

**To Make Their Own Way
in the World**

*The Enduring Legacy
of the Zealy Daguerreotypes*

Edited by
Ilisa Barbash
Molly Rogers
Deborah Willis

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With a foreword by

Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

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*The Forgotten Debate
over Slavery and Race*

Manisha Sinha

Racial Science and Its Discontents

In his slave narrative, published by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in London in 1855, John Brown included an extraordinary chapter on “Dr. Hamilton’s Experiments upon Me.” His abusive Georgia master had allowed the doctor to experiment on Brown to find a remedy for sunstroke. Hamilton immersed Brown in a heated pit stripped naked, with only his head above the ground, until he fainted and had to be revived. The experiment was repeated “five or six times” with a few days’ respite in between each immersion. The charlatan doctor was soon marketing flour pills dissolved in cayenne pepper tea as a remedy for sunburns and “realized a large fortune.” Brown described Hamilton’s continued experiments on him: “Not satisfied with his initial experimentation, Hamilton set out to ascertain how deep my black skin went. This he did by applying blisters to my hands, legs and feet, which bear the scars to this day. He continued until he drew up the dark skin from between the upper and the under one. He used to blister me at intervals of about two weeks. He also tried other experiments upon me, which I cannot dwell upon.”¹ One wonders what other tortures Hamilton inflicted on Brown, in the name of “racial science.” (My own preference is for the term “pseudoscience of race,” being well aware that this was regarded as the science of the day.)

In a narrative riddled with slavery’s horrors—slave sales, the punishing pace of picking cotton from sunup to sundown, and beatings—Brown’s description of medical experimentation on humans under slavery stands out. It lays bare not just the unlimited access that slaveholders had to their slaves’ bodies, but also the actual human cost of the intellectual vogue of the “American school” of ethnology or the pseudoscience of race. The best-known instance of human experimentation in the slave South is the controversial case of Dr. J. Marion Sims, the so-called father of American

gynecology, who performed surgery without anesthesia on around eleven enslaved women, some owned by him. The use of anesthesia had just been discovered at the time that Sims operated on these women, one of whom, Anarcha, he operated on over thirty times. Sims claimed that, unlike white women, black women were less susceptible to pain. Medical experimentation on the poor and powerless, people unable, compelled, or bribed to give their consent, was common in the early modern West. In the United States, it was particularly the bodies of free and enslaved African Americans that were exploited in the name of medical science. Experimentation on enslaved people also gave rise to racist medical myths on the endurance for pain of different “races.”² In 2018, New York City finally took down the statue of Sims, our own Dr. Josef Mengele, after the recent controversy over Confederate statues. The sorry history of racist medical experimentation long outlived slavery, but the enslavement of black people facilitated the growth of scientific racism, which was an indispensable intellectual prop of the proslavery argument.

The *modus vivendi* reached between slaveholders and men of science, evident in Louis Agassiz’s collection of disturbing daguerreotypes of seven nude and seminude enslaved African Americans—Delia, Drana, Alfred, Jem, Jack, Renty, and George Fassena from South Carolina—had been long in the making. Its roots reached far back to the early modern “science of man” and the vogue for classifying the natural world. For sundry European naturalists and philosophers, these original human taxonomies further degenerated (pun intended) into a hierarchy of races and, for some, even distinct species. In the United States, the science of man became the “science of slavery,” serviceable in the cause of enslaving nonwhite, inferior “races” suited allegedly by nature to hard labor in hot climes. Hamilton’s horrific experiments were in line with Thomas Jefferson’s speculations on the nature of black skin and racial inferiority in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, first published in Paris in 1785.

Jefferson stressed allegedly natural physical and moral distinctions between the races, which he enumerated in a racist catalogue about color, smell, beauty, sexuality, and even capacities for sleep, imagination, reason, and art. He flirted with the crudest speculations of the racial pseudoscience of his day, including the fantastic idea touted by the Jamaican planter and historian Edward Long that orangutans copulated with Africans. Jefferson claimed that male orangutans revealed a uniform preference for African women, just as African men supposedly coveted white women. He differentiated between white slaves from antiquity and black slaves and offered the opinion, albeit with “great diffidence,” that “blacks are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination.” Jefferson’s suspicion that black people were “inferior to the whites in the endowments of both body and mind,” he admitted, acted as a “powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people.”³

The contours of the theoretical debate between scientific racists and black abolitionists were set from the inception of the American republic.

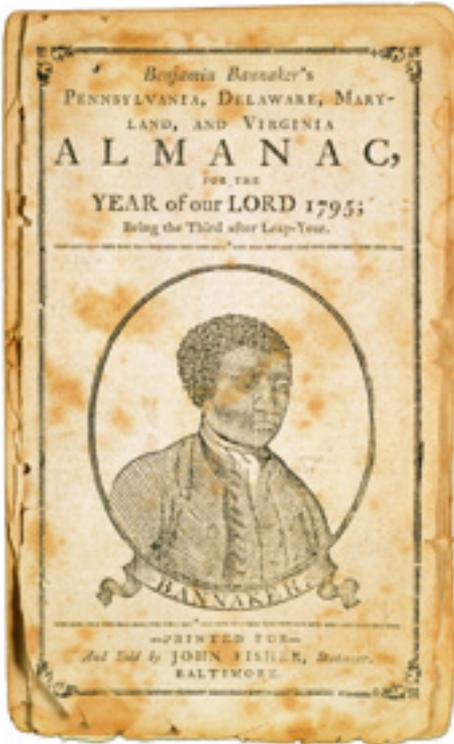


Figure 8.1. Artist unknown, Portrait of Benjamin Banneker from the title page of his *Almanac*, 1795. Woodcut

The most effective contemporary ripostes to “racial science” came from its targets. The astronomer and mathematician Benjamin Banneker, in his public letter to Jefferson in 1791, assured him that he was “of the African race, and in that colour which is natural to them of the deepest dye” (fig. 8.1). Jefferson responded courteously, but his private remarks, like his published ones on the black poets Phillis Wheatley and Ignatius Sancho, cast doubt on Banneker’s talents.⁴ To acknowledge black intellectual achievement would topple the entire edifice of the pseudoscience of race. As the new “racial science” became a modern intellectual component of proslavery ideology, black abolitionists sought to dispute its veracity on the grounds of religion, history, and sometimes science.⁵ While that debate rarely took place on a face-to-face basis, African Americans vigorously challenged the premises of modern “racial science” in antebellum America.

The Southern School of Ethnology

The intellectual history of racism in the Americas began with its “discovery” by European colonists. American colleges and universities, including Harvard, profited from slavery and the slave trade and were complicit in the

colonization and dispossession of Native Americans, and colonial-era scholars often provided the raw material for scientific racists. The scalps, skulls, and skeletons of Native Americans and African slaves became “human curios” collected and displayed by museums and scientists in Europe. The display of human remains peaked during the heyday of scientific racism at the turn of the nineteenth century. The most infamous case was that of Sara (also known as Saartjie or Saartje) Baartman, the “Hottentot Venus,” who was examined and dissected after her death by the French anatomist and scientific racist Georges Cuvier, Agassiz’s mentor. Black bodies proved to be easily exploitable sources for the study of anatomy at the new medical schools of Columbia University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Dartmouth College. The historian Daina Ramey Berry recently uncovered the prolific trade in cadavers of the enslaved among medical schools across the country, which put a price on black bodies even after death. Dr. Charles Caldwell, who established medical science departments in universities in Kentucky, also launched a full-scale attack on Reverend Samuel Stanhope Smith’s vindication of monogenesis and environmental theories on human variation, apparently hurrying him to his death by his sheer vindictiveness.⁶ American academia had proven to be a hospitable environment for intellectual racism even before the rise of ethnology.

The “American school” of ethnology, comprising the works of the craniologist Samuel George Morton of Philadelphia and his followers—the self-appointed Egyptologist and U.S. consul in Cairo George R. Gliddon, the physician Josiah C. Nott of Alabama, and the Swiss-born naturalist Agassiz of Harvard—gained scholarly currency by the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike popular beliefs in physiognomy and phrenology, the art of detecting character from one’s physical appearance and the shape of one’s head, the “scientific” pursuit of craniometry, measuring the skulls of “the unburied dead,” was deemed academically respectable. In 1839, Morton, whose collection of human skulls rivaled that of German physician and comparative anatomist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, published his findings in *Crania Americana*, the foundational text of American ethnology. He developed a hierarchical gradation of the “races” based on measurements of skull size and brain capacity, with, unsurprisingly, “Caucasians” on top and “Ethiopians” at the bottom. Morton’s measurements were considered more scientific than the Dutch anatomist Petrus Camper’s drawings that had ranked skulls according to facial angles, from orangutans to the Greek god Apollo. In his 1844 study *Crania Aegyptiaca*, after examining Egyptians’ skulls provided by the obliging Gliddon to whom Morton dedicated his book, Morton, again unsurprisingly, contended that the Egyptians were a lighter race and their slaves were of the darker races. Gliddon was an eager proponent of the argument that black Africans were incapable of civilization. On his death in 1851, Morton was eulogized in the South for “proving” black inferiority. If black abolitionists laid claim to the wonders of Egyptian

civilization, scientific racists resolved the problem of Egypt's awkward geographical location in Africa.⁷

American ethnology or scientific racism with its notions of biological racial inferiority was a handmaiden of the proslavery argument. Slavery ideologues recruited, in Nott's words, "Niggerology" for their cause. Dr. John H. Van Evrie of New York made the case for slavery purely on the grounds of inherent racial inferiority in his 1853 pamphlet *Negroes and Negro "Slavery": The First an Inferior Race: The Latter Its Normal Condition*.⁸ Nott, who inherited the mantle of Caldwell in the South, was a committed polygenist. He popularized Morton's theory that "mulattoes" were a hybrid "species" and were infertile, a "scientific" counterpart to the literary trope of the "tragic mulatto." In 1854, Nott and Gliddon coauthored the over eight-hundred-page, popular tome *Types of Mankind*, in which they made an argument for polygenesis or "the multiplicity of species in the human genus." The book was dedicated to "the memory of Morton," whose writings were excerpted, and it included a supporting essay by Agassiz. Nott was a regular contributor to the leading proslavery journal of the 1850s, *De Bow's Review*, named after its editor James D. B. De Bow. Nott, De Bow, and the antifeminist writer Louisa McCord frequently deployed scientific racism in their defense of slavery. For McCord, sex and color were "immutable creations"—natural and God-given distinctions—and scientific knowledge of the diverse origins of the races would vanquish slavery's critics.⁹

South Carolinian clergymen, who based their defense of slavery on a literal reading of the Bible, demurred. Polygenesis clearly contradicted the unitary or Adamic story of creation in the Bible. Proslavery theologians like Reverends James Henley Thornwell and John Adger fought against the heretical idea of the multiple origins of man, but they were hardly free from racism. In one case, Southern clergymen seriously undermined fundamentalist doctrine in their ardor to defend racial slavery. In interpreting Noah's curse on Ham's son Canaan, they not only extended the curse to all of Canaan's posterity, but also equated them with "the black race." While they were not the first to make this connection, this whole theory certainly went beyond the given word of the Bible. According to the inventive Reverend Iveson Brookes of South Carolina, God had personally cursed Ham with African features and ordained that "the negro" would never rise to intellectual greatness. The Ham story underwent wilder and more far-fetched transformations in the eager hands of lesser minds of the Old South. It illustrated that proslavery Christianity, though immune to the lures of polygenesis, freely borrowed from and relied on scientific racism.

The one South Carolinian minister who sought to refute polygenists on their own grounds was the Lutheran naturalist John Bachman. But Bachman, who published *The Doctrine of Unity of the Human Race* in 1850, was an unapologetic slaveholder. He contended that, though blacks and whites sprung from a single creation, blacks were permanently inferior. In

his review of Bachman's book, published in *De Bow's Review* a year later, Nott groused that Bachman "fully admits the *practical fact* for which we have been contending, but denies that this *now* 'permanent inferiority'" is "attributable to a separate origin." Reverend Adger also argued that blacks were of "Adam's race" but they were of an "inferior variety." In 1857, Gliddon, with a little help from Nott, issued another salvo at Bachman and his fellow monogenists, with *Indigenous Races of the Earth*. A year earlier, Nott and his Swiss-born follower Henry Hotze translated and published a one-volume version of Arthur de Gobineau's *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*, "the Bible of nineteenth century racists." The book was dedicated to "the statesman of America," presumably so that their policies on slavery could be informed by ethnology. As a Confederate agent in Europe during the Civil War, Hotze championed "scientific" arguments for white supremacy.¹⁰

In the debate over polygenesis and scientific racism, the slave South and South Carolina were not in the backwaters but at the very forefront of intellectual inquiry. Agassiz, who wrote of his repulsion to blackness and fell under the spell of Morton's skulls during a visit to Philadelphia, became a convert to polygenesis. He attended the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1850. On Dr. Robert W. Gibbes's invitation, Agassiz traveled to Columbia and, escorted by Gibbes, examined enslaved people of African descent on nearby plantations. Agassiz boasted of his ability to discern the national and ethnic origins of Africans with his expert gaze. Subsequently, Gibbes commissioned the daguerreotypes of five naked enslaved men and two women, stripped to their waists, at Joseph T. Zealy's studio, and had them stand in front, back, and profile poses, clearly meant to serve the cause of ethnology as human "specimens." Gibbes, who discerned the usefulness of scientific racism to the proslavery argument, was an admirer of Morton. Gibbes eulogized him in the *Charleston Medical Journal*: "For the present we can only say that we of the South should consider him as our benefactor, for aiding most materially in giving to the negro his true position as an inferior race. We believe the time is not far distant, when it shall be universally admitted that neither can 'the leopard change his spots, nor the Ethiopian his skin.'"¹¹ The scientifically minded Gibbes was also known to "mesmerize" his enslaved butler to entertain his dinner guests.

Soon after Agassiz received the daguerreotypes from Gibbes, he published three articles on the separate creations of human "races" in the *Christian Examiner*, a Unitarian journal. They comprised "evidence" for his scientific racism. In 1853, he met Nott and Gliddon in Mobile, Alabama, during a Southern lecture tour. Agassiz remained a true believer long after the Civil War and rejected Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, which ironically gave rise to newer versions of scientific racism and Social Darwinism, even though it dealt a death blow to the theory of polygenesis among

scientists and naturalists. Agassiz recommended racial separation and continued to tout the theory of “mulatto” infertility. His protégé Nathaniel Southgate Shaler of Kentucky inherited the torch at Harvard as a supporter of polygenesis and biological racial inferiority from him.¹²

The “racializing” of science proceeded apace during the heyday of Western imperialism. The original types or varieties of human beings expanded into a medley of races, with even whiteness categorized hierarchically from the pure northern European types to the swarthier southern Europeans, an idea that became enshrined in U.S. immigration law. While it is misguided to think of scientific objectivity in the aftermath of the publication of Thomas S. Kuhn’s *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) as merely a social construction, scientific method and theory, as human endeavors, are always embedded and informed by social and historical circumstances. That lesson is particularly applicable to the biological and anthropological study of man, as Stephen Jay Gould emphasized in his groundbreaking *The Mismeasure of Man* (1981). A fair evaluation of the recent controversy over Gould’s interpretation of Morton’s experiments on cranial capacity suggests that his central claim about racial bias still stands.¹³ If science and scientists have displaced religion and clergymen as expert arbiters of truth in the modern world, their methods and findings are still not above the realm of value judgments or morality; they must be judged by the ethical principles of humanism. If scientific racists sought to put the proslavery argument on the pedestal of “objective science,” their black interlocutors drew on conceptions of human rights, humanitarianism, Christian brotherhood, and even the science of man to confound their theories. The “racial science” of yesteryear is in fact the pseudo-science of race today.

The Early Black Abolitionist Response to Scientific Racism

Scientific racism suited proslavery aims and crippled antislavery efforts. Not surprisingly, abolitionists sought to discredit it right from the start. As the Afro-British abolitionists Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cugoano wrote in 1789, the argument for the abolition of the African slave trade was convincing to everyone “except the Oran Otang philosophers.” Clearly referring to scientific racists, who claimed that Africans were closely related to orangutans and were a separate or intermediate species between man and apes, they cleverly inverted that imagery by calling those who peddled the pseudoscience of race “Oran Otang philosophers.” Banneker’s almanac of 1792 contained an endorsement from the antislavery physician James McHenry, a Revolutionary War veteran, who saw the work as a “striking contradiction to Mr. Hume’s doctrine, that ‘Negroes are naturally inferior to the whites and unsusceptible of attainments in arts and sciences.’” The

preface to his 1797 almanac proclaimed, “The labours of the justly celebrated Banneker will likewise furnish you with a very important lesson, courteous reader, which you will not find in any other Almanac, namely that the Maker of the Universe is no respecter of colours; that the colour of the skin is in no ways connected with the strength of mind or intellectual powers.” Designed to refute Jefferson’s claim that blacks had produced no works of art or literature, Abbé Henri Grégoire published *De la littérature des nègres* in 1808 in Paris. A member of the abolitionist Société des Amis des Noirs, Grégoire compiled a list of Haitian revolutionaries and African thinkers and writers to disprove notions of inherent racial inferiority. Notwithstanding his measured response to the abbé, Jefferson dismissed it as a “diatribe” and “rubbish massed together.” But Grégoire’s hope—that “Africans, raising their humiliated fronts, give spring to all their faculties, and rival whites in talents and virtues only; avenging themselves by benefits and effusions of fraternal kindness”—was prescient.¹⁴

African American abolitionists, many of whom were founders of independent black churches, developed a concerted religious and moral response to “racial science” in the early American republic. In his speech in 1813 on the abolition of the slave trade, the orator George Lawrence declared, “Vacuous must the reason of that man have been, who dared to assert that genius is confined to complexion, or that nature knows difference in the immortal soul of man.” To those who would argue that Africans “are not of the same flesh and blood” as whites, Reverend Jeremiah Gloucester responded with the abolitionists’ favorite biblical injunction: “God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth.” John Teasman, a schoolteacher, held up God’s “revelation” and God’s works in black achievement and “acquired abilities” as constituting a double refutation of scientific racism. In deploying a biblical indictment of polygenesis or the multiple origins of man, an idea that allowed scientific racists to contend that blacks were inherently and by nature inferior to whites, these early and mostly forgotten black abolitionists followed devout clergymen.

They also critiqued white supremacy, constructing a counter narrative of race based on the history of black enslavement. Developing a theory of whiteness as embodying cruelty and inhumanity, William Hamilton, reputed to be the illegitimate son of Alexander Hamilton, noted, “The European with his bloated pride, conceives himself an order of being above any other order of men” as whites boast “of their superior understanding, their superior genius, their superior souls.” Recounting the “cruel, barbarous treatment” of slaves, he concluded, “If these are some of the marks of superiority may heaven in mercy always keep us inferior.” In the same vein, Adam Carman asserted, “These very savage-like-manstealers, brand us with inferiority of sensibility. My brethren, Africans and descendants of Africans, it would be condescending from the dignity of Africans, to notice

what these invidious pedantic nizes have asserted.” In his eyes, racists displayed a “depravity of mind or proflicacy [*sic*] of morals inferior to that imputed to us.” Similarly, Jacob Oson’s 1817 *A Search for Truth, or, An Inquiry for the Origin of the African Nation* is a biblically inspired impeachment of racism. By resorting to the Bible’s story of creation—that Adam and Noah had a “common father”—Oson, an African American minister and school-teacher in Connecticut, sought to answer polygenists, starting with Henry Home, Lord Kames. Turning Christian justifications of slavery on its head, he pointed to the “heathen” nature of Europeans, who had committed “rapine and carnage” and violated “laws human and divine” by enslaving thousands of Africans “in bondage and subjection.”¹⁵

Black abolitionists certainly visualized themselves as the intellectual as well as political opponents of scientific racism and proslavery ideology. William Hamilton argued that the “proposition . . . advanced by men who claim a preeminence in the learned world, that Africans are inferior to white men in the structure both of body and mind” was spurious. Even more radical in tone was an anonymous letter written by a slave to Jefferson in 1808 that lay unpublished in his papers until recently. Jefferson acknowledged that it was written by “a negro slave” but dismissed it as a “rhapsody of inconsistencies.” Quoting the Declaration of Independence back to Jefferson, the slave asked, “What think you now sir; are we men, or are we beasts?” The letter ends with the hope that Jefferson would offer “reparation for the insult offered them” and start a “general immancipation [*sic*].” In his 1810 *A Dialogue between a Virginian and an African Minister*, which advocates emancipation, Reverend Daniel Coker of Baltimore, one of the founders of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, set black abolitionists up as the true antagonists of Virginia’s slaveholding dynasty. Coker also countered the theoretical racism of proslavery ideologues in this imagined debate with the religious and moral arguments of black antislavery ministers. He dedicated his pamphlet to the “people of colour” and included a long list of black ministers and churches as well as excerpts from the slave trade orations as living “proofs” of black intellectual prowess and success.¹⁶

Jefferson’s racist speculations haunted black abolitionists long after he was dead. With the emergence of militant black abolitionism in the 1820s, African Americans continued to berate the conclusions of “racial science,” which acquired even more cachet by the nineteenth century. In his speech on the abolition of slavery in New York in 1827, William Hamilton attacked the “blasphemy” that “Negroes have no souls, they are not men, they are a species of ourang outang. . . . they are a species inferior to white men.” If there was a difference between the races, then “the difference is in favor of the people of colour.” He also boldly took on Jefferson: “I know I ought to speak with caution; but an ambidexter philosopher, who can reason contrarywise, first tells you ‘that all men are created equal . . . ,’

next proves that one class of men are not equal to another, which by the bye, does not agree with axioms in geometry, that deny that things can be equal, and at the same time unequal to one another.” In his famous 1829 *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, David Walker pointed out that whites not only reduced black people to the “wretched state of slavery,” but also inflicted on them “*insupportable insult*” by claiming that they were not part of the “*human family*” and descended from “*Monkeys or Orang-Outangs*.” Walker felt that the “charges of Mr. Jefferson [must] be refuted by blacks *themselves*.” They had “in truth injured us more, and . . . been as great a barrier to our emancipation as any thing that has ever been advanced against us” as they had “sunk deep into the hearts of millions of the whites and never will be removed this side of eternity.”¹⁷

By the antebellum period, intellectual and popular racism, accompanied by political and legal discrimination, grew pervasive. Black abolitionists, along with their white allies, began a long and protracted struggle against racial segregation and for equal citizenship that paralleled the struggle to abolish slavery. As universal white male suffrage became the norm in the slaveholding republic, many free black men either lost or faced new restrictions on their right to vote. But along with their activism against disfranchisement and segregation, black abolitionists continued to develop a theoretical response to the pseudoscience of race. The most thorough refutation of racial thought and popular racism came from the pen of Reverend Hosea Easton, who participated in the national black convention movement of the 1830s to resist the tide of racism in the “white man’s democracy.” In 1837, he published *A Treatise on the Intellectual Character, and Civil and Political Condition of the Colored People of the U. States; and the Prejudice Exercised Towards Them*, using the pseudonym “A Colored Man.” Ranging over biblical, ancient, and medieval history, Easton contended that Egypt and other parts of Africa were the birthplace of civilization and that Europeans were the historical and cultural descendants of barbarians. It is remarkable, he wrote, that these “barbarous people,” “staining their route with blood” across the Atlantic, claimed intellectual and religious superiority. Disputing modern philosophers of the “negro character” who compared African Americans to “ourang outangs,” he argued that slavery, not any “original hereditary cause,” had degraded black people. Using an extreme version of the naturalist Lamarck’s environmentalism, Easton argued that racism’s malignant nature had secreted into the “very vitals of the colored population,” and he exposed its perniciousness by repeating grotesque, racist language to describe black bodies. He nonetheless disputed the emerging conclusions of scientific racism: “Analyze a black man, or anatomize him, and the result of the research is the same as analyzing or anatomizing a white man.”¹⁸ After Easton’s death, “racial science” took off with the rise of the “American school” of ethnology—or the faux-science of race.

The Black Abolitionist Critique of Proslavery Racism

In response to the intellectual vogue of ethnology, black abolitionists shifted their critique of scientific racism from predominantly religious grounds to a more secular appeal based on human rights and fraternity. As abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison, Benjamin Lundy, Theodore Dwight Weld, and Lewis Tappan well knew, going back to the early Quaker and black writers' critique of slavery, humanist concepts themselves emerged from notions of Christian brotherhood and the Golden Rule. In 1835, the black abolitionist William Whipper of Philadelphia argued that all talk of race and use of racial monikers was unethical. He helped found the American Moral Reform Society (AMRS) in order to reform whites of racism and get rid of all racial distinctions. Other black abolitionists like Samuel Cornish, editor of *Freedom's Journal* and *Colored American*, and William Watkins of Baltimore, opposed Whipper because of his, in their opinion, impractical color-blind critique of the idea of race. On Whipper's suggestion, the National Black Convention in 1835 had rejected the use of the words *colored* and *African* to designate themselves and their institutions after an "animated and interesting discussion" and devolved into the AMRS.

Whipper's attempt to abolish the myth of race or "racecraft" broke on the shoals of the proud black tradition of protest. Unable to chart a middle course between the rejection of all forms of racism and a distinct ethnic or national identity based on oppression, Whipper rejected all-black organizations. Practically, he knew that the AMRS was a black organization, whose sole white delegate was the abolitionist Joshua Leavitt. Whipper's intellectually logical yet ineffective effort to get rid of all racial categories received a full airing in his short-lived newspaper, the *National Reformer*, published from 1838 to 1839. Whipper also published Watkins's critique of his ideas on race. Watkins's parable of a drowning white man and a drowning black man, in which the former gained the sympathy of many and the latter of none, forcefully made the case for racially conscious activism.¹⁹ Whipper's lone crusade against racial essentialism failed, but he had extended black abolitionists' early critique of scientific racism to a complete rejection of the idea of race itself.

In 1841, Reverend James W. C. Pennington (fig. 8.2), a transitional figure in the black abolitionist critique of racism, published an extended response to the new pseudoscience of race that employed both biblical arguments and elements of Whipper's broader moral argument. An escaped slave from Maryland, Pennington audited theology classes at Yale University—he was not allowed to enroll—became an ordained Presbyterian clergyman, and succeeded Easton at the Talcott Street Church in Hartford, Connecticut. He wrote a history of black people that would cultivate a "right state of feeling on the total subject of human rights." Using the Bible as his touchstone, he refuted the purported scientific theories of race on



Figure 8.2.
John Robert Dicksee, Portrait of
James W. C. Pennington, mid-
nineteenth century. Lithograph

the logical premise that the “*notion of [racial] inferiority is not only false but absurd and therefore ought to be abandoned.*” He challenged the idea that “*there is an inferior order of intellect, and that those of this order are radically and constitutionally inferior, so that no means can change that constitution or raise them from that order.*” He argued that “*intellect is identical in all human beings*” and is “*the great distinguishing point between man and brute creation.*” It was a God-given gift to human beings, and it was both inconceivable and blasphemous to contend that there were diverse, inferior orders among humans. Pennington gave Jefferson the benefit of the doubt that Jefferson had denied to his black slaves, writing that he had “*plainly discovered to the world the adverse influence of slavery on his great mind.*”²⁰

In a chapter on race, Pennington reasoned that difference of color was mainly attributable to climate and environment. More significantly, Pennington developed a sustained moral and philosophical argument against racism. He categorized racism as not only sacrilegious but as “*supreme selfishness*” and “*emphatically ill will.*” He illuminated its tendencies toward violence, as illustrated by anti-abolitionist mobs, “*blindness of mind,*” and ignorance, as well as its role in engendering vices of injustice, dishonesty, hypocrisy, and “*brutish and uncivil manners*” among whites. Racism, according to him, was “*carrying the total nation to a state of refined heathenism.*” Pennington portrayed blacks as superior Christians who must

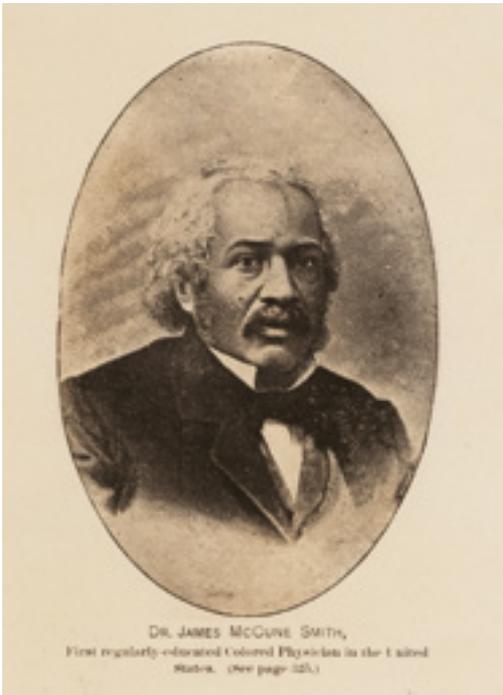


Figure 8.3.
Artist unknown, *Dr. James McCune Smith*,
early nineteenth century. Lithograph

educate, “*love and pity*” these “*men hating Christians*.” Pennington clearly wanted to engage proslavery racial theorists. In 1849, he deliberately sought an honorary doctorate from the University of Heidelberg, “as a recognition not for himself, as for his color, which represented by him, and which is so deeply disdained in America.”²¹ Echoing Whipper, Pennington recast racism as ignorance and as a moral failing, seeking to dislodge it as scientific truth.

Black abolitionists, who developed a systematic response to scientific racism in the 1840s and 1850s, celebrated the virtues of human intermingling, a counter solution to the American Colonization Society’s advocacy of racial separation and to Morton’s and Nott’s ideas on hybridity and the supposed infertility of “mulattoes.” The abolitionist physician and intellectual James McCune Smith (fig. 8.3), who was trained at the University of Glasgow because he was denied admission in American medical schools, was the foremost among them. The son of an enslaved woman, fittingly enough, from South Carolina, McCune Smith was freed by New York’s Gradual Emancipation law and had excelled in the African Free School founded by the New York Manumission Society. His early essays, such as “The Destiny of the People of Color,” published in 1843, predicted that blacks would be absorbed into a composite American nationality. He rejected the false science that challenged the “unity of the human race”

and recommended an impartial study of cultural and ethnic variations. Smith counterposed black artistic accomplishment to racial denigration: “We are compelled to endure the stings of insult and calumny, frequently without opportunity of reply, or the hope of redress by law.”²² Black people, he wrote, were destined to produce the music, literature, and oratory of the American nation.

Influenced by phrenology, McCune Smith also penned realistic portraits of black men and women in his *Heads of the Colored People* series, published in *Frederick Douglass’ Paper*. Douglass balked at these accurate descriptions, which were at odds with abolitionist paeans to black achievers, yet McCune Smith revealed a strong empathy with the mostly working-class people he wrote about. He methodically dismantled racist conjectures based on facial angles, the size and shape of skulls and brains, the texture of hair, and the color of skin. McCune Smith and other black abolitionists had long challenged the crude argument that Nott and Gliddon had posited in a notorious illustration in *Types of Mankind* that put black people a step above and closely related to apes and chimpanzees. In one of his last essays on Jefferson’s “Fourteenth Query,” McCune Smith also refuted his notion of physical and mental distinctions between the negro and the white man. The essay was a pointed rejection of scientific racism, especially craniology, and racial differences based on other physical characteristics. McCune Smith promised a follow-up with an essay on mental and moral distinctions, which apparently he did not write. Instead of recommending getting rid of blacks, McCune Smith declared that if Jefferson had possessed the “insight or sagacity for which he is so celebrated, he would have welcomed their presence as one of the positive elements of natural progress.”²³ In imagining an interracial democracy, black abolitionists such as McCune Smith did not simply refute proslavery racists, they argued for an alternative polity and society not defined by race and slavery: an interracial American democracy.

This contrived debate between scientific racists and black abolitionists also became implicated in the sectional politics of slavery. In 1844, McCune Smith refuted the flawed U.S. Census of 1840 and its proslavery bias reflected in the data that “emancipation has made the free blacks deaf, dumb, blind, idiot, insane, &c &c.” A table he compiled revealed that the numbers of “insane” blacks listed in towns in the state of Maine exceeded their total number of black inhabitants! He concluded pithily, “Freedom has not made us mad.” As secretary of state in the John Tyler administration, John C. Calhoun, the prominent proslavery South Carolinian planter and politician, attempted to use the 1840 census data to prove that African Americans fared better under slavery than in freedom. He quoted it in his dispatch to the British minister Richard Pakenham justifying the annexation of Texas and the expansion of slavery. Calhoun solicited the latest findings of racial science from Gliddon to buttress his case, and Morton,

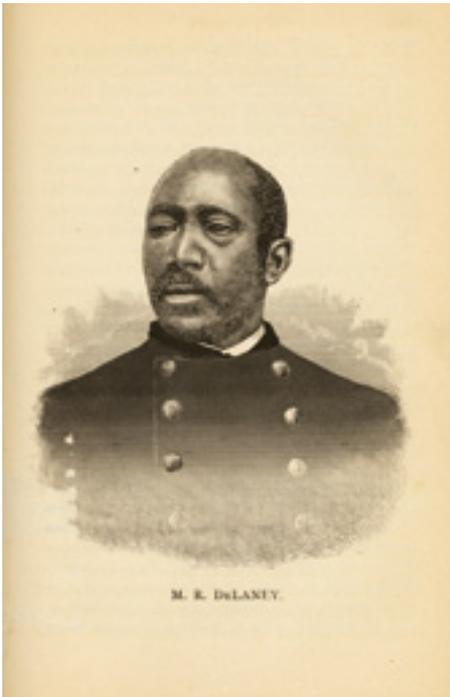


Figure 8.4.
Artist unknown, Portrait of Martin R. Delany,
mid-nineteenth century. Lithograph

on Gliddon's prompting, sent him his two books on craniology. McCune Smith's work, on the other hand, played a large role in discrediting the census data on free blacks in the eyes of Dr. Edward Jarvis, the founder of the American Statistical Association. Jarvis also found that the census counted deaf and mute blacks in towns with no black population. John Quincy Adams, the leading antislavery politician and defender of abolitionist petitions in Congress, moved to have the errors in the census corrected, and Calhoun became the census's staunch defender. Wrongly portrayed as a racist, Jarvis spent years protesting the census of 1840. He was the only member of the American delegation to the International Statistical Congress in London in 1860, led by the proslavery justice Augustus Longstreet, a Calhoun confidante and one-time president of South Carolina College, who did not walk out in a huff when it honored another black abolitionist, Martin Robinson Delany (fig. 8.4).²⁴

Delany, Frederick Douglass, and Henry Highland Garnet (fig. 8.5)—known for his famous 1843 “Address to the Slaves of the United States of America,” which called for slave resistance and was the moving force behind the revival of the national black convention movement in the 1840s—furthered the black abolitionist critique of scientific racism. Garnet's speech on race before the all-black Female Benevolent Society of Troy showcased how black men, women, and community institutions were involved in a

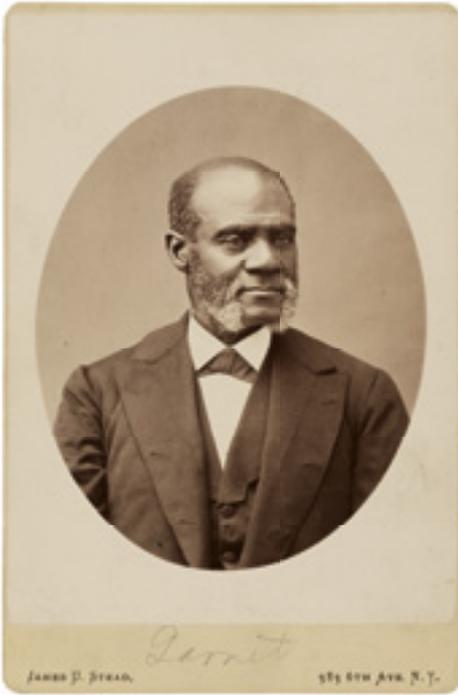


Figure 8.5.
James U. Stead, Portrait of Henry Highland Garnet, ca. 1881. Albumen silver print

common endeavor to challenge the new “racial science.” It was published in 1848 as a pamphlet, *The Past and Present Condition, and the Destiny, of the Colored Race*, evoking the title of McCune Smith’s essay. Garnet, a Presbyterian clergyman, refused to even engage the idea of different races: “In order to pursue my subject I must, for the sake of distinction, use some of the improper terms of our times. I shall therefore speak of races, when in fact there is but one race, as there was one Adam.” Like Pennington, he invoked the biblical and secular histories of Africans to refute racist ideas, and, like McCune Smith, he forecast that “this western world is destined to be filled with a mixed race.”²⁵

Frederick Douglass agreed (fig. 8.6). In his 1854 commencement speech “The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered” at the abolitionist Western Reserve College, Douglass, in a precursor to W. E. B. Du Bois’s statement that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, argued, “The relation subsisting between the white and black people of the country is the vital question of the age.” Referring specifically to Morton, Nott, Gliddon, and Agassiz, he contended that no amount of “scientific moonshine” or the “southern pretenders to science” could place black people on a “sliding scale of humanity.” He complained that racists compared the most “degraded” blacks with “those of the highest cultivation,” so that the “very crimes of slavery become slavery’s best defense.”



Figure 8.6.
J. C. Buttre, *Frederick Douglass*, mid-nineteenth century. Engraving cut from a daguerreotype by an unknown photographer

But Douglass's most perceptive criticism of scientific racism, following in the tradition of Whipper and Pennington, was essentially moral: "I say it is remarkable—nay it is strange that there should arise a phalanx of learned men—speaking in the name of science—to forbid the magnificent reunion of mankind in one brotherhood. A mortifying proof is here given, that the moral growth of a nation, or an age, does not always keep pace with the increase of knowledge, and suggests the necessity to increase human love and human learning."²⁶

One black abolitionist, William G. Allen, a professor of Greek and rhetoric at New-York Central College who put into practice the ideal of human love and married his white student, was hounded out of the country. The college, an abolitionist experiment in interracial education, closed down amid charges of "racial amalgamation." In 1853, Allen published his exposé of racism, *The American Prejudice Against Colour*, in London, calling himself a refugee from this form of "American despotism." In England, Allen lectured on the "Origin, History, and Literature of the African Race," as he had done in the United States. The genius of the American nation, he claimed, lay in the intermingling of the races. On the other hand, he pointed out that Banneker was of pure African blood, as was the successful opera singer Elizabeth Greenfield. Refuting Morton, Allen maintained that the greatness of Egypt belonged to the African race. When McCune Smith,

writing under the name Communipaw, took Allen to task for speaking about different races when there was but one race of man, Allen replied that he was forced to adopt the language of ethnology even when refuting it.²⁷

The most coherent critique of the pseudoscience of race was developed by John Swett Rock, a man of many parts, recipient of a medical degree from Philadelphia's American Medical College, a dentist, lawyer, and abolitionist. Rock, who moved from New Jersey to Boston in 1853, frequently lectured on the "unity of the human race" and the "impossibility" of classifying humankind into different races. He argued that while other "nations" had retrograded under oppression, the "coloured man" had surmounted them. A critic charged that Rock was not an "impartial judge" and did not pay sufficient heed to the influence of climate and environment on different varieties of human beings. Rock also declared his preference for black skin, hair, and features, anticipating the Black Is Beautiful movement by more than a century. While ethnologists donned the garb of scientific objectivity, black abolitionists' arguments were seen as special pleading. Rock was perhaps Agassiz's true intellectual opponent even though they most likely never met.²⁸

However, one extraordinary case illustrates that scientific racists were forced to engage with their African American critics. In 1851, the Social Improvement Society of Philadelphia held a series of meetings in which they debated racial equality. In response, John Johnson, a "colored" blacksmith, hired Franklin Hall and gave a lecture on the issue. He argued that blacks in Egypt gave birth to civilization, *pace* Morton, Gliddon, et al., and that their current degraded condition as slaves was due purely to environmental factors. He challenged the "great pretenders to physical science," one of whom, John Campbell, belonged to the society and pointed to Johnson's lecture as the inspiration for his book *Negro-Mania: Being an Examination of the Falsely Assumed Equality of the Various Races of Men* (1851). In an annotated version of his publication, Campbell excised all mention of "Mr. Johnson," not wanting to debate him as an intellectual equal. To do that would prove his entire theory wrong.²⁹

Black abolitionists also objected effectively to popular ideas about innate racial cultural differences. Delany, for instance, subjected the romantic racialism of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to withering critique. His remarks prompted Stowe to publish her subsequent novel *Dred*, whose hero was a slave rebel rather than the long-suffering Uncle Tom. In 1858, Theodore Parker, the Unitarian abolitionist minister and a leading member of the Boston Vigilance Committee that rendered aid to fugitive slaves, argued that Africans lacked the ferocity of Caucasians—under which he classed Anglo-Saxons, Teutonic and Celtic peoples, and Indians—and asserted that they were the "most docile and pliant of races." Rock was quick to respond to Parker. He pointed to the example of the Haitian Revolution and maintained that independent Native American



Figure 8.7.
R. Andrews, Portrait of William Wells Brown,
mid- to late nineteenth century. Lithograph

nations familiar with the terrain of their country could mount a military resistance to white rule more effectively than enslaved blacks. He sarcastically professed to have a poor estimate of whites since it took thirteen million armed whites to keep five million black people (there were four million slaves in the United States in 1860) in slavery. The black Garrisonian Charles Lenox Remond declared that Parker’s “Anglo-Saxonism” had no place in an “Anti-Slavery platform.” Parker backed down: slavery, he predicted, would succumb to a “general rising of the African race.” Despite his romantic racialism, Parker, like Rock, was a critic of the pseudoscience of race, disputing Agassiz’s belief in polygenesis. A year later, Parker joined the Secret Six, the six abolitionists who backed John Brown’s plan to start a slave rebellion.³⁰

Black abolitionists eventually took their crusade against intellectual racism to the international stage. The fugitive slave abolitionist William Wells Brown (fig. 8.7), who lived in London for a number of years, criticized Thomas Carlyle, the literary force behind the cult of Anglo-Saxonism, for his crude racism and opposition to West Indian emancipation in Carlyle’s 1849 pamphlet *Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question*. Wells Brown wrote of Carlyle’s “laborious article in favor of the reestablishment of the lash of slavery,” saying that he existed “not by sympathy but by antipathy.” He highlighted Carlyle’s contradictions: a concern for Irish farmers and the

British working poor that coexisted with his belief that Jamaicans should be whipped into working. Wells Brown took on the scientific racists in his later writings as well. His book *The Black Man*, an 1863 prosopography of black abolitionists, rebels, and writers, was a “full-scale retort” to the race science of his times. Carlyle republished his popular pamphlet as *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question*, congratulating Governor Edward John Eyre for his brutal suppression of the Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica in 1865.³¹

The Civil War, emancipation, and Reconstruction gave birth to new fears of racial intermixture or “miscegenation” among racists of all stripes. The African American struggle against scientific racism continued unabated. The last black abolitionist to wrestle with the “American school” of ethnology was Delany, a leading antebellum advocate of black emigration. The multitalented Delany, an author, editor, activist, and practicing physician, had been admitted along with two other black students to Harvard Medical School in 1850. All three were dismissed because of white students’ protestations. One wonders whether Delany would have confronted Agassiz if he had been allowed to remain at Harvard. During the war, Delany became the first African American to be commissioned as an officer in the Union Army, and during Reconstruction, he worked as an assistant sub-commissioner in the Freedmen’s Bureau in South Carolina. With the fall of Reconstruction, in which he played a controversial role by supporting conservative Democrats, Delany returned to his project of African emigration, specifically to Liberia. It was during this time that he published his 1879 *Principia of Ethnology*, commonly read as a chauvinistic text in which Delany endorsed the idea of distinct races and racial separation. But Delany also rejected the pseudoscientific theory of polygenesis and anticipated modern science by insisting that Africans were the original humans.³²

In the end, black abolitionists had not just better politics than their opponents, but also the better science. Should their portraits—those of Banneker, Jefferson’s original critic; of Douglass, “the nineteenth century’s most photographed American”; of McCune Smith, his visage faded yet compelling; of Delany in his major’s uniform; of Pennington from his slave narrative; of Garnet with his resplendent sideburns; of Wells Brown, that artistic rendering—be placed alongside the forlorn daguerreotypes of Delia, Drana, Alfred, Jem, Jack, Renty, and George Fassena? Black abolitionists were, after all, contemporary defenders of the enslaved and adept critics of scientific racists, who had sought to use enslaved people to further their noxious proslavery agenda. They sought to counter the pseudoscience of race not only through words, but also through images, creating an alternative archive of African American thinkers and activists for us to place next to Agassiz’s infamous daguerreotypes.

We can view black abolitionists as the intellectual as well as visual opponents of scientific racism, given their dignified attempts at self-representation and, by extension, the representation of the race. The

politics of respectability that these images evoke are tightly braided with the politics of protest that their subjects championed. Photography, Douglass understood, was a democratizing medium. These portraits were not just a riposte to racist caricatures in the penny press but must also be seen as an act of resistance against popular and scientific racism that justified the enslavement of African Americans. Man, as Douglass put it, “was a picture-making and picture-appreciating animal,” and it was this rule that “may be safely commended to the Notts and Gliddens [*sic*], who are just now puzzled with the question as to whether the African slave should be treated as a man or an ox.”³³

Notes

This article is dedicated to Barbara J. Fields, who first taught me the pernicious nature of race and racial difference in Western discourse.

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2. See Deirdre Cooper Owens, *Medical Bondage: Race, Gender, and the Origins of American Gynecology* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017); Harriet A. Washington, *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), pp. 61–71; and Todd L. Savitt, “The Use of Blacks for Medical Experimentation and Demonstration in the Old South,” *Journal of Southern History* 48, no. 3 (April 1982), pp. 331–48.

3. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London: John Stockdale, 1787), pp. 250–58, 262–65, 298–301; Alexander O. Boulton, “The American Paradox: Jeffersonian Equality and Racial Science,” *American Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (September 1995), pp. 467–92; Winthrop D. Jordan, chap. 6 in *White Over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Nell Irvin Painter, chap. 6, in *The History of White People* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010); Molly Rogers, *Delia’s Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 59, 114–15; and Ibram X. Kendi, parts 1–2 in *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: Bold Type Books, 2016).

4. Dorothy Porter, ed., *Early Negro Writing, 1760–1837* (Boston: Black Classic Press, 1971), pp. 324–29; and Louis Ruchames, ed., *Racial Thought in America: A Documentary History* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1970), p. 257.

5. For the argument that scientific racism was not as important as religion to the proslavery ideology because slaveholders were biblical literalists, see the various works of Eugene D. Genovese. For the

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7. Stephen Jay Gould, chap. 2 in *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1981; repr. 2006); Ann Fabian, chaps. 1 and 3 in *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America’s Unburied Dead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America* (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1839); and *Crania Aegyptiaca; or, Observations on Egyptian Ethnography, Derived from Anatomy, History and the Monuments* (Philadelphia: John Pennington, 1844).

8. Published first as a pamphlet, the work was expanded into a book in 1861; J. H. Van Evrie, *Negroes and Negro “Slavery”: The First an Inferior Race: The Latter Its Normal Condition* (New York: Van Evrie, Horton and Co., 1861).

9. George M. Fredrickson, chaps. 2 and 3 in *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Josiah C. Nott and George R. Gliddon, eds., *Types of Mankind; or, Ethnological Researches, Based upon the Monuments, Paintings, Sculptures, and Crania of Races, and upon Their Natural, Geographical, Philological, and Biblical History* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co., 1854), p. 550; Manisha Sinha, “Louisa Susanna McCord: Spokeswoman of the Master Class in Antebellum South Carolina,” in *Feminist Nightmares, Women at Odds: Feminism and*

the Problem of Sisterhood, Jennifer Fleischner and Susan Ostrov Weisser, eds. (New York: New York University Press, 1994), pp. 62–87.

10. Manisha Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), p. 92; John Bachman, *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Science* (Charleston, S.C.: C. Canning, 1850); Lester D. Stephens, *Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists, 1815–1895* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots*, pp. 158, 174–76; John B. Adger, *Christian Missions and African Colonization* (Columbia, S.C.: Steam Power Press of E. H. Britton, 1857), p. 18; Christopher A. Luse, “Slavery’s Champions Stood at Odds: Polygenesis and the Defense of Slavery,” *Civil War History* 53, no. 4 (December 2007), pp. 379–412; Thomas E. Will, “The American School of Ethnology: Science and Scripture in the Proslavery Argument,” *Southern Historian* 19 (1998), pp. 14–34; and Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), pp. 190–93.

11. R. W. Gibbes, “Death of Samuel George Morton, M.D.,” *Charleston Medical Journal*, vol. 6 (1851), p. 594.

12. Brian Wallis, “Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz’s Slave Daguerreotypes,” *American Art* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1995), pp. 38–61; Elinor Reichlin, “Faces of Slavery: A Historical Find,” *American Heritage*, June 1977, pp. 4–11; Stanton, *The Leopard’s Spots*, p. 144; Rogers, *Delia’s Tears*, pp. 72–73, 218–28, 235–42, 259–62, 275–79, 288–90; Louis Menand, “Morton, Agassiz, and the Origins of Scientific Racism in the United States,” *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 34 (Winter 2001–2), pp. 110–13; and Christoph Irmscher, chap. 6 in *Louis Agassiz: Creator of American Science* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013).

13. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); and John S. Michael, “A New Look at Morton’s Craniological Research,” *Current Anthropology* 29, no. 2 (April 1988), pp. 349–54.

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17. Porter, *Early Negro Writing*, pp. 100–104; and David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet, *Walker’s Appeal, with a Brief Sketch of His Life* (New York: J. H. Tobitt, 1848), pp. 22–27 (emphasis in original).

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21. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–54, 56, 74–80, 85, 89 (emphasis in original); and Manisha Sinha, “James W. C. Pennington and Transatlantic Abolitionism,” in *Heidelberg Center for American Studies: Annual Report 2010–11* (Heidelberg: Heidelberg Center for American Studies, 2011), pp. 162–75.

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24. Stauffer, ed., *The Works of James McCune Smith*, introduction, pp. 48–65, part 4, pp. 264–81; John Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 54–55, 65–68, 86–88; Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery*, pp. 65–66; and Stanton, *The Leopard’s Spots*, pp. 60–65.

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Chapter 8

Figure 8.1. Maryland Historical Society, Bancker Astronomical Journal. Special Collections Department, MS2700

Figure 8.2. National Portrait Gallery, London; John Robert Dicksee; Day & Son; Charles Gilpin

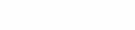
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Figure 8.4. The Library Company of Philadelphia

Figure 8.5. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Figure 8.6. John W. Stauffer

Figure 8.7. Public domain. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. From *Narrative of William W. Brown, a fugitive slave / Written by himself*. Boston: Published at the Anti-Slavery Office, no. 25, Cornhill, 1847



To Make Their Own Way in the World
The Enduring Legacy of the Zealy Daguerreotypes

Edited by Ilisa Barbash, Molly Rogers, and Deborah Willis
Foreword by Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

Cover image by Carrie Mae Weems, *Splattered*, 2016–17 (detail), based on the photograph *Sweet potato planting, Hopkinson's Plantation*, April 8, 1862, by Henry P. Moore (LOC Control No. 2010651644)

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First edition, 2020

Separations by Altaimage, New York/London

Printed by Midas in China

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data:
Names: Barbash, Ilisa, 1959- editor. | Rogers, Molly, 1967- editor. | Willis, Deborah, 1948- editor. | Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., other. | Zealy, Joseph T., 1812-1893. Photographs. Selections. | Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, host institution. | Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, host institution.

Title: To make their own way in the world : the enduring legacy of the Zealy daguerreotypes / edited by Ilisa Barbash, Molly Rogers, Deborah Willis ; with a foreword by Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

Description: First edition. | Cambridge, MA : Peabody Museum Press ; New York, NY : Aperture, 2020 | Essays and photographs from two workshops organized by the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology and held at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study to discuss the fifteen daguerreotypes by Joseph T. Zealy discovered at the museum in 1976. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020003208 | ISBN 9781597114783 (cloth)

Subjects: LCSH: Photography--Social aspects--United States--History--19th century--Congresses. | Photography in ethnology--History--19th century--Congresses.

| Racism in anthropology--United States--History--19th century--Congresses. | Monogenism and polygenism --Congresses. | African Americans--Southern States --Social conditions--19th century--Congresses.

Classification: LCC TR183 .T63 2020 | DDC 770.973--dc23
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2020003208>

Copublished by Aperture and Peabody Museum Press,
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,
Harvard University

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Harvard University
11 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
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