

CRAFTING IDENTITY: THE OCCUPATIONAL DAGUERREOTYPE

PORTRAIT

By

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by

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Bachelor of Arts
George Mason University, 2008

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DEDICATION

For everyone who believes in me. Thank you.

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Little did I know at the outset that this body of work would prove to be a metaphor of my own self-making. As much as any product can be claimed by its creator, this thesis is in so many ways a fundamental part of the person I have become over the last four years, and the person I will become over the journey of my life. God may have had to drag me most of the way, but I have come to know myself and to trust in Him more deeply than ever before. I humbly express my sincerest love and gratitude to my family for their love, encouragement, and unwavering confidence in me: Mary Jo, Thomas, Rachel, James, Maura, and Steven—I cannot be me without *you*. Melissa, your spirit is woven into me and this work; you will never be forgotten. To my dear friends, and brothers and sisters in arms: you are too numerous to list, but know that your names have been written permanently in my heart; thank you. In a special way, I want to thank Bernadette and Genevieve, Kaitlin and Debbie, Becki and Breanna, Tamara and Shirin, James Snead and Andy Bickford, Josh, Dan, Chad, Dicky and Chris, Will, Virginia, Anthony x2, Kim and Rick, Olga and Sally, Emily and Hector, and Bob and Nancy for their unceasing faith, prodding, and support throughout this journey. Chelsea, you've been my sassy support and the Toad to my Frog; thank you for keeping me grounded these last two years—you're the best friend a gal could ever hope for.

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ABSTRACT

CRAFTING IDENTITY: THE OCCUPATIONAL DAGUERREOTYPE PORTRAIT

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This thesis examines the little-explored genre of the occupational daguerreotype portrait in antebellum America as a means of self-representation and as an individual's assertion of worthy acceptance in the middle-class. It simultaneously explores the social and economic conditions under which the photographic medium was introduced to American society, arguing that middle-class standards of respectable self-representation directly influenced the portraits of citizens, especially working-class workers, as they chose to demonstrate pride in their labor. More important, antebellum skilled artisans, in choosing to represent themselves with the "tools of their trade," demonstrated that labor was fundamental to their individual identity and the identity of the nation as a whole.

PROLOGUE

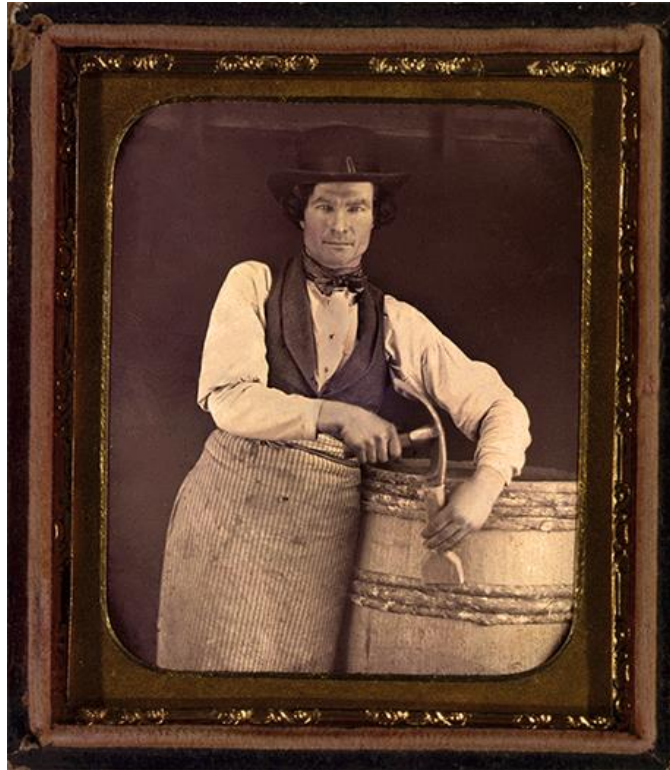


Figure I: Cooper (fig. 27)

In no country in the world has such provision ever been made before, by the beneficence of a private citizen; and we venture to make the assertion that the Cooper Institute will be the means of doing a thousand times more good to our country, than the Smithsonian Institute at Washington.¹

—*Scientific American*, October 1853

¹ “The Cooper Institute--A Noble Man.,” *Scientific American* (1845-1908); *New York*, October 1, 1853.

Sometime after 1851, a barrel maker decided to have his portrait made. Like many other artisans, he approached his local daguerreotype operator. Because the barrel was unwieldy, the operator agreed to come to the cooper's workplace. A handsome, albeit slightly cross-eyed, man with powerful hands, the barrel maker dressed in his "Sunday best": white shirt with studs (probably brass), simple wool waistcoat, fancy tie, and Kossuth hat. Adding a torn and very dirty apron to his dress, the cooper posed by a cask with the tools of his trade.²

The image at first glance seems mundane: a tradesman with his tools. But his odd clothing combination hints at a more complex interpretation. The cooper's clothes, in particular, are a combination of working-class apparel (apron and rolled sleeves) and middle-class attire (Kossuth hat, waistcoat, tie, and studs), suggesting that his occupation provided him with the means to purchase a set of clothing that would make him appear respectable in genteel society as well as his pride in his occupation's skills. The cooper, in short, desired to present himself as both a skilled artisan proud of his work—enough to memorialize his trade's tools and product in a photograph—and as a person who viewed himself as eligible for middle-class membership by his dress.

Prior to the widespread use of the daguerreotype in antebellum society, Americans largely lived in rural areas or small towns, knowing everyone with whom they

² The Kossuth hat helps to date the image. The soft felt, low-crowned hat was popular among both middle- and working-class men, although most Americans dispensed with the feather plumes or turkey feathers and opted for the plain buckle. Aside from its usefulness, the hat was also associated with revolutionary politics; Lajos Kossuth supported social and economic reforms and generally opposed the Austrian government throughout his life.

came into contact. Trust formed the basis for relationships of all kinds. Because the same people lived around each other throughout their lives, as a community, they shared both a local distinctiveness and a growing sense of a national identity. After the War of 1812, Towns gradually grew into cities filled with strangers. Relationships became defined by sentimental etiquette that was intended to pinpoint a person's character and identity. Lacking the social foundation of trust upon which to build a relationship, antebellum Americans necessarily questioned who they were in relation to others and, ultimately, *who they were* as individuals.

The occupational daguerreotype was a means of self-definition and representation as well as a more intimate reminder of an individual's ability for self-determination within American society between 1840 and 1860. More important, the occupational portrait reflected working-class concerns that their social status was threatened by industrialization but could be reclaimed by adopting middle-class accoutrements. The occupational portrait coincided with the economic transformations and the evolution of the culture of sentimentality characteristic of the early national period. As the culture of sentimentality defined middle-class membership by a codified set of social practices, distinct occupational labels categorized both middle-class and working-class employment. By 1890, many skilled working-class occupations had disappeared or had been refashioned into professions or other trades. As a result, the occupational portrait eventually vanished. Despite its disappearance, however, the occupational portrait left a legacy both concrete and notional. Based on a collection of 171 daguerreotypes, "Crafting Identity: The Occupational Daguerreotype Portrait" explores the transformation

of social class in antebellum America, largely, via visual representations of skilled, working-class occupations and, to a lesser extent, other occupational groups.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORIOGRAPHY

Young people ought betimes to study themselves very carefully; to consult with friends, and to ascertain how far their capacities agree with their inclinations, before they commit themselves for life to any career.³

—*Ballou's Dollar Monthly Magazine*, February 1857

Work, Identity, and Photography

Scholarly understanding of nineteenth century American society, labor, and labor transformations has evolved since E.P. Thompson wrote *The Making of the English Working Class* in 1966. These changes have also been well-documented by scholars of American industrialization, but later research provides new perspectives on how prolonged and deeply transformative the process was for the average American citizen. Not all changes occurred rapidly or on a large scale, though technological advances like the introduction of the power loom and advanced technologies in printing certainly caused a variety of occupations to react and adapt more quickly and sometimes more violently than others. Some changes took place on a smaller and/or slower scale, like the increasing number of women involved in the “rag trades,” writing, public education, and professional medicine. The process of shifting from artisanal methods of production to those of industrial manufacturing tore the traditional labor system apart in urban and semi-urban areas, forcing all Americans to re-evaluate their relationship with the

³ “Choosing a Profession.,” *Ballou's Dollar Monthly Magazine* (1855-1862); Boston, February 1857. ProQuest.

marketplace, the value of their labor, and their relationships with family and community. In short, the period of modern American growth and industrialization that occurred largely between 1820 and 1870, fundamentally changed every day American life. Many scholars have chronicled the changes emergent in the past fifty years of American scholarship in relationship to social class, race, gender, technology; none, however, have examined the intersection of these convergent themes as they present themselves in the occupational daguerreotype, particularly skilled laborers or artisans.

Historians in the 1960s and 70s, such as Alan Dawley, in *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution at Lynn*, Herbert Gutman in “Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919,” and Thomas Dublin in *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts* examined the emergence of a working class consciousness in the wake of uneven industrial transformation that blunted opportunities for economic and social mobility, political and religious conflicts, along with the concurrent breakdown of the artisanal apprenticeship model. This cohort of historians largely focused their studies on urban areas and centers of industrial manufacturing, elaborating how the divisive implementation of outwork and factory labor emerged from traditional artisanal culture in response to the growth of industrial society. By examining the working class, historians shifted the discussion away from the elite or landowner’s perspective. Scholars also began to incorporate overdue on how these changes affected women and women’s responses to the social upheaval. Social, labor, and economic historians utilized journals, census data, newspapers,

correspondence, pamphlets, government records, and other published records to bring the voice of the working class to light.

In 1977, Michael Hanagan made a critical observation. Published monographs, he argued, lacked a unified, defined terminology. As a result, he sought to clarify the terms “artisan” and “skilled worker” among historians. Drawing together criteria from Marx and Hobsbawm, Hanagan defined an “artisan” as “any worker who was highly skilled, possessed a wide range of skills, and exercised some control over the admission of workers into his trade.”⁴ Hanagan further explained that artisan skill-level changed based on the number of skilled workers available in the labor pool and the market demand for their skills. Both of these changes occurred and overlapped throughout the nineteenth century, fueling society’s fears over economic instability. Furthermore, Hanagan emphasized the skilled workers’ ability to control access to those skills as a critical factor, and that “[b]y focusing on the kind of work artisans performed and their control over access to the trade, it allow[ed] [historians] to detect the presence of the artisan inside the factory.”⁵

Concomitant with historical re-evaluation, the popular history of the photographic medium also emerged during the 1960s and 70s. Several compendia were published regarding the daguerreotype, in particular, beginning with Beaumont Newhall’s, *The*

⁴ Michael Hanagan, “Artisan and Skilled Worker: The Problem of Definition,” *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 12 (1977): 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

Daguerreotype in America in 1961.⁶ As the first of its kind, Newhall detailed the chemical and technological processes required to create a daguerreotype and some of the earliest attempts at capturing landscapes. Newhall explored portraits of famous personages by way of supplementing biographical sketches, but he did not address the transfer of traditional, portrait techniques from the painter-artist to the photographer. Richard Rudisill's, *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society*, published in 1971, explored the daguerreotype's influence on American culture by examining the initial language used to describe the medium in newspapers and popular magazines. He argued that the widespread use of the daguerreotype to depict daily life fostered a growing sense of national identity and unity. Rudisill concluded that the daguerreotype portrait provided the public with a new medium to interpret the technological, social, moral, political, and cultural changes taking place as the nation industrialized.⁷

Susan Sontag, a writer, political activist, and filmmaker, provocatively described modern Americans' exploitative use of photography as an escape from capitalist society in her definitive work, *On Photography* in 1977. Sontag argued that, like early discussions surrounding the power of the daguerreotype to manifest the spirit within a

⁶ Beaumont Newhall, the librarian for the Museum of Modern Art in New York, published a book to accompany the museum's first exhibit on photography in 1937, entitled *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, but it is his 1961 book on the daguerreotype that is most frequently referred to by daguerreian scholars. Beaumont's 1937 book is out of print, but available on the MoMA's website; see Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1937), <https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2088?locale=en>.

⁷ Richard Rudisill, *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971).

fixed reality, “people...seek to have their photographs taken—feel that they are images, and *are made real by photographs*.”⁸ By allowing the image to replace the living-experience which had been photographed, the subject allowed the camera to make and interpret their life. Every moment by this logic is worthy of being photographed, and every moment becomes significant *because* it has been photographed. In making one’s “self” *real* by creating a photograph, Sontag argued that, “the camera makes everyone a tourist in other people’s reality, and eventually in one’s own.”⁹ Effectively, individual interpretation becomes relative with persistent use of photography as an interpretive medium. The viewers cannot objectively state the truth of a picture when it is interpreted through a combination of another’s eyes (the subject) and their own (the camera lens). Sontag pursued this logic and posited that once a capitalist society begins to see and interpret its identity through pictures, images must continually be created or society’s shared identity fades.¹⁰ Sontag, in part, helps to explain the popularity of the daguerreotype’s consumption in antebellum society. People began to interpret themselves through their “exact likeness” and lost some of their ability to represent and interpret the world around them without the photographic medium.

The 1980s also witnessed an explosion of studies on the emergence of the working-class and middle-class, and introduced now-standard works on photographic

⁸ Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Picador USA : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 160-161. (Emphasis mine.)

⁹ *Ibid*, 57.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 178–80.

theory, nineteenth century literature, art, and social interaction, to name a few of the subjects. Most notably, as the title suggests, Sean Wilentz examined the rise of the working-class in *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850*. Wilentz looked at the various meanings of “republican”, “independence,” “freedom,” and “self-making” as they related to the value of an individual’s labor in the nineteenth century. The conflicts arose, Wilentz argued, when the artisan and the skilled worker’s interpretation of these critical terms diverged. On the one hand, the artisan-turned-employer believed that he could freely pursue profit with little concern for the correlation between wages and his skilled-employees’ quality of life. The skilled-employee, on the other hand, understood the term “republican” to mean that he had a right to be self-determinate within an equitable economic system, one which relied on fair wages across the board. The unstable economic situation would not support both these ideologies of “freedom,” and Wilentz painstakingly demonstrated the development of militant unionization among various trades in response to the tension.

Three critical studies produced in the 1980s concentrated on the emergence of the antebellum middle-class, starting with Mary Ryan’s *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County New York, 1790-1865*. Ryan examined American families in the rural areas and budding towns of New York during the 1830s and 1840s, the period in which industrialization began to transform the foundation of family life. Ryan discovered that the emergent middle-class no longer identified themselves according to traditional, family values maintained in the home. Traditional values, she argued, proved inadequate to support the individuals as they attempted to find their place in the midst of rapid

urbanization and industrialization. Individuals were compelled to rely on the mutable values and support of their urban companions as they adapted, creating their identity outside of the home. Ryan indicated that a familiar pattern emerged, however, and the new, urban morality was imposed on rural America, transforming familial values in the process.

Karen Halttunen's *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* elaborated upon the changing values of the urban middle-class, claiming: "The sentimental ideal of sincerity that shaped the norms of middle-class conduct in the antebellum period was central to the self-conscious self-definition of middle-class culture during the most critical period of its development."¹¹ Halttunen argued that collectively, Americans feared the social, political, and economic disorder caused by fluid urban environments. The root cause of this fear, she explained, ultimately lay in the ability of a person to change their identity at will, rendering interpersonal relationships and stable communities virtually impossible. The fluid nature of their environment compelled the middle-class to control individual self-representative measures, including manners of dress and etiquette in order to create a shared sense of stability. These prescriptive measures once established, were used to define collective expectations of respectability, determine an individual's social class, and exclude anyone who did not conform to expectations. In claiming exclusive authority over an individual's

¹¹ Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870*, Yale Historical Publications 129 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), xvii.

manner of self-representation, the antebellum middle-class effectively claimed authority over identity, both individual and collective.

Stuart Blumin, in *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*, acknowledged that historians had begun to take for granted that an American middle-class emerged during the antebellum period without actually examining the process. Blumin methodically tackled the difficult task, examining how the average person mitigated the social, political, and economic rifts present in antebellum daily life. Central to his argument was the division between the proprietor and wage-earner and the separation of the workplace from the home. Blumin juxtaposed his argument with previous studies on the working class and found that, unlike the working and upper classes, the middle class did not collectively identify themselves through comparisons with other classes. Rather, the middle class defined its membership by whether or not an individual *belonged*; in other words, middle class membership was validated internally.¹²

Studies on daguerreotype portraiture over the last thirty years primarily examined its manifestation in antebellum culture as it appeared in literature and poetry, more specifically as a means of externalizing a person's internal character.¹³ Scholars also

¹² Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*, Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 251.

¹³ See Kathryn Gail Humphreys, "Counterfeiting Authenticity: Fictional Portraits in the Age of Photography (Hawthorne, James, Wharton, Wilde)" (Cornell University, 1988); Susan Shidal Williams, "The Confounding Image: The Figure of the Portrait in Nineteenth Century American Fiction" (Yale University, 1991); Kimberly Kay Lamm, "Composing and Contesting the Space of Visibility: Literary and Visual Portraiture in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century American Culture" (University of

emphasized the daguerreotype's use as an object of consumption and marker of social class, as Shirley Wajda did in "'Social currency': A Domestic History of the Portrait Photograph in the United States, 1839-1889." Susan Newberry examined the efforts of early photographers to market the daguerreotype as a desirable product to the middle class in an effort to understand their patterns of consumption in "Commerce and Ritual in American Daguerreian Portraiture, 1839-1859." Jane Aspinwell confirmed that daguerreian portraiture relied on and appropriated methods used in traditional portraiture in order to create a "good likeness" in "'Like a bird before a snake': Nineteenth-Century Portraiture and its Relationship to the American Daguerreotype." More recently, Marcy Dinius in *The Camera and the Press: American Visual and Print Culture in the Age of the Daguerreotype*, reminded scholars that America's first encounter with the visual medium of the daguerreotype was through the written word, and that a few years passed before daguerreotype portraiture became accessible to the average person. These studies emphasized the nuances present in antebellum society's use of the daguerreotype for shaping and making identity available to others.

At present, the most common niches of daguerreotype portraiture, to include postmortem images, phrenological studies, and early scientific inquiry have been examined in their original contexts and give modern scholars a more complete picture of

Washington, 2007); Rebecca Lynn Andujar, "Living in the Shadows, Striving for the Light: The Impact of the Daguerreotype within 'The House of the Seven Gables'" (Southern Connecticut State University, 2011); Holly Fulton Osborn, "Apparitional Economies: Spectral Imagery in the Antebellum Imagination" (University of Kentucky, 2014).

antebellum American society.¹⁴ The occupational portrait, in contrast, is usually referred to as kind of footnote in broad studies of photography and daguerreotype portraiture, and has yet to be explored in depth. The existing body of scholarly research on the subjects of labor, class, gender, and race strives to create a comprehensive picture of antebellum society, and its considerable volume indicates the importance of these factors in antebellum society. The volume of research further emphasizes the importance of these nineteenth century notions as foundations for our modern ideas about labor, class, society, gender, race, and identity. The invention and rapid spread of photography served to further nuance antebellum concepts of identity, and modern scholars argue that “[r]epresenting the past, photographs serve the present’s need to understand itself and measure its future.”¹⁵ The occupational daguerreotype portrait should, predictably enough, be used along with other contemporaneous records of occupational representation in order to fill in the “perspective gap” inherent in visual methods of self-representation. By examining the occupational daguerreotype alongside multidisciplinary studies of the antebellum period, scholars will be able to fill in the visual component in their historical studies, that up to this point have been largely absent.

¹⁴ See Elizabeth Paris, “Suspension of Grief (and Disbelief): The Evolution of Postmortem Photography in Nineteenth Century America” (The University of Texas at San Antonio, 2015); Susan M. Barger, “The Daguerreotype: Image Structure, Optical Properties, and a Scientific Interpretation of Daguerreotypy” (The Pennsylvania State University, 1982); Sarah Catherine Gillespie, “Samuel F. B. Morse and the Daguerreotype: Art and Science in American Culture, 1835–1855” (City University of New York, 2006); Matthew K. Gold, “The Culture of Proof: Science, Religion, and Photography in America, 1780–1875” (City University of New York, 2006).

¹⁵ Alan. Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*, 1st ed.. (New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 1989), xvii.

CHAPTER TWO: NINETEENTH CENTURY ECONOMIC CONTEXT & IDENTITY

Labor is needful to a knowledge of ourselves.¹⁶

—Unknown, *The Ladies' Repository*, December 1851

Nowhere is the turmoil of the antebellum period more visually apparent than in the occupational daguerreotype portrait. Industrialization associated with, more particularly, those relating to economic instability and the expansion of the urban environment contributed to a series of economic depressions and social upheavals. Not only did the uncertainty of losing one's livelihood to mechanization and the devaluing of skilled labor cause an identity crisis for the individual American, but it also spurred a collective social and national identity crisis as well. The traditional ideologies of the "self-made man," encapsulated in democratic principles of individualism and disseminated through popular success manuals, no longer guaranteed automatic achievement of upward economic or social mobility within the market.¹⁷ This was

16 "Labor! Labor!," *The Ladies' Repository; a Monthly Periodical, Devoted to Literature, Art and Religion* (1849-1876); Cincinnati, December 1851. ProQuest.

17 Alexis de Tocqueville stated in his second volume of *Democracy in America*, that "without ever having taken the trouble to define the rules of a philosophical method, [the American people] are in possession of one, common to the whole people....Nor can men living in this state of society derive their belief from the opinions of the class to which they belong; for, so to speak, there are no longer any classes, or those which still exist are composed of such mobile elements, that their body can never exercise control over its members....The Americans then have not required to extract their philosophical method from books; they have found it in themselves." Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1-3. The American population began to shift into expanding urban areas during the antebellum period, and when combined with market vulnerability, financial status grew to be the new social-class determinant. Those with financial wealth became the new bourgeois "ruling class," in some cases supplanting wealthy landowners, and those with little financial wealth struggled to make their concerns known to the general public.

especially true when individual aspirations were delayed or destroyed by young men's—and they were almost entirely men—inability to provide financially for themselves and their families amidst frequent market collapses.

The severity of the Panic of 1837 damaged not only the national market economy but also, and more important, forced individual Americans to confront how they viewed themselves and their abilities to create a stable, “self-made” life in the face of an unpredictable marketplace.¹⁸ Individual's perceived-inability to achieve upward economic and social mobility was crippling, imparting a general feeling of self-doubt to the majority of the population and leaving them in a liminal state. With every opportunity seemingly open to them for success and no clear means of achieving it honestly, the antebellum American “lived suspended between the facts of his present social condition and the promise of his future, because he held a vertical vision of life in an allegedly fluid and boundless social system, he was plagued with anxiety concerning his social identity.”¹⁹

18 Templin, *Panic Fiction: Women and Antebellum Economic Crisis*; Lepler, “1837”; Siles, Jones, and Shipman, “Quiet Desperation”; Adams, “How Choice Fueled Panic.” One fascinating change in panic literature is explored by Mary Templin in *Panic Fiction*. By providing for the poor—an extension of the ‘domestic sphere’ outside the home which generally proposed to give women authority and a measure of autonomy in their lives—women were viewed, and viewed themselves as fulfilling their primary purpose in life. Templin argues that by 1860, as a result of continuing economic panics, the internal divisions had so completely stratified the middling-class according to financial means that women felt unable to fulfil their domestic (private) and moral (social) duties of caring for the poor and members of the working class. Depending on their economic circumstances, this caused individual crises of feminine identity. When they felt unable to provide for others in extension to providing for their families, middle-class women viewed themselves as failures in nearly every area of their lives, but most particularly they felt they had failed at achieving and maintaining their ‘femininity’. The same can certainly be said of men who strove for independence within an economically narrow system; men equated failure with a loss of ‘manhood’; see: Wills, “Respectable Mediocrity” for more on male conceptions of individual failure.

19 Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*, 192.

The divergent identities of men and women in society and the workplace at this time are best understood through the concept of “spheres of influence.” These “spheres,” in turn gave birth to the domains of what historians have termed the “cult of domesticity” and the mythology of the “self-made man.” In response to and concurrent with the development of industrialization, the “cult of domesticity” and “the self-made man” assumed that the family home was no longer the center of production or a person’s livelihood.²⁰ The self-made, skilled, and self-employed artisan began to remove their traditional workplace from the home and journey daily to a location specifically delineated for the purposes of production and/or commerce. Because of this deliberate change, women were marginalized in the workplace and, theoretically, relegated to the confines of the home. Women’s labor continued much the same way that it had, but its value fundamentally changed: “As it became more common for men to exchange their labor for [sic] wages, production for use came to be identified as a distinctly female activity, [and] associated with the social, but not economic, maintenance of family life.”²¹ The physical separation of marketplace labor from the home allowed for those parts of the home, once oriented to production and public interaction, to be transformed into the semi-public realm of the domestic parlor.

Historian, Mary Ryan found that the “cult of domesticity,” a set of idealized parameters by which a woman might respectably interact with the world at large while

20 Mary P Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 - 1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998), 147.

21 Reva B. Siegel, “Valuing Housework: Nineteenth-Century Anxieties About the Commodification of Domestic Labor,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 41, no. 10 (August 1, 1998): 1436.

reigning over her domestic realm, was often contradicted by the changing nature of the economy that required a woman to enter the public world of work, a man's sphere. Ryan asserted that by sending daughters and wives into the workforce, the middling-class family consciously, collectively, and over time earned the cost of their brother/son's education and preparation for a white-collar or professional occupation in order to advance the entire family's economic and social interests.²² This sacrifice, though not unique to the middle-class, was most predominantly observed among would-be middle-class households as a response to the dissolved apprenticeship model and the realistically-limited opportunities available for young men to transform clerkships and apprenticed labor into proprietorship. A woman was expected to infuse the home and all its occupants with respectability through her moral, upright character and loving guidance, thereby, making "[h]ome [appear] as a sanctuary of peace and warmth amid the tensions of business, professional, and factory life, and the anonymity and turmoil of the city."²³

In relying on his occupation as the foundation for his identity, the antebellum man naturally took great pride in the skills he developed and used in the execution of his labors, regardless of social class or economic status. The trouble emerged with the

22 Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 152–73. Where Ryan detailed middle-class efforts, Stephan Thernstrom did the same for those in the poorer classes of society in *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*. In contrast to participating in outwork, many well-off middle-class women applied their skills with a needle for no pay within their homes for the benefit of their families. Women bore the burden of re-fashioning old or out-of-style clothing for their family, particularly if the family was of "restricted means, where the father is obliged, by his line of life or connections, to keep up what is called a respectable or genteel appearance," ("The Economics of Clothing and Dress.: Remaking and Mending," *Godey's Lady's Book* (1848-1854); New York, May 1854.)

23 Mary P. Ryan, "American Society and the Cult of Domesticity, 1830-1860" (University of California, Santa Barbara, 1971).

introduction of mechanization, which fostered the market's increasing demand for consumable goods: "Mechanization showed the spirit of national progress and man's dominion over nature; this control over nature was seen as man's individual power," but the individual man could not control the unstable economic force called "capitalism."²⁴ White-collar, middle-class artisans and proprietors began to subdivide skills within their trades in order to maximize production and profit. This consequently devalued the composite skills in which the artisan once prided himself. He had traditionally been lauded in his role as a productive member of American society, and "[b]y 1850, this process of subdivision and putting-out had advanced to the point that most of [America's] leading trades could barely be called crafts at all, even though some workers still clung to the appellations 'mechanic' and 'journeymen.'"²⁵

This 1849 description of a blacksmith's daguerreotype portrait demonstrates that antebellum identity was fundamentally rooted in productive labor and publicly represented as such. After describing the image in detail, the author exclaimed:

Why, 'tis the picture of a blacksmith. Exactly so. He's a man—and he's not ashamed to appear as such. He is an American citizen, realizing, and practically vindicating the dignity of labor. His demand upon the artist's skill is not made in holiday attire. There is no exclusiveness of character about him, to induce him to effect a '*counterfeit* presentment'—an appearance by which he is only casually, not commonly known. That may be all well enough, however, in its place. But whatever he may choose to be in one picture, he appears before the public eye in another, and challenges recognition as a blacksmith.²⁶

24 Jane Lee Aspinwall, "'Like a Bird before a Snake': Nineteenth-Century Portraiture and Its Relationship to the American Daguerreotype" (University of Missouri - Kansas City, 2001), 31.

25 Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 113.

The author further explained that the blacksmith felt no need to disguise himself or his manner of labor when in public in order to proclaim his value as a man and as an American citizen. In fact, writer goes on to say that it is precisely *because of his labor* that the blacksmith is valued by society, and that he ought to display his labors as they are, and with great pride: “The productive man, the laborer, the mechanic, the artisan of every kind must realize the principle, that, as wealth is derived solely from labor, he is the original source of the national substance; and that without him there can be no wealth, no property. And he must entertain that sentiment which will induce him to assert in every proper way his sense of the importance of his position in the social ranks.”²⁷

Finally, the author addresses the evident complications in achieving upward mobility due to social prejudices against manual labor and the individuals who perform it:

[U]nder the beneficent institutions of our country, the complete personal liberty and independence of every citizen, are guarantees for the successful maintenance of the dignity of labor; and *the establishment of every just claim to rank and position in society conferred by honest industry, in whatsoever class of labor it may be engaged.*²⁸[italics mine]

Labor allowed citizens to claim the smithy and other similarly situated workers the rights to opportunity and elevate themselves in society if they chose to do so. The author proclaimed that honest labor entitled the smithy to any “rank and position in society.”

26 “The Daguerreotype,” *The Sun (1837-1991)*; *Baltimore, Md.*, March 24, 1849. ProQuest. (Emphasis original.)

27 *Ibid.*

28 *Ibid.*

Social prejudices about respectable forms of labor conflicted with traditional notions of success that were promulgated across generations in advice and success manuals. Success manuals assured young men that by developing a strong, moral character and work ethic, they would inevitably come out on top, regardless of the form their labor took.²⁹ The youngest generation of Americans faced the challenge of adapting traditional measures of “success” to a capitalist market that often demanded immoral competition in order to get ahead. Many men were unable to find ways to reconcile themselves to participating in this fashion, and confronted failure instead. Massive generational failure was a troubling problem their parents had largely not had to face. The Revolutionary War generation, having lived in rural communities and small towns did not know how to handle the effects of rapid urbanization on a national scale. They continued to extol their traditional virtues, resulting in the creation of confusion among the antebellum’s young men regarding their independent identity.³⁰ Youthful ambitions inevitably gave way to the practical need to earn a living, and one’s occupation became the ultimate signifier of an individual’s success or failure in life.

Lacking a solid foundation of individual or collective identity and a guiding, national purpose to rely on, the emergent middle-class developed new ways of

29 Judy Arlene Hilkey, *Character Is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

30 Rex Burns, *Success in America: The Yeoman Dream and the Industrial Revolution* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976); Edward J. Balleisen, *Navigating Failure: Bankruptcy and Commercial Society in Antebellum America* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Joshua M. Tendler, “Sublime Insolvency: The Aesthetics of Failure and American Literature after the Panic of 1837” (The Pennsylvania State University, 2014); Wills, “Respectable Mediocrity.”

confronting uncertainty by requiring transparent displays of sincere feeling from their social equals. The underlying intent of establishing well-defined social rules was to demarcate the boundaries of social class nullified by democratic principles of equality; “[i]n sweeping away the privileges of the few, American democracy had opened the way to a universal scramble for distinction in which most men were doomed to disappointment.”³¹ Social interactions became heavily layered, symbolic rituals designed to single out anyone who did not conform to notions of respectability; “[t]o be middle-class in America, according to sentimentalists, was to be sincere and to demonstrate one’s sincerity through the proper forms of dress, courtesy, and social ritual.”³² In subscribing to and participating in social mores regarding dress, gender roles, marketplace consumption, labor, education, mourning, and hosts of other coded means of self-representation, an individual was able to identify easily those who belonged to their social class and those who did not. By transforming the rules of conduct associated with every possible aspect of American life, the middle-class effectively declared themselves the arbiters of morality, respectability, and success. Having established interpersonal

31 *Ibid*, 191.

32 *Ibid*, 197. One method of implementing the rituals and rules of social interaction was through the dissemination of conduct manuals and circulars. Conduct manuals were consumed by men of all social rank and occupation and often passed down from generation to generation. “The conduct manuals were aimed at an audience of aspiring men and women who hoped to fulfill the promise of the allegedly open society of Jacksonian America, either by entering the ranks of the middle class from below or by rising within those ranks to higher and higher levels of gentility.” Halttunen [xv]. See also Judy Arlene Hilkey, *Character Is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America* (Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

certainty fundamentally rooted in self-representation, the middle-class became the invisible hand guiding the nation to a collective sense of purpose and identity.

To attain middle-class status, individuals were required to display their “true selves” publicly but were paradoxically required to conform to social conventions in order to create an identity considered acceptable for public display. During the antebellum period, people identified themselves by a host of factors, the quintessential factor being their occupation. Persons’ occupations dictated their financial means and allowed them to participate in the growing consumer culture that provided the dress and accessories necessary for respectable self-presentation. Failure to keep pace with popular culture risked social alienation, signaling an overall failure from which there was little hope of recovery.

Contemporary critics and moralists argued, however, that by subscribing to popular consumer culture, the individual no longer displayed true sincerity of feeling or individual judgement but conformed to externally-conceived notions of identity and self-representation; “the process of acquiring goods as well as the ownership of goods provided a means by which a specific *group* defined itself and maintained its identity.”³³ Polite society, in other words, demanded that people autonomously represent their “true selves” publicly but required them to follow a proscriptive set of conditions in order to craft that identity. Under these inconsistent social and economic conditions, it is not surprising that people were conflicted about how best to display who they were. With the

33 Wajda, “Social Currency,” 44–45. (Emphasis mine.)

advent of the daguerreotype in 1839, the average American could acquire the means to mediate the conflicts in their public and private representations of “self.” The daguerreotype, brought from France by American newspapers in 1839, quickly became one of the antebellum period’s primary means of public self-representation. The mirror-like photographic portrait transfigured the artistic traditions of the painted portrait onto a sensitized plate in a matter of minutes and literally “reflected” a sitter’s self-representation.

Individuals represented in occupational portraits identified the fundamental importance of labor to the creation of their identity. In choosing to represent themselves in relation to their work, the artisan/subjects actively *asserted* an identity in antebellum society, demanding acknowledgement of the respectability and value of their labor. Once the collective middling-class accepted these assertions, the individual necessarily acquired entrée to middle-class society. The changeable nature of the middling-class allowed for exclusion, however, in the event that anyone already included failed to maintain the expected standards of respectability. In keeping with the democratic principle of individualism, the occupational portrait demonstrated the importance of labor in an individual’s efforts to be self-determinate.

Alan Trachtenberg wrote that “[w]hile daguerreotypes were produced as commodities, manufactured objects to be exchanged for money in a market transaction, each remained a unique possession,” and a unique representation of the person depicted.³⁴

34 Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, *Photography in Nineteenth-Century America* (Fort Worth [Tex.] : New York: Amon Carter Museum ; H.N. Abrams, 1991), 43.

In a nation dominated by the efforts of the collective middle-class to establish and enforce rules of social conformity, the occupational daguerreotype stands out as an individual's concerted effort to proclaim a personal conceptualization of identity, success, and self-determination. In other words, the occupational portrait provided a framework through which individuals could reconcile their internal identity as a member of the middle class and external identity as a member of the working class as well as validate their self-worth through the camera lens.

CHAPTER THREE: OCCUPATIONAL PORTRAIT OVERVIEW

What we get for nothing is thought lightly of; but we know well the value of what has come in the shape of a remuneration for our labor.³⁵

—Unknown, *The Youth's Companion*, February 1849

Exploring the Catalog

Catalog statistics reconfirm historically-documented facts about the antebellum workforce, specifically that it was male-dominant; 92 percent of the catalog portraits belong to men. There are, however, surprising elements throughout the collection, some of which are elaborated on through an examination of the representative portraits. Other features of antebellum work remain conspicuous by their absence, such as a distinct absence of women and children in occupations where their presence has been thoroughly-documented by other means. There are also minimal representations of mature-aged persons, a feature which should not be taken for granted, but one that requires additional historical data. The occupational portrait, by this measure, was the preferred medium of the American young adult and men and women at the peak of their productive power in society.

The catalog of 171 portraits is almost evenly divided in terms of class. Forty-seven percent of the portraits represent white-collar, middle-class occupations and number forty-one different occupations. The blue-collar, working-class is slightly larger,

³⁵ “Morality.: ADVICE FOR YOUNG MEN.,” *The Youth's Companion* (1827-1929); Boston, February 15, 1849.

however, comprising 53 percent of the total catalog and representing forty-five different occupations. The influence of middle-class social expectations and aspirations are recurrent themes throughout the catalog.

The occupational portrait demonstrates that antebellum Americans fundamentally presented themselves in public *as unique individuals* no different from their twenty-first century counterparts. While blue-collar, working-class individuals may have seen fit to appropriate the methods of presentation preferred by the middle-class, not everyone did so, nor did every portrait of middle-class individuals display ostentatious affectations. Occupational daguerreotype portraits should be examined independently in order to understand what the individual person intended to communicate about themselves. Their individual identity however, cannot be separated from that of their community and society, in and through which they understand their unique purpose and value. For these reasons, it is possible and, more important necessary to examine the “standard” occupational portrait, examining its individual components, in order to better understand the individual’s perspective within the context of their society.

General Composition



Figure II: Milliners (fig. 88)

The general composition of an occupational portrait includes at least one dressed individual, often seated, with their occupational paraphernalia. By the time occupational portraiture became popular in the 1850s, studios had accumulated props and materials with which an individual could pose, including tables, chairs, shelves, painted backdrops, flowers, books, additional clothing, and other kinds of positioning equipment that are evident throughout the catalog. Hermann Vogel complained in 1870 that, “[Photographers] have a complete furniture store in their ateliers,” and that the purpose of

props should be simple, so as to facilitate ease and efficiency of time and use.³⁶ In the case of occupational portraits, however, the individual portrayed usually came to the studio bringing his or her own set of props or the tools of their trade. These tools became the demonstrable symbol of the individual's pride in their skill and the implied social benefits resulting from their labors. The tools were central in the portrait.

Certain objects remained difficult to move or impossible to bring inside a studio by their very nature. A firemen's truck, for example, required the daguerreotypist to bring his camera equipment to the workplace and take the sitter's likeness on-site. Walls, machinery, vehicles, and an established workshop or place of business were occasionally featured in these portraits because of the nature of the tools, or the distinctiveness of the location in determining the occupation.³⁷ Perhaps the expense for such an out-of-studio portrait was greater for the city-based daguerreotypist, though the larger fee reflected the sitters' determination in having their likeness taken in their particular occupational setting.

³⁶ Vogel, Hermann Wilhelm, and Edward F. Moelling, *Handbook of the Practice and Art of Photography* (Philadelphia, Benerman & Wilson, 1871): 39.

³⁷ Even when the tools and/or location are represented in an occupational portrait, it is not always possible to determine the exact occupation represented. For example, Figure 33, "Man with mallet and chisel" displays just those tools, and we may reasonably determine thereby his categorization as a skilled laborer. What we cannot determine based on the image and implements alone is what exact occupation he performed. He may have been a carpenter, a stonemason, or a cooper as they all utilized similar tools in the execution of their labors and it appears that his portrait was taken inside a studio, rendering moot any potential clues to be gained based on the location of his work.

Gender, Age, Race, and Ethnicity



Figure III: A Chip off the Old Wood Block Plane (fig. 123)

Over 90 percent of the portraits in this particular catalog are of male persons. While this is not a surprising statistic given that labor outside the home in the nineteenth century was male-dominant, women appeared in occupational daguerreotypes. The same can be said for children and slaves, freed persons, and, by implication, immigrants demonstrating their involvement in the world of work.

Women appear in occupational portraiture demonstrating the myriad skills which emerged as an outgrowth of domestic labor, most frequently in the unskilled labor category as caretakers of children and domestic servants. They also appear in the skilled labor category as milliners and a seamstress, perhaps running their own shops or working

out of their homes.³⁸ Women appear less frequently in the commercial and pre-professional categories and only once in the entertainment category, although women at the time owned their own businesses, performed on stages around the nation as dancers, actresses, singers, and as other kinds of entertainers, and began to infiltrate the pre-professional occupations by way of nursing, teaching, literary efforts, and medicine.³⁹ Additionally, women of all races and class parlayed their reform efforts into a kind of proto-labor throughout the antebellum period, spanning all categories of occupation and all racial, ethnic, religious, and political determiners. They may not have earned monetary reward for these reform efforts in most cases, but their continued efforts helped define the role of women in public life and broaden the options available to women in the workplace.⁴⁰

³⁸ Groneman and Norton, *To Toil the Livelong Day*; Talbot, "Dreadful Fashionable"; Cole, "Going to Market"; Siegel, "Home As Work"; Sokoloff, "Industrialization and the Growth of the Manufacturing Sector in the Northeast, 1820 - 1850"; Simon, "She Is so Neat and Fits so Well"; Hapke, "A Shop Is Not a Home"; Grant, "Clarina Howard Nichols, 1810-1885"; Blewett, "Work, Gender and the Artisan Tradition in New England Shoemaking, 1780-1860."

³⁹ Wendy Gamber, "A Gendered Enterprise: Placing Nineteenth-Century Businesswomen in History," *Business History Review*; Boston 72, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 188–218; Susan Ingalls Lewis, "Women in the Marketplace: Female Entrepreneurship, Business Patterns, and Working Families in Mid-Nineteenth Century Albany, New York, 1830–1885" (State University of New York at Binghamton, 2002); Tracy C Davis, *Actresses as Working Women Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture* (London: Routledge, 2005); Faye E. Dudden, *Women in the American Theatre: Actresses & Audiences, 1790-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Cindy Sondik Aron, *Ladies and Gentlemen of the Civil Service: Middle-Class Workers in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Geraldine J. Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes: A Social History of Women Teachers in America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Elana Marie Crane, "Urban Intelligence: American Women Writers and the City, 1830-1880" (The University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee, 1997); Virginia G. Drachman, "Women Lawyers and the Quest for Professional Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century America," *Michigan Law Review* 88, no. 8 (1990): 2414–43; Carolyn Skinner, *Women Physicians and Professional Ethos in Nineteenth-Century America, Studies in Rhetorics and Feminisms Ser.* (Southern Illinois University Press, 2014); R. Laurence Moore, "The Spiritualist Medium: A Study of Female Professionalism in Victorian America," *American Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (1975): 200–221.

The literature regarding domestics and mistresses by social commentators and masters/mistresses themselves in advice magazines, domestic manuals, sentimental literature, lyceum lectures, court proceedings, journals, and letters are evidence of the integral role of the “servant problem” in daily antebellum life. For a domestic matter that was supposed to be kept private, frequent, public commentary about the servant in the home seemed to be anything but private. Whether the women are enslaved or free person is problematic. The distinction between “slave” and “servant,” though seemingly clear to us in the twenty-first century was not so clear in the nineteenth. The same is true for the use of the title “mistress,” which, in fact is exactly what antebellum women intended, as Barbara Ryan argues:

many slaveholders called chattel “servants,” and many wage-payers thought the names “master” and “mistress” appropriate in the home...One reason to do so, obviously enough, was to elevate middle-class women's duties; another, perhaps,

⁴⁰ There were also regional, racial, and ethnic-based determinants about the kinds of labor a woman could perform, as historians concentrating on women's history have amply demonstrated: Carol Lasser and Stacey Robertson, *Antebellum Women: Private, Public, Partisan* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010); Melissa Ladd Teed, “Work, Domesticity and Localism: Women’s Public Identity in Nineteenth-Century Hartford, Connecticut” (University of Connecticut, 1999); T. Gregory Garvey, *Creating the Culture of Reform in Antebellum America* (Athens; London: University of Georgia Press, 2006); Mary H. Blewett, “Work, Gender and the Artisan Tradition in New England Shoemaking, 1780-1860,” *Journal of Social History* 17, no. 2 (1983): 221–48; Jane E. Dabel, “‘I Have Gone Quietly to Work for the Support of My Three Children’: African-American Mothers in New York City, 1827-1877,” *Afro - Americans in New York Life and History*; New York 27, no. 2 (July 2003): 7; Susan Eva O’Donovan, “Transforming Work: Slavery, Free Labor, and the Household in Southwest Georgia, 1850-1880” (University of California, San Diego, 1997); George M. Blackburn and Sherman L. Ricards, “Unequal Opportunity on a Mining Frontier: The Role of Gender, Race, and Birthplace,” *Pacific Historical Review* 62, no. 1 (1993): 19–38; Leslie Maria Harris, “Creating the African American Working Class: Black and White Workers, Abolitionists and Reformers in New York City, 1785-1863” (Stanford University, 1995); Catherine Mary Eagan, “‘I Did Imagine...we Had Ceased to Be Whitewashed Negroes’: The Racial Formation of Irish Identity in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and America” (Boston College, 2000); Sakina Mariam Hughes, “Under One Big Tent: American Indians, African Americans and the Circus World of Nineteenth-Century America” (Michigan State University, 2012); Jonathan David Sarnoff, “White Women and Respectability in Antebellum New Orleans, 1830–1861” (The University of Southern Mississippi, 2003); Corinne T. Field, “‘Are Women... All Minors? Woman’s Rights and the Politics of Aging in the Antebellum United States,” *Journal of Women’s History* 12, no. 4 (January 1, 2001): 113–37.

to gain the emotional resonance of time-honored social roles. At the same time, the term 'mistress' could be seen as keeping ladies' household management separate from waged relations.⁴¹

Stephanie Cole, for example, demonstrated the South's general preference for enslaved, young, black women to provide child-care where the North preferred free, older white women who would substitute for the "natural mother" of the child in the same office.⁴²

These difficulties hinder the process of illuminating individual experiences of servitude.⁴³

The small number of women present in occupational portraiture suggest that these portraits were taken deliberately and with careful thought about composition, especially because the sitter expected to purchase the image. Five women appear at first glance to have been in the right place at the right time in order to have been captured in the Ohio Star delivery cart (fig. 209) daguerreotype. The fact that these five women were included in the background of this image of the Ohio Star delivery system indicates that they had

⁴¹ Barbara T. Ryan, "'Uneasy Relation': Servants' Place in the Nineteenth-Century American Home" (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994), 6. This is to say nothing about the perceived status and expected responsibilities of an individual based on specific function in the home, say those of a field-hand, parlor maid, or lackey, for example.

⁴² Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, *Neither Lady nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

⁴³ The familial status of servants, whether bonded or hired, boarding with the served-family or not, provides further cause for delineation among servitude narratives. The distinction of 'hired help' or 'hired girl/boy' in advertisements and published literature is frequently in reference to those hired for farm or seasonal work. These individuals may have been related to their employers in some fashion, though not usually. Though not covered in any meaningful depth here, the topic has generated solid literature in recent decades. See Carol S. Lasser, "Mistress, Maid and Market: The Transformation of Domestic Service in New England, 1790-1870" (Harvard University, 1982); Barbara T. Ryan, "'Uneasy Relation'"; Mary Cathryn Cain, "Love, Wages, Slavery: The Literature of Servitude in the United States," *The Journal of Southern History*; Athens 74, no. 1 (February 2008): 174–75.

some role in the process of the Ohio Star's creation, likely as typesetters, burnishers, "rubbers," or packers.⁴⁴

In the images of a young, male fireman (Fig. 77), young, male cobbler (Fig. 85), and Staff of the Express (Fig. 209) we see the use of child labor in pre-professional and skilled labor occupations.⁴⁵ An individual's age in an occupational portrait, too, signals of the importance work played in the formation of identity. The earlier in life a person entered the working world, the more closely he or she used their occupation as a form of self-identification, representation, and self-determination. Without work or some other means of support, a person had no means of controlling their destiny or improving their quality of life in the antebellum world.

⁴⁴ For more on women's involvement in the creation of newspapers, see, "National Women's History Museum: Women with a Deadline." Last accessed April 17, 2016. <https://www.nwhm.org/online-exhibits/womenwithdeadlines/wwd1.htm>.

⁴⁵ For more rounded focus on the implementation of child/youth-labor, see Coogan, "The Forging of a New Mill Town"; DiGirolamo, "Crying the News"; Davenport, "Arming the City"; Sam. Mitrani, *The Rise of the Chicago Police Department*; Blewett, "Work, Gender and the Artisan Tradition in New England Shoemaking, 1780-1860."

On-Site or Studio



*Figure IV: Blacksmith I
(fig.23)*



*Figure V: Portrait of a
Blacksmith in his Workshop (fig. 24)*

Why, 'tis the picture of a blacksmith. Exactly so. He's a man—and he's not ashamed to appear as such.⁴⁶

—*Baltimore Sun*, March 1849

The overwhelming majority of portraits in this sample base were taken in a photographic studio. Only those images most certainly taken on-site, like those of gold miners and the undertaker/gravedigger can be considered as having been taken 'on-site,' though many others have the potential to have been outside of the studio.⁴⁷ While a few

⁴⁶ "The Daguerreotype."

⁴⁷ See Figures 2, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 21, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 41, 43, 44, 46, 50, 54, 56, 60, 61, 86, 90, 91, 96, 100, 92, 95, 98, 101, 103, 106, 108, 109, 112, 116, 126, 130, 131, 138, and 196 for portraits unquestionably taken on-site and those with the potential to have been taken on-site.

of the earliest images display a lack of skill required to capture the setting or the individuals properly, the early daguerreotypists attempted to incorporate the “natural” setting of the occupation. The early operators’ efforts both advanced the technologies of the craft and the image’s artistic value. Several of the portraits possibly indicate that they were taken on-site by the very nature of the occupation. The lighthouse keeper with the poorly arranged background draperies, the tailor seated on rolls of fabric, and the chiropodist examining a bare foot serve as good examples.⁴⁸ There are, however, no outright signs that give the viewer the exact location presented in the portrait. Locational ambiguity indicated the daguerreotypists’ custom and, therefore, their financial ability or lack to provide clients with a more realistic, aesthetically-pleasing setting for the background. A setting’s ambiguity may also be attributed to the daguerreotypist’s skill in disguising background drapery as the kind that belonged in a fixed or mobile studio, preventing the viewer from seeing that the image was actually taken on location.

That an individual would commission a portrait in their place of work but require that the daguerreotypist disguise the location as a studio is puzzling. The explanation for this curious technique proceeded from the similar goals of the photographer and the sitter; both wanted the final portrait to be the best possible representation of themselves and their work. One historian commented specifically on the social status of the photographer when he stated that “the success of a daguerreotypist seems to have been measured by the luxury of his quarters, and photographers outdid one another in creating

⁴⁸ See Figures 63, 70, and 171, respectively.

an atmosphere of regal splendor.”⁴⁹ Because photographers attracted more customers by creating elegant studio spaces, it was natural to conclude that the sitter wanted to create the same illusion of elegance in their portrait. The “faux studio” technique was probably applied most frequently by the itinerant photographer in rural areas, where he needed to take advantage of every potential customer. By having their portrait taken “on-site” and disguised as an “in-studio” portrait, subjects not only retained ownership and pride over their labors in private-viewing but also created the fiction that they had gone to great lengths to have their portrait expertly crafted in a studio. The “faux studio” portrait again demonstrates the evolution of the sentimental movement toward the public, theatrical performance of “self.” These “faux studio” illusions aligned perfectly with middle-class values as long as both the presenter and the viewer are aware of the illusion.

Eight of the skilled laborers in the collection are blacksmiths, accounting for roughly 11 percent of the category; only one of their portraits indicates that it was taken in a smithy.⁵⁰ One of the blacksmiths (fig. 22) does not appear to be in his smithy, but he also does not appear to be in the more traditional portrait room of a permanent studio. There are at least three separate walls or draperies as well as a chair visible in the background. The same could be said of another blacksmith (fig. 3). He appears to be seated in front of a poorly draped curtain, with a bench or stone block to his left and an

⁴⁹ Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1937), 31.

⁵⁰ See Figures 22, 23, 24, 55, 74, 108, 162, and 163 for blacksmith examples. Figure 24 is the only portrait definitively taken in a smithy.

unidentified object to his right, impeding the uniform arrangement of the curtain. Given the number of blacksmiths, it appears that a portrait studio at the time would have added an anvil to their stock of props.⁵¹ It was far more complicated to haul the general daguerreotype-production apparatuses out of a permanent studio and around town to the numerous smithies than to store a single anvil in a studio. In a third blacksmith image (*Fig. IV*), one of two anvils or chunks of stone is depicted below the edge of a tabletop, indicating that this man was most certainly inside a smithy.⁵² The base of the anvil (fig. 55) is covered with a horseshoe, possibly to give the portrait additional detail, but it is also used to disguise the table where the anvil rested. The mobile studio made the daguerreotype available to people who could not travel to a fixed studio in a town or city due to distance or affordability. It is likely that rural blacksmiths were included in the rounds of the itinerant photographer.

⁵¹ The same may be said for the two coopers in Figures 9 and 27 with their large barrels, and the stonemason in Figure 37 with his large block of stone.

⁵² See Figures 22, 24, 108, and 162.

Painted Background



Figure X: Policeman (fig.91)

Besides images obviously taken on-site, only the portrait of the policeman has a painted, scenic background (*Figure VI*). The absence of light behind the sitter indicates that the scene behind him is in fact an open window through which we see what appears to be a riverside town. This effect could be due to the skill of the daguerreotypist in lighting his subject or an result of adding a tinted plate to the camera after the initial plate had been exposed, creating the vignette around the subject. The window frame and paneled wall in the background are not out of focus while the outdoor scene is, lending further credence to the notion of a painted background. Background art appeared more prevalently in the early decade of the daguerreotype, often as a means of making the portrait an acceptable, artistic representation and more like its more expensive predecessor, the painted portrait. The painted background was also used more practically

as an attempt to “cut the glare from the mirror-like finish of the daguerreotype” and granting the portrait additional visual weight by creating the illusion of space and depth.⁵³ It is clear that the policeman wished to portray himself as a cultured, respectable individual through the use of a painted background. His large badge is the feature of the portrait that balances the muted, though attractive background, making for an overall pleasing, if somewhat atypical occupational portrait.

Plate Size and Tinting

Plate sizing contributes to an understanding of an individual’s motivation for having a “likeness” made, their financial situation, and the value they placed on a luxury item.⁵⁴ Plate size may also indicate the scale of the photographer’s business. An itinerant photographer may not have had the ability or need to transport supply of varying plate sizes if their business relied heavily on ease and rapidity of movement. Occasionally, a plate does not comfortably fit within the standard measurements. A non-standard plate however, was not unusual. Early plate sizes were non-standard as early daguerreotypist’s experimented and honed their skills. The photographer also may have trimmed the edges of the plate in order to ensure it fit properly under the mat and in the casing, skewing the base measurements slightly. Even after plate sizes were standardized, independent

⁵³ Rinhart, Floyd. *The American Daguerreotype*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981: 271.

⁵⁴ See Table 3 for standardized American plate sizes. See Tables 4 and 5 for the breakdown of catalog images by plate size and tinting/gilding.

photographers continued to experiment in order to offer unique items to their patrons and remain competitive in the marketplace.

As with plate sizing, having one's likeness taken and colored, tinted, or gilded indicates the value an individual placed on the luxury item as well as their general financial means. Coloring or tinting could also be an indication of the extent of that studio's operation and/or composite skill-level. Itinerant photographers may not have offered tinting as part of their services if they operated on a limited scale. Some practitioners lacked the skills to produce a successful product, and few customers could afford the additional service. Coloring a portrait may have also cost the photographer valuable time when they could move on to their next customer. Larger operations, like those galleries operating in major cities and towns, could not only afford to purchase the necessary supplies, but they could also employ additional, skilled workers whose sole responsibility was adding color and gilding to the portrait.

The size of a portrait plate implies not only the affordability of such artefacts but also indicates the self-representative intentions of the sitter as well as the skill, marketability, and prosperity of the photographer. Roughly 70 percent of the images are sixth-plate daguerreotypes, the largest concentration associated with the skilled/artisan category at 26 percent, followed by the semi-professionals at 16 percent. The sixth plate daguerreotype was the smallest, most commonly used plate size. It comes not as a surprise that the overwhelming majority of occupational portraits sixth plate daguerreotype because it falls between the cheapest and the most expensive. The smallest plate size in the catalog, the ninth plate, appears to be the exclusive province of the

highly-skilled and/or well-educated occupations; the professionals, semi-professionals, and the skilled artisan categories each contain two ninth-plate portraits

CHAPTER FOUR: THE REPRESENTATIVE PORTRAITS

The “standard” occupational portrait by its individual details, provides the modern observer with a clearer understanding of the culturally-symbolic nature of having a “likeness” taken during the mid-nineteenth century. Reconstructing the individual components of the image into its finished portrait allows the person(s) portrayed therein to communicate their particular reasons for creating their portrait, in this case, it is pride in their labor as productive, American citizens. More important, it allows the individual to establish their identity permanently, within the long context of history. By understanding the components which comprise the individual’s intent, it is now possible to situate the portraits most representative of antebellum labor, and create a clearer picture of their place within the context of American society and history.

Artisan/Skilled Labor

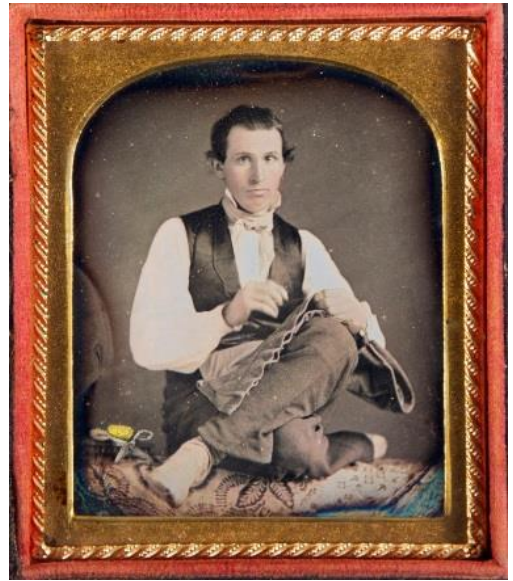


Figure VI: Seated Tailor (fig. 70)

The soul of this man is in his clothes.

—William Shakespeare, *All's Well That Ends Well*

Of the 171 photographs, skilled artisans account for fifty-seven of the images, making it the largest category of labor in the catalog at roughly 33 percent. The group includes blacksmiths, carpenters, machinists, stonemasons, cobblers, upholsterers, mechanics, and harness-makers among others, and four women represent themselves in this occupational category. Furthermore, the skilled artisan reflected the aspirations and anxieties embodied in their work and in society as a whole. The tailor is emblematic of both the importance of dress in antebellum society, and the tension between the tailor's clothes and his working-class status. The tailoring occupation exemplifies the havoc caused by devaluing the artisan's craft, unravelling the trade into two distinct methods of

clothing production: ready-made and custom clothing. One writer for the *New York Daily Times* went so far as to state, “We are slaves in the matter of dress...We wear finer cloth than is serviceable, of colors that do not suit us, and of shapes that call out maledictions—because others do.”⁵⁵ Men’s and women’s class was almost immediately identifiable by the clothing they wore, especially as the middling-class attempted to control the rules outlining external representations of respectability; “[a]s the market widened and deepened its presence in everyone’s life, making and wearing clothes became inseparable from productive labor, property relations, cultural authority, sexual roles, and self-definitions.”⁵⁶ The tailor, in this regard, ought to have occupied a lauded position in society. Instead, tailoring and clothing production were some of the most controversial occupations.

By the era of the daguerreotype, tailors had already lost centralized control of their craft, adapting to the demands of the market many times over by means of the outwork and “sweating” systems. According to Sean Wilentz, “All pretensions to craft vanished in the outwork system; with the availability of so much cheap wage labor,

⁵⁵ “*Domestic Slavery*,” *New York Daily Times*, 1853. ProQuest.

⁵⁶ Michael Zakim, “Ready-Made Democracy: Dressing the Republic for Commercial Success, 1760-1860” (Columbia University, 1998), 1. One clear example that demonstrates the importance of a person’s respectable dress around strangers in unfamiliar places is seen in the narrative of a Northern man travelling on business in the South. After travelling through a particular property near sundown, he inquired about lodgings from a slave: “My request brought the proprietor himself to the door, and from thence to the gate, when, after a scrutinizing glance at my person and equipments, he inquired my name, business, and destination. I promptly responded to his questions, and he invited me to alight, and enter his house, in the true spirit of southern hospitality.” (Emphasis mine) The proprietor would not have bothered to ask for the traveler’s information had the traveler initially appeared shabbily dressed. Furthermore, the proprietor would not have invited a stranger into his home for the night had he not believed him to be a respectable, trustworthy person upon sight. “The Burial of a Slave.,” *Ladies’ Garland and Family Wreath Embracing Tales, Sketches, Incidents, History, Poetry, Music, Etc.* (1837-1850); Philadelphia, June 1850.

formal apprenticing and a regular price book had disappeared by 1845.”⁵⁷ Men and women alike worked in cramped and poorly ventilated conditions in urban sweatshops for hours at a time, all under the strict direction of the head cutter. Tailors working in the ready-made system, turned out cuttings at a feverish pace for the piece-makers to then sew together, and sometimes they had to wait extended periods of time for remuneration. The entire ready-made system relied on credit to purchase materials like threads and fabric, so employers waited until all contracted orders were finished and sent to the retailer before paying their employees.⁵⁸ This system fed the clothing market intended for wholesale contractors, and it frequently reflected the shoddy work of a barely-capable employee. Paid by the piece and often out of work because of the seasonal nature of the market, journeymen tailors and tailoresses struggled simply to survive. Women were paid up to half of what men made, and were often exploited by unscrupulous contractors; women’s wages were around fifty cents a day in some firms, putting them “very near the starvation point.”⁵⁹ Englishman, Thomas Hood published his poem, “The Song of the Shirt” in 1843 in order to draw attention to the same working conditions which existed in England, and it drew massive attention in America. The verses, “Work—work—work!” and “Band, and gusset, and seam, / Seam, and gusset, and band” were frequently quoted

⁵⁷ Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 123. The price book is what tailors referred to in order to determine what a customer would pay for alterations to any given article of clothing.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 123.

⁵⁹ “Women’s Wages,” *Home Magazine* (1852-1856); *Philadelphia*, April 1853. ProQuest.

by reformers of all sorts in their attempts to abolish or ameliorate the “sweating trades.”⁶⁰

In contrast to the ready-made industry, the demand for custom clothing persisted among wealthy and lower-income workers alike. Because so much of a person’s social validation depended upon their respectable appearance, well-respected tailors and seamstresses remained in high demand.⁶¹ Not only did tailors alter ungainly clothing to fit a particular individual, but they also fashioned custom pieces which would reflect their customer’s individual style while simultaneously demonstrating their own skills; “This

⁶⁰ The literary and cultural legacy of Thomas Hood’s poem is extensive and long-standing. After being introduced in America, the vernacular of the poem permeated every avenue of popular dialogue, but was notably appropriated by labor reformists. The following represents but a small sample of the parodies, imitators, and poetic legacies produced during the era of the daguerreotype. Literature provided words to the daguerreotype’s images, clearly detailing how laborers viewed the nature of their work and prospects. Notably, celebrated antebellum poets, John Whittier and Walt Whitman likely titled some of their most popular published works, *Songs of Labor, and Other Poems*, and “A Song for Occupations” respectively, with a nod to Hood’s universally-recognized poem. Janet W. Wilkinson, “MAKING A SHIFT.: Suggested by Mr. Hood’s ‘Song of the Shirt.’,” *Littell’s Living Age* (1844-1896); Boston, November 16, 1844; “THE SONG OF THE DICKY.” accessed November 26, 2017; “THE SONG OF THE SWORD.: A Parody on the ‘Song of the Shirt.’,” *Littell’s Living Age* (1844-1896); Boston, November 28, 1846; “EDITOR’S SONG: AIR--‘Song of the Shirt.’,” *Maine Farmer* (1844-1900); Augusta, January 7, 1847; “SONG OF THE DIRT.: A Parody on Hood’s ‘Song of the Shirt.’,” *Littell’s Living Age* (1844-1896); Boston, January 27, 1849; “Facts and Opinions: Of Literature, Society, and Movements of the Day. the Song of ‘the Clerk.’,” *The Literary World* (1847-1853); New York, December 28, 1850; “Article 2 -- No Title: HE SANG THE SONG OF THE SHIRT.” *Spirit of the Times; A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage* (1835-1861); New York, January 8, 1853; “Editors’ Table.: Cross Readings. Song of the Henpecked Husband. a Parody on the ‘Song of the Shirt.’,” *The Yale Literary Magazine*. Conducted by the Students of Yale University (1836-1851); New Haven, July 1847; Isaac D. Shepard, “A SONG OF LABOR: From the Boston Bee,” *Maine Farmer* (1844-1900); Augusta, January 14, 1847; THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH, “Song of the Artizan,” *Mechanic’s Advocate* (1846-1848); Albany, April 8, 1847; John Greenleaf Whittier, *Songs of Labor, and Other Poems* (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1850); Charles M. Oliver. ProQuest all.

⁶¹ Wilentz explains that even highly-regarded tailors in the custom-clothing business, were not immune to competition, and needed to include ready-made work in some of their shops during economic downturns. Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 121.

made *custom* the legacy of artisanal fastidiousness, and seemed to divorce it from the more aggressive and alienated expressions of commercial life.”⁶²

The public’s view of tailors was largely sympathetic, acknowledging that, “[a]part from being the largest trade in the city, the tailors suffered from...the worst working conditions in New York.”⁶³ Tailors formed various trade unions in the 1840s and 1850s, notoriously striking for better wages and working conditions, and resisting the wide-spread implementation of the sewing machine.⁶⁴ The strike and subsequent fatal riot on August 4, 1850 however, severely prejudiced the tailors’ case with the public and many of the other trade unions in the city that had once supported their cause. Two tailors were killed, dozens of people were injured, but it served to further unite tailors’ unions around the nation, and some New York unions succeeded in having their demands met.⁶⁵ Without the benefits of a national trade union however, tailors remained at the mercy of the market and their employers. Public sentiment seemed to shift as often as fashions changed, but the statement of one publication made the general reputation of tailors very clear: “It is a popular error which has been adhered to in spite of all proof to the contrary that, because a man is a tailor therefore he is an inferior being.” The author went on to proclaim: “The tailor is an artist...We have seen it somewhere categorically asserted, that

⁶² Zakim, “Ready-Made Democracy,” 114. (Emphasis mine.)

⁶³ Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 377.

⁶⁴ “NEW-YORK CITY.: The Tailors vs. The Sewing Machines,” *New York Daily Times*, 1854. ProQuest.

⁶⁵ Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 379–81.

‘worth makes the man;’ and somewhere else, that ‘love makes the man;’ but we trust you will yield assent to the proposition, that in some cases, ‘The tailor makes the man.’... Grant, then, the tailor his due.”⁶⁶ The author declared that without the skill of a tailor, the average person could hardly pass as respectable in society. If the tailor, indeed “makes the man,” what, then makes the tailor?

The representative image of the skilled artisan labor category is the “Seated Tailor” (*figure VI*). He sits in the instantly-recognized fashion of his trade, cross-legged and appearing industrially engaged with sewing the vest on his lap. His open scissors are at his side, resting on the high, pillow-topped table upon which he sits. The tailor, as expected, is dressed simply and smartly in his work garments. The raised collar under his knotted tie helps to date his portrait to the late 1840s, and the slight wave in his hair at the center of his head implies a slightly later date in the early 1850s, when the top-knot hairstyle was in vogue. He appears to be a generally respectable person based on these features alone, however, his socked-foot is visible in the foreground. This feature is something rarely seen in occupational portraits, and is telling of his blue-collar status—no doctor or newspaper editor would actively display such banalities, when their intent was to represent themselves as exceptional members of society. The tailor aspired to middle-class status, and he hoped that by creating the most fashionable representation of his identity, he might be validated and accepted into their ranks. The tailor looked directly into the camera with confidence and certainty, justifiably proud of his skills. He

⁶⁶ “A Word About Tailors,” *The Nassau Literary Magazine* (1848-1908); Princeton, September 1857. ProQuest.

displayed the tools through which he achieved his skills, and demonstrates his handicraft as a work in-progress. Though admittedly relegated by society's low opinion of his trade to the working classes, he chose to represent his skilled artisan identity over everything else. Though he appears actively engaged in his work in his portrait, he is not dominated by its presence, and thereby hopes to demonstrate his worthiness of admittance into the middle-class. The observer instead, sees the man *and* the materials with which he works, making this tailor's portrait an exceptional representation of the antebellum skilled artisan's actual social class, and their confident assertion that they deserved more respect than what they were actually afforded.

Semi-Professional and Professional Occupations

The semi-professional and professional occupations, comprised of forty-seven and twenty-eight portraits respectively, make up the second and third largest occupational categories, for a total of 44 percent of the catalog. The semi-professional and professional categories are comprised of many distinct occupations emergent throughout the nineteenth century, many of which fit within a broad definition of "the sciences." The architect and draftsman specialized under the engineering discipline, while the surgeon and podiatrist specialized within the medical community. Dentistry also emerged during this time, claiming to be "an adjunct to the practice of medicine...[rising] within comparatively a few years to a distinct calling, [and] numbering hundreds of skillful

practitioners in all parts of the country.”⁶⁷ Also present in the semi-professional category are those occupations that were in the early stages of professionalization, including politicians, firemen, policemen, map-makers, and teachers. Many of these occupations have been examined individually and in depth by scholars in the past, yet contemporary studies, when combined with the occupational portrait will reveal how people in professional and semi-professional occupations understood and represented themselves.

⁶⁷ “The Dental Profession,” *Chicago Press and Tribune* (1858-1860); Chicago, Ill., April 11, 1859. Intriguingly, some dentists, not content simply to display their specialized case of tools, also chose to display a sense of humor in their occupational portraits. The dentists in Figures 105 and 206 incorporated a supposed-patient, both persons posing as though they were about to perform some kind of tooth-extraction or painful examination.

Semi-Professional: Circus Clown



Figure VII: Circus Clown (fig. 196)

A long, weary series of years lies between him and distinction, even if he be destined ultimately to attain it.⁶⁸

—*Aristidean*, September 1845

The semi-professional category of forty-seven images makes up nearly 28 percent of the total catalog, and it is the second largest occupational category. The defining characteristic of the semi-professional occupations was their liminal or transformative state, lacking either a thorough education, or tradition of respect afforded to the professional occupations. The entertainer and artist occupy this unique position within the

⁶⁸ “Art. X.—the Actor’s Life Practically Considered,” *Aristidean: A Magazine of Reviews, Politics, and Light Literature* (1845-1845); New York, September 1845. ProQuest.

occupational, as they did in antebellum society; entertainers demonstrate the changes in consumer behaviors taking place in antebellum America.

The public entertainer is one of many who occupied this unique position in antebellum society. The semi-professional entertainer's skills acquired by special training and practice suggested the growth of leisure in nineteenth century society as well as indicated that his social class was on a par with spectators he entertained. His audience was necessarily diverse, however, ranging from the wealthy businessman who regularly attended operatic performances, to the newspaper boy on the street-corner who enjoyed the more robust displays of the boxing; the public entertainer was, and is expected to provide what his or her audience demands.⁶⁹ The occupational portraits of public entertainers demonstrate the changeable nature of antebellum consumptive behavior, and simultaneously demonstrate the context that imprisoned the entertainer in a kind of liminal social status.

Entertainers and performers of the fine arts, like painters, actors, opera vocalists, literary writers and poets, lecturers, equestrians, musicians, dancers, and acrobats provided antebellum society a luxury, a temporary respite from daily concerns. They remained sought after element of daily life for all hardworking people. The growing

⁶⁹ It should be noted here that "attending the theater" did not strictly relate to dramatic or melodramatic plays or performances at this time. Instead, "the theater" was the building which could accommodate audiences and performances of varying types and size. For example, the Astor Place Opera House in New York did not solely accommodate operatic performances. In fact, the infamous, deadly Astor Place Riot on May 10, 1849, was sparked over a competition between Edwin Forrest and William Charles Macready, two famous Shakespearean actors. The Astor Place Riot in 1849 is regarded by scholars as a pivotal moment in the struggle over ownership of the (particular and general) theater amongst the various classes of people who frequented the establishment. For more on the riot and the social conditions which provoked it, see McConachie, *Melodramatic Formations*; Butsch, "Bowery B'hoys and Matinee Ladies."

population of white-collar managers and businessmen removed themselves from the center of active production, and in their quest to fill the newly-freed time with meaningful pursuits, fostered the growth of the entertainment industry. The growing demand for public entertainment paralleled the growth of consumer culture in antebellum?⁷⁰ Unless entertainers made a name for themselves by, first, demonstrating their superior skills and, second, subsequently allowing their managers to promote them, they were unlikely to become popular regionally or nationally. The amateur and non-celebrity entertainer remained largely invisible. By examining the early stages of celebrity culture present at this time, however, it is possible to draw some conclusions about what life may have been like for the aspiring public entertainer.⁷¹

The image most representative of the semi-professional category is that of the circus clown (*Figure VII*). He is in full makeup and costume, prepared for his next performance. He is a white-face clown, modeled after the early European clowns; his

⁷⁰ As Nicole Berkin illustrates in the case of the actress, Eliza Petrie, local or regional audiences could impact how a performer was treated by their manager(s), their salary amount, where they performed, and what roles they were offered in the future. Performers had to remain cautious when communicating directly with their audiences about their careers however, lest they appear ungrateful for their past support. See Nicole Berkin, "Economies of Touring in American Theatre Culture, 1835–1861" (City University of New York, 2015).

⁷¹ In fact, most actors with any modicum of success in America before 1825 were predominantly English, having been trained in the lengthy traditions of the European theater, but they, too found the need to tailor their performances to the particularly American theatergoer. See Nacy, "The Actor's Image," 3–6. I am also indebted to Mr. Nacy for his reference to Francis Joseph Grund's, *The Americans in Their Moral, Social and Political Relations*, in which Grund bemoans the wretched situation of the American stage performer and contrasts his lot with that of other common forms of entertainment and amusement (80-112). Further study is needed of the diaries, personal correspondence, and memoirs of the amateur and 'unknown' performer to effectively understand the impact the revolving door of social changes had on this minority subculture at the time.

hands are not painted, nor does he wear gloves.⁷² The liminal social status of the public entertainer presents itself through the clown's unpainted hands: When not in his stage costume, his social interactions with others compel him to conceal his occupation in order to obtain their respect. In the absence of knowing someone's occupation, family, or reputation, nineteenth century interpersonal encounters with strangers relied on first-impressions made by dress and etiquette in order to pass judgement respectability.⁷³ The clown-costume, therefore, is a kind of illusion which allowed the man to adopt a new persona with virtually everyone he met, giving him the freedom to keep his identity private. He is simultaneously defined by his costume, and yet undefinable because of it; in this way, the clown's costume disguises his identity and makes a joke of middle-class standards of self-representation. Scholars refer to the clown's form of identity politics as consistent with a state of "passing," in which he purportedly asserted his "unknowability" to society. "Passing, one might say, is less a problem for those who pass than it is for those who cannot detect such crossings;" the clown's "unknowable" status was not a

⁷² The white-face clowns were divided soon after this period into two different categories. Figure 196 would have portrayed the straight-man in later years, the one in control in the ring. The second variety, the *auguste* or the red clown, became the buffoon in the ring and often the butt of the other white-face clown's performance. Both clowns wear outlandish clothing, but their makeup eventually shifted in color and tone because of their need to stand out as separate characters with differing roles in the ring. Many of the most famous comic duos emerged from a vaudeville or burlesque stage background, performance styles which directly trace their lineage back to the circus. These duos, and even some larger groups applied the straight-man/buffoon dynamic to their acts with great success, garnering them international, longstanding fame: Laurel and Hardy, Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, the Marx Brothers, Abbott and Costello, Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz are a few notable examples.

⁷³ John F Kasson, *Rudeness & Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997).

problem with regards to his self-perception, rather, society was made anxious by their inability to identify and “class-ify” him for their own purposes of interaction *with* him.⁷⁴

During the early antebellum period, the white-face clown’s routines intimately engaged him with his audience while he was the center of attention in the one-ring circus tent.⁷⁵ He sang, made vulgar jokes, interacted with the ringmaster and various highly-trained animals, performed minstrelsy, and told stories all with an eye making fun of various social conventions, politics, and current events. The swooping drapery in the background appears to indicate that he stands between two tents or stage curtains for his portrait; consequently, one is assured that he had his portrait taken on-site. He appears to be supported by a head or neck brace as the two dark lines between his legs may be the poles of such a device—this clown’s portrait has been cut off just below the knees so there is no way to definitively determine if there is a base to these two “pole-lines.” The clown also appears to have blinked, further supporting the possibility of a lengthy exposure time. Or, did he blink with the intention of maintaining his mysterious identity?

The transformation of the circus into an acceptable form of entertainment occurred largely during the era of the daguerreotype, thanks to the influence and strategies of men like P.T. Barnum, and the nationally-famous clown and circus-proprietor, Dan Rice. The one-ring circus clown connected himself more intimately with

⁷⁴ Michael Kenneth Borgstrom, “Passing Fictions: Reading Identity in Nineteenth-Century America” (University of California, Davis, 2002), 9.

⁷⁵ The three-ring circus was not established until 1881, therefore this clown would have performed in the more intimate setting of the singular-ring. He was featured in between the acts of acrobats and horse-riders, allowing them a break from their more physically-demanding performances. See Carlyon, “Dan Rice’s Aspirational Project”; Childress, “National Amusement”; Davis, *The Circus Age*.

his audiences by reflecting upon them the issues of the day, incorporating local, regional, or national gossip and interesting news items into their jokes, monologues, minstrelsy, and poems.⁷⁶ Clowns simultaneously subverted spectators' expectations by inserting new modes of performance, such as melodramatic skits and burlesque shows into their acts. By mixing the familiar with the novel, clowns reinterpreted the conditions of the consumer market through their performance, providing audiences with a product they did not realize they wanted. Dan Rice's lifelong efforts to elevate the status of the clown and the circus compelled him to integrate his performances with the values of the aspiring middle-classes. For example, an unwitting spectator provided the impromptu material for his clever ad hoc performance, initiating reflection:

A young man took his best girl, himself, and his new beaver hat to Rice's circus. Rice pointed out the hat to the assembled multitude, and made it a running gag, contriving lyrics on the spot to the tune of 'Oh, Where Did You Get That Hat?' As Rice sang verse after newly minted verse, the crowd joined the choruses, rising in their seats to point at the beaver hat and pound home the musical question. The embarrassed young man left the tent and stamped his hat flat, cured of 'all my aspirations to be an exquisite.'⁷⁷

The young man, smarting from his public humiliation, was able to draw a moral conclusion from his experience, that his supposed-fancy beaver hat drew public criticism, not admiration or respect. It is impossible to determine the young man's social class, but

⁷⁶ Gregory James Renoff, "A Riot of Ecstasy: The Traveling Circus in Georgia, 1820–1930" (Brandeis University, 2004), 46. Also beginning on page 100, David Carlyon demonstrated how Dan Rice in particular incorporated current news and politics into his act to reflect modern life to his audiences. See David James Carlyon, "Dan Rice's Aspirational Project: The Nineteenth-Century Circus Clown and Middle-Class Formation" (Northwestern University, 1993); Monod, *The Soul of Pleasure: Sentiment and Sensation in Nineteenth-Century American Mass Entertainment* (Cornell University Press, 2016).

⁷⁷ David Carlyon, *Dan Rice: The Most Famous Man You've Never Heard Of*, 1st ed (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), 94.

judging by his aspiration “to be an exquisite,” it is likely that he belonged to the working-class. His utter rejection by the audience demonstrated, in part, their middle-class composition. His beaver hat betrayed his pretensions to middle-class respectability, and obviated any possibility of his belonging to them. Dan Rice demonstrated his understanding of the middle-class audience, and seized his opportunity to connect with them by exposing someone who did not belong. Furthermore, Rice’s public agreeance with their values signaled his own desire to be accepted by them, blending his private identity with that of the clown’s, thereby asserting the respectability of the clown and the circus itself.

Having accepted the circus as a respectable, even healthy form of entertainment for the public, the white-collar middle-class further changed the rules of the game. The middle-class compared the circus to other available forms of entertainment such as opera, ballet, and stage-acting; the circus offered no challenge in matters of taste, and they ranked it “lowbrow.”⁷⁸ By defining and asserting what constituted ‘good’ or ‘bad’ forms of amusement, the white-collar middle-class claimed to be the moral and social fulcrum of the nation. By ranking the circus against other acceptable forms of entertainment, the middle-class further declared themselves the arbiters of taste. National, republican values touted an equal opportunity for social mobility, but regularly attending certain forms of entertainment carried the threat of limiting those opportunities and curtailing the potential

⁷⁸ For more on the middle-class determining the acceptability of any given form of amusement or entertainment, particularly within the context of a consumer-based society, see Grayson, “Art, Audiences, and the Aesthetics of Social Order in Antebellum America”; Katz, “Learning Taste”; Hughes, “Answering the Amusement Question”; Patterson, “A Taste for Refined Culture.”

for social advancement. Attending the various forms of entertainment widely-known to be “lowbrow” placed not only the spectator in a precarious social position, but it also relegated the performers themselves to a seemingly-perpetual liminal state of respectability, dependent on what form of entertainment they provided and the level of popularity the individual performer enjoyed.

Professional: Army Officer

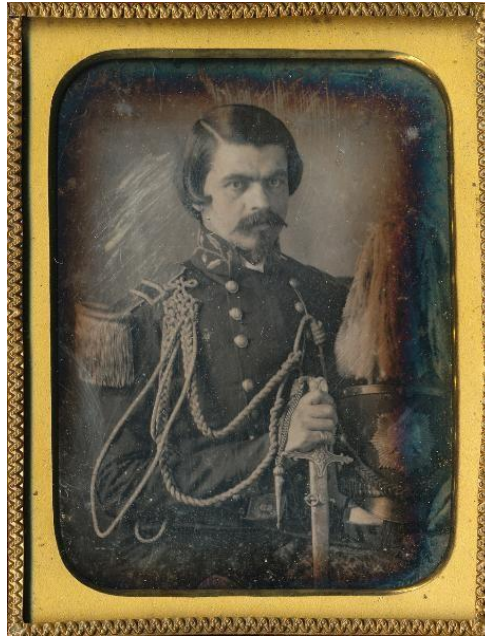


Figure VIII: Second Lieutenant (fig. 92)

Let them remember that a man is only respectable and successful when he exactly fits a place in life, and that it is not the epaulette that makes the soldier...⁷⁹

—*Ballou's Dollar Monthly Magazine*, February 1857

The concept of a nation simultaneously employing regular and provisional volunteer armies in the event of threat or conflict was not new. During the nation's early years, the precise purpose of these volunteers and the citizenry's expectations imposed upon them changed, most critically within the officer corps. It was the establishment of a

⁷⁹ "Choosing a Profession," *Ballou's Dollar Monthly Magazine* (1855-1862); Boston, February 1857. ProQuest.

cohesive officer corps, trained to a disciplined, uniform standard and held accountable to the people as an apolitical extension of the federal government that made the greatest strides in professionalizing the regular army organization. Out of the twenty-eight portraits in the professional category, thirteen of them are of military personnel, or of individuals who worked directly alongside them, comprising 46 percent of the professional category.⁸⁰

The image most representative of the professional army officer is that of the “Second Lieutenant” (*Figure VIII*), his rank evident by the clean shoulder strap, trimmed with gold-braiding and covering his epaulettes. This lieutenant is a Dragoon, later known as a Cavalryman who specialized in horse-mounted maneuvers, as evidenced by the stovepipe Shako hat resting on the table in front of him, in use between 1833-1851. What differentiated the dragoon from the infantry and artillery officers of the day was the bi-metallic golden eagle imposed over a white metal sunburst on the front of their cap.⁸¹ This lieutenant also holds his sabre, his primary weapon when mounted. The officer also wears the 1832 pattern US General staff waist belt plate for his sabre which would have

⁸⁰ Sailors who were not directly appointed by the government to conduct combat operations, but instead worked on vessels with mercantile, exploratory, or diplomatic missions sometimes found themselves in contested waters or zones of conflict and needed to prepare for such possibilities (see Figure 4 and 104 for an example of sailors and civilians who may have been onboard vessels and that saw service in combat). During the period of Manifest Destiny when American interests were being spread across the globe, these sailors had no choice but to participate in combat activities while onboard a vessel when they occurred. See Geoffrey Sutton Smith, “The Navy Before Darwinism: Science, Exploration, and Diplomacy in Antebellum America,” *American Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1976): 41–55 for a thorough examination of the roles many American citizens filled during the early years of seafaring endeavors.

⁸¹ David Cole, “Survey of U.S. Army Uniforms Weapons and Accoutrements,” November 2007, 14–15, <https://history.army.mil/reference/1839U.htm>. The Shako was adorned with the horsehair plume for both the dragoon enlisted man and officer, but the officer had an additional strip of red hair added.

been considered “out of regulation” at the time. An updated belt had been introduced in 1839.⁸² He also wears aiguillettes to indicate that he is a staff officer, although his double-breasted suit indicates that he is a line officer. The impetus for this portrait may indeed have been his appointment to a temporary staff position, and he may not have had time to acquire the single-breasted jacket required when he filled the staff officer’s role. In short, the sword and Shako displayed in front of the lieutenant indicates that he identifies himself, first, as a dragoon, second, as a staff officer.⁸³

Prior to and concurrent with the era of the daguerreotype, the United States Military Academy at West Point and the nascent movement to establish a naval academy struggled for legitimacy and reform in a nation that did not trust the notion of a standing army.⁸⁴ Recognizing the need to protect their communities from internal and external

⁸² Cole, 17–18. See Appendix 2 for Mike Medhurst’s description of Figure 92.

⁸³ One reason for the seeming hodge-podge of uniform accoutrements on this lieutenant may be due to the general lack of standardization across the army in the face of large-scale conflicts. The Quartermaster Corps and the contractors who provided uniforms to the armed forces were required to supply the regulars but also any volunteers who signed up on short notice. These contractors, who continued to outsource piecework to women and young girls at this time were woefully understocked when thousands volunteered to fight in the Mexican-American War. Contractors could not hope to fill orders fast enough, let alone transport the uniforms to the frontlines in Mexico in a timely or regular manner. Because of this, the army paid each volunteer an extra \$3.50 so that their units could designate a standard uniform created and purchased off the local economy. This dragoon lieutenant may have purchased parts of his uniform from a civilian at home, a supplier on the frontier, or he may have had family previously in service and chose to wear parts of their uniform instead. Whatever the actual case, the 1840s were noted generally for their lack of uniformity in army clothing and accoutrement, and this officer’s minor clothing discrepancies would not have been overtly noticeable amongst his similarly-clad cohorts. Major General Zachary Taylor himself, later President, notably wore civilian clothing while leading units in Mexico as it was more comfortable, but it was also easier to replace when destroyed or rendered unserviceable. See McCaffrey, *The Army in Transformation, 1790-1860*, 98-101, for further details.

⁸⁴ For more on the founding of the Naval Academy at Annapolis and the professionalization of the American Naval officer, see Christopher McKee, *A Gentlemanly and Honorable Profession: The Creation of the U.S. Naval Officer Corps, 1794-1815* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1991); William P.

threats, the citizenry remained wary of a large, regular army that might threaten the people's rights.⁸⁵ Understandably, officers were apprehensive about a military career and were confused about their responsibilities to society, both during times of war and peace. The regular army officer of the nineteenth century as a result, struggled to understand their individual purpose in carrying out the ever-changing directives of the government on the far-flung reaches of the nation. Individuals requested and obtained an officer's commission intermittently, depending on how their goals aligned with the opportunities presented by the nation's political situation.⁸⁶ Following the model of the European military, Congress granted commissions largely under the construct of patronage, casting a disconcerting shadow of elitism and aristocracy, and causing further scrutiny on military interference in matters of politics and governance. Officers frequently participated heavily in partisan politics and used their social and political connections as leverage to obtain desirable postings, promotions, and assignments. In addition to their

Leeman, *The Long Road to Annapolis: The Founding of the Naval Academy and the Emerging American Republic* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

⁸⁵ Most citizens generally assumed that the republican spirit which initiated and supported the Revolutionary War only a few decades earlier would continue ad infinitum, producing any requisite volunteers should conflicts arise and preferring to rely on the provisional local and state citizen-soldier militia. Unfortunately, this hope alone could not carry the nation through its politically-transformative period between the War of 1812 and the Mexican American War in 1846-48. The physical expansion of the nation required a corresponding buildup of the military and well-trained officers to lead the citizen-soldier into battle. Manning requirements fluctuated which often resulted in downsizes across the board, and command and promotion opportunities remained convoluted processes modeled after the European military system which could sometimes take decades to work through, further frustrating those who may have intended to make careers in the military. See Wayne Wei-siang Hsieh, ed., "Colonials, Continentals, and Federals: The Origins of American Military Professionalism," in *West Pointers and the Civil War, The Old Army in War and Peace* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009) for further analysis on the state of political and military affairs in the early Republic.

⁸⁶ Samuel Johnston Watson, "Professionalism, Social Attitudes, and Civil-Military Accountability in the United States Army Officer Corps, 1815-1846" (Ph.D., Rice University, 1996), 119.

military duties, many officers often engaged in other work with the civilians at their local post to supplement their meager federal pay.⁸⁷ Under these conditions, officers perceived themselves as individuals and a product of a hometown rather than one member of a cohesive band of professionals whose desires were subjugated under those of the nation. The officer corps had no standard by which to establish a professional identity, either through cohesive doctrine, tradition, or ritual. West Point would effectively provide these standards after the War of 1812.⁸⁸

Founded in 1802, West Point was the only scientifically-rooted, federally-sponsored higher-educational institution of its kind in the country, established for the purpose of training the military's engineers and artillery officers in the most modern technologies available. The early years in West Point's history were frequently mired by internal administrative controversies over branch-specific authority, a lack of admission criteria or a standard curriculum, and the general chaos which usually results from a lack of consistent regulation enforcement. Nevertheless, the academy continued to produce officers with the most advanced training in mathematics, science, and engineering

⁸⁷ William B Skelton, "Professionalization in the U.S. Army Officer Corps During the Age of Jackson," *Armed Forces & Society* 1, no. 4 (July 1, 1975).

⁸⁸ Watson, 117. Inspector General John E. Wool believed that "The rank and file of an army can be obtained at any time, but not officers, for it requires years of study and reflection to qualify them for command," Skelton, "Professionalization in the U.S. Army Officer Corps During the Age of Jackson," 460. Though crucial to the everyday operation of any unit, I do not cover the internal reestablishment of the staff officer's role in the army. See William Roy Roberts, "Loyalty and Expertise: The Transformation of the Nineteenth-Century American General Staff and the Creation of the Modern Military Establishment" (The Johns Hopkins University, 1980).

available at time.⁸⁹ Sylvanus Thayer, regarded today as the “Father of West Point,” was appointed as the superintendent of the academy in 1817. During his tenure, he instituted reformatory measures, standards of education, and military discipline necessary for a career army officer. The “Thayer system” produced officers in an almost scientific manner and fostered in them the ethos of public service. Following the reduction of the army in 1821, the federal government reserved all new commissions for West Point graduates for the next eleven years, effectively granting Thayer and the academy the power to trademark and certify the American army officer.⁹⁰ By training cadets according to a uniform standard without regard to political, social, financial, or cultural/regional background, Thayer rejected the prevailing notions that officers emerged from a privileged, aristocratic background and required little to no instruction in order to lead soldiers. This mentality represented the truly American ideal of equal opportunity and

⁸⁹ See Edgar Denton, “The Formative Years of the United States Military Academy, 1775-1833” (Ph.D., Syracuse University, 1964). Postsecondary education, though limited in availability and seen as impractical to the majority of the early American population, continued to follow a liberal arts or classical model depending on the individual’s intended career (i.e.: lawyer or clergyman). While not represented visually in the catalog, the movement to reform education and professionalize teachers continued to grow steadily throughout this period among women and men, for whites, blacks, children, girls, and various other minorities. See the following for further discussion on education reform during the antebellum period: Garvey, *Creating the Culture of Reform in Antebellum America*; Clifford, *Those Good Gertrudes: A Social History of Women Teachers in America*; Al-Bargi, “The Modernization and Democratization of American Higher Education, 1850–1900”; McMurry, “Civilian Education and the Preparation for Service and Leadership in Antebellum America, 1845–1860”; Hagel, “A Clash of Ideals”; Elster, “Students of Teaching”; Robbins, “The Profession, Business, and Mission of Teaching”; Go and Lindert, “The Uneven Rise of American Public Schools to 1850.”

⁹⁰ There were a few exceptions to this exclusive policy, but only in specialized branches of service like that of the medical and finance departments. See Skelton, “Professionalization in the U.S. Army Officer Corps,” 455.

merit-based promotion that, in turn, produced a cohesive mentality among the cadets.⁹¹

This cohesion bonded the young men and carried over into their service as officers.

Despite the transformation of the nation's army, records compiled from officer applicants commonly referred to a precarious or devastated economic circumstance as the chief factor in their decision to apply for an officer's commission.⁹² After the Panic of 1837 caused a national recession which lasted until the mid-1840s, the prospect of steady employment by the federal government had great appeal to those who had lost virtually everything, and provided young men an opportunity to build or restore their family's honor and social status. Fathers often died young or at the peak of their earning powers and their sons took on the job of providing for their families. Even if they did not need to provide for anyone but themselves, the army by mid-century had become a viable means by which a young man might earn an education, establish a reputation, and negotiate his social class by virtue of his position as an officer. The majority of officers in service during the antebellum period, whether West Point graduates or not, came from the middle-classes and families whose parent(s) worked in commercial or manufacturing occupations, followed closely by those in professional and government-service related occupations.⁹³

⁹¹ Ian C. Hope, *A Scientific Way of War: Antebellum Military Science, West Point, and the Origins of American Military Thought* (University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 9.

⁹² Skelton, "Professionalization in the U.S. Army Officer Corps," 158-165. Other stated reasons for pursuing an army career included the desire to live an adventurous life and a family tradition of military or other government service.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 154–58. According to Skelton, over 45 percent of the free, male population of the nation worked in agriculture during the time of the 1850 census, but less than 25 percent of the officer-applicants

Semi-Skilled Labor: Railroad Track Crew

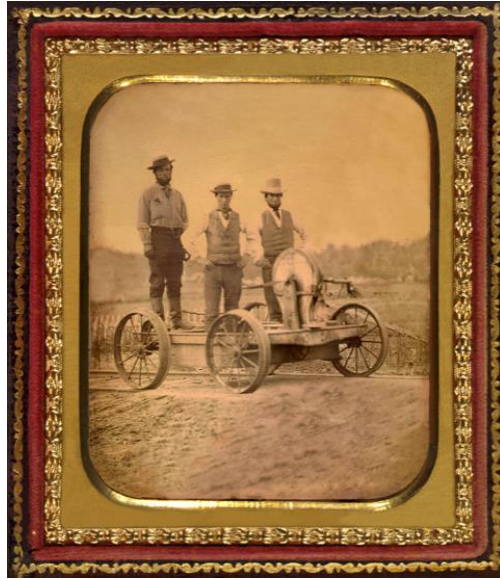


Figure IX: Railroad Workers on Crank Handcar (fig. 35)

That the labor of the country is benefited by whatever promotes the construction of railroads will certainly be admitted.⁹⁴

—DeBow's Review and Industrial Resources, April 1855

Like the semi-professional occupations, semi-skilled workers occupied a kind of transitional state. Unlike the semi-professionals, however, their social status was largely

had father's working in agriculture prior to the 1860 census. Skelton acknowledged that applicants understood the bureaucratic and public opinion mazes one had to navigate in order to ensure that the national officer corps was not seen to favor those of affluent backgrounds or overlooks those attempting to raise themselves from indigent circumstances. The army demanded that the officer corps provide some measure of balance with regards to the socio-economic backgrounds of its leaders, particularly because the soldiers they expected to command also emerged from every socio-economic background possible and there needed to be a similar level of understanding between them.

⁹⁴ "Duty on Railroad Iron," *DeBow's Review and Industrial Resources, Statistics, Etc. Devoted to Commerce, Agriculture, Manufactures (1853-1864)*; New Orleans, April 1, 1855.

dictated by their position in the railroad hierarchy. At the top of the rail pyramid were the engineers, conductors, repair crew foremen; at the bottom were the firemen, wipers, and track repairmen, among others. Not quite impoverished, but certainly not financially comfortable enough to allow for any great measure of investment or savings, the antebellum rail workers occupied the hazy area between the working-class and the lower-class. Their occupation as well as his social status were characterized as being one of “potential,” and perpetually “under construction.” The semi-skilled worker’s identity was inherently open to every possibility by the very nature of his unfixed state. Judging by the occupations present in the catalog, diverse factors influenced the creation of his identity along with society’s perception of that identity. With twenty-three total images, the semi-skilled workers comprise the fourth largest occupational category in the catalog at 13 percent. The makeup of the category includes ten California Gold Rush miners, two hunters, a gambler, an ice man, a painter, chimneysweep, an undertaker and gravediggers, drovers and coachmen, and the representative portrait of the men and the railroad handcar (*Figure IX*). All worked in occupations that required few skills save for a strong back.

The representative portrait, at first glance, appears to depict two middle-class gentlemen and one working-class laborer. Dressed in their Sunday best (minus a jacket), they stand inside a railroad handcart, next to an older, bearded man wearing dirty work clothes. The handcart they are standing in, is representative of the irony present in this particular occupational portrait. The men who appear to be members of the middle-class are, in fact, semi-skilled laborers with aspirations of attaining that rank. The handcart is

representative of their opportunity for social mobility in America, and they need only dedicate themselves to their work in order to move forward and achieve their goal. The average-looking man on the left has already claimed the American dream of middle-class success, and he does not need to prove it by way of his clothing or an occupational portrait.

Charged with maintaining and replacing segments of its track, the crews were responsible, in a sense, for preventing railroad wrecks. Railroads were either owned and operated by private enterprises during the antebellum period, or they were the sometimes poorly-maintained property of the state, used to transport people and goods over relatively short distances. Railroad employees at the top of the railroad pyramid were highly sought after and generally well-paid, but strikes occurred frequently during years of economic downturn.⁹⁵ Accidents frequently took place as well and employees were in particular danger of losing their lives as they operated the heavy machinery—railroad deaths were always headlining stories.⁹⁶ Railroad handcars weighed in excess of three hundred pounds, and not only were they difficult to move on and off railroad ties, they also required considerable physical strength to propel down segments of track by hand. The older man on the left, who has been identified by way of a note as Jacob Lewis Davis, is the professional mentor to his younger counterparts as they learn the skills of

⁹⁵ “Strike of Machinists on the New York Central Railroad,” *American Railway Times* (1849-1859); *Boston* 7, no. 6 (February 8, 1855).

⁹⁶ Mark Aldrich, *Death Rode the Rails: American Railroad Accidents and Safety, 1828–1965* (Baltimore, UNITED STATES: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).

railroad maintenance.⁹⁷ Davis likely agreed to pose with his mentees and the handcart because without him, they could not move the cart on and off of the track, nor could they tell if a locomotive was approaching without the benefit of his pocket-watch, the chain of which is visible around his waist.

The representative portrait of the two semi-skilled workers contains many possibilities for interpretation, and their identities, while unknown in name, are rooted in the promise of the American ethos. Like the blacksmith's portrait in many ways, the two men use every opportunity to employ their skills in pursuit of middle-class acceptance. Unlike the blacksmith, and their mentor, John Lewis Davis however, they are still in the process of acquiring a permanent set of skills that would allow them to achieve the admiration of broader society. Their white-collar clothing is a projection of their aspirations, while their mentor looks on, comfortably established in his own occupation without a need to represent himself as anything but a hardworking member of a railroad repair team. His casual pose emphasizes this interpretation of his identity, while the younger men stand awkwardly with their hands on their hips, uncertain that they have successfully conveyed the intent of the portrait.

⁹⁷ See Appendix 4, Figure 35.

Unskilled: Nursemaid and Child



Figure X: Young Woman with Child (fig. 112)

Are you a servant? Care not for it. If you are a Christian, you are the Lord's freeman.⁹⁸
—*The Independent*, July 1859

Having previously acknowledged the immeasurable importance and complexity of distinguishing between the antebellum slave and servant, and their independent voice versus that of their master/mistress, it must be further acknowledged to be impossible in the case of the representative portrait, “Young Woman with Child” (*figure X*). It is entirely possible that *Figure X* is of a chattel slave rather than a wage-paid, domestic servant. It is not unreasonable to imagine a chattel slave having had their portrait taken

⁹⁸ “Old-School Orthodoxy on the Duties of Servants.: “Duties of Servants: Gen. Xxiv. 1--67.,” *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts* (1848-1921); New York, July 14, 1859. ProQuest.

with their young charges, and surely many did so with the approval and encouragement of their owners. In many instances, the servants in photos are almost on par with the children they care for, consequently, the child becomes the prop that identifies the servant's occupation.

The child-care occupation comprises 60 percent of the unskilled labor category, demonstrating how deeply embedded the demand for the domestic servant was in the antebellum period. Though consistently present in various forms and to varying degrees in American history, one Cincinnati journal estimated that by the late 1850s, "one in four of the American families have servants; but, as we know from observation that of those who keep them, not one-fifth have more than one."⁹⁹ The authors do not indicate the social ranking of these families, but the statistics appear to indicate that one marker of having entered the middle-class or elevated one's status within it, was through the employment of working-class servant(s). The domestic servant not only provided increased status to the family they served, their presence reinforced the domestic sphere as a strictly female responsibility, exacerbating the observation that she was paid for her domestic duties, while her mistress was not. The shifting location and nature of antebellum occupations, fundamentally altered the social definition of 'labor,' excluding virtually everything which occurred within the middle-class home; "that is, disguised by sentimentality, critical tasks still demanded the efforts of women but rarely received

⁹⁹ "Review 2 -- No Title," *Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy* (1857-1920); Philadelphia, October 1858. ProQuest.

recognition as actual labor.”¹⁰⁰ The servant’s purpose was to perform duties in and around the household which the mistress was unable or unwilling to accomplish by herself, providing the mistress with (arguably in-)valuable time for her other domestic duties, charitable endeavors, and leisurely pursuits. A domestic servant, in short, provided the necessary assistance middle-class women required to raise their children and maintain an orderly, peaceful, and respectable household.

The relationship between servant and mistress engendered no little antagonism between the two however, attracting frequent censure on both persons for their part in the matter. The conflict gradually became a heavily publicized social issue because, according to Laurie Ousley, “mistresses and [waged] servants had opposing concepts of domestic employment, the domestic relying on the employment contract and the mistress on the model that predated it,”¹⁰¹ that is to say, bonded or apprenticed servitude. Christine Stansell elaborated further by arguing that, “Unlike their mistresses, who like to look on their help as extensions of themselves, servants themselves looked at service as an exchange of a given amount of labor for a wage rather than a moral obligation to a benevolent overseer.”¹⁰² The dismissal of domestic labors, seen as “womanly duties,” meant in this case that both the mistress and servant’s labor were devalued *because of* their location in the middle-class home. With society’s having devalued domestic labor

¹⁰⁰ Lasser and Robertson, *Antebellum Women: Private, Public, Partisan*, 33.

¹⁰¹ Laurie Ousley, “The Business of Housekeeping: The Mistress, the Domestic Worker, and the Construction of Class,” *Legacy* 23, no. 2 (December 20, 2006): 145.

¹⁰² Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860*, 1986, 166.

generally, the presence of paid servants in the home further built an attitude of resentment between mistress and servant. The mistress resented the servant's wages, while the servant resented the devaluation of her work, and therefore her very identity.

"Young Woman with Child" (*Figure X*) is the image most representative of domestic child-care in the antebellum period. The servant's portrait transforms a devalued occupation into one representative of individual competence and respectability. The young, black woman appears in her portrait standing, dressed in her finest clothes, and supporting a white infant on the seat of a wooden chair in front of her. The nursemaid's clothing dates her around the height of mid-1850s fashion, her white undersleeve, or "engageante," visible under the widened basque sleeve popular at this time.¹⁰³ Her checked work cap is certainly not meant to be seen in public settings, but rather it facilitates her duties as nursemaid by preventing fly-away strands of hair from getting in her way. Perhaps this is an indicator that the portrait was taken in the home of her mistress. She wears what appears to be a large, oval earring in her one, observable ear. The earring indicates that she intended to be publicly represented in her finest dress, and that the cap, along with the central presence of the child, is representative of her nursemaid duties. This woman may have been enslaved on a plantation and, charged with the care of the family's infant child, she was required to dress well in order to uphold their social status.

¹⁰³ Joan L. Severa, *My Likeness Taken: Daguerreian Portraits in America* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2005).

While her legal status is uncertain, her self-confidence is clear. She demonstrates her capabilities as nursemaid by getting the infant to remain still on the chair *and* to look directly into the camera. Her visible, one-hand grip on the infant is not lax, nor is it tight, indicating a level of comfortable trust between her and the child that can only occur because they are constantly in each other's presence. A daguerreotype initially required sitters to remain perfectly still for several minutes while the photographer captured their likeness—many people *today* are unable to achieve this level of control with a child in the split-second it takes to capture a picture. This nursemaid displays none of the resentment so often referred to in antebellum discourse over “the servant problem,” or in the fact that society considered her labor, and thereby her very personage to be degraded because she worked in the home. Regardless of her legal status, her confidence betrays no working-class pretensions or aspirations to belong to the middle-class. In fact, she places the child in front of her as if to state confidently that her domestic labor by no means degrades her inherent self-worth as a human being, making class largely irrelevant to her identity as a whole. Unlike the well-dressed clerk in *Figure XI*, who displays a bottle with a printed label, the black nursemaid's apparent display of the white child does not detract from her own representation. In fact, because the child is the nursemaid's figurative prop, the observer is compelled to focus their attention on the nursemaid all the more. The child is the representative embodiment of the nursemaid's labor and identity, and therefore equally worthy of display. The nursemaid confidently presents herself as a *person*, capable in the execution of her labors, and one who takes pride in those assertions by permanently documenting her identity as such.

Clerk/Salesman



Figure XI: Mr. Ware's Lotion (fig. 76)

Write! write! write! / From early dawn until night

—The Literary World, December 1850

The clerk/salesman occupations, represented by six portraits in total, comprises the smallest percentage of the catalog, under four percent.¹⁰⁴ This small number of portraits belies the vital importance of the commercial occupation in antebellum society, as well as the massive social, moral, and economic contradictions American society was

¹⁰⁴ The commercial collection comprises six portraits with the following occupations: a fabric salesman and his wife, a bread salesman, a man selling Mr. Ware's lotion, a jewelry salesman, and two other salesmen of indeterminate goods, one of which displays various wares from a case, while the other carries two large, closed chests.

forced to confront in the transforming marketplace. Young men entered the cities, alone and for the first time with the ambition of becoming an independent merchant or proprietor, the concept of the self-made man already a critical part of their identity and worldview. Having been continually reassured throughout their youth by family, religious leaders, and advice manuals that success was obtainable only through the development of good character and perseverance, the clerk/salesman found themselves disillusioned when their good habits did not pay off. “The ideals of apprenticeship constrained the advancement of young men according to a timetable not of their own choosing, but clerkships continued to sustain the illusion of merit-based upward mobility in the new nation.”¹⁰⁵ Clerks and salesmen represent the struggle that antebellum youth faced in becoming economically, and consequently, socially independent within their environment.

Upon entering the antebellum city in search of clerkships, young men found themselves stuck between the domineering, traditional past and an uncertain future. Youth was the defining feature of the urban clerk, and by 1855, eighty percent of clerks in New York were under thirty years old, roughly eighty percent were unmarried, and

¹⁰⁵ Brian P. Luskey, *On the Make: Clerks and the Quest for Capital in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York; Chesham: NYU Press, 2011), 23. Within the last decade, scholarship about the nineteenth century salesman, clerk, and merchant has begun expanding to include the evolution of these positions in antebellum society, and to explore the influence of the changing economy, mass consumerism, and the sentimental movement through their own eyes. Brian Luskey argues that, “Examining the intersections between clerks’ stories and stories about clerks is crucially important for our understanding of nineteenth-century America because they illuminate the ways in which Americans made sense of capitalist transformation and urban experience by coming into conflict with each other about the meanings of class, gender, race, ethnicity, and age in their society... To expose and analyze the rich and complex history of clerks, clerking, and class in midnineteenth-century America is to come to terms with the ways in which capitalism’s opportunities and inequalities became the unquestioned organizing principles of American society and culture.” Luskey, 13-28.

ninety-eight percent were male.¹⁰⁶ According to the traditional model of apprenticed clerkships, youths with a well-developed character and a decent education should have found every opportunity in the city open to them; achieving their goal of a comfortable proprietorship was only a matter of time, they believed. Unfortunately, the clerk's proprietor-employer merely maintained the façade that upward mobility was possible, because it ultimately benefitted his own, comfortable lifestyle. Middle-class employers controlled access to credit and connections with capital, choosing to pay their employees a pittance while they privately speculated on the market in order to increase their own wealth and social status. In order to preserve their power, employers simultaneously maintained the unsound model of apprenticed-clerkship, proclaiming that it had launched their own, successful careers.¹⁰⁷ American society as a whole did not anticipate the devastating repercussions of the Panic of 1837, brought on by widespread market speculation. The previous generation also seemed unprepared to handle the paradox of young men trapped between the traditional striver's ideal and the requirement of capital in order to achieve that ideal. Effectively, the clerk appeared destined to remain in a perpetual state of "striving," unable to achieve economic stability or a fixed, respectable identity without the benefit of cash or powerful social connections.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 16–17.

¹⁰⁷ The first decades of the republic witnessed the national economy rebuilt virtually from scratch, allowing the ideal of the striving and successful clerk to embed firmly in the nation's ethos. For more on this period, see Brian P. Luskey, "'What Is My Prospects?': The Contours of Mercantile Apprenticeship, Ambition, and Advancement in the Early American Economy," *The Business History Review* 78, no. 4 (2004): 665–702.

Not only did the clerk's occupational rank seem to provide meager financial independence, it also distorted the emerging divisions between white-collar and blue-collar labor, creating an unflattering perception of clerks and salesmen in general.

Though apparently never published in full, "The Song of 'The Clerk,'" modeled after the style of the aforementioned, "The Song of the Shirt," demonstrates the monotony of a clerk's daily duties:

Write! write! write!
From early dawn until night;
Write! write! write!
Till your cheeks are sunken and white;
The sweat rolleth not off your brow,
'Tis because the summer's not here,
But in its stead the writer's cold
Has brought a nose-dropping tear.
Write! write! write!
In a coat that is threadbare and old;
Write! write! write!
While your fingers are stiffened with cold;
Now lift your eyes from your books,
Their figures you see in the air,
For your poor old eyes have seen them so long
That they see them everywhere.¹⁰⁸

The poem's clerk appears to have worked straight through the seasons, unable to see anything but financial figures when he lifts his eyes from the page. Exacerbating the

¹⁰⁸ "Facts and Opinions: Of Literature, Society, and Movements of the Day. the Song of 'the Clerk,'" *The Literary World* (1847-1853); New York, December 28, 1850. ProQuest. Humorously, the editor introduced this poem at the end of the page, claiming that the words rang true, but he admonished the author, an unknown, "E.W.," for choosing "the form of a parody of a poem so hackneyed as the 'Song of the Shirt.'" Intriguingly, two late-nineteenth century "clerk songs" beg for a comparative analysis. In fact, while the 1850 and the 1883 poems take "The Song of the Shirt" as their direct model, the 1878 poem takes a notably different style, rejoicing that a clerk could vacation two weeks out of a year. See Charles Steadman, "The Song of the Clerk.," *Ballou's Monthly Magazine* (1866-1893); Boston, August 1878; "The 'Song of the Clerk.,'" *The Washington Post* (1877-1922); Washington, D.C., April 22, 1883. ProQuest.

clerk's general frustrations, their lowly position in a firm or shop required that they conduct manual labor, like loading merchants' ships, running errands, and acting in place of the porter; on some occasions, they were paid the same wages as the working-class Irish or black porter. This further blurred the distinctions between white and blue-collar work, and restricted access to the clerk's "cultural capital of whiteness" as a means of social advancement.¹⁰⁹ Manual labor offended the white-collared-clerk's sensibilities, whose education and diligence he believed, had prepared him for better things than fetching and carrying; "[a]n experienced clerk and a budding gentleman should not have been expected to do insignificant tasks."¹¹⁰ Though working with figures was mind-numbing and routine work, it was preferable to the indignity of being compared with the inferior, menial laborer. Either way, society-at-large proffered the clerk as a scapegoat for their anxieties over the transition from republican, productive labor, to the non-productive labor represented by the white-collar.¹¹¹

A question unique to the commercial occupational portrait presents itself in the representative image, "Mr. Ware's lotion" (*Figure XI*): What is the intended subject of

¹⁰⁹ Luskey, *On the Make*, 87.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 82.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 97. Having traded success for security and social ascendancy for mediocrity, the decades following the Civil War showed some clerks marshalling their character and credit to co-own stores while continuing to work as a salaried clerk. Clerks formed partnerships with each other to finance a store, and enlisted the help of female relatives to operate it. This resulted in the clerk's creating a kind of dual identity, a masculine owner-provider, and a "third sex" provider-clerk who was neither wholly masculine or feminine. These new class of middlemen, permanent white-collar workers would be required to reconcile the concept of masculinity and labor for themselves as the concept continued to evolve in the following decades. See Luskey, 109-229 for more on the "third sex." See also: Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001) for more on the decades following the Civil War and the changing concept of masculinity.

the portrait? The question of representation is blurred between the product and the person; while the person may take up the majority of the space in the portrait, it is the bottle in his hand which excites curiosity and to which the viewer's eyes are inevitably drawn. The product occupies the same distinct place of honor as the occupational implements from the other categories however, the immediate specter of advertisement and the prospect of a sale overwhelms any other message originally intended. This is particularly true of this clerk's portrait, given the lack of direct eye-contact made between him and the camera/viewer. Stylistically, the photographer failed to make the person the subject of the portrait by allowing the clerk's lack of eye-contact, thereby making the bottle the dominant subject instead. This reaction immediately raises an issue regarding the intent of the portrait, particularly if this man is not, in fact, "Mr. Ware."

Clerks most often appropriated fashionable dress as a personal marker of success, something which came more easily to those already working in retail sales. The representative clerk may have sold the lotion from behind a dry goods store counter, hopeful that his fashionable appearance would allow him to interact with his customers on the basis of social equality. By allowing respectable dress to define their public identity, retail clerks unwittingly conjured the specter of "the confidence man" instead. Middle-class commentators immediately drew parallels between the reprehensible urban trickster from advice manuals, and the "counter-jumping" clerk, eager to make a sale. By equating the clerk's manners of dress, speech, and social activities to the trickster's pretention, disguise, and insincerity, the counter-jumping clerk's sole purpose, commentators claimed, was to persuade a customer to spend their hard-earned money on

non-essential goods. The confidence man's purpose was to seduce youthful innocence and effectively lure a young man away from his soul. Society's transference of the symbolic entity and his attributes onto the clerk, indicated a belief that consumerism eroded the moral fabric of the nation. The belief did not appear to cease, or even stall their consumptive lifestyles however, demonstrating the hypocrisy characteristic of a society in the midst of transformation.

The fact that the clerk's portrait continues to exist indicates that he did not object to the finished product, heightening modern curiosity and speculation. Naturally, if the young man was "Mr. Ware," he would be promoting the lotion as a display of pride in his creation, as can be observed most extensively throughout the artisan/skilled occupations. If the man is not Mr. Ware, his display of the lotion may be because he was hired to represent the successful product as an itinerant salesman.¹¹² Nevertheless, the bottle remains the focus of the portrait rather than the behind it, both literally and figuratively. The confusion of intent in this particular clerk's occupational portrait mirrors that of the antebellum clerk's social dilemma: he may have been the necessary human link between the product and the consumer, but the product is in demand, not the person. Having thus constantly lived in a state of negligibility, it is no wonder that educated clerks and salesmen attempted to use the occupational portrait, along with fashionable dress as a

¹¹² For a history of the origins of itinerant peddlers after the Revolutionary War, see Walter A. Friedman, *Birth of a Salesman: The Transformation of Selling in America* (Cambridge, US: Harvard University Press, 2009).

means of self-representation in their efforts to achieve *white-collar* middle-class validation.

CONCLUSION

Our ways of looking change; the photograph not only documents a subject but records the vision of a person and a period.¹¹³

—Beaumont Newhall

Nineteenth century Americans were overwhelmed by the magnitude of changes taking place in their daily lives. Uncontrollable economic forces, combined with advancements in technology, rapidly led to the breakdown of traditional livelihoods and the breakup of the nuclear families and communities. Americans gravitated toward newly developing urban areas in which they were “one of many,” a nameless, faceless member of the crowd simply doing their best to survive. The daguerreotype provided Americans a new medium, the literal and figurative framework through which they could begin to contextualize the changes taking place around them and adapt themselves to it. The photographic portrait helped men and women visualize, understand, and express their often-disparate private and public identities. For the first time, Americans could truthfully display themselves to others and begin to establish a sense of social stability in what appeared to be a world in turmoil. The occupational portrait was a particularly American expression of an individual’s productive, valued labor, and a simultaneous assertion of membership, or aspirations to membership in the emergent middle-class.

By the Civil War, the occupational portrait as a genre had largely disappeared. Many occupations had begun to change, the largest transformation occurring between

¹¹³ Newhall, *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day*, 90.

skilled workers who moved into the professions, and skilled workers who simply disappeared.¹¹⁴ Physicians, for example, acquired new techniques both during and after 1865, among the most important were anesthesia and antisepsis. As healing became more complex and doctors more successful in treating illness and injury, the need for specialized training accelerated and institutions providing medical education grew. By 1847, doctors had formed their own professional organization, the American Medical Association (AMA), but it was not until 1880 that the American Surgical Association (ASA) was formed in order to standardize modern Americans' understanding of the human body's internal workings. Even the lowly undertaker moved up the occupational ladder as sentimental issues surrounding soldiers' dying far from home and family popularized embalming during the Civil War.¹¹⁵ Ready-made clothing supplanted the tailor and the seamstress, simultaneously democratizing clothing and standardizing "the American" in visual representations.¹¹⁶

Americans used occupational daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes in reaction to the various social efforts that attempted to transform the various forms and meanings of labor, and effectively attempted to devalue the fundamental nature of American

¹¹⁴ See Table 6 for dates when the various occupations formed labor unions or professional organizations.

¹¹⁵ Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*, 1st ed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008).

¹¹⁶ Claudia Brush Kidwell, National Museum of History and Technology, and Daniel J. Boorstin Collection (Library of Congress), *Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America*, Smithsonian Institution Press Publication No. 5176 (Washington: Published for the National Museum of History and Technology by the Smithsonian Institution Press; 1974; Zakim, "Ready-Made Democracy."

identity. Put another way, the occupational portrait commemorated and memorialized the unique value of individual American labor in the nineteenth century as the world consciously and subconsciously devalued individual labor in general.

The antebellum occupational portrait also created a genre of photographic portraiture. Although workers had appeared in paintings very early in the eighteenth century—John Singleton’s Copley’s *Paul Revere* and John Neagle’s *Pat Lyon at the Forge* are cases in point—, several later photographers, like early twentieth century German photographer, August Sanders adopted the individual worker as their subject. Irving Penn, for instance, “the premier photographer for *Vogue*,” was inspired to create a project that later became his most famous work, *Small Trades*. While working in Paris, London, and New York between 1950-1951, Penn created a collection of over two hundred portraits of the men and women with the implements of their trade and in their work-a-day dress.¹¹⁷ During an interview, Edmonde Charles-Roux, Penn’s assistant in Paris, recounted a conversation with Penn about the project. In an effort to express the importance of the nature of their project, he prompted her, asking why his subjects appeared so proud. She responded: “Yes, they are proud because they have a *petit métier*, because they have fingers, and hands, nothing else.” Charles-Roux explained that Penn’s project was his attempt to celebrate the value people placed in their work, and work’s fundamentality to the creation of their identities; “these were people who had very

¹¹⁷ Jeff L. Rosenheim, “Small Trades | MetCollects | The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” accessed November 21, 2017, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/online-features/metcollects/irving-penn-small-trades>. I extend my sincerest thanks to Mike Mattis for introducing me to the work of Irving Penn and August Sanders.

modest jobs but they loved these jobs *because* they were their own—their jobs and their work clothes.¹¹⁸

Charles-Roux confirmed, moreover, that Penn was inspired by the life-work of Eugene Atget, a pioneer of documentary photography at the end of the nineteenth century who wanted to photograph the architecture and street scenes of Paris before they were irrevocably changed by the effects of modernization. Charles-Roux recalled that Penn “was very conscious of the fleeting quality of what he was photographing and that the small trades would not last another hundred years.”¹¹⁹ In contrast to the occupational portraits of antebellum America initiated by the sitter, Penn, the photographer, initiated his own series of occupational portraits, and reminded society that individual effort and labor was inherently valuable but also required preservation. The antebellum sitter possessed agency and recognized the changes occurring in their world. They sought to memorialize the value of their work as fundamental to their identities as both skilled workers and members of the middle class:

In effect, the primary characteristic of the American middle class may be its members’ ability to create a definition for themselves and then deny that they belong in the definition. Thus their greatest privilege, and their greatest source of power, is an ability to declare freedom from themselves.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸“*petit métier*,” literally meaning “small trade” in French, from which the title of Penn’s project and book emerged. Irving Penn et al., *Irving Penn: Small Trades* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), 26.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 26–27.

¹²⁰ Roberts, *American Alchemy*, 274.

In other words, the antebellum middle-class created the social conditions through which they were able to transform themselves and their identities continuously through the visual power of their individual labors.

The symbolic function of the occupational portrait was transferred to the working-classes, however, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Historians have thoroughly demonstrated how this particular period of American history contained a seemingly endless series of labor strikes, unionization movements, and reform efforts in order to challenge the working conditions.¹²¹ Throughout this period, tradesmen whose livelihoods were most in danger of devaluation, transformation, or destruction, militantly reasserted the importance of their contributions to American society through the formation of labor unions and legal reform. The blue-collar working-class argued that their labors, though derided and degraded in public discourse had, as much value, if not more than that of the non-productive, white-collar middle-class. Unlike the middle-class, members of the working-class did not have the economic power or social advantage to reinvent themselves. The working-classes adopted the genre of occupational portraiture as a self-representative measure in order to communicate their sentiments to society.¹²²

The antebellum occupational portrait demonstrates that the tradition of apprenticeship lingered throughout the period while the actual practice proved

¹²¹ Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*.

¹²² Michael L. Carlebach, *Working Stiffs: Occupational Portraits in the Age of Tintypes* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002). For examples of ambrotype occupational portraits, see figures: 20, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145. For examples of tintype occupational portraits, see Figures: 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159.

ineffective. Middle-class employers adapted their products and businesses to the demands of the capitalist market but simultaneously clung to the outmoded method of apprenticeship to train and manage the next generation of producers and proprietors. By requiring that young men and women meet these unattainable expectations, the middle-class delayed the ability of their youth to establish their identities and be self-determinate, productive citizens. Delayed self-identification forced America's youngest generation to conform to middle-class rules that defined respectability and social acceptance in order to determine the course of their future. The middle-class's enforcement of social conformity was an attempt to mute competition over social distinction and balance the inherent instabilities of their democratic, capitalist society. These attempts, though widely accepted as the new social norm, gradually allowed Americans to replace their desire for sincere demonstrations of their "true selves" with valueless theatrical rituals of gentility and etiquette.¹²³ The occupational portrait acted as a foil to middle-class dictates of self-presentation. The individual framed and presented themselves by their self-determined worth as American citizens: they presented themselves as men and women of work.

Intriguingly however, the model of apprenticeship appears to have made a resurgence as the modern, global marketplace finds itself oversaturated with the intellectually-educated, but largely technically-unskilled workforce. Indeed, the United States Department of Labor maintains an Office of Apprenticeship, which works alongside State agencies in order to provide education, technical training, and paid-work

¹²³ Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*, 196.

apprenticeships within a broad range of industries. An Executive Order designed to expand apprenticeships in America was signed in June 2017, acknowledging that: “Expanding apprenticeships and reforming ineffective education and workforce development programs will help address these issues, enabling more Americans to obtain relevant skills and high-paying jobs.”¹²⁴ It appears that the nation, and perhaps the global market, has recalled the value of and need for skilled, manual labor following the devastating market crash in 2008. “Anthony,” an electrical apprentice in San Francisco is quoted on the Department of Labor’s Apprenticeship website as saying, “Apprenticeship was my golden ticket to the middle class.”¹²⁵ The pride and aspiration evident in Anthony’s statement implies that, once again, the apprenticeship initiative enables men and women to care for themselves and their families; to come to terms with their public and private identities; and provides men and women the framework for determining their definition of success through their occupation. By providing paid, occupation-specific training and credentialing, the modern apprentice fills the gaps in the workforce where the educationally-overqualified do not think (or perhaps dare) to look for employment. The blue-collar trades once again have an opportunity through the apprenticeship initiative to assert the value of their existence in American society.

¹²⁴ “Presidential Executive Order Expanding Apprenticeships in America,” whitehouse.gov, June 15, 2017, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2017/06/15/presidential-executive-order-expanding-apprenticeships-america>. Last accessed November 2017.

¹²⁵ <https://www.dol.gov/featured/apprenticeship/find-opportunities>. Last accessed December 2017. Of note, the United States Apprenticeship Office appears to have appropriated the marketing figures for the United Kingdom’s apprenticeship initiative. “Apprenticeship | United States Department of Labor”; “Find Apprenticeship Opportunities.” Last accessed November 2017.

A significant piece of the occupational portrait's legacy is perhaps subtle and overlooked in comparison to public policy. Colorful and interactive e-commerce sites like Etsy and Pinterest, not only provide an environment that inspires creative efforts, but they also more immediately link the consumer with the hand-crafted product and its producer. Established in 2005 in order to "fill a need for an online community where crafters, artists and makers could sell their handmade and vintage goods and craft supplies," Etsy's mission is "to keep commerce human."¹²⁶ With over 2.8 billion dollars in gross merchandise sales in 2016, products from custom daybed porch swings; hand-painted, Ukrainian wooden eggs; loom-knitted scarves; and plastic gimp keychains, it appears that Etsy has taken advantage of the expanding market for hand-crafted products has played into Americans valuation of the. Pinterest, another such online community where people go "to find ideas to try, figure out which ones they love, and learn a little bit about themselves in the process," launched in 2010 and boasted over 150 million monthly users and 70 billion "pinned ideas" just six years later.¹²⁷ The collaborative and expansive nature of Pinterest is reminiscent of the explosion in antebellum magazine subscriptions, through which readers exchanged ideas, encountered an onslaught of advertisement, and crafted a more precise sense of themselves and the world around them.¹²⁸ The internet,

¹²⁶ <https://www.etsy.com/about>.

¹²⁷ <https://blog.pinterest.com/en/150-million-people-finding-ideas-pinterest>.

¹²⁸ Isabelle Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page: Popular Print Media in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Heidi L. Nichols, *The Fashioning of Middle-Class America: Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art and Antebellum Culture* (Peter Lang, 2004).

through collaborative, e-commerce websites, has facilitated the exchange of creative ideas, information, and commercial products to the twenty-first century American.

The internet is not the only modern medium which links creative and commercial pursuits; television and cable networks continue to provide access to creative concepts and productive labor that greatly appeal to modern Americans. In December 2015, Home & Garden Television Network (HGTV) boasted over 9.4 million weekly viewers between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-four, and was one of only three top-performing cable networks to achieve a ratings growth over the course of the year; the network also ranked first among women in the same age bracket for the ninth consecutive year.¹²⁹ With popular programs like *Flip or Flop*, *Fixer Upper*, *Flea Market Flip*, and *Brother vs. Brother* that employ personable hosts and edited concepts of time, the network effectively makes complex tasks such as electrical re-wiring, laying tile, and plumbing look simple, and easy for the untrained do-it-yourself enthusiast. Having gradually emerged from the economic disaster of the housing market crash in 2008, Americans continue to seek the power to remake the world around them, and demonstrate their creative and commercially-productive abilities, whether actual or aspirational.

The cooper with the Kossuth hat is a example of a kind of “Lake Wobegon effect,” a phenomenon in which a sizeable number of Americans identify themselves as middle

¹²⁹ <http://www.scrippsnetworksinteractive.com/newsroom/company-news/HGTV-Finishes-2015-With-Highest-Rated-Year-Ever/>. Scripps Network, the parent company of HGTV also owns the immensely popular Food Network and DIY (Do It Yourself) Network. Along with HGTV, the Travel Channel, and others, these cable networks boosted Scripps Network’s operating revenue to 3.4 billion dollars worldwide by the end of 2016, achieving its highest performance amount at that time. See: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/228962/cable-tv-networks-hgtv-watched-within-the-last-7-days-usa/>.

class, even when their occupations denote working class. The cooper, proud of his status as a skilled craftsman, nevertheless desired validation and acceptance by the middle class, and his portrait displays this conflict between his core identity and his aspirations. This phenomenon can be seen throughout antebellum portraiture, and finds a twenty-first century parallel in the seemingly endless streams of “selfies” that emanate from Facebook and Instagram profiles. The “selfie” is arguably the twenty-first century’s preferred self-representative portrait, created and disseminated by the author-subject with specific intent and for a specific audience. For example, a person takes a selfie with a celebrity, and displays it to friends, family, and the global community on the internet. The repeated display is intended to imply that they have personal access to someone with wealth and fame, and by extension, *they* are wealthy and famous. Their identity before the selfie likely was not rooted in these particular characteristics, but in displaying the selfie to the world, they juxtapose who they truly are, and who they dream of becoming. The twenty-first century selfie mimics the performative and ostentatious nature of late antebellum sentimentalism, which purported the form of respectable gentility without the substance to support it.¹³⁰ The author-subject of the selfie trusts that their audience will acknowledge the false pretenses to accessible wealth and fame in their self-portrait while, at the same time, openly accept them on their premise of respectability. The cooper knew that his blue-collar occupation limited his chances for upward social mobility, yet he persisted in defining himself as something he was not but hoped *to become*. By making

¹³⁰ Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women*.

his hopes concrete in the form of a portrait, the cooper believed that he could make his aspirations to the middle class a reality. The selfie author-subject, too, attempts to make their access to wealth and fame a reality, but acknowledges that their audience knew the truth of the matter.

In both centuries, work was central to the formation of men and women's identities and their definitions of "success." Faced with the fact that their expectations were unrealistic, people in both centuries adapted their goals and definitions of "success" to fit within their socio-economic condition. Antebellum men and women continued to emphasize the value of labor as central to their identity and created occupational portraits to demonstrate their productive membership in middle-class society. In creating their occupational portraits, antebellum men and women attached faces and identities to the concept vital to American democracy, "that, as wealth is derived solely from labor, [American men and women are] the original source of the national substance."¹³¹ The occupational portrait, moreover, defined and represented not only America's individual identities but also its collective, national identity. The continual appeal of the American way of life is anchored in the freedom of opportunity: men and women can make of themselves anything they choose as long as they persevere in his or her attempts to achieve it. For better or worse.

¹³¹ "The Daguerreotype."

APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY

Class and Labor

Occupational tables were adapted using the initial historical methodologies outlined by Michael Katz in his “Occupational Classification in History,” and by drawing heavily on the statistical data composed and analyzed by Stuart Blumin in *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*; Mary Ryan in *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County*; and Sean Wilentz in *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850*.¹³² The statistical data used in these studies of nineteenth century society provide a solid foundation for interdisciplinary studies centered on occupational portraiture and representations of identity. Katz urged scholars to scrutinize carefully an individual’s appreciation of their collective occupational identity and their own personal, customarily private assertions of worth. He illustrated the significance of multiple identifiers attached to a single individual by drawing attention to the occupational titles recorded in the 1851 and 1852 census in Hamilton, Ontario.¹³³ Acknowledging the

¹³² Michael B. Katz, “Occupational Classification in History,” *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3, no. 1 (1972): 63–88; Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*, Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Modern History (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Mary P Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790 - 1865* (Cambridge [u.a.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998]; Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984). See Tables 1-7.

¹³³ Katz, “Occupational Classification in History.” In his first concern, Katz observed that by categorizing occupation, the historian unavoidably imparts bias and predetermines the patterns which he subsequently perceives in his raw data. His second concern was that historians continually attempted to

complexities involved in determining occupational categorization and value, Katz went on to say that, “[t]he categories that [were] chosen form the parameters of social mobility and the intervals on the hierarchy of social rank. They determine which shifts between specific jobs can be considered instances of vertical mobility and which differences of occupation between people can be said to indicate difference of status or class.”¹³⁴ An understanding of nineteenth century attitudes linking occupation, mobility, and hierarchy should therefore be drawn from the internal occupational hierarchies coincided with the historical period. Methods of training and mastery, composite trends in economic and social mobility over time, along with public and private discourses about the working-class and striver’s struggles, illustrate occupational hierarchies both within a specific occupation and between occupational categories.

Photography

Alan Trachtenberg argued that photographs in general, and daguerreotypes in particular are independent compositions which must be broken down into their individual factors, analyzed for the point and perspective that each factor illuminates, then put back

combine studies of occupational hierarchy with occupational mobility without much regard for the different structures required to understand the complexities of each, independently. His proposition, that we understand occupational mobility within the framework of a structured occupational hierarchy provides a more concrete method of analyzing what equates to the socio-occupational chaos experienced by those in the nineteenth century during periods of industrialization. Katz further reminds scholars that intangible factors like the links between prestige and social ranking cannot be ignored under the topic of occupation, though they inescapably complicate our understanding of human interaction and occupational mobility.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, 63.

together and analyzed as a whole to understand the story being told.¹³⁵ Trachtenberg reasoned “that the role of photographs in the interpretation of history and the role of history in the interpretation of photographs pose mutual problems.”¹³⁶ Some of these problems are made manifest when combining Trachtenberg’s deconstructive method and Katz’s incorporation of the individual’s perspective. The problem most apparent in the occupational daguerreotype is that the majority of the individuals represented cannot be identified in order to uncover their unique perspective. There is little or no evidence within the occupational portrait itself that indicates an individual’s geographical location, type of residence, or home to provide clues to socio-economic status; “in this case considerable historical information helps us construct a context of social, familial, and personal history.”¹³⁷

Classifying a portrait as an occupational rather than a hobby, or something altogether different can sometimes be difficult to assess. The discrepancy between work meant to sustain a person or to earn pocket money, and a hobby intended to amuse is not easily distinguishable within nineteenth century portraiture. This is especially evident in white-collar, middle-class portraits, more particularly in those of women.¹³⁸ Work traditionally conducted by artisans and skilled craftsmen, such as lacemaking, repair

¹³⁵ Alan. Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs*, xiv–xv.

¹³⁶ Alan Trachtenberg, “Reading Lessons: Stories of a Daguerreotype,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 22:4, 541.

¹³⁷ Alan Trachtenberg, “Reading Lessons,” 540.

¹³⁸ See Fig. 88. These two women chose to depict themselves conducting millinery.

work, and millinery, was gradually replaced by a machine, broken up among piece-makers, or absorbed into women's domestic duties. Products lost much of their value in these cases, and people who chose to continue producing them by traditional means were now required to use their leisure time. Each portrait in the catalog was considered independently and categorized as an occupational according to its individual characteristics.

It is important to define the parameters of the antebellum occupations, here categorized as professional, semi-professional, skilled/artisan, semi-skilled, and unskilled work. Not only do the differences distinguish an individual's socio-economic potential, but they also factor critically into their identity and self-representative efforts. William Skelton wrote in his extensive study on the Army officer, that "[p]rofessional consolidation was an urban phenomenon in an overwhelmingly rural society. Professional institutions were local in scope, closely intertwined with family and communal patterns."¹³⁹ The nineteenth century professional, however, had more intellectual connection to his European counterparts from whom his profession derived than he did to his American colleagues; "The professional dealt with clients and patients in a relationship that often suggested the professional's superior position. The tradesmen and artisans gave their customers what they wanted. The professional gave his clients and patrons what he thought was good for them."¹⁴⁰ The semi-professional occupations

¹³⁹ "Professionalization in the U.S. Army Officer Corps During the Age of Jackson", *Armed Forces & Society*. William B. Skelton, 1975," 445.

¹⁴⁰*The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1900*. Samuel Haber, xi-xii.

differed from that of their professional counterparts in the fact that they had yet to establish a cohesive set of principles that dictated their operations. Artisans, on the other hand, had lost central ownership of their shops to middle-managers. Artisans maintained control over the proliferation of the skills particular to their trade however, and thereby distinguished themselves from their semi-skilled and unskilled working-class neighbors.

APPENDIX 2: TABLES

Table 1: Occupational Structure–Pre-Civil War, 1820–1860

White-Collar/Middle-Class	
Professionals	
	architect, army officer, army sergeant, chemist, civil engineer, clergyman, editor, midshipman, model bridge-builder, naval officer, surveyor
Clerks/Sales	
	dry goods clerk, fabric salesman, jewelry salesman, “other” clerk, sample salesman
Semi-Professionals	
	artist, calligrapher, chiropodist, clown, “concertina man,” dentist, draftsman, fiddler, fire fighters, inventor, lighthouse keeper, mapmaker, other entertainers, pharmacist, photographer, physician, piano tuner, policeman, printers, surgeon, taxidermist, teacher, tight-rope walker, violinist
Blue-Collar/Working-Class	
Skilled/Artisan	
	baker, barber, broom-maker, butcher, carpenter, chain maker, cigar-maker, cobbler, cooper, feather duster-maker, gold assayer, hard-rock miner, harness-maker, latch-maker, machinist, milliner, railroad worker (engineer, conductor), sailor, seamstress, sign painter, silversmith, soldier, stone mason, tailor/tailoress, tinsmith, upholsterer, watchmaker, window-maker, whaler
Semi-Skilled	
	chimney-sweep, coachman, driver/drover, gambler, hunter, ice man, placer miner, painter, railroad worker (fireman, baggage handler), undertaker
Unskilled	
	clam digger, domestic, laborer, nursemaid

Table 2: Catalog Occupations Pre-Civil War, 1820-1860

Occupational Categories (Total Images)	Catalog Percentage	Male(s)	Female(s)	Single Subject	Multiple Subjects
Clerk/Sales (n=6)	3.51	5	1	5	1
Unskilled (n=10)	5.85	4	6	2	8
Semi-Skilled n= (23)	13.45	22	1	16	7
Professionals (n=28)	16.37	27	1	24	4
Semi-Professionals (n=47)	27.49	45	1	41	5
Skilled/Artisan (n=57)	33.33	54	4	50	8
Total n=(171):		157	14	138	33
Total Percent		91.81%	8.19%	80.70%	19.3%

Table 3: Standardized American Daguerreotype Plate Sizes ¹⁴¹

Plate	Inches	Centimeters
Whole Plate	6.5 x 8.5	16.5 x 21.5
Half Plate	4.25 x 5.5	11 x 14
Quarter Plate	3.24 x 4.25	8 x 11
Sixth Plate	2.75 x 3.25	7 x 8
Ninth Plate	2 x 2.5	5 x 6
Sixteenth Plate	1.375 x 1.625	3.5 x 4

¹⁴¹ Catalog images were not described in the same manner or with the same intent by each collector/collecting agency. Images belonged to national museums, private collectors, or purveyors at the time I was granted permission for their use, and some were sold or donated before I was able to verify plate size and/or tinting/gilding. Some images that lack description in the catalog may appear, upon first glance to have been tinted/gilded, but there is no way to be certain without obtaining the image itself, and therefore they have not been included in table calculations. These factors must be taken into consideration when analyzing daguerreotype portraits in general, and the data from the tables and appendices in particular.

Table 4: Images & Plate Size

Total Images	Percent	Plate-Size				
		Whole	Half	Quarter	Sixth	Ninth
Clerk/Sales (6/6)	100	0	0	2	4	0
Unskilled (10/10)	100	0	1	2	7	0
Semi-Skilled (21/23)	91	0	3	4	14	0
Professionals (26/28)	93	0	3	7	14	2
Semi-Professionals (33/47)	70	0	3	6	22	2
Skilled/Artisan (45/57)	79	1	1	4	37	2
Totals (141/171):		1	11	25	98	6
Catalog Percent	88	0.7	8	18	70	4

Table 5: Tinted/Gilded by Plate-Size

Images	Tinted/Gilded				
	Whole	Half	Quarter	Sixth	Ninth
Clerk/Sales (n=6)	0	0	0	1	0
Unskilled (n=10)	0	0	0	0	0
Semi-Skilled (n=21)	0	0	1	2	0
Professional (n=26)	0	1	3	2	1
Semi-Professional (n=33)	0	0	1	1	0
Skilled/Artisan (n=45)	0	0	0	6	1
Total (n=141)	0	1	5	12	2
Catalog Percentage	0%	0.7%	3.5%	8.5%	1.4%

Table 6: American Labor Organization Timeline: 1833-1936

Date	Labor Organization
1833	General Trades' Union (GTU)
1836	National Cooperative Association of Cordwainers
1842	Glass, Molders, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers International Union
1847	American Medical Association (AMA)
1852	International Typographical Union (ITU)
1852	American Pharmacists Association (APA)
1852	American Society of Civil Engineers (ASCE)
1857	American Institute of Architects (AIA)
1857	National Education Association (NEA)
1859	International Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America
1859	American Dental Association (ADA)
1863	Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers
1864	Journeymen Cigar Makers' International Union of America (CMIU)
1864	Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada
1865	International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen
1866	National Labor Union (NLU)
1869	National Photographic Association of the United States

Date	Labor Organization
1869	Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor
1874	Machine Printers and Engravers Association of the United States
1874	International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers of the United States and Canada
1876	American Chemical Society (ACS)
1880	International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots
1880	Custom Tailors & Designers Association (CTDA)
1880	American Surgical Association (ASA)
1881	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners America (UBCJA)
1881	American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations
1886	American Federation of Labor (AFL)
1887	Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America
1887	American Newspaper Publishers Association (ANPA)
1887	Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees
1888	Sheet Metal Workers' International Association
1888	Order of United Machinists and Mechanical Engineers
1890	Retail Clerks International Union (RCIU)
1890	Coopers' International Union of North America

Date	Labor Organization
1891	United Garment Workers of America
1892	Upholsterers International Union of North America
1893	International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers
1893	International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America (IPPDSEU)
1893	National League of Musicians
1895	Boot and Shoe Workers' Union
1896	United Hatters of North America (UHU)
1896	International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE)
1897	American Bakers Association (ABA)
1897	Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America
1898	Team Drivers' International Union (TDIU)
1900	International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU)
1903	Laborers' International Union of North America
1912	American Podiatric Medical Association (APMA)
1913	Actors' Equity Association
1915	Fraternal Order of Police (FOP)
1918	International Federation of Draftsmen's Unions (IFDU)
1924	Independent National Funeral Directors Association
1936	American Guild of Musical Artists (AGMA)

APPENDIX 3: CATALOG OF IMAGES

Note on Catalog Images: Images have been labeled with the name/title provided by their collector/collecting agency. If the image was originally labeled with a number or similar descriptor, I have drawn its title from the subsequent narrative for the purposes of this catalog. Images were the property of the collector/collecting agency under which they are listed when I applied for permission for their use in this study.

Dennis A. Waters Collection



Figure 1: Carpenter with attitude



Figure 2: Doctor with Anatomy Figure



Figure 3: Craftsman in Profile



Figure 4: Campbell Clan Sailor



Figure 5: Grading a Paper

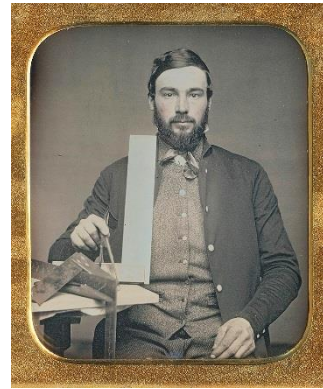


Figure 6: A Draftsman

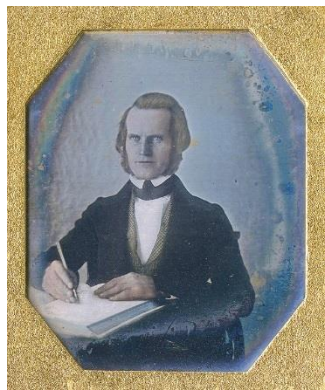


Figure 7: Surreal!

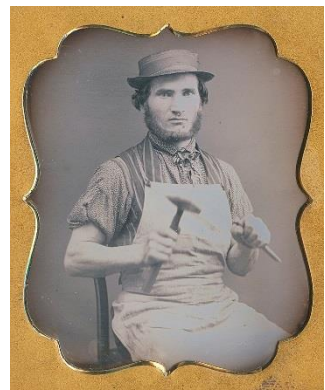


Figure 8: The Stonemason



Figure 9: Barrel-maker



Figure 10: A Drovers!



Figure 11: Primitive Soldier



Figure 12: American Patriots

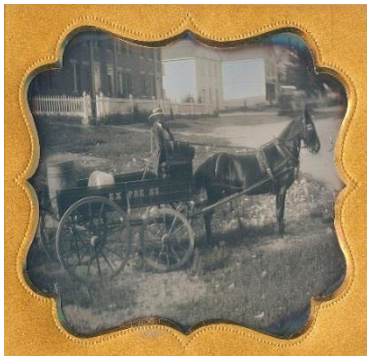


Figure 13: The Driver's



Figure 14: He Made Shoes

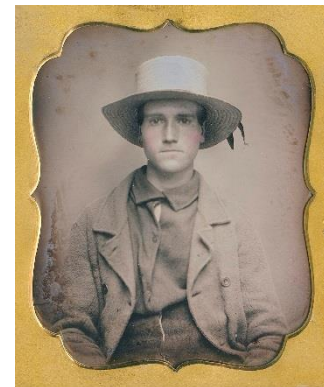


Figure 15: One Dark Loop!



Figure 16: Sure He was an Artisan



Figure 17: Crusty Old Musician



Figure 18: She was a Performer



Figure 19: John Pleasanton
DuHamel (Minister & Poet)



Figure 20:
[AMBROTYPE] A
Musician

Library of Congress Collection

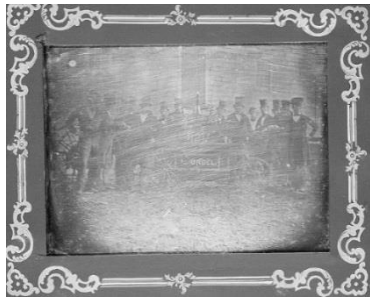


Figure 21: Arundel Fire Engine Company



Figure 22: Blacksmith I

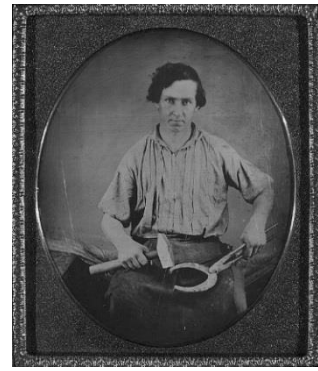


Figure 23:
Blacksmith II

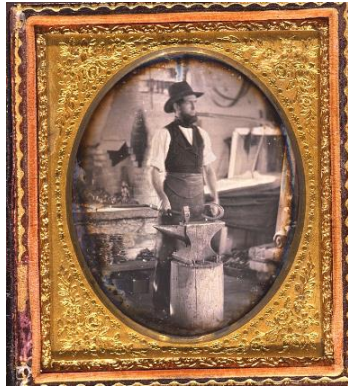


Figure 24: Portrait of a
blacksmith in his
workshop



Figure 25: Carpenter
with hat

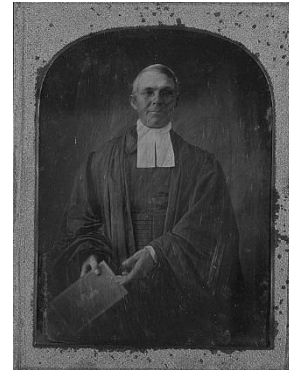


Figure 26:
Clergyman holding
Bible



Figure 27: Cooper



Figure 28: Four
Shoemakers



Figure 29: John Hunt,
holding whip



Figure 30: Man in front of stone wall and machinery

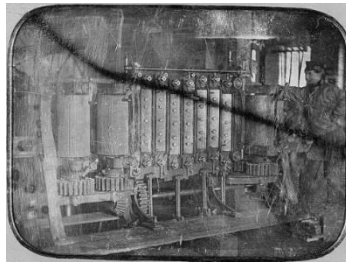


Figure 31: Man standing with engine



Figure 32: Man with iron



Figure 33: Man with mallet and chisel



Figure 34: Peddler standing with wares



Figure 35: Railroad workers on crank handcar



Figure 36: Salesman displaying his wares



Figure 37: Stonecutter with block of stone



Figure 38: Surveyor with transit on tripod



Figure 39: Tin worker seated



Figure 40: Two men holding floor rammers



Figure 41: Two surveyors with tools



Figure 42: Watchmaker



Figure 43: Woman with broom



Figure 44: Woman with sewing machine



Figure 45: Latch maker

Michael P. Mattis Collection



Figure 46: Apprentice Upholsterers



Figure 47: Barber and client

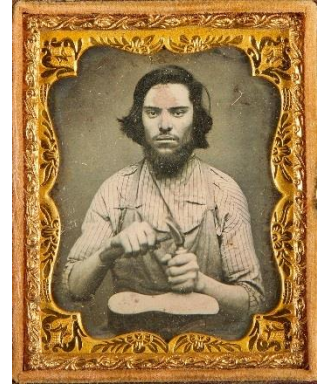


Figure 48: Bearded cobbler



Figure 49: Broom-makers

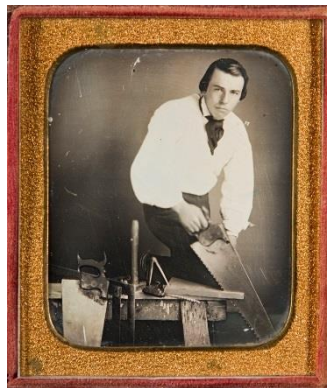


Figure 50: Carpenter with saws



Figure 51: Clam-digger



Figure 52: Cobbler in shop

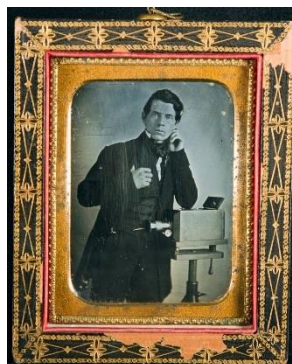


Figure 53:
Daguerreotypist



Figure 54: Engineer

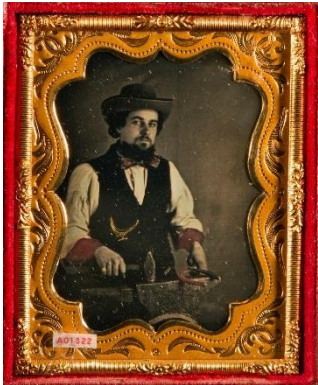


Figure 55: Fancy blacksmith



Figure 56: Feather-duster maker



Figure 57: Gambler



Figure 58: Gold-assayer



Figure 59: Gold-miners and woman

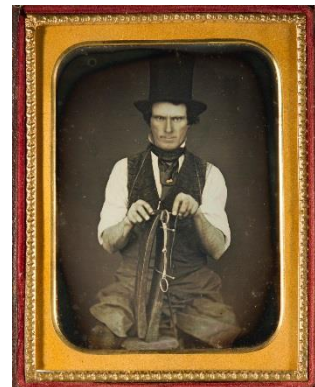


Figure 60: Harness-maker with hat



Figure 61: Homeopathic doctor



Figure 62: Inventor with machine



Figure 63: Lighthouse-keeper

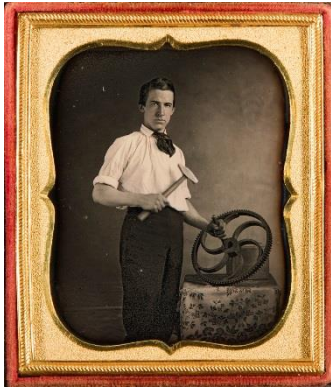


Figure 64: Machinist

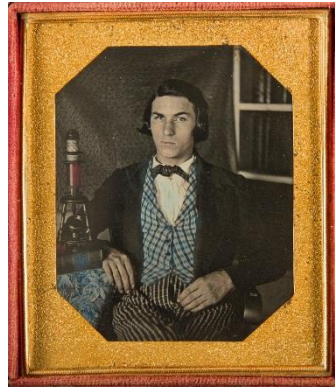


Figure 65: Medical student with microscope



Figure 66: Worried Miner



Figure 67: Policeman



Figure 68: Seasoned harness-maker



Figure 69: Seated clown



Figure 70: Seated tailor

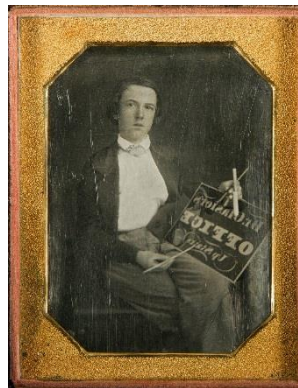


Figure 71: Sign-painter

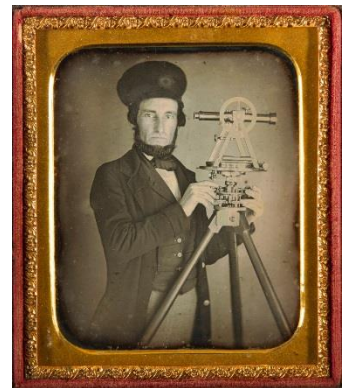


Figure 72: Surveyor with hat

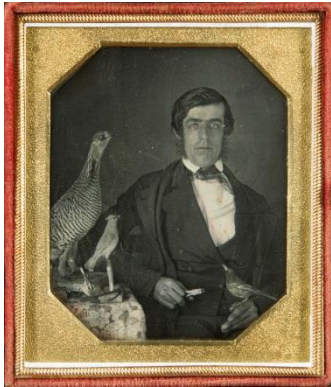


Figure 73: Taxidermist



Figure 74: Two blacksmiths

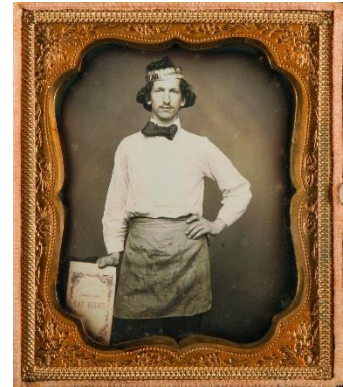


Figure 75: Union Gap printer



Figure 76: Ware's Lotion



Figure 77: Young fireman



Figure 78: Surgeon with his Instruments



Figure 79: [AMBROTYPE]
Pharmacist with Tincture of
Opium



Figure 80:
[AMBROTYPE]
Shakespearean Actor

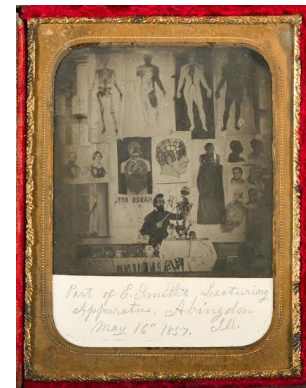


Figure 81: [AMBROTYPE]
Physiology Lecturer



Figure 82: [AMBROTYPE]
Three Carpenters I

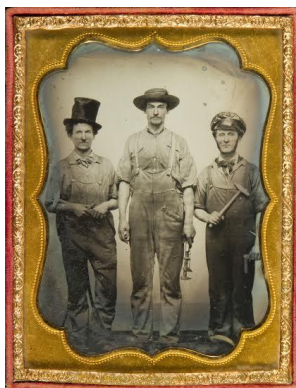


Figure 83:
[AMBROTYPE] Three
Carpenters II



Figure 84: [AMBROTYPE]
Two Glovemakers

Mike Medhurst Collection



Figure 85: Boy cobbler



Figure 86: Flutist



Figure 87: Midshipman



Figure 88: Milliners



Figure 89: Militia Sergeant

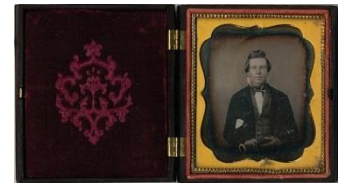


Figure 90: Musician
(clarinet)



Figure 91: Policeman

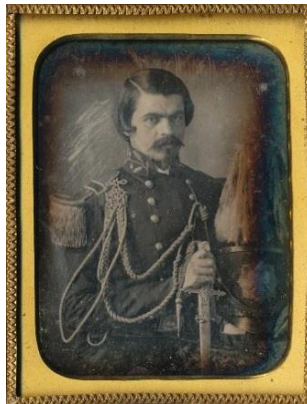


Figure 92: Second Lieutenant



Figure 93: Soldier



Figure 94: Stonemason



Figure 95: Whaler



Figure 96: Coachman at Work



Figure 97: Upholsterer



Figure 98: Soldier with
Cartridge Box



Figure 99: Naval Officer

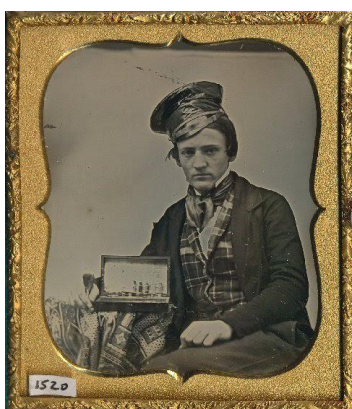


Figure 100: Photographer
and His Tints (Son)



Figure 101: Photographer
and His Tints (Father)

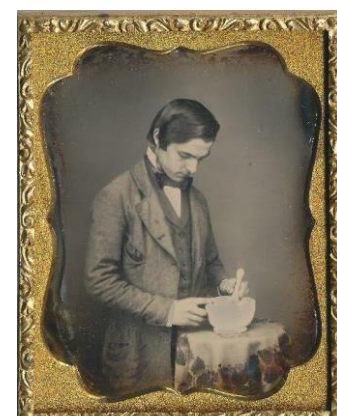


Figure 102: Pharmacist



Figure 103: Man with Owl



Figure 104: North Atlantic Ocean Map Makers

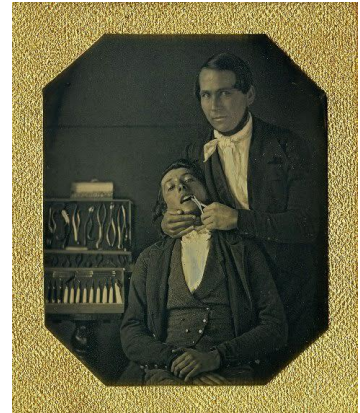


Figure 105: Dentist at Work

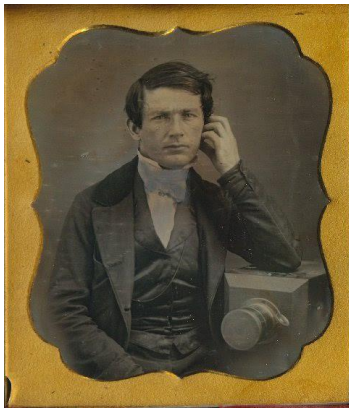


Figure 106: Portrait of a Photographer



Figure 107: Painting the Photography Studio



Figure 108: Blacksmith



Figure 109: Hunter

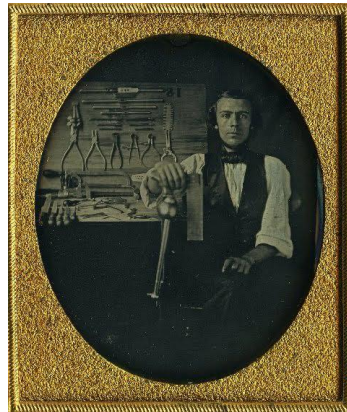


Figure 110: Machinist, John
Gilman Hapgood

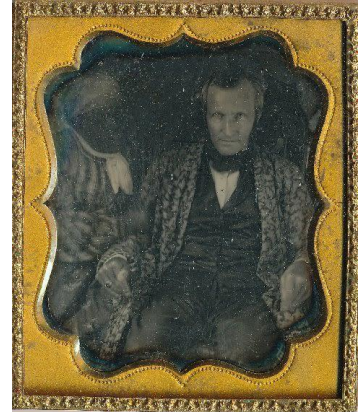


Figure 111: Master and
Slave



Figure 112: Young Woman
with Child



Figure 113: General St.
George Cooke



Figure 114:
Grinning Fiddler



Figure 115: Jewelry
Salesman



Figure 116: Painting of
Architect



Figure 117: Politician



Figure 118: Silversmith



Figure 119: 65th Infantry
Officer



Figure 120: Gold Miner

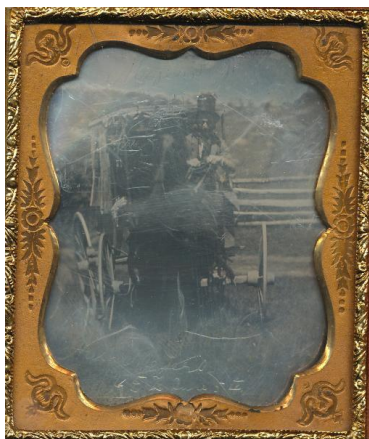


Figure 121: Abe Myers in his Wagon



Figure 122: Man with Concertina



Figure 123: A Chip off the Old Wood Block Plane



Figure 124: Violinist



Figure 125: Staying In Tune



Figure 126: Concertina Man



Figure 127: African American Man with Two Boys

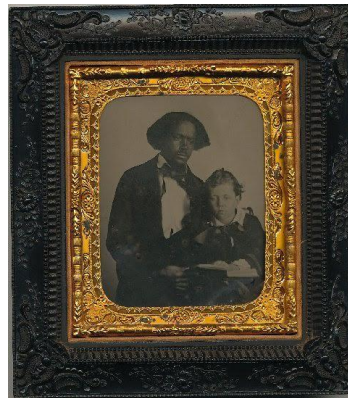


Figure 128:
[AMBROTYPE]
Black Teacher with
Blind, White Child



Figure 129:
[AMBROTYPE] Wheeler
and Wilson Fireman with
Union Artilleryman



Figure 130:
[AMBROTYPE] Black
Fireman



Figure 131:
[AMBROTYPE]
Deliveryman



Figure 132:
[AMBROTYPE] Teamster



Figure 133:
[AMBROTYPE] Carpenter



Figure 134:
[AMBROTYPE] Plasterer



Figure 135:
[AMBROTYPE] The
Fiddler



Figure 136: [AMBROTYPE]
A.A Pritz Saddle & Harness
Maker



Figure 137:
[AMBROTYPE] Hunter
with Dog



Figure 138:
[AMBROTYPE] Cobbler



Figure 139: [AMBROTYPE]
Blacksmiths



Figure 140:
[AMBROTYPE] Dry
Goods



Figure 141:
[AMBROTYPE] Harness-
Maker



Figure 142: [AMBROTYPE]
Bare Knuckle Boxer

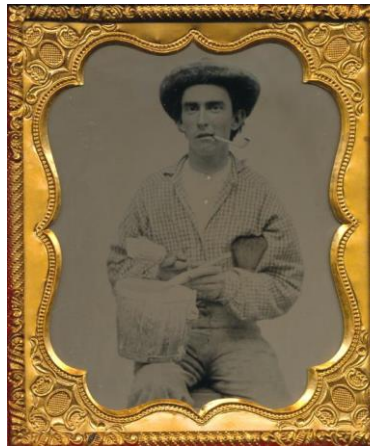


Figure 143:
[AMBROTYPE] Painter



Figure 144:
[AMBROTYPE] Black
Nanny and Children



Figure 145: [AMBROTYPE]
Band in the Street



Figure 146: [TINTYPE]
Riding the Fence Line



Figure 147: [TINTYPE]
Security Guard or
Conductor?



Figure 148: [TINTYPE]
Policeman



Figure 149: [TINTYPE]
Officer of the Law

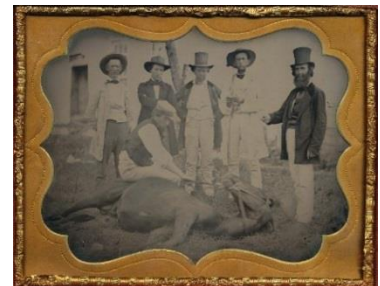


Figure 150: [TINTYPE]
Six Men and a Stallion



Figure 151: [TINTYPE]
Knapp Stout Boys



Figure 152: [TINTYPE]
Tinsmith



Figure 153: [TINTYPE]
Lumbermill



Figure 154: [TINTYPE]
The Sale



Figure 155: [TINTYPE]
Surveyor



Figure 156: [TINTYPE]
Grinning Officer on his
Mount



Figure 157: [TINTYPE]
Double Armed Cavalryman

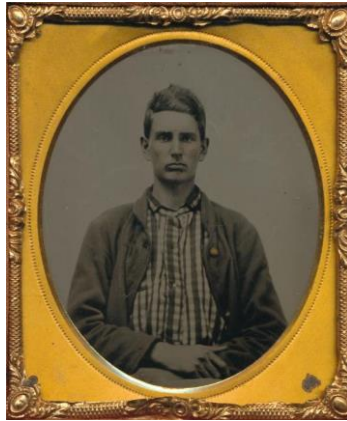


Figure 158: [TINTYPE]
Private

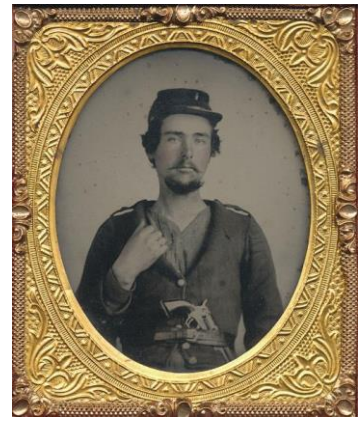


Figure 159: [TINTYPE]
Armed and Dangerous

Nelson-Atkins Museum Collection



Figure 160: Artillery
Soldier



Figure 161: Baker with
basket of buns

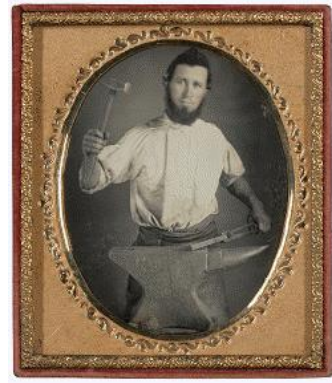


Figure 162: Blacksmith



Figure 163: Blacksmith
with raised hammer



Figure 164: Carpenter with
T-square and saw

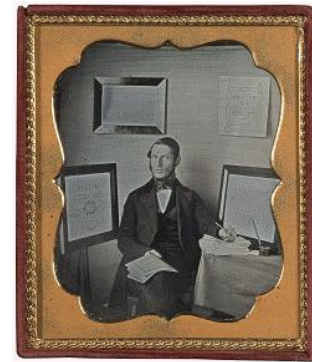


Figure 165: Jas. D.
Robey, Calligrapher,
Suncook, New
Hampshire



Figure 166: Chimney Sweep



Figure 167: Cigar-maker



Figure 168: Cobbler



Figure 169: Dentist with Tools in Open Case

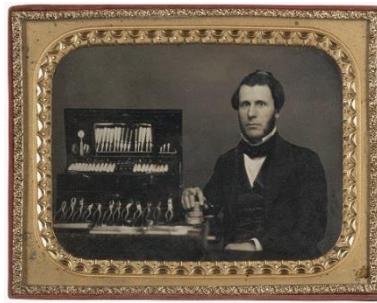


Figure 170: Dentist with set of false teeth



Figure 171: Dr. Kenison, Chiropodist



Figure 172: Duck Hunters



Figure 173: Editors of the University of North Carolina Magazine



Figure 174: Fabric salesman



Figure 175: Fireman



Figure 176: Gold-miner outside tent



Figure 177: Gold-miner with ore



Figure 178: Gold-miners with sluice



Figure 179: Gold Mining, North Fork, American River



Figure 180: Henry B. Webbert



Figure 181: Iceman



Figure 182: Inside a
butcher's shop



Figure 183: James
Duncan Graham, Jr.
with outstretched
telescope



Figure 184: James
Duncan Graham, Jr. with
telescope



Figure 185: Male caretaker
with child



Figure 186: Man with
hat, hammer, and nail



Figure 187: Man with sewing machine



Figure 188: Moses Sperry Beach holding a copy of the "New York Sun"



Figure 189: Multi-instrumentalist



Figure 190: New York City policeman



Figure 191: Attendant with child



Figure 192: Painter



Figure 193: Pharmacist/chemist

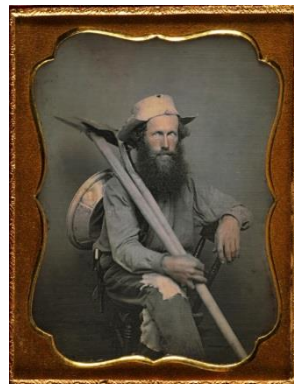


Figure 194: Posed gold-miner



Figure 195: Silversmith



Figure 196: Clown



Figure 197: Surveyor

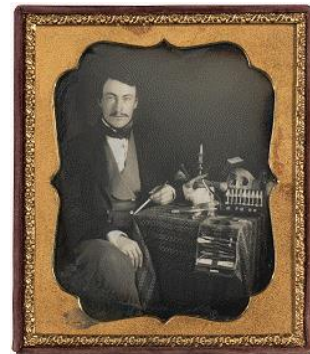


Figure 198: Surgeon
with Scalpel and
Equipment



Figure 199: Tailor
ironing

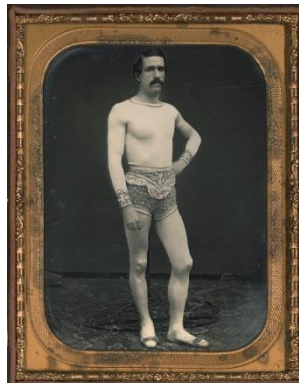


Figure 200: Tightrope
walker



Figure 201: Undertaker
and gravediggers



Figure 202: Window-maker

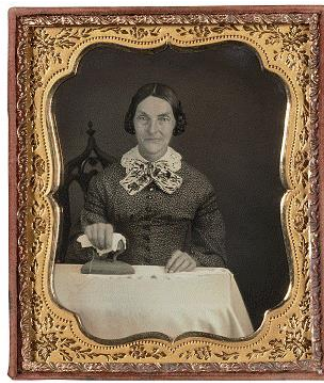


Figure 203: Woman ironing



Figure 204: Caretaker with Child

Smithsonian American Art Museum Collection

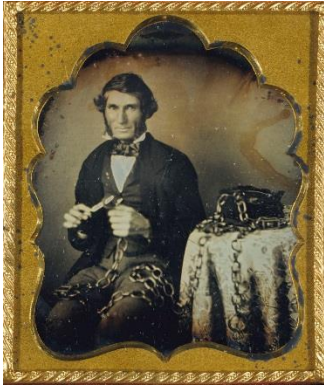


Figure 205: Folk Artist
with Carved Wooden
Chain

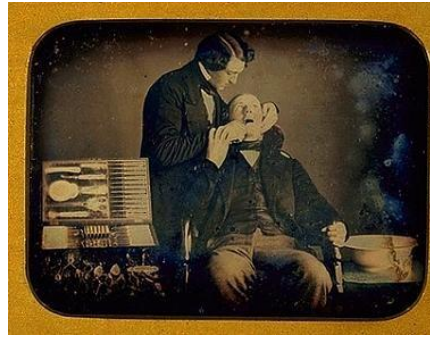


Figure 206: Dentist



Figure 207: Editor



Figure 208: Ohio Star
buggy



Figure 209: Staff of the Express



Figure 210: Woman and child

APPENDIX 4: IMAGE DESCRIPTIONS

Note on Image Descriptions: Not all images were described by their collector/collecting agency but where present, I have included them from the source in full. I have included those images not described by their collector/collecting agency with my occupational categorization identifier in brackets for reference. Images were the property of the collector/collecting agency under which they are listed when I applied for permission for their use in this study.

*Dennis A. Waters Collection*¹⁴²

Figure 1: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Carpenter with attitude. “D12-27.

CARPENTER WITH AN ATTITUDE! An exceptional sixth plate occupational showing a very cocky young man seated sideways on a small, invisible chair. One of his arms is resting upon a blue and pink tinted tablecloth, with his wrist and casually arranged fingers just over the edge. That strong horizontal line directs visual attention to his other hand where he is holding the tools of his trade, a claw hammer and crosscut saw on his thighs. The clarity and sharpness of the archivally sealed piece is so outstanding that I can see a tiny metallic wedge that was driven into the wooden handle to keep the business end from slipping. The carpenter has immense poise and self-confidence for a man his age. His clothing and distinctive hat symbolizes success. The daguerreotypist was equally skilled at his trade, creating a potent portrait with superb lighting, contrast and tonality.

¹⁴² All descriptions are transcribed from Dennis Waters’ website/public archives. Dennis Waters, a retired photographer himself, has spent over thirty years building his magnificent collection of daguerreotypes, “...and one of Water’s goals is to educate the public and promote the significance of these incredible ‘silver sunbeams.’” He has created a successful business out of selling and trading pieces of his collection, but he has always placed the quality of the daguerreotype over the quantity of pieces in his collection. His knowledge on the vast subject material portrayed is deep, but always treated with humanity and a healthy dose of humor; occasionally his description of a piece is more enchanting than the image itself! Dennis has generously lent his knowledge, public and private collections, and always his sense of humor to enthusiasts and scholars alike. Even the shallowest research will unearth his knowledge, descriptions, and truly fine daguerreotypes in academic journals, dissertations, books, and articles; I dare say Dennis should be the novice’s first stop in the Daguerreian world. Dennis, his daughter, Erin (also a collector), and his son, Casey (who does daguerreotype restorations) search the world for as yet unpublicized images, they appear at postcard and antique photo shows, and work together to provide enthusiasts, collectors, and scholars a quality product and a professional knowledge of the subject on every front. I am sincerely grateful for his generosity, support, knowledge, and (as always) his wit. (www.finedags.com/profile.shtm).

This image bursts away from the decorative scalloped brass mat and matching shape of patina. The surface is flawless and the whole leather case is fine. \$3,750.”

Figure 2: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] American Made. “D14-20. AMERICAN MADE. This remarkable sixth plate daguerreotype was taken circa 1848-1850 at an unknown location that might actually have been ‘on site’ where the gentleman, identified as Lucien Ball Johnson M.D., taught anatomy. According to additional information written on two small slips of paper, his brother was William Ball Johnson, and their relatives were revealed on the second sheet. Because there are so many ‘greats’ written out, I suspect that the writer penned this circa 1960-1980. Please view the other scans. One would surmise, that with all the names, I could easily have identified the doctor, found out where he lived and worked and if I was lucky, what he ate for breakfast the morning he was daguerreotyped with his life-sized friend, an extraordinarily detailed anatomical model anchored to a stand. (I shall interject at this point, I have seen some amazing and phenomenal dags, but this subject matter has eluded my eyes since I began collecting in 1985)! Back to doctor Johnson. I simply can’t find any reference to him or his brother! Could the identificaion be a ‘Red Herring’?

“What I have seen in my research is more depictions of human parts than I care to mention. I have learned that anatomical representations were either drawn or mostly made from wax, until Louis Thomas J r me Auzoux, a medical student studying in Paris, created figures constructed out of a papier-mach. [\[link to website\]](#) This website provides a short description about Auzoux and actually shows on eof his models, circa 1848, in the Whipple Museum’s collecion. If you have a fascination for the macabre, please feel free to do your own anatomical figures from the mid-19th century research. But honestly, studying Dr. Johnson, who stood nervously next to that skeletal gent, should satiate even the most advanced collector of fine daguerreotypes curiosities! How do I know the good doctor was unsteady? That is easy enough to explain. He moved during the several second exposure and is slightly blurred. His hand holding a scalpel was steadier because he could rest it against the model, which I believe was one created in the style of Auzoux’s invention. Since Dr. Johnson placed his other hand on the dummy’s shoulder, I suspect that he hadn’t been anchored in position with an iron head restraint. That fact would add to my supposition that the entire spectacle was arranged outside the confines of a proper daguerreian’s studio. The folds visible in the backdrop strongly suggest a portable operation. Strong illumination from the left side lit the doctor and his stationary friend quite adequately. The daguerreotypist polished his silvery mirror well enough, but there are a few telltale deep lines remaining visible on the surgace. His taks was to reveal the intricacies of that unique specimine next to doctor Johnson. He was extremely successful! Excellent contrast, wide ranging tonality and deep reflected depth were all

instantly produced! Daguerreian frosting created during the development is also apparent. As a final flourish, the maker added gold to Dr. Johnson's watch fob! Only a few mold spiders and rainbow patina mostly on the periphery inside the double elliptical mat have occurred during the aging process of the this unique and astounding medically related masterpiece. The FIRST photographic example of a cadaver being used for teaching purposes should have an enormous historical impact in our visual record keeping. Moreover, as an object of American oddities, I would place this piece at the pinnacle. Readers, you have no idea how I have restrained myself writing this informative caption. The quips, quotes and double entendres running through my head were innumerable! Man and statue are kept in the original complete leather case. The daguerreotype has been professionally conserved. \$38,000.

"This information arrived in an email earlier today. It was provided courtesy of Mark Pence, a member of the Daguerreian Society. He very graciously took time to research Dr. Johnson. Mark, I owe you a sincere debt of gratitude! I do believe that Dr. J was practicing medicine in upstate New York when his amazing likeness was produced. He might have even been lecturing at this Alma Mater, Geneva Medical College.

'History of Green County, Wisconsin...', Union Publishing Company, Springfield, Ill., 1884, p. 429

'L.B. Johnson, M.D., was born in Steuben Co., N.Y., Nov. 23, 1822. He is a son of James T. and Lucretia (Ball) Johnson, who were among the early settlers in Steuben county. James T. Johnson was a soldier in the War of 1812 and was stationed at Niagara Falls. L.B. Johnson, of this sketch, was reared upon a farm and received a liberal education. At the age of eighteen years he commenced the study of medicine, and graduated at Geneva Medical College in 1844. Soon after he went to Allegany country and engaged in the practice of his profession. In 1844 he was married to Katherine Hubbard, in Steuben Co., N.Y. Two children were born to them, both of whom died in infancy. Dr. Johnson was, in 1855, elected to the legislature of the State of New York, from Allegany county. In 1857 he came to Monroe where he has since resided. He is a man of more than ordinary ability and much respected in the community where he resides.'

Monroe, Wisconsin is a community of about 11,000 people in the south central part of the state.

‘Rushford [NY] and Rushford People’, Planned, Edited and Published by Helen Josephine Whie Gilbert, Historical Committee of Rushford’s Centennial, 1910

‘L.B. Johnson in 1846 lived two doors north of the Washinton House on Buffalo Street. His office was in the Union Block. He was living in Rushford in 1855.’

“Rushford, NY is a town of about 1150 people near Buffalo.”

Figure 3: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Craftsman In Profile! “D14-270. CRAFTSMAN IN PROFILE! Certainly the unique hammer that the young artisan held identified his trade as a printer. The metallic objects on the wooden or metal table were used to arrange and space individual letters of type during composition. The inspired daguerreotypist was a genius. He recognized an opportunity to place the savvy, handsome fellow in a nearly profile pose. He asked his patron to turn his handsome face towards an excellent lens. The teenager’s sinewy arms were bare because his white sleeves were rolled up over his elbows. Consequently, not only is the distinctive tool very interesting, but the power and grace of the young man’s right arm leads our view away from the hammer, across the rumpled, dirty apron; skirting his large chest and into his eyes. He was a cocky craftsman and there was a definite ‘attitude’ in his expression! His muscular left arm doesn’t seem important at first, until you realize that the maker was so good, that its placement caused any admirer to look down and further study the implement. I guess the best way to describe the remarkable arrangement is that it has an incredible fluid motion, yet the tradesman didn’t move. The holographic depth is an explosive achievement, with several reflected layers of the fellow being seen in the perfectly buffed, resealed sixth plate. The contrast and fabulous tonal range is also impressive. The real miracle of the entire image is the illumination, entering the studio from everywhere at once. How was the daguerreotypist able to have such absolute control? Every detail in the worker and his tools is exacting! Occupational daguerreotypes have been highly cherished by collectors. Once in a lifetime will the next owner have an opportunity to purchase a metier likeness where the technical virtuoso outperforms even the craftsman’s harmony! The surface has faint patina against the superb scalloped mat. There are a few faint rust dots and a couple miniscule scratches in the drop. I mention the ‘flaws’ because they are apparent, if you search them out. I should add that the leather case had suffered grievously over time. I have placed this masterpiece in a pristine thermoplastic case with a stunning green velvet pad inside and matching green piping. \$8,500.”

Figure 4: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Campbell Clan Sailor. “Campbell Clan Sailor! The last line of the taped together notation says everything (well almost) that I needed to know when I bought this historically important recleaned and retaped magnificent sixth plate dag showing a youthful American sailor who sat calmly in front of a camera

operated by Thomas Walsh. The young tar was taken in New York City circa 1848-1849 at one location or other, since Walsh operated at 141 Bowery in 1848 then moved during that year to 61 Washington ST. Seated before the camera in a typical daguerreian pose, the teenager placed one arm on a table and the other one next to his side. I thought it was interesting to note that although the subject seemed implacable and almost comfortable inside the operating room, his nervousness was revealed when he drummed his fingers against his trousers, causing a couple to be doubled. Walsh painted that ring with a blob of gold and added light red rouge to his cheeks. This was indeed a powerful fellow about to embark a few brief years later on an adventure of his lifetime. Unfortunately I am not 100% certain what his name was, although I suspect his surname was Campbell. I questioned the dealer who sold me the dag and the marvelous sewing box (see other scans) that had been presented by the lad to his aunt. Additional information isn't available but the dealer assured me that his source kept the three components together when he purchased the lot. I have shared pictures of the lacquered box with two Asian experts and both have concurred that the origin was Chinese not Japanese. Obviously the fellow purchased the gift elsewhere on the long voyage. For more information about Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan after he left Norfolk VA November 1852, please visit this [website linked]. (The squadron DID make port of calls in China).

"This diplomatic mission with the power of the US Navy and the entire government behind it eventually got results. It was deemed so important that a New York City daguerreotypist and lithographer, Eliphalet Brown was hired to travel with the Black Ships. Supposedly he exposed about 400 plates during the momentous two plus years of sailing, resupplying and negotiating. I have never had the opportunity to own a daguerreotype associated with the Perry expedition. This marvelous likeness presents a man who was with the Commodore during very trying times as a formal relationship with Japan was being established for the first time. Please forget that the silver has minor specks and flecks along with tiny plate flaws. Patina follows the shape of the elliptical mat. There is marvelous contrast in the uniform ranging from the brilliant and sparkling white of the sailor's canvas shirt to the darkest region of his remarkable cap. The depth is holographic. Yet beyond all the information and the physicality of the piece, it is the boy's earnest and forthright face that is most important. He already knew, at a tender age, what he was about and the mid-century quiet confidence of so many other Americans was excellently transferred from life to his extant daguerreotype. He reflected the national pride of a nation that was beginning to flex its muscle on the world stage. I placed the image in a professionally repaired leather case that has a classic 'E. White' sailing ship on the cover and reverse. If you have any further questions about this extremely important likeness please contact me. \$9,500."

Figure 5: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Grading a Paper. “D15-194. GRADING A PAPER. The scholarly appearing fellow was seated after a fashion, as he would have been when he read through a discourse that had been assigned to a student. The professor held a small mechanical pencil used to make notations in his pupil’s notebook. You know folks, the subject and the daguerreian worked in perfect harmony to recreate a tableau that allowed the viewers who gazed upon the man’s quarter plate portrait displayed in a fine thermoplastic wall frame (see second image) to see the erudite gent as if they had entered his study to observe him concentrating on his work. Rarely are we presented with an archivally prepared likeness that projected such intimact with the person’s vocation! I sat with a pen in hand and began to write on a scrap of paper. My head was at a similar angle. I wore reading glasses. The fellow’s beard was really low on his jawline and yes it and his hair were slightly darker than mine. Now I ask you, did the daguerreotypist use a reversing prism or did the man simply switch the pen to his left hand to replicate correctness in his portrait, if of course, he was right handed to begin with? While there are mat marks along the bottom and white dots difficult to see in the original, a couple black marks were created the day the chap was taken in the late 1840s. Because of the light and shade patches in the plain cloth background I wonder if it was on a disc and in motion? The focus and tonality are both superb! \$1,500.”

Figure 6: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] A Draftsman. “D15-84. A DRAFTSMAN. Dressing up in his Sunday Best and visiting his local daguerreotypist carrying the tools of his trade that were neatly displayed on the tabletop insured that anyone examining his splendid archivally taped sixth plate would immediately know his occupation. Growing up in Northeastern Ohio where my father was a builder and carpenter permitted me to handle the objects prominently placed on top of that small makeshift table. I learned early on to have great respect for tradesmen. Look closely at the bearded fellow. He was very proud and pleased with is craft. And his implements were not newly purchased either. The solarization on his large square and some of those vest buttons added marvelous natural color along with narrow patina. His maker also touched his cheeks with red rouge. The black dots were imperfections in the process. The full leather case holds a pristine example of a male member from the working class in an American city that supported a studio large enough to have a skylight to illuminate subjects. Truly a masterpiece in miniature! \$5,800.”

Figure 7: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Surreal! “D4-267. SURREAL! I will begin by telling you that the plate stock is heavy, the sides are perfectly flat and the corners are barely clipped at slight angles. There isn’t any hallmark. The beautiful octagonal mat is actually made from thick paper that was stamped to create a pebbled surface and gilded gold to mimic the best brass mats. The steely-eyed gentleman appears to be using a

mechanical or propelling pencil to enter a day's receipts in his large ledger. The artistic arrangement contrived by the unknown daguerreian is astounding for the early 1843 period when this incredible sixth plate daguerreotype was executed! The subject was bathed in almost full-frontal illumination from a huge window behind (the camera) and slightly to the left of center. Is that a stuccoed wall or a wavy cloth backdrop behind the man? When I removed the original, nearly transparent gut seals (which I saved) I immediately noticed that a holder that left a wide perimeter band of darkness around the image held the plate in the camera. Could the daguerreotypist have still been using a Wolcott & Johnson style camera, that didn't require a lens, but used a circular opening at one end where the light entered? It (the man's image) would pass through the box where it would have been received by a concave mirror (a speculum) that focused the light rays and reflected them back onto the sensitized plate (which was held to face the mirror and not the opening). There are strong buff marks and many teeny dots of dust that were trapped on the surface when a thick layer of varnish or shellac was applied to protect the daguerreotype. My scan only hints at the UNBELIEVABLE HAND COLORING delicately added to finish his superlative treasure. A broad swath of rainbow patina naturally vignettes the sophisticated fellow. The intact leather case, with a classic horizontal motif featuring a lyre as the central theme (made famous by Matthew Brady) has a blue paper liner in the bottom. If you are searching for an occupational portrait from the cusp of the very early era, I would highly recommend this outstanding example! \$6,000."

Figure 8: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] The Stonemason. "CAW-993. The stonemason, ready to cleave a rock, most likely posed for his restored sixth plate portrait near his home. An old yellow label from 'THE 1836 SHOP, Stowe Rd., Waterbury Ctr. VT' and the price of \$5, which IS NOT MY PRICE to the next collector, is still glued to the copper side of the remarkable occupational. As you all might know, there are many granite quarries in Vermont and Waterbury is located a 'stone's throw' northwest of Montpelier, the heart of the quarry region. Twice when I was touring France I have seen artisans rebuilding Cathedrals and they were using identical hammers to shape the stones. The daguerreian truly froze the young man's simulated action as he held the tools of his trade away from his body. His client also flexed the muscled in his arm, showing us that indeed, he did this type of work full time. Illumination entered the space from above the gent on the right side. He wore a fancy shirt, striped vest and knotted tie. Naturally, that white apron would help keep the clothes clean, although certainly the stone dust must have permeated everything. Aside from a couple small brown spots on his chin and a mold mite on one nostril this dag looks perfect. I do notice buff marks in the background,

but they don't go across his face or fancy hat. He is kept in a fine leather case with a new hinge. \$3,750."

Figure 9: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Barrel-maker. "CW-3. OKAY...The archivally conserved sixth plate had been previously wiped, cleaned and scratched. Could anything be more obvious? Would you believe, that viewing the youthful barrel maker at certain angles where he and his huge selection of tools and implements look the best, most of the damage disappears? Truly, at the sweet spot of examination the powerful artisan with a blue solarized shirt leaps out of the oval brass mat! Even with the degradation of the silver, the contrast and reflected depth are still extremely impressive. For a collector interested in mid-19th century tools, well one would be hard pressed to find a larger assortment than the ones displayed, along with a candle, oil can and pocket watch. Note too that a pair of iron head clamps were utilized on the right side to support the piece of wood holding the hanging implements and also the shelf below. I can't ever recall a man placed in a more awkward position while posing for his portrait! But it worked with great effectiveness! The leather case has a repaired hinge. \$3,750."

Figure 10: [SEMI-SKILLED] A Drover. "DX-88. A DROVER! It certainly required a highly skilled man to control a team of oxen using that long slender whip and his verbal commands. The only instance that I have seen that would equate to such a level of competence handling animals was when I observed an Amish farmer tilling a field using a team of five beautiful horses. I stopped my vehicle on a backcountry road in Lancaster County PA and after a few minutes I was full of admiration for the fellow. This chap, who was taken in 1850 or slightly earlier decided to be daguerreotyped in the clothes that he would have worn whilst working his trade, complete with places that had been previously mended! Doubtlessly, they also had been recently washed before he posed so adroitly in front of the camera. If you look at the fellow's eyes, the daguerreian and his equipment were reflected along with the three light sources. I can ascertain that the subject was either in a dag wagon or a very small room. That line above his head was part of the device that held the neutral cloth backdrop. There are three faint scratches. One each at 3, 6, and 9 o'clock near the brass mat that was added by me when I archivally sealed the daguerreotype. Someone previously removed the first oval mat and used another shape. Consequently there are nearly invisible mat abrasions too. The silver was cleaned in the past also. There are a few dots of tarnish at the top. I mention these inconsequential tidbits and ask you to concentrate on the tradesman himself, a pillar of power. His weather beaten face supported tired yet sparkling eyes, a broad lengthy nose and thin tightly clenched lips. That heavily veined hand held the handle of the tool of his trade with a delicate preciseness that we might expect to see when a tuxedoed maestro tapped his baton in front of an orchestra. Rarely will you ever see another likeness with

such a broad but subtle range of tonality. The crisply focused fellow, who wore a remarkable hat sometimes associated with chaps who emigrated from Ireland, had a steady intense gaze towards the lens. His intact leather case had two lilies embossed on both sides. Opposite the gent was a bright red silk pad. This outstanding sixth sized occupational example would fill a primary niche in any collection of fine dags! \$3,850.”

Figure 11: Sixth Plate. \$25,000.00 [PROFESSIONAL] D08-99 “PRIMITIVE SOLDIER! This is a most extraordinary sixth sized portrait of a wide-eyed young man, holding a broad eagle-head sword in front of his chest with the blade pointed down at an angle. It was an enlisted man’s artillery sword, made by Ames, circa 1833. (For a brief overview of the Ames company click here: <http://vintagemachinery.org/mfgindex/detail.aspx?id=39>). The dag was harshly cleaned in 1977 (according to a notation on a modern seal done at that time). Remarkably the superb image still has splendid contrast and reflected depth. The soldier was seated close to the camera with a wrinkled cloth hung behind him. Illumination entered the cramped space from slightly above the soldier on the left side. The most amazing facet of this primitive jewel is the unique hallmark: SCOVILLS WATERBURY CT. Casey and I had never seen that imprint before. (See close up scan). The heavy plate has flat sides and the corners are uniformly clipped at teeny diagonals. I have placed the combatant in aside opening leather case circa 1842, which is proper for the exquisite likeness. Since the person who cleaned the surface also used an improper oval brass mat to frame him, I was patient until I finally found the correct rectangular paper mat gilded with gold to properly archivally preserve and present him. Not knowing much about military images, I shared the daguerreotype with two men who are experts. The first one provided me with information about that sword and suggested that he was wearing a militia uniform circa 1840-45. He added that the buttons might be those of an engineer or a sapper. The second fellow said he didn’t think he was a sapper and that the buttons and white buff belt were the key. (See close up scan). They were more indicative of a naval man or a marine. He leaned towards the latter because of that belt. Mike Robinson, the Canadian daguerreotypist based in Toronto, commented after I shared a high-resolution scan with him (that) ‘the dag certainly has all the artifacts of a very early image’. As most of you already know, I have studied very early daguerreotypes for 25 years. This fantastic silver clad to copper masterpiece is the real deal. It is an astounding American depiction of a youngster serving his country and being prepared to go off to War. Thanks to all our warriors past and present who have kept us free.”

Figure 12: Quarter Plate. \$24,500.00 [SEMI-SKILLED] D13-101
“AMERICAN PATRIOTS! An unidentified daguerreotypist traveled into the heart of gold rush country in California during the great migration of men and women from

around the world who used every means of conveyance imaginable to reach the fabled El Dorado located in the rapidly flowing riverbeds in the bottom of steep ravines to fill their pockets with GOLD. Their frenzied anticipations and the stories that have survived and passed down through the generations are filled with surprise, wonderment, intolerable weather conditions, unbelievable hardships working a claim, true camaraderie and successes ranging from a few ounces of color to huge profitable strikes. Obviously, the four gents who posed for this remarkable quarter plate daguerreotype that has been professionally restored, were part of a much larger operation. Those huge water wheels in the background, just below the miners' large tents, were used in some fashion to move water quickly from one location to another as part of the process. The wooden sluice above the men's heads was constructed from material that probably was cut and milled in the vicinity of their claim. Although the structure appeared rather haphazard, and large rocks were placed on two sections, it was sturdy enough to permit a successful venture. (Water recently flowed through judging by the stains in the wooden sides). Taking a closer look at the landscape reveals a ubiquitous 'tin pan' filled with gold being held by the fellow in the foreground. A wooden rocker box is on his left. The chap to his right leaned on a long handled shovel while the guy on the other side of the sluice also had a similar pose. The miner with the pickaxe held the tool like a veteran. As I look across the chasm the miners created there is more detritus from their efforts scattered around. The most striking element, and one my eyes keep returning to, is that large American Flag top center that the Daguerreian hand colored, along with the variety of shirts his subjects wore. And you thought that since the silver has never been cleaned, that flag was naturally occurring oxidation, since there is a wide swath inside the double elliptical mat. According to information I have read (and I want to sincerely thank California collector Michael Peterson and my son Casey for the insights they provided) the initial use of water wheels by the forty-niners was circa 1853. The more elaborate the operations most likely the later the date. I believe that the medium weight plate, that was not coated with an extra layer of silver and shows the copper on the reverse, was taken circa 1856 or later. There is no hallmark and the physical indicators, with four clipped corners and the four sides bent back, were used beginning in the late 1840s. Working in the field and traveling between the diggings while plying his own trade, was a very demanding task for every daguerreotypist. I know my own experiences as a professional photographer that it is difficult at times to actually compose a landscape when the terrain is very hilly and there are many converging lines. So I will say that the fellow set up his camera and decided this was the best he could achieve at the miners' location. He slightly overexposed the piece and the next owner needs to patiently angle it until all is gloriously revealed. My reproduction is a close approximation of the superb sharpness in the foreground and the actual contrast. I had to use an 8x loupe to find two tiny green specks, one on a water

wheel and the other on a vertical post supporting the spidery timber structure. Meaningless mat marks are hidden in the patina. There is a tremendous sensation of 'being there' as I admire the magnificent artifact that is held in a deep leather case with a finely repaired leather spine. Black paper was pasted in the bottom signifying that an ambrotype could also have been displayed. There is this inscription written in pencil: 'Dec 31st 1860' and 'Samuel Stevens' was written below. A cursor search to see if Mr. Stevens was a notable 49er did reveal that a Samuel Stevens built the first house in a mining camp named Pilot Hill circa 1850. I have actually traveled past the town on Rte. 49 several times driving southeast from Auburn passing through Cool towards Coloma and Sutter's Mill where gold was first discovered by James Marshall. Further research points to a small but thriving area where many miners congregated. One interesting piece of information mentioned that the camp, situated between the Middle and South forks of the American River, received water in 1856 from the Pilot and Rock Creek Canal. I suspect that water wheels would have been necessary to divert the flow into the arrangement of sluices visible in this daguerreotype, IF in fact, the landscape was taken there. At the end of the 1850s men were still hauling out gold and apparently there was intermittent mining activity at Pilot Hill until the dawn of World War II in 1941. The design on the case was commonly used throughout the 1850s and into the 1860s. So please bask in the glory of what once was as you enjoy my scan!"

Figure 13: Sixth Plate. \$6,850.00 [SEMI-SKILLED] D14-67 "The Driver's...Ebony flesh reflected the sun's slanting early morning (or late afternoon) rays that cut diagonally across the tableau and illuminated bits and pieces of this townscape. Before you all wonder and worry why most of the scene appears to be blurry and your mind is thinking, 'even the buildings and that bright white picket fence seems to be doubled...was there an earthquake at the exact instant the view was exposed?' let me assure you the movement was in the hands of the daguerreotypist. Remember that all daguerreotypes were laterally reversed, left to right. Hence, 'EXPRESS' painted on the side of that delivery wagon propelled by that sturdy steed, should have been backwards, unless this was a dag copied from the primary image, which it definitely wasn't, or the camera operator was experimenting with a reversing prism that attached to the front of his lens. (For a couple of you far out thinkers who might suggest that the LETTERS were painted backwards, I saw with confidence, I don't think so'!) The camera's position was slightly elevated above the most important part of the picture. Since the ground sloped upwards towards those substantial buildings, unless the man was very skilled and had complete familiarity with his devices, an accurate rendering would have been extremely difficult. As most of you have realized long ago, I am always attracted by experimental efforts, regardless of the date (in this example I believe 1850 would be satisfactory).

Rather than being frozen for posterity in a moment of time, the unsteady impression on silver accidentally reveals unintended fluid motion. I would suggest that the prism wasn't adequately secured. It doesn't require much movement to see doubling in a dag. The black gentleman holding those reins must have been a freeman who owned a delivery service. The Daguerreian actually used delicate pick work to embellish the tack and traces on the horse. While the deficiencies of unwanted movement, distortion and a loss of architectural integrity can't be denied, the content and quirky nature of the dag completely reeled me into a purchase. The archivally sealed sixth size surface has marvelous contrast and deep reflected depth. Only those mat scrapes (from another owner's careless handling) mostly within the patina mar the mirror. In the background, a person stood near that white door behind the wooden enclosure. Another soul was partially silhouetted against the side of the second pale toned building. A complete leather case appears to have been original."

Figure 14: Sixth Plate & Quarter Plate (Set of 2). \$8,000.00

[SKILLED/ARTISAN] D16-217 "HE MADE SHOES. Casey and I are equal partners on this pair of amazing daguerreotypes that show the same fellow, in his occupation as a shoemaker then later in life about seven years down the road as a man who had succeeded in his craft. Casey has archivally conserved both the sixth plate and the later quarter plate. The cobbler's fancy leather case will have a new spine soon. I have made a scan of the cover. The reverse is identical except that the image of the bird was not stamped in the center. The original mat was as you see it now. Many years ago, the surface of the spectacularly reflected silvery mirror was probably cleaned and for an unknown reason an oval mat was put in place. Hence the mat scrapes and the ring of re-tarnish is visible. There are a few mold spiders on the shoes and inside the brim of that spectacular straw hat. Many of the instruments the artisan would have used in his trade have been laid out on a table in front of him. He held a piece of leather and a metallic tool in his strong hands. A filthy leather apron was worn over what I believe was a typical workingman's shirt that was and colored red. The daguerreian's patron sat for this portrait circa 1846-1847. The fellow's choice of his maker was excellent. After the sitting he was presented with one of the great technical triumphs I have seen in recent years. The initial preparation of the SCOVILLS hallmarked plate was superb. The range of tonality and the extreme limits of contrast were both wonderfully achieved. The slight solarization added magic to the appearance. The pinpoint focus perfectly presented the subject's remarkable countenance to everyone who might have seen this masterwork. The guy's angular face was framed in between by a low beard and the textured chapeau. His small mouth was drawn up into a quizzical expression amplified by the wrinkles on his forehead. That long aquiline nose anchored the center of his handsome dark face. Above

all else, those liquid sparkling eyes peered inquisitively into the lens. No matter how I handle the piece, the subject's wonderful orbs continue to watch me. The formal portrait was skillfully made by a daguerreotypist who was extremely confident in his abilities. Once again all the aspects of plate polishing and chemistry were perfect. The illumination was from a skylight, which helped render the sitter's mature face into a three-dimensional object on his highly reflective palette. Once again, the gent's character leaps out from the bottom of his leather case that is a missing cover. This was the high art of portraiture circa 1853-1854. As you can plainly see, there are mat scrapes at the bottom since the actual plate size was slight smaller then the standard mat. When Casey does restoration it has always been preferably to place these types of abrasions at the bottom rather than the top. The maker actually picked an area of the field of white to simulate a diamond, but over time, his heavy touch permitted a copper bloom to grow in that area."

Figure 15: Sixth Plate. \$1,300.00 [SEMI-SKILLED] D17-5 "ONE DARK LOOP! I believe that this sailor was converted into a gold miner. He wore an earring for his restored sixth plate. The portrait is quite impressive although admittedly the daguerreian's lens had a large natural area of softness that rendered the resolute fellow's face slightly mushy. The callow sailor's earring was almost lost in the shadow of his delightful straw hat that had a ribbon around the crown. The feel of the image strongly tells me that he was taken AFTER he jumped ship, most likely docked in San Francisco harbor and he followed the path of thousands of other men and a few women. The lure of El Dorado took them into the hills and valleys of northern California. Light came into the makeshift studio from directly behind the camera. In the areas of the dag where the focus was razor sharp the nap of that heavy woolen jacket and trousers was revealed. Even the intricate weaving of his chapeau. The lightest areas were solarized (another indicator that he might have been taken 'in the field' by an itinerant). There are deep buff strokes too. I am still impressed by those penetrating hooded dark eyes and that firmly set mouth. I wonder if the subject really knew the hardships he would soon face. Maybe he had already panned for gold in the cold cascading streams or rivers and this was his reward for surviving. Much of the silver surrounding the fellow is covered with speckled tarnish. Red pigment was crudely splashed on his cheeks. Also of interest was the fact that the man's patron was seated close to the neutral cloth backdrop. His head and hat cast a pale shadow on the left side. Those white specks were either dust trapped in the gold chloride or teeny bubbles in the silver. The chap is kept in a complete leather case."

Figure 16: Ninth Plate. \$385. [SKILLED/ARTISAN] D17-29 "SURE HE WAS AN ARTISAN! But his cap style and those overalls worn under his heavy jacket just aren't enough to provide an inkling of his occupation. And it is true, that I usually shy away from retaped ninth plate daguerreotypes. However, this youthful teenager was very

compelling somehow. I doubt if he was mature enough to have shaved, yet his expression seemed careworn and certainly his visible hand displayed the results of manual labor. How rapidly the kids must have aged during the Daguerreian era and later on when it was necessary for them to begin working in factories or mills at age 8. I think this chap was learning a specific trade and might have fared better in adult life. He is kept in a separated leather case. Funky patina is quite visible inside the oval brass mat. There are a few mold spiders and nearly minuscule. Color was applied to his freckled cheeks and lips. That metallic device peeking above the edge of his apron might be a clue to his profession.”

Figure 17: Sixth Plate. \$335.00. [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] D17-45 “CRUSTY OLD MUSICIAN. I recently bought the ancient gent’s sixth plate dag at a photo show. I had previously owned the ancient flautist or fifer in 2007 when Casey made a new archival seal. The thin brown re-tarnish lines on the right are the results of a previous cleaning by someone else. The other marks, while noticeable are not harmful to this wonderful character’s likeness. His leathery skin was deeply wind burned and suntanned. That coarse head of hair was untamable! This slightly solarized white shirt, tattered well-worn vest and stained jacket all hung loosely on his shrunken frame. Folks this tremendous character study that has remarkable reflected depth. Could this man have been old enough to march with Washington’s armies when he was a mere youth, and now, nearing the end of his life he decided to be recorded on silver? He was taken circa 1848 and his likeness is kept in a complete leather case that has warped over time.”

Figure 18: Quarter Plate. \$1,850 [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] EEW-355 “SHE WAS A PERFORMER! Well I’m hoping that the lass pictured on this quarter plate, that had been previously harshly cleaned and wiped down both sides, wasn’t in costume for any other reason than a forthcoming appearance on stage in front of footlights! I think her soft shoes topped with white fur and the bright plumage attached to her velvet had that had a shiny leather brim certainly indicated that she was an actress OR a very adventuresome young lass. Her dress had bright, almost metallic accents that originally had been tinted. The welcoming pose and a rather neutral expression on her face framed by coils of dark hair was indicative of a performer, dancer or professional woman. Interesting that two pieces of carpet were laid down over a wooden floor no doubt. And that large backdrop didn’t merge with the rug. The talented Daguerreian (and I can only dream about the quality of the piece when the subject was presented with her excellent likeness) probably wasn’t required to make many full standing portraits. There are nearly invisible scratches in the lower right corner. The brown spots are tarnish stains that weren’t removed even when Casey re-cleaned the silver. I can say that in spite of the

damage, there is still a sparkling explosiveness to the gal's fascinating design I had never previously seen."

Figure 19: Sixth Plate. \$250. [PROFESSIONAL] D15-186 "'1850"! 'John Pleasanton DuHamel' was also written on a slip of paper glued to the embossed red velvet pad inside the complete sixth plate leather case that contains the gent seen in his resealed portrait. Born 1832 died 1901 Rev. John Pleasanton DuHamel was born in Smyrna, Del., graduated from Delaware College and became a Methodist minister, serving churches in the Philadelphia area for 8 years. During the period, he became an Episcopalian and was ordained a priest in 1863, serving churches in Delaware, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. He retired from the ministry in 1890 to his farm in Sussex County, Del. In 1893 he began to serve several parishes in Sussex County. DuHamel was also a published poet. I will let the next owner discover how literate his musings were! The serious DuHamel hooked his thumb inside that dark vest next to a metallic object attached to the fabric. He held a quill pen in the other hand that was placed on a piece of paper near a couple of books. The dag has fantastic contrast and almost endless depth. Original patina and an accumulation of mold spiders dot the silver. Red pigment was painted on his lips and cheeks."

Figure 20: [AMBROTYPE] A Musician. "DXA-37. MUSICIAN BY E.S. BUTLER. This quarter plate ambro comes in a half case. A Cutting's Patent, it is in good condition with some minor crackling at the lower right. I love his look. His cheeks are lightly tinted. \$950."

*Library of Congress Collection*¹⁴³

Figure 21: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] "Occupational portrait of fire fighters."

Photographer unidentified. Caption below image: Left to right. 1st, unknown, 2nd.

Palmer Jefferds, 3rd, unknown, 4th. Capt. Thomas Nowell, 5th. Leach, painter, 6th.

William F. Meedy, 7th. Capt. Stone. 8th. Horace Davis 9th. Samuel Pope, 10th,

¹⁴³All descriptions have been taken from the notes of each image as displayed in the online catalog at the following website: <https://www.loc.gov/collections/daguerreotypes/articles-and-essays/mirror-images-daguerreotypes-at-the-library-of-congress/occupational-daguerreotypes/> Last Accessed 6MAY16.

unknown, 11th, unknown, 12th. unknown, 13th. Simon Goodwin, 14th. Charles E. Miller. In frame with decorative paper mat. In 1850 Kennebunkport purchased a hand-operated tub & hose. Kennebunkport scrapbook / Joyce Butler. Kennebunk Landing, Me. Rosemary House Press, 1989. p. 21. Half plate daguerreotype, cut down.
<https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664289>.

Figure 22: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a blacksmith, three-quarter length, working on a horseshoe at an anvil, other tools to his side.” Accompanying business card: H.F. Kirlin, Carpenter & Builder, No. 916 South Seventeenth St. below Christian, Philadelphia. Jobbing [hand] promptly attended to. Evans' Fast Press. Hallmark: [two birds on a tree] 40. Case: Rinhart 131. Quarter plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664287>.

Figure 23: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a blacksmith, three-quarter length, facing front, holding a horseshoe with pliers in one hand, and a hammer in the other.” Hallmark: Rinhart 29. Case: back only, quadrafoil design with interlaced geometric border. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664282>.

Figure 24: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Portrait of a blacksmith in his workshop.” Case: Rinhart 141. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2008680496>.

Figure 25: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a carpenter, three-quarter length, seated, facing front, holding hammer and nail, on a chair at his side are a saw, box plane, and measuring device.” Case: central floral motif surrounded by lillies and leaves. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664281>.

Figure 26: [PROFESSIONAL] “Occupational portrait of an unidentified clergyman, three-quarter length, facing front, holding Bible.” Case: plain leather, push button. On inside of mat: Matthew Bartholomew Brady, Minister from Kentucky. Half plate daguerreotype, gold toned. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664296>.

Figure 27: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a cooper, three-quarter length, with barrel and tools.” Case: back only, variant of Rinhart 114. Possibly a copy daguerreotype. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664286>.

Figure 28: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational group portrait of four shoemakers, one full-length, standing, other three seated, holding shoes and shoe making equipment.” Case: variant of Rinhart 137. Sixth plate daguerreotype, hand-colored. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664280>.

Figure 29: [SEMI-SKILLED] “Occupational portrait of John Hunt, half-length, facing front, holding whip.” Hallmark: Rinhart 6. Case: plain leather. Accompanying note: E. H.(?) Taylor's father, John Hunt. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664324>.

Figure 30: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of an unidentified man, full-length, facing front, with a long handled tool, in front of machinery and a stone wall.” Hallmark: Rinhart 29. Case: birds and grapevine. Quarter plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664274>.

Figure 31: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of an unidentified man with an engine.” Half plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664271>.

Figure 32: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a man pressing cloth with iron.” Photographer unidentified. Case: Rinhart 133. Note in case behind daguerreotype: Aron McGove, Lebanon, Dec. 18, 1848. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664384>.

Figure 33: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of an unidentified man with mallet and chisel.” Case: back only, ornamental circle design. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664284>.

Figure 34: [CLERK/SALES] “Occupational portrait of a peddler, full-length, standing, facing front, with two bags held at his sides by a harness, neck brace visible between legs.” Case: plain leather, push button. Stamped on mat: Myers. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664278>.

Figure 35: [SEMI-SKILLED] “Occupational portrait of three railroad workers standing on crank handcar.” The railroad revolutionized transportation and enabled products to be delivered to new markets. This daguerreotype is accompanied by a poignant note: "Jacob Lewis Davis, my dear father. Taken when he worked on the railroad. He is the tall man with a beard standing on the left end." Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664276>.

Figure 36: [CLERK/SALES] “Occupational portrait of a salesman, three-quarter length, seated, displaying his wares.” Photographer unidentified. Hallmark: Rinhart 46c. Case: back only, mixed flowers surrounded by scrolls. Sixth plate daguerreotype, hand-colored. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664283>.

Figure 37: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of an unidentified stonecutter, three-quarter length, three-quarters to the right, holding mallet and chisel against block of stone.” Occasionally daguerreotypes document American laborers in the mid-nineteenth century. The subjects of occupational daguerreotypes pose with the tools of their trade or goods that they have made. Most occupational daguerreotypes depict tradesmen, such as cobblers, carpenters, and blacksmiths. Hallmark: Rinhart 29. Case: scroll design. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664275>.

Figure 38: [PROFESSIONAL] “Occupational portrait of an unidentified surveyor with a transit on a tripod and holding dividers and a map, three-quarter length, seated.” - Hallmark: Rinhart 46. Case: front, Rinhart 89; back, Rinhart 112. Written on back of case: June 12th, 1851. A.G. Casettine. [illegible] Simonsville, M. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664273>.

Figure 39: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a tinworker (?), half-length, left profile, seated at table with tablecloth, working with a mallet, snips, compass, and metal cylinder.” - Hallmark: AB MORTLEY, UTICA, N.Y. Case: scroll design. Embossed on cushion of case: Bogardus, 229 Greenwich, N.Y. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664277>.

Figure 40: [UNSKILLED] “Occupational portrait of two men, standing full length holding floor rammers, foundry tools used for packing sand against molds.” Photographer unidentified. Hallmark: [asterisk double paschal lamb]. Case: variant of Rinhart 137. Sixth-plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664595>.

Figure 41: [PROFESSIONAL] “Occupational portrait of two unidentified surveyors with their tools, a level and a theodolite.” Hallmark: [asterisk double paschal

lamb]. Case: variant of Reinhart 137. Sixth plate daguerreotype.

<https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664272>.

Figure 42: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a watchmaker, three-quarter length, seated at table with watches.” The watchmaker in this daguerreotype looks proudly toward the camera, almost as if he had just glanced up from his work to find the daguerreotypist ready to take his portrait. Most likely, this daguerreotype was made in the photographer's studio, with the sitter bringing his delicate tools and watches along with him for the portrait. Case: back only, ornamental circle design. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664285>.

Figure 43: [UNSKILLED] “Occupational portrait of an unidentified woman with broom, full-length, facing front.” Case: front, Reinhart 89; back, interlaced geometric design. Sixth plate daguerreotype. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664389>.

Figure 44: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a woman working at a sewing machine.” The unidentified subject of this daguerreotype sits behind an industrial model Grover and Baker sewing machine. Whether originally produced as a promotion for the machine's manufacturer, an illustration of the clothing industry at the time, or a portrait of a proud seamstress displaying the tools of her trade, this daguerreotype is one of the few surviving visual documents of working women in the United States before the Civil War. Case: variant of Reinhart 124. The daguerreotype is housed in an unmatched case provided by the vendor. Sixth plate daguerreotype, hand-colored. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664427>.

Figure 45: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Occupational portrait of a latch maker.”

Nineteenth-century paintings, prints, and illustrations of the American working class often presented idealized and heroicized images. In contrast, this daguerreotype of a locksmith with his scrawny arms, grave demeanor, and stained apron provides a different perspective on the nineteenth-century American tradesman. Sixth plate daguerreotype, hand-colored. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2004664426>.

*Michael Mattis Collection*¹⁴⁴

Figure 46: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Apprentice Upholsterers.”

Figure 47: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Barber and client.”

Figure 48: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Bearded cobbler.” Ninth-plate.

Figure 49: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Broom-makers.”

Figure 50: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Carpenter with saws.”

Figure 51: [UNSKILLED] “Clam-digger.” Half-plate.

Figure 52: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Cobbler in shop.”

Figure 53: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Daguerreotypist.” Quarter-plate.

Figure 54: [PROFESSIONAL] “Engineer.”

Figure 55: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Fancy blacksmith.” Ninth-plate.

Figure 56: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Feather-duster maker.”

Figure 57: [SEMI-SKILLED] “Gambler.”

Figure 58: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Gold Assayer,” circa 1850, American, sixth-plate daguerreotype. In occupational portraits, artfully arranged “tools of the trade” enhanced composition while also illustrating sitters’ professions.

Figure 59: [SEMI-SKILLED] “Twelve Gold Miners at Work, Including a Woman,” circa 1850, American, halfplate daguerreotype. This image is considered extremely rare due to the presence of a female miner.

Figure 60: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Harness-maker with hat.” Quarter-plate.

¹⁴⁴ While only five images in this collection were described in some detail during our conversations, an additional ten were sized within the context of their proposed title by Mr. Mattis, bringing the total number of described images to fifteen. I met Michael Mattis at the annual Daguerreian Society’s Meeting in conjunction with the D.C. Antique Photo and Postcard Show, held in Arlington, Virginia in March 2013. Michael responded rapidly to my request for occupational daguerreotypes, and provided me with the second largest repository that forms the base of my catalog. His collection holds some of the least represented occupations in the catalog.

Figure 61: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Homeopathic Doctor Displaying Scalpels and Remedies,” circa 1850, American, sixth-plate daguerreotype.

Figure 62: [PROFESSIONAL] “Reverend Stephen Brown with His Wood-grooving Machine” by Studio of Mathew Brady (1822–1896), circa 1850, American, quarterplate daguerreotype. Brown was employed as a minister with the Genesee Conference, New York, before retiring to Washington, D.C. The famous Civil War photographer Brady operated portrait studios in New York and Washington.

Figure 63: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Lighthouse-keeper.” Half-plate.

Figure 64: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Machinist.”

Figure 65: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Medical Student with Microscope” attributed to O.P. Reeves, 1846, American, sixth-plate daguerreotype. The sitter is 19-year-old R.F. Jameson of Montrose, Penn., who is shown with his Mackintosh’s Practice of Medicine textbook.

Figure 66: [SEMI-SKILLED] “Worried Miner.”

Figure 67: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Policeman.” Ninth-plate.

Figure 68: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Seasoned harness-maker.”

Figure 69: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Seated clown.”

Figure 70: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Seated tailor.”

Figure 71: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Sign-painter.” Quarter-plate.

Figure 72: [PROFESSIONAL] “Surveyor with hat.”

Figure 73: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Taxidermist.”

Figure 74: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Two blacksmiths.”

Figure 75: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Union Gap printer.”

Figure 76: [CLERK/SALES] “Ware’s Lotion.” Quarter-plate.

Figure 77: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Young fireman.”

Figure 78: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Surgeon with his Instruments.”

Figure 79: [AMBROTYPE] “Pharmacist with Tincture of Opium”

Figure 80: [AMBROTYPE] “Shakespearean Actor.”

Figure 81: [AMBROTYPE] “Physiology Lecturer.”

Figure 82: [AMBROTYPE] “Three Carpenters I.”

Figure 83: [AMBROTYPE] “Three Carpenters II.”

Figure 84: [AMBROTYPE] “Two Glovemakers.”

Figure 85: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Boy Cobbler. 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a young boy wearing a smock and working on a shoe. An early pre-child labor law image.

Figure 86: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] #06094 The Concerned Flute Player. 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a balding man with furrowed brow resting his elbow on a table and playing a flute. A wonderful image with some minor scattered small spots. These are not detracting to the eye. Full case. \$2550.00.

Figure 87: [PROFESSIONAL] 12534 Midshipman. 1/9 plate daguerreotype housed in full leather case depicts a young naval officer who positions his hand so that it clutches to the lapel of his coat. The image dates to the late 1850's and is sharp and clear. Naval daguerreotypes are not common and this one is exceptional, including original seals. \$1,200.

Figure 88: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Milliners. 1/6 daguerreotype of two women making men's hats.

Figure 89: [PROFESSIONAL] 11312 Militia Sergeant. ¼ plate daguerreotype of a sitting uniformed militia sergeant drawing his sword. Has several nicely tinted gold and silver elements. \$2100.

Figure 90: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] "Musician (clarinet)."

Figure 91: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 1/6 plate daguerreotype of the Sergeant of Police. He wears a very large badge that reads as such. He may be from Pennsylvania as the seal on the badge looks like it could be the Pennsylvania seal.

Figure 92: [PROFESSIONAL] 13123 Decked Out 2nd Lieutenant. ¼ plate daguerreotype of a dapper officer wears has 2nd Lt straps over his dress epaulets and

¹⁴⁵ All image descriptions are taken directly from Mike's website or from his email communications with me. I met Mike Medhurst through Dennis Waters, also at the show in March of 2013. Mike began collecting antiques over thirty years ago, founding his company in 1985 and focusing more eagerly on American Civil War images, documents, and autographs in 1992. Mike's collection and historical and cultural expertise has been sought after by the National Park Service, the Nelson-Atkins Museum (several of his descriptions are included in the catalog of their volume), the Library of Congress, and numerous public and private collections around the country. Mike has generously lent his public collection to my research and allowed me to view several incredible daguerreotypes and ambrotypes from his own private collection. Mike's made me privy to his "Whaler" daguerreotype (Figure 85), a unique piece from any time period as far as my own research is concerned. It proves to be an intriguing piece and one without peer. (http://www.mikemedhurst.com/Main_menus/Aboutus.html)

wears aiguillettes. His shako sits nearby with a feather plumb and a US Dragoon cap plate. He wears a regulation 1832 pattern US General staff waist belt plate. He holds a non-regulation Ames sword with an eagle head. The plates has wipes. \$1,500.

Figure 93: [PROFESSIONAL] 13147 Soldier 1851 Pattern Cap. 1/6 plate daguerreotype pictures a soldier with an 1851 pattern cap accented with a red and white feather plumb. He has on a buff leather, brass belt plate and eagle breast plate, shoulder boards, and a frock coat. He holds his white dress gloves in his hand. Note the eagle on the pad mirrors the eagle on his hat. There are imperfections in the plate, some tiny green spots and scum but the plate views well. \$1,450.

Figure 94: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Stonemason.”

Figure 95: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Whaler. “0906 1/6 plate daguerreotype full-length occupational portrait of an American whaler holding a flensing knife. A flensing knife is a long handled, very sharp knife for cutting blubber off a whale carcass so the blubber can be rendered aboard ship. Google "flensing knife." The daguerreotype is a sixth plate and in excellent condition with equally fine contrast. It is not identified as to subject or maker. The daguerreotypist had his point of focus a bit closer to the camera in that the man's face and upper body is soft. The shaft of the knife and up to the man's chest are sharp. It is a historically significant occupational image. It is absolutely FRESH to the market and has been seen by anyone unless they have visited my collection.”

Figure 96: [SEMI-SKILLED] 15626 Coachman at Work. 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a coachman in his fancy commercial vehicle sort of a cross between a stagecoach and a buggy. Two horses pull the vehicle. His whip can be plainly seen and his tall hat is great! \$3,300.

Figure 97: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] 14599 Upholsterer. 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a young man with his tack hammer and piers. He wears a wheel cap, polka dot shirt with sleeves rolled up to show his white long sleeve undershirt. He adds a vest and tie to dress up bit. Scattered mold spiders are on the plate. A nice occupational image. \$1,200.

Figure 98: [PROFESSIONAL] 13324 Soldier with Cartridge Box—Great 1/6 daguerreotype of a soldier wearing a breastplate across his chest. Follow the straps from his breastplate and you see the cartridge box on his left side. The longer haired soldier sits with his shako on the side table to his right. Image is housed in brown leather case. \$1,350.

Figure 99: [PROFESSIONAL] 16044 Naval Officer 1/6 plate daguerreotype of pre-Civil War naval officer. This image is verbally attributed to be Peirce Crosby who

served in the Mexican War and Civil War eventually becoming a rear admiral. The tinted plate has mold spiders and some thin wipes. \$1,250.

Figure 100-101: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Photographer and His Tints.” A pair of 1/6 plate daguerreotypes featuring a man displaying the box with his tints in it. I believe this is father and son.

Figure 102: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 1403 “Pharmacist.” 1/9 plate daguerreotype of a gentleman using a mortar and pestle.

Figure 103: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Man with Owl.” 1/6 plate Daguerreotype of a gentleman with a Stuffed Owl.

Figure 104: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “North Atlantic Ocean Map Makers.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of two sea faring men with map cases. One reads North Atlantic Ocean.

Figure 105: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 1529 “The Dentist at Work.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a Dentist working on a patient and showing his tools in the background. This might be my very best daguerreotype. Any museum would want this one.

Figure 106: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 1537 “Portrait of a Photographer.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a Photographer leaning on his camera.

Figure 107: [SEMI-SKILLED] 1601 “Painting the Photography Studio.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a painter with his bucket with paint dripping down the sides and brushes. He wears a paint spattered wheel cap and has paint on his hand, A pipe is held sideways in his mouth. It seems clear he has just sat down after completing a job.

Figure 108: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Blacksmith.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype.

Figure 109: [SEMI-SKILLED] “Hunter.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype by Van Loan & Ennis of Philadelphia. This hunter has a double barrellled shotgun a game bag and a Wheel cap.

Figure 110: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Machinist, John Gilman Hapgood.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a machinist displaying his tools behind him and a piece of metal he has made. ½ case Identified on the back of the image. (Born July 6, 1822 in Stow, Massachusetts, Married April 5, 1850, moved to Minnesota where Indians frequented the locality many times alarming his family. The Sioux massacre of 1862 caused him to return to Massachusetts. He was an excellent machinist and secured permanent employment at Boston).

Figure 111: [UNSKILLED] “Master and Slave.” 1/6 Daguerreotype of slave master illuminated from a side window with his female slave holding onto his arm. She wears a rag on her head and is in the shadows so that no one can mistake who is the subject of the photo. Images of black people touching white people are very uncommon.

Figure 112: [UNSKILLED] “Young Woman with Child.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype.

Figure 113: [PROFESSIONAL] 0811 “General St. George Cooke.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of the noted Western explorer and Military General.

Figure 114: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 14189 “Grinning Fiddler.” ¼ plate daguerreotype of a balding violinist seated in a cane bottom chair with his violin and bow. The blue haze above his head is not in the image but rather the result of the scanning. A very nice late 1840’s image. \$3,750.

Figure 115: [CLERK/SALES] 17258 “Jewelry Salesman.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a very well-dressed young jewelry salesman. He is sitting next to a table on which a jewelry box holding rings sits. Contained in a nice mother of pearl case with “Friendship Offering” on the spine. Inscription on the inside back cover of the case “Boonville Feb. 23rd 1853, taken by A. Jenks and “Sherman Pfeiffer married to Harriet Hatton Feb. 12, 1853.” \$3,750.

Figure 116: [PROFESSIONAL] 17181 “Architect” ¼ plate daguerreotype of a painting featuring an Architect with his tools of the trade. \$875.

Figure 117: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 17081 “Blue State Politician.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a well-dressed man wearing a ceremonial sash. One hand rests on a side chair. The curtain is tinted blue and the plate is naturally light blue. \$395.

Figure 118: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] 16635 “Silversmith.” 1/6 plate occupational daguerreotype of a silversmith artist wearing his apron and seated in front of his tools and a silver pitcher. Leather case with blue plush. (Formerly in the Herb Peck collection) \$10,500.

Figure 119: [PROFESSIONAL] 16285 “65th Infantry Officer.” ¼ plate daguerreotype. The officer is seated next to a table containing his tall hat with red ball, the number 65 can clearly be seen. He is holding an artillery sword. He sports a soul patch on his chin. \$1,750.

Figure 120: [SEMI-SKILLED] 15157 “Gold Miner.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of a well-dressed man in a red tinted work shirt and sporting a long gold chain with a red stone and a gold ring with similar red stone. This is not a poor workman as he wears the trappings of success. The book style case labeled “Souvenir” on the spine and on the front. \$5,500.

Figure 121: [SEMI-SKILLED] 14600 “Abe Myers in his Wagon by McDonell.” 1/6 plate daguerreotype of Abe Myers wearing a top hat and pulling his covered coach via horse. Inscribed on the plate is “Myers” at the top and at the bottom,” Abe Myers, 1852 June 5th.” The plate has liberal wipes and scratches and is in a case marked McDonell & Co Artists, Buffalo on the pad. \$1,100.

Figure 122: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 14404 “Man with Concertina” 1/6 daguerreotype portrays a middle-aged man whose hair is thinning. He sits with his concertina proudly displayed in his lap. Image is housed in a black lacquer and mother of pearl book type case. \$350.

Figure 123: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] 14379 “A Chip Off the Old Wood Block Plane” 1/6 plate daguerreotype portrays a hard-working family of four. Father holds a moving infant on his lap along with a tool of his trade, wood block plane. The mother holds a toddler on her lap. Each family member sits expressionless. Image is housed in a brown, leather case which has a lot of wear. The plate has some minor scratches. \$395.

Figure 124: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 14189 “Violinist.” 1/4 plate daguerreotype of a balding violinist seated in a cane bottom chair with his violin and bow. The blue haze above his head is not in the image but rather the result of the scanning. A very nice late 1840’s image. \$3,750.

Figure 125: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 13355 “Staying In Tune.” 1/6 daguerreotype of a man holding a tuning fork in his hand. The gentleman wears his finest suit and has his beard trimmed for his portrait. The gold mat on the image is interesting with columns on the side. Some white haze around the edge. \$495.

Figure 126: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] 07251 “Concertina Man.” 1/6th plate daguerreotype of a curly-haired man wearing a dark suit with a double-breasted vest. He sits beside a small table with his arm resting on top of a concertina. Wipes are present on the plate and a few bits of paper stuck to the case pad. Full case. \$175.00.

Figure 127: [UNSKILLED] 13662 “African American Man with Two Boys.” 1/4 plate daguerreotype portrays an elderly African American accompanied by two young,

white boys at each side. The gentleman wears a suit including a tie and velvet vest. His beard is sparse and his eyes look hollow. It seems the boy to his left has been restless during the portrait. According to his expression one can assume said boy was not enjoying this photo opportunity. The boy to the right hooks his arm inside the man's arms while standing tall. \$1,500.

Figure 128: [AMBROTYPE] "Black Teacher with Blind, White Child." 1/6 plate ambrotype of a black man with a blind white child. It is a clear glass ambrotype.

Figure 129: [AMBROTYPE] 1528 "Wheeler and Wilson Fireman with Union Artilleryman." 1/6 plate ambrotype. A very rare subject matter.

Figure 130: [AMBROTYPE] 1602 "Black Fireman." 1/6 plate ambrotype of a black fireman by Paret of the Bowery. H has a 19 on his hat and the letters J.C underneath. The bearded gent wears in addition to his fireman's hat a red shirt with long floppy tie and a large coat across his lap.

Figure 131: [AMBROTYPE] 11166 "Deliveryman." ¼ plate ambrotype presents a hardworking delivery driver traveling via horse and delivery wagon along a dirt road. A wooden fence-line constitutes the background. \$375.

Figure 132: [AMBROTYPE] 11471 "Teamster." 1/9 plate ruby ambrotype in a thermoplastic case presents a tinted young rosy cheeked young man wearing a slouch hat and bearing a whip. While the case functions fine it has a large piece out of the edge on the pad side and a loose hinge. \$225.

Figure 133: [AMBROTYPE] 12263 "Carpenter" This ⅙ plate ambrotype in thermoplastic case in mint condition displays a handsome carpenter finely dressed and proudly holding a common tool of the trade, a carpenter's square. The carpenter wears disheveled hair, a full neck beard, pink cheeks, and a very becoming bow tie. Behind the image the case label reads "Littlefield, Parson, & Co., Manufacturers of Daguerreotype Cases. L.P. & Co., are the sole Proprietors and only legal manufacturers of Union Cases with the Embracing Riveted Hinge. Patented October 14, 1856, and April 21, 1857." \$450.

Figure 134: [AMBROTYPE] 12265 "Plasterer." This ¼ plate ambrotype (in a double-latched leather case) of a plasterer bearing trade tools one of which is a trowel. Although his hair appears unevenly spread across his head, his plastering is a work of art. \$650.

Figure 135: [AMBROTYPE] 13743 “The Fiddler.” 1/9 plate ambrotype shows a man wearing dark pants and a western shirt. He holds his fiddle under his chin, pretending to play. Full case. \$150.

Figure 136: [AMBROTYPE] 14120 “A.A Pritz Saddle & Harness Maker.” ¼ plate ambrotype showing two men seated on their harness bench outside Albert A. Pritz’s with other men looking on. A wonderful street scene believed to be Doylestown, Ohio. There are some imperfections in the emulsion but this does not detract greatly from an otherwise fantastic crystal-clear image. Full case. \$2,000.

Figure 137: [AMBROTYPE] 15406 “Hunter and Dog and Game.” ¼ plate ambrotype of a successful hunter. He leans on his double-barreled shotgun while his tired hunting dog lays at his feet. Water fowl lay in a pile at his feet. \$1,250.

Figure 138: [AMBROTYPE] 15557 “Cobbler.” 1/6 plate ambrotype of a bearded cobbler holding his tools, and cradling a boot in his lap. \$375.

Figure 139: [AMBROTYPE] 16159 “Blacksmiths.” Outstanding ¼ plate occupational ambrotype of a father and son blacksmith team. These two “smithies” proudly display their craft with a pair of horseshoes. We have to say that judging by this one example the son’s work has already exceeded that of his dad in quality! This is a fine occupational portrait that is different from most blacksmith images. It is equally nice to see a generational partnership. The image is in very good condition with nice tones and contrast along with some very light tinting to their faces. Full case. \$1,250.

Figure 140: [AMBROTYPE] 16494 “Dry Goods Store.” 1/4 plate ruby ambrotype of the interior of a dry goods store. The shopkeeper is standing behind his counter and is holding some striped fabric. Leather case with green plush. A few thin scratches. \$600.

Figure 141: [AMBROTYPE] 16595 “Harness Maker.” 1/6 plate ambrotype of a young man in suspenders with his harness making equipment. Contained in a mint thermoplastic case with purple plush. \$1,250.

Figure 142: [AMBROTYPE] 17257 “Bare Knuckle Boxer.” 1/6 plate ambrotype of a bare-knuckle boxer ready for action. A very rare subject in a rare geometric thermoplastic case (Berg 3-61). Some scattered spots and a light wipe. The backdrop has gaped on the right showing a glimpse of the area behind. Views great! \$3,000.

Figure 143: [AMBROTYPE] 17358 “Painter.” 1/6 plate ambrotype of a painter holding his bucket and brush while smoking a pipe. \$775.

Figure 144: [AMBROTYPE] 17363 “Black Nanny and Children.” 1/6 plate ambrotype of a black woman with a white child sitting on either side of her. Unusual in that the nanny is very sharp and clear while the children moved and are out of focus. Thermoplastic case “The Calmady Children” (Berg 1-104) does not latch. \$550.

Figure 145: [AMBROTYPE] 16066 “Band in the Street.” 1/2 plate ambrotype of a band in the street. Two of the musicians have their music in their pockets. A wonderful ensemble of 1850’s brass instruments along with a bass drum and a snare drum. \$1,750.

Figure 146: [TINTYPE] #10234 “Riding The Fence line.” 1/6 plate tintype of three ranch hands riding the fence line. The wire fence can be seen behind them as they stand by their horses. The trees are tinted green. The place is a little skinny on the sides. Full case. \$325.00.

Figure 147: [TINTYPE] 13710 “Security Guard or Conductor?” CDV Sized tintype (not inside a case) portrays a security guard standing behind a wooden chair. He wears a bowtie, hat, and a watchman’s clock around his neck. He poses in front of a painted backdrop that includes crown molding, a fireplace, and photos on a mantel. \$85.

Figure 148: [TINTYPE] 14243 “Policeman.” 1/2 plate tintype portrays a policeman of the time. He stands in front of a plain backdrop and next to an ornate chair. He wears an oversized wool coat, belt, billy club, gloves, and hat. He appears to depend on the chair, so he can keep from falling due to the weight of his bulky coat. Image is housed in half of a case on the back of which is a hook for hanging on a wall. The plate does have bends. \$150.

Figure 149: [TINTYPE] 15139 “Officer of the Law.” CDV sized tintype of a man wearing a badge and a watch on a chain. His hand rests on a bentwood chair. \$40.

Figure 150: [TINTYPE] 16162 “Six Men and a Stallion.” ½ plate tintype of a stallion on the ground surrounded by 5 well dressed men and a sixth man sits on the horse’s hindquarters. Is this is a racehorse are the men vets? Owners? Both? Why the photo? Lots of questions around this great image. A high quality tintype that looks like an ambrotype. Full case. \$3,500.

Figure 151: [TINTYPE] 16398 Horse shoe, Fishing pole, Axe and Draw knife CDV Sized Tintype identified in a modern hand as the Knapp Stout Boys. \$110.

Figure 152: [TINTYPE] 17059 “Tinsmith.” 2 1/2" x 3 3/4" tintype of a seated craftsman making a large tin cup. \$175.

Figure 153: [TINTYPE] 17068 “Lumber Mill.” 8 1/2" x 6 1/2" tintype of a lumber mill. Wagons and workers are seen in the foreground. A ladder is on the roof indicating they may be roofing the building. \$450.

Figure 154: [TINTYPE] 17160 “The Sale” 1/4 Plate tintype of three men deeply engaged in a deal involving a device on the floor which may be a butter churn. The standing man leans on a photographers head rest. \$650.

Figure 155: [TINTYPE] 17213 “Surveyor.” 1/4 plate tintype of a surveyor holding his surveying compass and associated pole. A tin with the quality of an ambrotype. \$1,250.

Figure 156: [TINTYPE] 17352 “Grinning Officer on his Mount.” 1/2 plate tintype of a very happy officer and his horse. In a Brady marked case but this is not by Brady. \$3,750.

Figure 157: [TINTYPE] 17357 “Double Armed Cavalryman.” 1/4 plate tintype of a soldier in uniform with a feather in his hat and holding his sword and an enormous pistol. \$1,500.

Figure 158: [TINTYPE] 17364 “Private.” 1/6 plate tintype of a soldier in uniform. A nice example in a half case. The person I bought this from believed him to be Confederate. I cannot confirm that so he is priced as Union. \$125.

Figure 159: [TINTYPE] 17365 “Armed and Dangerous.” 1/6 plate tintype of a what is likely a New York private with a big pistol in his belt. This is another image that has the potential to be Confederate but I vote Union. This is an ambrotype quality tintype. Half case. \$500.

Figure 160: [PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Artillery Soldier*, ca. 1855. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.114. © Nelson Gallery Foundation

Figure 161: [CLERK/SALES] Unknown Maker, American. *Baker with Basket of Buns*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.552. © Nelson Gallery Foundation

Figure 162: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Blacksmith*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.82. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 163: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Blacksmith with Raised Hammer*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.80. © Nelson Gallery Foundation

Figure 164: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Carpenter with T-Square and Saw*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.556. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 165: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] B. Barbour, American (active 1850s). *Jas. D. Robey, Calligrapher, Suncook, New Hampshire*, 1854. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.549. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 166: [SEMI-SKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Chimney Sweep*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.434. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

¹⁴⁶ All descriptions following the [occupation category identifier] were provided directly by the Nelson-Atkins Museum.

Figure 167: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Cigar maker*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.548. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 168: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Cobbler*, ca. 1848. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.544. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 169: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Dentist with Tools in Open Case*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.78. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 170: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Dentist with Tools and Set of False Teeth*, ca. 1855. Half-plate daguerreotype, plate: 5 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches (13.97 x 11.43 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.20. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 171: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Dr. Kenison, Chiropodist*, ca. 1852-1853. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.97. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 172: [SEMI-SKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Duck Hunters*, ca. 1850. Half-plate daguerreotype, plate: 5 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches (13.97 x 11.43 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.93. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 173: [PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Editors of the University of North Carolina Magazine*, ca. 1851-1852. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.542. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 174: [CLERK/SALES] Unknown Maker, American. *Fabric Salesman*, ca. 1850. Quarter-plate daguerreotype, plate: 4 1/4 x 3 1/4 inches (10.8 x 8.23 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.84. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 175: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Fireman*, ca. 1855. Quarter-plate daguerreotype, plate: 4 1/4 x 3 1/4 inches (10.8 x 8.26 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.554. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 176: [SEMI-SKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Gold Miner in Front of Tent*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.374. © Nelson Gallery Foundation

Figure 177: [SEMI-SKILLED] James M. Ford, American (1827-ca. 1877). *Miner with Gold Ore*, ca. 1855. Quarter-plate daguerreotype, plate: 4 1/4 x 3 1/4 inches (10.8 x 8.26 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.377. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 178: [SEMI-SKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Gold Miners with Sluice*, ca. 1850. Quarter-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 4 1/4 inches (8.26 x 10.8 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.116. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 179: [SEMI-SKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Gold Mining, North Fork, American River*, ca.1850-1855. Half-plate daguerreotype, plate: 5 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches (13.97 x 11.43 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.115. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 180: [PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Henry B. Webbert*, 1855. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.551. © Nelson Gallery Foundation

Figure 181: [SEMI-SKILLED] Samuel Van Loan , American (b. England, active 1840s-1850s). *Peter Wagner, Ice Man, Philadelphia*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.387. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 182: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Butcher Shop Interior*, ca. 1850. Whole-plate daguerreotype, plate: 8 1/2 x 6 1/2 inches (21.59 x 16.51 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.282. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 183: [PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *James Duncan Graham Jr., Holding Telescope*, ca. 1857. Half-plate daguerreotype, plate: 5 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches (13.97 x 11.43 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.18. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 184: [PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *James Duncan Graham Jr., with Outstretched Telescope*, ca. 1857. Half-plate daguerreotype, plate: 5 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches (13.97 x 11.43 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.19. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 185: [UNSKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Caretaker with Child*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.490. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 186: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Man with Hammer and Nail*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.82. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 187: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Man with Sewing Machine*, ca. 1850-1855. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.437. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 188: [PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Moses Sperry Beach Holding a Copy of the "New York Sun"*, ca. 1846-1851. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm) The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.450. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 189: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *The Multi-Instrumentalist*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.116. © Nelson Gallery Foundation

Figure 190: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *New York City Policeman*, ca. 1855. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches

(8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.558. © Nelson Gallery Foundation

Figure 191: [UNSKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Attendant with Child*, ca. 1855. Quarter-plate daguerreotype, plate: 4 1/4 x 3 1/4 inches (10.8 x 8.26 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.72. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 192: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Artist with Palette Knife, Maul Stick, and Paint Brush*, ca. 1850. Quarter-plate daguerreotype, plate: 4 1/4 x 3 1/4 inches (10.8 x 8.26 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.88. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 193: [PROFESSIONAL] Attributed to: Robert H. Vance, American (1825-1876). *Pharmacist (or Chemist)*, ca. 1850-1855. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.435. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 194: [SEMI-SKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Gold Miner*, ca. 1850. Quarter-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.115. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 195: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Silversmith*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.12. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 196: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Clown*, ca. 1850-1855. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.90. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 197: [PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Surveyor*, ca. 1855. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.81. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 198: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Surgeon with Scalpel and Equipment*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.111. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 199: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Tailor Ironing*, ca. 1848. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.562. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 200: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] Unknown Maker, American. *Tightrope Walker*, ca. 1855. Half-plate daguerreotype, plate: 5 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches (13.97 x 11.43 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of the Hall Family Foundation, 2005.37.15. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 201: [SEMI-SKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Undertakers and Gravediggers in Cemetery*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.60. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 202: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Window Maker*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.561. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 203: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] Unknown Maker, American. *Woman Ironing*, ca. 1850-1855. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.83. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 204: [UNSKILLED] Unknown Maker, American. *Caretaker with Child*, ca. 1850. Sixth-plate daguerreotype, plate: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 inches (8.26 x 6.99 cm). The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., 2005.27.488. © Nelson Gallery Foundation.

Figure 205: [SKILLED/ARTISAN] “Folk Artist with Carved Wooden Chain.” ca. 1855. Daguerreotype with applied color. Image: 3 1/4 x 2 3/4 in. (8.3 x 7.0 cm.). Smithsonian American Art Museum. Museum purchase from the Charles Isaacs Collection made possible in part by the Luisita L. and Franz H. Denghausen Endowment. 1994.91.194. Not currently on view.

Figure 206: [SEMI-PROFESSIONAL] “Dentist.” ca. 1855. Daguerreotype with applied color. plate: 3 1/4 x 4 1/4 in. (8.2 x 10.8 cm.). Smithsonian American Art Museum. Museum purchase from the Charles Isaacs Collection made possible in part by the Luisita L. and Franz H. Denghausen Endowment. 1994.91.229. Not currently on view.

Figure 207: [PROFESSIONAL] “Editor.” ca. 1855. Daguerreotype with applied color. plate: 3 1/4 x 4 1/4 in. (8.3 x 10.8 cm.). Smithsonian American Art Museum. Gift of Charles Isaacs. 1994.90.5. Not currently on view.

Figure 208: [PROFESSIONAL] “Ohio Star buggy.” ca. 1850. Daguerreotype with applied color, 2 1/4 x 2 5/8 in. (5.7 x 6.7 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum. Museum purchase from the Charles Isaacs Collection made possible in part by the Luisita L. and Franz H. Denghausen Endowment. 1994.91.189. Not currently on view.

Figure 209: [PROFESSIONAL] “The Staff of the Express.” ca. 1850. Daguerreotype. plate: 3 1/4 x 4 1/8 in. (8.3 x 10.5 cm.). Smithsonian American Art Museum. Museum purchase from the Charles Isaacs Collection made possible in part by the Luisita L. and Franz H. Denghausen Endowment. 1994.91.230. Not currently on view.

Figure 210: [UNSKILLED] “Woman and child.” ca. 1850. **Jeremiah Gurney.** Born: New York 1812 Died: Coxsackie, New York 1895. Daguerreotype with applied color. Plate: 3 3/8 x 2 3/4 in. (8.6 x 7.0 cm.). Smithsonian American Art Museum. Museum purchase from the Charles Isaacs Collection made possible in part by the Luisita L. and Franz H. Denghausen Endowment. 1994.91.58. Not currently on view.

¹⁴⁷ All descriptions following the [occupation category identifier] were taken directly from the Smithsonian website catalog. <https://www.si.edu/>

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BIOGRAPHY

Sarah Mehr received her Bachelor of Arts from George Mason University in 2008, with a double major in Anthropology and History, and a minor in Classical Studies. She received an Army officer's commission on 18 May, 2013, while working on her Master's degree, and branched transportation. She subsequently served in the 101st Airborne (Air Assault) Division, 101st Sustainment Brigade over the next four years, and deploying to Liberia in support of the mission to eradicate the rapid spread of the Ebola virus in 2014. Sarah was promoted to the rank of Captain on 8 May, 2017, and is currently stationed at Fort Lee, Virginia, where she is attending the Logistics Captain's Career Course (LOG C3). After her successful completion of the Career Course in early 2018, Sarah will become a multifunctional logistician, and will be stationed at Fort Eustis, Virginia.