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# “The Dark Iconoclast”: African Americans’ Artistic Resistance in the Civil War South

JENNIFER VAN HORN

In the midst of the Union Army’s bombardment of Charleston, South Carolina, sometime between the summer of 1863 and the winter of 1865, an unidentified slave owned by the McGillivray family committed an act of iconoclasm. Removing an eighteenth-century portrait of the young Daniel Ward, his or her master’s ancestor, from the walls of the McGillivray house (Fig. 1), the enslaved man or woman covered the canvas with newspaper and then repurposed the painting as a fire screen in his or her own dwelling. In its altered format the painting—now a rectangular screen mounted on a pole—may have resembled earlier fire screens used by members of the Southern gentry to shield themselves from a fire’s heat (Fig. 2), though the slave’s screen likely consisted of a rudimentary apparatus rather than finely carved wood. The historic portrait of an elite white Southern boy accordingly became a piece of furniture that protected a seated black user from the flames. According to family history, several years later the McGillivrays’ son discovered the painting/fire screen in the “Negro[’s] shack” and reappropriated it. In the twentieth century, family members hired a conservator to eliminate all physical traces of the portrait’s time spent before a former slave’s fireplace.<sup>1</sup>

This provocative example offers a starting point to investigate the range and meaning of iconoclastic acts enslaved and newly freed African Americans committed against white elites’ portraits and other genteel artifacts during the American Civil War (1861–65).<sup>2</sup> Recent scholarship has broadened our definition of iconoclasm to include a variety of transformative actions, both destructive and additive, undertaken against any type of object imbued with symbolic meaning, providing a new framework within which to consider African Americans’ aesthetic actions. As with many aspects of enslaved people’s experiences, the paucity of documentary evidence makes it impossible to definitively recover the mechanisms and intentions behind bondsmen’s and -women’s appropriation of artworks. I thus use the Ward painting/fire screen, following it on its journey from painting to decorative object and back again, to open a space to consider the cultural parameters that molded individual slaves’ iconoclasm and led them to sometimes violently and sometimes more subtly subvert the meaning of specific artworks and artifacts. Why did an enslaved man or woman seize Daniel Ward’s portrait, and what led him or her to repurpose it as a utilitarian object? How did the conflicting values that different users (white and black) placed on this painting necessitate alterations to its form? Why did a family of white Southern planters care so deeply about the portrait’s preservation? Answering these questions enables us to recapture the complex constellation of practices and beliefs that shaped enslaved people’s affective relationships with art and artifacts within slavery and in the tumultuous years of the Civil War. Through iconoclasm African Americans appropriated the material and visual culture that Southern planters had used to dehumanize them and transformed paintings and artifacts into tools for their own identity making. In this way, iconoclasm illuminates the role art played in helping enslaved men and women resist owners’ authority, a previously understudied arena of resistance, as well as yields insight into art’s function within slaveholding communities and, through this means, helps to recover individual bondmen’s and -women’s artistic agency.<sup>3</sup>

We know little about the unidentified slave who absconded with Daniel Ward's depiction as the white members of the McGillivray family fled Charleston, but he or she was only one of many enslaved men and women in the city who acted out against the representations of white bodies. One African American woman gained fame in *Harper's Weekly* in 1865 as a "Dark Iconoclast" when she took a bust of John C. Calhoun, Southern statesman and legendary proponent of states' rights, from the offices of the *Charleston Mercury* newspaper and "dash[ed] [it] . . . into fragments on the ground." On Charleston's occupation by the Union Army in 1865 and the stationing of an all-black regiment there, the city became a hotbed for destruction, as white Charlestonians discovered to their horror when they returned at the war's conclusion.<sup>4</sup>

Charleston may have been a particularly active zone for iconoclasm, but enslaved men and women across the South took the opportunity afforded by their masters' absences to usurp the power of the planter class's visual and material artifacts.<sup>5</sup> One Union soldier related his experiences in the port city of Beaufort, South Carolina (located between Charleston and Savannah, Georgia), where an unexpected Union naval advance spurred the white population to hurriedly take flight, leaving approximately ten thousand slaves behind. He reported, "We went through spacious houses where only a week ago families were living in luxury, and saw their costly furniture despoiled; books and papers smashed; pianos on the sidewalk; feather beds ripped open, and even the filth of the Negroes left lying in parlors and bedchambers."<sup>6</sup>

This scenario played out across the plantation South, where African Americans occupied an uneasy legal status determined in large part by geography; technically free after the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863, African

Americans in Confederate states continued to be forced into slavery by their masters. Some chose to gain freedom for themselves by running away to Union lines, others remained in Confederate-controlled territory anxiously awaiting emancipation as Union soldiers zigzagged across the South. In this lacuna of power, with many planters away fighting and the Union Army only erratically present, African Americans contested slavery and grasped freedom plantation by plantation.<sup>7</sup> As in Beaufort, enslaved men and women most frequently became iconoclasts in the uncertain interval after white masters' desertion and in advance of official freedom proclaimed by the Union Army. In this interregnum period—neither slave nor free,



1 John Wollaston, *Daniel Ward*, 1765–67, oil on canvas, 42 × 32 in. (106.7 × 81.3 cm). Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA), Winston-Salem, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James Douglas, 3351 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts)

regulated by neither Confederacy nor Union—African Americans could act against masters' possessions with legal impunity. Moreover, enslaved people freed from the burden of laboring for slaveholders had the time and the energy to repossess artworks and to accommodate planters' visual and material culture to meet the soon-to-be freedmen's own needs. Not yet fettered by the moral aims and the legal apparatus of the Freedmen's Bureau and other relief organizations, former bondpeople redistributed and reenvisioned their masters' property as they saw fit.<sup>8</sup> Thus, a former Charleston slave seized the opportunity to move from the McGillivrays' slave quarter, where he or she likely lived as a domestic servant, to a new dwelling, perhaps one of the many "negro shacks" in Charleston Neck, a neighborhood long inhabited by enslaved people and free blacks that grew more popular after the war as African Americans chose not to live with their once masters. While awaiting the Union Army's invasion, the former slave dedicated him- or herself to refashioning the McGillivrays' artwork to suit a new residence.<sup>9</sup>

Slaves' iconoclasm reminds us that a key part of art's role during the Civil War was not the creation of paintings but rather their seizure and destruction. If Northerners were occupied with painting and viewing landscapes and genre scenes that obliquely represented the conflict and supported the Union cause, then white Southerners were concerned primarily with protecting the visual culture that they had amassed before the war, from both former bondpeople and Union troops. Indeed, as scholars have noted, Union soldiers looted so many "relics" of war—typically, luxury goods such as paintings, photographs, and expensive clothing—that they forcibly relocated millions of Southern artifacts, many of which ended up for sale in Northern cities. The fate that befell much of the artwork and artifacts at Robert E. Lee's Virginia plantation, Arlington House, which Union troops occupied in 1861 and subsequently used as a wartime cemetery, is only the most famous example of countless such actions. Union soldiers stationed there seized family portraits, a school bell, a rocking chair, and a pair of candlesticks, among other possessions.<sup>10</sup> Objects without much resale value, these goods were snatched for their connection to Lee, the military leader of the Confederacy.

#### RECOGNIZING ICONOCLASM

The anonymous *Harper's Weekly* author who identified an African American as an "iconoclast," albeit a "dark" one, was extremely unusual in applying this label to the actions of a freedwoman. While many accounts of the destruction inflicted by slaves survive in the letters and diaries of white planters and their families, and even the reports made by Union soldiers, period observers deemed enslaved people's actions to be vandalism—a term understood as the demolishing of artifacts without intellectual intent, or often even knowledge of an object's purpose—rather than ideologically motivated acts of iconoclasm. That was a term that writers reserved for whites, often to laud thinkers' intellectual aggressiveness in disproving long-held fallacies. As one author declared, "Our century is one of general iconoclasm.... It takes no truth—second-hand." In his telling, "The Declaration of Independence and the...[Constitution] were...iconoclast[s] which slew the phantom of the divine necessity of kings." Calhoun, the intellectual father of secessionist ideology, was such an unmistakable symbol of the Confederate cause that even Southern whites could not deny the political message sent by the freedwoman's actions. Enslaved people's localized targeting of portraits that showed their master or mistress, however, was dismissed as arising from rage or avarice. Southerners similarly accused Union troops of greed-fueled vandalism. Like many planters, Charlestonian Charles Izard Manigault conflated the looting of slaves and soldiers, decrying the destruction wrought on his property by "the vandal soldiers, &... my own corrupt & dissolute Negroes, who stole or destroyed... all they could lay hands on."<sup>11</sup>



2 Fire screen, 1780–1800, cherry, maple, bast fiber, silk, and iron, 54 × 18 × 15 in. (137.2 × 45.7 × 38.1 cm). Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE, Museum purchase, 1953.162.4 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Winterthur Museum)

As Manigault suggests, bondpeople's efforts to damage artworks were often conducted in tandem with pillaging. When Union officers arrived at Williams Middleton's South Carolina plantation Middleton Place, where "for some days the Col[ored] people had been alone," they discovered, "The house was strewed with articles and all about the grounds things were scattered. There were many paintings yet in the house—hundreds of frames." Sometimes Union troops encouraged slaves to take their masters' property. At the Heyward plantation, outside Charleston, an officer advised that the newly freed men and women "move to their own quarters, as much of the [house's] furnishings as they thought wise."<sup>12</sup> In many cases, however, enslaved people grasped goods independently of the army, as the wartime diary of Kate Stone, a young woman from a planter family in Louisiana, reveals. Stone and her family, like many Southerners, remained on their plantation, attempting to hold on to their slaves' labor as the Union army marched toward them. When defeat became inevitable, they tried to send a few possessions ahead to safety, but bondpeople from a neighboring plantation discovered their cart and—as Stone related—absconded with "all our likenesses," portraits or perhaps daguerreotypes, as well as "most of our underclothes and dresses, [and] all my fine and pretty things." On the Stones' departure from their plantation their own slaves stripped the abandoned house "of furniture, carpets, books, [the] piano, . . . the carriage, buggy" and "everything else." Stone and her family eventually fled the area in leaky canoes, pursued by Union troops, as she clutched her "one [remaining] silk dress."<sup>13</sup>

Without a doubt, enslaved people's seizure of portraits took place alongside the scenes of wanton destruction that Stone and others described. Yet to dismiss all slaves' violence against masters' property as mere vandalism, as period observers did and most scholars have continued to do, is to perpetuate white Southerners' dismissal of enslaved people's agency and artistic knowledge.<sup>14</sup> Tales of African American vandalism strengthened long-standing white Southern (and Northern) narratives of blacks' bestiality; with the promise of freedom whites feared that slaves would rise up and kill their masters and destroy symbols of beauty that they were deemed too simple to grasp. Southerners had fully embraced ideas of African American inferiority as viewers and producers of art, most succinctly expressed in Virginia planter, politician, and natural historian Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1781–83). Jefferson claimed that he had "never see[n] even an elementary trace of [the skills of] painting or sculpture" in African Americans. He followed the arguments made by European thinkers, such as Immanuel Kant, who concurred "that among the hundreds of thousands of blacks who are transported elsewhere from their countries . . . not a single one was ever found who presented anything great in art or science." Both Kant and Jefferson denied that Africans had the emotional capacity to create or to understand art. Kant posited, "The Negroes . . . have by nature no feeling that arises above the trifling," or, as Jefferson cast it, "their existence appears to participate more of sensation than reflection." In the view of white Southerners, African Americans physiologically lacked the sensitivity to grasp art's grace or sublimity.<sup>15</sup>

To see the Civil War not only as a conflict between two armies but also as a sustained slave insurrection, as historians are beginning to do, encourages us to reconsider the symbolic power that enslaved people's forcible appropriation and redeployment of their masters' possessions held for both white planters and their slaves.<sup>16</sup> Far from the indiscriminate destruction that slaveholders imagined, African Americans' iconoclasm was one component of their larger project of political agitation behind Confederate lines and a key feature of their assertion of agency. If the Civil War was a battle of armies, it was also a battle over the possession and right to use certain artworks to assert identity. The term *icono-crisis*, coined by theorist Bruno Latour, best captures masters' and slaves' sustained attempts to wrest images' power from one another during the war and in the politically uncertain years that followed. As Latour

establishes, iconoclasm is marked by an initial cycle of violence against artworks that is succeeded by attempts to restore what has been destroyed, a sequence that is charged on both sides with ideological contestation.<sup>17</sup>

### ICONS OF SOUTHERN ANCESTORS

In the Civil War South, a struggle was concentrated on portraits of masters and mistresses or their ancestors. These portraits, the most common form of art in Southern collections, functioned for white masters as icons; they held tremendous cultural value as proof of planters' long-standing claims to Southern land and enslaved labor as well as their centuries-old pursuit of an aristocratic lifestyle. Daniel Ward's portrait presents the young heir to a Southern plantation dressed in expensive and fashionable clothing, an indicator of his family's wealth and cultural savvy. With his outstretched right hand, Ward gestures to the verdant landscape beyond, which may represent his family's extensive landholdings, the basis of their fortune. Now only a boy, one day Ward would control this land, and its unpictured black inhabitants, just as he already commands his pet black dog, on which he rests a restraining hand. The dog looks up at him in admiration, awaiting an order. Painted by a traveling British portrait painter, Ward's depiction draws on the visual precedent set by portraits of the English gentry, who often posed in similar magisterial positions with their estates visible in the background, to elevate the young South Carolinian's status.<sup>18</sup>

Southerners' mode of displaying portraits also relied on British models. Like the country estates of the British gentry whose architecture Southerners often emulated, their houses established family lineage through the programmatic display of likenesses.<sup>19</sup> As art historian Maurie McInnis has demonstrated, these visual assertions of familial pride were especially important in Charleston, where elites' fortunes had declined steadily since the colonial period and local grandees looked to cultural capital rather than economic power to buttress their position as political and social leaders. Unfortunately, the McGillivray family left behind few records and can be glimpsed only sporadically in the archive. However, it appears that the family suffered from such economic decline; no longer planters as the Wards had been, by the 1850s McGillivray men evidently worked in the slave trade and as builders. Alexander Chandler McGillivray, likely the owner of the Daniel Ward painting, was an accountant and slave broker and auctioneer, probably for a large merchant firm. The McGillivrays' portrait of the young Daniel Ward was painted at the height of the family's economic standing in the last century, and as members of the financially diminished current generation displayed the canvas in their modest wood-clad single house, it likely reminded them of their family's past glory.<sup>20</sup> This was certainly true of Charlestonian Charles Izard Manigault, who possessed a significant art collection that contained many eighteenth-century portraits, including John Singleton Copley's revered depiction of Manigault's ancestors Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard (Fig. 3). Painted in Rome by the premier artist of colonial America while the Izards took their grand tour, the portrait combined a storied colonial American past with European travel and, in the background, a classical sculpture of the type that Charlestonians valued as proof of their intellectual pursuits. The painting was so important for Manigault's self-fashioning that on purchasing the work he "adopt[ed] ... the idea of my Grandmother, & Grandmother's portraits by 'Copley'" and commissioned a portrait of his own family in Rome, hosting several dinner parties to show off the canvases. Manigault's collection paralleled that of other Charlestonians, such as Williams Middleton, whose paintings included a landscape by Claude Lorrain and other European scenes as well as many portraits. The most significant was a painting of his grandfather, Arthur Middleton, and his family by Benjamin West, completed during the Middletons' three-year sojourn in England (Fig. 4).<sup>21</sup>



3 John Singleton Copley, *Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard (Alice Delancey)*, 1775, oil on canvas, 68½ × 88 in. (174.6 × 223.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Edward Ingersoll Brown Fund, 03.1033 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © 2017 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The label of icon is most fitting for Southerners' portraits because of the reverence with which planters treated these canvases. Some white Southerners conceived of family depictions not merely as artifacts but as bodily equivalents of the persons themselves. Manigault referred to his portraits as his "ancestors," blurring the line between his relatives' once living bodies and the painted canvases that represented them. Indeed, Manigault titled each work in the "Description of Our Family Portraits" he penned in 1867 as if it were actually his ancestor, listing, for example, "My Great Grand father Gabriel Manigault, & Wife painted by Theus in 1757." Manigault then described "the adventures" that occurred to each portrait during the war. His language recalls the it-narratives popular in the early nineteenth century in which various objects—a coin or a sofa—were personified and related their "adventures" to readers. In a newspaper article about the state of painting in the South, the Charleston miniature painter Charles Fraser similarly personified works in local collections, referring to them as "guests, that in spite of their years and decay, might still serve as models of the characteristic graces of the good old schools to which they belonged." Whereas Fraser cast contemporary paintings as "a beautiful girl, in all the bloom of sixteen," he looked on past portraits as "relics." Fraser even equated Southerners' treatment of their paintings to religious worship, noting that since collectors' love of art had "betray[ed] them even into open and downright idolatry, it would surely be cruel to... deprive them of their gods." Such religiously infused language resonated with paintings like West's portrait of Arthur Middleton and family, in which artists ennobled their subjects by borrowing poses from Renaissance representations of sacred subjects. In this case,



4 Benjamin West, *Arthur Middleton, His Wife Mary Izard, and Their Son Henry Middleton*, 1772, oil on canvas, 60 × 71½ in. (152.4 × 181.6 cm). The Middleton Place Foundation, Charleston, South Carolina (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Middleton Place Foundation)

West looked to Raphael's Niccolini-Cowper Madonna for his portrayal of Middleton's wife Mary Izard and their young son Henry. Southern planters' active veneration of their ancestors transformed portraits into quasi persons, relics of white elites' past.<sup>22</sup>

Within the slave-holding South, paintings, with their status as semiliving possessions, bore a strong, if usually unacknowledged, relation to enslavers' other living property: their slaves. Harriet Beecher Stowe famously wished to subtitle her novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* "The Man That Was a Thing," highlighting the legal position of slaves as human beings regarded as property. Within Southern slave-holding households, enslaved men and women occupied a special status as sentient and animate things, a kind of living furniture; elite Charlestonian Mary Chestnut noted that "people talk[ed] before... [slaves] as if they were chairs and tables. And they make no sign." But beyond their object status, enslaved men and women bore direct connections to painted canvases, as things that were similarly shaped in man's image and, like slaves, could be sold. One nineteenth-century observer of a slave auction explicitly compared an enslaved man to a painting, asserting that a black man on the block was "being sold, just like... a picture at Christie['s]'." It was a juxtaposition that he, with his abolitionist sympathies, found unpalatable, noting sarcastically, "I must be under some illusion. That dark object, whom I have been always taught to consider a man, is not a man." Indeed, Manigault's list of his portraits recalls a slave list or a probate inventory, records of the planter's property whether painted or human. Of course, Manigault, like other elite planters, would not have recognized that similarity, holding up paintings of his family members as objects of veneration, while



5 *Portrait of Colonel Charles Carter of Cleve*, 1725–30, oil on canvas, 49 × 40 in. (124.5 × 101.6 cm). The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Gift of Mrs. E. Alban Watson, 1961-56, (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)

viewing the people he enslaved as an investment that would produce the wealth to sustain the next generation.<sup>23</sup>

Planters took care to ensure that their portraits of white ancestors, specially invested with meaning, remained safe from harm during the Civil War. Many Southerners concealed canvases, as did descendants of Virginia's storied Carter family, living in Oxford, Mississippi. When Union troops occupied the city, the Carters cut a portrait of their ancestor Charles Carter of Cleve, likely painted by Charles Bridges earlier in the eighteenth century, out of the frame, folded it, and then hid it under their front porch, where it successfully weathered the conflict (Fig. 5).<sup>24</sup> Williams Middleton went to even greater lengths to secure his artworks. After the war, he recounted how he "packed up most of my pictures in boxes which I had concealed." He hid West's 1772 portrait of his grandfather Arthur Middleton and family inside the walls of his mansion at Middleton Place (Fig. 4), where it miraculously survived the Union Army's burning of the house. Other boxes of pictures he secreted away in "the woods" and at Middleton Place's "negro chapel," confident that the Union Army would not destroy this structure. (Middleton underestimated their wrath; not content with razing the main house, soldiers returned with a gunboat, and the paintings probably burned along with the church.)<sup>25</sup> Other masters sought to move their portraits to safety. In 1863 Manigault joined many of his fellow Charlestonians in fleeing with his family, being, as he recorded, "shelled out of our domicile by the bombardment of the city." Hoping to keep his paintings safe from the hands of Union troops or the fires started by artillery, Manigault took Copley's work with him (no small feat, given its dimensions of about six by seven feet); it survived the conflict unscathed. Manigault and his son Louis had similar results with several paintings that they "took from

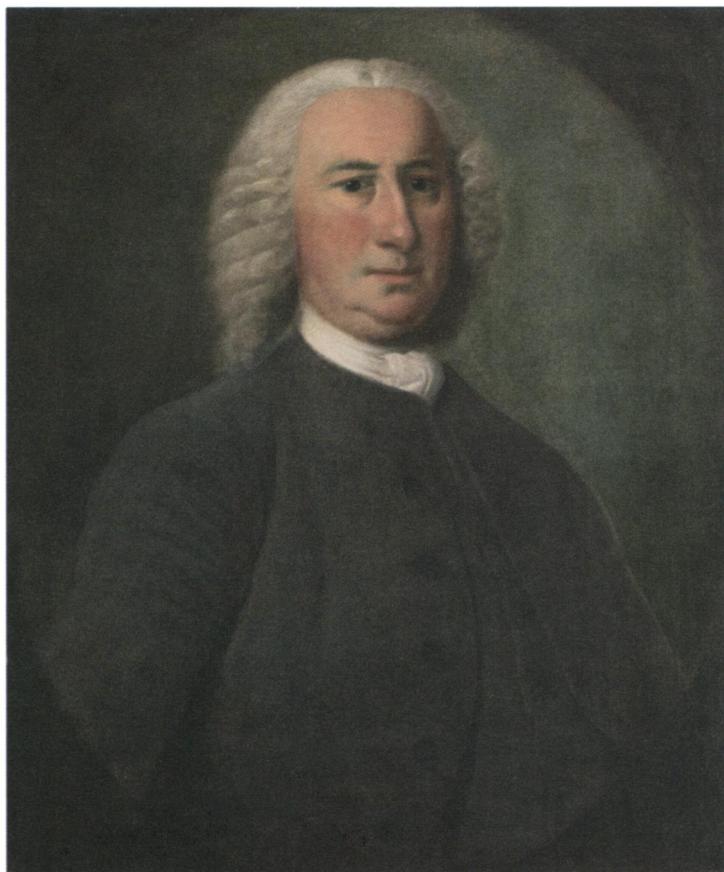
[their] frame[s]" and "removed in a hurry," some to Charleston's "suburbs" and others to Augusta, Georgia.<sup>26</sup>

Thanks to the efforts of his slaves, Manigault's other attempts to protect his portraits yielded less success. He carefully boxed and moved a number of paintings from Charleston to his rice plantation Silk Hope, approximately forty miles inland. These included the pendant portraits of Gabriel and Ann Ashby Manigault by Charleston portraitist Jeremiah Theus, mentioned on Manigault's list (Figs. 6, 7). To the planter's horror, his paintings "were unpacked & rudely handled by the U[nited]States soldiers, who were quartered at... Silk Hope, sacking & burning all around!" It was not soldiers who took his paintings, however, but rather his "own negroes," "who," as Manigault narrated, "broke open every box there & scrambled for the contents, which were scattered amongst them." On uncovering the paintings, the slaves "disfigured" Manigault's portraits; some canvases were "much injured," while others, he reported, "are thus lost to me."<sup>27</sup>

#### ICONOCLASM, REBELLION, AND SUBALTERN PEOPLES

Manigault's meticulous documentation of his portraits' Civil War "adventures" is unusual in its amount of detail and gives unparalleled insight into the actions that slaves took against works of art at Silk Hope and, by extension, other Southern plantations. Some paintings were destroyed outright; others, as Manigault observed, were "disfigured," being "scratched,—torn—& defaced so seriously, that none but a first rate artist can restore" them. Conservation photographs from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, likely taken in the 1920s confirm that Theus's paintings of the Manigaults suffered significant damage that was concentrated on the represented faces (Figs. 8, 9). In Gabriel Manigault's portrait, the eyes have been scratched, the left almost entirely obliterated, and the canvas slashed from the top of Manigault's head straight down to his throat. In the depiction of Ann Ashby Manigault a scratch runs across the figure's nose between her eyes, paint has been removed from her nostrils, and more paint abraded away from the area to the left of her nose and next to her mouth.<sup>28</sup> Some of this damage was sustained and repaired prior to the war. Manigault reported that before he retrieved them the paintings had been left in his uncle's "garret," where they fell victim to Manigault's cousins, who were frightened of the works and "completely scratched out the eyes of the G[reat] Grand father [Gabriel Manigault]." Manigault took the paintings with him to France, where he had them extensively restored to the point that "All defects [were]... imperceptible." The portraits then faced a second campaign of damage at Silk Hope, where slaves contributed new disfigurements: the incision across Ann Ashby Manigault's eyes and the gouge running down Gabriel Manigault's face, as well as perhaps repeating earlier violence committed against the figures' eyes.<sup>29</sup>

Manigault viewed only the aftermath of his slaves' iconoclasm; he did not witness and therefore could not record the exact nature of the violence against his paintings or the rituals that surrounded these acts at Silk Hope. Thus, we are left only with questions about these matters. In what ways did enslaved men and women "mutilate" their masters' canvases? Did they similarly scrape paint from eyes and faces, as with the Theus portraits? Did they also harm the figures' mouths or hands? Did they completely obliterate sitters' forms? Did bondpeople use their own fingernails to "scratch" paintings, or did they pierce them with sharp tools? Were canvases stepped on, hacked apart, set aflame, or simply left exposed to the weather? Might enslaved people have covered canvases or made them into household artifacts, as happened to Daniel Ward's painting in Charleston? Manigault mentioned that his portraits were distributed among his slaves, who took works back to "their own huts," suggesting that individually, bondpeople made a variety of choices about how to treat the canvases. Where the documentary



**6** Jeremiah Theus, *Gabriel Manigault*, 1757, oil on canvas, 30 x 24 in. (76.2 x 62.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1928, 28.126.1 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org))

**7** Jeremiah Theus, *Mrs. Gabriel Manigault (Ann Ashby Manigault)*, 1757, oil on canvas, 30 x 24¾ in. (76.2 x 62.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1928, 28.126.2 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org))



record and physical evidence provide only tantalizing clues, we can turn to examples of past acts of iconoclasm for possibilities of what African Americans practiced at Silk Hope. By viewing enslaved men and women's actions against their masters' painted ancestors as part of a long history of politically motivated violence within the transatlantic world, both the symbolic importance of slaves' attacks and the political dimensions of their actions become visible.<sup>30</sup>

Historically, iconoclasm against political regimes and religious institutions, which were often one and the same in the early modern world, has been directed against public statues of leaders or religious icons—for instance, during the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution. Portraits of individuals painted on canvas also came under attack in previous rebellions, most notably in North America during the American Revolution. On August 14, 1765, rebellious citizens in Boston besieged the house of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson, who was loyal to the Crown. The mob, in the words of Massachusetts's horrified royal governor, "went to work with a Rage scarce to be exemplified by the Most Savage People. Everything Moveable was destroyed in the most minute manner, except such Things of Value as were worth carrying off." Hutchinson escaped to safety, but the crowd slashed the "effigies," or portraits on display in his house, including one of the lieutenant governor himself.<sup>31</sup> In lieu of harming the man, rebelling colonists defaced his painted likeness and those of his family members to proclaim their dissatisfaction with the imperial government that Hutchinson represented. By disfiguring portraits of their master's ancestors, Silk Hope's enslaved population similarly delegitimized the power that the Manigault family had held over them. In scratching painted faces and rending apart depicted bodies African Americans transferred the violence they could not enact on their absent masters to paintings of them and their relatives. Taking seriously the iconic status white Southerners afforded ancestral portraits, black iconoclasts eliminated slaveholders' family lineages and claims for cultural hegemony.<sup>32</sup>



8 Jeremiah Theus, *Gabriel Manigault*, conservation photograph, ca. 1920–30. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1928, 28.126.1, restoration 171866 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, provided by Art Resource, NY)

9 Jeremiah Theus, *Mrs. Gabriel Manigault (Ann Ashby Manigault)*, conservation photograph, ca. 1920–30. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund, 1928, 28.126.2, restoration 171823 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, provided by Art Resource, NY)



By committing such acts of artistic sabotage, enslaved people erased or overwrote the portraits' intended messages of white dominance and power. Such themes are particularly evident in John Wollaston's portrait of Daniel Ward. The painting might have been chosen as a fire screen for its convenient dimensions, but also likely because of its laden iconography. The black dog, with its strangely human eye surrounded not by black fur but a ring of pale pink skin, might have been the reason an iconoclast selected this painting from the McGillivrays' possessions to deface. Perhaps an enslaved viewer recognized in the dutiful and subservient dark canine a metonym for his or her own enforced devotion. Other artists employed a similar metaphor, most famously, Justus Englehardt Kuhn, in his portrait of young Marylander Henry Darnall III and an enslaved attendant who wears a conspicuous silver collar (Fig. 10). Here, the latter acts as a hunting dog that retrieves his master's prey, whereas in Ward's painting the black attendant has become that beast himself.<sup>33</sup>

Beyond the physical alterations made to canvases, bondpeople's iconoclasm may have involved supporting rituals of inversion. Those enslaved men and women who filled their former masters' parlors and bedchambers with excrement made a powerful statement about African Americans' newfound freedom and their distaste for their masters. Though likely without knowing so, these iconoclasts followed the precedent set by Puritans in seventeenth-century New England who protested the construction of new Anglican churches, and the British monarchy's recently enforced control of their colony, by attacking the Anglican church in Boston. Observers recounted with disgust how Puritan dissenters left "the [church's] Doors and Walls daubed and defiled with dung, and other filth, in the rudest and basest manner imaginable," even making "Crosses of Mans Dung on the Doors, and filling the Key-holes with the same." Perhaps bondpeople used excrement in a similar fashion, besmearing not only expensive furniture and wallpaper but also painted canvases, in this way sullying, or even blackening the sitters' faces.<sup>34</sup> African Americans' attacks against paintings

could have included more elaborate forms of ritualistic punishment. In the seventeenth century, Englishmen in the rural outpost of Radwinter removed paintings they deemed to be Papist—and thus a threat to the state—from a church, tied the canvases to trees, and whipped them. These men meted out corporeal punishment against their rivals' paintings

of the type enacted on criminals (often for theft). For enslaved African Americans in the plantation South, whipping constituted an even more symbolically laden activity. If bondpeople chose to whip canvases, they would have co-opted the form of punishment most often levied against enslaved men and women by overseers and masters, but never used against whites. Indeed, in the nineteenth century Charlestonians had outlawed the whipping of whites as punishment to keep this correction explicitly linked to the black body. Seeing a white person—even a depiction of a white person—being whipped would have sent an unmistakable message of a new racial order.<sup>35</sup>

Slaves' iconoclasm in the Civil War bore traces of earlier political and religious protests by Anglo-Americans, but it also can be compared to Native Americans' actions against European settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Like African Americans, Native Americans were burdened with stereotypes of ignorance, avarice, and bloodthirstiness, and many ended up enslaved themselves, bound to labor for Spanish missionaries or individual colonists. Their retaliation against foreign control sometimes took the form of iconoclasm. During the Pueblos' 1680s revolt against both the Spanish Crown and the Catholic missions, native leader Po'pay "ordered everyone to smash and burn the images of Christ, the Virgin and saints, the crosses and everything having to do with Christianity; to burn the churches, [and] smash the bells." Across New Mexico, Native Americans defaced churches with dung, placing "images

of Saints" taken from mission chapels "among excrement." Recalling earlier English protests, some Pueblos whipped a crucifix with such vigor that "the paint and varnish [were] taken off by lashes," while others stoned an altarpiece of the Virgin Mary "painted on panel" so that "the divine eyes and mouth of the figure were ruined." The Pueblo iconoclasts intended that whoever discovered the mutilated artworks, Christian Native American or Spanish settler, would recognize the inability of the Catholic God to save artifacts of worship and, by extension, the powerlessness of a political state founded on this faith.<sup>36</sup>

These historical precedents of North American iconoclasm triggered condemnation. Spanish soldiers and officials labeled the successful Pueblo revolutionaries "blind fiends of the devil" motivated by "hatred and barbarous ferocity." Boston's Loyalists and British officials similarly repudiated the mob's actions by naming the participants "Savages," men whose actions they related to the violence committed by Native American groups, such as the Pueblo, against white settlers. Indeed, American revolutionaries famously perpetuated that comparison themselves when they dressed in native garb for the Boston Tea Party. Loyalists sought to diminish the political meaning of revolutionaries' violence by demeaning the rebels as barbaric. In writing about the destruction of his family's paintings, Charles Izard Manigault, too, condemned his slaves' "depravity," pronouncing them "corrupt & dissolute." In this moment, Manigault seems to have recognized the political implications of his slaves' actions; they rejected the political and social structure that his paintings valorized. Yet for Manigault, as for the British and Spanish officials before him, that was simply proof of the iconoclasts' inherent savagery. Irrationally, while iconoclasm against Loyalists was accepted as a necessary step on Americans'



10 Justus Englehardt Kuhn, *Henry Darnall III*, ca. 1710, oil on canvas, 53<sup>7/8</sup> × 44 in. (136 × 111.8 cm). Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, 1912.1.3 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Maryland Historical Society)

path to citizenship—part of the iconoclastic intention of the Declaration of Independence—Manigault and other Southern planters deemed African Americans' iconoclasm to be evidence of qualities that disenfranchised them from full humanity and political participation.<sup>37</sup>

#### ACTS OF ARTISTIC RESISTANCE

Though he expressed shock, Charles Izard Manigault should not have been surprised that some of the approximately 126 men, women, and children enslaved at his plantation Silk Hope took the opportunity to act out against their master through iconoclasm. As they described it, the Manigaults had been engaged in an open war with the people they enslaved since the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, when, as Manigault reported, they "discerned" a "change...amongst the Negroes," who began "seeking to avoid work of every kind" and "stealing all they could lay their hands upon," even as they were "running away in great numbers." During the conflict, Manigault slaves thwarted their master's attempts to assert power over them in every way possible: several enslaved men and women ran away (most were recovered); other bondmen armed themselves; one male field hand committed suicide rather than be punished; and an elderly female slave poisoned a group of young children to keep them from a life of enslavement. For their part, Manigault and his sons grimly and efficiently found ways to keep their slaves submissive despite the chaos of war and the promise of freedom: leading armed search parties and using dogs to recover runaways; relocating rebellious individuals or selling them off to be sold in Cuba; sending men and women to Charleston's Workhouse for months of punishment; and, finally, submitting recalcitrant slaves to extended solitary confinement at Silk Hope. Indeed, the Manigaults thought the remote plantation to be so safe that they relocated approximately thirty rebellious enslaved men and women from the family's primary rice plantation, Gowrie, which was located just upriver from Savannah and dangerously close to the Union lines. Before the Union Army's arrival in South Carolina, the bondpeople at Silk Hope had engaged in a long campaign of resistance against the Manigaults that primed them for the symbolic destruction to come.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, during the war the members of the Manigault family politicized portraiture by deploying likeness in their effort to subdue slaves. In particular, a photograph of one of the Manigaults' slaves, Dolly, played a vital part in the family's attempt to thwart her escape. In 1863 Manigault's son Louis created a unique runaway advertisement for Dolly, who fled Silk Hope with the family but then absconded once they found safe quarters in Augusta, Georgia (Fig. 11). Many Southern planters had photographs, or a carte de visite, taken of enslaved house servants and nannies who posed along with their white charges, such as the unidentified woman pictured in *Nursemaid with Her Charge* (Fig. 12), whose face is partially hidden behind the head of the toddler who sits on her lap. A photograph from 1860 survives of Louis Manigault's son Louis, with his enslaved body servant, identified in a handwritten label as Captain (Fig. 13). Captain poses protectively beside his charge, who stands solemnly on a chair to make their heights more equal. Dolly sat for her photograph along with the Manigault child she tended sometime before the outbreak of the war, perhaps at the same studio as Captain. Like other enslaved people who were photographed for their masters, Dolly almost certainly had no say in whether she posed or how she appeared, and she probably was not allowed to keep any of the eight images produced. Just as her master owned her body, so Louis Manigault controlled her image.<sup>39</sup>

While Dolly's photograph may have been a relatively common type of image, what happened to her photograph during the war was not typical. When Dolly decided to run away, Louis Manigault cut apart the image—taking his child out and thereby removing the lower portion of the enslaved woman's torso—and then pasted the cropped photograph onto a piece

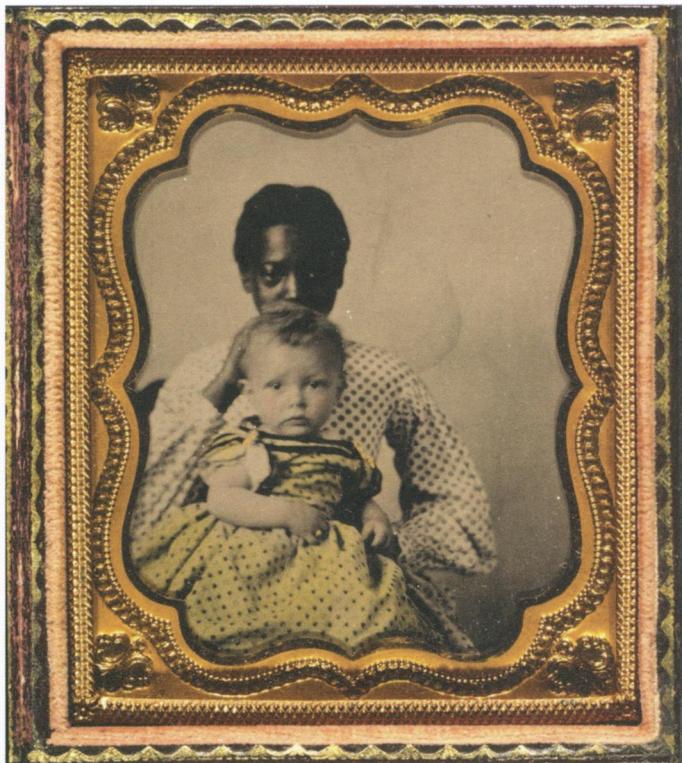
When Received.	Coveyance.	No. of bush. Rough Rice.	No. of bbls. Clean Rice.	No. of bus. to the bbl.	Price.	Date of Sales.	Gross Amount of Sales.	Nett Amount of Sales.

\$ 50.00 Reward !!



Ran away from the Yard corner of Jackson & Broad Streets, Augusta Ga. on the evening of Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> April 1863 a Woman "Dolly", whose likeness is here seen.  
 She is thirty years of age, light complexion - hesitates somewhat when spoken to, and is not a very healthy woman - but rather good looking, with a fine set of teeth. Never changed her owner and has been a house servant always. It is thought she has been enticed off by some White Man, being herself a stranger to this City, and belonging to a Charleston family!  
 For further particulars apply to Antoine Poullain Esq<sup>o</sup> Augusta Ga.

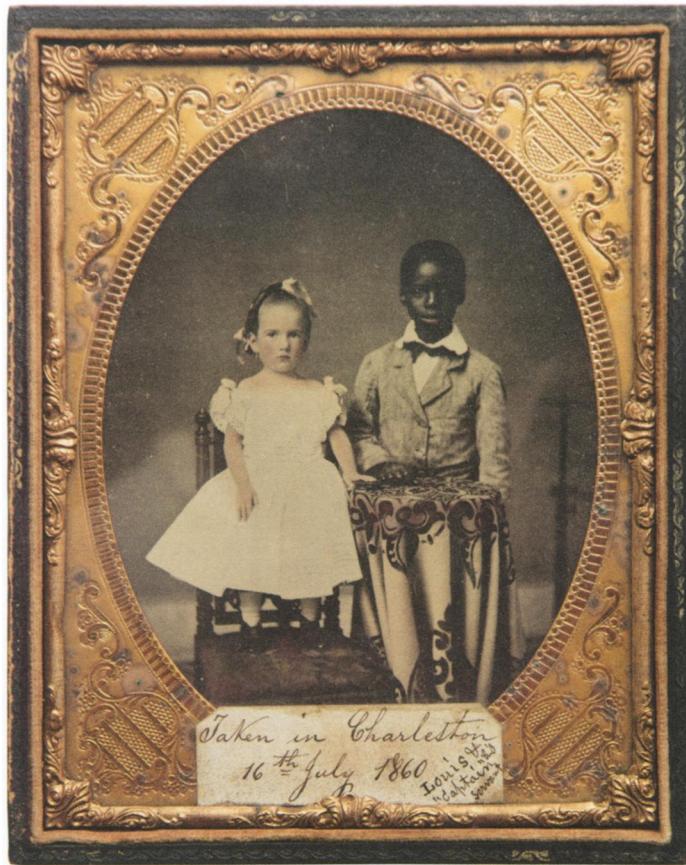
Augusta Police Station  
 Louis Manigault, Owner of Dolly



**11** Louis Manigault, *Runaway Notice for Dolly*, 1863. Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Manigault Family Papers, no. 484 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, UNC Chapel Hill)

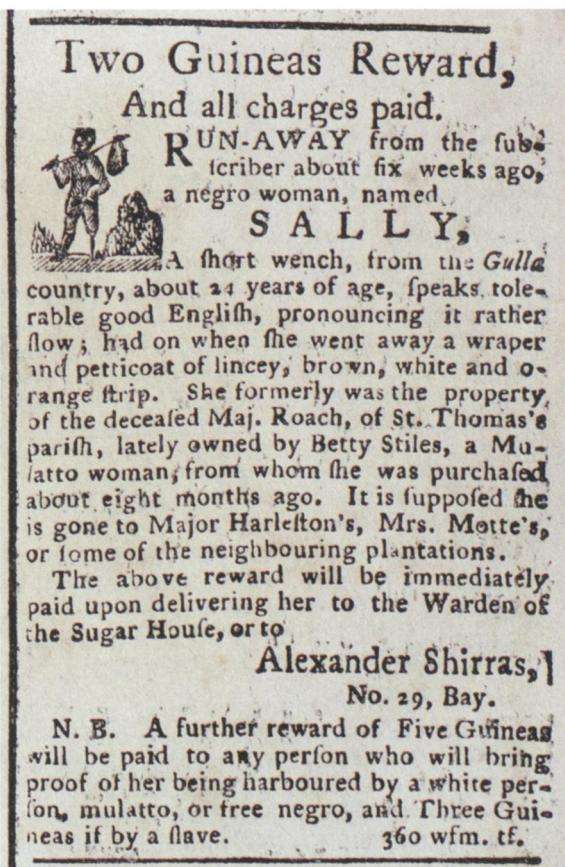
**12** *Nursemaid with Her Charge*, ca. 1855, sixth-plate ambrotype, hand-tinted, 3½ × 3 in. (9 × 8.1 cm). Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Prints and Photographs Division, (33) LC-USZC4-5251 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

**13** Louis Manigault and Captain, His Servant, 1860, photograph, 6 × 4¾ in. (15.2 × 12.1 cm). The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Charleston Museum)



of lined paper to craft a homemade runaway advertisement. Like those runaway ads masters printed in newspapers to alert other whites that a slave had absconded, this example contained a physical description of Dolly. Yet, unusually, it also bears an image of her face. Newspaper advertisements relied on textual descriptions of the runaway and did not feature likenesses; if any representation was included it was typically a generic printer's ornament of a man carrying a sack on a pole. A runaway advertisement for a female slave, Sally, placed in Charleston's *South Carolina State Gazette and Daily Advertiser* in June 1785 indicates the lack of correlation between printed images and the fugitive slave: the printer's ornament shows a male slave rather than a female figure (Fig. 14). Such printed runaway advertisements gained power through their reproducibility; it was by having multiple copies of the ad circulating in many locations that a slave could be recognized and recovered. In a war-torn South, Manigault could not place such a print ad in a local paper. By contrast, Louis's runaway advertisement is a one-of-a-kind visual artifact. Handwritten, not printed, it bears a photograph that could not be reproduced. Instead of a standard newspaper ad, it more closely resembles a criminal "wanted" poster, which similarly deployed likeness. As was common with such a poster, Manigault displayed his runaway ad in a local police station, hoping that someone who walked in would recognize his former slave.<sup>40</sup>

Unable to control the real Dolly's body, or even to make use of the printing technology slaveholders had employed since the colonial period to alert others to her fugitive status, Manigault dedicated his advertisement to highlighting his mastery over Dolly's image. Manigault describes "a woman 'Dolly', whose likeness is here seen!", calling the viewer's attention to the photograph, and lists himself as "Louis Manigault, Owner of Dolly." However unintentionally, Manigault's subsequent mounting of the advertisement in a ledger book,



**14** Runaway advertisement, *South Carolina State Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston), no. 412 (June 29, 1785); 3. Charleston Library Society (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Charleston Library Society)

with the paper's premarked columns for recording economic transactions labeled across the top ("Where Received, Conveyance, Date of Sales, Gross Amount of Sales," and so on), underscores how Dolly's bid for freedom undercut his economic property. Dolly's photograph disrupts the carefully gridded space of the columns; she is a ledger item who refused to be contained. Dolly has left behind both her status as property and the photograph her master had taken of her. Manigault's photographic manipulations indicate that for both white and black Southerners the destruction of portraiture was interwoven with warfare. At the same time that African Americans at Silk Hope defaced and destroyed images of the white Manigault family, planter Louis Manigault cut apart a photograph of one of his slaves to thwart her escape.<sup>41</sup>

The bondpeople at Silk Hope committed iconoclasm as a means to reject not only their masters' way of life but also the Confederate cause that their masters supported. Should the Confederacy win, enslaved men and women knew that they would lose their opportunity for freedom, perhaps forever. Charles Izard Manigault noted as early as 1861 that men and women enslaved around Charleston "have...got the idea of being emancipated when 'Lincoln' comes in." The example of the Union troops might have encouraged African Americans to think of iconoclasm as a weapon against the Confederacy. Soldiers sometimes enacted violence on artworks. Union troops, for example, bayoneted portraits of Manigault's niece and nephew-in-law at their South Carolina plantation. Most famously, soldiers committed iconoclasm against a printed portrait of Confederate president Jefferson Davis. The engraved likeness was discovered in a book at the family plantation in Alabama, part of a stash that Union troops uncovered by means of directions provided by slaves. According to one observer, before an audience of thousands, soldiers "stabbed" Davis's "likeness...as often as they could find a piece of the paper large enough to receive the point of a knife."<sup>42</sup> Small-scale acts of artistic resistance on plantations across the South held a similar political message intended for former masters.

With each portrait that enslaved people seized and then burned, punctured, or repurposed, they asserted their federally mandated but Confederate-withheld freedom.

The unidentified slave who covered Daniel Ward's image with newspaper sought a particularly evocative means of rejecting his or her enslaver's control. While we do not know exactly which paper he or she used, any newspaper was a dangerous possession for an enslaved person in the antebellum South, as it furnished evidence of forbidden outside information gained through illegal means; it was against the law to teach slaves in South Carolina to read. To efface a portrait with newspaper, then, was an act that defied past proscriptions against slaves' education and proclaimed the new African American owner's knowledge of and sympathy with the Union cause. During the war, newspapers carried stories about the defeat of Confederate troops and the Union Army's movements, knowledge that masters were loath to share with their slaves, who might then take action against them or decide to run away. Thus, possession of a newspaper in the Confederate states affirmed African Americans' independent agency and their information networks that were beyond slaveholders' or the secessionist government's power.<sup>43</sup>

#### ICONOCLASM AND ECONOMIES OF VALUE

Perhaps what is most surprising about bondpeople's iconoclasm during the Civil War is its relatively conservative cast when compared with the destruction unleashed in other slave rebellions. Southern slaveholders, who were well acquainted with frightening tales of violent Caribbean slave revolts, feared the worst. As the many white residents of Saint-Domingue (later Haiti) who fled to American ports during the revolution (1791–1804) reported, rebelling slaves there not only gruesomely murdered thousands of whites but also used fire extensively as a weapon, burning crops and setting aflame some five hundred plantation houses. So, too, in an 1816 Barbados uprising, enslaved men and women obliterated fields and dwellings. One white Barbadian noted that planters' "houses were gutted and the very floors taken up. The destruction is dreadful, the plundering beyond anything you can conceive could be effected in so short a time." Enslaved men and women in Confederate territory did not reduce "all of the plantations" and their valuable contents to mere "ashes and smoke," as occurred in the Caribbean.<sup>44</sup> Many bondpeople limited themselves to partial destruction through alteration of painted surfaces, while others creatively repurposed paintings, relying on a change of ownership and venue to unsettle the original artwork's meaning and to redirect it to meet the desires of a new African American user.<sup>45</sup>

The maker of the Daniel Ward fire screen opted not to obliterate the figures of a white master and his dog. Though not burned or punctured, Daniel Ward was still effectively defaced. By layering on sheets of newsprint, the unidentified bondperson stalled a viewer's attempt to engage with the painting as the white McGillivray family had before the war. At the same time, the addition of new materials enabled the portrait to accrue different meanings. In attaching the painting to a base to make a fire screen, the former slave not only reconfigured it into an object better suited to a black user's needs but also reduced the iconic status of a white's portrayal into a utilitarian artifact dedicated to a freedman's comfort. This transformation afforded the unidentified slave a powerful mechanism for subversion. The enslaved user unleashed the logic of commodification enacted on slaves' bodies on a representation of a white body instead: under slavery, white masters transformed black humans into objects; in an African American's iconoclasm, a painting of a white subject instead moved from "person" to thing. This reversal may have been especially rewarding since Daniel Ward's descendant and the master of the unknown iconoclast, Alexander Chandler McGillivray, was himself a slave broker and auctioneer. The people McGillivray enslaved knew that the man they served made

his money by selling enslaved men, women, and children as goods and might have celebrated turning his ancestor into an object.<sup>46</sup>

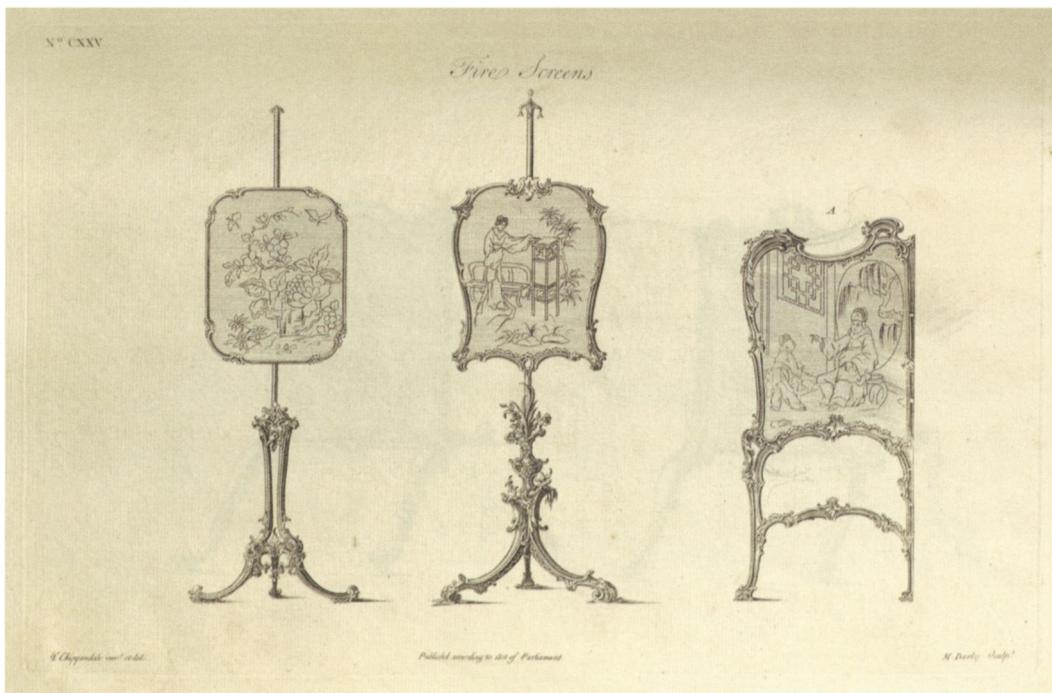
The former bondpeople at Silk Hope plantation also upended the economics of value that underpinned enslavement through their iconoclasm. In addition to defacing Manigault's depictions, slaves, in the planter's words, "gave or sold... [portraits] to their friends on neighboring plantations."<sup>47</sup> When Manigault's slaves usurped ownership of his paintings they reversed the usual power dynamic of a white owner and a black body. A slave, in effect, now owned a white person, gaining unlimited power over his or her depicted form, including the power to injure, and even to sell. As Manigault noted, his paintings circulated as commodities, with former bondpeople selling or trading them to other African Americans beyond Silk Hope. If under slavery black bodies could be viewed as portraits sold at auction, then during the war slaves treated proxy white bodies in the same manner, transferring white people between black owners and exchanging them for cash or other goods. Through their acts of artistic subversion and commodification of relics, enslaved iconoclasts rejected their former status as property and sought to disrupt centuries of expropriation. By challenging the system of slavery that turned people into commodities, former slaves' iconoclasm diverged from previous politically and religiously motivated acts of destruction. Besides rejecting a government or a social order, African Americans aimed to overturn an economic system as a way to assert their own personhood. Former bondpeople targeted artworks that included neither black subjects nor their subjective experience and, in fact, were paintings that established whites' power through their disavowal of black bodies; Daniel Ward and Gabriel and Ann Ashby Manigault owned hundreds of slaves between them whose labor enabled them to purchase expensive works of art, but none of those bondpeople was pictured in their portraits. Enslaved people's iconoclasm, then, emerges as a tactic that effectively sabotaged, sometimes playfully and sometimes with deliberate animus, a visual culture that was based on exclusion, and it did so not through outright negation but rather by alterations to the work of art or its context that brought the experience of the subaltern to bear on the artwork, thereby asserting the new user's humanity.<sup>48</sup>

#### ICONOCLASM AS SUBVERSION

Newly freed men and women did more than protest their economic dehumanization. Through iconoclasm, former slaves appropriated the portraits their masters used to assert social status and adapted them for their own performances. Charles Izard Manigault reported that bondpeople at Silk Hope sold some paintings while others they "nailed up...in their own huts." The Theus portraits both have circular holes in the top center that may well be nail holes slaves hammered through the canvases when they displayed them in their own cabins.<sup>49</sup> Removed from the master's house, portraits now adorned slaves' walls, affording black users a form of adornment that they could not possess under slavery. Like a portrait, a fire screen was a symbolically laden object, common in planters' houses but never found in slave quarters. Made from highly carved expensive woods, fire screens communicated a white family's refined status by proclaiming their ability to purchase luxuries and their conversance with fashionable taste. Not only were fire screens valuable in their own right, they were also embellished with visually arresting artifacts that furthered the family's prestige. Typically, fire screens highlighted examples of a daughter's or wife's needlework (Fig. 2), pieces of imported silk fabrics or wallpaper, or figural depictions such as exotic Chinoiserie scenes, as in examples from Thomas Chippendale's cabinetmaking manual (Fig. 15). In its altered state, Daniel Ward's portrait had a related but distinctly different format. Newspaper may be a more pedestrian material than needlework or silk, but in the war-ravaged South it was surprisingly sought after. Because of Union blockades

and wartime shortages, Southern printers found it difficult to acquire the paper they needed to print. Desperate, they made paper themselves from rags, or sometimes even printed editions on more valuable alternatives, such as wallpaper. Only sporadically produced and difficult to transport, Southern newspapers thus became desirable items that white Southerners carefully collected. Literate or not, for a bondperson to usurp a newspaper, then, was for him or her to grasp a desirable material that white planters worked hard to acquire.<sup>50</sup>

Displaying a portrait or a fire screen covered in newspaper in his or her residence allowed the new African American user to engage in a public performance of gentility. Exhibition of these goods was to some extent an extension of African Americans' deployment of refined objects to express personal identity under slavery, when some enslaved men and women had purchased pieces of clothing and items of personal adornment made of expensive materials in fashionable styles. Yet slaves could never have procured such



15 Thomas Chippendale, "Fire screens," pl. CXXV from *The Gentleman and Cabinet-maker's Director*, London, 1754. Winterthur Library, Winterthur, DE, Printed Book and Periodical Collection (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by Winterthur Library, Printed Book and Periodical Collection)

large and costly articles as a fire screen or an oil portrait when their masters circumscribed their consumer behavior, reacting with anger when slaves' possessions rivaled masters' or mistresses' own. Moreover, freedmen's and -women's exhibition of high-status artifacts in the Civil War occurred only after they made significant alterations to the original artworks. A careful look at these physical manipulations reveals how these changes endowed African Americans' performances of gentility with different meanings. The reconfigured fire screen diverges from traditional examples in one marked respect: the complete elimination of a central image. By removing any form of painted representation or other iconography besides newsprint, the maker effectively deconstructed the furniture form's intended message; the new portrait/fire screen visually negates the presence of the enslaved person's former master and, by extension, his wealth and ancestry, reversing the aims of the original painting. Preserving the portrait but covering it created an immediately noticeable absence at the heart of the object that continued to actively assert Ward's fall from grace with each successive viewing. An enslaved maker thus reenacted on Daniel Ward the kind of visual exclusion and restriction of likeness that he or she suffered under slavery.<sup>51</sup>

At Silk Hope plantation, former bondpeople similarly engaged in multipart aesthetic actions that involved the partial destruction of portraits and their reuse in a new setting. In one sense, once the men and women enslaved at Silk Hope gained possession of Manigault's artworks, they replicated the white planter's mode of presentation. Silk Hope's slaves, however, displayed not pristine paintings in their cabins but portraits in which the sitters' eyes were scratched and their faces gashed. By exhibiting paintings in a debilitated condition that paralleled whites' loss of control over their possessions, both people and things, former slaves staged an act of détournement. Metaphorically present but unable to see out, the representation of a white planter—like the absent master himself—could no longer control African Americans' labor. An enslaved domestic servant who had been forced to work in front of his or

her master's or mistress's paintings could now sit before them, perhaps luxuriating in his or her newfound leisure. By covering up or scratching out the master's painted eyes, the freedman or -woman's life would now, literally, happen beyond the master's gaze and away from his prying eyes. In displaying a defaced portrait in his or her cabin, a former bondperson was repeatedly reminded of his or her freedom from surveillance and asserted his or her new status as a freedman or -woman.<sup>52</sup>

The Ward painting/fire screen and the manipulations of Manigault's former bondpeople can perhaps best be understood as acts of mimicry. Planter Williams Middleton pointed to this ironic or mocking quality when he described the paintings his slaves seized as being "mischievously" rather than violently "destroyed." African American users replicated Southern elites' mode of object use and at the same time showcased its difference, thereby opening up a space of ambiguity. By appropriating white planters' refined artifacts and resituating them in a different context (the slave cabin instead of the master's house) an enslaved user called into question the status claims made by the planter class and unraveled slave owners' framework of value: If former slaves could display portraits and fire screens, then where did true gentility lie and who could possess it? In re-creating their masters' performances of cultivation, African Americans laid bare the fragility of their onetime owners' claims to cultural hegemony.<sup>53</sup>

Recovering enslaved people's actions as a form of mimicry enables us to begin to understand the covert quality of their iconoclasm; freedmen's and -women's iconoclasm was at once a public and a private gesture. Daniel Ward's painting/fire screen held a subversive meaning only for those viewers whom the user trusted to tell of its origins. While public, its *detournement* was a covert act that the freedman or -woman had the choice to disclose. The fire screen epitomizes this two-faced quality as the unknown maker covered over or hid the painting's original subject, but then placed the portrait in a prominent spot before the fireplace in his or her own dwelling, as an elite user would have. In the way its surface appearance concealed a disavowal of masters' power, the fire screen drew on African Americans' tactics of covert resistance in slavery. In particular, former bondpeople's iconoclasm extended strategies of subversion that African Americans had honed through humor. Folklorists and historians have argued that African American folktales, including the famous Br'er Rabbit and John and Old Master stories, gave enslaved tellers and listeners a subtle means of resistance. Enslaved people may have had no say over their owner's treatment, but they could laugh at a tale of Br'er Rabbit fooling the not-so-wily but more powerful wolf, or find release in a story of the enslaved John stealing his master's pig but doing it so humorously that the master decides not to punish him, and in fact holds a pig roast for all of his slaves. The covert nature of folktales enabled African Americans to poke fun at masters and to find humor in their own travails without detection. When they turned to iconoclasm, freedmen and -women relied on these tactics of resistance that they had developed under slavery: irony, mimicry, concealment, subversion—all had been a means of asserting and protecting their personhood while being commodified and dehumanized. Their persistence gave the destruction caused by freedmen a different, more covert appearance from other iconoclasts' actions.<sup>54</sup>

#### "TAKE THIS PORTRAIT HOME . . . TO REMEMBER HIM!!"

Whereas many bondpeople altered portraits of their masters and mistresses once they took possession of them, perhaps the best example of an enslaved person reinvesting the image of a former slaveholder with new meaning involved simply a radical shift of ownership and location. One of the most prized paintings that Charles Izard Manigault sent to Silk Hope for safekeeping was a portrait of himself painted by Thomas Sully (1817, Fig. 16). This picture held great emotional importance for the family as it was completed just before Manigault

departed for a six-year trading voyage to China. It was made at the behest of his mother, who, Manigault reminisced, “wished to dwell on my countenance while she lived.” In his manuscript “Description of Our Family Portraits” Manigault reported that his enslaved “driver,” or black overseer, “seized . . . [this] portrait as his share of the spoils” and “[a]fter keeping it a little while

to ornament his hut, he . . . gave it to a freed-woman who was visiting him from a distant plantation. He instructed her, ‘that she must take this portrait home with her, to remember him!!’ In a strange inversion, Manigault’s former slave used his master’s visage as a mnemonic for his own face. Sully’s portrait, originally painted as a means for Manigault’s mother to recall his appearance during his prolonged absence, now became a device through which former bondpeople could imaginatively reunite. By disseminating his master’s visage Manigault’s driver may have intended to liken his own appearance to his master’s; perhaps there was a biological relationship and therefore a physical resemblance. The portrait could also have been intended to impress his beloved with his access to material wealth, standing in for his own portrait that he had been unable to commission.<sup>55</sup>

Manigault had an impressive collection of family portraits from which his driver selected an image. What led the driver to choose this painting? Did he know of its original purpose and appreciate the ways it resonated with his own needs? Certainly drivers had greater knowledge of their masters’ lives and personalities than did other slaves. These skilled and highly valued individuals held a privileged place in the plantation labor system; after the war Manigault recalled this driver was a “Negro . . . of confidence & influence,” as drivers “were generally supposed to be.” The Manigaults’ drivers worked closely



16 Thomas Sully, *Charles Izard Manigault*, 1817, oil on canvas, 34½ × 26¾ in. (87.6 × 67.6 cm). Gibbes Museum of Art, Charleston, 1956.004.0023 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Gibbes Museum of Art/Carolina Art Association)

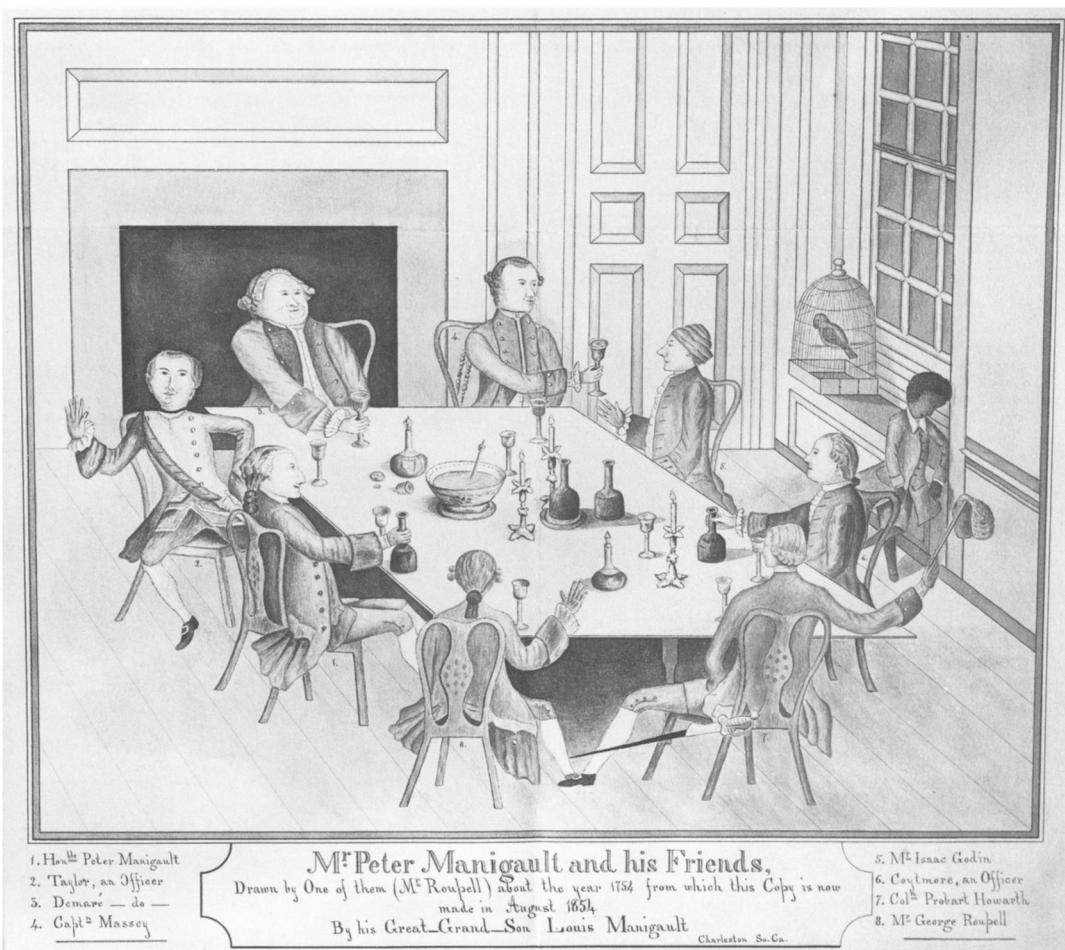
with white overseers; they assumed authority for the plantation when the overseer was away and were responsible for assigning labor—breaking slaves into gangs, determining the amount of work they completed in a day, and deciding when they could stop. Enslaved, yet managers of slaves themselves, drivers occupied a difficult intermediary role that only became harder to negotiate as enslaved people resisted authority with greater force in the war years. The Manigault slave who committed suicide did so in front of a driver who had threatened to punish him rather than wait for the overseer to return. Another Manigault driver, “Driver John,” helped to apprehend and physically restrain several of the rebellious runaways who eventually were moved to Silk Hope. The Manigaults’ white overseer noted that “Driver John” was a “Man of great importance to us, and [as] he stands much in need of a new pair of boots, & a



**17** Scene in the Parlor of Mr. Barnwell's House at Beaufort, South Carolina, *Harper's Weekly*, January 18, 1862, cover. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the American Antiquarian Society)

Coat & Common hat," he asked the Manigaults to provide them. For at least one driver who had been forced to keep a tight rein on fellow slaves, such small gifts proved insufficient as he faced freedom. Choosing, displaying in his own home, and then giving away Manigault's portrait gave this driver a feeling of control over his former master that he no doubt relished. The driver's unprecedented power over his master's image was likely all the sweeter for Manigault's imperious expression in his portrait.<sup>56</sup>

This instance of iconoclasm furnishes a particularly rich source for recovering enslaved men's and women's visual acuity and material knowledge. The driver's actions clarify that African Americans may not have owned fire screens or portraits under slavery, but as soon as the opportunity presented itself, some freedmen knew what to do with them and how to deftly reinvest them with their own meanings. The men and women enslaved at Silk Hope demonstrated their visual competency when they redirected portraits' ability to establish identity and to sustain ties of friendship, for themselves. As Manigault reported in disbelief, his driver instructed the "freedwoman... 'that she must take this portrait home with her, to remember him!!'" Manigault recorded only that the woman "visit[ed]... from a distant plantation"; we cannot know her identity or the exact relationship she had with the driver. Given the emotional connection that the driver evidently felt, she could have been a mother, sister, daughter, or perhaps a former wife or lover who had been sold away or moved to a different plantation. Whatever their relationship, the freedwoman decided to visit Silk Hope, but not to stay. Freedom gave her the opportunity to travel, but she returned to the site of her enslavement; there could have been a family back at home, perhaps with a new husband. Manigault's portrait helped to ease the pain of separation experienced in slavery, but it could not reverse it.<sup>57</sup>



**18** Louis Manigault, after George Roupell, *Mr. Peter Manigault and His Friends*, 1854, wash and ink on paper, 12 x 13½ in. (30.5 x 34.3 cm). Gibbes Museum of Art, Charleston, 1968.005.0001 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Gibbes Museum of Art/Carolina Art Association)

Viewed against the backdrop of African Americans' creative use of portraits, enslaved men's and women's treatment of their masters' broad range of possessions begins to gain new resonances. Icons of the slave South extended beyond paintings to encompass other expensive artifacts that similarly enacted planters' supremacy. Across the South, enslaved iconoclasts concentrated their violence on expensive pieces of furniture, such as pianos and beds, as well as books and papers: the objects that had given their masters a claim to polite society. They drew on long-standing and intimate knowledge of planters' possessions in order to discern which high-status objects to attack, often acting with a swiftness that shocked their former owners. In Beaufort, for example, slaveholder Thomas Elliott left his home on November 6, 1861. When he returned, only a day later, he discovered "Chloe," an enslaved woman, "seated at Phoebe's piano playing away like the very Devil," while two other young women "danc[ed]...away famously" upstairs.<sup>8</sup> All three women leaped at the opportunity to partake in long-forbidden activities reserved only for white women in the household: to press the piano's keys and to dance in the master's house.

Though riddled by racist stereotyping, an artist's sketch included in *Harper's Weekly* in 1862 purports to show just such an event, *Scene in the Parlor of Mr. Barnwell's House at Beaufort, South Carolina* (Fig. 17). In the etching, a group of former slaves inhabits the parlor of a house owned by members of an elite Beaufort family. While two men lounge on the upholstered furniture, most of the figures collect around the piano. One man pounds his fists on the keys (his sheet music upside down in front of him) while a boy sings along (also holding his music upside down). A fiddler seated atop the piano accompanies them. The artworks, notably, remain on the walls. One of the paintings, a naval scene, references the recent naval victory and Union invasion of the city. The second is an oval portrait of a young white woman

who appears to look askance at the scene below, witnessing the appropriation of her own parlor and piano, and perhaps her clothes: a black child dons a bonnet that appears to have been made for a fashionable woman, along with a formal coat. The tune the freedmen have selected from her music collection is “Dixie’s Land,” a minstrel song turned anthem of the Confederate South, which is now literally inverted; this is a world turned upside down where minstrel characters reign in Southern houses instead of on the stage.<sup>59</sup>

An image intended to incite white readers’ outrage, the *Harper’s Weekly* illustration captured a common phenomenon of “Negro balls” and parties in which African Americans reenacted elite culture in modes of performance similar to the mimicry they unleashed on paintings. Like Beaufort resident Thomas Elliott, those former slaveholders whose homes became the site of such gatherings were shocked at freedmen’s and -women’s instant restaging of Southern planters’ entertainments. Masters overlooked the knowledge that enslaved domestic servants gained during the hours that they assisted at such extravagant celebrations. Louis Manigault’s copy of an earlier sketch of his ancestor, *Mr. Peter Manigault and His Friends* (Fig. 18), provides a vivid reminder of enslaved people’s constant attendance on such rituals. In it we see a party of Southern bucks entertaining themselves in a well-appointed dining room, their drinking accoutrements arrayed before them. A young liveried male slave slouches against the window seat, attempting to sleep while still standing at the ready to serve. We can imagine at how many such events enslaved domestics waited and watched before they could seize the opportunity to partake in similar rituals. No one knew better how these events were supposed to proceed.<sup>60</sup>

#### AFFECTIVE ARTIFACTS

Like most of his Confederate brethren, Charles Izard Manigault underestimated enslaved peoples’ visual and material competency. This blindness also led white planters to overlook the emotions their artworks and material possessions engendered for some African Americans. Whereas white planters frequently associated expensive objects with positive feelings—their financial success, ancestral legacy, or quest for social status—these same goods triggered vastly different affects for the men and women they enslaved. For bondpeople, domestic interiors were not places of comfort where fine art could be savored but sites of hard work and, all too often, locations where violence and heart-wrenching grief coalesced to impact the ways that enslaved men, women, and children located emotions in their masters’ possessions.<sup>61</sup> An account of Cuban bondman Juan Francisco Manzano’s response to his mistress’s expensive furniture gives a sense of how visual and material culture could structure negative affect. After being brutally punished for slight infractions against his mistress, Manzano was returned to her. He found that his “heart was so oppressed... I had no comfort except in weeping: my mistress observing it, and to prevent my crying so much... ordered me to... clean all the furniture, tables, [and] chairs.” Since she wanted this done “every half-hour,” Manzano spent his days polishing mahogany furniture “whether it was dusty or not” and recalled, “All my liveliness disappeared.”<sup>62</sup>

For Manzano, his mistress’s furniture filled him with anguish, reminding him of his oppressive treatment and the endless labor that awaited him. Those enslaved domestics who dusted paintings’ frames, placed netting over the works each spring to keep them free of insects, and then cleansed canvases and gilt frames of the inevitable fly specks each fall may well have viewed portraits with similar despair. The twelve-year-old house slave Monday of Louisiana likely associated his master’s dining goods with physical pain and fear. As his master recorded, when Monday’s lupus caused his nose to drip onto the dinner napkins his enraged mistress whipped him. Unable to control his chronic illness, Monday faced the napkins

each day with the fear of what would happen should his nose again soil the snowy linen. Iconoclasm offered the possibility for enslaved people's emotional release: they could, for the first time, respond to their affective experiences of everyday items. Destroying mahogany furniture, ripping apart napkins, or puncturing a painting gave an enslaved person like Monday control over those objects that had brought him so much trouble. Material things' affective potential enabled African Americans to seek revenge for their former powerlessness through iconoclasm, and there was joy for some freedmen in knowing they had rid themselves of *all* objects tainted by their association with slavery. As one freedwoman reported proudly, "I aint got nothin ah had in slaver[y] time; not a thing."<sup>63</sup>

Whereas many newly emancipated African Americans selected destruction when confronted with artifacts that induced shame, sparked anger, or spurred grief, others chose preservation. Laura Haviland, a white woman who traveled to Tennessee to aid the state's freedmen, interviewed a newly freed woman identified only as Jule. As the Union Army approached, Jule's mistress (like many others) attempted to convince her slaves to claim the family's property as their own so that the troops would not confiscate it. According to Jule, her mistress beseeched her, "If they fine that trunk o' money or silver plate" (likely silver dining goods) "you'll say it's your'n won't you?" The enslaved woman refused: "Mistress, I can't lie over that; you bo't that silver plate when you sole my three children." Whereas Jule knew well which of the goods she interacted with on a daily basis had been purchased with the sale of her children, her mistress did not remember. The mistress's easy conflation of African Americans with property is attested by her assigning of a name for a luxury good (a jewel) to an enslaved woman (Jule). For the white owner her silver signaled her aspirations for gentility, not the fact that her enslaved maid had suffered the sale of her family members. Yet, given the opportunity, Jule declined to take the silver plate. Incredulous, Haviland asked, "Didn't you think you ought to have it?" The former slave responded, "O no, I couldn't touch it. It was part o' my poor dear children; but I didn't want mistress to keep it. I was glad to see it go to [the] gov'ment."<sup>64</sup> If Manigault protected his painted ancestors, then Jule let her children, in the form of her mistress's silver, go, envisioning them perhaps as sacrifices for African Americans' freedom or as troops fighting for the Union cause. Wherever Jule's children were now, they would soon be free.

Jule's hatred for her mistress's silver was so strong that she refused to take these artifacts that embodied her loss, but other enslaved men and women reclaimed masters' possessions as a means to emotionally connect with their lost loved ones. This process is reimagined in Maya Angelou's 1998 film *Down in the Delta*, written by Myron Goble. The film hinges on the fictional story of a silver candelabra taken by a former bondman from his master's house after the war that is cherished by generations of an African American family. It is not until the end of the film that the audience discovers the reason for the object's mysterious name. The candelabra is named Nathan after the family's primogenitor, who was sold at auction in front of his young son in exchange for the silver article. Once it became clear that he would never see his father again, even after freedom, Nathan's son accepted the candelabra as a stand-in for his lost parent. Here, the artifact acquired by the heartless master that replaced the family's founder ended up as an icon of the family's strength that transcended the man Nathan's lifetime. The objects that African Americans used during slavery or took from slaveholders once freedom came remained similarly imprinted with conflicted emotions and memories that congealed in the material world. As an interviewer discovered in Louisiana in the twentieth century, former bondwoman Martha Stuart could still produce the wooden chest, bench, silver gilt spoon, and fork that she preserved from her enslavement.<sup>65</sup>

One South Carolina family, whose ancestors were enslaved by the prominent Middletons, held on to and carefully repaired a seemingly mundane item originally used for

plantation work: a flour or seed sack. In the twentieth century a descendant embroidered a family history on the 1850s textile recording its importance. She recounted that her “great grandmother Rose” gave the sack to Rose’s daughter Ashley “when she was sold at age 9.” The sack held a few items: “a tattered dress[,] 3 handfuls of pecans[,] a braid of Rose[’]s hair.” More important, Rose told Ashley, “It be filled with…Love always / she never saw her again.” For an enslaved mother desperate to connect with her absent daughter and a lonely nine-year-old separated from her family forever, a utilitarian artifact like a flour sack could be repurposed to unite distant relatives in a matter similar to Manigault’s painting. The stories of Rose, Jule, and Nathan highlight the affective presence of artifacts. Masters’ portraits and their goods, even objects as ordinary as a flour sack, produced emotions in enslaved people both during slavery and after freedom, and those feelings were often profoundly personal and powerful. When they made decisions about what to do with their former masters’ possessions, freedmen and -women took into account their own long histories with those objects and their unique status as property turned iconoclasts.<sup>66</sup>

#### THE FIRE OF RETRIBUTION

When considered in light of artifacts’ affective potential, the choice to remake Daniel Ward’s portrait into a fire screen gains new associations. Like most African Americans in the city of Charleston, the unidentified McGillivray slave was likely a Methodist or Baptist, as these denominations attracted the greatest numbers of African Americans in the city. For members of these Protestant faiths, fire held strong biblical associations with hell and retribution that may have appealed to former bondpeople. The fire screen’s maker may have shared the sentiments of a former Louisiana slave who predicted that her overseer, whom she labeled “de ole devil,” was “in hell now burnin” for his crimes, which included whipping an enslaved woman who refused to have sex with her master when her husband ran away to join the Union Army. The woman concluded, “ah know he aint in heaven. Cause God don’t want him.” The fire screen might have reminded freedmen and -women of the eternal fire they anticipated cruel masters and overseers would find in the afterlife. For many newly emancipated African Americans, Christian faith and political sentiment seamlessly reinforced one another, making their iconoclasm simultaneously political and religious acts. Freed slaves hoped that Confederate defeat would usher in a new biblical era of retribution. As one freedwoman exulted, “Oh yes, God’s gonna sit dis world on fiah.” An elderly bondman at a South Carolina plantation wanted to see that fire in person. Pointing to his master’s house he urged a Union soldier to burn it, enjoining, “Look [at] my ole legs stiff weak workin in de field. My work help build dis house. We make massa rich—now burnt him burn him. Is’e wants to see him burn.” Williams Middleton’s slaves got their wish, as some assisted Union soldiers in setting their master’s house aflame.<sup>67</sup>

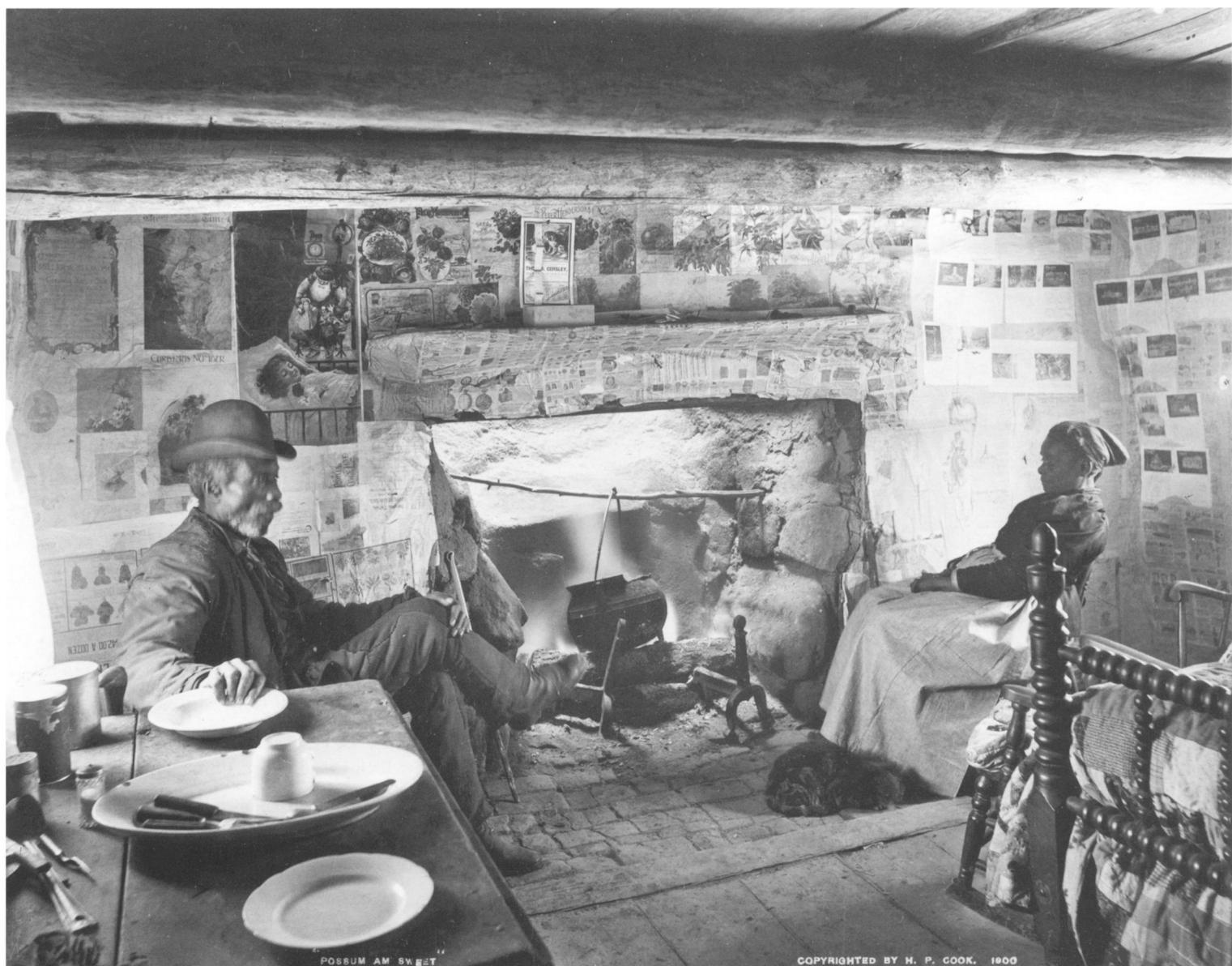
The fire screen offered a newly freedman or -woman a tempting opportunity to inflict harm not only on a master’s house but also on a proxy for a white body, answering his or her need for retaliation against violence performed on the enslaved. South Carolina legally mandated severe punishments for slaves, which included burning enslaved men and women alive for rebellious crimes such as murdering whites, and several enslaved African Americans were executed by fire in the nineteenth century. Outside the courts, some masters used fire as a form of privately administered execution intended to frighten other slaves into obedience. Years later a freedwoman from Louisiana recalled how her master “tuk one slave and stick pine knots through him and set him on fire, dat’s the truth, ah knew dey done it, cause dey had the slaves go dere and see it.” During the Civil War, one incensed slave owner “threatened to burn all his slaves rather than let the Yankees have them.” Masters more commonly used fire as a weapon

against enslaved people's freedom by branding slaves' cheeks or arms as a sign of ownership or as punishment for running away. Whereas cabinetmaker Thomas Sheraton instructed that a fire screen should "shelter the [user's] face or legs from the fire," a freedman or -woman may have envisioned his or her former master's depiction (and, by extension, his body) instead being left to roast over the fire's heat. Earlier, Englishmen in Radwinter had incorporated fire within their iconoclasm. After whipping the religious canvases taken from a church, they "burnt them and ro[a]sted the ro[a]st... and [they] sayd if you be Gods deliver your selves." Daniel Ward's burning was slower, yet just as symbolically laden. The user, and any other visitors who shared in the warmth of the fire, likely knew that proximity to the flames would discolor the painting (covered or not) and that the young white Daniel Ward was slowly blackening while the fire screen's user sat safely protected.<sup>68</sup>

Though Christianity shaped slaves' iconoclasm, lingering African spiritual practices might also have impacted enslaved men's and women's aesthetic actions. The persistence of African cultural traditions in the Carolina Low Country lends strength to the likelihood that Vodun-inspired beliefs motivated some black iconoclasts. Certainly, African rituals endured in many forms in the Upper South, but on the Sea Islands and in the coastal regions of South Carolina and Georgia, enslaved people remained culturally distinctive to a great extent. Gullah, the name given to both this group of African Americans and their distinctive speech and culture that retained strong ties to African models, permeated African Americans' traditions around Charleston. Writing in the 1840s, Charles C. Jones, a Presbyterian missionary to the Sea Islands of Georgia, described the way these groups clung to African religious beliefs, noting, "The superstitions brought from Africa have not been wholly laid aside." The Gullah believed "in second-sight, in apparitions, charms, witchcraft, and in a kind of irresistible Satanic influence," which included the use of charms to "remove sickness or to mediate revenge of enemies, or in the midst of dangers, preserve the person invulnerable."<sup>69</sup>

Because former bondpeople practiced African-derived rituals in secret beyond white eyes, the evidence of Vodun is necessarily scarce, besides being chronologically and geographically dispersed. However, enough clues remain to suggest that the destruction of artworks might have been part of religious ceremonies in which African Americans sought to wrest power from a Christian object and to harness it for their own spiritual benefit. The former Virginia slave Olaudah Equiano later recorded his perception of a portrait as an artifact with spiritual power. As he related, Equiano "observed a picture hanging in the room [of his master's house], which appeared constantly to look at me." He was "affrighted, having never seen such things as these before." Despite its unfamiliarity, however, Equiano speculated that the portrait was "something relative to magic; and not seeing it move I thought it might be some way the whites had to keep their great men when they died, and offer them libations as we used to do to our friendly spirits."<sup>70</sup> Well schooled in the ancestral worship found in many African cultures, Equiano extrapolated how the portrait might be used within an African spiritual world. Enslaved people familiar with Vodun may have similarly deemed portraits to be powerful artifacts and absconded with them in the hopes of re-dedicating the portraits' spiritual force toward their new black owners. This may explain the unidentified bondperson's decision to reuse the portrait as an artifact kept close to the fire, since in Vodun heat activated artifacts' power.<sup>71</sup>

The act of covering Daniel Ward's portrait with newspaper can be likened to rituals in Vodun in which practitioners bind a charm with cloth or cords in order to harness the object's power. Alternatively, within Vodun the practice of covering can be related to containment in which a dangerous spirit is trapped and rendered harmless. In this scenario, plastering



19 H. P. Cook, *Possum am Sweet*, 1898, photograph, 8 × 10 in. (20.3 × 25.4 cm). The Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, 1439 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Valentine, <https://thevalentine.org>)

newspaper over Daniel Ward's portrait offered a means to ensure that his descendants would no longer seek to control their former property. Fire, too, within African spiritual traditions is associated with vengeance; a freedman or -woman could have retaliated against the McGillivray family by subjecting their ancestor to the flames, thus hoping to earn protection for themselves from the McGillivrays' evil spirits and/or to engender misery in the planter family. One former Louisiana slave recalled in the twentieth century, "To kill by voodoo, the conjurer has a photograph of the victim which he buries face downward while burning a black candle. The victim will die a horrible death as the picture fades." The fire screen relied on a similar logic of a covered image placed before a flame that slowly discolored the likeness, perhaps in this way enabling a former bondperson in South Carolina to disarm the icon or redirect its power for retribution.<sup>72</sup>

An unidentified African American's decision to make the Ward portrait into a screen that stood between the fireplace and the user also might have been influenced by the Gullahs' long-standing fear of supernatural beings and the need to protect family members from them within their dwellings. In particular, Gullah residents of the Sea Islands warned against hags, vampirelike creatures who took possession of an unsuspecting person's skin, but who shed that skin each night in order to gather more power from sleeping victims, and then returned to the

skin each morning. Hags were associated with fireplaces, one of the major points of entry in the house. Indeed, in the twentieth century one Sea Islander related a traditional story about a family of hags who each night applied a special ointment from a jar sitting on the mantel and then could “fly through the chimbley.”<sup>73</sup>

Because hags might gain access to a house through any crack, however small, covering all openings afforded inhabitants protection against otherworldly threats. Newspaper presented a ready remedy; hags could be waylaid by their desire to read each scrap of newsprint, in the same way that they could be distracted by straw brooms placed by the door because they had to count each bristle. As one Gullah descendant recalled in the 1930s, “newspaper under one’s pillow at night will keep away [a] hag.” A newspaper-covered fire screen thus offered African Americans a bulwark against hostile spiritual forces at a critical opening in the house where they were vulnerable to attack. A photograph of a Virginia slave cabin-turned-freedman’s house taken in the second half of the nineteenth century documents African Americans’ application of printed materials to the walls around the fireplace (Fig. 19). The plethora of pages from illustrated magazines, advertisements, and newspapers that the residents pasted over the mantel and against the sides of the fireplace likely helped to shield them from the wind that whistled in between the chinks of brick and clay. But this display—like the Charleston fire screen—also might have defended the residents against supernatural forces.<sup>74</sup>

#### ACTS OF ERASURE

Because our reconstruction of enslaved people’s iconoclasm comes primarily through the reminiscences of white masters, to some extent their aesthetic acts remain tantalizingly hidden. Most of the instances of iconoclasm discussed here are recoverable only because of the multigenerational efforts undertaken by Southern elites to wrest visual control back from African Americans. Charles Izard Manigault went to tremendous lengths to reassemble his portrait collection. The freedwoman who received a portrait from Manigault’s driver had “carried it away with her by the river, & by land a distance of thirty miles from Silk Hope.” Manigault noted that it was only “With much trouble & some travelling” that he was finally able to “trace . . . her afterwards.” To locate his paintings, Manigault must have interviewed many freedmen and -women, his own former slaves and those once enslaved by neighboring planters, and bargained with them to great success. He was pleased to report in 1867, two years after the war’s conclusion, “I [now] have my four ancestors safe & in pretty good condition.” Copley’s portrait of the Izards regained pride of place to hang “conspicuously in our drawing room surrounded by our numerous family portraits.” Stories passed down through the generations of former slaveholders recovering paintings from freedmen became one more means for white Southerners to reassert their power over African Americans. For his part, Manigault exulted that his Copley portrait was “as fresh & beautiful as ever, and admired by all.” The Civil War eliminated slavery but it could not change white Southerners’ desire to uphold the cultural ideals of their slave-holding ancestors through the display of their likenesses.<sup>75</sup>

Of course, when freedmen or -women saved portraits of their former masters, white planters were willing to accept their acts of iconophilia as proof of the same visual knowledge that they denied African Americans possessed in other circumstances. According to family legend, a slave recognized a portrait of North Carolina planter Charles Lewis Hinton as it was paraded through the streets on the bayonet of a Union soldier and rescued the painting, keeping it safe until he could present it to the family on their return after the war. Williams Middleton proudly reported that his former slaves “were honest enough voluntarily to restore

to me" those paintings that had not been destroyed. So, too, former Lee slave and house-keeper Selena Gray safeguarded artifacts associated with George Washington that had been left behind at Lee's plantation Arlington House (Lee married Mary Custis, Washington's great-granddaughter). Gray successfully petitioned the military to stop the destruction and looting of Washington relics at Arlington House, and the objects were removed to the Patent Office for safety. After the war, tales of African Americans' heroism in guarding their former masters' possessions held greater appeal for a reunited white audience than stories of African American destruction.<sup>76</sup>

Whereas the complex range of emotional responses of former bondpeople to their master's artworks are difficult to recover within the historical record, white Southerners made their own political motivations clear, both in their retelling of slaves' destruction and their preservation of visual and material artifacts after the war. Louis Manigault shared his father's strategy of marshaling visual culture to restore his family's lost identity. Manigault found work as a clerk in a Charleston counting house, but he never forgot his life as a Southern rice planter and slave owner. Like other former Confederates, Manigault compiled several nostalgic scrapbooks. These volumes united legal documents with ephemera: a list of slaves with names, ages, and skills who were sold in Charleston on January 13, 1859; his runaway advertisement for Dolly; as well as an engraved portrait of Jefferson Davis, its pristine condition belying the iconoclasm waged against a similar image by Union troops. Such scrapbooks, with their collections of documents and visual artifacts, served to keep alive the former social status of Confederate supporters and the glory of the plantation South.<sup>77</sup>

Not content to assemble ephemera, white Southerners also sought to manipulate painted surfaces. In his old age, Charles Izard Manigault dreamed of taking his damaged portrait back to Paris, where he had had Theus's paintings conserved before the war, and asking artists there to restore it so that "my children may see by it what their old Father looked like in his youth."<sup>78</sup> A member of the McGillivray family shared his desire. After the McGillivrays' son reclaimed Daniel Ward's depiction, an unknown family member took it to a private conservator, likely in the early decades of the twentieth century. As that conservator painstakingly removed evidence of smoke damage from Ward's portrait, he or she fulfilled Manigault's wish for his own painting. By eradicating the physical traces of an African American owner's brief tenancy—the Ward portrait's former life as a fire screen—the unknown conservator, however well intentioned, committed his or her own act of iconoclasm. Privileging one moment in the painting's history over another, he or she irreversibly cleaned the canvas. This physical removal of lingering newsprint and darkened varnish facilitated a more metaphoric cleansing that freed the painting from its problematic association with African American agency and Confederate defeat. Williams Middleton eloquently described the feelings that Benjamin West's damaged depiction of his ancestors conjured after the war (Fig. 4): "It seems more in sympathy in its tattered condition with the crushed and shattered hearts & hopes of all those . . . under my roof, and possesses more suggestive power . . . than I had supposed possible in an inanimate object of that kind." In the first years after the conflict, the McGillivray family might have suffered similar regret as they gazed on Daniel Ward's painting. However, within a few decades, they—like Charles Izard Manigault and even Williams Middleton, who eventually sent his painting to Philadelphia to be conserved—were eager to "smarten" up the canvas. Conservation allowed the McGillivray family to use the painting once again to assert their social prominence and helped to restore a narrative of former slaveholders' power. Wiped clean of enslaved people's acts of iconoclasm, such portraits became available for white Southerners to attach a story of a lost chivalrous past.<sup>79</sup>

It is this context that continues to frame contemporary viewers' experience of the Daniel Ward painting, now in the collection of the Museum of Early Southern Decorative

Arts in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Surrounded by artifacts once owned by Southern elites, the portrait testifies to a historical white owner's gentility. Part of an installation of Southern "masterworks," it has garnered new political importance in MESDA's mission to assert the aesthetic quality of Southern artifacts in a Northern-dominated antiques world, an attitude captured most famously by Joseph Downs, then curator of the American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, who quipped in 1949 that "little of artistic merit was made south of Baltimore." Intended as a rebuke to such claims, the painting now stands on its artistic merits alone. The label makes no mention of the portrait's temporary ownership by a former slave or its use as a fire screen, leaving visitors unaware of this portion of the artifact's history and the ideological conflict that played out through its shifting form. The Ward portrait's newly conserved pristine surface and its smiling white subject defy association with blackness in any form, whether the vestiges of smoke or the color of black skin.<sup>80</sup> A fire screen, two scratched canvases, a spoon, a flour sack—these scant visual and material remains gesture toward strategies of resistance that shaped enslaved people's lives and informed freedmen's and -women's affective and aesthetic responses to freedom. Iconoclasm emerges as a strategy employed by both white and black Southerners to privilege some stories and aesthetic actions and to erase others. As Ward's depiction hangs resplendent in a museum gallery alongside other possessions of the pre-Civil War planter elite, only his dog, with its strangely human eye, retains any trace of darkness.

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#### NOTES

I had the pleasure to work on this article while a postdoctoral fellow at the National Portrait Gallery/Smithsonian American Art Museum (2015–16). Sincere thanks are due to my collaborators there: Gwendolyn DuBois Shaw, Brandon Fortune, Amelia Goerlitz, Eleanor Harvey, Ellen Miles, Dorothy Moss, Asma Naeem, Wendy Wick Reaves, Julia Rosenbaum, E. Bruce Robertson, William Truettner, Tobias Wofford, and the SAAM predoctoral fellows, particularly Caitlin Beach, Layla Bermeo, Emily Casey, Ruthie Dibble, and Ashley Lazevnick. Questions and comments on an early version of the paper from participants in the University of Delaware Center for Material Culture Studies' Survivor Objects symposium were charitable and helpful. I am grateful to Daniel Ackerman (MESDA) and Mary Edna Sullivan (Middleton Place) for their generosity with research materials. Thanks are also due to Wendy Bellion, Bernard Herman, Christian J. Koot, Lauren Lessing, Maurie McInnis, Louis Nelson, John Ott, Nina Roth-Wells, Ellen Todd, and the anonymous readers for *The Art Bulletin*.

1. For John Wollaston's portrait of Daniel Ward and its family history, see Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts (MESDA), Winston-Salem, NC, object file 3351; and Daniel Ackerman, associate curator, MESDA, e-mail with author, August 7, 2014. The condition report strengthens this provenance, as the heat caused the pigments to discolor and resulted in heavy losses and darkened paint in some areas, which were still visible on the painting until recent conservation efforts. For the Union bombardment,

see W. Chris Phelps, *The Bombardment of Charleston, 1863–1865* (Gretna, LA: Pelican, 1999), 132–33. The owner of the painting at the time of the Civil War lived at 10 Atlantic Street, Charleston, and was likely Alexander Chandler McGillivray, a slave broker and auctioneer, or perhaps William McGillivray, who also lived at that address. Unfortunately, little information can be found about either the members of the McGillivray family or their slaves. The family rented out the property at the time of the 1861 census, and by 1870 only one African American woman, Sarah Pinckney, remained working as a paid domestic; she is listed as illiterate. See J. H. Bagget, *Directory for the City of Charleston, for the Year 1852* (Charleston: J. H. Bagget, 1851), 79; Frederick A. Ford, *Census of the City of Charleston, South Carolina, for the Year 1861* (Charleston, 1861), accessible through "Documenting the American South," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/imls/census/census.html>; and United States Census, "United States Census, 1870," database with images, FamilySearch, accessed July 24, 2015, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:M8RW-VFR>.

2. Terminology becomes confusing since freedom came to different individuals at different times. Many men and women who were legally free after the Emancipation Proclamation continued to be held in bondage. I employ the term "enslaved" because it asserts the person's humanity and highlights that his or her bondage was involuntary. For narrative flow I also use "bondpeople," and occasionally "slave," to highlight period understandings of the racialized institution.

3. For the recent expanded definition of iconoclasm, see especially Stacy Boldrick, "Introduction: Breaking Images," in *Striking Images, Iconoclasts Past and Present*, ed. Boldrick, Leslie Brubaker, and Richard Clay (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), 1–12, esp. 2; and Stacy Boldrick and Richard Clay, introduction to *Iconoclasm: Contested Objects, Contested Terms*, ed. Boldrick and Clay (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007), 8–14. I am mindful of Walter Johnson's critique of scholars' sometimes ahistorical use of the terms *agency* and *resistance*; Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (Autumn 2003): 113–24.
4. "The Dark Iconoclast," *Harper's Weekly*, March 25, 1865, 178a. For this incident and slaves' actions in Charleston, see Maurie D. McInnis, *The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 327–32. For John C. Calhoun's importance in Charleston, see Thomas J. Brown, *Civil War Canon: Sites of Confederate Memory in South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 63–67; and McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 151–59.
5. The best account of enslaved people's destruction comes from Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980). While most scholars have overlooked slaves' iconoclasm, an important exception is Maurie D. McInnis. I build on her work here. McInnis, "Raphaelle Peale's *Still Life with Oranges*: Status, Ritual, and the Illusion of Mastery," in *Material Culture in Anglo-America: Regional Identity and Urbanity in the Tidewater, Lowcountry, and Caribbean*, ed. David S. Shields (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 324–25; and idem, *Politics of Taste*, 327–32.
6. *New York Tribune*, November 20, 1861, quoted in Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (1964; reprint, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 107.
7. For self-emancipation, see especially Ira Berlin et al., *Slaves No More: Three Essays on Emancipation and the Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); and Ira Berlin, "Emancipation and Its Meaning in American Life," *Reconstruction* 2, no. 3 (1994): 35–44. For the messiness of emancipation, see Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2014); and Patrick Rael, *Eighty-Eight Years: The Long Death of Slavery in the United States* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015).
8. Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 115–206; and Dylan C. Penningroth, *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
9. An editorial in the *Charleston Courier* (August 4, 1860) referred to the inexpensive houses in Charleston Neck as "negro huts," recalling the McGillivray family member's reference. See McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 190, and, for a description of this neighborhood, 190–94.
10. For the Civil War's impact on Northern artists, see Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War and American Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2012), 1–16. For looting by Northern troops, see Joan E. Cashin, "Trophies of War: Material Culture in the Civil War Era," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 1, no. 3 (September 2011): 339–67, esp. 339, 344; Dana Byrd, "Loot, Occupy, Rebuild: The Plantation during the Civil War," in *The Civil War and the Material Culture of Texas, the Lower South, and the Southwest* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2012), 57–85, esp. 60–65; and J. Grahame Long, *Stolen Charleston: The Spoils of War* (Charleston: History Press, 2014). For artifacts taken from and returned to Arlington House, see *Museum Collections: Arlington House, the Robert E. Lee Memorial* (Hatboro, PA: Eastern National for National Park Service, 2008).
11. "The Dark Iconoclast," 178a; and William Quayle, *A Hero and Some Other Folks* (Cincinnati: Western Methodist Book Concern, 1900), 182–83. An author in *Harper's Weekly* labeled Thomas Carlyle a "terrible iconoclast" who "shattered 'shams' on every side." *Harper's Weekly* 11, no. 11 (1865): 708–9. See also *OED Online*, s.v. "iconoclast, n. (and adj.)" accessed February 1, 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/90890>. Charles [Izard] Manigault, "Description of Our Family Portraits, (& Others)," in "Description of Paintings at No. 6 Gibbes Street, Charleston, So. Ca., the Property of Charles Manigault, 1867," MS, Gibbes Museum of Art, Charleston, transcribed by Scott Zetouer and edited by Alex Moore of the University of South Carolina Press, 13.
12. Harriett Cheves Leland and Harlan Greene, "Robbing the Owner or Saving the Property from Destruction?": Paintings in the Middleton Place House," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 78, no. 2 (April 1977): 92–103; Henry Orlando Marcy, Diary of Dr. Henry Orlando Marcy, entries for February 23, 1865, April 11, 1865, photocopies in the curatorial office, Middleton Place Foundation, Charleston; and idem, "Autobiography of Henry Orlando Marcy" (provided by Henry Orlando Marcy IV), copies at Middleton Place Foundation.
13. Kate Stone, *Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone 1861–1868*, ed. John Q. Anderson (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), 203, 200. See also Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 141, and for similar examples, 123–41.
14. For the politically charged use of the term *vandalism* versus *iconoclasm*, see Dario Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 22; and A. H. Merrills, "The Origins of 'Vandalism,'" *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 16, no. 2 (June 2009): 155–75. My effort to revisit the complex motivations of iconoclasts dovetails with scholars' interest in recovering the resistance of subaltern peoples. See Matthew Liebmann, *Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th Century New Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 11–13.
15. For Southerners' wartime fears of their slaves, see Marli F. Weiner, *Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830–1880* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 167–70. Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on the State of Virginia," in *The Portable Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Penguin Books, 1975), 188; and Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime*, trans. John T. Goldthwaite (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 638. Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 102–4, points out Kant's indebtedness to David Hume's earlier arguments on race.
16. For the undermining of the Confederacy from within by slaves, see especially Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 5.
17. Bruno Latour, "What Is Iconoclasm? Or Is There a World beyond the Image Wars?" in *Iconoclasm: Beyond the Image Wars in Science, Religion and Art*, ed. Latour and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002), 14–37, esp. 14–15. John Peffer makes a similar point about the struggle to possess and make art in apartheid South Africa. Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), xvii.
18. Carolyn J. Weekley, *Painters and Paintings in the Early American South* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2013), 226–47; and Jennifer Van Horn, "The Mask of Civility: Portraits of Colonial Women and the Transatlantic Masquerade," *American Art* 23, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 8–35.
19. Maurie D. McInnis, "Picture Mania: Collectors and Collecting in Charleston," in *Pursuit of Refinement: Charlestonians Abroad 1740–1860*, by McInnis and Angela Mack (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 39–54; and idem, *Politics of Taste*, 300–307. On British display of portraits, see Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 13–36; and Kate Redford, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2006), 149–86. For an American context, see Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 10.
20. Maurie D. McInnis, "An Idea of Grandeur": Furnishing the Classical Interior in Charleston, 1815–1840," *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 3 (1999): 32–47; and idem, *Politics of Taste*, 308–9. For the McGillivrays' trades, see Bagget, *Directory for the City of Charleston, for the Year 1852*, 79; and *Charleston City Directory* (Charleston, 1872). The McGillivray house (ca. 1769) at 10 Atlantic Avenue survives. See "Atlantic Street," Charleston County Public Library, accessed June 25, 2015, <http://ccpl.org/content.asp?id=15617&action=detail&catID=6025&parentID=5747#10>.
21. For Charles Izard Manigault's art collection, see McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 308–11. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 5–9, 17–18. For Copley's portrait, see Maurie D. McInnis, "Cultural Politics, Colonial Crisis, and Ancient Metaphor in John Singleton Copley's *Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard*," *Winterthur Portfolio* 34 (Summer–Autumn 1999): 85–108; and Theodore E. Stebbins Jr., "An American Despite Himself," in *John Singleton Copley in America*, by Carrie Rebora Barratt et al. (New York: Harry N. Abrams for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 79–101, esp. 95–96. For West's portrait, see McInnis and Mack, *Pursuit of Refinement*, 106–7. Claude Lorain, *Harbor Scene or Bay of Naples*, is in the collection of Middleton Place Foundation.
22. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 1, 8–9. For it-narratives, see especially Christopher Flint, "Speaking

- Objects: The Circulation of Stories in Eighteenth-Century Prose Fiction," *PMLA* 113, no. 2 (March 1998): 212–26; and Barbara M. Benedict, "The Spirit of Things," in *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Mark Blackwell (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2007), 19–40.
- Charles Fraser, "The Fine Arts: A Reply to Article X. no. LVIII, in the North American Review, entitled 'Academies of Arts,' &c. by Samuel F. B. Morse, President of the National Academy of Design, New York. G. & C. Carvill, 1828," *Southern Review* 4 (August 1829): 70–86, at 85. For Fraser's arguments in the larger debate over the South Carolina Academy of Fine Arts, see McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 147–50. For his career, see Martha R. Severens and Charles L. Wyck Jr., eds., *Charles Fraser of Charleston: Essays on the Man, His Art, and His Times* (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1983). For West's influences, see Sarah Lytle, "From Urbino to Middleton Place: The Pervasive Influence of Raphael," *Middleton Place Notebook* 5, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 2–5; and McInnis and Mack, *Pursuit of Refinement*, 106.
23. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly*, ed. Christopher G. Diller (Buffalo, NY: Broadview Editions, 2009), 20; Mary Chestnut, entry of April 13, 1861, in *Mary Chestnut's Civil War*, ed. C. Vann Woodward (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 48; and William Chambers, "Account of a Slave Auction (1853)," in *A Documentary History of Slavery in North America*, ed. Willie Lee Rose (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 150–51.
24. For the portrait of Charles Carter of Cleve, see Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed August 8, 2014, [http://wwwencyclopediavirginia.org/media\\_player?mets\\_filename=evm-00003495mets.xml](http://wwwencyclopediavirginia.org/media_player?mets_filename=evm-00003495mets.xml). For the attribution to Charles Bridges, see Graham Hood, *Charles Bridges and William Dering: Two Virginia Painters, 1735–1750* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1978), 70–73.
25. For the survival of West's painting, see David L. Olin, "The Conservation Treatment of Benjamin West's Portrait of the Middleton Family," *Collections: The Magazine of the Columbia Museum of Art & the Gibbes Planetarium* 5, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 12–18, esp. 12. Williams Middleton to Dr. Henry Orlando Marcy, n.d. [November 1867], quoted in Leland and Greene, "Robbing the Owner," 98–99. Middleton was trying to negotiate the return of several paintings that Marcy had taken from Middleton Place while staying there as a doctor in the Union Army.
26. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 8–9. Louis Manigault mentioned having "brought to Augusta [Georgia, from Charleston] some family Silver, &c. My Wife's costly portrait is also here, with my own." James M. Clifton, *Life and Labor on Argyle Island: Letters and Documents of a Savannah Rice Plantation, 1833–1867* (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1978), 323.
27. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 4.
28. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, object files for 28.126.1 and .2. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 3. I am indebted to Conservator Nina Roth-Wells for discussing these paintings with me. It is possible that the white line running from Ann Ashby Manigault's ear across her throat on the right side of the canvas is also a tear or a scratch, but it could be pentimenti related to the artist changing the line of the sitter's lace bonnet. For that reason I have omitted it from discussion. Nina Roth-Wells, conversation with author, November 9, 2016.
29. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 3, 19, 21.
30. The Middleton family used the term "mutilated" to describe West's painting of Arthur Middleton and his family. Elizabeth Izard Middleton and Joshua Francis Fisher to Williams Middleton, March 12, 1866, Middleton Place Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, photocopies in the collection of the curatorial office, Middleton Place Foundation. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 3, 19, 21.
31. For the destruction of houses and their contents as political and symbolic actions, see Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 289–92; and Governor Bernard to the Earl of Halifax, quoted in *ibid.*, 292. For the violence against Loyalists' possessions and their portraits during the American Revolution, see Katherine Rieder, "'The Remainder of Our Effects We Must Leave Behind': American Loyalists and the Meaning of Things, 1765–1800" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009), 68–80. The defacement of portraits in the American Revolution is explored by Lauren Lessing, Nina Roth-Wells, and Terri Sabatos in their essay, "In Effigy: The Maiming of Colonial Portraits during the American Revolution," in *Beyond the Face: New Perspectives on Portraiture* (London: D. Giles for the National Portrait Gallery, forthcoming).
32. For the political importance of iconoclasm aimed at portraits, see Gamboni, *Destruction of Art*, 28–32, 96. For iconoclasts' treatment of paintings or sculptures as bodies, see C. Pamela Graves, "From an Archaeology of Iconoclasm to an Anthropology of the Body: Images, Punishment, and Personhood in England, 1500–1660," *Current Anthropology* 49, no. 1 (February 2008): 35–60; Michael Taussig, *Defacement: Public Secrecy and the Labor of the Negative* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 53–55, 147; and Elizabeth Mansfield, "The New Iconoclasm," *Art Journal* 64, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 27.
33. For Kuhn's portrait, see especially Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste*, 169–74. For Southerners' association of slaves with animals and their treatment of slaves like animals, see Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1998), 271–72.
34. As Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby has noted, those opposed to the Republicans blackened Abraham Lincoln's face on a carte de visite. Grigsby, *Enduring Truths: Sojourner's Shadows and Substance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 6–7.
35. Susan Juster, "Iconoclasm without Icons? The Destruction of Sacred Objects in Colonial North America," in *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic*, ed. Linda Gregerson and Juster (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 216–37, at 223; and John Walter, "Abolishing Superstition with Sedition? The Politics of Popular Iconoclasm in England 1640–1642," *Past & Present* 183 (May 2004): 86–87. For the 1846 ban against whipping white criminals, see McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 226.
36. Po'pay's orders, as reported by a Pueblo captive of the Spanish, can be found in Matthew Liebmann, "The Innovative Materiality of Revitalization Movements: Lessons from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680," *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 3 (September 2008): 360–72, at 363. For the other period descriptions of Pueblo iconoclasm, see Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., and Charmion Clair Shelby, trans., *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*, 2 vols. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), 1:177–78, 2:230–31. For iconoclasm during the revolt, see Liebmann, *Revolt*, 60, 71–75. Of course, prior to contact with Europeans, native peoples had engaged in iconoclasm, and the Spanish wielded iconoclasm as a tool against indigenous art. See Megan E. O'Neil, "Marked Faces, Displaced Bodies: Monument Breakage and Reuse among the Classic-Period Maya," in Boldrick et al., *Striking Images*, 47–64.
37. Benjamin L. Carp, *Defiance of the Patriots: The Boston Tea Party & the Making of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 141–60; and Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 13.
38. McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 233–38; and Manigault Plantation Journal, Gowrie and East Hermitage Plantations, reproduced in Clifton, *Life and Labor on Argyle Island*, 319–20.
39. Manigault Family Papers, no. 484, vol. 4, Southern Historical Collection, Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A facsimile is viewable at <http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/plantation&CISOPTR=795>, p. 79. Deborah Willis and Barbara Krauthamer, *Envisioning Emancipation: Black Americans and the End of Slavery* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 12–14; and Rachel Hall, "Missing Dolly, Mourning Slavery: The Slave Notice as Keepsake," *Camera Obscura* 61, no. 1 (2006): 70–103. For an exploration of how masters used photographs of their slaves, see Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 60–74.
40. Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780–1865* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 78–142.
41. Manigault Family Papers, no. 484, vol. 4; and Hall, "Missing Dolly," 91–94. For the ways that the carte de visite became politically charged during the Civil War, see Grigsby, *Enduring Truths*, 3–10.
42. Charles Izard Manigault to Louis Manigault, January 18, 1861, in Clifton, *Life and Labor on Argyle Island*, 313. For the violence against portraits owned by Manigault's niece (Mrs. Charlotte Morris Manigault), see Thomas Frank Gailor, *Some Memories* (Kingsport, TN: Southern Publishers, 1937), 132. For the destruction of Jefferson Davis's portrait, see McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 255–56; and Robert E. Melvin to Jefferson Davis, July 22, 1863, in Davis, *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, vol. 9, ed. Lynda Lasswell Crist and Mary Seaton Dix (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 298–303, at 301.

43. Janet Duitsman Cornelius, "When I Can Read My Title Clear": *Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991). On Confederate fears over enslaved people's information networks, see McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning*, 228–29.
44. Period observers quoted in Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2005), 112–15, at 112; and Hilary M. Beckles, "Inside Bussa's Rebellion: Letters of Colonel John Rycroft Best," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 37, no. 2 (1984): 101–11, at 106. For an analysis of the destruction, see Robert Morris, "The 1816 Uprising—A Hell-Broth," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 46 (2000): 1–38.
45. My ideas about the ways that art produced by a dominant group can be subverted by an oppressed group through iconoclasm have been shaped by John Peffer's discussion of artists' détournement in apartheid South Africa. See Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid*, 222–23; and idem, "Censorship and Iconoclasm—Unsettling Monuments," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 48 (Autumn 2005): 45–60, esp. 45–50, 56–59.
46. For fire screens, see Thomas Sheraton, *The Cabinet Dictionary* (1803; repr. in 2 vols., New York: Praeger, 1970), 2:302. Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 117–35; and Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91, esp. 66–67.
47. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 4.
48. For a similar argument about the erasure of black bodies in the works produced by popular white artists, see Peffer, *Art and the End of Apartheid*, 223.
49. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 4. The Manigault portraits have been made smaller at some point (the top of the ovals in both paintings are missing). Originally, the central holes were likely at the bottom of the stretcher bar, which was probably used to rest the paintings on when they were hung up; otherwise the canvases would have torn. Nina Roth-Wells, conversation with author, November 9, 2016.
50. Thomas Chippendale, *The Gentleman & Cabinet-maker's Director* (1762; repr., New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 24, description of pls. CXXIV–CXXVII, 24. For examples of fire screens, see Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye, *New England Furniture: The Colonial Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 291–93. On the scarcity of newspaper, see Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 95–97.
51. My understanding of gentility has been shaped by Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992). On enslaved men's and women's consumption and challenging of gentility, see especially Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 5–62; and Ann Smart Martin, "Suckey's Looking Glass: African Americans as Consumers," in *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 173–93. For owners' dismayed responses, see White and White, *Stylin'*, 12–16; and McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 241–42. For the active presence of the painting/artifact, see W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 28–56; Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 65–86; and Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 23–35.
52. For the importance of visuality in making and perpetuating a slave-holding society, see especially Jasmine Nichole Cobb, *Picture Freedom: Remaking Black Visuality in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 28–65.
53. Williams Middleton to Dr. Henry Orlando Marcy, n.d. [November 1867], quoted in Leland and Greene, "Robbing the Owner," 101. On mimicry, see Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 85–92. For a similar argument about mimicry as parody of the ruling elites in the context of colonial Jamaica, see Kathleen Wilson, "The Performance of Freedom: Maroons and the Colonial Order in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica and the Atlantic Sound," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 66, no. 1 (January 2009): 45–86.
54. For the productive ways that nineteenth-century visual culture can be analyzed through humor, see Jennifer Greenhill, *Playing It Straight: Art and Humor in the Gilded Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012). For the role that African American humor played in helping enslaved people survive, see especially Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 81–135, esp. 105–16; and Harry Oster, "Negro Humor: John & Old Master," and Bernard Wolfe, "Uncle Remus & the Malevolent Rabbit," in *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel: Readings in the Interpretation of Afro-American Folklore*, ed. Alan Dundes (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 549–60, 524–40.
55. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 20–21. Maurie McInnis also discusses the unnamed driver's actions, though she focuses on their political implications. McInnis, "Raphaelle Peale's Still Life with Oranges," 324–25; and idem, *Politics of Taste*, 330–32. For Sully's portrait, see Gibbes Museum of Art's "People's Choice," accessed November 17, 2013, <http://www.gibbespeopleschoice.org/portfolioentry/charles-iizard-manigault/>. For this portrait and its relation to Manigault's larger art collection, see McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 308–11.
56. An Overseer, "On the Conduct and Management of Overseers, Driver, and Slave," *Southern Agriculturalist* 9 (May 1836): 225–31, esp. 227–28; and Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 21. For drivers' jobs on the Manigault plantations, see Clifton, *Life and Labor on Argyle Island*, xxi–xxxi. For Driver John, see William Capers (overseer) to Charles Manigault, November 14, 1861, in *ibid.*, 325; and Louis Manigault to Charles Manigault, November 24, 1861, in *ibid.*, 328.
57. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 20–21. For the idea of competency in the use of objects as separable from ownership, see Bernard L. Herman, *Townhouse: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early American Culture, 2005), 200–201.
58. Thomas R. Elliott to his mother, Anna Hutchinson Smith Elliott, November 11, 1861, quoted in Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, 107. For genteel goods enforcing whiteness, see Bridget T. Heneghan, *Whitewashing America: Material Culture and Race in the Antebellum Imagination* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2003), 3–43. For African Americans' seizure of goods, especially pianos, see Byrd, "Loot, Occupy, Rebuild," 63.
59. *Harper's Weekly*, January 18, 1862. See also Byrd, "Loot, Occupy, Rebuild," 62–63.
60. For planters' complaints about "Negro balls," see Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 141. The original sketch is by George Roupell, *Peter Manigault and His Friends*, ca. 1754, Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware, acc. no. 1963.73. For this sketch and the work that such enslaved domestics performed in Charleston, see McInnis, "Raphaelle Peale's Still Life with Oranges," 314, 322–23; and Elizabeth L. O'Leary, *At Beck and Call: The Representations of Domestic Servants in Nineteenth-Century American Painting* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 23–25. For Louis Manigault's copy, see Weekley, *Painters and Paintings*, 156–57.
61. The scholarship on affect continues to grow exponentially. I have found the following to be particularly helpful: Kathleen Stewart, *Ordinary Affects* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 1–7; Lawrence Grossberg, "Affect's Future: Recovering the Virtual in the Actual," and Sara Ahmed, "Happy Objects," in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 309–38, 29–51, esp. 37–39.
62. Juan Francisco Manzano, *Poems by a Slave in the Island of Cuba, Recently Liberated; Translated from the Spanish, by R. R. Madden, M.D., with the History of the Early Life of the Negro Poet, Written by Himself* (London: T. Ward, 1840), at *Documenting the American South*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/manzano/manzano.html>. See also Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 51.
63. For cleaning paintings, see Marion Cabell Tyree, ed., *Housekeeping in Old Virginia* (Louisville, KY, 1878), 497–99. For Monday, see Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 21, 205–6. Catherine Cornelia[?], West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, Slave Interviews, in Marcus Bruce Christian Collection, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Earl K. Long Library, University of New Orleans. I have drawn on the Louisiana slave interviews in particular because of the interviewees' exceptional honesty, encouraged in part by black interviewers; see Joan Redding, "The Dillard Project: The Black Unit of the Louisiana Writers' Project," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 32, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 47–62.
64. Laura S. Haviland, *A Woman's Life Work: Labors and Experiences of Laura S. Haviland* (Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe, 1882), 273–76, at 274, 276; and Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 114.

65. Myron E. Goble, *Down in the Delta: A Screenplay* (New York: Hyperion, 1998), 139–42. See also Huey Copeland, *Bound to Appear: Art, Slavery, and the Site of Blackness in Multicultural America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 51. For the film's conservativeness, see Paula J. Massood, *Black City Cinema: African American Urban Experiences in Film* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 211–18. Martha Stuart, Black Creek, Louisiana, Slave Interviews, in Christian Collection.
66. The flour sack is in the collection of the Middleton Place Foundation and is now on exhibit at the National Museum of African American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC. See Leslie Cantu, "Local Artifact to Be Displayed in New Smithsonian Museum," *Journal Scene*, December 30, 2015, accessed January 3, 2016, <http://www.journalscene.com>. For its authenticity, see Mark Auslander, "Slavery's Traces: In Search of Ashley's Sack," *Southern Spaces Blog*, accessed November 30, 2016, <https://southernspaces.org/2016/slaverys-traces-search-ashleys-sack>.
67. For African Americans' Christian religious practices in Charleston, see Bernard Edward Powers, *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822–1885* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 20–22; and McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 210. Louisa Sidney Martin, Maigewood Plantation, Louisiana, Slave Interviews, in Christian Collection. For the ties between politics and religion, see Harvey, *Civil War and American Art*, 213. Catherine Cornelia[?], Slave Interviews in Christian Collection; and Marcy, Diary of Dr. Henry Orlando Marcy, entry for February 12, 1865.
68. For burning as slave punishment in South Carolina, see especially Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 264–65; and Lowry Ware, "The Burning of Jerry: The Last Slave Execution by Fire in South Carolina?", *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 91, no. 2 (April 1990): 100–106. Martha Stuart, Black Creek, Louisiana, Slave Interviews, in Christian Collection; slave owner, quoted in Penningroth, *Claims of Kinfolk*, 57; Sheraton, *The Cabinet Dictionary*, 2:302; and Radwinter quotation in Walter, "Abolishing Superstition with Sedition?", 86–87. For the biblical associations of burning images, see *ibid.*, 86.
69. For African spiritual traditions in the Upper South, as recovered through archaeology, see Patricia M. Samford, *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007). For Gullah culture, see especially Michael Montgomery, ed., *Crucible of Carolina: Essays in the Development of Gullah Language and Culture* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994); and Philip Morgan, ed., *Race in the Atlantic World, 1700–1900: African American Life in the Georgia Lowcountry, The Atlantic World and the Gullah Geechee* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010). For the religious traditions of the Gullah, see especially Erskine Clarke, "They Shun the Scrutiny of White Men: Reports on Religion from the Georgia Lowcountry and West Africa, 1834–1850," in *ibid.*, 132–50. Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes, in the United States* (Savannah, 1842), 127–28, at *Documenting the American South*, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/jones/jones.html>; and "Journal of a Missionary to the Negroes in the State of Georgia," *Charleston Observer*, September 21, 1833, quoted in Clarke, "They Shun the Scrutiny of White Men," 137.
70. Olaudah Equiano, *The interesting narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African: Written by himself* (Dublin, 1791), 59–60. While scholars have brought parts of Equiano's narrative into question, it remains a valuable source; see Vincent Caretta, "Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa? New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Question of Identity," *Slavery & Abolition* 20, no. 3 (December 1999): 96–105.
71. My understanding of the persistence of African spiritual traditions in colonial America and the United States and the practices and beliefs involved in Vodun have been shaped by Robert Ferris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African & Afro-American Art & Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984); and Suzanne Preston Blier, *African Vodun: Art, Psychology, and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). For fire, see Blier, *African Vodun*, 78–79, 291–93. For a similar analysis of a genteel artifact and its possible spiritual uses, see Martin, "Suckey's Looking Glass," 173–93.
72. For wrapping in Vodun, see Blier, *African Vodun*, 80–82; and Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 117–31. For appropriation of an object's power, see Blier, *African Vodun*, 115–30. For voodoo of the photograph, see Lyle Saxon, Edward Dryer, and Robert Tallant, *Gumbo Ya-Ya: A Collection of Louisiana Folk Tales* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1982), 538. The work is based on interviews of former slaves conducted by the Louisiana Writers' Project.
73. For the uniqueness of the Gullahs' experiences on the Sea Islands during and after the war, see Byrd, "Loot, Occupy, Rebuild," 65–81. Matthew Grant, near Pawley's Island, South Carolina, born 1867, in Genevieve W. Chandler, comp., *Coming Through: Voice of a South Carolina Gullah Community from WAP Oral History*, ed. Kincaid Mills, Genevieve C. Peterkin, and Aaron McCullough (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 71.
74. Gullah descendant, quoted in Chandler, *Coming Through*, 128–30; and McInnis, *Politics of Taste*, 273–76. For the racial politics that informed the photographs of George and H. P. Cook (father and son, Fig. 19), see Wexler, *Tender Violence*, 74–93.
75. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 4, 9, 21.
76. For the family history surrounding the portrait of North Carolina planter Charles Lewis Hinton, see Godfrey Cheshire, *Moving Midway* (New York: First Run Features, 2007). Williams Middleton to Dr. Henry Orlando Marcy, n.d. [November 1867], quoted in Leland and Greene, "Robbing the Owner," 101. For Selena Gray's actions, see *Museum Collections: Arlington House*, 40–43.
77. The attempts of whites to cast slavery as a positive institution in which those of both races thrived have been studied by a number of scholars. See especially Stephanie E. Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Karen L. Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). For Manigault's scrapbook as a site of longing, see Hall, "Missing Dolly," 94–98. On Confederate supporters making scrapbooks, see Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*, 90–130.
78. Manigault, "Description of Paintings," 21, and for his account of taking the paintings to Paris to be conserved in 1855, 3.
79. Simon Cane and Jonathan Ashley-Smith, "Iconoclasm as Conservation, Concealment and Subversion," in Boldrick et al., *Striking Images*, 183–98. For destruction in the conservation of paintings, see Joyce Hill Stoner, "Hell vs. Ruhemann, the Metaphysical and the Physical: Controversies about the Cleaning of Paintings," in *Past Practice—Future Prospects*, ed. Andrew Oddy and Sandra Smith (London: British Museum, 2001), 109–14. Williams Middleton to Elizabeth Izard Middleton and Joshua Francis Fisher, February 25, 1866, March 1, 1866, July 16, 1867, October 24, 1870; Elizabeth Izard Middleton and Joshua Francis Fisher to Williams Middleton, February 25, 1866, February 17, 1871, Middleton Place Papers.
80. The painting is displayed in the Carolyn and Mike McNamara Southern Masterworks Gallery at MESDA. See "MESDA Uses 21st-Century Tech to Showcase History of Southern Life," *Winston-Salem Journal*, December 19, 2015, accessed January 15, 2016, [http://www.journalnow.com/relishnow/the\\_arts/mesda-uses-st-century-tech-to-showcase-history-of-southern/article\\_a19c8eb4-5d1b-5b21-a41d-71de381dff90.html](http://www.journalnow.com/relishnow/the_arts/mesda-uses-st-century-tech-to-showcase-history-of-southern/article_a19c8eb4-5d1b-5b21-a41d-71de381dff90.html). For Joseph Downs's statement as well as the response of Southern collectors and museums, see Luke Beckerdite, introduction to *American Furniture 1997*, the Chipstone Foundation, <http://www.chipstone.org/html/publications/1997AF/Intro/Intro.html#>. For the complexity of Southern identity as expressed through Southern material culture, see Jonathan Prown, "A Preponderance of Pineapples": The Problem of Southern Furniture," *American Furniture 1997*, the Chipstone Foundation, <http://www.chipstone.org/article.php/262/American-Furniture-1997/A-'Preponderance-of-Pineapples':-The-Problem-of-Southern-Furniture>.