CHAPTER FOUR

Imaging of the Social World

Military, commercial, and propagandistic uses of photography were exploited during war and colonial expansion. In addition, land surveys around the world employed photographers who not only made descriptive topographical images but also created pictures that explored the history and aesthetic appeal of the terrain. While the camera and the gun were routinely allied, it was not clear from the start how to circulate, sell, and archive images of conflict. Would audiences want to see combat photographs made weeks and months before they reached an exhibition hall? Should a photographer censor the violence of the battlefield? Would consumers buy photographs of a war after it was resolved? These questions could not be answered beforehand, because there were no precendents to follow. War was a risky business, even for its photographers.

WAR AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Writing in the Atlantic Monthly for July 1859, Oliver Wendell Holmes forecast that "the next European war will send us stereographs of battles."1 His prediction was darkly realized when the next major war, the American Civil War, erupted in the United States. On the eve of the conflict, there was widespread naïveté about the conduct of war and its effects on camerawork. John Draper, who created early daguerreotypes of the moon, later became editor of the American Journal of Photography, where he mused that "there will be little danger ... for the photographer [who] must be beyond the smell of gunpowder or his chemicals will not work."2

Photograph's and photographers accounts from previous conflicts, such as the Mexican-American War and the Second Burma War (see here) had not been widely distributed. Hence, the possibility that war photographs might be different from heroic war paintings and engravings was not much discussed before photographs of mid-nineteenth-century wars began to be circulated through exhibitions and newspaper engravings. Commentators mostly failed to take into account the technical inadequacy of photography to register the swift action of battle, which supplied one of the major visual art themes, or the likelihood that such disruptions as low light or a strong breeze could halt picture-taking at crucial

moments. Few mentioned that photographic equipment was still cumbersome, or that plates had to be processed soon after exposure, forcing the photographer to hurry to a makeshift darkroom.

Despite high hopes for photography, sketch artists often amateurs attached to military units in semi-official positions, or entrepreneurial individuals who sold their works to journals for reproduction as engravings-continued to produce the majority of war images that the public saw. Photographers recorded what they could: fortifications and landscapes, as well as troops and military leaders, before and after battle. What it lacked in spontaneity, photography began to make up for in quantity, both in the number of views taken and in their extensive circulation.

During the nineteenth century, European countries were involved in many so-called "small wars," a term used by Major Charles Callwell to describe the conflicts associated with the expansion of colonial European powers in Asia, North Africa, India, and the Middle East.3 Callwell saw these conflicts as inevitably "a heritage of extended Empire."4 Britain was involved in about thirty such wars during the nineteenth century, almost two dozen of which were fought in India, between the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and 1900. The presence of photographers at these colonial struggles strengthened the public perception of a link between photography's expansion and territorial conquest.

In February 1856, as peace negotiations after the Crimean War (1853-56) were being conducted, retired statesman and photographer Eugène Durieu (1800-1874) (see Fig. 2.59) reported to the French Photographic Society that photography would conquer unknown territories as the victorious armies of France conquered land.5 Indeed, photography became a formalized element in military organization: in 1856, a photographic section was formed as part of the Telegraphic School run for the Royal Engineers in Chatham, England; and in 1861, the French minister of war ordered that one officer in every brigade be trained in photography.6 By 1870, the camera was commonly used for many tasks, such as copying maps, teaching recruits, and recording experiments with weaponry.

THE CRIMEAN WAR

The conflict in the Crimea, a peninsula at the northern end

of the Black Sea, sprang from a tangle of issues relating to European influence in the Ottoman Empire, and pitted Russia against Britain, France, Turkey, and Sardinia. The war required joint action and cooperation from the allies to plan strategy and to furnish supplies. Newspaper reports by William Howard Russell (1820-1907), published by The Times of London late in 1854, revealed how mismanagement and disunity among Britain's allies produced severe hardships, food scarcities, and lack of medical care among the troops. In a dispatch written on November 25, 1854, Russell described torrential rains that flooded tents and chilled soldiers, who lacked warm, waterproof clothing. The "wretched beggar who wanders the streets of London in the rain," wrote Russell, "leads the life of a prince compared with the British soldiers who are fighting out here for their country." "These are hard truths," he warned, "but the people of England must hear them."7 Political cartoons denounced the situation of the soldiers. Early in the conflict the War Department ordered two ultimately unsuccessful photographic forays in an attempt to counteract the negative newspaper accounts of the war. The next British efforts to photograph in the Crimea were undertaken separately by Roger Fenton (1819-1869) and James Robertson (1813-1888).

Roger Fenton

A well-known British amateur photographer, Roger Fenton (see here) helped to found the Photographic Society in 1853. An artist by inclination and a lawyer by training, he studied painting in France and learned the waxed-paper photographic process invented by Gustave Le Gray (see here). In the fall of 1852, Fenton was off again, this time to Russia, where he photographed historic architecture, as well as the construction of a bridge across the Dnieper River at Kiev, a structure commissioned by Czar Nicholas I (1796-1855; r. 1825-1855) from Fenton's friend and promoter of photography, the British engineer Charles Vignoles (1793-1875).

By the mid-1850s, governments and publishers were speculating about the potential of war photographs. In Manchester, England, the firm of print publishers Thomas Agnew & Sons commissioned Fenton to make images in the Crimea, to which Agnew would retain the reproduction rights. Fenton eventually exhibited his Crimean War photographs in London, and in 1856 Agnew published 160

of Fenton's more than 300 photographs, which could be purchased singly or in handsome volumes. At this time peace negotiations were well under way, and the project proved to be less financially rewarding than the publisher had hoped. Along with some Crimean photographs by James Robertson, Fenton's unsold photographs and negatives of the war were auctioned at a discount in 1856. Although his letters from the front clearly show that he was frustrated by the war's mismanagement, and, like many others there, suffered from cholera, Fenton's photographs were less explicit (Fig. 4.2). Most did not make direct reference to the war's calamities: he did not depict fallen soldiers, the wreckage of battle, or the results of supply shortages that caused soldiers to loot civilian homes. Like war artists in the past, he made heroic images of military leaders, and his photographs of the soldiers showed them in no danger, often enjoying the same social activities they might at home.

4.2 ROGER FENTON, A Quiet Day at the Mortar Battery, 1855. Salted paper print. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California.

focus

The Valley of Death
Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why
Theirs but to do and die.
Into the valley of Death
Rode the six hundred.
Alfred, Lord Tennyson,
"The Charge of the Light Brigade"

4.3 ROGER FENTON, The Valley of the Shadow of Death, 1855. Paper print. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Even before it became immortalized in a famous poem and a famous photograph (Fig. 4.3), the area in the Crimea where so many British troops met their deaths was called "the valley of death."8 The desolate lowland lived up to its biblical name when, on October 25, 1854, Russian artillery in a strong position fired on a British cavalry brigade whose attack orders had been confused through the chain of command. The Light Brigade incurred heavy losses. Tennyson incorporated the line "Someone had blundered" from newspaper accounts of the incident. When Fenton's photograph was exhibited in 1855, the editor of the Photographic

Journal in London wrote that the show was the "most remarkable and in certain respects the most interesting exhibition of photographs ever opened. The writer singled out The Valley of the Shadow of Death "with its terrible suggestions, not merely those awakened in the memory, but actually brought materially before the eyes, by photographic reproduction of the cannon-balls lying strewd like moraines of a melted glacier through the bottom of the valley."9

Fenton did not arrive in the Crimea until months after the event and after Tennyson wrote the first draft of his poem. He was aware of the national sentiments surrounding the valley when he left Britain. In fact, Fenton made two photographs on the site, the second of which became famous. In the first, there are hardly any cannon balls in the road; but in the second and better-known photograph, cannon balls have been strewn on and near the road, perhaps by Fenton and his staff, to create the impression that the battle had recently taken place. 10 The renown of his photograph of the site grew in subsequent years, propelled by the Tennyson poem, the Christian symbolism of death and eternal life, and the complex sentiments felt by the British about the war. The charge of the Light Brigade, not a pivotal battle, became an emblem of devotion to duty during senseless conflicts.

Fenton's tact may have derived from the instructions to the first, failed, government-sponsored photographic party, which was to bring back visual evidence that newspaper accounts of the war exaggerated the disease and starvation endured by the troops. Moreover, Fenton's acquaintance with Queen Victoria (1819-1901; r. 1837-1901) during the first half of 1854, when he created a flattering likeness of the monarch, photographed the royal children (Fig. 4.4), and instructed the royal couple in the rudiments of photography, may have tempered his images.11 Further, the worst privations occurred during the winter of 1854, when lack of supplies was exacerbated by severe cold and rampant cholera. Fenton visited the Crimea in 1855, when the previous winter's situation had to some extent been alleviated. Aware that the print-publishing firm would be marketing the photographs and that there would be a public exhibition, Fenton may have assumed that few

people would want to see or to buy images of suffering and carnage. Interestingly, the public and press did not raise issues of content-Fenton's photographs were praised by critics for their factual quality and their superiority to words.

4.4 ROGER FENTON, The Royal Family in Buckingham Palace Garden, May 22, 1854. Paper print. The Royal Archives. © 2002 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Queen Victoria was aware of the power of photography to form her public image. Her more formal portraits are counterbalanced by casual views and family scenes. She also amassed a collection of 100,000 photographs, which she put into ten albums.

James Robertson and other Crimean Photographers

James Robertson was a British citizen working as chief engraver of the Imperial Mint in Constantinople, and an accomplished amateur landscape photographer, who made views in the Middle East. Early in the war he traveled to the area, taking some images about which little is known, before returning to the war zone in 1855. Robertson's trip may have been sponsored by print publishers looking for someone to carry on when Fenton left, or he may have set off on his own initiative. He made approximately sixty images, including the ruins of a redan, or fortification, at Sebastopol, which had been secured only after numerous bombardments (Fig. 4.5). Robertsons photographs were published by Thomas Agnew, who auctioned the unsold photographs and negatives along with Fenton's surplus images.

4.5 JAMES ROBERTSON, Interior of the Redan, June 1855. Salted paper print. Gernsheim Collection. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

Fenton and Robertson are the best-known photographers of the Crimean War, because their work was published in engraved interpretations in newspapers and issued in multiple photographic prints. But there were other photographers on the scene, including Karl Baptist von Szatmari (1812-1887), an amateur painter and photographer from Bucharest, Romania. He used his social connections to visit the opposing armies of Turkey and Russia early in the conflict that led to the Crimean War. Although all but one of his photographs have perished, the range of subjects, known from a show of his work at the Paris Exposition of 1855, included group portraits and

troop movements. Legend has it that the young Russian novelist Leo Tolstoi, who was in an artillery unit at Sebastopol, made a number of photographs. Readers commented on the vivid visual accounts offered in his Sebastopol Sketches, published serially in 1855-56. The French painter and war historian Colonel Jean-Charles Langlois (1789-1870) arrived late in the war, sent by Napoleon III to bring back images of the conflict. Accompanied by the architect and photographer Léon-Eugène Méhédin (1828-1905), he made photographs that were developed in Paris by panoramic photographer Frederic von Martens (see here). Langlois joined fourteen of these prints to create a 360-degree view, and later used some of the Crimean photographs that displayed deep recessive landscape views as sources for his illusionistic panoramic painting of the fighting in the city of Sebastopol (Fig. 4.6).

4.6 JEAN-CHARLES LANGLOIS, LÉON-EUGÈNE MÉHÉDIN, FREDERICK VON MARTENS, Ruins at Sebastopol, 1855. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

For decades, economic and political tensions in the United States between the industrialized northern states and the largely agricultural southern states had been patched over by fragile concessions. One such agreement, the Compromise of 1850, admitted California to the Union as a free-that is, non-slave-state but allowed slavery to continue in the states where it existed, and mandated the return of fugitive slaves from free states. Abolitionist feeling in the North was roused by the provision that runaway slaves had to be returned to the South, and the immediate cause of the war, the secession from the Union by the state of South Carolina, was partly motivated by the dispute over fugitive slaves.

Fighting between North and South began with the shelling of Fort Sumter in South Carolina on April 12, 1861, and ended with the Southern surrender at Appomattox, Virginia, on April 9, 1865. During the hostility, war correspondents, artists, and photographers furnished the public with news and images. Unlike in the Mexican-American War (see here), Americans understood from the beginning that this conflict would be photographed extensively, and that photographs, and the engravings taken from them, would create a comprehensive visual

chronicle-the first of its kind in American history. 12 The first pictures from the conflict were taken by Southern photographers such as George S. Cook (1819-1902) the day after Fort Sumter fell. Born in Connecticut, Cook settled in the South in his twenties, but maintained his contacts with Northern photographers, publishers, and suppliers, such as E. and H. T. Anthony & Co.13

When the division between North and South deepened, Cook centered his work on Confederate subjects. In February 1861, Cook made a portrait of Major Robert Anderson, who commanded the Federal troops at Fort Sumter, in the mouth of Charleston Harbor (Fig. 4.7). In the succeeding months, as the quarrel between the North and the newly declared Southern Confederacy focused on the continued presence of Federal troops in the fort, wood engravings of Cook's photograph were reproduced in the Northern press, and cartes-de-visite made from the photograph were sold by the thousand. When Fort Sumter fell to Southern forces, Cook made many photographs, including the lowering of the American flag. After the war, Cook amassed ten thousand Civil War photographs, largely by other photographers, which were later acquired by the Valentine Museum in Richmond, Virginia.

4.7 GEORGE S. COOK, Portrait of Major Robert Anderson, 1860-65. Wet-plate collodion. Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

The Effect of the War on Photography

While only one photographer, Andrew J. Russell (1830-1902), was actually paid by the United States government, many quasi-official photographers from the North and South saw the conflict as an opportunity to expand their markets. Photographic portraits of such politicians as Abraham Lincoln were popular, as were images of military leaders. Families of soldiers going off to war desired pictures of their young men, who, in turn, wanted photographic keepsakes of their families. Photographers such as the three Bergstresser brothers from Pennsylvania set up makeshift studios at military camps to provide photographs to soldiers (Fig. 4.8). An article in the New York Tribune for August 20, 1862, reported that the Bergstresser brothers had "followed the army for more than a year and taken, the Lord only knows how many thousand portraits. In one day, since they came here [to Fredericksburg] they took in one of their galleries, 160 odd pictures at $1.00 each (on which the net profit was probably

ninety-five cents)."17 The recently invented TINTYPE photographs, developed on thin sheets of iron, were particularly popular, cheap, and lightweight (Fig. 4.13). Their name derives from the colloquial term for iron sheets, that is, "tin." Photographs from the front lines were published in many formats, including the popular carte-de-visite. E. and H. T. Anthony & Co. issued more than a thousand pictures per day, sent in by semi-professional photographers and celebrities such as Mathew Brady (1823-1896).

4.8 BERGSTRESSER BROTHERS, Bergstresser's Photographic Studio, 3d Div., 5th Corp, Army of the Potomac, c. 1862-64. Albumen silver print. U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

portrait

Mathew Brady

Mathew Brady is best remembered for the battlefield photographs that his firm took during the American Civil War. But, as historian Mary Panzer noted, Brady's wartime photographs were dominated by representations of individuals and groups of soldiers. 14 Brady's emphasis on specific people reveals a philosophy that history is shaped by great persons, not abstract historical forces or political controversies.

Brady's interest in portraiture began early in his professional life. Like many enterprising photographers of limited means, the young Brady undertook a number of different tasks that might offer a steady photographic practice. He began his career in New York City during the early 1840s, making cases for painted miniatures and jewelry, as well as daguerreotypes. By 1844, he had opened a daguerreotype studio and was winning awards for his images. He produced a series of portraits of criminals, which were made into wood engravings and published in the American edition of Marmaduke Sampsons Rationale of Crime.

By the late 1840s, celebrity photography had become Brady's stock in trade. He produced unflinching portraits, including that of John C. Calhoun, the powerful South Carolina politician who opposed northern abolition movements (Fig. 4.9). This and other daguerreotypes of prominent Americans were transformed by Francis D'Avignon

(1813-1861) into lithographs (Fig. 4.10) and published in Brady's The Gallery of Illustrious Americans (1850). Produced during the debate that led to the Compromise of 1850, The Gallery struck a delicate balance by including images of opposing politicians.
4.10 FRANCIS D'AVIGNON John C Calhoun, c. 1861. Lithograph. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
Throughout the 1850s, Brady created portraits of distinguished American figures in law, government, business, society, and the arts, and exhibited them in his photographic studios (Fig. 4.12). Brady's images were sometimes used for personal publicity, being reproduced as inexpensive popular prints. His status rose with the fame of his sitters, whose reputations were strengthened in turn because their images bore his name and were displayed in his gallery. Before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, Brady had amassed more than ten thousand photographs of celebrities, mostly Americans. Even United States presidents were not immune from the potential of photography.
Mathew Brady's famous photograph of Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) was taken on the day in 1860 when he gave an address in New York at the Cooper Union (Fig. 4.11). Brady sold prints of the photograph, and it was reproduced in newspapers and magazines. Most people had never seen Lincoln, but rumors of his physical ugliness were rife during the presidential campaign. The Democrat opposition sang a song at rallies that ended "We beg and pray you-Don't, for God's sake, show his picture."15 Brady distracted attention from Lincolns gangliness by directing light to his face. He posed the future president in a statesmanlike attitude and took care that he curled his fingers (especially of his right hand), so that they would not appear too long and large. Lincoln credited Brady for part of his success, remarking that "Brady and the Cooper Institute made me President." 16 By 1864, Brady and his firm had created more than thirty photographs of Lincoln, who himself sat for dozens of photographers, one of which was later used for the "Lincoln head" penny, and another of which was the source for Lincolns image on the $5 bill.
4.11 MATHEW BRADY, Abraham Lincoln, 1860. Salted paper

print (carte-de-visite). Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Perhaps because of poor eyesight, Brady did not take most of the photographs that bore his name. Like David Octavius Hill (see here) in Scotland, Brady conceptualized images, arranged the sitters, and oversaw the production of pictures. In his Civil War work, Brady stressed his conceptual and administrative capacity by frequently appearing in photographs with military leaders.
4.13 PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN John and Nicholas Marien of Terre Haute, Indiana, c. 1862-64. Tintype (original lost). Courtesy of the author.
The war was extensively reported by newspaper reporters and magazine journalists. Of the more than 1,400 photographers who made images of troops, military installations, and battle sites, most were from the North. Southern photographs are more scarce not simply because of the ravages of war, but also because of the severe shortages of photographic materials brought on by economic turmoil and military blockades. Photographers initially processed their work in the field, and then sent the resulting negatives to studios in towns and cities for printing.
There are few differences among the subject categories found in Civil War photographs. Whether of battlefields or individuals, they tend to be stiff and formal. Casual camaraderie among soldiers, such as that pictured in Roger Fenton's work in the Crimea, was seldom recorded. Although African-American troops were photographed and occasional images were made of abused slaves, the Civil War did not engender a far-reaching photographic record of slavery and its aftermath.
The restraints and omissions in subject matter, as well as the carefully balanced compositions, probably owe to the sense prevalent during the war that photography was a type of history writing, dedicated to recording the events, not investigating their tangled causes. The New York Times for July 21, 1862, observed:
Mr. Brady deserves honorable recognition as having been the first to make Photography the Clio of war [in Greek myth, Clio is the muse of history]... His artists have accompanied the army on nearly all its marches, planting their sun batteries by the side of our Generals' more deathful ones, and "taking"

towns and cities, forts and redans, with much less noise and vastly more expedition. The result is a series of pictures christened "Incidents of War," and nearly as interesting as the war itself; for they constitute the history of it, and appeal directly to the great throbbing hearts of the North. 18

Throughout the war, it was customary for major photographers to copyright their images, even though they were frequently published by other firms or individuals. For example, George N. Barnard, who worked for Mathew Brady, copyrighted his work, and later published Photographic Views with Sherman's Campaigns (1866), in which he recorded the well-organized destruction of the city of Atlanta, as well as of the infrastructure of the South, especially its railroads (Fig. 4.14). Indeed, Northern troops often lined up along the tracks, and on a signal simultaneously picked up one side of the railroad ties and tipped them over. The rails were then burned at high heat so that they twisted themselves into ruin. 19

4.14 GEORGE N. BARNARD, City of Atlanta No. 1, 1866. Albumen print. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Recognition of photographers who worked for other image-makers also became more common during the Civil War. Timothy O'Sullivan (1840-1882), who left Brady's studio in 1862 or 1863 to work with Alexander Gardner (1831-1882), was given credit for his work in Gardner's publications. He made hundreds of war photographs, including The Harvest of Death, his most famous image, taken on the Gettysburg battlefield (Fig. 4.15). It was included, along with the work of several other photographers, in Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War, published in two volumes in 1865-66. In the last years of the war, photographs of battles and leading military officers were less sought after. The initial enthusiasm for the vast photographic record that could be made of the war was replaced by a sense of what could not be photographed.

4.15 ALEXANDER GARDNER, The Harvest of Death, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, July 1863, from Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War. Stereoscope. Negative by Timothy O'Sullivan. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

portrait

Alexander Gardner

When Alexander Gardner emigrated from Scotland to the United States in 1856, he was already an

accomplished photographer. His association with Mathew Brady, whom he may have met in London when both attended the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851 (see here), proved to be beneficial to both photographers. Beginning in 1856, Gardner, an adept accountant and organizer, brought order and a modicum of financial stability to Brady's Washington gallery. With Brady, Gardner foresaw the potential market for photography brought about by the impending Civil War.

Brady's corps of photographers gained access to battlefields and fortifications through the efforts of one Allan Pinkerton (1819–1884), head of the presidential protective organization that became known as the Secret Service. Pinkerton, a Scot, arranged for Gardner and a contingent of photographers who worked with him to be given access to Union encampments, where the photographers carried on covert activities-for example, photographing groups of soldiers among whom spies were thought to dwell. These photographers also made copies of maps for the Secret Service, and pictures of feasible battlefields and of structures such as bridges, tunnels, and railroad lines for the War Department.

4.16 MATHEW BRADY, Soldiers on the Battlefield, 1862. Albumen silver print by Alexander Gardner. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Gardner and his subordinates made many of the photographs associated by the public with Mathew Brady. The battle at Antietam, Maryland, in September 1862 resulted in shocking photographs of the dead (Fig. 4.16), eight of which were engraved and published by Harper's Weekly on October 18. On the occasion of their exhibition in New York City, the New York Times brooded on their effect: "Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our dooryards and along the streets, he has done something very like it."20 After seeing the Antietam photographs, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who visited the battlefield soon after the conflict took place, similarly commented:

Let him who wishes to know what war is look at this series of illustrations. These wrecks of manhood thrown

together in careless heaps or ranged in ghastly rows for burial were alive but yesterday.... It was so nearly like visiting the battlefield to look over these views, that all the emotions excited by the actual sight of the stained and sordid scene, strewed with rags and wrecks, came back to us, and we buried them in the recesses of our cabinet as we would have buried the mutilated remains of the dead they too vividly represented.21

When President Lincoln removed General George McClellan as head of the Union army, Alexander Gardner lost his favored position as "Photographer, Army of the Potomac." He then resigned from Brady's staff, but kept good, if competitive relations with his former employer. Both Gardner and Brady made images at the battle of Gettysburg in Pennsylvania, the Civil War's bloodiest engagement. Most of Gardner's views of Gettysburg feature death and destruction. It was on the Gettysburg battlefield that Gardner reconfigured a scene for the camera, so as to intensify its visual and emotional effects. To make Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter (Fig. 4.17), he had the corpse moved to a stone wall, and supported the dead man's head on a knapsack so that it faced the camera. 22 The rifle leaning on the wall is a prop that Gardner carried with him. The fact that Gardner did not keep his arrangement of this scene a secret indicates that the public was willing to allow the photographer to construct a scene that was true in a larger sense than fidelity to visual fact. Soon after Gettysburg, Gardner was briefly captured by Confederate troops, but released after they had assured themselves that he was not a spy. Like the ability of Southern photographer George S. Cook to obtain photographic supplies during the conflict, this incident suggests that photographers were regarded as neutral observers of war, not partisans.

4.17 ALEXANDER GARDNER, Home of a Rebel Sharpshooter, Gettysburg, from Alexander Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the Civil War, plate 41, July 1863. Wet collodion print. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

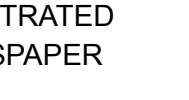
Gardner's eye for the sensational is evident in the series of photographs he made of the conspirators who plotted the assassination of Lincoln. He photographed several of them after their arrest and published images

of their execution (Fig. 4.18). Although the series from which this image comes seems like an innovative precursor of the photo-essays that would appear in twentieth-century magazines such as Life, it was probably made primarily for Secret Service records. Images derived from Gardner's photographs were published in Harper's Weekly (July 22, 1865), but the actual photographs did not sell well.

4.18 ALEXANDER GARDNER, Execution of the Lincoln Conspirators, 1865. From an original glass negative. George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.

THE CIVIL WAR AND REMEMBRANCE

After the Civil War, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper published images derived from photographs of prisoners in Southern prisoner-of-war camps such as that at Andersonville, Georgia (Fig. 4.19). These photographs initiated one of the most lasting debates about the Civil War. While no one doubted the truth of the soldiers dire condition, its cause has been disputed. About eighty thousand prisoners were held by both the North and the South, while prisoner-of-war exchanges stalled over such issues as whether black Northern soldiers would be returned by the South. As the war dragged on, the Norths blockades became more punitive, denying food and medical supplies to the South. The editors of Harper's Weekly wrote of the Confederates: "they do not [starve their prisoners] intentionally, perhaps, but that does not help the matter.... We are surely not obligated to tolerate the torture of Union prisoners because we wage the war so strictly that the rebels' supplies fail."23 In Northern newspapers, the poor condition of Union captives was contrasted with what was thought to be the decent and honorable condition of Southern prisoners in Northern detention centers. Little attention was paid to broadcasting the misery endured by Southerners in prisons such as that at Elmira, New York.24



4.19 PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, June 18, 1864. Woodblock print. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

After the Civil War, and well into the twentieth century, the photographic books of the war were rumored to have

been financial failures. It is true that Brady struggled for a decade to place his Civil War photographs in a public institution; it was not until 1875 that Congress paid him for the title to his prints and negatives. Current research suggests that Gardner's book and Barnard's volume, issued in small numbers, were both moderately profitable.

In 1869, both Brady and Gardner petitioned Congress to purchase, and hence preserve, their negatives. Both proposals were rejected, partly because the government was unsure how to store large numbers of photographs. About ninety thousand of Gardner's glass-plate negatives passed to a portrait photographer in Washington, D.C., who, in turn sold them to a scrap-glass dealer. The dealer recognized the historic importance of the work and tried unsuccessfully to market the images; finally, the glass and the silver in the emulsion were salvaged, destroying the negatives. Other sources, including the collection of E. and H. T. Anthony & Co., who distributed both Brady and Gardner images, were ultimately obtained by the United States Library of Congress.

Photography also figured in another sort of remembrance. The huge death toll of the Civil War, estimated at about 620,000 for Northern and Southern troops, encouraged grieving relatives and friends to try to contact the dead through spiritualists. So-called spirit photographs purported to show ethereal loved ones, or wisps of smoke indicating their presence. Among the best-selling images was a portrait taken by the leading American spiritualist photographer, William Howard Mumler (active 1832-84). It shows Mary Todd Lincoln with the ghost of the slain president standing behind her (Fig. 4.20). The vogue was also popular in Europe, where French spirit photographer Édouard Buguet was accused of creating fraudulent images. Although he clearly admitted to deceiving his customers with simple double exposures, some clients were unconvinced and maintained that his photographs recorded visits from the Other Side. When X-rays were invented (see here), they deepened belief in unseen spiritual activity. For lyrically inclined spiritualists, French photographer Louis Darget (1847-1921) created images of dreams and thoughts.

4.20 WILLIAM HOWARD MUMLER, Mary Todd Lincoln with the Ghost of Abraham Lincoln, after 1865. Albumen carte-de-visite. Wm. B. Becker Collection, American Museum of Photography.

LATER CONFLICTS

THE WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE, SOUTH AMERICA

The day after Christmas, 1864, eighty thousand troops under the direction of Paraguay's leader, Francisco Solano López (1827-1870), invaded Brazil. In May 1865, Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina formed a triple alliance to defeat the López government. The conflict arose over disputes about navigation routes and land claims. Tens of thousands of troops from the four countries were mobilized. The war, which thundered on until 1870, was especially devastating for Paraguay; some estimate that 80 per cent of the country's population died during the hostilities.

As in the American Civil War, photographers were sent to the fronts. One of the first Latin American war photographers, Esteban García (active 1860s), from Uruguay, organized their efforts. Little is known about García, but his images were published by Bate & Co., a Montevideo studio financed by investors in the United States. The North Americans were hoping to reproduce what they mistakenly thought was the substantial financial success of Brady's American Civil War photographs.25 Sold in sets of ten, called La Guerra Ilustrada (The War Illustrated) (1866), the photographs show the troop formations and battle preparations characteristic of nineteenth-century war photographs (Fig. 4.21). As with American Civil War images, the daily personal experiences of the combatants are virtually absent.

4.21 ESTEBAN GARCÍA, First Battalion April 24 in the Trenches of Tuyuty, 1866. Collodion print. Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay, Montevideo.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR AND THE PARIS COMMUNE

The Franco-Prussian War sprang from the political and economic rivalry between France, under Emperor Napoleon III (1808-1873; r. 1852-70), and Prussia, led by Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), who orchestrated the confrontation. France declared war on July 10, 1870, only to experience repeated defeats that culminated in the decisive German victory at the battle of Sedan (September 1, 1870), when Napoleon III was captured. A provisional government was declared in Paris, and in the winter of 1870 Prussian troops laid siege to the city. Passenger balloons, with such names as Daguerre and Niépce, attempted to carry communications from the beleaguered city, whose telegraph lines had been cut. In the lore of war

and photography, the extensive use of carrier pigeons has become legendary. Packaged in tiny containers and tied to the tails of homing pigeons, more than a hundred thousand messages of photographically reduced text passed between the city and French officials outside the siege line. Sometimes the images were projected on to a wall so that a group of people could view them. The Prussians used falcons to chase and kill the French pigeons.26 Despite the Parisian's efforts, the city fell after German bombardment.

Resentment at the royalist leanings of the postwar French government was especially keen in Paris. The move to disarm the National Guard, townsmen who fought the Germans and who supported an idea of a French republic, further angered Parisian's. In mid-March, a group of anti-royalists and working-class activists declared themselves the "Paris Commune." Although the Commune lasted less than three months, it became an abiding emblem of a righteous peoples revolution, in France and around the world. During so-called Bloody Week (May 21-May 28, 1871), when the French government repossessed the city, around twenty-five thousand Parisian's were killed, more than during the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution or the recent German siege27 (Fig. 4.22).

4.22 PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, Communards in their Coffins, May 1871. Albumen print. Gernsheim Collection. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

An unknown photographer captured the carnage with an image of numbered corpses slumped in their coffins. This photograph of dead Communards could be read by their supporters as a symbol of tragedy and by their enemies as a symbol of triumph.

During and after the Commune, photography was used to record events as well as to promote, explain, and rationalize political positions. For example, the Communards posed for photographs before and after they tore down the Vendome Column, erected in 1815 by Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821; r. 1804-14), whose statue stood on top of it. The decree for the destruction of the column belittled it as "a monument of barbarianism, a symbol of brute force and of false glory, a confirmation of military rule contrary to the international rights of man."28 These photographs were taken by the Paris photographer Bruno Braquehais (1823-1875), who favoured the Communards (Fig. 4.23). Braquehais's work took several forms, including portraits, art reproduction, and a few

gauzy bits of pornography. He took 109 views of the Commune, which were sold in a bound album called Paris during the Commune. Regardless of their political leanings, many Parisian photographers realized what the domestic and foreign commercial potential of Commune-related images was. Ironically, photographs of the Communards were soon used to identify and arrest them, when the French government retook the city.

4.23 BRUNO BRAQUEHAIS, The Fall of the Vendôme Column, 1871. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

The activities of photographers in Paris after the fall of the Commune were the subject of a satirical illustration in the Illustrated London News for June 24, 187129 (Fig. 4.24). It is difficult to gauge completely the meaning of this print. British criticism of French radicalism had run high since the French Revolution of 1789; here, however, the placement of the photographer, and his disregard for the urgent task of the firefighters and the acute suffering of the woman and child in the right foreground, seem to criticize the neutrality and intrusiveness of photography and the public's hankering for sensational photographs.

4.24 ARTIST UNKNOWN, The Ruins of Paris, from Illustrated London News, June 24, 1871. Newspaper illustration.

After the Commune, the French photographer Eugène Appert (active 1870s), who favored the French government, made dramatic, deliberately contrived photographs of the events. In his Crimes of the Commune he included nine fabricated prints of events that visually presented the governments strong opposition to the Communards. After obtaining portraits of the leaders of the Commune, Appert hired actors to enact historic scenes from the point of view of the anti-Commune forces. In the studio, he cut out the individual figures, pasted on them the heads of the Communards, then rephotographed the image. These composite photographs vary considerably in quality (Fig. 4.25).

ASSASINAT deGUSTAVE CHAUBESPELAGIEle 23 MAI 1871
Album
24. Rue Taitbout.24
Portrait
E.APPERT, PLEAT
Reproduction inter

4.25 EUGÈNE APPERT, Assassination of Gustave Chaudey at Sainte Pélagie, 23 May 1871, 1871. Composite photograph. Bibliothèque

Nationale de France, Paris.

"SMALL WARS," COLONIAL EXPANSION, AND PHOTOGRAPHY

The Crimean War, the American Civil War, the War of the Triple Alliance, and the Franco-Prussian War were conflicts that, for the most part, engaged national armies against each other. But most conflicts during the nineteenth century pitted troops from the great powers against non-European peoples. Military, commercial, and propagandistic uses of photography were exploited during these small wars and subsequent colonial expansion. The combat-related uses of photography, such as the duplication of maps, description of terrain, and depiction of armaments, became more routine. Photographers increasingly accompanied troops from the major powers, both to record military exploits and to picture foreign countries for audiences back home. In India, China, North Africa, Abyssinia (now Ethiopia), the Middle East, and Asia, photographers were granted the right to photograph troops and the aftermath of battles. They also produced views of foreign lands that stressed the exotic look of the landscape, architecture, and people. In the 1850s and 1860s, dozens of Western photographers without military obligations relocated abroad and set up studios in countries where they hoped to make images for markets back home and for colonial settlers.

The landscape and architectural views produced by photographers attached to military expeditions and those made by commercial photographers are strikingly similar. Both tend to emphasize the unusual aspects of a landscape, an extraordinary temple or public building, or the remoteness of a site. In effect, the photographs, sold singly or in albums, promoted the notion of the photographer as a brave and resourceful explorer, akin to other expatriates, such as military personnel and entrepreneurs, who were living large at the edges of the world.

In the November 1859 edition of the Photographic News, an anonymous reviewer noted an exhibition of stereoscopic photographs published by the London firm of Negretti & Zambra. The writer observed that "as ... the camera became more common in Egypt and the Holy Land, the more adventurous photographers turned their steps to more distant and less known countries. Even the jealously-guarded countries of China and Japan cannot shut out the

camera" 30 Especially in places where intertwined Western political and economic interests expanded, photographers very quickly followed. In Asia, photography was first known primarily in port cities, but from the 1850s photographers began trekking to remote interior regions, photographing the residue of war, the wonders of the natural world, and indigenous art and architecture.

India

It is not clear what brought the German photographer John Christian A. Dannenberg (d. 1905) to northern India, but from the mid-1850s on, he seems to have been both an active commercial photographer and a member of the Bengal Photographic Society. His photographic portrait of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Bharatpur (1851-1893) (Fig. 4.26) was subsequently overpainted by an anonymous artist, in a distinctly Indian style dating from the early daguerreotypes in India. Indian royals and the well-to-do had photographs made to mark historic events, and as presentation pieces for dignitaries at important meetings and events. Also, they sometimes became dedicated amateur photographers. When the young maharaja succeeded his father in 1862, he and his court were photographed by the firm of Shepherd & Robertson.

4.26 J. C. A. DANNENBERG AND UNKNOWN ARTIST, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Bharatpur (1851-1893), 1863. Albumen print and watercolor. The Alkazi Collection of Photography, London.

After arriving in India in 1863, British photographer Samuel Bourne (1834-1912) made three climbs high in the Himalayan wilds. Despite the physical obstacles and technical problems that beset his treks, Bourne excluded the hardships of the trail from his photographs, restricting difficulties to the long descriptive letters he wrote home to the British Photographic Journal. These helped to make him the epitome of the heroic photographer abroad. Bourne wrote that the mountain "scenery was not well adapted for pictures at least for photography. ... The character of the Himalayan scenery in general is not picturesque.”"31 Consequently, he carefully selected scenes and camera angles, in order to depict the Himalayas as a compliant and serene landscape, waiting to be recorded by the camera (Fig. 4.27). One photographic historian credits Bourne with initiating "an imperial picturesque"-that is, an adaptation of European notions of pictorial organization and subject matter to the look of an exotic locale.32

4.27 SAMUEL BOURNE, Valley and Snowy Peaks Seen from the Hamta Pass, Spiti Side, 1863-66. Albumen print from wet collodion negative. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

After his journey to photograph the Crimean War, James Robertson traveled with photographer Félice Beato (c. 1820s-c. 1907) throughout the Middle East. Pictures of India were published under the name of Robertson and Beato, or Robertson Beato et Cie, though it is possible that Robertson never actually visited the subcontinent. 33 Beato, however, was certainly in India making photographs, some of them staged, soon after the Indian Mutiny, which began with the 1857 uprising of Indian-born troops in the employ of the British East India Company, the private corporation that controlled trade in India, against the regular British Army (Fig. 4.28). Later called by Indians the First War of Independence, the uprising spurred the British to reorganize the army and restructure colonial rule. For years, the British public feasted on newspaper remembrances and novels based on the Mutiny, which portrayed the British as martyrs and served to justify further colonial expansion and conflicts such as the Boer War. In fact, both sides were guilty of appalling savagery.

Beato was not the first Western photographer in India. John Murray (1809-1898), a medical doctor who had worked for the East India Company, and who taught medicine in Agra, was also a photographer (Fig. 4.29). Some of his eight hundred images of India, including the Taj Mahal, were exhibited in London in November 1857, and gained large audiences because of the Mutiny. Murray was skilled in making large-format images and panoramas that consisted of two or three connected photographs. The East India Company itself had employed photographers to document Indian landscape and antiquities since the mid-1850s.34 Three brothers-Adolph (1829-1857), Hermann (1826-1882), and Robert (1833-1885) Schlagintweit, natural scientists and Alpine explorers-were commissioned by the company to do biomagnetic measurement in India and the Himalayas. During their four-year stay, Robert made photographic renderings for their report of the scientific mission, and for Hermanns book Travels in India and High Asia (1869-80). One measure of the presence of Western photographers in India is the formation of three photographic societies, in Bombay, Madras, and the province of Bengal, from 1854 to 1856.

Another indication of photography's capacity to replicate the British imperial view of India is found in a monthly publication, the Indian Amateurs Photographic Album (1856-58), and in combinations of text and pictures, such as the two-volume The Oriental Races and Tribes: Residents and Visitors of Bombay (1863–66), produced by William Johnson of the Bombay Photographic Society35 (Fig. 4.30). As in China, Western photographers employed painters trained in the art of the miniature to color photographs.36

4.28 FÉLICE A. BEATO (attrib.), The Execution of Mutineers in the Indian Mutiny, 1857. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

During the Indian Mutiny, or First War of Independence, Beato photographed from the British perspective, which included severe punishments for the rebels.

4.29 JOHN MURRAY, Panorama of the West Face of the Taj Mahal, c. 1850s-60s. Albumen print from mixed-type paper negatives. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

4.30 PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, Nagar Brahmin Women, from The Oriental Races and Tribes: Residents and Visitors of Bombay, 1863. Albumen print.

China

Félice Beato was with Anglo-French troops in China in 1860, during the Second Opium War (1856-60), perhaps in a semi-official capacity. At this period, China had endured a decade of civil war and economic instability, amidst Western pressure to open the country to commerce. The opium trade, hugely profitable to the British, French, Dutch, and Americans, flourished despite being outlawed by the Chinese government. After the First Opium War (1839-42), negotiations with European powers and the United States opened some ports to trade, but hostilities reignited in 1856, when Chinese officials searched a British ship. In 1860, the Western allies took the forts at Taku, near Tientsin, a critical step in the advance on the capital city of Peking (now Beijing). Beato's sequential documentation of the China campaign is among the first such conscientious series of images. He methodically photographed the aftermath of the allies' efforts to capture the forts at Taku; the interior of one of the strongholds shows the unburied Chinese dead inside the conquered fort (Fig. 4.31). A few months later an image from this series by Beato was reproduced as a wood engraving for the Christmas Eve edition of the Illustrated London News. The bold picturing

of carnage predates the grisly photographs taken in the American Civil War (see Figs. 4.16, 4.17).

4.31 FÉLICE A. BEATO, Interior of the Angle of North Fort at Taku on August 21, 1860, 1860. Albumen print. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

There is some evidence to suggest that Beato had corpses dragged into this scene and artfully arranged, a staging method he employed in some of his photographs of the Indian Mutiny.

However vivid the devastation, Beato's photograph by itself did little to explain the condition of China and its relations with the West. After the signing of peace accords between the Chinese government and the Western powers, which Beato tried unsuccessfully to photograph, he managed to photograph Prince Kung, brother of the emperor, who negotiated with representatives of the West. Kungs image, and Beato's views of war and commerce, were sold in both Asia and Britain.37

For the London firm of Negretti & Zambra, which manufactured scientific instruments for the world trade, the production of photographic equipment and of photographs was a profitable sideline from the mid-1850s. To increase their stock of foreign views, they hired Swiss photographer Pierre Joseph Rossier (1829-1883/98) to photograph in Asia. His work resulted in a series of stereographic views that showed scenes in the southern city of Canton (now Guangzhou) after it had been captured by the Western allies, as well as images made in Japan. Around the globe, photographs of international ports, wharves, and Western commercial buildings were regularly created.

Beato crafted a panorama of the British fleet in Hong Kong harbor (Fig. 4.32). Stereotypical images of indigenous peoples and local scenes also became popular.

4.32 FÉLICE A. BEATO, Panorama of Hong Kong Showing the Fleet for the North China Expedition, March 18-27, 1860. Panorama consisting of six albumen silver prints from five wet collodion glass-plate negatives, each mounted on paper and joined by Japanese tape. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The American expatriate photographer Milton M. Miller (active 1850s-70s) set up practice in the thriving city of Hong Kong, which had been deeded to the British in 1842. Miller acquired photographs of Beijing by Beato, which he marketed in addition to his portrait practice. Though active for only a few years, Miller worked in both Hong Kong and Canton, selling photographic prints and

producing images of influential Chinese and foreign citizens, as well as occasional city views. The standards for middle-class portraiture, developed in the West, were adapted to the tastes of a new, well-to-do Chinese clientele. Lavish furnishings, placed in an enclosure marked off by a cloth backdrop, formed the setting for people who dressed in fine clothing and displayed artistic treasures. Miller's portraits, mostly of the Chinese upper and middle classes, and persons working for foreign traders, usually show the sitters directly facing the camera (Fig. 4.33). A hint of expression is occasionally evidenced on a sitter's face, but as a rule the camera kept its distance from the sitter.

4.33 MILTON M. MILLER, Cantonese Mandarin and his wife, 1861-64. Paper print. Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Recent writing reveals the extent to which the Chinese understood photography as one of the Western technologies they needed to master. The reform effort of the 1860s known as the Self-Strengthening Movement embraced military machinery, the railroad, the telegraph, and to a lesser extent, the camera. Photographer Liang Shitai (also known as See Tay) (active 1870s-80s) created formal and informal photographs of the emperor's seventh son, Prince Chun Xian, blending Western imaging and Chinese representation. In Seventh Prince Feeding Deer, the prince, who dressed like a scholar, feeds a deer, a symbol of longevity (Fig. 4.34). The princes official seals are stamped on the photograph.38

4.34 LIANG SHITAI (SEE TAY), Seventh Prince Feeding Deer, 1888. Albumen Print. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The Scottish photographer John Thomson (1837-1921) observed what he thought to be a Chinese photographic aesthetic, which he satirized through the words of a fictional photographer, A-hung:

"You foreigners," says A-hung, "always wish to be taken off the straight or perpendicular. It is not so with our men of taste; they must look straight at the camera so as to show their friends at a distance that they have two eyes and two ears. They won't have shadows about their faces, because, you see, shadows form no part of the face. It isn't one's nose or any other feature; therefore it should not be there. The camera, you see, is defective... it won't recognize our laws of art."39

His remarks indicate the rapid growth of photography in China (see Fig. 4.35). Especially in Chinese cities such as

Hong Kong, which had established trade with foreigners, artists were employed to copy paintings of Chinese scenes for sale to Western business people and travelers. These images, rendered in a more three-dimensional style than was used in traditional Chinese painting, dwelled on what seemed unusual and exotic to Western eyes. Such elements as rickshaws and sedan chairs, and pictures of workers and tradespeople in typical dress, were also drafted into photographic practice. Chinese costume, particularly the bound feet of women (see Fig. 4.33), and Chinese punishments, such as the cangue (Fig. 4.36), were frequent subjects. With the arrival of photography in China in the 1840s, some Chinese copy-painters turned to reproducing photographs in paint. In time, after training in the studios of foreigners or under the tutelage of Western missionaries, they began making photographs. Hong Kong seems to have been a photographic training center for Chinese, who then went on to set up practice in other cities.

4.35 WILLIAM PRYOR FLOYD, Photographers' Studios (Floyd's studio among other studios, Queen's Road, Hong Kong), late 1860s-early 1870s. Albumen print. Gift of Mrs. W. F. Spinney, 1923. Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

Photography studios flourished in areas where colonial forces traded. Western photographers frequently hired Asian assistants, who soon set up their own rival businesses.

4.36 JOHN THOMSON, The Cangue, 1871-72, from China and its People, 1874. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The cangue was a Chinese punishment in which a wooden board was worn around the neck like a portable pillory. Photographs of Asian criminal punishments, especially beheadings, became a persistent theme in Western photography, beginning in the mid nineteenth century.

Unlike many Chinese photographers, who used the medium to augment their painting income, the famed Chinese photographer Afong Lai (1840-1900), probably did camerawork full-time. The quality of his work was noted in 1872 by Thomson, who wrote that "there is one Chinaman in Hong Kong, of the name Afong, who has exquisite taste, and produces work that would enable him to make a living even in London."40 Lai advertised his up-to-date knowledge of photographic processes, as well as the resources of his well-stocked studio. He also published an album of prints taken after the typhoon that hit Hong Kong on September 22, 1874 (Fig. 4.37).

HUT

4.37 AFONG LAI, Wreck of the Steamers" Leonor" and "Albay" Praya and Douglas Wharf Destroyed by Typhoon, 22 September 1874, from Hong Kong and Macao: The Typhoon of 22 September 1874. Albumen silver print. Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London.

By the time he became acquainted with Lai's work, Thomson had spent several years traveling around Asia making photographs. His work pattern was to settle in an area for a while, make images, then strike out for new territory. He moved to Singapore in 1863, but made long photographic excursions over the next three years to India, Siam (now Thailand), and Cambodia. His first book, The Antiquities of Cambodia, was published in 1867. By 1868, he had resettled in Hong Kong. Thomsons images may stand alone aesthetically (Fig. 4.38), but they were integrated with geographic observation, and with ethnographic research in his texts and lectures. Like other photographers aware of viewers' tastes, he took photographs of Chinese laborers, punishments (see Fig. 4.36), and street people. Thomson published six books of text and photographs on China, including Illustrations of China and its People (1873-74), a four-volume work of two hundred photographs produced by the COLLOTYPE process, an advancement that allowed images to be printed along with text.

4.38 JOHN THOMSON, Island Temple Foochow, Fukien Province, China, 1870-71. Stereograph. The Wellcome Library, London.

Japan

The introduction of photography to Japan seems to have come about in the early 1840s, through scientific exchanges between the Japanese and a small Dutch trading outpost. But the rapid growth of commercial photography in Japan began in the 1850s, coinciding with the modernization of the country. Although momentous economic and social changes began to transform the country, it is difficult to discern these alterations through the photographic images produced during the mid-nineteenth century. In 1853 and 1854, Commodore Matthew C. Perry used shows of force to establish political and economic relations between the United States and Japan, and helped start the process of modernization in that largely feudal country. On his second mission, Perry brought along a daguerreotypist, Acting Master's Mate Eliphalet Brown (1816-1886), who made photographs while Perry negotiated with the Japanese for

nearly five months. Along with wood engravings and lithographs, one-of-a-kind daguerreotypes illustrated Perry's official trip report to the United States Congress.41 Given widespread curiosity about Japan, which had been all but closed to foreigners, it was likely that Western and, in time, Japanese photographers would grasp the commercial potential for making views. From the late 1850s, a steady trickle of Western photographers entered Japan; by the early 1860s, Japanese professionals were serving a clientele of wealthy Japanese patrons, as well as foreigners. When Beato arrived in Japan from China, he probably saw the growing economic opportunity. The Illustrated London News for July 13, 1863, indicates that he had set up a studio in Yokohama. Despite the political conflict between pro- and anti-modernization supporters, Beato's views imaged a tranquil country, unchanged for centuries (Fig. 4.39). He also made images of what he called "native types," including hand-tinted, somewhat romantic images of the samurai, the Japanese warrior class, whose privileges were repealed as Japan modernized its armaments and built a centrally controlled military. Travelers were able to purchase photographs in a variety of sizes from Beato and other photographers who catered to travelers. Complete albums of topographical views or occupational types were also available. Beato kept his thumb on the pulse of public opinion. In 1864, when two British officers were murdered by a feudal lord and his entourage, their assailants were beheaded. Beato recreated the execution in a setting, and sold the images. Japanese samurai captivated the interest of foreign travelers, and many photographers, including Beato, satisfied the market by photographing them. Some even staged scenes of the samurai ritual suicide.

4.39 FÉLICE A. BEATO, Mount Fuji, 1868. Paper print. Old Japan Collection, Surrey, England.

Beato often photographed Mt. Fujiyama, the highest and most sacred mountain in Japan, either highlighting its reach through the clouds or the way in which it dominated the surrounding countryside.

Many of Beato's images were delicately hand-colored by Japanese artists, including Kusakabe Kimbei (1841-1934), who worked as a colorist before setting up his own studio in Yokohama (Fig. 5.7). Contact with Western photographers was presumably one of the main ways in which the Japanese learned photography. In 1872, Uchida

Kyuichi (1844-1875) made two photographs of Emperor Mutsuhito (1852-1912; r. 1867-1912) and Empress Haru-Ko, who ruled over Japan as it modernized (Figs. 4.40, 4.41). When offered for sale, these images quickly became popular;42 they were withdrawn from the market in 1873, however, when the government decided that they represented an inappropriate commercialization of the monarchs. Photographs of the emperor were not officially offered for sale again until 1889.43

4.40 UCHIDA KYUICHI, Mutsuhito, the Emperor Meiji, c. 1872. Albumen print. Richard Gadd Collection. Monterey Museum of Art, Monterey, California.

4.41 UCHIDA KYUICHI, Haru-Ko, the Empress of Japan, c. 1872. Albumen print. Richard Gadd Collection. Monterey Museum of Art, Monterey, California.

PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

During the 1850s and 1860s, the popularity of an extended trip to view ancient sites around the Mediterranean, often called the Grand Tour, stimulated the market for views of Italy, Greece, Palestine, and Egypt. Thomas Cook (1808-1892), founder of the popular Cook's Tours, escorted travelers to Egypt and the Holy Land, where he usually hired photographers to take group pictures. The books, prints, and stereographs produced by British photographer Francis Frith (1822-1898) were extremely popular. They introduced a generation of British viewers to the sights of Egypt and the Holy Land.

Frith's photographs in Egypt encompassed such well-known monuments as the pyramids at Giza, and less familiar works such as the buildings on Philae, an island in the southern reaches of the Nile near Aswan (Fig. 4.42). Frith was also a publisher of photographic books, and arranged his pictures of Egypt in such volumes as Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described by Francis Frith (1858-60). Like the photographs themselves, Frith's books mix the ancient and the modern; awestruck descriptions of ancient architecture are interspersed with amusing accounts of recent travels. Frith also worked on an 1862 edition of the Bible, which contained fifty-five of his Middle East photographs. Spurred, perhaps, by the popularity of his books on Egypt and the Holy Land, Frith and his assistants set out in 1859 to photograph every city and town in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, including historic monuments and natural sites.44 This encyclopedic urge,

which struck many photographers and publishers, resulted in thousands of images that were sold singly on newsstands and similar venues.
Philce.
....
1st Pylon of the
Great Temple
4.42 FRANCIS FRITH, First Pylon View of the Great Temple, 1850s. Wet collodion paper print. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
Frith's view of the deeply incised relief sculpture on the outer gate of Philae's temple of Isis is characteristic of his approach to Egyptian artifacts. He liked to include some local people, not simply to demonstrate the scale of the sculpture, but also to contrast the present with the past, and to let viewers glimpse contemporary Egypt.
While Frith photographed sites in the Middle East, Egyptian colonel and amateur photographer Muhammad Sadiq (sometimes Sadie Bey) (1832-1902) set out on a military mapping mission to explore Arabia. Although the exploration did not officially include photography, Sadiq was able to make the first-known photographs of the holy city of Medina (Madinah), where the Prophet Muhammad was born. In 1880, Sadiq accompanied a cortege of pilgrims from Egypt to Mecca (Makkah), where he produced a panorama of the Sacred Mosque with the draped Kaaba, or sacred structure, in the center (Fig. 4.43).
EVE
4.43 MUHAMMAD SADIQ, The Holy City, c. 1880. Albumen print.
TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEYS AND PHOTOGRAPHY
In the second half of the nineteenth century, the United States, Canada, and many European countries carried out numerous surveys of their own land, colonies, and foreign territories. Surveys were organized for a variety of purposes, including providing clean water to European settlers, transcribing the geology of an area, scouting routes for railroads, and recording archeological or architectural sites. Often the surveys were carried out by military engineers, who had already recognized the value of photography for determining artillery range and reproducing maps and sketches.
Because the terrain encountered by the foreign surveyors and the photographers who accompanied them was little known, the surveys' sponsors could not thoroughly predetermine what would be photographed. Nevertheless, photographers observed subtle cultural

guidelines when selecting, arranging, and framing their shots. For example, Christians associated photographs of the Middle East with the Bible, regardless of the initial intent or context of the image. Photographers were aware of the intellectual and emotional interaction viewers had with such photographs, and they understood its commercial potential. Consequently, they ignored contemporary conditions in places associated with the Bible, and stressed the very timelessness of the setting (Fig. 4.44).

4.44 LOUIS DE CLERCQ, Eighth Station of the Cross: Jesus Consoles the Daughters of Jerusalem, from Voyages en Orient: Les Stations de la Voie Douloureuse á Jerusalem (album 4), 1859-60. Albumen print. Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

While photographing castles built by crusaders in Syria and Palestine, French photographer Louis de Clercq (1836-1901) applied his spare, modernistic style to a photograph of the Way of the Cross-that is, the route of Jesus on the way to the Crucifixion 45 His Voyages en Orient 1859-1860 contained a separate album of these images.

Sergeant James McDonald, assigned by the British Royal Engineers to survey Jerusalem and later the Sinai, photographed early Christian inscriptions and pilgrimage sites. His images of the Sinai peninsula are composed almost as paintings (Fig. 4.45). As was typical of photographers traveling through the Middle East, McDonald regularly took ethnographic images.

4.45 JAMES MCDONALD, Distant View of Jerbel Serbal, from the Palm Grove, Wady Feiran, 1868-69, from Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai, part III: Photographs, vol. 2. Albumen print. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.

THE ABYSSINIAN CAMPAIGN, OR THE MAGDALA EXPEDITION

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish survey photography from the photography done by major powers during military campaigns. For example, during the Magdala expedition to Ethiopia, launched in 1867 by the British government when Christian missionaries and other Europeans were taken hostage by the emperor, the Royal Engineers furnished Sir Robert Napier's troops with a team of photographers. They reportedly managed to make an astounding fifteen thousand images, despite the hazards of conflict and the difficulties of terrain.46 As might be expected, the Magdala expeditionary photographers made

routine military photographs of leaders and troop formations. But they also created aesthetically attentive landscapes, including a view of the emperor's mountain fortress, together with images of indigenous houses, and pictures of the Ethiopians in typical clothing or with interesting implements.

DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY AND EXPEDITIONARY PHOTOGRAPHY

French photographer Désiré Charnay (1828-1915) received financial support from a branch of the French government for his photographs of pre-Columbian sites in Mexico, and locations associated with Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés (Fig. 4.46). Soon after returning to France, Charnay joined his country's 1863 expedition to Madagascar to extend French political and trade influence47 (Fig. 4.47). When Charnay returned to Mexico in 1864, he accompanied French troops who were sent to support Emperor Maximilian (1832-1867; r. 1864-67), who had been put on the throne by Napoleon III. After Maximilian was captured and executed by his rival Benito Juárez (1806-1872) in 1867, Charnay stayed in the United States for three years. He later ventured through South America, Java, and Australia, where his interest in writing about and photographing exotic landscapes, ancient ruins, and ethnographic types continued.

4.47 CLAUDE-JOSEPH-DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY, "Marou-Malgache-Marou," Three Women, from Album of a Mission in Madagascar, 1863. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Charnay used the rapidly accepted conventions for photographing non-Western peoples by comparing the bodies of three residents of Madagascar.

THE 49TH PARALLEL SURVEY

Photography of the shared northwestern border of the United States and Canada, running along the 49th parallel, was begun by an American survey team in 1857, and completed jointly with a British team of Royal Engineers from 1858 to 1861 (Fig. 4.48). Beginning in 1855, some members of the Royal Engineers had been given photographic training. Soon after, Sir John Burgoyne (1782-1871), inspector general of fortifications, originated a program of systematic training in photography under the direction of one Charles Thurston Thompson (1816-1868), official photographer to the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London. The photographer engineers were charged "to send home

periodical photographs of all works in progress, and to photograph and transmit to the War Department all drawings of all objects, either valuable in a professional point of view, or interesting as illustrative of history, ethnology, natural history, antiquities, etc."48 As in most surveys, scientists accompanied engineers to the borderlands. They wrote about the fossils, plants, and animals they encountered. The final map-making and scientific report writing took place in Washington, D.C., though it was never finished because the American Civil War pressed other duties on many of the contributors.49 The British photographers also joined expeditions in Palestine, the Sinai, China, India, Greece, and Panama.

4.48 PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN (ROYAL ENGINEERS), Cutting on the Forty-Ninth Parallel, on the Right Bank of the Mooyie River Looking West, 1860-61. Albumen print from wet collodion negative. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

GOVERNMENT SURVEYS IN THE UNITED STATES

In 1838, the United States Army Corps of Topographical Engineers became a separate branch of the military assigned to explore and map the undeveloped parts of the United States.50 The corps remained a military unit, capable of fighting, yet its work was directed toward the advancement of civilian enterprise and public works. After the Civil War, surveys of the American West covered vast regions. As the historian William Goetzmann observed, the corps could perform scientific exploration, such as mapping unknown terrain, while also serving political and commercial ends, such as scouting roads and railway passages for private entrepreneurs, which would, in turn, displace native peoples.51 Similarly, photographs of the American West could be simultaneously scientific, commercial, political, and aesthetically pleasing.

In the expansive lands west of the Mississippi River, surveys mixed dispassionate scientific investigation with research on the commercial potential of natural resources. Attempts to map possible routes for a transcontinental railroad line were spurred by pressure from settlers, from business, and by gold and silver finds, such as the discovery of the Comstock lode in 1859, near Virginia City, Nevada. Government surveys often had an encyclopedic mission, attempting to construct orderly records of Native American life, geology, plants, and animals, as well as investigate commercial potential. For instance, the huge Pacific

Railroad Reports included whole volumes on zoology.52

Photography and the Transcontinental Railway

After years of speculation and surveying, the United States Congress in 1862 authorized the construction of a transcontinental railroad. Two years after the end of the Civil War, Alexander Gardner was appointed chief photographer to the eastern division of the Union Pacific Railway. Along with images made by photographers under his supervision, his photographs were published in an album titled Across the Continent on the Kansas Pacific Railway (Route of the 35th Parallel). offered for sale in April 1869. The album included scenes of small-town life, settlers' homes, Native Americans, and military installations, as well as Gardner's primary topic, the construction of the railroad. Westward, the Course of Empire Takes its way shows workers and pioneers laying track at the end of the line (Fig. 4.49). The title alludes to a famous mural painted by Emanuel Leutze for the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C., completed in 1862 (Fig. 4.50). Gardner was working for Mathew Brady in Washington as the painting was being executed, and reports of its progress appeared in newspapers along the East Coast. The mural shows pioneers crossing the continent on horseback and in covered wagons; in applying the title to his static, posed photograph, Gardner may have hoped to associate the railroad with the sense of adventure and accomplishment depicted by Leutze.53

4.50 EMANUEL LEUTZE, Westward, the Course of Empire Takes its Way (Westward Ho!), 1861. Oil on canvas, 33 x 43 in. (84 x 110 cm). National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Andrew J. Russell (1830-1902), who had been the only officially assigned photographer in the American Civil War, was hired by the Union Pacific Railway to photograph the building of a northern route across the American West that competed with the proposed track of the Kansas Pacific, for which Alexander Gardner photographed. Russell's album The Great West Illustrated in a Series of Photographic Views Across the Continent; Taken along the Line of the Union Pacific Railroad was published in 1869 (Fig. 4.51).

4.51 ANDREW J. RUSSELL, Meeting of the Rails, Promontory Summit, Utah, 1869. Albumen print. Union Pacific Historical Museum, Omaha, Nebraska.

Russell's photographs celebrated the engineering feats required to build a

railroad across the rugged terrain of the western United States. His images of the meeting of the Union and Central Pacific railroads in Promontory Summit, Utah, on May 10, 1869, are part of the collective visual memory of Americans.

Timothy O'Sullivan and Survey Photography

The May 2, 1867, issue of the New York Times noted the departure of a "party of young men on an important surveying expedition to a section of the Rocky Mountains and the great basin westward."54 The journey, sponsored by the U.S. Congress and carried out by the United States Engineers, was directed by scientist Clarence R. King (1842-1901). The surveying party was to follow part of the proposed route of the transcontinental railroad, and included Timothy O'Sullivan as the official photographer. Like his colleague and friend Alexander Gardner, Timothy O'Sullivan journeyed through the American West after the Civil War. With King's survey, he made views of the strangely shaped lava domes that erupted from Pyramid Lake in Nevada (Fig. 4.52). While the survey wintered in Virginia City, Nevada, in 1868, O'Sullivan ventured several hundred feet underground into the Comstock mine, the most famous deposit of gold and silver in America.

4.52 TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN, Pyramid and Tufa Domes, Pyramid Lake, Nevada, 1878. Albumen print. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

O'Sullivan photographed members of the United States Geological Expedition of the 40th parallel clambering on the unusual rock formations in Pyramid Lake. But in this, his best-known image of the area, he showed it undisturbed by human presence. The far shore is only lightly suggested, while the bold diagonal composition suggests the tremendous volcanic forces that pushed up the domes.

O'Sullivan was scarcely back in Washington, D.C., when he joined another survey. The Darién Survey Expedition of 1870 set out to explore the isthmus of Darién (or Panama), led by Lieutenant-Commander Thomas O. Selfridge under the auspices of the secretary of the navy. The group also included sixty Marines, a show of force for the Panamanian people, who suspected that the proposed canal would endanger their way of life,55 O'Sullivan found photographing in the jungle difficult because of the humidity, the frequent rain, and the thick vegetation, which allowed little light to penetrate. Nevertheless, he produced more than two hundred stereo images and one hundred glass plates, 56 Some of his pictures adapt the Panamanian

landscape to Western tastes (Fig. 4.53), as Bourne had done in India (see Fig. 4.27).

4.53 TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN, The Nipsic in Limón Bay, at High Tide, 1871. Albumen print. George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.

O'Sullivan accompanied two other important American surveys: the 1871 United States Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian, commonly called the Wheeler Survey for its leader George Montague Wheeler (1842-1905); and an independent 1873 survey sponsored by Wheeler to photograph Native Americans and the ruins of a cliff-dwelling culture in the Canon de Chelly, in what is now Arizona (Fig. 4.54). The trip's reputation was tarnished in the press for having allegedly abandoned two white guides, and resulted in the shooting dead of several Native Americans. The photographs taken by O'Sullivan, however, depict none of the ill-feeling or tragedy of the journey, indicating that he, like many nineteenth-century photographers, understood that his documentary work was bound by his assignment and by commercial considerations.

4.54 TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN, Ancient Ruins in the Cañon de Chelly, 1873. Albumen print. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Preservation of the Wilderness: Yellowstone and Yosemite

Westward expansion and development in the United States were driven by political and economic motives, as well as spiritual yearnings for unity, which seemed to compromise the notion of the West as an inviolable wilderness. There were two Wests in American perception: the West of such natural resources as minerals, timber, and arable land; and the West of ancient Native American peoples, vast geological wonders, and trackless wilderness. The Gold Rush era and subsequent closing of the western frontier threatened to do away with a central psychic dynamic in American life-the attitude that, in a pinch, one could head out west beyond the taint of human society and live simply. Settlement and enterprise appeared to endanger the unique American landscape, but the wilderness seemed hostile to robust economic development. The history of photographic imaging of the Yosemite Valley in California and the Yellowstone area of Wyoming demonstrates how closely intertwined were the notions of pure nature and civilized progress.

Carleton E. Watkins (1829-1916) was not the first person to photograph the dramatic scenery of the Yosemite

Valley, but he was the best known and most influential. Another San Francisco photographer, Charles Leander Weed (1824-1903), had visited Yosemite in 1859. Watkins's early career brought him near Yosemite, to the vast Mariposa estate, where he was commissioned to photograph the property's mining activities. The photographs were used to entice foreign investors with the estate's gold and mineral potential. In his early commercial photographs, Watkins developed the practice of showing that human enterprise did not disturb the natural order (Fig. 4.1). He was one of the first American artists in any medium to construct a commercial sublime, rendering nature's grandeur with subtle, unobtrusive traces of new economic ventures.

Watkins probably made his initial 1861 trip to Yosemite in the company of one of the Mariposa estate's entrepreneurs.

He returned to Yosemite in 1865 and 1866, under the informal auspices of the California State Geological Survey, whose members studied the geology, biology, and mineral potential of the region, as well as likely sites for roads. The Gold Rush years had quickened American and foreign interest in California. Watkins, alert to opportunity, if not always adept in business matters, began a series of photographs at Yosemite, whose scenic beauty was already attracting both a growing curiosity back east and a few intrepid tourists. Like O'Sullivan at Pyramid Lake, Watkins preferred to show Yosemite as an Eden of unsullied awe. The absence of people accentuated the area as a prime site in which to witness the processes of nature.

Watkins's stereograph From the "Best General View" Mariposa Trail (Fig. 4.55) typifies the soaring sublime that he contrived to express in the expansiveness of the valley and the height of its crags. Although more tourists were arriving in Yosemite by the mid-1860s, Watkins still took his photograph from a vantage point that eliminated all traces of the human presence, and dislocated the view from contemporary life. Moreover, the viewer is not situated in a particular spot, but invited to soar above the valley, a feeling that would have been made all the more intense in stereographic viewing. German-American painter Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902) saw Watkins's photographs and magnified the conventions, creating sensational tourist-pleasing images of Yosemite as a primordial, cotton-candy-

swathed Alps.
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4.55 CARLETON E. WATKINS, From the "Best General View," Mariposa Trail, c. 1865-66, from Watkins's, Pacific Coast stereo series, no. 1134. Albumen print. Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.
Watkins's photograph shows the Yosemite Valley as he imagined it might have existed at the time of creation. The dark foreground area and the tall tree on the right help to inflate the three-dimensional effect of the stereograph by creating a sense of deep recessive space.
Eadweard Muybridge (1830-1904), who would later become renowned for his photographs of human movement (see here, here), also gained a national reputation as a photographer of Yosemite. Born in Britain, Muybridge settled in San Francisco. Following the success of Watkins's views of the valley, Muybridge made his first trip to Yosemite in 1867. By 1872, he was producing large-plate prints that competed with those of Watkins.
Muybridge's images of Yosemite frequently fill the sky with dramatic atmospheric effects. Even when he chose a point of view that would dangle the viewer over a precipice (Fig. 4.56), Muybridge did not imitate the hypnotic detail and airless clarity of Watkins's work. Muybridge sometimes printed cloud studies separately in the upper portion of his Yosemite scenes. He also relished moonlight effects, and invented a device that minimized overexposure of the sky, and thereby allowed clouds to appear. In Spirit of Tutohannula (1867), he responded to the American association of ancient peoples with wilderness by having an individual enact the ghostly presence of the Native American chief said to have lived on the summit of El Capitán in Yosemite. It was good practice for his staged photographs of the Modoc War (see Fig. 4.59).
4.56 EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE, Valley of the Yosemite from Union Point, c. 1872. Albumen print. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California.
William Henry Jackson's (1843-1942) photographs of the Yellowstone area, though not the first, were the images that became enduring visual symbols of this locale. Jackson began his photographic career coloring and retouching portrait photographs. His philosophical outlook on nature was informed by American writers such as Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), who saw nature as infused by a higher

spiritual intelligence. Nevertheless, Jackson was a shrewd businessman, and embellished his photographs with descriptive words such as "castle" and "temple" to describe the sites at Yellowstone. Jackson settled briefly in Omaha, Nebraska, where he made studio pictures and locale shots of the Pawnee, Otoe, and Omaha peoples living in the area. In the Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of American Indians by W. H. Jackson, Photographer of the Survey of 1877, he spoke of Native Americans in terms that were becoming increasingly prevalent. He saw them as dwindling vestiges of a primitive time in America, who could only purchase survival by adopting the values of white Americans.

Like several photographers of the West, Jackson worked for a government-sponsored survey. He joined the first official government and scientific survey of the Yellowstone area, directed by Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden in 1871.57 Previous explorations to Yellowstone, which would become the country's first official national park, aroused public interest in the area's geological wonders, as did the prospect of a rail service for tourists. Aware of public curiosity about the area, Hayden brought with him the landscape painter Thomas Moran (1837-1926), who had made sketches for a recent article in Scribner's magazine on "The Wonders of Yellowstone." He also invited sons and protégés of such powerful Washington politicians and lobbyists as Massachusetts senator Henry L. Dawes, the principal spokesperson in the campaign that resulted in Yellowstone being designated a national park in 1872.58 Along the way, Jackson made photographs of gold mining. But for his treatment of the Yellowstone geysers, such as Old Faithful, Wyoming (Fig. 4.57), he turned to retouching, embellishing the steamy emissions.

4.57 WILLIAM HENRY JACKSON, Old Faithful, Wyoming, 1870. Albumen silver print. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California.

WAR AND THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF NATIVE AMERICANS

The movement westward brought about regular conflicts with Native Americans, who fought removal from their ancient homelands and consolidation with other, unrelated groups.

The Modoc War

In northern California and Oregon, longstanding tension between the Modoc people and white settlers escalated

between 1872 and 1873. Unhappily moved by the United States. government to the Klamath Reservation in Oregon, many Modocs returned to their ancestral homelands along the California-Oregon border. In November 1872, cavalry troops arrived to remove the Modocs from settler-claimed land. Eventually the Modocs hid in caverns and depressions found in the rugged lava beds south of Tule Lake, where the remainder of the campaign against them was fought.

The terrain of the lava beds was so unfamiliar to the U.S. military that the Corps of Engineers was called in to make a reconnaissance.59 The photographer hired to record the topography and, perhaps, copy maps and sketches was Louis Heller (1839-1928). A German-born photographer who worked in California, Heller was the first to reach the war front. His images of Modoc prisoners were used on the cover of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper for July 12, 187360 (Fig. 4.58). At the time, Muybridge was a San Francisco photographer in the employ of Bradley and Rulofson, commercial photographers who sold images of California as well as current events.

FRANK BESLIE'S
ILLUSTRATED
THEELANT
NEWS PAPER
NEW YORK, JULY 13, 1912.
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4.58 LOUIS HELLER, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, July 12, 1873. Woodblock print from a photograph by Louis Heller. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The cover of the newspaper erroneously credited Heller's photographs of Modoc prisoners to Carleton Watkins. The note, in small print at the bottom of the page, tells readers that the images were derived from photographs, an increasingly common announcement that expressed the authenticity of the images.

His photographs of the troops and the locale were sent to Washington to show the difficult circumstances in which the military had been operating against the Modoc (Fig. 4.59). These pictures were also used to illustrate the June 21 issue of Harper's Weekly.

4.59 EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE, A Modoc Brave on the War Path, 1872-73. Paper print. National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.

Muybridge posed a Native American scout working for the U.S. Army as

an enemy Modoc brave, although he was not a Modoc.

The Fort Laramie Treaty

Although dozens of wars such as the Modoc War were fought between 1850 and 1886, the preparation, conduct, and aftermath of battles and skirmishes were seldom reported by the camera. Photographic portraits of Native American leaders were sometimes made, both in their own settlements and in towns where photographers maintained studios. Newspaper articles on the so-called Indian Wars were generally illustrated by artists' conceptions, rather than photographically derived pictures. From time to time, Native American artists rendered the engagements with paintings on animal hide.

A photograph taken by Alexander Gardner in 1868 of the participants in the peace talks and treaty negotiations at Fort Laramie (Fig. 4.60) shows Civil War general William Tecumseh Sherman (third from the right of the U.S. delegation), commander of the army's Division of the Mississippi, which included the Great Plains. Sherman took his Civil War philosophy of "total war" and applied it to relations with Native Americans, for whom it meant the annihilation of villages and supplies, as well as battle.61 The treaty negotiated at Fort Laramie in 1868 followed the war for the contested Bozeman Trail, which gave white settlers a passage westward. It came after the most decisive Native American victory in all of the western wars.62 Nevertheless, the May 1868 photograph visually reversed the temporary fortunes of war. It depicted the beaten white men in a physically superior position, even though the treaty they were negotiating was highly favorable to the Native Americans.

4.60 ALEXANDER GARDNER, Untitled (Commissioners, General Sherman among them, seated with Indians), May 10, 1868. Paper print. National Anthropological Archives, Washington, D.C.

Little Big Horn

The provisions of the 1868 Fort Laramie treaty were violated by both sides, each of whom entered the others territories. Survey parties scouting a route for the Northern Pacific Railroad entered Native American territory, where they clashed with warriors led by Sitting Bull. The discovery of gold in the Black Hills of present-day South Dakota motivated thousands of white miners to invade the legendary home of the Sioux gods.63 In 1874 Colonel George Armstrong Custer (1839-1876) led a

reconnaissance force of more than a thousand heavily armed troops. There were about one hundred wagons in his train, some carrying equipment to be used by the engineers, geologists, and other scientists who accompanied him. A photographer, W. H. Illingsworth (1842-1893), captured the expedition entering the Black Hills (Fig. 4.61). After several smaller battles, U.S. troops under Custer were thoroughly defeated at Little Big Horn in 1876. Custer's Last Stand, as it came to be called, inflamed the American public, whose support for harsher treatment of the Native Americans gathered strength during the last decades of the nineteenth century.

4.61 W. H. ILLINGSWORTH, Columns of cavalry, artillery, and wagons, commanded by General George A. Custer, crossing the plains of Dakota Territory during the 1874 Black Hills expedition, 1874. Paper print.

RETAKE

During the middle of the nineteenth century, photography not only accompanied conflicts and imperialist expansion, but also provided visual rationales for domination and the extension of economic power. For example, the Western presence in Asia was underscored by panoramas of Hong Kong. Despite lumber mills, railroads, and mines, views of the American West took on the look of a primordial paradise in the photographs of Timothy O'Sullivan and Carleton Watkins. In addition, indigenous people were portrayed as too weak or too wicked to be allowed to stand in the way of civilization.

The market for photographs grew, but not always in foreseeable ways. Across the globe, the practice of photography directly followed the expansion of Western interests. Expatriates, traveling businessmen, tourists, and viewers in Europe and America provided a ready market for pictures. Photographers and publishers continually speculated about new views and markets, and began traveling abroad, or sending photographers abroad, to seek their fortunes (see Fig. 4.35). In addition, the appetite for vernacular photography also expanded, ranging from tintypes of American Civil War soldiers to cartes-de-visite of presidents. Once Southworth and Hawes invited the public to come to their studio to see a pantheon of public figures. But in the middle years of the nineteenth century, people increasingly wanted to own images themselves and implicitly felt the right to see things photographed. Hence the desire for photographs sparked one of the first mass-marketed media.

Yet this proliferation of photographs proved to be a mixed

blessing: seeing many images eventually reduced the impact of each of them, and considerably hindered the emergence of a single image as a symbol of the conflict and a rallying point. As photographs achieved a new degree of topicality, they were also liable to lose value as their immediate newsworthiness faded. Together with mass-produced stereographic photographs and cartes-de-visite, war photographs taught viewers a modern skill: how to ignore or forget images when confronted by an excess of them.