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Final Essay
12/20/19

Double Vision: Art, Commerce, and Race in George N. Barnard's Stereocards

A preeminent photographer of the Civil War, George N. Barnard is principally known for his images of devastated Southern landscapes, which are largely devoid of any human presence. On Barnard's "disturbingly depopulated" images, Alan Trachtenberg writes, "It is striking how vacant, empty even of corpses, are Barnard's images, an emptiness perhaps in accord with the book's motive."¹ Barnard's stereocard practice reveals a much different attitude towards picturing people. Executed with an explicitly commercial motive, this expansive body of work features a surprising number of pictures of African Americans, both enslaved and emancipated. These photographs largely represent blackness in a humanist manner, and frequently reference the work of canonized painters and formal conventions.

Barnard's stereocards were clearly designed for a certain type of "refined" bourgeois consumers with knowledge of the Western pictorial tradition. In restaging both iconic and formal aspects of the canon, Barnard not only mitigates the novelty of stereography, but presents black subjectivity in a format familiar to white, upper-middle class viewers. This paper attempts to establish a critical lens through which to view these black subjects and the historically marginalized photographic format that they inhabit.

¹ Alan Trachtenberg, "Albums of War: On Reading Civil War Photographs." *Representations*, no. 9 (1985): 25.

The earliest known example of Barnard's engagement with fine art is an 1853 daguerreotype titled *Woodsawyer's Nooning*, inspired by popular genre paintings (Figure 1). The photograph features a pair of woodcutters, one old and the other young, breaking for lunch in a small studio. The woodcutters reside in a drastically simplified pictorial setting, curtailed by a blank backdrop. Their tools, as well as dress and character are clearly legible. This visual clarity emphasizes the dichotomy between age and youth, as well as the dual virtues of rest and labor.

Woodsawyer Nooning was a semi-finalist for the 1853 Anthony Prize, a photography competition run by Edward Anthony, the head of a prominent New York photography supply company.² Thirty eight of the forty submissions were conventional studio portraits, in contrast to Barnard's more artistic composition.³ While Barnard did not win the competition, his photograph stood out as one of the few "creative" photographs, versus standard studio portraits, and was nonetheless used as the frontispiece in an article about the prize published in *The Photographic and Fine Art Journal*.

In what appears to be a rather unconventional and pointed stance, the editors of the journal defended the decision to highlight *Woodsawyer's Nooning* over other works. Writing of their disappointment that Barnard failed to win the competition, the editors note that "there is no merit in these men taking a good portrait; their reputations were

² Keith F. Davis, *George N. Barnard: Photographer of Sherman's Campaign* (Kansas City, MO: Hallmark Cards, 1990), 34

³ "The Anthony Prize Pitcher," *The Photographic and Fine Art Journal*, vol. VII, no. I (January 1854), 6-10.

fully established in this branch. We are grievously disappointed in the result of Mr. Anthony's generous movement for the elevation of the art.”⁴

As evident by this excerpt, the American photographic establishment was clearly promoting the medium's artistic potential. The debate was steeped in the anxiety surrounding contemporary nationalism. Barnard himself was an avid proponent of the idea that photography could be used to advance America's cultural and scientific status. In an 1855 lecture titled “Taste,” given at the New York State Daguerreian Society, Barnard enthusiastically exclaimed:

And with what brighter rays will the American genius emblazon the halo of glory which surrounds the genius of Daguerre, when the sun gilded pictures glowing in all the tints and hues of nature, are exhibited to the world; caught living from the sunbeam and fastened in immovable loveliness upon the artist's plate . . . How much does the multiplication of pictures tend to enlighten and unite the Human family! Read and understood by the infant and the aged; scattered from the hovels of the poor to the palace of the great, it extends a humanizing influence.⁵

Barnard's strikingly patriotic rhetoric appears to suggest that photography, when refracted through a distinctly American lens, can be used to circulate humanist values. His discussion of photography as a democratizing force seems optimistic, if not naive, when viewed against the dangerously polarized landscape of 1850s America. Slavery was without a doubt the most divisive political and moral issue of Barnard's day. Barnard spent the early part of his adult life working in upstate New York, a known haven for fugitive slaves and a hotbed of abolitionist activity. While we do not know if Barnard had any direct involvement with these groups, he was nonetheless steeped in this political atmosphere.

⁴ Ibid, 6.

⁵ Lecture published in George N. Barnard, “Taste” *The Photographic and Fine Art Journal*, vol.VIII, no. 1 (May, 1855), 158-159.

Barnard first encountered enslaved populations on an 1860 trip to Cuba, on which he produced approximately 134 stereoscopic views of the island for the Anthony firm.⁶ Stereocards are an immersive photographic experience, allowing viewers to apprehend an image in three-dimensions with the use of special optical device. They typically consist of two small photographs side by side, taken from approximately 2 inches apart. These negatives are then used to make albumen prints, which can be inexpensively reproduced at a mass-scale. In the 1860s they became an incredibly fashionable form of “infotainment,” picturing views of far-off places and exotic peoples and arguably created the market for non-portrait photography. The medium’s illusionistic nature was particularly well suited for Barnard’s artistic ambitions, and his trip to Cuba represents his first official foray into the medium.

Cuba’s robust sugar industry held immense political and economic appeal to American viewers and was a central focus of Barnard’s photographic campaign. Considering the political urgency of slavery in the United States at this time, it is hard not to read these images as a proxy for the American South. Two images from this series feature enslaved workers breaking for lunch, providing an interesting point of contrast with Barnard’s *Woodsawyers Nooning*. Unlike this earlier image, these stereocards are not idealistic and posit rest in a much different way.

In one photograph, titled *The Nooning*, three weary workers crouch on a patch of dirt in front of a group of fellow slaves (Figure 2). They are flanked by two groups of well-dressed white men wearing suits, who are presumably slave owners or foremen at the plant. The white men quite literally encircle the group of slaves, in some sense emphasizing the confines of their internment. Very little occupies the foreground of the

⁶ Davis, *George N. Barnard*, 48.

picture, which heightens the spatial illusionism of the stereograph. However, any sense of extended depth is curtailed by the imposing supply house at the back scene. When viewed through a stereoscope, the sharp downward slope of the roof ultimately implicates the viewer the scene's sense of enclosure.

Barnard reproduces a similar optical effect in a second stereograph titled, *The Slaves Assembled After Dinner to Receive Instructions for the Afternoon* (Figure 3). Taken from a distance, the photograph shows a group of approximately seventy-five slaves organized in a circle in front of an imposing storehouse or barracks. A large pile of sticks placed in the foreground of the scene further emphasizes the scale of the operation, as well as Barnard's distances from his subjects. In both of these stereocards, Barnard manipulates particular formal qualities of the image, namely conventional pictorial perspective, to create an artful and symbolically rich photograph. In clearly delineating the foreground, middle ground, and background of the picture, Barnard produces sophisticated stereoscopic images that are both visually dramatic and convincingly naturalistic when viewed in three dimensions.

On some level this works to enhance the legibility of the images, and thus the reality of slavery. Yet, Barnard's "aestheticization" of the Cuban Plantation suggests something of the decorative. What is the effect of this formalism? The fact that these images were mass-produced as a cheap form of parlor entertainment should not be ignored. His moral positioning is complicated by the stereocard's commercial format, as the photographer ultimately profited off of these uneasy images.

On December 20, 1860, within six months of Barnard's return from Cuba, South Carolina became the first state to secede from the Union over the issue of slavery. By the spring of 1861, Barnard began working for the Union Army as both a photographer and

cartographer.⁷ Barnard accompanied General Sherman on his famous scorched earth campaign through the South. At the close of the war Barnard published a book of these images, titled *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign*, which today is considered an important milestone in the history of fine art photography (Figure 4).

During this period, the photographer also produced a substantial body of stereographs for the Anthony firm, many of which featured black subjects in a similarly strategic manner as his images taken in Cuba. One of the more pointed stereocards from this series, taken in Atlanta in September 1864, features a lone black soldier sitting under a large sign that advertises the sale and auction of slaves (Figure 5). The stereograph is shot an oblique angle, which intensifies the overall effect of the receding block when viewed in three-dimensions. Illusionistic signage decorates much of the block, inducing bold typefaces with drop shadows and dimensional renderings of glassware and china. Below this field of text, the soldier is pictured reading a book, his gun leaning against a boarded up window. As Stephen Berry writes in his essay on this contemplative photograph, “For here is the whole of the war in a single tableau—a war fought so that men capable of thinking and reading and dreaming might never be sold as things.”⁸

It is extremely unlikely that this photograph is a candid shot, given the fact that General Sherman barred United States Colored Troops from operating in Atlanta during this time. Barnard likely “created” this USCT soldier by throwing a borrowed corporal’s uniform on his driver and assistant, who was African American, adding the book and

⁷ Barnard began the war employed by Anthony and Matthew Brady, and eventually was hired by the Department of Engineers to assist General Sherman’s troops duplicate maps photographical, as well as to document the campaign. Davis, *George N. Barnard*, 64.

⁸ Stephen Berry, “The Book or the Gun?” In *Lens of War: Exploring Iconic Photographs of the Civil War*, ed. J. Matthew Gallman and Gary W. Gallagher (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 216.

gun for symbolic effect.⁹ ¹⁰ Despite these technical constraints, Barnard's formal choices subvert the objectivity of the stereocard. What, then, is the purpose of such intentional and symbolically loaded image making? Barnard's projection most likely had commercial logic, presenting a moralizing vision of the fall of Atlanta for Northern viewers, who were the primary consumers of these stereoscopic images.

This type of dialectic comparison — between the black soldier and the auction house, the book and the gun — is not uncommon in Barnard's photographs of the period, particularly upon his arrival in Charleston in March of 1865. A stereocard titled *Men and Children Along Battery Filled with Rubble*, is one such example of this practice (Figure 6). A group of white men stand at the edge of the waterfront, separated from the city street by a pile of rubble, which extends indefinitely in a straight line towards a vanishing point at the back of the scene. Two young African American girls approach the men from the other side of the barricade. The older girl, who stands barefoot on the edge of the rubble, stares directly at the group of men. Her profile is sharply delineated, suggesting a sense of conviction and intent. The younger girl, in contrast, turns her head out towards the camera, her face rendered as a blur due to her movement.

A large neoclassical building looms overhead. In relation to the rubble, its presence suggests something of the tragedy and grandeur of ancient ruins. Classical ruins were a popular fascination in Barnard's day, inspiring romantic meditations on the civilization and impermanence. Contemporaneous critics frequently drew comparisons between the Confederacy and the fall of Rome, which was commonly understood to be

⁹ Ibid, 216.

¹⁰ Oliver Wendle Holmes, "Sun-Painting and Sun-Sculpture," *Atalantic Monthly*, vol. VIII, no.XLV (July, 1861), 15.

hastened by greed and pride. This dialogue is particularly evident in a series of stereographs taken in Charleston among the ruins of the Circular Church, where the very first talks of South Carolina's secession began.

Overgrown with weeds, the classicizing architecture of the complex evokes something of an American Pompeii. Barnard treats the space accordingly, photographing as if it were hallowed ground. Take for example, *View in central church-yard, showing the effect of shot among the monuments, Charleston, S.C.*, which recalled the desecrated altar pieces of the Roman Forum (Figure 7). Although the caption purports that this destruction is a result of the war, this claim is categorically false. No battles ever occurred in this section of the city, which was actually destroyed by a fire in 1861, well before the Union's arrival in Charleston.¹¹ Why shoot a "reportage" image of the effects of war in a location untouched by fighting? This was likely an aesthetic choice, as ruined landscape allowed Barnard to communicate the defeat of the Confederacy in iconic terms.

Intentional too, is Barnard's choice to feature African Americans in several of these stereocards of the Circular Church. Typically, they appear as solitary spectators, providing a measure of human scale amid the fanciful ruins (Figure 8A & B). The scene reflects the somber state of Charleston at this time. As one contemporaneous reporter wrote: "This ruin had but few occupants, save a handful of poor unkempt whites and wandering negroes... It was haunted beyond doubt, not by the regular ghost, but the screaming apparition of the shell... The Negroes, who had to undergo more of the shell

¹¹ Megan Kate Nelson, "George N. Barnard, "Charleston, S.C. View of ruined buildings through porch of the Circular Church (150 Meeting Street)," 1865." In *Lens of War: Exploring Iconic Photographs of the Civil War*, 233.

torture than any other inhabitants, give many an incident of the death of men and women, and of knocking down and maiming with fragments of scattering iron.”¹²

The identities of these black men are unknown, and it is unclear if Barnard stumbled upon them in the ruins or brought them to the site with the explicit intent of photographing them. The agency of Barnard’s subjects should not go unquestioned. A power dynamic between Barnard and these black men inevitably existed, and it is unknown if they consented or were compensated for their image. Despite these uncomfortable questions, the presence of black subjects among the ruined cityscape suggest their persistence amid the decaying institution of slavery.

In one particularly remarkable view, a group of four young black children sits on the base of a large column (Figure 9). The boys are artfully framed by a pathway that cuts through a low wall of rubble at the foreground of the scene. When viewed in three dimensions, this abrupt break adds a sense of space and directs the viewer's attention to the boys. At the same time, Barnard makes use of the intense verticality of the column to suggest something of the height and—given the location— scarcity of the desolate scene. The boys, who look no older than 10, are barefoot and relate with one another in a tender manner. The smallest child, pictured sitting on the ground towards the left, gently rests his hand on his older friend's knee. One of the children holds a toy hoop. His body is blurred, perhaps an indication of his eagerness to get back to playing with his friends among the ruined cityscape.

Although subtle, this detail visually signifies the group’s emancipation. The boys are free to play in the streets and explore the ruins. They are free to pose for a Union photographer like Barnard. And in the ocular context of the stereoscope, they are free to

¹² "Charleston As It Is: A Ramble Among the Ruins," *The Courier-Journal* (March 11 1865), 1.

look directly back at the viewer. Their presence in this symbolically rich landscape prompts several obvious questions. What does the future hold for this new generation of emancipated slaves? What kind of society will rise from the ruins of the Old South? Can the past ever be fully escaped or properly portrayed? Rendered through a photographic lens, these indexical issues are only amplified.

Concurrent with Barnard's first visit to Charleston in March of 1865, the city's population of emancipated slaves organized a large-scale parade in honor of their release from bondage, representing a remarkable show of patriotism. On March 21, 1865, a crowd of 10,000 people gathered at Citadel Green, a former training ground for Confederate cadets, and marched for several hours towards the harbor.¹³ Led by various local black officials on horseback, a marching band and members of the 21st United States Colored Troops, the procession also included nearly 2,000 school children, fire brigades, and guilds of black tradesmen, including blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, barbers and others professions in regimented order.¹⁴ American flags were installed throughout the parade route, and elicited cheers from participants each time one was passed.

Similar celebrations were held frequently over the next few years, contributing to a general sense of optimism in the city. Barnard, likely witness to such revelry, maintained an active studio in Charleston after the war. It is in this unique visual and political landscape that the photographer embarked on a series of highly unusual portraits of African Americans in the stereocard format. Barnard's aesthetic response to

¹³ "From South Carolina: A Procession of Colored Loyalists," *The New York Herald-Tribune* (April 4, 1865), 6.

¹⁴ "Department Of The South.; Affairs In Charleston. The Jubilee Among The Freedmen. How The Slaves Celebrated Their Emancipation. Military Changes." *The New York Times*, April 4, 1865, 9.

this context can be read as a projection of Western pictorial conventions onto black bodies.

For example, Barnard adopts the appearance of bourgeois portrait photography in a stereocard titled *Fifteenth Amendment* for political effect (Figure 10). Named for the constitutional amendment that granted African American men the right to vote, the stereocard features a portrait of a well dressed black toddler taken against a studio background. The baby sits up with an extraordinary sense of patience and maturity for its young age. In contemporaneous woodcut in the New York Public Library's collection titled, *Effects of the Fifteenth Amendment*, an unruly group of children appear playing in the mud, chaperoned by an angry Mammy figure (Figure 11). Unlike this woodcut, Barnard's stereographs suggests a future in which at the very least, visual dignity is attainable.

Perhaps an extension of this humanist ethos, the black "flaneur" became a recurring character in Barnard's stereography of the period. Instead of wandering through ruins, these men walk freely among the streets of a rapidly rebuilding Charleston. In one card, a boy in front of a spiffy street car stands evidence to Charleston's move towards modernity (Figure 12). Another image presents a contemplative view of a black man resting under Spanish moss (Figure 13). These stereocards offer a touristic vision of a new Southern landscape, one which allows black men the freedom of movement and leisure.

Of course, the reality of this freedom was incredibly tenuous. While South Carolina was the only state in the Union to hold a black majority in the state government, racial violence was consistently employed to suppress political and economic involvement. Typical was the case of Benjamin F. Randolph, a black educator

and state senator. While on the campaign trail in October 1868, Randolph was assassinated by three white men at a train station in broad daylight. The gunmen were never identified, despite the fact that dozens of people witnessed the murder.¹⁵

In addition to stereocards, Barnard and his business partner Charles J. Quimby sold chromolithographs, a popular form of mass-produced color print. Chromolithographs often featured replicas of famous works of art; for example in 1870 Barnard and Quimby advertised the sale of prints with paintings by Rubens and Murillo.¹⁶ For Barnard and Quimby, these reproductions were a commercial success, particularly among middle class white women in Charleston.¹⁷ Perhaps as a consequence of the popularity of his chromolithography practice, Barnard begins to reference the art historical more directly. His studio portraits of black female market workers, for example, project bear a striking resemblance to Dutch genre scenes (Figure 14). Although they represent local “types,” Barnard portrays each subject’s individual character with great nuance. Each occupies a distinctly elaborate set, suggesting the nobility of honest labor.

Barnard’s most direct, and compelling, reference to the art historical is a double portrait titled *South Carolina Cherubs*, inspired by the *Sistine Madonna* (c.1512). The photograph features two unnamed African American boys in the guise of Raphael’s iconic cherubs (Figures 15 and 16). Beyond the obvious fact of the subject’s racial identity, the stereocard diverges from the original work in several strategic ways, complicating the seemingly straightforward appearance of this art historical trope.

¹⁵ Douglas Egerton, “Terrorized African-Americans Found Their Champion in Civil War Hero Robert Smalls,” *Smithsonian Magazine* (September 2018) <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/terrorized-african-americans-champion-civil-war-hero-robert-smalls-180970031/>.

¹⁶ *Charleston Daily Courier*, May 30, 1970, p. 1; and June 25, 1870, p. 2.

¹⁷ Davis, *George N. Barnard*, 181.

Barnard's cherubs are distinctly mortal, lacking traditional angelic signifiers such as wings or halos. This clearly intentional choice ultimately works to demonstrate the humanity of Barnard's black subjects and their worldly potential in a post-Civil War America.

To educated viewers, the painted altarpiece is a powerful testament to salvation and mercy. These themes are significantly intensified by Barnard's inclusion of black subjects, given the fraught racial politics of South Carolina during this time. In the original altarpiece, a pair of small cherubs rests below an imposing representation of the Virgin and Child, gazing up at the main figures from a pictorial "shelf" at the bottom of the canvas. The Madonna is framed by a set of velvet curtains, which emphasizes the flatness and immaterial nature of the niche she inhabits. In contrast, the cherubs lean forward and appear to extend beyond the virtual space of the painting. Barnard reproduces a similar spatial effect in his stereograph. The models are shot against a blank studio background with their arms resting on a stone wall, showing little to no indication of space behind the figures.

While Barnard explicitly references Raphael's cherubs in the title of the work, the photographer refrains from dressing the boys up as angels. Instead, Barnard's models are shown nude from the waist up, emphasizing their bodily presence. Barnard photographs the boys in slight profile, a convention typically suggestive of the sitter's interior life and humanity. These choices reinforce the association between photography and naturalism and firmly root the image in Barnard's present versus an imagined or fantastical past.

Barnard further emphasizes the "reality" of the scene by omitting any direct representation of the Virgin Mary. Unlike Raphael's cherubs, who stare up at the

Madonna in awe, Barnard's models look out towards the left. Their vigilant gaze suggests a sense of anticipation, or even suspicion, as to what lies beyond the photographic frame. In this sense, the pair have more in common with another famous work of Renaissance art, Michaelangelo's lifelike statue of David tentatively awaiting battle with Goliath. This analogy is apt in more ways than one, given the escalating threat of violence and oppression faced by black South Carolinians in the early 1870s. Due to dwindling federal support, the fight for basic protection under the law was an uphill, if not a losing battle. While Barnard's image reaffirms the dignity and innocence of his young subjects, it nonetheless expresses a latent sense of anxiety over their future.

Barnard's composition, in some sense, is dependent on its caption, *South Carolina Cherubs (After Raphael)*, which explicitly identifies Raphael as a source of inspiration. The stereocard's three-dimensional verisimilitude with the original altarpiece is not enough, written verification was apparently necessary to validate the identity Barnard's black subjects. This added layer of information also boldly asserts the locality of the image, as well as the boys' South Carolinian citizenship. Yet, the caption's relationship to the image is tenuous at best. In his essay "The Photographic Message," Roland Barthes writes that there are two primary ways that a caption functions in relation to its accompanying image:

1. *The text most often simply amplifies a set of connotations already given to the photograph.*
2. *The text produces (invents) an entirely new signified which is retroactively projected into the image, so much so as to appear denoted there.¹⁸*

¹⁸ Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message." In *Image, Music, Text*, translated by Stephen Heath (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1977), 25.

Barthes' second principle is particularly relevant in order to understand *South Carolina's* curious afterlife. In 1876, a woodcut rendering of Barnard's stereocard was reproduced in *Harper's Weekly* to accompany a travel article about southern Florida (Figure 17).¹⁹ The image was captioned *Cherubs — an Oklawaha Art Study*, effectively erasing any references to South Carolina or emancipation more generally.

The following year O. Pierre Havens, a photographer based in Savannah, released a stereocard titled *The Cherubs (Not) after Raphael*, poking fun at the incredulity of angelic black subjects (Figure X). In addition to semantic alterations, Havens significantly modifies Barnard's original image by dressing his subjects up in paper wings made of Japanese fans. Upon close inspection the fans bear a small inscription reading "Stolen Property of Wilson & Havens. Photographs," further trivializing the original effect of Barnard's image.

South Carolina Cherubs has maintained its symbolic resonance in the city of Charleston to this day. A sculpted version of *South Carolina Cherubs* created by Ronald Jones in 1991 is located in the lobby of the historic Emanuel AME Church. Jones, a white artist, commemorates the legacy of Denmark Vesey, who famously led a slave rebellion in 1822.²⁰ Upon its installation, the church's Reverend, John Gillison, asked Jones, "Whatever do you suppose white people would think of a memorial to Denmark

¹⁹ The article states that they received the image from "a wandering photographer came back with an Oklawaha art study, designed and arranged by himself a la Sistine." Barnard, to our knowledge, never traveled to Florida. It is likely that this "wandering photographer" repurposed Barnard's image and pasted it on his own stereocard. Alternatively, this narrative could be fiction, as Barnard was known to sell photographs to *Harper's* to be turned into engravings. An article published a month before this issue on Charleston features several of Barnard's images, and it is not unlikely that the editors repurposed *South Carolina Cherubs* after receiving the image from Barnard. "The Oklawaha," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, No. CCCVIII, Vol LII (January 1876), 161-179.

²⁰ Mary Jane Jacob, *Dewey for Artists*. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 129.

Vesey? You expect that they would be comfortable with that?”²¹ It is fitting that Jones turned to Barnard for reference, as the photographer presented black bodies through a “canonized” filter in part to appeal to white viewers. In retrospect, Reverend Gillison’s comments on the efficacy of art in the face of racism are particularly troubling, as Emanuel AME later became the site of one of the most notorious hate crimes in recent history. On June 17, 2015 white supremacist Dylan Roof killed nine parishioners during an evening service, passing the sculpted cherubs on his way into the church.

The threat of racial violence continues to this day and is one of many systemic issues left inadequately addressed after the Civil War. Barnard’s stereocards present a fascinating and often frustrating look into the squandered potential of Reconstruction. The photographer quite literally constructs an augmented reality of the era, particularly in comparison to the crude representations of blackness found elsewhere in the visual landscape. As a contemporary viewer, it’s difficult to come to terms with the fact that these images were not designed to generate political consciousness, but rather for amusement and profit. Yet, to write off Barnard’s stereocards as a purely commercial endeavour would be a disservice to his remarkable pictorial commitment to the dignity of his black subjects.

²¹ As paraphrased by Ronald Jones. Ibid, 131.

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- "The Oklawaha," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, No. CCCVIII, Vol LII. January 1876, 161-179.

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Figure List
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Figure 1:



George N. Barnard, *Woodsawyers' Nooning*, negative October 1853; print late 1853, Salted paper print, 18.1 × 20.8 cm (7 1/8 × 8 3/16 in.), 84.XB.1207.1.1 The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Figure 2:



George N. Barnard, *The Nooning*, c.1860, stereocard, University of Miami, Cuban Heritage Collection, Tom Pohrt Photograph Collection, CHC5252, Box No. 3 Folder No. 1.

Figure 3:



George N. Barnard, *Plantation view, the slaves assembled after dinner to receive instructions for the afternoon, c.1860*, stereocard, University of Miami, Cuban Heritage Collection, Tom Pohrt Photograph Collection, CHC5252, Box No. 3 Folder No. 1.

Figure 4:



Selected images from George N. Barnard, *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign, 1866*.

Figure 5:



Detail of George N. Barnard, *Auction & Negro Sales, Whitehall Street*, stereocard and wet collodion negative, Civil War photographs, 1861-1865 / compiled by Hirst D. Milhollen and Donald H. Mugridge, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977. No. 0707.

Figure 6:



George N. Barnard, *Men and children along battery filled with rubble*, c. March 1865, stereocard, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection Shelf locator: MFY Dennis Coll 92-F25.

Figure 7:



George N. Barnard, *View in central church-yard, showing the effect of shot among the monuments, Charleston, S.C.* c. March 1865, 1 photographic print on stereo card: albumen ; 10 x 18 cm. LOT 4163, no. 211 [P&P] Repository Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA.

Figure 8A:



George N. Barnard, *Ruins of the Circular Church & Secession Hall, Charleston,* c. March 1865, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection Shelf locator: MFY Dennis Coll 92-F31.

Figure 8B:



George

N. Barnard, *Ruins of Secession Hall, Charleston, S.C.*, 1 photographic print on stereo card : albumen ; 10 x 18 cm., LOT 4163, no. 251 [P&P], Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA.

Figure 9:



George N. Barnard, *Charleston, S.C. View of ruined buildings through porch of the Circular Church (150 Meeting Street)*, 1865, Civil War photographs, 1861-1865 / compiled by Hirst D. Milhollen and Donald H. Mugridge, Washington, D.C. : Library of Congress, 1977. No. 0641.

Figure 10:



George N. Barnard, *Fifteenth Amendment*, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection Shelf locator: MFY Dennis Coll 92-F25

Figure 11:



Effect of the fifteenth amendment, 1871, Wood engravings, 10 x 12 cm. (4 x 4 3/4 in.), The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Picture Collection Shelf locator: PC AFRA-Car. The New York Public Library

Figure 12:



George N. Barnard, *South Battery, from Meeting Street, Charleston, S.C.*, c. 1871, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection Shelf locator: MFY Dennis Coll 92-F25

Figure 13:



George N. Barnard, *Magnolia cemetery*, c. 1871, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection Shelf locator: MFY Dennis Coll 92-F25.

Figure 14:



George N. Barnard, *Margaretta Van Wagenen*, April 24, 1874, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division.

Figure 15:



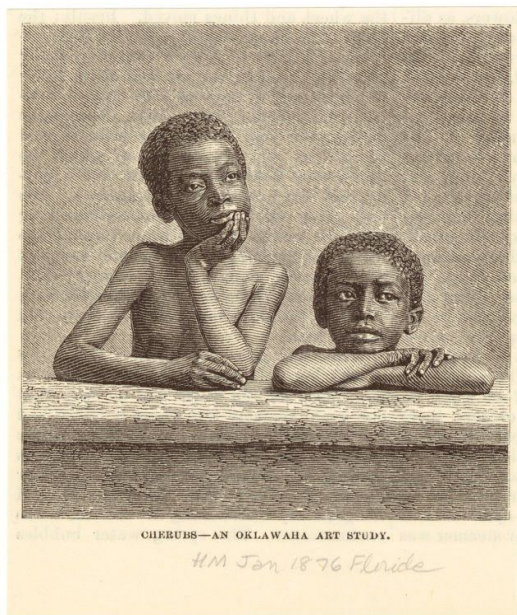
George N. Barnard, *South Carolina Cherubs (after Raphael)*, Charleston, S.C. by George N. Barnard, c.1874-1875. Albumen Stereograph, approximately 3 3/8 x 6 7/8 inches. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library.

Figure 16:



Rafael, *Sistine Madonna*, c.1512. Oil on canvas, 104 in × 77 inches. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

Figure 17:



After George N. Barnard, *Cherubs — An Oklawaha Art Study*, printed in “The Oklawaha,” *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, No. CCCVIII, Vol LII (January 1876) The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Picture Collection Shelf locator: PC AFRA-L-187.

Figure 18:



O. Pierre Havens, *The Cherubs. (Not) After Raphael*, c. 1876, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Photography Collection Shelf locator: MFY Dennis Coll 92-F136.

Figure 19:



Ronald Jones, *Untitled*, 1999, bronze sculpture, Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church.