (Slavers throwing their cargo into the sea). The same image, but with a slightly modified caption, was also published in another, albeit unidentified, French source shown on the website at http://perso.club-internet.fr/obydol/e-Gallery.html. See below, note 19 for an entirely different, but similarly captioned, illustration which also shows enslaved Africans being ejected from a slave ship.

[17] Copies of both works are located in the Library Company of Philadelphia. However, the image is not found in all copies of French's book (for example, it is lacking in the Library of Congress and the University of Virginia Library copies). *The Slave's Friend* is also available in the Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library, and has been made available on-line by the University of Virginia's Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities; see Stephen Railton, "Figure descriptions for the *Slave's Friend*; electronic edition", IATH Electronic Text Center at http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu:1852/utc/pretexts/gallery; it is also online at *Nineteenth-century American Children and What They Read* at http://www.merrycoz.org/slave/SLAVE10.HTM. In neither case is the original source cited or other information provided on the illustration.

[18] Burnside and Robotham, *Spirits of the Passage*, 127. The image also appears, without any source attribution and no—or very superficial—or even misleading explanatory notes, in other modern works, e.g., Everett, *The Slaves*, 61; Aquet, *Pictorial History of the Slave Trade*, 68; Walvin, *Slavery and the Slave Trade*, 58 (the image is used, as the caption indicates, to illustrate how 'slave traders sometimes threw slaves overboard to avoid being caught by the Royal Navy patrols' after Britain's 1807 abolition of the slave trade). Charles M. Christian, crediting the Library of Congress, uses the illustration to depict one aspect of the middle passage; because of the 'abominable' conditions aboard slave ships, he writes, captains feared rebellions and 'would punish unruly slaves severely, sometimes throwing them overboard . . . to discourage others' (*Black Saga*, 39). In a similar vein, but never with a primary source given, the image appears—or has appeared—on various websites, e.g., the commercial photo house, Corbis (IH 023974); *The Norton Anthology of English Literature, The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century: Topics Slavery and the Slave Trade in Britain* at http://www.wwnorton.com/nael/18century/topic_2/illustrations/imoverboard.htm which credits the commercial photo house Radio Times Hulton Picture Library, today part of Getty Images, the commercial photo archives; the website of a professor of British civilization at the Université Paris 13 http://www.univ-paris13.fr/ANGLICISTES/POIRIER/UE04M/POIRIER-UE04M03a.htm which, in turn, is taken from another secondary source (Grant, *Savage Trade*, 95); Grant credits Radio Times Hulton Picture Library. In none of these websites is the original source identified. The Bridgeman Art Library shows the image on its website, but erroneously identifies the primary source as Torrey, *American Slave Trade*, an American Abolitionist tract, locating the copy at the Library of Congress. However, Handler examined copies in the Library of Congress and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and neither contains this illustration. The 1822 edition of Torrey is an abridgement of his 1817 *Portraiture of Domestic Slavery* which also lacks this illustration in copies examined by Handler at the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Boston Athenaeum; the second edition (Ballston Spa, published by the author, 1818) and its modern reprints also lack the illustration.

[19] See, for example, Rodriguez, *Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, vol. 2: 714 (which erroneously gives *Harper's Weekly*, 1860 as the primary source); Walvin, *Slavery and the Slave Trade*, 58; Grant, *Savage Trade*, 95. A quite different and unrelated image which nonetheless has been, occasionally misleadingly, used to illustrate the Zong incident appears in a nineteenth-century multi-volume French maritime history. This illustration, titled 'Négrier Poursuivi, Jétant ses Negres a la Mer' (Slave Ship being Pursued, Throwing its Blacks into the Sea), accompanies a description of an incident that occurred at an unspecified date, but apparently sometime after abolition of the slave trade, near the Indian ocean island of Bourbon (present-day Reunion); see Charles Van Tenac, *Histoire Générale*, vol. 4: 228–9; also Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, image reference 'mariners30'.

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[20] A detailed summary of the expedition's route, misfortunes and major scientific findings, including an overview of Arago's role as draftsman, is incorporated in a report submitted in April 1821 to the French Academy of Sciences by an eight-man group which included Arago's brother, François ("Report Made to the Academy of Sciences, upon The Voyage Round the World, of the Corvette Uranie"). This report is prefixed to the English translation of Arago's 1822 *Promenade Autour du Monde*, published as *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, commanded by Captain Freycinet, during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820 . . . by J. Arago, draftsman to the expedition* (London, 1823). Biographical data on Arago are derived from the "Report" as well as Arago's *Promenade* and the following works: Sarda, *Les Arago*, 185–201; Laureilhe, "Jacques Arago," 96–102; Quérard, *La Littérature Française*, 62–4; and Hoefer, *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle*, 954–5. The full report on the Freycinet expedition is in Freycinet, *Voyage Autour du Monde.* This multi-volume work includes a large *Atlas Historique* with 112 plates, many in color and very detailed, and drawn by several illustrators, including Arago. Although some of the plates show Brazilian scenes (but not the slave we discuss), most depict various areas in the Indian and Pacific oceans.

[21] Arago, *Promenade*, 99–100 (our translation). For a detailed discussion of the markets on this street, see Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio*, 29–54; contemporary illustrations of the slave markets are shown on Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, images 'vista05', 'GRA1', 'H015'.

[22] Bassett, *Realms and Islands*, 33–4. See also Riviere, *Woman of Courage.*

[23] Arago signs all of the plates, and the only Brazilian subject is a church in Rio. The *Atlas* consulted by Handler is in the Bibliothèque du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris. The plates are also interspersed throughout the English translation, *Narrative of a Voyage*.

[24] *Souvenirs d'un Aveugle*, vol. 1, facing page 119. The lithograph was derived from Arago's drawing, but a lithographer, N. Maurin, whose name appears under the published drawing, drew it on the lithographic stone. We cannot establish how Arago's original drawing compares with the published version. Efforts to locate the original drawing, including correspondence with French scholars and archivists, have failed. It may be held by Arago's descendants in France because some of his other drawings are/were in the family's possession (see Laureilhe, "Jacques Arago," 98; Bassett, *Realms and Islands*, 117, 255–7; Riviere, *Woman of Courage*, ix).

[25] *Promenade*, vol. I: 102; our translation. The tip of the sword was pointed toward the shoulder so that if the slave moved his head in the wrong direction, it would jab into the shoulder.

[26] *Souvenirs d'un Aveugle*, vol. 1: 119; our translation. In the 1822 edition the mask is identified as made of tin; in 1839, of iron (see above quotes). We cannot explain this discrepancy unless it was a printing error since, in French, "fer" is iron, "fer-blanc" is tin. Arago's description of his second visit to Rio, during the return trip to France, very briefly mentions changes in the city since his earlier visit three years before, but he sees no change in the living and working conditions of the slaves and their cruel treatment. He does not refer to the drawing of the slave with mask and collar; another indication that the drawing was done during his first visit (ibid., vol. 4, 323–4).

[27] See, for example, Higgins, "Pica".

[28] Debret's watercolor is in a museum in Rio and is published in Moraes, *O Brasil dos Viajantes*, 93.

[29] Ewbank, *Life in Brazil*, 437.

[30] A similar mask was illustrated for Trinidad where, according to Richard Bridgens, it was used as 'a punishment and preventative of . . . dirt eating' (*West India Scenery*, plate 20). See Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, image reference BRIDG-4_IMG.

[31] The lithograph was also published, albeit in modified form—presumably because the original plates were not available—in subsequent French editions (e.g. Paris, 1844, 76, and later publications), and Russian (St. Petersburg, 1844, 51) and Spanish translations (Madrid, 1851, facing page 32). Figure 8 shows the image in the 1851 Madrid edition, and this

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appears to be a copy of the image that appeared in the 1844 Paris edition. Copies of various French editions of Arago's accounts, as well as their translations, are in several major libraries, e.g. Library of Congress, British Library, Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, but none of these libraries contain all editions. As well as English and Spanish, Arago's volumes were also translated into German (Leipzig 1854, 1857), Italian (Milan, 1824; Naples, 1830), and Russian (St. Petersburg, 1844); the image appearing in the Russian edition resembles that in the 1844 Paris and Madrid editions, but differs from these.

[32] For details on how Arago's image was appropriated in the late twentieth century to represent Anastacia, see Handler, "From Arago to Antastacia".

[33] Although the image does not appear in the original 1916 edition of Ortiz, *Negros Esclavos* (Havana), it is published in the 1975 reprint (Havana) with an identification of Arago as the original source; however, nothing is said about the image. Walvin's well-known *Slavery and the Slave Trade*, 113, shows the image with the caption 'punishment for a slave'; no primary source is cited and the illustration appears to come from some commercial photo house (see ibid., "Acknowledgements"). In the elaborately illustrated catalog of an art exhibition held in São Paulo, Brazil, in 2000, the 1839 Arago image is reproduced. While the catalog acknowledges Arago as the artist, his 1839 publication is not cited; the image is merely identified as a 'hand-colored lithograph' in the hands of a private collector—creating the impression that the image was separately published (Aguilar, *Mostra do Redescobrimento*, 286). In Susanne Blier's *African Vodun* one version of the image (with a misleading textual reference) is reproduced (26, Figure 18); the 1839 Arago volume is cited as the primary source. However, Blier acknowledges taking the image not from the 1839 volume itself, but rather credits Paul Lovejoy's edited volume of essays in honor of Philip Curtin, *Africans in Bondage*. The image does, indeed, appear on the cover of this volume. Lovejoy acknowledges Mary Karasch 'for the cover graphics', and cites Arago's 1839 edition as the primary source. However, the version of the image that is published in Lovejoy, and later used by Blier, is *not* from Arago's 1839 publication; rather, it appears in the 1844 French edition of *Souvenirs*, as well as in its 1851 Spanish translation (see Figure 8).

[34] The Public Broadcasting System (USA) website for its program 'Africans in America' is the only website we have found which indicates the primary source for this image, but the website gives a misleading explanation for the image and a caption that is not found in Arago's volume: see http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part1/1h308.html; several other websites show the image, but provide no bibliographic citation or explanation, e.g., 'AfricanAmericans.com', a website 'Dedicated To All Things For And About The African American Diaspora' at http://www.africanamericans.com/SlaveryBeginningsinAmerica.htm.

[35] See http://www.pawpaw.k12.mi.us/cedarstreet/0kidkorner/free/chains/Chains.html; *History on the Net.com* in the section, 'Black Peoples of America: What is Slavery?' at http://www.historyonthenet.com/Slave_Trade/slaveryexplain.html; University of the Poor, 'the educational arm of the poor people's economic human rights campaign' at http://www.universityofthepoor.org/schools/artists/abolition/ironmuzz.htm.

[36] Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*; Jones, "Decompiling Dapper," 187–90. For examples of the images in Dapper, see Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*.

[37] "The Choicest Pieces of her Cargo Were Sold at Auction", *Harpers New Monthly Magazine* (Jan. 1895): 299; "Landing of Negroes at Jamestown from a Dutch Man-of-War, 1619", ibid. (Jan. 1901): 172 (see Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, images H007, H009).

[38] Rugendas, *Voyage Pittoresque*; Slenes, "African Abrahams", 149. For examples of Rugendas, see ibid. and Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, passim.

[39] See Handler and Tuite, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, image NW0232. One can also include in this general category images of historical personages, e.g. Toussaint L'Ouverture (the leader of the revolt in St. Domingue), or Nanny (the Jamaican Maroon and National Hero) for

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whom no life portraits exist, but artistic renderings are often taken as representations of their actual likenesses. In the case of Toussaint, books or websites that show his image not infrequently reproduce the dramatic and evocative portrait in Marcus Rainsford's well-known account, *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (1805). Although Rainsford provides a lengthy description of Toussaint's physical appearance, there is no evidence of an image of him that was actually taken from life. Yet authors who use this image do not make clear though they often may be unaware of its questionable authenticity, nor do they mention the existence of other images that might not be as dramatic (see ibid., image LCP-43 for the Rainsford image and citations to several other contemporary images of Toussaint. For additional images of Toussaint, see the website http://www.haiti-usa.org/special_features/toussaint_louverture/index.php). With respect to Nanny, virtually nothing is historically known of her physical appearance, and the widely used image of her was specifically created by a Jamaican artist in the 1970s (Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery*, 17-24). Today, that image appears on the Jamaican $500 bill, and is, for example, the emblem of the widely respected Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition (Yale University) as well as even adorning the website of a Smithsonian Institution traveling exhibition of maroon cultures in the Americas—http://www.sites.si.edu/exhibitions/exhibit_main.asp?id=99—though neither of these sources hint at or even suggest that the image is an entirely modern fabrication, and thus leave the impression that it represents an actual likeness of Nanny. See also the following items in the Jamaica Observer of 27 Feb. 2005, brought to my attention by Ken Bilby after the present article had gone to press: http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20050226t230000-0500_75842_obs_will_the_real_nanny__please_stand_up_.asp and http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/html/20050226t230000-0500_75843_obs_olive_bowen__the_nanny_model.asp.

[40] For a germane discussion that touches on a number of issues that we raise, see Masur, "Pictures Have Now Become a Necessity."

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