Department of the History of Art

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How I Wrote My Prospectus

Prospectuses in my field generally include these sections: an introduction to the project, a chapter outline, a section on the methods and scholarly intervention of the project, a list of objects, archives, and collections to be consulted, a bibliography of secondary scholarship, and a timeline for the research process. I began assembling my prospectus with a general sense of my dissertation topic, and I thought of the prospectus as a proof of concept, a document that would demonstrate to my committee (and to me) that it would be possible and valuable to pursue such a project. At a basic level, the prospectus would address these questions: what was I hoping to study, how did I plan to study it, and why was it worthwhile to do so?

The first part of the process involved tracking down works of art that might serve as case studies, as well as assembling a very broad early bibliography and starting to read those secondary sources. Once I had gathered a set of objects, I started to think about breaking them into subsets and the kinds of chapter organization that might emerge from those categories. Did I want the dissertation to be organized chronologically, thematically, according to place, or according to different materials? What might these different modes of organization set up in terms of argument and analysis? I did a lot of arranging and re-arranging of the different case studies. The secondary reading eventually fed the methodology/intervention section of the prospectus, in which I explained the scholars and terms I was thinking with and identified gaps, shortcomings, and ongoing conversations in the existing state of scholarship.

Once I had spent a few months gathering primary and secondary materials, I began writing the prospectus. Though I think the document itself is less important than the research and planning it represents, it is useful to spend some time writing an “elevator pitch” for the dissertation and developing language that you’ll be able to use later in fellowship and funding applications. The introduction to the prospectus can provide the basis for those later pieces of writing.

Advice for Prospectus Writers

Don’t stress! I wrote my prospectus in the spring, and by that fall I had already altered the chapter outline significantly and had time to read even more widely and revise a lot of my ideas and frameworks. Research takes time: you have to follow the paths from one source to the next, hit dead ends and backtrack, encounter frustration and work through it, receive inspiration and run with it. The prospectus is a starting point rather than an end goal, and it doesn’t make sense to be too precious about it or too wedded to the ideas in it. Ideally, this mindset can take some of the pressure out of the prospectus-writing process.

Share the prospectus widely and get as much feedback on it as you can. My department has a formal prospectus colloquium at which the dissertation committee gives extensive feedback on the

prospectus. I would also suggest consulting with advisors throughout the writing process, perhaps by scheduling more informal meetings every few weeks to bounce ideas and questions around or talk about sources and objects you've uncovered. I also had a writing group with other graduate students within and outside my field, and getting questions from peers who were both experts in my work and completely foreign to it was very helpful.

Elizabeth Keto
Dissertation Prospectus
September 2023

Reconstruction's Objects:
Art in the United States South, 1861-1900

I. Introduction

In August 1865, the *Anglo-African*, a weekly newspaper published in New York City, called for donations for a monument.[1] The solicitation for funds appeared alongside notices placed by the newly free, requesting information about relatives separated from them during slavery; directories of Black churches and fraternal organizations; and ominous reports of racial violence in Southern states.[2] An appeal for a monument was not unusual in the aftermath of the US Civil War, as the nation mourned four years of bloody conflict, but the form that this monument took made it distinctive. Led by abolitionist Henry Highland Garnet, the "National Lincoln Monument Association" proposed as "a colored people's monument in memory of our late beloved President" not a statue, obelisk, or column, but a school.[3] Such a structure, wrote the organizers, would be "a monument not of marble or of brass merely…Marble may crumble, brass may tarnish, but the light of learning is as enduring as time."[4]

At the same moment, in that first summer of the war's end, the country's most famous Black sculptor had, for a time, turned away from clay, plaster, and marble to work as a teacher, as if in endorsement of Garnet's judgements. Edmonia Lewis, a Black and Anishinaabe (Mississauga Ojibwe) artist who had already achieved success with busts of abolitionist icons like Robert Gould

[1] "The Colored People's Educational Monument," *Anglo-African*, August 12, 1865, 5.
[2] "Revival of Slavery," *Anglo-African*, August 12, 1865, 1. The article, reporting on events in Tennessee, described the "determination in the minds of the old slave oligarchy and the galvanized rebels of this State to reestablish the institution of negro slavery, so soon as the Federal troops will have been withdrawn."
[3] "The Colored People's Educational Monument."
[4] Ibid. As Kirk Savage describes, the proposal was opposed by Frederick Douglass, who criticized what he saw as the separatism implied in a school built by and for the Black community. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 93.

Shaw and John Brown, journeyed to Richmond in late June or early July 1865.[5] Lewis became an instructor in a freedpeople's school, one of many educational projects supported by historically free and newly emancipated Black communities and their white abolitionist allies. Her tenure as a teacher was brief. On August 8, the *New-York Daily Tribune* reported widespread "abuse" of Black residents in the former Confederate capital—robberies, beatings, sexual assault, arbitrary arrests—which white federal troops stationed in the city were unable to quell and sometimes joined in.[6] Swept up in this tide of white supremacist violence was Lewis, whose trunk containing an "elegant" and valuable wardrobe was stolen from her boarding house and its contents rifled in a vacant lot.[7] No one was ever held responsible for the theft.[8] The paper reported that Lewis planned to leave Richmond for Italy by August 19, where she would spend the rest of her career and would conceive of some of the era's most radical representations of Emancipation and most astute reflections on the racialized nature of artistic production in the late nineteenth century [fig. 1].[9] It is unclear what role the violence she experienced might have played in her decision.

School and sculpture are different kinds of objects, offering apparently divergent paths to the social, economic, and cultural change that would be necessary to make a society forged in slavery at its founding into what W.E.B. Du Bois would later term an "abolition democracy."[10] Garnet chose school, and Lewis sculpture, yet their visions were not as far apart as they might at first seem. Both were deeply invested in giving emancipation's promises form, substance, and concrete

[5] "From Richmond," *New-York Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1865, 1.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid. For discussions of Lewis's subsequent career, see Caitlin Meehye Beach, *Sculpture at the Ends of Slavery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022); Kirsten Pai Buick, *Child of the Fire: Edmonia Lewis and the Problem of Art History's Black and Indian Subject* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); and Charmaine Nelson, *The Color of Stone: Sculpting the Black Female Subject in Nineteenth-Century America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
[10] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward the History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880 & Other Writings*, ed. Eric Foner and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Library of America, 2021), 37.

meaning. Each recognized that war and the end of slavery had, to some extent, unmade the world as it was, and each sought to remake it in a different image. For Lewis, the violence against that project of remaking manifested as an assault on her material world: on her clothing, on the things that offered her body shelter and dignity in a hostile city. It is the argument of this dissertation that the years after the Civil War required not only Garnet and Lewis, but many Americans to undertake acts of social formation, political imagination, and material change, acts that brought people and objects, aesthetics and politics, into intimate relation. Reconstruction brought to the surface of American life questions of materiality, representation, and the politics of labor and making—questions that can only be fully understood through a consideration of the images and objects created during its unfolding.

II. Overview

Toward the close of his 1935 history of Reconstruction, W.E.B. Du Bois paused to reflect on his project. He posed a question to himself and to his readers: "What is the object of writing the history of Reconstruction?"[11] What was the purpose of such an undertaking, in both a scholarly and a historical sense? Du Bois answered that his work aimed "simply to establish the Truth, on which Right in the future may be built."[12] His history satisfied academic standards of objectivity and rigor, but also set in place the foundation stone for justice whose time was yet to come.[13]

Another way to read Du Bois's question is in terms of materials, sources, and evidence. What, literally, are the "objects" of Reconstruction? What things allow the historian to craft an account of this period? Where and how have objects survived to bear witness to the people who

[11] W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward the History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880 & Other Writings*, edited by Eric Foner and Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York: Library of America, 2021), 871.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.

made them and the cherished "objects" of their lives and struggles? How were the goals of Reconstruction—emancipation, racial and economic justice, democracy—tied to, realized in, or contested through the making and use of visual and material things? That is, how closely were the two meanings of object—goal and thing—bound together in this era? The import of these questions is, to borrow a phrase from historian Daniel Immerwahr, both archival and perspectival.[14] A history of Reconstruction's objects entails the use of a primarily visual and material archive, but it also invites a focus on the texture and substance of lived experience, rather than abstract issues of law and policy.

Centering this archive and these questions, this dissertation will explore the art history of Reconstruction. While the Reconstruction era, in many historical accounts, begins with the end of the Civil War in 1865, I define this period as beginning with the war itself, in 1861. As soon as the first shots were fired and the first self-emancipating enslaved people crossed over to freedom in Union lines, the shape of the country was irrevocably altered. And while Reconstruction as a federal policy ceased in 1877, with the withdrawal of most federal troops from the South, I locate the end of the period at the turn of the twentieth century. By 1900, the near-universal imposition of Jim Crow laws in the former Confederacy, the consolidation of racialized labor exploitation through debt peonage, sharecropping, and convict leasing, and the emergence of the United States as a formal overseas empire seemed to have foreclosed the Reconstruction era's egalitarian, democratic aspirations. During those forty years, Reconstruction set in motion the partial remaking of the Constitution, with a document that had once defined the enslaved as three-fifths of a person now abolishing slavery (except for those convicted of crimes), granting Black men the right to vote, establishing birthright citizenship, and creating the principles of equal protection under law and due process of law. Perhaps even more radical, though unsuccessful, were the first calls for economic

[14] Daniel Immerwahr, *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States* (New York: Picador, 2019).

reparations for the crime of enslavement, through the confiscation and redistribution of Southern land to the formerly enslaved. During this period, Black civic organizations, churches, schools and colleges, voluntary associations, and political activism flourished against tremendous odds, and Black political officeholding in the South reached levels not seen again until after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Nor were the transformative effects of Reconstruction and its reordering of the state confined to the South, although that region is this dissertation's focus. The centralization of national authority that stood for Black civil and political rights in the South also led to expansionism and the consolidation of governmental control over Native communities in the West, while the newly empowered federal state, its legal order, and the Republican ideology of free labor presided over the explosive growth of capitalism and industrial transformation in all regions of the country.

For Americans in the aftermath of the Civil War, there were seemingly no limits to what could, or should, be reconstructed: the term was applied to ruined buildings, abandoned plantations, entire regions, the nation and its government, and the hearts, minds, and souls of individual people. The very meaning of the word was contested and malleable, ranging from a call for Southern states to reunite with the North on terms largely unchanged by secession to a sweeping remaking of the Southern social, economic, and political order. Broadly speaking, Reconstruction referred to both the reform of the formerly slave-holding South and the reunification of the country—but Americans fought bitterly over the relative value of these aims and what should be sacrificed to attain them.

"Reconstruction" thus has a relatively straightforward historical referent, but I want to dwell for a moment on the word itself. I have not yet been able to determine when the term was first used or whence it originated, though I hope to do so. (For now, I can say that *Harper's* had begun opining on the proper process of national "Reconstruction" as early as March 1861—over a month before the firing on Fort Sumter.[15]) "Reconstruction" suggests that historical change is a structural, even

[15] "Reconstruction," *Harper's Weekly*, March 9, 1861, 246.

architectural or aesthetic process: a process of rebuilding, reforming, and remaking. As Adrienne Brown writes, "To reconstruct is to build in the wake of the past. It is a term that acknowledges earlier acts of construction, but it also suggests that precedent need not dictate what takes its place…It is to build after, with the hope of building differently and better—even if we must always ask, For whose betterment?"[16] Reconstruction has an inherent temporality—after—but it has no inherent politics. The word might describe acts of redress and repair, retrenchment and reaction, reform and renovation, resistance and revolution. Nothing about the relationship of "reconstruction" to the past is given, except that such a relationship exists. Some forms of "reconstruction" seek primarily to reproduce the past in the present and future, to conceal and repair a rupture in history's continuum; others, in Brown's words, "necessitate a wholesale remaking in which the only concession to the past is to break with it as radically as possible."[17] Still, though the term "reconstruction" deals in metaphor, "Reconstruction" as a political project, to borrow Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's phrase, was not a metaphor.[18] It was a project of material change, in response to systemic violence and extreme injustice. I follow scholars of the Black radical tradition, beginning with Du Bois, in acknowledging Reconstruction to be not only a finite historical period, but also a political philosophy, a coherent and historically resilient vision of social democracy, premised on Black power, dignity, and citizenship.[19]

The aim of this dissertation is to engage the question of what Reconstruction was and is using the tools of another discipline alongside history and politics: the history of art. By approaching

[16] Adrienne Brown, "Reconstruction's Breadth," in *Reconstructions: Architecture and Blackness in America*, edited by Sean Anderson and Mabel O. Wilson (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2021), 61.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1-40. I am grateful to Sarah Lewis for her caution about an overreliance on the metaphor of Reconstruction at an early stage in this project.
[19] See Peniel Joseph, *The Third Reconstruction: America's Struggle for Racial Justice in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2022), and the essays in Ta-Nehisi Coates, *We Were Eight Years in Power: An American Tragedy* (New York: One World, 2017).

this period and political project with the methods of art history, this dissertation seeks to examine how images, objects, and their makers and users participated in this monumental yet intimate, epochal yet quotidian struggle to reconstruct American society in the aftermath of the Civil War and emancipation. I structure the dissertation by thinking through what Katherine McKittrick has termed "the multiscalar processes which impact on and organize the everyday."[20] After an introduction framing the historiographical and methodological aims and challenges of the dissertation, the chapters move from the scale of the body and its textile coverings to the home, the plantation grounds, and the Southern city. Each chapter poses one possible answer to the question of what it meant to "reconstruct" the late nineteenth-century United States; each investigates one field in which individuals and communities "activated" art alongside, within, or in opposition to other kinds of political processes and social formations.[21] Throughout these chapters, I build upon Saidiya V. Hartman's argument that during Reconstruction, "the breadth of freedom and the shape of the emerging order were the sites of intense struggle in everyday life."[22] What was at stake in Reconstruction, across many sites and scales, was, as McKittrick has put it, the "livability of the world."[23] I seek out images and objects that help us to narrate, however incompletely and provisionally, these everyday struggles.

[20] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 7.
[21] The idea of "activating art," which I find useful to describe the work that art performs for a variety of makers and users across time, comes from Jennifer Van Horn, *Portraits of Resistance: Activating Art During Slavery* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022).
[22] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997), 120.
[23] McKittrick, xxxi.

III. Outline

Introduction: Looking for Reconstruction's Objects

In 2012, the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, acquired what the museum's decorative arts curators termed "an outstanding example of Southern craftsmanship honoring the skill and ingenuity of plantation workers" during Reconstruction: a fall-front desk of yellow pine and salvaged crate wood, dated to around 1870 and carved with a dense panoply of everyday objects [fig. 2].[24] The curators speculated on the referents implied by the low-relief decoration, which seemed both to draw upon "African American oral and textile traditions" and to narrate "the story of [the] work and life" of the man who made it: a freedman named Willie Howard, formerly enslaved on the Kirkwood Plantation in Madison County, Mississippi. Did the shovels, anvils, buckets, and washboard reflect the labor he and members of his community had once been forced to perform? Might the pistol invoke the still-fresh violence of the Civil War? Enthusiastic at the prospect of filling a gap in their collection of American material culture, which included little work by Black artisans or from the postbellum South, the Wadsworth curators wrote that Howard's desk had "thrilling" "exhibition and education potential" that would "give the Wadsworth Atheneum the unique ability to tell the story of African American artists in the Civil War Era."[25] But the museum would soon face a serious problem: the desk was a fake, a modern fabrication whose documentary links to a postwar Mississippi plantation had been deliberately crafted. The supposed maker, Willie Howard, was enslaved at Kirkwood and lived into the Reconstruction era, but archival records suggest that he was a farmer, not a carpenter or cabinetmaker.

The introduction to the dissertation takes the fall-front desk as a case study in the possibilities and problems of looking for Reconstruction's objects. While the art, material culture,

[24] Alyce Perry Englund, "Review of a Possible Acquisition, American Decorative Arts," January 26, 2012, object file, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut.
[25] Ibid.

and architecture of the antebellum South are stewarded through a relatively robust infrastructure of museums, collections, and historic preservation efforts, the same is not true of the period following the Civil War. The introduction surveys the state of Reconstruction's visual and material archive and reflects on the historical conditions that have shaped it. The introduction also reflects on the desires evident in the white curators' descriptions of the desk as an object that both transcends and narrates its maker's experience of enslavement, freedom, and Reconstruction. I take the desk and its still-unresolved story as a prompt to examine my own positionality relative to these histories and to interrogate art history's methods for approaching them.

Chapter 1: Clothing

It was one of the cruel ironies of early Reconstruction that the formerly enslaved people whose labor growing cotton had "clothed the masses of a ragged world" were themselves desperately in need of clothing.[26] This chapter examines the art and politics of cloth in the Reconstruction era, arguing that the design, making, and distribution of textiles became modes of redress, particularly on the part of Black women. Beginning with expert dressmaker Elizabeth Keckley's wartime Contraband Relief Association [fig. 3], which took as one of its main tasks the provision of clothing to the freedpeople of the South, and closing with a consideration of Winslow Homer's *Dressing for the Carnival* (1877) [fig. 4], this chapter investigates the visual culture of dress in the Reconstruction South.[27] Through Keckley's story, Homer's painting, and surviving examples of clothing made in the emancipation period [fig. 5], I will explore the roles which textiles and clothing played in what Saidiya Hartman has described as the process of "redressing the pained body" of the formerly enslaved.[28] This process brought aesthetics and materials into intimate relation with law and

[26] Du Bois, 9.
[27] Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes, or, Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the white House* (New York: G.W. Carleton & Co., 1868).
[28] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 49.

politics: in the Civil Rights Cases of 1883, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the Thirteenth Amendment banned not only slavery itself, but also slavery's "badges"—that is, the visible marks, signs, and practices that attached enslavement to the body of an individual.[29] Sarah Lewis, Anna Arabindan-Kesson, Tiya Miles, and Helen Bradley Foster have traced the importance of clothes and sartorial self-fashioning as forms of both coercion and resistance under slavery.[30] What role did clothing play during emancipation?

Allied to its significance in resignifying the enslaved body was clothing's power in relation to the Black soldier. As Frederick Douglass famously wrote, "Once let the black man get upon his person the letters U.S.; let him get an eagle on his button…and there is no power on the earth or under the earth which can deny that he has earned the right of citizenship in the United States."[31] Historian Laura F. Edwards has noted the textile metaphors of legal discourse in the nineteenth century, in which the bodies of citizens were said to be "clothed in rights" and their legislatures "clothed in power."[32] We see such rhetoric at work in visual culture through popular illustrations of the "clothing" of the Black soldier in a Union Army uniform [fig. 6]—and by extension, in the rights of citizenship. In fact, disparity in pay meant that many Black soldiers depended on organizations like Keckley's, which by 1863 had changed its name to the Ladies' Freedmen and Soldiers' Relief Association, to provide their uniforms. Clothing became a site of redressive action led from within the Black community, directed particularly toward the care of slave and soldier. Yet white supremacy

[29] Nicholas Serafin, "Redefining the Badges of Slavery," *Thirteenth Amendment Project*, UNLV William S. Boyd School of Law (2022).
[30] Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, "The Insistent Reveal: Louis Agassiz, Joseph T. Zealy, Carrie Mae Weems, and the Politics of Undress in the Photography of Racial Science," in *To Make Their Own Way in the World: The Enduring Legacy of the Zealy Daguerreotypes*, edited by Ilisa Barbash, Molly Rogers, and Deborah Willis, 297-325; Anna Arabindan-Kesson, *Black Bodies, white Gold: Art, Cotton, and Commerce in the Atlantic World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021), 48-50; Tiya Miles, *All That She Carried: The Journey of Ashley's Sack, a Black Family Keepsake* (New York: Random House, 2021); and Helen Bradley Foster, *New Raiments of Self: African American Clothing in the Antebellum South* (Oxford: Berg, 1997).
[31] Frederick Douglass, quoted in Du Bois, 126.
[32] Laura F. Edwards, *Only the Clothes on Her Back: Clothing & the Hidden History of Power in the 19th-Century United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).

also asserted itself in the sartorial field of the postwar South: witnesses before Congress's Joint Committee on Reconstruction in 1866 testified to Southern veterans who refused to remove their uniform coats and even their "C.S.A." buttons, such that "[t]he gray predominates throughout the [S]outh."[33] This chapter will draw together the threads of textile and fashion history, visual culture, and law to argue for a more radical understanding of what it meant for Black citizens to dress themselves in the postemancipation South.

Chapter 2: Home

This chapter examines the material and symbolic importance of the house in the Reconstruction era, focusing particularly on the domestic spaces of newly free families in the South. As one Unionist farmer in Augusta County, Virginia, testified before Congress in 1866 of his newly free neighbors: "Their idea of liberty and independence is to keep house."[34] In thinking through the spaces of home and the material culture of domesticity in this period, I am working alongside scholars such as Ruthie Dibble, Katherine Grier, and Jasmine Nichole Cobb.[35] I argue that the home became a particularly charged and contested site during Reconstruction, as we can see in both popular prints [fig. 7] and paintings such as Homer's *A Visit from the Old Mistress* [fig. 8]. The home was both prized by the emancipated as a space of newly legitimated familial and domestic life and targeted for violence by the white supremacist terrorist organizations that sprang up during this era [fig. 9]. As historian Kidada E. Williams has written of this period, "The very spaces African Americans created to serve as the foundation of their liberation became the primary theaters in the

[33] *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction at the First Session Thirty-Ninth Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), 47.
[34] *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, 67.
[35] Rebecca Ruth Dibble, "Home Wars: Resistance, Trauma, and Memory in Domestic Arts of the Civil War Era," unpublished dissertation (Yale University, 2020); Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor-Making and Middle Class Identity, 1850-1930* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); and Jasmine Nichole Cobb, *Picture Freedom: Remaking Black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

war against their freedom," with profound implications for their safety, dignity, and efforts to seed generational wealth.[36] The Reconstruction-era home was also central to the double-edged notion of privacy that increasingly dominated politics of the period. While Black families' rights to privacy became more fragile, what Saidiya Hartman has described as the expansion of the private—as the realm of custom, sentiment, and social rather than civil or political rights—also became key to reactionary movements to limit equality in public accommodations and the civic sphere.[37] The ruined home of the returning Confederate planter or veteran, meanwhile, emerged as a synecdoche for Southern humiliation in paintings such as Edward Lamson Henry's *The Old Westover House* [fig. 10] or Henry Mosler's *The Lost Cause* [fig. 11], both painted soon after the war's end.

In this chapter, I also examine the importance of what we might call artisanal politics in the Reconstruction era, as cabinetmakers, builders, and blacksmiths assumed roles of new importance in the emancipated community. I investigate both the skilled labor of the artisan in literally remaking the domestic environment of the Reconstruction South and the importance of Black artisans as linchpins of the era's community organization, charting a material and social history of craft in the period. One of the iconic popular illustrations of the Reconstruction era, entitled "The First Vote," appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1867, showing a Black man dropping a ballot into a glass jar, under the billowing folds of the American flag [fig. 12]. A hammer and chisel tucked into the voter's jacket pocket mark him as an artisan. In this chapter, I take as a case study the work of cabinetmaker Lewis Buckner, active in Sevier County, Tennessee, in the 1880s and 1890s [fig. 13]. East Tennessee, Unionist during the war, was one of the regions of the South where slavery had been least common but where white residents were most vehemently opposed to Black civil rights.[38] Buckner's work—

[36] Kidada E. Williams, *I Saw Death Coming: A History of Terror and Survival in the War Against Reconstruction* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2023), 36.
[37] Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, 202.
[38] *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, 112.

made for both white and Black patrons in an isolated Appalachian county—drew on the aesthetics of the international Arts and Crafts movement and the decorative idiom of luxury New York furnituremakers such as Herter Brothers. I turn to the work of Catherine W. Bishir, Ethan W. Lasser, and John Michael Vlach in theorizing the importance of craft at the end of slavery.[39]

The chapter places the work of this individual artisan in dialogue with the craft-centered education offered at Reconstruction-era institutions such as the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, founded in Virginia in 1868, and the ways in which white Northerners, in particular, sought to use artisanal training as a means to discipline and capitalize the free Black body [fig. 14].[40] This chapter also considers the emergence of sites of forced artisanal labor through the convict-leasing system, such as the Chattahoochee Brick Company of Atlanta, founded in 1878.[41] Unfree Black workers provided the skills and labor to rebuild and expand the city that Sherman had burned, literally supplying the fabric of the city's prosperous new neighborhoods of brick Victorian townhouses [fig. 15]. The conditions under which prisoners were forced to make these ornamental, neo-medieval bricks stand in stark contrast to the Ruskinian ideals of unalienated labor that had spurred the international Gothic Revival movement.[42] Given that many of the era's most vociferous debates centered on the nature and future of Black labor in the South, and that this era coincided with the increasing eclipse of artisanal practices by industrialization, I keep the politics of labor—particularly, that of skilled labor—at the forefront of this chapter.

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[39] Catherine W. Bishir, *Crafting Lives: African American Artisans in New Bern, North Carolina, 1770-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Michael J. Bramwell and Ethan W. Lasser, "Incidents in the Life of an Enslaved Abolitionist Potter Written By Others," in *Hear Me Now: The Black Potters of Old Edgefield, South Carolina*, ed. Adrienne Spinozzi (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2022), 50-63; and John Michael Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in the Decorative Arts* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978).
[40] Glenn Adamson, *Craft: An American History* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2021), 89-105; Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); and Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, 1933).
[41] Douglas A. Blackmon, *Slavery By Another Name: The Re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Anchor Books, 2008).
[42] Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

Chapter 3: Land

This chapter begins with a set of images that offer a narrow window onto a radically uncertain, eventually foreclosed moment of historical opportunity: a moment in which land redistribution and economic autonomy for freedpeople in the South seemed possible. In spring 1862, photographer Timothy H. O'Sullivan arrived in South Carolina's Sea Islands, recently captured by Union troops and then undergoing an experimental wartime Reconstruction [fig. 16-18]. Black workers fought to reconfigure their relationship to the land and the conditions under which they labored, while white Army officers, reformers, and profit-seekers sought to revive the plantation under the terms of so-called free labor. These photographs, never as well-known as O'Sullivan's battlefield images, survive today as a single set of damaged glass-plate stereograph negatives.

In contrast to O'Sullivan's negatives is the apparently endless series of formulaic landscape paintings, chromolithographs, and other popular prints of plantation scenes, often entitled "The Old Plantation," produced during the Reconstruction era.[43] I consider the paintings of Charles W. Giroux, a Louisiana artist who made serene scenes of plantation life both before and after the Civil War, as exemplary case study of these representational formulae [fig 19]. Currier & Ives and other large commercial illustration firms produced highly colored, highly sentimentalized prints of the plantation throughout the late nineteenth century [fig. 20-21]. Other kinds of images of the postemancipation plantation reached national audiences through the Southern travels and sketches of artists such as Alfred R. Waud [fig. 22], as well as the photographic practices of George N. Barnard [fig. 23], who settled in South Carolina after the war, and William Henry Jackson [fig. 24], who traveled extensively in the Deep South in the 1880s and 1890s. Joining a conversation led by

[43] Most scholarship on the plantation in US visual culture has focused on the antebellum period. Among these foundational works are Angela D. Mack and Stephen G. Hoffius, eds., *Landscape of Slavery: The Plantation in American Art* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2008) and John Michael Vlach, *The Planter's Prospect: Privilege and Slavery in Plantation Paintings* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Dana E. Byrd and Anna Arabindan-Kesson, I ask: What did the postemancipation plantation look like?[44] How did Black workers, plantation owners and former enslavers, and Northern reformers and capitalists envision the postemancipation plantation? What was the temporality of the postemancipation plantation? Was it imagined as a site of nostalgia? Of industrial modernity? As both at once? What was the significance of the "old" plantation?

I focus particularly on Jackson's photographs, made in Mississippi and Louisiana and sold as commercial views by the Detroit Publishing Company, one of the country's largest postcard manufacturers. Jackson documented sugarcane and cotton plantations, Black workers' homes and farms, and railroad and river infrastructure tying the South to the world market, creating a comprehensive record of the landscape of modern plantation empire within the nation's borders. Viewing Jackson's photographs through the twin lenses of imperialism and extraction offered by art historians such as Arabindan-Kesson and Krista Thompson, I suggest that Jackson crafted a visual language that mobilized commodities and immobilized workers, alienating products from the land while binding people to it.[45] These views characteristically combine surveillance of Black domestic space—homes, gardens, farms, and families—with documentation of labor in cotton and sugarcane fields. Many photographs with titles such as "Home of the Cotton Picker" reduce the complexities of ancestry, identity, and personhood to a unit in an extractive economy, a cog in a machine pulling wealth from the soil. Indeed, the marketing and sale of Jackson's Southern views in Northern cities rendered Black life and labor itself into an alienable, picturesque commodity for white consumption.

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[44] Arabindan-Kesson, "Of Vision and Value: Landscape and Labor After Slavery," in *Black Bodies, white Gold*, 121-70; Dana E. Byrd, "The Material Culture of the Plantation, 1866-1877," unpublished dissertation (Yale University, 2012); and Dana E. Byrd, with Tyler DeAngelis, "Tracing Transformations: Hilton Head Island's Journey to Freedom, 1860–1865," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 14, no. 13 (Autumn 2015). In using the term "postemancipation plantation," I am drawing on the work of Tim Barringer on the aftermath of emancipation in the British Caribbean. See Barringer, "Land, Labor, Landscape: Views of the Plantation in Victorian Jamaica," in *Victorian Jamaica*, ed. Barringer and Wayne Modest, 281-321 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

[45] Krista A. Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

Chapter 4: City

At the close of the war, the South's status as a group of what Republican Congressmen termed "disorganized communities," without political form, was visually manifest in the ruins and rubble that remained of many Southern cities.[46] Photographers such as Barnard, traveling in the wake of Sherman's "March to the Sea," captured images of Southern ruination and chaos—blasted railroad depots and factories with chimneys standing eerily alone, piles of chipped stone where formerly had stood neoclassical edifices, deserted battlefields scarred by artillery [fig. 25-27]—which were reproduced and echoed in the popular press [fig. 28]. This chapter considers the competing visions of the New South's urban modernity that would emerge from war and emancipation.

I begin in the nation's capital by considering the surviving plans and visual documentation of the settlement known as Freedman's Village, on the site of Arlington House and plantation, once the property of Robert E. Lee. Intended as a model community for freedpeople, with parks named for Lincoln and Seward, a hospital and home for the elderly, and two rows of small single-family dwellings arranged around a pond, Freedman's Village soon grew to house hundreds of people and occupied the Arlington site until 1900 [fig. 29-30]. I examine the divergent cartographies of a free city, as imagined by the settlement's residents and the property developers, federal overseers, and Army officers who attempted to exert authority over it.

This chapter also discusses two crucial events in the urban South in the latter half of the Reconstruction era: the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, held in New Orleans in 1884 [fig. 31] and the Cotton States and International Exposition, held in Atlanta in 1895. I aim to think alongside scholars such as Robert W. Rydell in investigating the ways in which these fairs served as crucial vehicles for Southern-led "visions of empire" and national reunification, projects

[46] *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, xviii.

that were implied in the phrase the "New South."[47] Drawing on the scholarship of Katherine McKittrick and Sarah Lewis, I aim to explore the spatial logics of these fabricated urban models of Southern empire, these temporary "assemblies" in the service of racial and political formation.[48] Each fair was carefully structured to reproduce in miniature a racialized geography and reinforce the segregation of urban space. In Atlanta, the "Negro Building" occupied a far corner of the fairground, neighboring the "Midway," whose attractions included a replica "Old Plantation" alongside an "Indian Village" populated mainly by Lakota survivors of the massacre at Wounded Knee [fig. 32].[49] Even the shell boats sold as souvenirs at the Atlanta exposition told of the fair's expansive, imperial vision [fig. 33].

At the same time, participants in the fairs disrupted these geographical fantasies with their own visions of an inter-American, or transatlantic, space of resistance to empire. As Brandon R. Byrd has detailed, Black contributors to the New Orleans fair displayed extensive material culture centered around the history of Haiti.[50] Sarah H. Shimm, a teacher in Washington, contributed to the New Orleans exhibition a couch, sumptuously embroidered in silk with poems and images of Toussaint L'Ouverture—thus situating Haiti, the first nation to permanently abolish slavery, as a dissonant element within this neo-imperial exhibition. Shimm's sofa, which unfortunately does not survive, was only one of several Haiti-related items of material culture created by Black women and on display in New Orleans. Using the archives of the Historic New Orleans collection, I hope to

[47] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
[48] Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); McKittrick and Clyde Woods, ed., *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007); and Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, *How Race Changed Sight in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, forthcoming).
[49] Rydell, 95.
[50] Brandon R. Byrd, *The Black Republic: African Americans and the Fate of Haiti* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).

reconstruct as much of this display as possible.[51] Haiti thus served as a discursive and material site of emancipatory imagination and counter-empire in the context of the imperial fairs of the late Reconstruction era.

Epilogue: Redemption

The dissertation will end with a consideration of perhaps the most famous Black artist of the Reconstruction era, Henry Ossawa Tanner. Tanner worked in Europe for most of his career, but he spent part of the 1880s active in the US South. I will foreground Tanner's active role during this period in the National Citizens Rights Association, founded by civil rights campaigner Albion W. Tourgée in 1877, in explicit response to the withdrawal of federal troops from the South. Tanner's early career and political consciousness were forged in the late Reconstruction era, and it is in that context that his paintings of Black labor, culture, and family of the early 1890s can best be historicized [fig. 34].

I reconsider Tanner's shift to religious imagery in the late 1890s in the context of Reconstruction and the rhetoric of Southern white "redemption." I suggest that Tanner's depictions of epiphany and salvation could be read as meditations on the foreclosed but messianic promises of emancipation, on the luminous yet-to-come [fig. 35]—and as such, no less engaged in Reconstruction than his early images of Black life. These paintings, and Tanner's later career, took form outside the United States, where *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) seemed to have sealed the fate of Reconstruction and closed most avenues of social, economic, and political opportunity for Black Americans. Where law and politics had failed, Tanner in his religious paintings invoked a higher

[51] As Arabindan-Kesson has described, the Atlanta fair saw a similar anticolonial mobilization of material culture in the display of quilts by two formerly enslaved women: the magnificent "Coffee Bean Quilt" by the Liberian quiltmaker Martha Ann Erskine Ricks, the original version of which had been presented by Ricks to Queen Victoria, and the "Biblical quilt" made by Harriet Powers. See Arabindan-Kesson, *Black Bodies, white Gold*, 193-202.

authority, making a claim that was less about rights than about what is right. This final chapter thus ends on an ambivalent note, tracing an eloquent meditation on the end of Reconstruction—but one that could only be made from beyond the United States itself.

IV. Methods and Interpretive Aims

This dissertation is committed to art history as a method, but not as a body of objects. Its claims will be rooted in careful visual analysis supplemented by archival sources, while attentive to critical theory brought to the field of American art by scholars in American, African American, and Indigenous studies. The project disregards the traditional hierarchies of "fine" and "applied" art or the divisions between "art" and visual or material culture. A dissertation focused on a period of radical experimentation in representative democracy could hardly be less than democratic and inclusive in the objects by which it seeks to represent that period. The project places canonical paintings by such well-recognized figures as Winslow Homer and Henry Ossawa Tanner alongside objects created by both lesser-known craftspeople like Lewis Buckner and makers whose names have not survived at all. It situates images by Timothy O'Sullivan, George N. Barnard, and other celebrated nineteenth-century photographers beside Currier & Ives chromolithographs and fairground souvenirs.

This dissertation has several interpretive aims. First and most simply, this dissertation aims to contribute scholarship to a critically important period that has been almost uniformly overlooked by historians of United States art. In 2003, John Davis wrote: "Our art historical understanding of Reconstruction still needs to catch up with recent scholarship in the discipline of history."[52] In the two decades since Davis' observation, Caitlin Meehye Beach, Dana E. Byrd, Anna Arabindan-

[52] John Davis, "The End of the American Century: Current Scholarship on the Art of the United States," *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 3 (September 2003): 580.

Kesson, and Jennifer Van Horn have contributed outstanding studies on sculpture after emancipation, the postbellum plantation, and image-based resistance by the newly emancipated, but much work remains to be done.[53] Each of these scholars has modeled an approach to the nineteenth century's prolific cultural production that moves flexibly and fluidly between the so-called fine arts of painting and sculpture, material culture, and visual culture; I aim to do the same.

Second, this dissertation joins a conversation led by Richard J. Powell, Charmaine Nelson, Gwendolyn DuBois Shaw, and Krista Thompson, among others, in aiming to recover Black artistic production where such recovery is possible and to position Black art at the center of the formation of American art history.[54] However, following Saidiya V. Hartman, Christina Sharpe, and Marisa J. Fuentes, this project attends to the cultural forms that took shape in the afterlife of enslavement, and thus also contends with absence, with the racialized inequalities that govern which images, objects, and histories have been preserved from the American past.[55]

Third, this dissertation will investigate the Reconstruction South through what Tim Barringer and Charlene Villaseñor Black have termed a "radically decentered study of empire as a space of artistic production and reception, of oppression and resistance."[56] As Imani Perry has recently observed about this period, the question of empire was central to the politics of

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[53] Beach, *Sculpture at the Ends of Slavery*; Byrd, "The Material Culture of the Plantation, 1866-1877"; Byrd, with DeAngelis, "Tracing Transformations"; Arabindan-Kesson, *Black Bodies, white Gold*; and Van Horn, *Portraits of Resistance*.
[54] Richard J. Powell, *Black Art: A Cultural History* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2021); Powell, *Cutting a Figure: Fashioning Black Portraiture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Nelson, *The Color of Stone*; Nelson, *Slavery, Geography, and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Gwendolyn DuBois Shaw, *Portraits of a People: Picturing African Americans in the Nineteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Huey Copeland and Krista Thompson, "Perpetual Returns: New World Slavery and the Matter of the Visual," *Representations* 113, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 1-15; and Thompson, "A Sidelong Glance: The Practice of African Diaspora Art History in the United States," *Art Journal* 70, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 7-31.
[55] See especially Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (June 2008): 1-14; Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019); Christina Sharpe, *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); and Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). See also Stephen Best, "Neither Lost nor Found: Slavery and the Visual Archive," *Representations* 113, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 150-63.
[56] Tim Barringer and Charlene Villaseñor Black, "Decolonizing Art and Empire," *Art Bulletin* 104, no. 1 (Spring 2022): 11.

Reconstruction: "[S]ome, in the plantation South, saw the struggle not as one about inclusion in the American project. They saw it as the unfinished revolution against the age of empire."[57] Seeing the imperial implications of Reconstruction requires that this dissertation venture beyond the regional confines of the American South, to explore the ways in which South America and the US West also figured as "frontiers" across which the contest over Reconstruction played out.

Fourth, this dissertation will aim to describe and theorize the nuanced relationship between the aesthetic and the political in this moment, complicating the arbitrary divisions between formal, representational, and material politics that often shadow attempts to understand the role of culture in social movements and political change. I draw on the questions and approach modeled by such scholars as Sarah Lewis, whose work rigorously interrogates the violence and foreclosure that often takes place at the nexus of "race, aesthetics, and form"—but also the way in which aesthetic acts and objects can break the "linear flow" of history, altering "our sense of what the relationship between race and history should be and will have to be to permit new possibilities."[58]

V. Conclusion

In many ways, the United States is still the country that was made in the Reconstruction era, and this period's dreams, conflicts, and failures remain with us.[59] Scholars working in the Black radical tradition define the period under consideration here as only the First Reconstruction, with the Second being the Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s and, potentially, the Third spanning the election of Barack Obama to the presidency in 2008 and the emergence of

[57] Imani Perry, *South to America: A Journey Below the Mason-Dixon to Understand the Soul of a Nation* (New York: ECCO, 2022), 164.
[58] Sarah Elizabeth Lewis, response to "A Questionnaire on Monuments," *October* 165 (Summer 2018): 99. See also Lewis's larger project of teaching and research, "Vision & Justice," https://visionandjustice.org.
[59] This dissertation is thus, unapologetically, "presentist" in its concerns. For a defense of presentism in nineteenth-century scholarship, see "Manifesto of the V21 Collective: Ten Theses," *V21: Victorian Studies for the 21st Century* (2015), http://v21collective.org/manifesto-of-the-v21-collective-ten-theses/.

the Movement for Black Lives.[60] The perpetually unfinished work of Reconstruction still strains against what Huey Copeland and Krista Thompson have called slavery's "perpetual returns."[61]

In acknowledging the ongoing implications of Reconstruction, this dissertation aims to depart from the extant, valuable body of scholarship on post-US Civil War visual and material culture, which has tended to be backward-looking, focused on questions of monument and memory.[62] I suggest that the Reconstruction period—and its art—is in fact remarkable for the complexity of its temporal imaginaries and modes of historical change. Reconstruction was not simply about the legacy of the Civil War or how that conflict would be remembered—though it was, of course, about those things. This period was centrally concerned with the country's destabilizing, uneven movement toward an as-yet-undefined modernity, a modernity that took shape as much on the postbellum plantation and in the Southern city as it did in the Northern factory or on the Western "frontier." Conceiving of Reconstruction as a process that resists neat before-and-after distinctions is also crucial to understanding the unfolding of emancipation during this period, as an incomplete and provisional project that was both an event in the past—one from which much of white America was eager to move on—and a not-yet-realized promise.[63] Black Americans and their allies, attempting to give meaning to emancipation's radical promises, lived in the complicated time of what Tina Campt has called the "future-real conditional," which "involves living the future

[60] Joseph, 33.
[61] Copeland and Thompson, "Perpetual Returns."
[62] See, for particularly noteworthy and valuable examples of this type of scholarship, Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, Savage, ed., *The Civil War in Art and Memory* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2013), and Jennifer Raab, *Relics of War* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, forthcoming).
[63] Scholars in Black studies have long contested this simplistic view of emancipation. See, for instance, Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*; Sharpe, *In the Wake*; Sharpe, *Monstrous Intimacies: Making Post-Slavery Subjects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); and Rinaldo Walcott, *The Long Emancipation: Moving Toward Black Freedom* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021). However, this is not to say that the abolition of chattel slavery did not have monumental consequences for every aspect of social, economic, and political organization in the United States. For a summary of those consequences in the US and a comparison with the aftermath of emancipation in Haiti and the British Caribbean, see Eric Foner, *Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983).

now—as an imperative rather than subjunctive—as a striving for the future you want to see, right now, in the present."[64]

To remain with these questions of time and narration, while "Reconstruction" in the US is both a period and a political project, the more generic term "reconstruction" names both a historical process and the process of history. To reconstruct is to engage in a specific kind of historical act, contending with the legacy of the past and imagining a future. To reconstruct is to rebuild, to put back together, or to renovate, especially following destruction.[65] The temporality of reconstruction is recursive, but also utopian; premised on damage but full of hope. To reconstruct is also "to form a mental or visual impression (of a past event, phenomenon, etc.) based on assembled evidence."[66] That is, to reconstruct is to engage in the basic act of historical imagination, to call up and conjure the past through the things it has left behind. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot has argued, historical reconstruction is an act that is always limned by the "differential exercise of power that makes some narratives possible and silences others."[67] In this dissertation, I hope to work with the term "reconstruction" by undertaking what Christina Sharpe has described as "think[ing] the metaphor…in the entirety of its meanings."[68] If we think the metaphor of Reconstruction—its processual, material connotations, its concrete politics of building and making, its imaginative and historical breadth—in all its ramifications, where might that lead us?

VI. Preliminary List of Archives and Collections

[64] Tina Campt, *Listening to Images* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 17.
[65] "reconstruct, v.," OED Online, March 2023, Oxford University Press, https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/159835?rskey=kuCfWI&result=1366&isAdvanced=true (accessed March 08, 2023).
[66] Ibid.
[67] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015), 25.
[68] Sharpe, *In the Wake*, 17.

California: Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Walker).

Connecticut: Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University (Randolph Linsly Simpson African-American Collection); Wadsworth Atheneum (Howard).

Georgia: Atlanta History Center (Cotton States and International Exposition collection); Georgia Musuem of Art (Day, Chapman), High Museum of Art (Johnson), Morris Museum of Art, Augusta (Giroux).

Louisiana: Historic New Orleans Collection (World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition collection), Louisiana State Archives, New Orleans Museum of Art (Giroux).

Minnesota: Minneapolis Institute of Art (Howard).

New York: Brooklyn Museum (Brown), Metropolitan Museum of Art (Barnard, Homer), Museum of Modern Art (Hampton album), New-York Historical Society (Gilder Lehrman Collection, Johnson).

North Carolina: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA Craftsman and Object Databases), North Carolina Museum of History (Day collection).

Pennsylvania: Palmer Museum of Art (Brown), Philadelphia Museum of Art (Tanner).

South Carolina: Gibbes Museum of Art; The Johnson Collection, Spartanburg (Walker).

Tennessee: East Tennessee Historical Society (Buckner), Tennessee State Museum (Buckner collection).

Virginia: Hampton University Museum (Tanner), Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

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