

To Make Their Own Way  
in the World

*The Enduring Legacy  
of the Zealy Daguerreotypes*

*Edited by*  
Ilisa Barbash  
Molly Rogers  
Deborah Willis

# 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.

## Contents

- 9 Foreword  
*by Henry Louis Gates, Jr.*
- 15 Preface  
*by Jane Pickering*
- 17 Introduction  
*by Molly Rogers*
- 25 Gallery: The Zealy Daguerreotypes

### Part I. Photographic Subjects

- Chapter 1
- 61 This Intricate Question  
*The “American School” of Ethnology  
and the Zealy Daguerreotypes*  
by Molly Rogers
- Chapter 2
- 71 The Life and Times of Alfred, Delia,  
Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty  
by Gregg Hecimovich
- Chapter 3
- 119 History in the Face of Slavery  
*A Family Portrait*  
by Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham
- Chapter 4
- 151 Portraits of Endurance  
*Enslaved People and Vernacular  
Photography in the Antebellum South*  
by Matthew Fox-Amato

## Part II. Photographic Practice

### Chapter 5

- 169 The Curious Art and Science  
of the Daguerreotype  
by John Wood

### Chapter 6

- 187 Business as Usual?  
*Scientific Operations in the  
Early Photographic Studio*  
by Tanya Sheehan

### Chapter 7

- 205 Mr. Agassiz's "Photographic Saloon"  
by Christoph Irmscher

## Part III. Ideas and Histories

### Chapter 8

- 235 Of Scientific Racists and Black Abolitionists  
*The Forgotten Debate over Slavery and Race*  
by Manisha Sinha

### Chapter 9

- 259 "Nowhere Else"  
*South Carolina's Role  
in a Continuing Tragedy*  
by Harlan Greene

### Chapter 10

- 279 "Not Suitable for Public Notice"  
*Agassiz's Evidence*  
by John Stauffer

### Chapter 11

- 297 The Insistent Reveal  
*Louis Agassiz, Joseph T. Zealy,  
Carrie Mae Weems, and the Politics  
of Undress in the Photography  
of Racial Science*  
by Sarah Elizabeth Lewis

## Part IV. Memory and Projection

329 Gallery: While Sitting upon the Ruins of Your  
Remains, I Pondered the Course of History  
by Carrie Mae Weems

### Chapter 12

395 In Conversation with Carrie Mae Weems  
by Deborah Willis

### Chapter 13

407 Exposing Latent Images  
*Daguerreotypes in the Museum  
and Beyond*  
by Ilisa Barbash

### Chapter 14

435 Teaching, Feeling  
*Daguerreotype Reflections*  
by Robin Bernstein with Keziah Clarke,  
Jonathan Karp, Eliza Blair Mantz,  
Reggie St. Louis, William Henry Pruitt III,  
and Ian Askew

447 Acknowledgments

449 Bibliography

465 Contributors

471 Illustration Credits

475 Index

# Bibliography

## Archives and Manuscript Collections

### Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Asa Gray Papers, Gray Herbarium Library.

Augustus Addison Gould Papers, Houghton Library.

Elizabeth Cabot Cary Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

Louis Agassiz Correspondence and Other Papers, Houghton Library.

Records of the Cambridge Scientific Club, Harvard University Archives.

### Library Company of Philadelphia

Samuel George Morton Papers.

### Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Kendrick-Brooks Family Papers. Manuscript Division.

### Library of Virginia, Richmond

Richmond City Hustings Court Deed Book 73.

### Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

Edward Everett Papers, Reel 38, vol. 165.

### South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia

Benjamin F. Taylor Account Papers; Inventory Papers. South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1890.

C. Frank Hampton 1863 Estate Inventory. South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1890.

John Chesnut, Will Papers, Estate Record Book 1A.

Sarah C. Taylor Probate Papers; Inventory Papers; Will Papers. South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1890.

Thomas Taylor Inventory Papers. South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1890.

Thomas Taylor, Sr., Inventory Papers. South Carolina Miscellaneous Estate Records, 1799–1955.

William Briggs 1863 Estate Inventory. South Carolina Wills and Probate Records, 1670–1890.

William Mazyck, South Carolina Estate Inventories and Selected Bills of Sale, 1732–1872.

### South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston

Margaret Ann Morris Grimball Family Papers.

### University of New Orleans

Marcus Christian Collection. Historical Source Material. Louisiana and Special Collections Department. Earl K. Long Library.

### University of South Carolina, Columbia

Bauskett Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

Hampton Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library.

Louis Agassiz Papers. South Caroliniana Library.

Map Collection. South Caroliniana Library.

Preston Brooks Smith Papers. South Caroliniana Library.

Singleton Family Papers. South Caroliniana Library.

Virginia G. Meynard Papers. South Caroliniana Library.

Government Documents

National Archives Microfilm Publication M1055, Roll 21, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the District of Columbia, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1869. National Museum of African American History and Culture, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

United States, Selected Federal Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850–1880, National Archives and Records Administration, Richland County, S.C.

**Books, Articles, and Other Published Writings**

Adams, John Quincy. *Narrative of the Life of John Quincy Adams, When in Slavery, and Now as a Freeman*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Sieg, 1872.

Adeleke, Tunde. *Without Regard to Race: The Other Martin Robison Delany*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003.

Adger, John B. *Christian Missions and African Colonization*. Columbia, S.C.: Steam Power Press of E. H. Britton, 1857.

“Agassiz.” *Dollar Newspaper*, Philadelphia, October 9, 1850.

“Agassiz.” *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, October 4, 1850.

Agassiz, Louis. “The Diversity of Origin of the Human Races.” *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* 49 (July 1850), pp. 110–45.

———. *An Introduction to the Study of Natural History*. New York: Greeley and McElrath, 1847.

———. *Introduction to the Study of Natural History*, edited by Christoph Irmscher. Basel: Springer, 2017.

———. *Notice sur la géographie des animaux*. Neuchâtel, Switz.: Imprimerie de Henri Wolfrath, 1845.

Agassiz, Louis, and Elizabeth Agassiz. *A Journey in Brazil*. 6th edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868.

Albert, Octavia V. Rogers. *The House of Bondage, or, Charlotte Brooks and Other Slaves, Original and Life Like, as They Appeared in Their Old Plantation and City Slave Life; Together with Pen-Pictures of the Peculiar Institution, with Sights and Insights into Their New Relations as Freedmen, Freemen, and Citizens*. New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1890.

Algeo, Matthew. *Pedestrianism: When Watching People Walk Was America’s Favorite Spectator Sport*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2014.

Allen, R. L. “Letters from the South—No. 2. [November 26, 1846].” In *American Agriculturist*, vol. 6, edited by A. B. Allen, pp. 20–21. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1847.

Allen, Robert C. *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Allen, William G. *The American Prejudice Against Colour: An Authentic Narrative, Showing How Easily a Nation Got into an Uproar*. London: W. and F. G. Cash, 1853.

Allison, Madison G. “The Horizon.” *The Crisis*, June 1922.

Alloula, Malek. *The Colonial Harem*. Translated by Myrna Godzich. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

American Association for the Advancement of Science. *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Third Meeting, Held at Charleston, S.C., March, 1850*. Charleston, S.C.: Steam-Power Press of Walker and James, 1850.

Annual Scientific Discovery. “The Rose.” *Hillsborough Recorder*, May 22, 1850.

Bachman, John. *The Doctrine of the Unity of the Human Race Examined on the Principles of Science*. Charleston, S.C.: C. Canning, 1850.

Baker, Courtney. *Humane Insight: Looking at Images of African American Suffering and Death*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015.

Baker, Houston A., Jr. “Islands of Identity: Inside the Pictures of Carrie Mae Weems.” In *In These Islands: South Carolina and Georgia*, by Carrie Mae Weems, pp. 14–19. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Sarah Moody Gallery of Art, 1995.

Baker, Lee D. *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Baker, Thomas N. “A Slave to Thomas Jefferson, November 30, 1808.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 68 (January 2011), pp. 140–54.

———. “Sources and Interpretations: ‘A Slave’ Writes Thomas Jefferson.” *William and Mary Quarterly* 68 (January 2011), pp. 127–39.

Bales, Kevin. *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Ball, Charles. *Fifty Years in Chains; or, the Life of an American Slave*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. First published 1859.

———. *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man, 1837*. New York: John S. Taylor, 1837. Documenting the American South. University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1999. <http://docsouth.unc.edu>.

Ball, James Presley. *Ball’s Splendid Mammoth Pictorial Tour of the United States Comprising Views of the African Slave Trade, of Northern and Southern Cities, of Cotton and Sugar Plantations, of the Mississippi, Ohio and Susquehanna Rivers, Niagara Falls*. Cincinnati: A. Pugh, 1855.

- Banta, Melissa. *A Curious and Ingenious Art: Reflections on Daguerreotypes at Harvard*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000.
- Baptist, Edward E. "'Cuffy,' 'Fancy Maids,' and 'One-Eyed Men': Rape, Commodification, and the Domestic Slave Trade in the United States." *American Historical Review* 106, no. 5 (December 2001), pp. 1619–50.
- . *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books, 2014.
- Barbash, Ilisa. "Unpacking the 'Chinese' Daguerreotypes at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology." *Daguerreian Society Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (January–March 2014), pp. 16–18, 21.
- Barger, M. Susan, and William B. White. *The Daguerreotype: Nineteenth-Century Technology and Modern Science*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Translated by Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981.
- Batchen, Geoffrey. *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999.
- . "Dreams of Ordinary Life: Cartes-de-Visite and the Bourgeois Imagination." In *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*, edited by J. J. Long, Andrea Noble, and Edward Welch, pp. 80–98. London: Routledge, 2009.
- . "Vernacular Photographies." *History of Photography* 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2000), pp. 262–71.
- Bay, Mia. *The White Image in the Black Mind: African-American Ideas About White People, 1830–1925*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Bear, John W. *The Life and Travels of John W. Bear, "The Buckeye Blacksmith"*. Baltimore: Binswanger and Co., 1873.
- Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014.
- Beckert, Sven, Katherine Stevens, and the students of the Harvard and Slavery Research Seminar. *Harvard and Slavery: Seeking a Forgotten History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Privately printed, 2011.
- Bedini, Silvio A. *The Life of Benjamin Banneker: The Definitive Biography of the First Black Man of Science*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.
- Benjamin, Walter. "A Small History of Photography." In *One-Way Street and Other Writings*, translated by Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter, pp. 240–57. London: New Left Books, 1979.
- . *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, edited by Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Berger, John. "Modigliani's Alphabet of Love." In *Selected Essays*, edited by Geoff Dyer, pp. 387–92. New York: Pantheon Books, 2001.
- Berlin, Ira, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds. *Families and Freedom: A Documentary History of African-American Kinship in the Civil War Era*. New York: New Press, 1997.
- Bernstein, Robin. "Dances with Things: Material Culture and the Performance of Race." *Social Text* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2009), pp. 67–94.
- . *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights*. New York: New York University Press, 2011.
- Berry, Daina Ramey. *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved, from Womb to Grave, in the Building of a Nation*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2017.
- . "Swing the Sickle for the Harvest Is Ripe": *Gender and Slavery in Antebellum Georgia*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- . "The Best Portrait of Jenny Lind." *The Albion: A Journal of News, Politics and Literature* 9, no. 46 (November 16, 1850), p. 551.
- Bishop, Davenport. *A New Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary: Of North America and the West Indies Containing I. A General description of North America. II: A General Description of the United States; The Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States. III: A Description of All of the States, Counties, Cities, Towns, Villages, Forts, Seas, Harbors, Capes, Rivers, Lakes, Canals, Railroads, Mountains, &c. Connected with North America; With the Extent, Boundaries, and Natural Productions of Each State; The Bearing and Distance of Remarkable Places from Each Other and of Each from the City of Washington with the Population According to the Census of 1830. Containing Likewise Many Tables Relating to the Commerce, Population, Revenue, Debt, and Various Institutions of the United States*. Philadelphia: B. Davenport and Co., 1838.
- Blackwood, Sarah. "Fugitive Obscure: Runaway Slave Portraiture and Early Photographic Technology." *American Literature* 81, no. 1 (2009), pp. 93–125.
- Blassingame, John W. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Blight, David W. *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.
- Blum, Ann Shelby. *Picturing Nature: American Nineteenth-Century Zoological Illustration*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Boulton, Alexander O. "The American Paradox: Jeffersonian Equality and Racial Science." *American Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (September 1995), pp. 467–92.
- Braddock, Alan C. *Thomas Eakins and the Cultures of Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.
- Brady, Mathew B. *The Gallery of Illustrious Americans: Containing the Portraits and Biographical Sketches of Twenty-Four of the Most Eminent Citizens of the American Republic, Since the Death of Washington*. New York: M. B. Brady, F. D'Avignon, C. E. Lester, 1850.
- Brooklyn Evening Star*, August 30, 1850.



- Brooks, Walter H. III. "In Memoriam," *Washington Bee*, June 28, 1913.
- . *The Pastor's Voice*. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1945.
- , as told to a *World* reporter. "Former Slave Boy Now Pastors Great Church," n.p., n.d.
- Brooks, Walter H. III, Charlotte K. Brooks, and Joseph K. Brooks. *A Brooks Chronicle: The Lives and Times of an African-American Family*. Privately published, Washington, D.C.: Brooks Associates, 1989.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. "To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women's Political History, 1865–1880." In *African American Women and the Vote, 1837–1965*, edited by Ann Gordon with Bettye Collier-Thomas, pp. 66–99. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.
- Brown, Henry Box. *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown, Written by Himself*. Manchester, N.H.: Lee and Glynn, 1851.
- Brown, John. *Slave Life in Georgia: A Narrative of the Life, Sufferings, and Escape of John Brown, a Fugitive Slave, Now in England*, edited by L. A. Chamerovzow. London: W. M. Watts, 1855.
- Brown, Joshua. *Beyond the Lines: Pictorial Reporting, Everyday Life, and the Crisis of Gilded Age America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Brown, Kimberly Juanita. *The Repeating Body: Slavery's Visual Resonance in the Contemporary*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Brown, William Wells. *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius and His Achievements*. New York: Thomas Hamilton, 1863.
- . *Three Years in Europe: or, Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met*. London: Charles Gilpin, 1852.
- Buell, Lawrence. *Emerson*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Bulat, Elena, India Spartz, Brenda Bernier, and T. Rose Holdcraft. "A Case for Preservation: Revisiting the Agassiz Collection of Daguerreotypes from the Peabody Museum Archives at Harvard University." *Topics in Photographic Preservation* 13, no. 21 (2009), pp. 147–59.
- Calo, Mary Ann. "Winslow Homer's Visits to Virginia during Reconstruction." *American Art Journal* 12 (Winter 1980), pp. 4–27.
- Calos, Katherine. "Highway Marker Honors Former Slave." *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 16, 2008.
- Camp, Stephanie M. H. *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Campbell, John. *Negro-Mania: Being an Examination of the Falsely Assumed Equality of the Various Races of Men*. Philadelphia: Campbell and Power, 1851.
- Campbell, Mary. *Charles Ellis Johnson and the Erotic Mormon Image*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- Campbell, Stanley W. *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850–1860*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1972.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *Sartor Resartus*, edited by Rodger L. Tarr. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. First published 1833.
- Carman, Adam. *An Oration Delivered at the Fourth Anniversary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Second Street, New York, January 1, 1811*. New York: John C. Totten, 1811.
- Cavalcante, Ygor Rocha. "Slave Resistance and the Notion of Space: The Case of Afro-Amazonians (1850–1880)." In *Another Black Like Me: The Construction of Identities and Solidarity in the African Diaspora*, edited by Elaine Pereira Rocha and Nielson Rosa Bezerra, pp. 132–57. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2015.
- Cheddie, Janice. "Landscape, Visibility and Memory in the Work of Sasha Huber." *ARC Magazine | Contemporary Caribbean Visual Art & Culture*, September 2012. <http://arcthemagazine.com>.
- Clarke, Erskine. *Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Cobb, Jasmine Nicole. *Picture Freedom: Remaking Black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century*. New York: New York University Press, 2015.
- Coclanis, Peter A. "Rice." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar, pp. 791–94. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Coker, Daniel. *A Dialogue between a Virginian and an African Minister*. Baltimore: Benjamin Edes for Joseph James, 1810.
- Collier-Thomas, Bettye. *Jesus, Jobs, and Justice: African American Women and Religion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010.
- "Colored Pastor Dead," *Times*, Richmond, Va., November 27, 1900.
- Colyer, Vincent. *Report of the Services Rendered by the Freed People to the United States Army, in North Carolina, in the Spring of 1862, After the Battle of Newbern*. New York: Vincent Colyer, 1864.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff. *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 2: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- "Condolences for Maria Holmes, 'In Memoriam.'" *Richmond Planet*, July 18, 1896.
- "Congress," *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, May 21, 1842.
- Conrad, Joseph. *The Arrow of Gold: A Story between Two Notes*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1919.
- Conway, Moncure Daniel. *Autobiography: Memories and Experiences*. Vol. 1. New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1904.
- Cooper, Thomas, ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*. Vol. 2. Columbia, S.C.: A. S. Johnston, 1837.

- Cooper Owens, Deirdre. *Medical Bondage: Race, Gender, and the Origins of American Gynecology*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2017.
- Copeland, Huey. *Bound to Appear: Art, Slavery, and the Site of Blackness in Multicultural America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. *"When I Can Read My Title Clear": Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.
- Cotter, Holland. "Testimony of a Cleareyed Witness." *New York Times*, January 24, 2014.
- Craft, William. *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom; or, The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery*. London: William Tweedie, 1860.
- Crouse, L. L. "From Richmond." *New York Times*, April 4, 1865.
- "Daguerreotypes." *Littell's Living Age*, Boston, June 20, 1846.
- "Daguerreotypes and Anatomy." *Tri-Weekly South Carolinian*, October 10, 1850.
- Dain, Bruce. *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Darwin, Charles. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. London: John Murray, 1871.
- Davis, Adrienne. "'Don't Let Nobody Bother Yo' Principle': The Sexual Economy of American Slavery." In *Sister Circle: Black Women and Work*, edited by Sharon Harley, pp. 103–27. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002.
- Davis, David Brion. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Davis, Keith F. *The Origins of American Photography: From Daguerreotype to Dry-Plate, 1839–1885*. Kansas City: Hall Family Foundation and Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2007.
- "Death of a Much Respected Colored Man." *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, July 16, 1881.
- DeGruy Leary, Joy Angela. *Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America's Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing*. Milwaukie, Ore.: Uptone Press, 2005.
- Delany, Martin Robison. *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*. Philadelphia: Martin Robison Delany, 1852.
- . *Principia of Ethnology: The Origin of Races and Color, with an Archeological Compendium of Ethiopian and Egyptian Civilization, from Years of Careful Examination and Enquiry*. Philadelphia: Harper and Brother, 1880.
- d'Entremont, John. *Southern Emancipator: Moncure Conway, the American Years, 1832–1865*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Dinius, Marcy J. *The Camera and the Press: American Visual and Print Culture in the Age of the Daguerreotype*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.
- Donald, David. *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960.
- Dooley, William T. Introduction to *In These Islands: South Carolina and Georgia*, by Carrie Mae Weems, pp. 10–11. Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Sarah Moody Gallery of Art, 1995.
- Douglass, Frederick. *The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered: An Address before the Literary Societies of Western Reserve College, at Commencement, July 12, 1854*. Rochester, N.Y.: Lee, Mann, and Co., 1854.
- . "The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered." In *The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series 1: Speeches Debates, and Interviews. Vol. 2: 1847–1854*, edited by John W. Blassingame. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982.
- . "Lecture on Pictures." In *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American*, edited by John Stauffer, Zoe Trodd, and Celeste-Marie Bernier, pp. 126–41. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2015.
- . *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*. New York: Anchor Books, 1989. First published 1845.
- . "Pictures and Progress." In *The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series 1: Speeches Debates, and Interviews. Vol. 3: 1855–1863*, edited by John W. Blassingame, pp. 452–73. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Dow, Neal. *The Reminiscences of Neal Dow: Recollections of Eighty Years*. Portland, Maine: Evening Express Publishing Co., 1898.
- Downey, Tom. "Lucas, Jonathan." In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar, p. 573. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Doyle, Don H. *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War*. New York: Basic Books, 2014.
- Duganne, Erina. "Family Folktales: Carrie Mae Weems, Allan Sekula, and the Critique of Documentary Photography." *English Language Notes* 49, no. 2 (Winter 2011), pp. 41–52.
- Duke, Maurice, and Daniel P. Jordan, eds. *A Richmond Reader, 1733–1983*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.
- Dunbar, Erica Armstrong. *Never Caught: The Washingtons' Relentless Pursuit of Their Runaway Slave, Ona Judge*. New York: Atria Books, 2017.
- Dupree, A. Hunter. *Asa Gray, 1810–1888*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Edwards, Elizabeth. *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

- . “Photographs and History: Emotion and Materiality.” In *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations*, edited by Sandra H. Dudley, pp. 21–38. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Edwards, Elizabeth, and Sigrid Lien. *Uncertain Images: Museums and the Work of Photographs*. Surrey, U.K.: Ashgate and New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Ehrlich, Paul R. *The Population Bomb*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1968.
- Elkins, James. *What Photography Is*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Elkins, Stanley M. *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.
- Emancipator and Republican*. Boston, August 29, 1850; October 31, 1850; and September 26, 1850.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *Emerson in His Journals*, edited by Joel Porte. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1982.
- Engels, Friedrich. *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*. Translated by Florence Kelley. New York: J. W. Lovell Co., 1887.
- Equiano, Olaudah, *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings*, edited by Vincent Carretta. New York: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Ermakoff, George. *O Negro na fotografia Brasileira do século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: G. Ermakoff, 2004.
- Etheridge, Eric. *Breach of Peace: Portraits of the 1961 Mississippi Freedom Riders*. New York: Atlas and Co., 2008.
- Fabian, Ann. *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Fässler, Hans. “What’s in a Name? Louis Agassiz, the Mountain and the Politics of Remembrance.” In *(T)aces of Louis Agassiz: Photography, Body and Science, Yesterday and Today / Rastros e raças de Louis Agassiz: Fotografia, corpo e ciência, ontem e hoje*, edited by Maria Helena P. T. Machado and Sasha Huber, pp. 144–56. São Paulo: Capacete Entretenimentos, 2010.
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne. “Gender, Race, and Nation: The Comparative Anatomy of ‘Hottentot’ Women in Europe, 1815–1817.” In *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture*, edited by Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline Urla, pp. 19–48. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Ferrez, Gilberto. *Photography in Brazil, 1840–1900*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.
- Ferrez, Gilberto, and Weston J. Naef. *Pioneer Photographers of Brazil, 1840–1920*. New York: Center for Inter-American Relations, 1976.
- Field, Corinne T. *The Struggle for Equal Adulthood: Gender, Race, Age, and the Fight for Citizenship in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.
- Fields, Barbara J., and Karen E. Fields. *Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life*. New York: Verso Books, 2012.
- Fleetwood, Nicole R. *On Racial Icons: Blackness and the Public Imagination*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2015.
- . *Troubling Vision: Performance, Visuality, and Blackness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Fogel, Robert William, and Stanley L. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*. London: Wildwood, 1976.
- Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Ford, Brian J. *Images of Science: A History of Scientific Illustration*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Ford, Lacy. “Reconsidering the Internal Slave Trade: Paternalism, Markets, and the Character of the Old South.” In *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas*, edited by Walter Johnson, pp. 143–64. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Foresta, Merry A., and John Wood. *Secrets of the Dark Chamber: The Art of the American Daguerreotype*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995.
- Forret, Jeff. “Slaves, Poor Whites, and the Underground Economy of the Rural Carolinas.” *Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 4 (November 2004), pp. 783–824.
- Foster, Helen Bradley. *New Raiments of Self: African American Clothing in the Antebellum South*. New York: Berg Publishers, 1997.
- “Four Legged Fish,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 31, 1850.
- Fox-Amato, Matthew. *Exposing Slavery: Photography, Human Bondage, and the Birth of Modern Visual Politics in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Frank, Robin Jaffee. *Love and Loss: American Portrait and Mourning Miniatures*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Franklin, John Hope. “The New Negro History.” *Journal of Negro History* 42, no. 2 (April 1957), pp. 89–97.
- Fraser, Walter J. *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.
- Frazier, Herb, Bernard Edward Powers, Jr., and Marjory Wentworth. *We Are Charleston: Tragedy and Triumph at Mother Emanuel*. Nashville: W Publishing Group, 2016.
- Fredrickson, George M. *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817–1914*. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Fryd, Vivien Green. *Art and Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815–1860*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

- Garnet, Henry Highland. *The Past and Present Condition, and the Destiny, of the Colored Race: A Discourse Delivered at the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Female Benevolent Society of Troy, N.Y. Feb. 14, 1848*. Troy, N.Y.: Steam Press of J. C. Kneeland and Co., 1848.
- . *Walker's Appeal, with a Brief Sketch of His Life*. New York: J. H. Tobitt, 1848.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. "Frederick Douglass's Camera Obscura: Representing the Antislave 'Clothed and in Their Own Form.'" *Critical Inquiry* 42, no. 1 (Autumn 2015), pp. 31–60.
- . "The Trope of a New Negro and the Reconstruction of the Image of the Black." *Representations*, "America Reconstructed, 1840–1940," no. 24 (Autumn 1988), pp. 129–55.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., and Kwame Anthony Appiah, eds. "*Race, Writing, and Difference*." Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., and Gene A. Jarett. *The New Negro: Readings on Race, Representation, and African American Culture, 1892–1938*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Pantheon, 1974.
- Gibbes, Robert W. *Documentary History of the American Revolution: Consisting of Letters and Papers Relating to the Contest for Liberty, Chiefly in South Carolina*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1853–57.
- Giles, Paul. *Backgazing: Reverse Time in Modernist Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Gill, James. *The Lords of Misrule: Mardi Gras and the Politics of Race in New Orleans*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997.
- Gillespie, Sarah Kate. *The Early American Daguerreotype: Cross-Currents in Art and Technology*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2016.
- Gilman, Sander L. "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature." *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (1985), 204–42.
- . *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Gloucester, Jeremiah. *An Oration Delivered on January 1, 1823 in Bethel Church, on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. Philadelphia: John Young, 1823.
- Goldberg, Vicki, ed. *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981.
- Golden, Thelma. "Some Thoughts on Carrie Mae Weems." In *Carrie Mae Weems: Recent Work, 1992–1998*, edited by Thomas Piché, Jr., and Thelma Golden, pp. 29–34. New York: George Braziller, 1998.
- Gomes, Flávio dos Santos. "Agassiz and the 'Pure Race': Africans in the City on the Atlantic." In *(T)traces of Louis Agassiz: Photography, Body and Science, Yesterday and Today | Rastros e raças de Louis Agassiz: Fotografia, corpo e ciência, ontem e hoje*, edited by Maria Helena P. T. Machado and Sasha Huber, pp. 44–52. São Paulo: Capacete Entretenimentos, 2010.
- Gomez-Jefferson, Annetta L. *The Sage of Tawawa: Reverdy Cassius Ransom, 1861–1959*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2003.
- Gould, Stephen Jay. *The Mismeasure of Man*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1981; reprinted 2006.
- . "Flaws in a Victorian Veil." *New Scientist*, vol. 79, no. 1118 (August 31, 1978), pp. 632–33.
- Gray, Asa. *Letters of Asa Gray*. 2 vols. Edited by Jane Loring Gray. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1894.
- Greenspan, Ezra. *William Wells Brown: An African American Life*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 2014.
- Grégoire, Henri. *An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of Negroes*, edited by Graham Russell Hodges. Armonk, N.Y.: Armonk Press, 1997. First published 1810.
- Grigsby, Darcy Grimaldo. *Enduring Truths: Sojourner's Shadows and Substance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- . "Negative-Positive Truths." *Representations* 113, no. 1 (2011), pp. 16–38.
- Grodzins, Dean. "Theodore Parker vs. John S. Rock on the Anglo-Saxon and the African." In *A House Divided: The Antebellum Slavery Debates in America, 1776–1865*, edited by Mason I. Lowance, Jr., pp. 299–310. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Gross, Gerald. "Born a Slave, Pastor at 87 Has a Big Church Free of Debt." *Washington Post*, March 3, 1939.
- Gutman, Herbert. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925*. New York: Vintage Books, 1976.
- Haag, Carlos. "As fotos secretas do Professor Agassiz." *Pesquisa Fapesp* 175 (September 2010), pp. 80–85.
- Hahn, Steven. *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830–1910*. New York: Viking, 2016.
- Hampton, Harry R. E. "Remembrances of Columbia." *Sandlapper: The Magazine of South Carolina*, April 1979.
- Harris, Neil. *Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.
- Harvey, Paul. *Through the Storm, Through the Night: A History of African American Christianity*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2011.
- Hauser, Arnold. *The Philosophy of Art History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958.
- Hawes, Jennifer Berry. "Portrait Emerges of the Real Dylann Roof: Journal, Notes, Selfies, Confession Reveal Inner Working of Emanuel AME Mass Shooter." *Post and Courier*, Charleston, S.C., December 11, 2016.

- Henderson, B. "A Strong Pastor of a Strong Church." *Colored American Magazine*. January 1908.
- Henkin, David M. *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Henry, Ida. WPA Slave Narrative Project, Oklahoma Narratives. Vol. 13. Federal Writer's Project, United States Work Projects Administration. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Higginbotham, Evelyn Brooks. *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Higginson, Thomas Wentworth. "Gymnastics." *Atlantic Monthly*, March 1861.
- Hilliard, Kathleen M. *Masters, Slaves, and Exchange: Power's Purchase in the Old South*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Hirschfeld, Fritz. *George Washington and Slavery: A Documentary Portrayal*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997.
- Holbrook, John Edwards. *North American Herpetology; or, A Description of the Reptiles Inhabiting the United States*. Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1842.
- Holcomb, Brent Howard. *Records of Death in Columbia, South Carolina and Elsewhere as Recorded by John Glass, 1859–1877*. Columbia, S.C.: SCMAR, 1986.
- Holmes, J. H. "Reminiscences." *Baptist Home Mission Monthly*, November 1888.
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell. "The Age of Photography." *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1859.
- . "Doings of the Sunbeam." *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1863.
- . "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph." In *Soundings from the Atlantic*, pp. 124–65. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1864.
- . "Sun-Painting and Sun-Sculpture." *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1861.
- Howe, Kathleen Stewart. *First Seen: Portraits of the World's Peoples, 1840–1880*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 2004.
- Huber, Sasha. *Rentyhorn Agassizhorn*. Helsinki: Kiasma, 2010.
- Humphrey's Journal of Photography*, vol. 9 (1857), pp. 92–93.
- Huxley, Leonard. *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker*. London: John Murray, 1918.
- Hyde, H. Montgomery. *Mr. and Mrs. Beeton*. London: George Harrap, 1951.
- Irmscher, Christoph. *Louis Agassiz: Creator of American Science*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2013.
- . *The Poetics of Natural History*. 2nd edition. Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2019. First published 1999.
- Jackson, Cassandra. *Violence, Visual Culture, and the Black Male Body*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- James, William. "Brazilian Diary" (November 10, 1865). In *Brazil through the Eyes of William James: Letters, Diaries, and Drawings, 1865–1866*, edited by Maria Helena P. T. Machado and translated by John M. Monteiro, pp. 87–93. Cambridge, Mass.: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2006.
- Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia*. London: John Stockdale, 1787.
- Jennings, Thelma. *The Nashville Convention: Southern Movement for Unity, 1848–1850*. Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1980.
- Johnson, Brooks. "The Progress of Civilization: The American Occupational Daguerreotype." In *America and the Daguerreotype*, edited by John Wood, pp. 109–17. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991.
- Johnson, Drew Heath, and Marcia Eymann. *Silver and Gold: Cased Images of the California Gold Rush*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press for the Oakland Museum, 1998.
- Johnson, Walter. *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013.
- . *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Johnston, Frances Benjamin. *The Hampton Album: 44 Photographs by Frances B. Johnston from an Album of Hampton Institute*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966.
- Jones, Jacqueline. *A Dreadful Deceit: The Myth of Race from the Colonial Era to Obama's America*. New York: Basic Books, 2013.
- Jones, John W. *Confederate Currency: The Color of Money, Images of Slavery in Confederate and Southern States Currency*. West Columbia, S.C.: New Directions, 2002.
- Jordan, Winthrop D. *White Over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968.
- Jordanova, Ludmilla. *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.
- Joyce, James. "The Mirage of the Fisherman of Aran: England's Safety Valve in Case of War." In *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, edited by Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann, pp. 234–37. London: Faber and Faber, 1969.
- Joyner, Charles. *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984.
- Karp, Matthew. *This Vast Southern Empire: Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016.

- Kelbaugh, Ross J. *Introduction to African American Photographs, 1840–1950: Identification, Research, Care & Collecting*. Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 2005.
- Kendi, Ibram X. *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America*. New York: Bold Type Books, 2016.
- Klein, Herbert S. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Kossoy, Boris, ed. *Um olhar sobre o Brasil: A fotografia na construção da imagem da nação: 1833–2003*. Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2012.
- Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- L'Abbé Moigno. "Photographie: Son histoire, ses procédés, sa théorie." *Revue scientifique et intellectuelle* 30 (September 1847), pp. 321–74.
- Lago, Bia Corrêa do. *Augusto Stahl: Obra completa em Pernambuco e Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Capivara, 2001.
- Lago, Bia Corrêa do, and Pedro Corrêa do Lago. *Os fotógrafos do Império: A fotografia Brasileira do século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: Capivara, 2005.
- Leja, Michael. *Looking Askance: Skepticism and American Art from Eakins to Duchamp*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Levesque, George A. "Boston's Black Brahmin: Dr. John S. Rock." *Civil War History* 26, no. 4 (December 1980), pp. 326–46.
- Levine, Lawrence W. *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Levine, Robert S. *Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass and the Politics of Representative Identity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Lewis, David Levering, and Deborah Willis. *A Small Nation of People: W. E. B. Du Bois and African American Portraits of Progress*. New York: Amistad, 2003.
- Lewis, Sarah. *The Rise: Creativity, the Gift of Failure, and the Search for Mastery*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2014.
- . "Guest Editor's Note." *Aperture*, "Vision & Justice," Summer 2016.
- Lincoln, Abraham. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by Roy P. Basler. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953–1955.
- Littlefield, Daniel C. *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991. First published 1981.
- Locke, Alain. *The Negro in Art: A Pictorial Record of the Negro Artist and of the Negro Theme in Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969. First published 1940.
- Lockley, Timothy J. "Trading Encounters between Non-Elite Whites and African Americans in Savannah, 1790–1860." *Journal of Southern History* 66, no. 1 (February 2000), pp. 25–48.
- Louisville Daily Courier*, October 12, 1850.
- Lowell, Robert. "Epilogue." In *Day by Day*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977.
- Luker, Ralph E. *The Social Gospel in Black and White: American Racial Reform, 1885–1912*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Lurie, Edward. *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- . *Louis Agassiz and the Races of Man*. Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1955.
- Luse, Christopher A. "Slavery's Champions Stood at Odds: Polygenesis and the Defense of Slavery." *Civil War History* 53, no. 4 (December 2007), pp. 379–412.
- Machado, Maria Helena P. T., and Sasha Huber, eds. *(Tr)aces of Louis Agassiz: Photography, Body and Science, Yesterday and Today | Rastros e raças de Louis Agassiz: Fotografia, corpo e ciência, ontem e hoje*. São Paulo: Capacete Entretenimentos, 2010.
- Maizlish, Stephen E. *A Strife of Tongues: The Compromise of 1850 and the Ideological Foundations of the American Civil War*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018.
- Maxwell, Anne. *Picture Imperfect: Photography and Eugenics, 1870–1940*. Brighton, U.K.: Sussex Academic Press, 2010.
- Mayer, Henry. *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- McCandless, Barbara. "The Portrait Studio and the Celebrity: Promoting the Art." In *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*, edited by Martha A. Sandweiss, pp. 49–75. Fort Worth, Tex.: Amon Carter Museum, 1991.
- McCord, David J., ed. *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, vol. 7. Columbia, S.C.: A. S. Johnston, 1840.
- McCune Smith, James. *The Works of James McCune Smith: Black Intellectual and Abolitionist*, edited by John Stauffer. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- McDonald, Roderick A. *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993.
- McPherson, James M. *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- . *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992. First published 1964.
- Meehan, Sean Ross. *Mediating American Autobiography: Photography in Emerson, Thoreau, Douglass, and Whitman*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008.
- Menand, Louis. "Morton, Agassiz, and the Origins of Scientific Racism in the United States." *Journal of Black in Higher Education* 34 (Winter 2001–2), pp. 110–13.

- Michael, John S. "A New Look at Morton's Craniological Research." *Current Anthropology* 29, no. 2 (April 1988), pp. 349–54.
- Miles, Ellen Gross. *Saint-Mémin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America*. Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.
- Miller, Mark. *Cast Down: Abjection in America, 1700–1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- Minutes of the Fifth Annual Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Colour in the United States, Held by Adjournments, in the Wesley Church, Philadelphia, from the First to the Fifth of June, Inclusive, 1835*. Philadelphia: William P. Gibbons, 1835.
- Mirzoeff, Nicholas. "The Shadow and the Substance: Race, Photography, and the Index." In *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*, edited by Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis, pp. 163–81. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Moore, Henry. "An Interview." *World Press Review*, July 1983.
- Morgan, Jennifer L. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Morgan, Philip D. "The Ownership of Property by Slaves in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Low Country." *Journal of Southern History* 49, no. 3 (August 1983), pp. 399–420.
- Morton, Samuel George. "Account of a Craniological Collection; with Remarks on the Classification of Some Families of the Human Race." *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society* 2 (1848), pp. 217–22.
- . *Crania Aegyptiaca; or, Observations on Egyptian Ethnography, Derived from Anatomy, History and the Monuments*. Philadelphia: John Pennington, 1844.
- . *Crania Americana; or, A Comparative View of the Skulls of Various Aboriginal Nations of North and South America*. Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1839.
- "Mrs. Brooks Is Gone," *Richmond Planet*, October 13, 1900.
- Muchnic, Suzanne. "Going for a Gut Reaction: Outspoken African American Artist Carrie Mae Weems Could Be Expected to Provide a Hot Response to Historical Images of Blacks. The Getty Only Had to Ask. Many Times." *Los Angeles Times*, February 26, 1995.
- Murray, Yxta Maya. "From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried: Carrie Mae Weems' Challenge to the Harvard Archive." *Unbound: Harvard Journal of the Legal Left* 8 (2012–13). <https://legaleft.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2014/07/Murray.pdf>.
- The Musical World*. October 26, 1850.
- Muybridge, Eadweard. *Complete Human and Animal Locomotion*. 3 vols. New York: Dover, 1979.
- Neary, Janet, and Hollis Robbins. "African American Literature of the Gold Rush." In *Mapping Region in Early American Writing*, edited by Edward Watts, Keri Holt, and John Funchion, pp. 226–48. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015.
- Nelson, Charmaine A. *Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Nevins, Allan. *Ordeal of the Union, vol. 1: Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847–1852*. New York: Collier Books, 1992.
- Newark Daily Advertiser*, October 4, 1850.
- Newhall, Beaumont. *The History of Photography, from 1839 to the Present*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1988.
- New York Sun*, March 12, 1898.
- Northup, Solomon. *Twelve Years a Slave*. New York: Penguin Books, 2012. First published 1853.
- Nott, Josiah C. "An Examination of the Physical History of the Jews, in Its Bearings on the Question of the Unity of the Races." In *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Third Meeting, Held at Charleston, SC, March 1850*, pp. 98–107. Charleston, S.C.: Steam-Power Press of Walker and James, 1850.
- . "The Mulatto a Hybrid: Probable Extermination of the Two Races If the Whites and Blacks Are Allowed to Intermarry." *American Journal of Medical Sciences* 6 (1843), pp. 253–54.
- Nott, Josiah C., 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, and by Additional Contributions from Prof. L. Agassiz; W. Usher, and Prof. H. S. Patterson*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co., 1854.
- Oast, Jennifer. *Institutional Slavery: Slaveholding Churches, Schools, Colleges, and Businesses in Virginia, 1680–1860*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Odo, David. *The Journey of "A Good Type": From Artistry to Ethnography in Early Japanese Photographs*. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum Press, 2015.
- O'Leary, Elizabeth L. *At Beck and Call: The Representation of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996.
- Olmsted, Frederick Law. *The Cotton Kingdom: A Traveller's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States, 1853–1861*, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger. New York: Da Capo Press, 1996. First published 1861.
- "Origin of the Human Race." *Boston Courier*, June 19, 1850.
- Oson, Jacob. *A Search for Truth, or, An Inquiry for the Origin of the African Nation: An Address, Delivered at New-Haven in March and at New-York in April 1817*. New York: Christopher Rush, 1817.

- “Our Correspondence. Professor Agassiz on the Negro.” *New York Evening Post*, January 10, 1851.
- Painter, Nell Irvin. *The History of White People*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2010.
- . *Sojourner Truth: A Life, a Symbol*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1996.
- Parfait, Claire. *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom’s Cabin, 1852–2002*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2007.
- Paterson, David E. “Slavery, Slaves, and Cash in a Georgia Village, 1825–1865.” *Journal of Southern History* 75, no. 4 (November 2009), pp. 879–930.
- Patterson, Stanley, ed. “The Second Act of Life’s Drama: Longfellow and His Friends.” Unpublished bound typescript, 1998. Longfellow House, Washington’s Headquarters, National Historic Site, Cambridge, Mass.
- Patterson, Vivian, ed. *Carrie Mae Weems: The Hampton Project*. New York: Aperture, 2000.
- Penningroth, Dylan C. *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Pennington, James W. C. *A Text Book of the Origin and History, &c. &c. of the Colored People*. Hartford, Conn.: L. Skinner, 1841.
- Perniola, Mario. “Between Clothing and Nudity.” In *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, edited by Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi, pp. 237–65. New York: Zone Books and Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989.
- Philogene, Jerry. “Wrapped in Images and the Materiality of Art Practices: Vladimir Cybil Charlier, Sasha Huber, and Pascale Monnin.” *Emisférica* 12, no. 1 (May 2015). <https://hemisphericinstitute.org/en/emisferica-121-caribbean-rasanblaj/>.
- “Photos of Early Slaves Discovered.” *The Town Talk*, Alexandria, Va., June 1, 1977.
- Picquet, Louisa, and Hiram Mattison. *Louisa Picquet, the Octoroon: or Inside Views of Southern Domestic Life*. New York: Self-published, 1861.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. “The Daguerreotype.” *Alexander’s Weekly Messenger*, Philadelphia, January 15, 1840.
- Pohl, Frances K. *Framing America: A Social History of American Art*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002.
- Poole, W. Scott. “Best Friend of Charleston.” In *The South Carolina Encyclopedia*, edited by Walter Edgar, pp. 69–70. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.
- Pope, Alexander. *An Essay on Man: Moral Essays and Satires*. London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1891.
- Porter, Dorothy, ed. *Early Negro Writing, 1760–1837*. Boston: Black Classic Press, 1971.
- Post, Charles. “Slavery and the New History of Capitalism.” *Catalyst* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2017), pp. 1–19.
- Potter, David M. *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861*. New York: Harper and Row, 1976.
- Poulson’s Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, January 10, 1801, and November 5, 1821.
- Powell, Richard J. *Cutting a Figure: Fashioning Black Portraiture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Price, George R., and James Brewer Stewart, eds. *To Heal the Scourge of Prejudice: The Life and Writings of Hosea Easton*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.
- “Proceedings of the Polytechnic Association: The First Daguerreotype Portrait.” In *Annual Report of the American Institute of the City of New York for the Year 1866–67*. Albany, N.Y.: C. Van Benthuysen and Sons, 1867., pp. 913–17.
- Prodger, Phillip. *Darwin’s Camera: Art and Photography in the Theory of Evolution*. New York: Oxford Press, 2009.
- “Prof. Agassiz.” *Baltimore Sun*, October 7, 1850.
- “Professor Agassiz.” *Louisville Daily Courier*, October 12, 1850.
- “Professor Agassiz and His Discoveries.” *New York Evangelist*, October 10, 1850.
- “Professor Agassiz and His Discoveries.” *Ohio Observer*, October 30, 1850.
- “Professor Agassiz on the Negro.” *New York Evening Post*, November 18, 1850.
- “Professor Agassiz on the Negro, To the Editors of the Evening Post.” *Pennsylvania Freeman*, January 1, 1851.
- Raboteau, Albert J. *Slave Religion: The “Invisible Institution” in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- “A Rare Case.” *Advertiser*, November 2, 1854.
- Rawick, George P. *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972.
- Raymond, Claire. “The Crucible of Witnessing: Projects of Identity in Carrie Mae Weems’s *From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried*.” *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 13, no. 1 (2015), pp. 26–52.
- Reaves, Wendy Wick, and Sally Pierce. “Translations from the Plate: The Marketplace of Public Portraiture.” In *Young America: The Daguerreotypes of Southworth & Hawes*, edited by Grant B. Romer and Brian Wallis, pp. 89–103. New York: Steidl, George Eastman House, and International Center of Photography, 2005.
- Redman, Samuel J. *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Reichlin, Elinor. “Faces of Slavery: A Historical Find.” *American Heritage*, June 1977.
- . *Survivors of a Painful Epoch: Six Rare Pre-Civil War Daguerreotypes of Southern Slaves*. Unpublished typescript, 1976–77. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, Mass. PM 2018.1.39.



- Rejlander, Oscar G. "An Apology for Art-Photography" (1863). In *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present*, edited by Vicki Goldberg, pp. 141–47. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.
- "Rev. Holmes Weds." *Richmond Planet*, December 23, 1899.
- Reynolds, Joshua. *Discourses on Art*, edited by Robert Wark. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1959. *Richmond Enquirer*, June 14, 1850.
- Rigal, Laura. "Peale's Mammoth." In *American Iconology: New Approaches to Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature*, edited by David C. Miller, pp. 18–38. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1997.
- Roberts, Mary. *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007.
- Rogers, Molly. *Delia's Tears: Race, Science, and Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Root, M. A. *The Camera and the Pencil; or the Heliographic Art, Its Theory and Practice in All Its Various Branches; e.g.—Daguerreotypy, Photography, &c.; Together with Its History in the United States and in Europe; Being at Once a Theoretical and a Practical Treatise, and Designed Alike, as a Text-Book and a Hand-Book*. Philadelphia: M. A. Root and J. B. Lippincott and Co., and New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1864; reprinted Pawlet, Vt., Helios, 1971.
- Ruchames, Louis, ed. *Racial Thought in America: A Documentary History*. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1970.
- Ruggles, Jeffrey. *Photography in Virginia*. Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 2008.
- . *The Unboxing of Henry Brown*. Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2003.
- Rusert, Britt. *Fugitive Science: Empiricism and Freedom in Early African American Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2017.
- Sadlier, Darlene J. *Brazil Imagined: 1500 to the Present*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
- Sampson, M. B. *Rationale of Crime, and Its Appropriate Treatment; Being a Treatise on Criminal Jurisprudence Considered in Relation to Cerebral Organization*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1846.
- Sanders, Albert E., and William D. Anderson, Jr., eds. *Natural History Investigations in South Carolina: From Colonial Times to the Present*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999.
- Savitt, Todd L. "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.
- Schama, Simon. *Dead Certainties: Unwarranted Speculations*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
- Schermerhorn, Calvin. *Money over Mastery, Family over Freedom: Slavery in the Antebellum Upper South*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Schildkrout, Enid. "Les Parisiens d'Afrique: Mangbetu Women as Works of Art." In *Black Womanhood: Images, Icons, and Ideologies of the African Body*, edited by Barbara Thompson, pp. 70–93. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.
- Schuster, Charles I. "Confessions of a Writer: The Art of Richard Selzer." *Rhetoric Review* 3, no. 1 (September 1984), pp. 96–97.
- Schweninger, Loren. "Slave Independence and Enterprise in South Carolina, 1780–1865." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 93, no. 2 (April 1992), pp. 101–25.
- Scott, Edwin J. *Random Recollections of a Long Life, 1806 to 1876*. Columbia, S.C.: C. A. Calvo, Jr., 1884.
- Scully, William. *Brazil, Its Provinces and Chief Cities; The Manners & Customs of the People, Agricultural, Commercial, and Other Statistics, Taken from the latest Official Documents; with a Variety of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, Both for the Merchant and the Emigrant*. London: Murray, 1866.
- Sekula, Allan. "The Body and the Archive." In *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography*, edited by Richard Bolton, pp. 343–89. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992.
- Selzer, Richard. "The Mirror: A Tale of Aran." In *The Doctor Stories*, pp. 200–208. New York: Picador, 1998. First published 1981.
- "Sermon on the Death of Mr. Benjamin F. Taylor, Preached in Trinity Church, Columbia, May 16, 1852." *Charleston Gospel Messenger and Protestant Episcopal Register*, September 1852.
- Serres, Étienne. "Anthropologie comparée. Observations sur l' application de la photographie à l'étude des races humaines." *Comptes rendus hebdomadaires des séances de l'Académie des Sciences* 21 (1845), pp. 242–46.
- The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850; Embracing a Statistical View of Each of the States and Territories, Arranged by Counties, Towns, Etc. . . .* Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853.
- Sheehan, Tanya. *Doctored: The Medicine of Photography in Nineteenth-Century America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- . "Looking Pleasant, Feeling White: The Social Politics of the Photographic Smile." In *Feeling Photography*, edited by Elspeth H. Brown and Thy Phu, pp. 127–57. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014.

- Sheldon, G. W. "American Painters—Winslow Homer and F. A. Bridgman." *Art Journal* 49 (1878), pp. 225–29.
- Shuler, Kristrina A., and Ralph Bailey, Jr. "A History of the Phosphate Mining Industry in the South Carolina Lowcountry." Mount Pleasant, S.C.: Brockington and Associates, Inc., 2004. <http://nationalregister.sc.gov/SurveyReports/hyphosphatesindustryLowcountry2SM.pdf>.
- Sidbury, James. *Ploughshares into Swords: Race, Rebellion, and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730–1810*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Silkenat, David. "'A Typical Negro': Gordon, Peter, Vincent Colyer and the Story behind Slavery's Most Famous Photograph." *American Nineteenth Century History* 15, no. 2 (2014), pp. 169–86.
- Simons, J. Hume. *The Planter's Guide, and Family Book of Medicine: For the Instruction and Use of Planters, Families, Country People, and All Others Who May Be Out of the Reach of Physicians, or Unable to Employ Them*. Charleston, S.C.: McCarter and Allen, 1848.
- Sinha, Manisha. "The Caning of Charles Sumner: Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War." *Journal of the Early Republic* 23, no. 2 (Summer 2003), pp. 233–62.
- . *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- . "James W. C. Pennington and Transatlantic Abolitionism." In *Heidelberg Center for American Studies: Annual Report 2010–11*, pp. 162–75. Heidelberg: Heidelberg Center for American Studies, 2011.
- . "Louisa Susanna McCord: Spokeswoman of the Master Class in Antebellum South Carolina." In *Feminist Nightmares, Women at Odds: Feminism and the Problem of Sisterhood*, edited by Jennifer Fleischner and Susan Ostrov Weisser, pp. 62–87. New York: New York University Press, 1994.
- . *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Slaughter, Philip. *The Virginian History of African Colonization*. Richmond, Va.: Macfarlane Publishing Co., 1855.
- "Slave Photo Finder Questions Circulation." *Tennessean*, Nashville, June 1, 1977.
- Slusser, Daniel Lawrence. "In Defense of Southern Honor: Preston Brooks and the Attack on Charles Sumner." *The Forum: Journal of History* 2, no. 1 (2010), pp. 98–110.
- Smart Martin, Ann. *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Smith, Shawn Michelle. *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Smith-Pryor, Elizabeth M. *Property Rites: The Rhinelander Trial, Passing, and the Protection of Whiteness*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Smyth, Thomas. *The Unity of the Human Races Proved to Be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science, with a Review of the Present Position and Theory of Professor Agassiz*. New York: George P. Putnam, 1850.
- Sobieszek, Robert A., and Odette M. Appel. *The Daguerreotypes of Southworth and Hawes*. New York: Dover Publications, 1980.
- Solnit, Rebecca. *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*. New York: Penguin Books, 2001.
- South Carolina Department of Agriculture. *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina: Their Names, Location, Capacity and History*. Charleston, S.C.: News and Courier Book Presses, 1880.
- Southworth, Albert S. "An Address to the National Photographic Association of the United States." *Philadelphia Photographer* 8 (October 1871), pp. 315–23.
- Staiti, Paul. *Of Arms and Artists: The American Revolution through Painters' Eyes*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2016.
- Stampf, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. New York: Knopf, 1956.
- Stanton, William. *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815–1859*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Stauffer, John. *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- . "Creating an Image in Black: The Power of Abolition Pictures." In *Beyond Blackface: African Americans and the Creation of American Popular Culture, 1890–1930*, edited by W. Fitzhugh Brundage, pp. 66–94. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- . *GLANTS: The Parallel Lives of Frederick Douglass and Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Twelve, 2008.
- . "The 'Terrible Reality' of the First Living-Room Wars." In *War/Photography: Images of Armed Conflict and Its Aftermath*, edited by Anne Wilkes Tucker, Will Michels, and Natalie Zelt, pp. 80–91. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press and Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2012.
- Stauffer, John, Zoe Trodd, and Celeste-Marie Bernier. *Picturing Frederick Douglass: An Illustrated Biography of the Nineteenth Century's Most Photographed American*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2015.
- Stein, Roger B. "Charles Willson Peale's Expressive Design: The Artist in His Museum." In *Reading American Art*, edited by Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Milroy, pp. 38–78. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Stephens, Lester D. *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.

- Still, William. *The Underground Railroad. A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, &c., Narrating the Hardships, Hair-Breadth Escapes and Death Struggles of the Slaves in their Efforts for Freedom, as Related by Themselves and Others, or Witnessed by the Author; Together with Sketches of Some of the Largest Stockholders, and Most Liberal Aiders and Advisers, of the Road.* Philadelphia: People's Publishing Co., 1871.
- Strother, Zoë. "Display of the Body Hottentot." In *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*, edited by Bernth Lindfors, pp. 1–61. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Stroyer, Jacob. "My Life in the South." In *I Belong to South Carolina: South Carolina Slave Narratives*, edited by Susanna Ashton, pp. 127–66. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2010. First published 1885.
- Sumner, Charles. "The Republican Party: Its Origin, Necessity, and Permanence. Speech before the Young Men's Republican Union of New York, at Cooper Institute, July 11, 1860." In *The Works of Charles Sumner*, vol. 5, pp. 191–229. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1872.
- Taft, Robert. *Photography and the American Scene*. New York: Macmillan, 1938.
- Taylor, B. F. "John Taylor and His Taylor Descendants." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 8 (July 1916), pp. 95–119.
- Teal, Harvey S. *Partners with the Sun: South Carolina Photographers, 1840–1940*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001.
- Teasman, John. *An Address Delivered in the African Episcopal Church, on the 25th March, 1811, Before the New York African Society for Mutual Relief: Being the First Anniversary of Its Incorporation*. New York: J. Low, 1811.
- Tharp, Louise Hall. *Adventurous Alliance: The Story of the Agassiz Family of Boston*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1959.
- . "Professor of the World's Wonders." *American Heritage*, February 1961.
- "A Touching Story: An Escaped Slave Redeems His Relatives from Bondage." *Liberator*, Boston, October 24, 1862.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1989.
- Troutman, Phillip. "Correspondences in Black and White: Sentiment and the Slave Market Revolution." In *New Studies in the History of American Slavery*, edited by Edward E. Baptist and Stephanie M. H. Camp, pp. 211–42. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006.
- Trovaoli, August P., and Roulhac Toledano. *William Aiken Walker: Southern Genre Painter*. Gretna, La.: Pelican Publishing Co., 2008.
- Tucker, Jennifer. *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- "The Unity of the Human Race." *Boston Daily Evening Traveller*, October 2, 1850; *Newark Daily Advertiser*, October 4, 1850.
- "Unity of the Human Races." *Southern Press*, July 9, 1850.
- "Unrolling of the Mummy." *Boston Traveller*, June 5, 1850.
- Van Evrie, J. H. *Negroes and Negro "Slavery": The First an Inferior Race: The Latter Its Normal Condition*. New York: Van Evrie, Horton and Co., 1861.
- Van Horn, Jennifer. "'The Dark Iconoclast': African Americans' Artistic Resistance in the Civil War South." *Art Bulletin* 99, no. 4 (2017), pp. 133–67.
- Vasquez, Pedro Karp. *O Brasil na fotografia oitocentista*. São Paulo: Metalivros, 2003.
- Vlach, John Michael. *By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1991.
- . *The Planter's Prospect: Privilege and Slavery in Plantation Paintings*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Volpe, Andrea L. "Cheap Pictures: Cartes de Visite Portrait Photographs and Visual Culture in the United States, 1860–1877." Ph.D. diss, Graduate School—New Brunswick Rutgers, State University of New Jersey, 1999.
- W. "Fifth Day's Proceedings of the Scientific Association at Charleston." *Boston Daily Evening Traveller*, March 25, 1850.
- Wallace, Maurice O., and Shawn Michelle Smith, eds. *Pictures and Progress: Early Photography and the Making of African American Identity*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012.
- Wallis, Brian. "Black Bodies, White Science: The Slave Daguerreotypes of Louis Agassiz." *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 12 (Summer 1996), pp. 102–6.
- . "Black Bodies, White Science: Louis Agassiz's Slave Daguerreotypes." *American Art* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1995), pp. 38–61.
- Walls, Laura Dassow. "Textbooks and Texts from the Brooks: Inventing Scientific Authority in America." *American Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (March 1997), pp. 1–25.
- Waring, Joseph I. *A History of Medicine in South Carolina*. vol. 1. Charleston: South Carolina Medical Association, 1964.
- Washington, Booker T., et al. *A New Negro for a New Century*. New York: Arno Press, 1900.
- Washington, Harriet A. *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present*. New York: Doubleday, 2007.
- Webster, Daniel. *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, edited by Edward Everett and William Everett. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1903.

- Weems, Carrie Mae. *Constructing History: A Requiem to Mark the Moment*. Savannah, Ga.: Savannah College of Art and Design, 2009.
- Weiss, John. *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, vol. 2. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1864.
- Wells, William Charles. *Two Essays, One upon Single Vision with Two Eyes; The Other on Dew. A Letter to the Right Hon. Lloyd, Lord Kenyon and an Account of the Female of the White Race of Mankind, Part of Whose Skin Resembles That of a Negro; With Some Observations on the Causes of the Differences in Colour and Form Between the White and Negro Races of Men*. London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1818.
- White, Shane, and Graham White. *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture, from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Wieneck, Henry. *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.
- Wilder, Craig Steven. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2014.
- Will, Thomas E. "The American School of Ethnology: Science and Scripture in the Proslavery Argument." *Southern Historian* 19 (1998), pp. 14–34.
- Williams, Daphne. WPA Slave Narrative Project, Texas Narratives. Vol. 16, part 4. Federal Writer's Project, United States Work Projects Administration. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- Willis, Deborah, ed. *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her "Hottentot"*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- . "Photographing between the Lines: Beauty, Politics, and the Poetic Vision of Carrie Mae Weems." In *Carrie Mae Weems: Three Decades of Photography and Video*, edited by Kathryn E. Delmez, pp. 33–41. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012.
- . *Reflections in Black: A History of Black Photographers 1840 to the Present*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2000.
- . *J. P. Ball: Daguerrean and Studio Photographer*. New York: Garland Press, 1993.
- Willis, Deborah, and Barbara Krauthamer. *Envisioning Emancipation: Black Americans and the End of Slavery*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013.
- Willis, Deborah, and Carla Williams. *The Black Female Body: A Photographic History*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002.
- Willis, Gregory A. *The First Baptist Church of Columbia, South Carolina 1809 to 2002*. Nashville: Baptist History and Heritage Society and Fields Publishing, 2003.
- Wilson, G. M. "Early Photography, Goitre, and James Inglis." *British Medical Journal* 2 (April 1973), pp. 104–5.
- Wilson, Jackie Napoleon. *Hidden Witness: African-American Images from the Dawn of Photography to the Civil War*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Wood, John. *The Photographic Arts*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997.
- Wood, Marcus. *Black Milk: Imagining Slavery in the Visual Cultures of Brazil and America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Wood, Peter H. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: Knopf, 1974.
- Wyman, Morrill. "Memoir of Daniel Treadwell." In *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*. New Series, vol. 11 (1887), nos. 6–7.
- Young, Harvey. *Embodying Black Experience: Stillness, Critical Memory, and the Black Body*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010.
- Zackodnik, Teresa. "The 'Green-Backs of Civilization': Sojourner Truth and Portrait Photography." *American Studies* 46, no. 2 (2005), pp. 117–43.

## Films

- Akomfrah, John, dir. *Vertigo Sea*. London: Smoking Dogs Films, 2015.
- Bagwell, Orlando, and Susan Bellows, dirs. *Africans in America: America's Journey Through Slavery*. Boston: WGBH and PBS, 1998.
- Burns, Ken, and Lynn Novick, dirs. *Prohibition*. Arlington, Va., and Walpole, N.H.: Prohibition Film Project Inc. and Florentine Films, 2011.
- Harris, Christopher, dir. *A Willing Suspension of Disbelief + Photography and Fetish*. 2014.
- Harris, Thomas Allen, dir. "Carrie Mae Weems Interview." *Through a Lens Darkly: Black Photographers and the Emergence of a People*. Through a Lens Darkly, LLC, 2014.
- Sollins, Susan, exec. prod., "Compassion: William Kentridge, Doris Salcedo, and Carrie Mae Weems." *Art in the Twenty-First Century*. Season 5, episode 2. New York: ART 21, 2009.
- Streeter, Sabin, dir. *The African Americans: Many Rivers to Cross*. Performed by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Arlington, Va.: PBS, 2013.

## Websites

- "African Americans in Slavery, Photographs: 1847–1863." National Humanities Center, 2013. <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai/enslavement/text1/photosenslaved.pdf>.

- Art & Storytelling: Photographs & Photobooks*. New York: Swann Galleries, 2016. <https://catalogue.swann.galleries.com>.
- “Colonel Thomas Taylor.” Historical Marker Project. [http://www.historicalmarkerproject.com/markers/HMYJF\\_colonel-thomas-taylor\\_Columbia-SC.html](http://www.historicalmarkerproject.com/markers/HMYJF_colonel-thomas-taylor_Columbia-SC.html).
- Documenting the American South. University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. <http://docsouth.unc.edu>.
- “Eighth-Grader Leading Drive to Change Name of Cambridge School.” Associated Press, March 19, 2001. <http://www.seacoastonline.com/article/20010319/news/303199988>.
- Etheridge, Eric. “The Zealy Slave Daguerreotypes and the Freedom Rider Mug Shots.” *Eric’s Posthaven*, October 18, 2011. <http://eetheridge.posthaven.com>.
- Getty Museum. “Carrie Mae Weems on Her Series From Here I Saw What Happened and I Cried.” YouTube. Video, 2:46. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l2VrAsu0KeE>.
- Griggs, Mary Beth. “When Evolution’s Controversial, Declaring a State Fossil Can Get Tricky.” *Smithsonian.com*, April 9, 2014. <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/south-carolinas-state-fossil-creation-controversy-180950474/>.
- Hammond, James Henry. “The ‘Mudsill’ Theory” (1858). PBS. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4h3439t.html>.
- “History of Baldwin School.” Cambridge Public Schools. 2018. [https://baldwin.cpsd.us/about\\_our\\_school/baldwin\\_school\\_history/history\\_of\\_baldwin\\_school/](https://baldwin.cpsd.us/about_our_school/baldwin_school_history/history_of_baldwin_school/).
- National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution. “Heidi Fancher, Commended Artist, Portrait Competition 2013.” YouTube. Video, 1:57. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a5KkoqBL-yI>.
- Officer, Lawrence H., and Samuel H. Williamson. “Annual Wages in the United States Unskilled Labor and Manufacturing Workers, 1774–Present.” *MeasuringWorth*. <https://www.measuringworth.com/datasets/uswage/>.
- “Piecework, Pavel Zoubok Fine Art.” *Artsy*. <https://www.artsy.net/show/pavel-zoubok-gallery-piecework>.
- “Rentyhorn.” Sasha Huber. <http://www.sasha.huber.com>.
- Rogers, Molly. “Louis Agassiz: Full Face and Profile.” *Mirror of Race*, January 18, 2012. <http://mirrorofrace.org/louis-agassiz-full-face-and-profile/>.
- Shelton, Don. “Miniature Portraits of the 19th Century: What Did They Cost Then?” *Southeastern Antiquing and Collecting*, October 2012. <http://www.go-star.com/antiquing/miniature-portraits-19th-century.htm>.
- “Slavery.” George Washington’s Mount Vernon. <http://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/slavery/>.
- “Small Anthropologies.” Shawn Naphtali Sobers. <http://www.shawnsobers.com/portfolio/visual-things/60-second-portraits/>.
- Victoria and Albert Museum. <http://collections.vam.ac.uk>.
- “Weigh Competing Ethical Obligations Due Collaborators and Affected Parties.” *American Anthropological Association Ethics*. <http://ethics.americananthro.org/ethics-statement-4-weigh-competing-ethical-obligations-due-collaborators-and-affected-parties/>.

*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)

Managing Editors: Brendan Embser,  
Joan Kathryn O'Donnell

Designer: Duncan Whyte

Senior Production Manager: True Sims

Production Managers: Bryan Krueger, Andrea Chlad

Senior Text Editor: Susan Ciccotti

Project Copy Editor: Olivia Casa

Copy Editor: Elena Goukassian

Indexer: Cathy Dorsey

Editorial Assistant: Nicole Acheampong

Work Scholars: Eli Cohen, Clay Howard

Additional staff of the Aperture book program includes:  
Chris Boot, Executive Director; Lesley A. Martin, Creative Director; Taia Kwinter, Publishing Manager; Emily Patten, Publishing Assistant; Kellie McLaughlin, Director of Sales and Marketing; Richard Gregg, Sales Director, Books

Staff of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology's publishing program includes: Jane Pickering, William and Muriel Seabury Howells Director; Kate O'Donnell, Director, Peabody Museum Press; and Bridget Manzella, Publications Coordinator

Copyright © 2020 President and Fellows of Harvard College. All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form whatsoever without written permission from the publisher. "Foreword," copyright © 2020 Henry Louis Gates, Jr.; "Introduction" and "This Intricate Question," copyright © 2020 Molly Rogers; "The Life and Times of Alfred, Delia, Drana, Fassena, Jack, Jem, and Renty," copyright © 2020 Gregg Hecimovich; "History in the Face of Slavery," copyright © 2020 Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, illustrations copyright © Brooks Family Collection; "Portraits of Endurance," by Matthew Fox-Amato, copyright © 2019 Oxford University Press, used by permission; "The Curious Art and Science of the Daguerreotype," copyright © 2020 John Wood; "Business as Usual?," copyright © 2020 Tanya Sheehan; "Mr. Agassiz's 'Photographic Saloon,'" copyright © 2020 Christoph Irmscher; "Of Scientific Racists and Black Abolitionists," copyright © 2020 Manisha Sinha; "Nowhere Else," copyright © 2020 Harlan Greene; "Not Suitable for Public Notice," copyright © 2020 John Stauffer; "The Insistent Reveal," copyright © 2020 Arise/Sarah Elizabeth Lewis; "In Conversation with Carrie Mae Weems," copyright © 2020 Deborah Willis; "Exposing Latent Images," copyright © Ilisa Barbash; "Teaching, Feeling," copyright © 2020 Robin Bernstein, with individual contributions copyright © 2020 Keziah Clarke, Jonathan Karp, Eliza Blair Mantz, Reggie St. Louis, William Henry Pruitt III, and Ian Askew; Photo gallery, "While Sitting upon the Ruins of Your Remains, I Pondered the Course of History," copyright © 2020 Carrie Mae Weems. For other image and illustration credits, see p. 471.

First edition, 2020

Separations by Altamage, 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

## PEABODY MUSEUM PRESS

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology  
Harvard University  
11 Divinity Avenue  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
[peabody.harvard.edu/publications](http://peabody.harvard.edu/publications)

## aperture

Aperture Foundation  
548 West 28th Street, 4th Floor  
New York, NY 10001  
[aperture.org](http://aperture.org)

To order Aperture books, or inquire about gift or group orders, contact:  
+1 212.946.7154  
[orders@aperture.org](mailto:orders@aperture.org)

For information about Aperture trade distribution worldwide, visit:  
[aperture.org/distribution](http://aperture.org/distribution)

Aperture, a not-for-profit foundation, connects the photo community and its audiences with the most inspiring work, the sharpest ideas, and with each other—in print, in person, and online.