



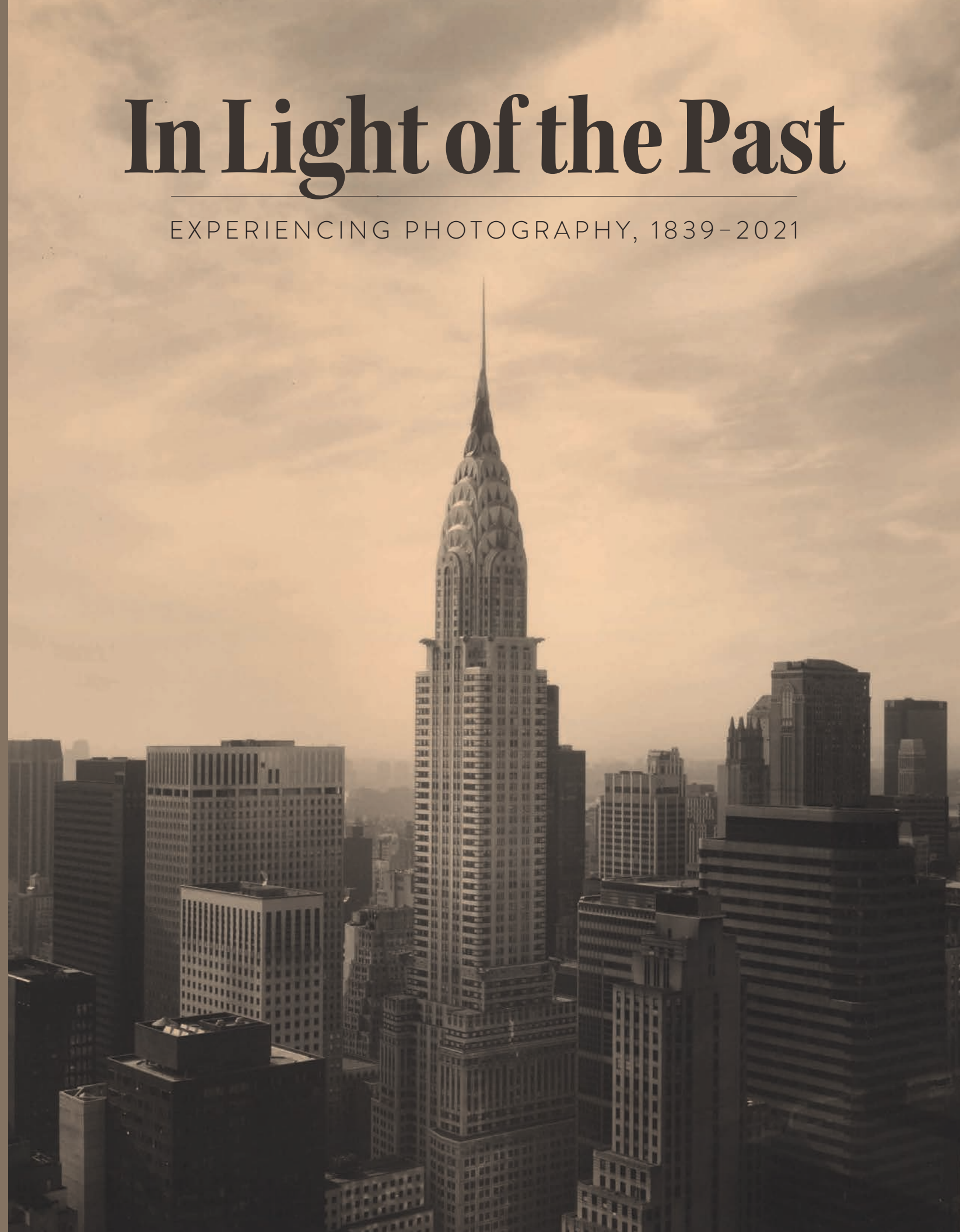
THE TROUT GALLERY
THE ART MUSEUM OF DICKINSON COLLEGE

IN LIGHT OF THE PAST: EXPERIENCING PHOTOGRAPHY, 1839-2021

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Tenzin Crowley

Hill Gobourne

Ana-Elena Karlova

Emma Larson-Whittaker

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Jackson Rhodes

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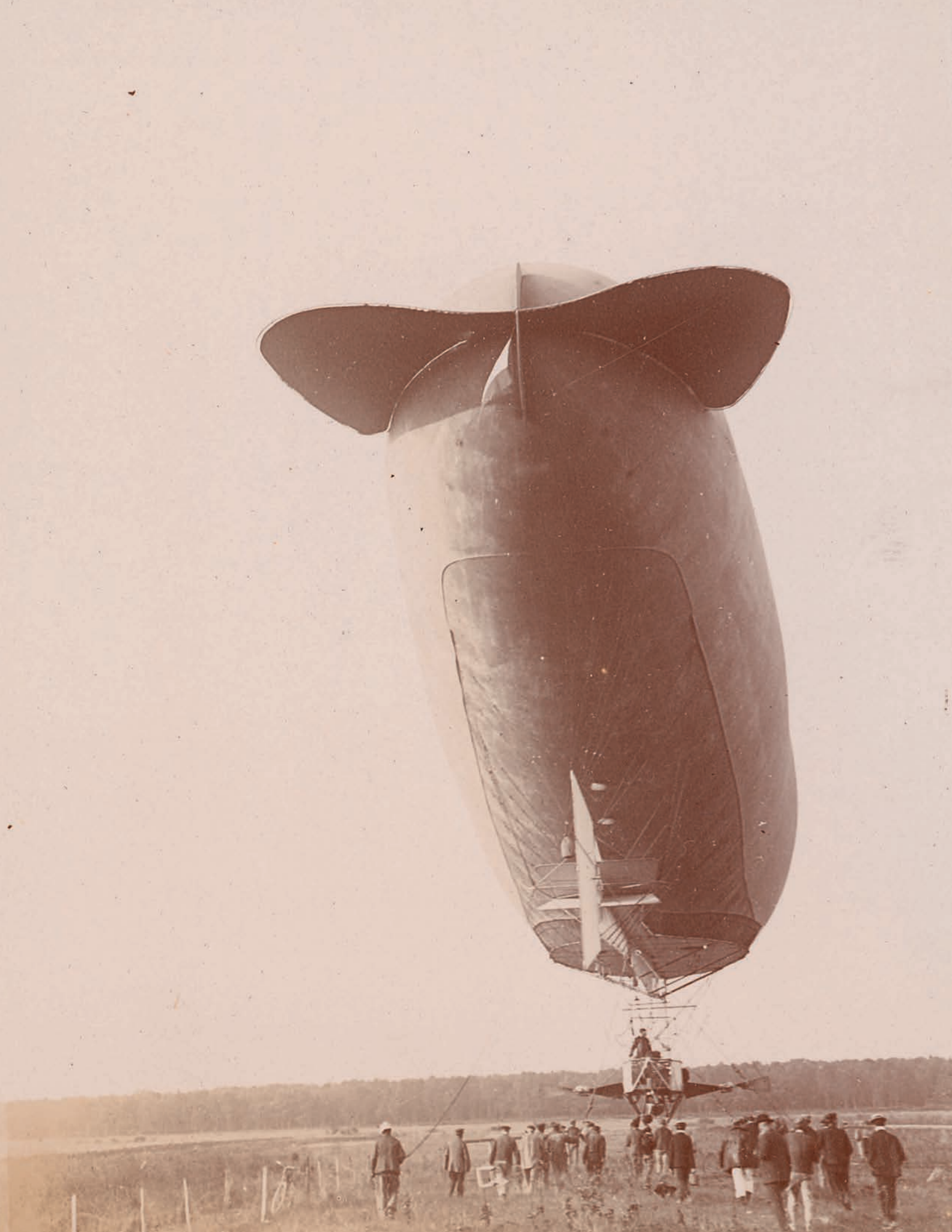
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Director's Foreword

Each year, The Trout Gallery collaborates with the Department of Art and Art History to produce an exhibition at the museum with the senior art history students. This project aims to provide the students with a demanding curatorial experience, one that requires them to work with the museum's collections and develop a broad exhibition concept, select works for display, provide interpretive materials for the visitors, conduct a narrow line of research associated with the works, and prepare a scholarly essay for the exhibition catalogue.

This is a particularly challenging assignment as it requires the students to organize an exhibition over the course of a one-semester seminar. Such a project would be a struggle for one person making all the decisions, let alone a curatorial team—in this case, six co-curators working together, five of them remotely over the entire course of the seminar. In addition to broad decisions, such as theme, object selection, and research, the co-curators are responsible for working with the exhibition designer and graphic artist to develop a cohesive plan and installation design for the exhibition, as well as with the graphic artist to oversee the museum's marketing publications. The students are also responsible for working with the museum's education staff to provide interpretive materials for visitors. The co-curators are not alone; they collaborate with a strong team of colleagues at The Trout Gallery and Dickinson College, who make the academic-professional experience rewarding and successful.

The origins of this student-centered curatorial project at Dickinson College date back well before the creation of The Trout Gallery in 1983. However, it was in the 1980s that such a program began to assume its current level of curatorial demand and complexity. In the period since, the exhibitions have continued to expand, in tandem with the museum's growth in resources, collections, and curatorial vision. Catalogues from past exhibitions chart this process nicely and can be found on the museum's website: www.troutgallery.org. While one may find student-centered curatorial projects conducted at other academic museums, few compare in depth and complexity to that provided by The Trout Gallery and the Department of Art and Art History collaboration at Dickinson College.

This year's curatorial project—*In Light of the Past: Experiencing Photography, 1839–2021*—is particularly broad. It encompasses a wide range of materials, drawn not only from The Trout Gallery collections but also from those of the college's Archives and Special Collections, as well as from the museum's long-term collaborator, the Cumberland County Historical Society (Carlisle). Such a pool of material is indeed rich, but it created additional demands on the curators, particularly those working remotely, due to the pandemic. This meant that the curators were unable to consult the objects directly, which was a particular drawback since the exhibition focused on firsthand knowledge of the objects. We were able to meet these challenges through photographs, cell-phone videos, Zoom meetings, as well as individual will, perseverance, patience, and a collective desire to produce a physical exhibition, something visitors could experience directly during this period of restricted movement, gathering, and socializing.

In my twenty-five years of working in museums and academia, there has never been anything quite like creating an exhibition with students during a pandemic. This is an intensely tactile profession, particularly for those in the curatorial ranks. Nothing can compare to spending hours at a time before works in the collection: studying them closely, getting to “know” them, deciphering all of the inscriptions, marks, labels, and damage that bear evidence to their history. Under the present circumstances, such was not possible. However, in an effort to make the process real and concrete, I sent each of the co-curators a craft kit to create their own camera obscura. My aim was to remind them of the course and their responsibilities, to provide them with a ready reference tool on the fundamentals of a camera, and to leave them with a memento, a token, of this experience that might find a place on their bookshelf or desk. Whenever I see the small camera obscura on my desk, I will recall the hard work, good spirit, cheer, and optimism the six co-curators brought to this project and made it a success.

Phillip Earenfight
Director, The Trout Gallery



Introduction: Reflections on Experiencing Photography 1839–2021

Phillip Earenfight

I. Light from a Camera Obscura

“Let’s look at pictures.”

It was never clear what inspired this periodic call to action, but once or twice a year, one of my four sisters or two brothers would lead the charge to the living room closet and summon all the others in the family to join in. There was no set date or required passage of time to bring down the picture box; it was more of a spontaneous decision. Growing momentum would soon lead the tallest of my siblings to pull the corrugated cardboard cornucopia to the carpet of the living room floor. At that point, the folded flaps of the well-worn box would open to many hands, each pulling out piles of photographs.

So the ritual began.

A few of the photos were framed, but most were loose. Some were in color with textured matte surfaces and rounded corners, but most were shiny black-and-white images with crisp white borders. Several included the month and year stamped on the back or somehow exposed onto the border itself. They ranged in size; some measured 8 by 10, but most were 4 by 5 or smaller. Many were dog-eared, creased, and torn. Formal portraits were embossed in gold script letters that read “Wally’s” or “Brown Studio / Mitchell.” Piles upon piles. Photo albums were few to be found, except a large white one from Mom and Dad’s wedding. By the time the box was empty and a substantial mound of photographs occupied the center of the room, my parents would join us, carrying cups of black coffee, a red-and-white pack of Winstons, and a sizable zodiac ashtray that one of my sisters had made in art class. Most of us would sit around the photos. Dad would recline on his side, a pillow tucked under his arm, smoke swirling like incense: a Buddha.

“That’s me!” “Who’s this?” “I remember that.” “Is this Dad in Korea? Is that why’s there’s a gap between Jane and Colleen?” “Where was I when this picture was taken?” “Is that Grandpa Singaas in the hospital?” “Was I born yet?” “There’s our house in Pipestone.” “Is that Aunt Iola’s farm?” “Who’s grave is this?” “Where was this wedding?” “How come there are so many pictures of my sisters and none of me?”

Photos would pass from hand to hand as stories of our family unspooled. Mom was an unreliable narrator. She would repeatedly identify me as a baby in a photo that was clearly stamped “Mar 61” on the margin, a year before my birth. Her memory was fluid and unencumbered by facts. One would expect Dad to add to the narrative, since he took most if not all of the photographs. But he knew better. Truth and a good story were uneasy companions.

Free of albums, scrapbooks, and labels, the random piles of loose photographs were left to chance order, coincidental discovery, curious identification and interpretation, constant reordering and retelling. Multiple narratives were a matter of course. As this ritual was repeated time and again, my older sisters gathered the stories and slowly assumed the role of knowledge keepers. Navy. Fishing. Cemeteries. Farm. School. Houses. Weddings. Cars. Baptisms. Graduation. Finishing off the roll of film.

Many of the photographs had words written on the margins or across the back. Often they made sense; almost as often they contradicted the visuals. The writing was usually in my mother’s inimitable cursive hand. Rolling waves of lowercase Ns, Ms, Is, Us, Vs, Es, and Ls—all made with the same looping stroke, each indistinguishable from the next. At least she wrote in a language we could read. Not true for her sudden bursts into Norwegian, which were inspired by the sight of any photo of her family. The inscribed photos from Grandma bore a shaky hand that only Mom could decipher.

Negatives. All those negatives. So many tucked into sleeves, folders, and envelopes with inner pockets—all hopelessly separated from their corresponding prints. Numbered lists, ready for the reprint orders that never came. Many of the

*The photograph does not necessarily say what is no longer,
but only and for certain what has been.*

—Roland Barthes¹



Fig. 1. John Earenfight, *Pipestone*, MN, 1963, gelatin silver print, private collection

negatives were black and white, in all different sizes, and many more came in long narrow strips of brownish orange film. “Don’t get your fingerprints on them—you’ll ruin them.” It was curious how something so unrecognizable could reproduce a moment in time so familiar, so dear. They held the past darkly, latent, awaiting transformation. But like a script that few could read, they were rarely consulted and eventually discarded. The text lost.

Photos could be raided for show-and-tell, another ritual in mythmaking. Once, I showed my kindergarten classmates a picture of my mother as a little girl, and I proudly told them how I was there when the photo was taken. Mrs. Scales’s response puzzled me.

Suspenders, plaid pants, wall-to-wall carpet, glitter-covered Christmas tree skirt, cardboard fireplace. *Stadium. Punctum* (fig. 1).

Kodachromes. Ektachromes. Compact yellow and white boxes with slide-away sleeves. Inside, slices of the past stacked neatly in paper mounts factory stamped with dates and sequential numbers. Surely Mom couldn’t confuse these events. Those without the patience to wait for my brother Steven to replace the batteries in our Pana-Vue® slide viewer would hold a slide up to a dining room lamp and squint to decipher the past. Eventually, the viewer would find its way into their impatient hands, and the dark squares of film would come to life in a way no paper photograph ever could. Glowing vivid color. A window into the past. Once in a while, we would run next door to borrow a slide projector from the Olesons. Like a vision, the past was made large and cast upon the wall; the camera obscura realized. For want of a projector, the slides remained more often than not in their yellow and white boxes. On rare occasions they were made

into prints, but usually they went underappreciated and eventually lost.

Lack of appreciation, however, was not a problem with their 8mm-reel counterparts, which, upon their excavation from the pile, resulted in a run for the movie projector in the closet and the unwieldy three-legged portable screen. Moving images of the past lit up the dark room. Plato’s cave was never brighter, more alive, more convincingly real. Theresa getting her fingers pinched in the springs of the rocking horse, or was it Liz? Toddlers racing toward the movie camera, only to flee the blinding photo floodlights. The footage was raw, the cuts jarring and frequent. Unmistakable gestures captured at sixteen frames per second. Silent. The present whereabouts of these films? Unknown.

Through photographs, each family constructs a portrait-chronicle of itself—a portable kit of images that bears witness to its connectedness.

—Susan Sontag²

The box contained all sorts of items, not just photographs. Bronze baby shoes of my two oldest sisters—working-class reliquaries. A tiny ID bracelet from the hospital nursery: Earenfight Male 4/27/62. Crucifixes wrapped in palm fronds. Japanese silk sandals. A red-lacquer music box that played a Chinese melody popular among Americans. Long colorful scarves. Photographs of cherry blossoms. A photo of Dad and his Navy buddies in front of a miniature cardboard boat, bottle in hand. Richard brought it to school for an assignment; Sister did not approve.

When a photograph entered the home, it usually arrived in an envelope wrapped in paper and bound with promise: photos recently back from the drugstore, school pictures, a snapshot from relatives tucked into a letter, the annual Christmas photo-card. The excitement of opening a new bundle of photos was contagious. One couldn’t view them fast enough to keep pace with those in line wanting to see them next. And nothing was more disappointing than a suspiciously thin envelope with no prints and a folder filled with completely clear negatives. What went wrong? Time gets its revenge.

Polaroid’s instant camera changed all that in the 1960s. It shortened the wait time from a week to sixty seconds. But that minute spent wondering if the picture turned out only increased the excitement. How we got the camera is beyond me. We didn’t even have a color TV. All I know is that it was



Fig. 2. Wally's Studio, Mitchell, SD, December c. 1965, chromogenic print, private collection

my job to mark sixty seconds on my Timex watch and then peel the finished print from its black facing paper, which was covered in gooey photo chemicals. I was instructed to hold the photo by one of its corners, so as not to smudge the still-wet emulsion, and to wave it in the air to dry it. In theory, if we didn't like the picture, we could take another. However, that rarely happened. The dial on the camera always reminded us of the number of exposures left in the camera and the cost of the film pack.

My time spent peeling apart instant photographs earned me a promotion; I was allowed to use the camera. For my first photograph I documented the catch of the day down at the creek: Richard and Steve in bright white T-shirts hold six bullheads on a stringer. I was told to center the viewfinder on my brothers. I did and managed to cut off everybody's heads, except those of the fish.

The box of photos was the source from which narratives flowed. Some of the photos were given special places of honor. Family portraits and graduation pictures decorated the walls and rested on tables, bureaus, and the entertainment unit. A medieval dynasty in one generation. The greatest coup was orchestrated by my older sisters, who had the means, a driver's license, and the wherewithal to schedule a formal portrait of the kids as a surprise Christmas present for our parents (fig. 2). My sisters came up with the ploy to say that we were going to evening Mass—it happened to be a holy day of obligation after all. Little did our parents know that we had already been to Mass at school that day. I reveled at the thought of using Mass as a cover to do something *fun*. Wrong. We actually did go to Mass, *again*. I shook my head at the lost opportunity. The effects of two Masses in one day did not dampen my spirits. It was worth the bow tie and

a trip to the photographer. Richard, in his dark blazer and paisley tie, looks the heir apparent. He has Roman numerals after his name. It sounded English.

Roman numerals notwithstanding, there were no daguerreotypes in the pile. No tintypes. No Civil War stories. No claims to the *Mayflower*. No sacred bloodlines. On the Plains, the family tree grew straight from the soil with the corn and the wheat. The photos on the carpet laid claim to our land, defined our seed. There was talk of a legendary photo album on my Dad's side that traced his generations in Minneapolis. It was last seen at my parents' wedding. But the page with a picture of the hanged horse-thief sealed its fate. The album withdrew in shame to distant kin to even more distant kin to attic to executor to antique store.

A family's photograph album is generally about the extended family—and often, is all that remains of it.

—Susan Sontag³

Some of the photographs were framed, but these were always family portraits. Photographs meant pictures, not art. Praying hands, an old man with a loaf of bread, a lacquer box from Japan—that was art. That, and what appeared under "art" in the green and white volumes of the *World Book Encyclopedia*, which anchored the living room bookshelf.

Life magazine was different. It lived on the living room coffee table next to the zodiac ashtray and the pipe stand I got Dad for Christmas one year with the S&H Green Stamps I had collected. Here, photographs by other people, of other people found a place in our home. Most copies ended up as source material for grade-school collages; what remained was hog-tied into a pile on the garage floor. Except for the special issues. They found their way into the box as well. Here I saw Martin Luther King Jr. lay in his coffin and Robert F. Kennedy die on the kitchen floor. This is where the Vietnam War occupied our living room.

By the time cameras became pocket-sized and instamatic, the photo ritual was less of an event; it became a feature of holiday reunions when my older siblings returned from college or the Air Force. But as bedrooms turned into guest rooms, the photo ritual became increasingly intimate. At some point, looking through photos became a private endeavor. When Dad passed, the box of photos remained with Mom, a cardboard ark to be carried from home to

apartment to guest bedroom. She took only a few photos with her to hospice.

Working-class and alienable, the ark was an inheritance destined to division. But how would Solomon divide a photo? Reprints? (Good luck finding the negatives.) High-resolution scanning, limitless file copying, and internet databases now make sharing equitable and possible, even among seven siblings, let alone grandchildren.

*By replicating the work many times over,
it substitutes a mass existence for a unique existence.*

—Walter Benjamin⁴

But something is lost. For want of a landed estate, the narrators, the photos, and the ritual go separate ways.

The curators arrive.

II. *Experiencing Photographs Over Time*

In Light of the Past rests on a single organizing question: how do we—how did others—experience photographs? I posed this expansive question to the six co-curators of this exhibition, all of whom were born within a year or so of the invention of the digital camera phone in 1999.⁵ Thus, unlike the “boomer” experience described in the personal essay above, their primary experience with photography is entirely digital and integrated fully in the ubiquitous communication device that shapes every aspect of their lives. The exhibition is, in many ways, an effort to contextualize current photographic practice within the broader history of photography, beginning in 1839 with the pioneering developments of Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre and William Henry Fox Talbot. Indeed, an underlying thread in the exhibition is to consider how our current experience of photographs, despite vast changes in image making and distribution, is related to previous practice. The exhibition illuminates how, on a fundamental level, photographs satisfy human needs that transcend the appearance of one or another development in this technology-laden medium.

For example, the size of our hands and the pockets in our clothes determined the size of wallets, which determined the size of “wallet photos,” which so many of us boomers carried in our wallet photo inserts, next to our credit cards and driver’s license. Likewise, the size of our hands and our pockets

determined the size of cellphones, which determined the size of photos on a smart phone. Thus, wallet photographs and cellphone photographs are essentially the same size, not by coincidence. The difference is that cellphones not only store photos but also enable us to create and easily distribute a vast number of them to countless individuals in seconds. Such differences in function and scale aside, the sharing of digital photos, particularly among friends, companions, and colleagues follows the same ritual. Several times a day in the company of one or others, a word, a thought, or passing reference compels us to reach into our pockets to retrieve an image that measures little more than a few inches on a side. We pass our cellphone to the audience in question and share the image and the story that accompanies it. Inevitably, this image/story-sharing ritual demands reciprocity, and no sooner than we have shared our photos, our companions eagerly do likewise. Often, “copies” of favorite photos are passed back and forth, phone to phone. No negatives here. No waiting for reprints. Instant photography perfected. This ritual builds and fortifies relationships. It is especially valuable among those who frequently find themselves away from those whose images fill their phones.

In organizing an exhibition with such a broad, not to say intimidating, curatorial mandate, one can only address a select number of ideas and concepts, leaving out countless others. Indeed, even with more than 130 images in this exhibition, much remains unmentioned. Moreover, since the works in the exhibition are drawn largely from the collections of The Trout Gallery and the Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections, the material is skewed in many ways. However, since the exhibition is driven by broad concepts, a little-known image can stand in place of one that is more familiar and articulate the same point. This exhibition does not pretend to be comprehensive or encyclopedic in any way. On the contrary, it aims to provoke thought and raise questions about the photographic image and how we, as viewers, experience it in a variety of ways. It seeks to stir interest in imagery and experiences we too easily take for granted in the image-saturated world in which we live.

The starting point for sorting through the various ideas and concepts for this exhibition was to consider the physical nature of photography from its origins in 1839 to the present, and how photographs, in their various formats, shaped and responded to human experience. What follows here is a brief chronological survey of some of the essential ways we have experienced photographs.⁶



Fig. 3. R. Adams, *Dickinson College President Charles Collins*, c. 1860, ambrotype, Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections, AC 0796 (cat. 11)

Beginning in 1839, there emerged two types of photographic objects (fig. 3): case photographs — those made through a direct process (no negatives) that fixed the image on glass or metal plates mounted within closeable hinged cases

(daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, ferro- or “tin” types) and those made on paper (through a paper-negative process) and were experienced as if they were individual prints or leaves hand tipped into a book (figs. 4-5). Initially, the incredible detail



Fig. 4. Louis Alphonse de Brébisson, *Five Women Visiting by a Window*, c. 1849, vintage platinum paper negative; potassium fixed paper negative, The Trout Gallery, gift of Charles Issacs and Carol Negro, 2015.17



Fig. 5. Digital reversal of fig. 4

and magical quality of the “mirror with a memory” of the daguerreotype rendered it the most impressive photographic image type. However, the coarse, textured images produced with paper negatives generated a following that valued the more artistic appearance of the prints. In either instance, the nature and experience of the photographic image was predicated on preexisting formats: the portrait miniature in the example of case photographs, and loose prints to be experienced as is, mounted within a frame or incorporated into volumes or folios of etchings and drawings, in the example of paper-based prints. In both scenarios, the photographic work quickly assumed established formats and viewing environments that were predominantly domestic in nature.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, innovations—particularly along the line of the negative/positive photographic processes of Fox Talbot—led to the creation of glass-plate negatives that delivered the much-sought-after sharpness and clarity of daguerreotypes with the potential for limitless prints from a single negative. This confirmed the

negative/positive method as the future for making photographs over the course of the next century and fueled the production of an infinite number of mounted paper prints (fig. 6), which were rapidly consumed by a public eager to collect images of themselves, others, and a wide variety of places and things (cartes-de-visite, cabinet cards). This gave rise to photo albums and photographic scrapbooks (fig. 7) as a way to order and experience such imagery. Among the most novel and the popular photograph format of its time was the stereograph card (fig. 8). For a rare moment in the history of the medium, the viewer experienced the photograph in a way that attempted to re-create the effect of seeing things in three dimensions.

Of equal importance was the introduction of photo-based applications in the printing industry. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, much effort was spent on finding ways to incorporate photographic processes into the printing industry by applying light-sensitive properties onto the surfaces of printing plates, which would be used



Fig. 6. Photographer unknown, *Men's dormitory, Dickinson College*, c. 1895, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, RG 6 Non-Academic Rooms (cat. 42)



Fig. 8. John Nicholas Chaote, *Beauties of Carlisle and Surrounding Country [Dickinson College]*, 1878, albumen prints mounted on stereographic card, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, RG5 Buildings & Grounds



Fig. 7. Paul Ellsworth Hodge, *Scrapbook*, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Paul Hodge, Box 5, Folder 9, Gallery, 2020.23 (cat. 89)



Fig. 9. Edward Steichen, *Mary Learns to Walk*, photogravure, from *Camera Work*, XLII and XLIII, 1913, edited by Alfred Stieglitz, The Trout Gallery, museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2020.22.4 (cat. 96)

to quickly print vast quantities of images. Although ink-based printing processes such as the photogravure (fig. 9) and woodbury process produced stunning photograph-like results, they were no less time-consuming to produce than making photographic prints, or printing etchings or engravings. However, such processes served the artistic community and expanded the creative aspects of photography, and contributed to the long-standing effort among many photographers to define their craft and science as art.

The question of whether photography was a form of art emerged not long after Daguerre and Talbot released their inventions to the world. Much of this debate raged on among the various photographic associations and academies in Europe and eventually the United States well into the twentieth century, when it was largely regarded as an academic exercise. Over the course of the debate, various strategies emerged to justify photography as an art, including those by photographers who sought to imitate paintings and those who sought to realize the inherent qualities of photography and to eschew imitation of prevailing painting styles (fig. 10). These groups organized exhibitions, salons, and displays in the major photographic centers of Paris, London, and New York, and produced illustrated publications to advance the status of photography among the visual arts. While some of these projects did bring art photography to the masses, as at the grand world's fairs and expositions, one must wonder how many members of the general public ever saw such photographs. For example, the most important photographic journal in early twentieth-century America—Alfred Stieglitz's *Camera Work*, which featured remarkable photogravures of the Photo-Successionists—had a circulation of only a few hundred. While the twentieth century produced



Fig. 10. William B. Post, *Apple Trees in Blossom*, c. 1897, vintage platinum print, given in honor of the 40th reunion of the Class of 1972 by Wilford W. Scott, '72, P '02 and Siena F. Scott, P '02, 2012.7

its share of publishers willing to invest in producing costly art books and journals for a small, elite audience, the future of the printed photograph rested in the refinement of large-scale offset printing. Indeed, over the course of the century, advances in printing increased the volume of photographic imagery experienced by the public and reinforced its role as the way most people would experience photographs, including those made for artistic purposes.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, new innovations included portable cameras, the silver gelatin print, and Autochromes—the first color photographs on glass (fig. 11). Perhaps most significantly, though, from an experiential perspective, was the establishment of a photo-processing industry, led by the Eastman Kodak Company, which promoted its services with the slogan “you push the button and we do the rest.” In essence, Kodak separated the process of “taking” pictures (exposing film in the camera) from “making” pictures (processing film and producing prints). This division of labor made photographers out of everyone and gave birth to the snapshot—the informal, spontaneous photograph of one's friends and family members that was to be the most widely experienced genre of photography (fig. 12).

Aside from looking at photographs, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century audiences witnessed the development of looking at projected images of photographs. This was achieved by modifying the photographic glass-negative process to result in a glass positive (fig. 13) that could be inserted into a magic lantern projector and cast onto a distant wall. This led to an entire industry that prepared ready-made slides for illustrated lectures, presentations, and entertainment. As with other photographic developments, the concept

and experience of viewing projected photographic imagery built on preexisting formats, markets, and practices—in this case, the huge popularity of the magic-lantern slide industry, which dates to the eighteenth century. Of course, the greatest development in the realm of projected photographic imagery was the introduction of flexible roll film, which, combined with ongoing efforts by photographers such as Eadweard Muybridge (fig. 14) to capture motion through a series of sequential images, led to the Lumière brothers' development of cinematography, which revolutionized all previous notions of a picture show and fully realized the notion of a camera obscura.

The introduction of Kodachrome and Agfachrome color slide film in 1935 and 1936, respectively (fig. 15), marked a turning point in what had been largely a black-and-white medium. Although earlier efforts such as Autochromes (another of the Lumière brothers' inventions) revealed the great interest in color photography, the arrival of these new films transformed

expectations of the medium. Finally, there was a color process equal to black-and-white photography. However, the experience of color slides as “photographs” was never easy or convenient. The need for illuminated slide viewers, costly projectors, and cumbersome screens ensured that 35mm slides would remain a niche market for the general public. There was never a wallet-sized slide. That said, the public nevertheless experienced this new medium whether it knew it or not, since it was the basis for color printing processes and essential to color cinematography. The latter is particularly important, since by the 1930s, the nascent motion picture industry was already seeking ways to integrate sound into movies. By the 1940s, the successful synchronization of sound with color film would create a medium that would rival the experience of live stage productions.

Shortly after World War II, black-and-white snapshots gave way to the introduction of color negative film and color prints (fig. 16). In the decades that followed, black-and-white

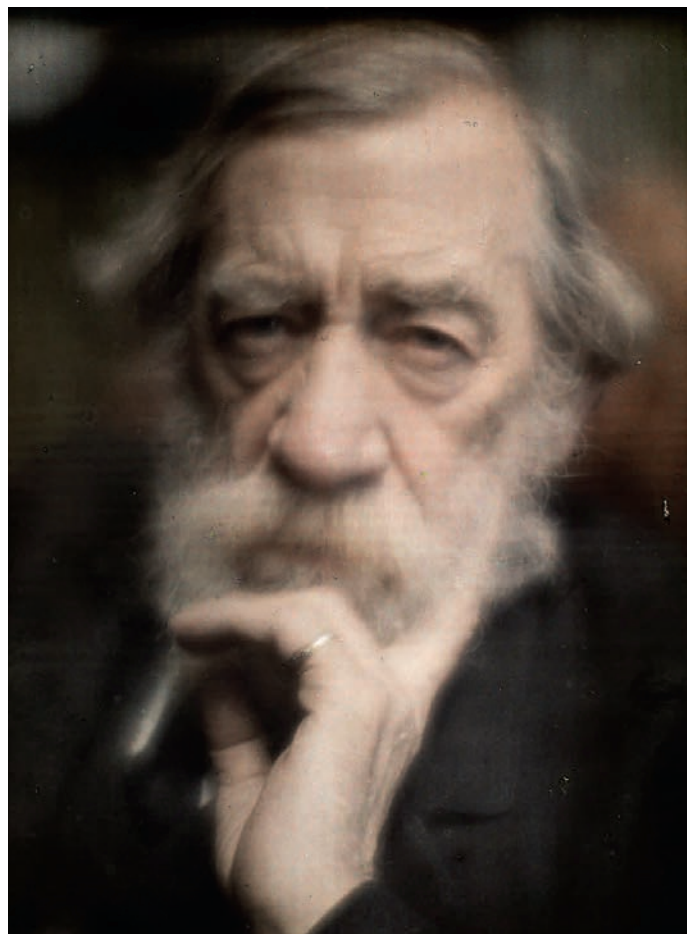


Fig. 11. Edward Steichen, *Moncure D. Conway*, 1907, Autochrome, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, PC 1999.6 (cat. 123)



Fig. 12. Photographer unknown, *Ruth Trout '36 and Helen Trout in a Swimming Hole Next to a Car*, c. 1920, gelatin silver on paper, Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections, MC 2005.01, Folder 50 (cat. 52)

photography moved slowly but increasingly from most viewers' experience to what are known as "specialty" markets, which includes fine-art photography. In terms of experiencing photographs, the second half of the twentieth century saw the increasing dominance of color images over black and white, both as photographic images made of light-sensitive materials and dyes and as photographic images printed with ink in magazines, journals, and books. The new breed of photo-pictorial magazines such as *Life* and updates to more traditional magazines such as the *National Geographic* magazine stood at the intersection of these two trends, shaping how entire generations experienced photography. Daily newspapers, ever challenged by narrow press deadlines and the exorbitant cost of four-color process printing, would remain committed to black-and-white photography until the last decades of the century.

Time has always been a factor in experiencing photographs, particularly the time between exposure of the photographic

material and delivery of the finished image. With daguerreotypes, a direct-image process that does not rely on an intermediate negative, a sitter could expect to wait less than an hour from the moment they entered the photographer's studio to the time they departed, daguerreotype in hand. However, as photography became increasingly industrialized, the time between taking a picture and receiving the finished prints from the photo lab could be as much as a week or two. This lag was frustrating for viewers, who reveled at the thought of seeing their images immediately, and professionals, who sought a reliable proofing medium for studio photographers. Edwin H. Land resolved this problem in 1948, with the invention of instant photography, which he sold through Polaroid, a company he had created in 1937. After a series of improvements to film, self-processing chemistry, and camera, photographers were able to enjoy photographs only a minute after exposing them (fig. 17). This development fundamentally altered



Fig. 13. C. T. Milligan, Philadelphia, *Carlisle Indian School Portrait on the Parade Ground*, 1880, lantern slide, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, CIS-P-0042 (cat. 118)



Fig. 14. Eadweard Muybridge, *Animal Locomotion*, Plate 627, 1887, collagraph, The Trout Gallery, gift of Samuel Moyerman, 1987-4-76 (cat. 92)



Fig. 15. Author, Kodachrome transparency taken at the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, Italy, private collection



Fig. 16. Photographer unknown, Unidentified friend of Allen C. Tanner (Chicago), August 1976, chromogenic print, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, PC 2013.3, Folder 115 (cat. 80)



Fig. 17. Andy Warhol, *Lucio Amelio*, 1975, instant / dye diffusion print, The Trout Gallery, gift of the Andy Warhol Foundation, 2008.6.70 (cat. 104)

the experience of photography, sitter and photographer could respond to the results of an exposure before their eyes. This dynamic changed the social experience of taking photographs, whereby the results of one photograph would affect, indeed, prompt the taking of the next. This remains its enduring appeal. However, like daguerreotypes, instant photographs have no intermediate negative and are thus unique images. No reprints are possible. Not until the invention of digital photography would it be possible to have a direct image process create an instant result that was infinitely reproducible.

Which brings us to digital photography. The story of Steven Sasson's invention of the digital camera is often told. It describes how, in 1973, he was a recent hire at Kodak and given the task of checking out the potential of the charged coupled device (CCD)—a semiconductor chip with a grid of light-sensitive elements used for converting light images into electrical signals—which had been invented a few years earlier. After two years of work, Sasson combined the CCD with an array of parts from a variety of devices, including a digital cassette recorder, a camera lens, batteries, scores of circuits, and several circuit boards, to form what would be the first digital camera (fig. 18).⁷ The prototype did not convince executives at

Kodak of its commercial viability. Despite numerous meetings and presentations, the corporation's leadership was steadfastly committed to silver-based film and papers, over which it held a dominant share at the time.⁸ "They were convinced that no one would ever want to look at their pictures on a television set," Sasson reflected.⁹ Despite owning the patent for Sasson's invention, Kodak failed to capitalize on its potential. Others did and within two decades, digital cameras hollowed out film and paper sales, and Kodak dropped into an economic freefall from which it never recovered. The invention of the cellphone camera in 1997 set in motion a process that effectively eliminated silver-based film photography from all but a number of niche markets.

In terms of experience, cellphone cameras exceeded user expectations in every possible way. Like an instant camera, the photo files could be viewed and enjoyed by photographer and sitter(s) moments after capture, making it a hub and vehicle of social activity and interaction. Also, one could take countless digital photographs at no extra cost. And most importantly, they could be shared instantly through email to a number of contacts, expanding the social context exponentially. Moreover, cellphone cameras fit in your pocket and take remarkably good pictures in a wide range of lighting conditions. Lastly, the images could be integrated seamlessly into a wide range of digital imaging and publishing platforms. And should there be a need, an infinite number of high-quality prints can be made from the digital files with ease.

III. *Benjamin, Barthes, and Sontag*

As many readers have doubtlessly gathered, a number of the underlying questions and issues regarding this exhibition stem from key writings on photography by Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes, and Susan Sontag. Although their work is now several decades old, critics and writers of photography — whether or not they accept their observations — are not immune from their ideas.¹⁰ The admittedly self-indulgent essay that opens this introduction is a homage to Barthes and his efforts to understand the photographic image, which for him was inspired by a search through the belongings of his recently deceased and very much beloved mother. Here we encounter such concepts of *studium* and *punctum* — the vast raw data and the pinprick that catches our attention — which he argued were the essentials of the photographic image. It was also his most accessible and poetic writing:

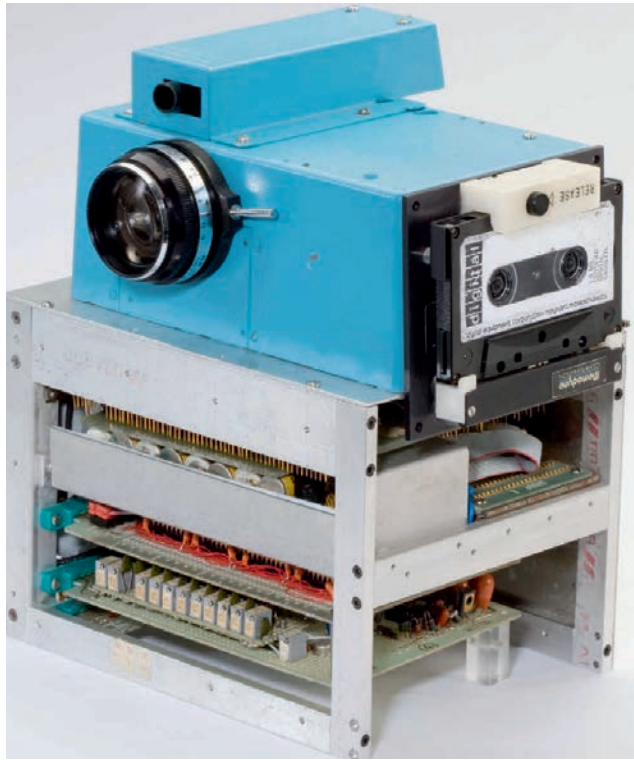


Fig. 18. Steven Sasson's digital camera prototype for Kodak, 1973, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

For me the noise of Time is not sad: I love bells, clocks, watches — and I recall that at first photographic implements were related to techniques of cabinetmaking and the machinery of precision: cameras, in short, were clocks for seeing, and perhaps in me someone very old still hears in the photographic mechanism the living sound of the wood.¹¹

Sontag, much influenced by Barthes's writing, brought a direct and clear voice to various facets of making and experiencing photographs, with a particular attention to politics, social justice, and ethics. Few forget her directness in uncompromising remarks such as: "In photographing dwarfs, you don't get majesty & beauty. You get dwarfs."¹² Barthes and Sontag were deeply indebted to Benjamin's classic essay, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," which mapped out a century's worth of ideas on images and remains central to such discussions in the digital age. These authors, and those explored by the co-curators of this exhibition, provide a point of entry into the question of how we experience images.

While no exhibition could fully encompass and cover the range of issues raised by its ambitious title, "Reflections on Experiencing Photography, 1839–2021" aims to provoke ideas and thoughts on the photographic image at this important

moment in history, when digital imagery is playing such a dominant role in our experience of the photograph.

IV. *In Light of the Past: Experiencing Photographs, 1839–2021*

In arriving at the structure for this exhibition, the curatorial group considered ways in which viewers experience photographs, based in part on the physical nature of the photographs and the conditions and physical contexts in which they were most likely experienced. We arrived at the following divisions:

1. Case photographs (daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, ferrotypes)
2. Mounted albumen prints (cartes-de-visite, cabinet cards, boudoir cards, stereographs)
3. Photographs as art
4. Photo albums and scrapbooks
5. Printed books and magazines
6. Snapshots
7. Instant photographs (paper, digital)
8. Illuminated and projected imagery (lantern slides, Autochromes, transparencies, cellphones)

The criteria for defining these divisions includes the following: the physical nature of the photograph (image on metal, glass, or paper; framed; size); viewing context (domestic, private, institutional, public); participants (individual, with a partner, family members, or the public at large); and objective (leisure, education, entertainment, social ritual). These divisions were then grouped into three major viewing environments: personal/domestic, professional/institutional (libraries, schools), public/leisure (theaters, cinema). While these categories could be redefined and reorganized, this list served as a useful point of departure for discussion, bearing in mind that what separates the groups is how one experiences the photograph, not necessarily the differences between one photographic medium and another.

Working within these broad divisions, the student curators responsible for the exhibition identified narrowly defined topics for focused research. Their essays appear in the following pages of this catalogue, which is divided into six chapters that cover most of the principal divisions mentioned above. The essays are by no means an exhaustive consideration of the issues raised by the divisions in question; rather, they illustrate the richness and potential for future research in these areas of study. Roughly speaking, the essays follow the chronological order of their subjects.

The catalogue opens with Emma Larson-Whittaker's essay, "The Intimacy of the Exposed: The Nude Daguerreotype in Nineteenth-Century Society," which considers a variety of issues associated with the genre of nude imagery made by daguerreotype photographers. Her study sharply defines the various categories of photographs that feature nudes, separating those made exclusively for artistic studio practice, those for erotic, amorous purposes, and those with pornographic intent. Her analysis of these types and the audiences who used them reveals the way in which this imagery was experienced. Also, and of particular importance, Larson-Whittaker considers the experience of the models, most of whom were women of little means, and how that factored into what, over time, became a substantial, exploitative business.

Hill Guburne's essay, "Documenting Assimilation: Before-and-After Photographs from the Carlisle Indian School" explores the experience of mounted photographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, specifically those associated with the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. He examines how such imagery served a variety of audiences, including Captain Richard Henry Pratt, superintendent of the Indian School, who commissioned before-and-after photographs of the students as a means to promote the supposed efficacy of the school's mission of acculturation. Guburne also looks at how those same photographs were collected by the public, as examples of the exotic, and how those same students sought photographs of themselves and their fellow classmates. He shows how this complex experience of Native Americans complicates a single viewing of the Indian School photographs.

Two of the essays in the catalogue consider the significance of published books and magazines in the experience of photography. In "Photojournalism's Dreadful Power: How *Life* Provoked a Nation," Jackson Rhodes looks at the powerful role of photography in providing incontrovertible evidence of the atrocities of war and human rights abuses. In this study, Rhodes considers how Ronald L. Haeberle's photographs for a ten-page spread in *Life* magazine of the My Lai massacre played a fundamental role in changing US sentiment toward the war in Vietnam. As Rhodes makes clear, few ever saw Haeberle's original photographs from that event, but there was hardly a reader in the United States who did not see their reproductions in *Life* magazine. Rhodes examines the

significance of these images and the ethics of publishing photographs of war atrocities.

Tenzin Crowley's study, "Photographic Poetry: Robert Frank and Jack Kerouac's *The Americans*," examines one of the most significant photobooks of the twentieth century. Crowley considers the nature of Robert Frank's *The Americans* and how, despite its poor reception in 1959, the book would redefine photography in the postwar era. She looks in particular at the relationship between Frank's carefully paced imagery for the book and Jack Kerouac's introduction. Crowley considers the Beat aesthetics that gave rise to Kerouac's writing, how it corresponds to Frank's book of photographs, and how viewers experienced it.

The final pair of essays considers aspects of the Kodak company, the once dominant supplier of photographic materials worldwide. Ana-Elena Karlova's essay, "The Kodak Girl: A Snapshot of Women's Role in Photography," examines how Kodak, in the early twentieth century, created the fictional "Kodak Girl" as a way to market its film, cameras, and processing. Karlova analyzes the nature of the Kodak Girl and her appeal to a worldly, ambitious, free-thinking, uninhibited, independent, modern woman. She shows how this figure not only promoted Kodak products but contributed to a broader dialogue about women's place in society. Karlova also connects the concept of the Kodak Girl with the rise of snapshots, the ubiquitous genre of photography.

Zuqing Qi's essay, "Colorama: The Largest Photograph," considers the history and significance of one of Kodak's advertising campaigns, which consisted of a colossal backlit color transparency that was mounted at one end of the main hall of New York City's Grand Central Terminal. Every few weeks, commuters and travelers passing through the city's rail hub would be greeted by a new installation of this illuminated billboard, which not only promoted Kodak products, but also an ideal image of post-World War II American dominance and prosperity. Qi's research dovetails nicely with Karlova's, showing how Kodak promoted its products by connecting to broader patterns in society.

These essays provide points of entry into the vast range of issues raised by photography and to how we, as viewers, experience them. The authors' work also provides a point of entry

entry into the growing collections of The Trout Gallery and Archives and Special Collections at Dickinson College.

V. SNAPSHOTS: *How the Dickinson Community Experienced the COVID-19 Pandemic*

As a corollary project to *In Light of the Past: Experiencing Photographs, 1839–2021*, The Trout Gallery and Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections sent out a call for cellphone photographs that documented the experiences of Dickinson students, alumni, faculty, and staff during the COVID-19 pandemic. The objective of this project was to create a photo album that opened a window into the Dickinson community during the pandemic and to consider how cellphone photography could play a role in documenting this experience. By concentrating exclusively on cellphone photographs, the project aimed to gather the largest number and widest range of participants and submissions possible. Participants were invited to scroll through their phones, select one photograph that captured their experience of the pandemic, and submit it to The Trout Gallery. In addition to the photograph, participants were required to provide a date and description of the photograph (identifying those represented) and to comment on why the photograph was important to them. The Trout Gallery compiled the photographs in a photobook titled *SNAPSHOTS: How the Dickinson Community Experienced the COVID-19 Pandemic*. Images from the project were featured in the snapshot/projection area of the exhibition *In Light of the Past*. Copies of the photograph files have been deposited in Archives and Special Collections for future study and research.

1. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (Hill and Wang: New York, 1981), 87; originally published as *La Chambre claire: Note sur la photographie* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980).
2. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux: New York, 1973), 8.
3. Sontag, *On Photography*, 9.
4. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, third version" ["Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit"] (1939), in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, vol. 4, 1938–1940, trans. Edmund Jephcott and Harry Zohn, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 254.
5. Philippe Kahn, "Photography Changes How We Communicate," in *Photography Changes Everything*, ed. Marvin Heiferman (New York: Aperture and Smithsonian Institution, 2012), 175–76, describes how he invented the first cell-phone camera in 1997. For the first commercial camera phone (Kyocera Visual Phone VP-210), released in Japan in May 1999, see Serdar Yegulalp, "Camera Phones: A Look Back and Forward," *Computerworld*, posted May 11, 2012, <https://www.computerworld.com/article/2473084/camera-phones--a-look-back-and-forward.html>
6. On the history of photographic processes, see Richard Benson, *The Printed Picture* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008).
7. James Estrin, "Kodak's First Digital Moment," *New York Times*, August 12, 2015.
8. Kodak was then estimated to have captured 90 to 95 percent of the amateur photographic market. Gerd Wilcke, "Kodak's Earnings and Sales Climb to Records," *New York Times*, October 18, 1973.
9. James Estrin, "Kodak's First Digital Moment," *New York Times*, August 12, 2015.
10. Cf. Michael Fried, *Why Photography Matters as Art as Never Before* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).
11. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 15.
12. Sontag, *On Photography*, 29.



A sepia-toned photograph of a man with a mustache, wearing a dark suit and white shirt, sitting in a wicker chair at a desk. He is looking down at a book or paper in his hands. The desk is covered with a patterned cloth. Behind him is a large bookshelf filled with books. The wall is covered with numerous small, framed and unframed photographs, creating a collage effect. A lace doily and a striped cloth are draped over the top of the bookshelf. The overall atmosphere is one of a personal, memory-filled space.

I. At Home

PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY



Daguerreotypes, Ambrotypes, and Ferrotypes

*“Photography] has fixed
the most fleeting
of our illusions...”*

—Oliver Wendell Holmes

Before the advent of photography, only the wealthy were able to commission portable portraits of themselves or their loved ones. Such portraits were hand painted on thin disks of ivory or parchment and placed in folding cases, lockets, or other forms of jewelry. Those with less means turned to cut-paper or painted silhouettes or simple pencil tracings for a lasting likeness.

In 1839, Louis-Jacques-Mandè Daguerre developed a process of capturing and fixing a highly detailed, light-based image on a silver-coated copper plate: the daguerreotype. Although the daguerreotype is a negative image—the dark areas of the image appear light—when seen at a certain angle, it appears positive. Each daguerreotype is a unique camera-exposed image with no means for reproduction. Daguerreotypes were mounted in the same types of folding cases as portrait miniatures.

In the 1850s, the development of the wet collodion process produced a simple, less costly camera-exposed image than the daguerreotype. It, too, produced a negative image that appeared positive against a dark surface. The process could be applied to glass plates (ambrotypes) or blackened iron plates (ferrotypes or “tintypes”). Ferrotypes were inexpensive and popular during the American Civil War, particularly among soldiers. Often they were made by itinerant photographers who worked out of horse-drawn studios. Ferrotypes were presented in a simple folded card printed with a design in imitation of those that appeared on daguerreotype cases. Because of their low cost, the subject matter of ferrotypes is often casual and more varied than daguerreotypes.

Opposite: Photographer unknown, *Woman and Child, George Bowman Family Vacation, Atlantic City, NJ*, 1890, ferrotype (cat. 18)

Previous spread: Photographer unknown, *Men's Dormitory Room, Dickinson College*, c. 1895, albumen print on cabinet card (cat. 42)



The Intimacy of the Exposed: The Nude Daguerreotype in Nineteenth-Century Society

Emma Larson-Whittaker



Fig. 1. Photographer unknown, *Samuel Cushman Caldwell, Class of 1858*, daguerreotype with hand coloring, Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections, AC 00323 (cat.10)



Fig. 2. Covers of fig. 1.

Daguerreotypes are among the most tactile and intimate forms of photographic media. Take, for example, a nineteenth-century daguerreotype of a young man, which like most is small enough to fit comfortably in one's hand when open, the photograph itself only about the size of a playing card (figs. 1, 2). The cover of this daguerreotype is made of pressed paper cardboard with a thin, leather-like material. The design features a geometric border surrounding a rose on a stem. When one holds the closed daguerreotype, one immediately feels the weight of the object and sees the textured surface of the case. Before it is even opened, there is a sense of wonder, and even secrecy, about the daguerreotype, with its small brass latch, which holds the case shut.

When the latch is turned, the case opens like a small book. The edges of the interior case are framed with gilded leather. The left surface of the case is lined with a soft, dark blue-green velvet. The lining invites gentle touch, heightening the contrast with the bright, polished brass, glass, and silver of the other side. On the right, a brass frame surrounds the glass-covered daguerreotype plate. The interior frame is embossed with the same design motif as that on the cover's border, thus connecting the two. The daguerreotype shows Samuel Cushman Caldwell holding a cane and a handkerchief. The man's intense gaze directly at the viewer is reinforced by the sharpness of the image. It seems as though the viewer is looking into a black-and-white mirror, a looking

glass into another dimension. The surface of the image is shiny and reflective and, depending on the angle at which the daguerreotype is held, one sees both the negative and the positive image, so that the young man seems to be a specter, staring out at the viewer. At a certain angle, one's own reflection appears in the mirror's surface, momentarily joining that of the sitter in a curious connection across more than a century of time. The image is small and intimate, room for only one to experience alone.

As this example demonstrates, the typical daguerreotype in the mid-nineteenth century would have been a half- or three-quarters length portrait. Due to the long exposure time required for the low sensitivity of the daguerreotype plate, the sitter would have to hold their head completely still for ten to fifteen seconds, making the figure appear stiff. Sitters were often placed in chairs fitted with head braces to prevent movement during the lengthy exposure.¹ Daguerreotypes vary in size and can be quite small, permitting only an intimate viewing experience.² Aside from portraiture, daguerreotype photographers explored all of the principal artistic genres, including landscapes, architecture, still lifes, nudes, as well as scientific subjects, provided that the subject remained motionless.

Daguerreotypes, like the portrait of Caldwell, followed many of the conventions of painted portrait miniatures at this time.



Fig. 3. John Carlin, *Young Child*, c. 1840, watercolor miniature on ivory; Juniata College Museum of Art, Worth B. Stottlemeyer Collection, 1998.1.045 (cat. 1)



Fig. 4. William M. S. Doyle, *Unknown Youth*, n. d., paper silhouette, Juniata College Museum of Art, Worth B. Stottlemeyer Collection, 1998.1.088 (cat. 2)

The portrait miniature, as seen with this example of a young child (c. 1840), served as the prototype for portrait daguerreotypes (fig. 3). For the elite in society, especially in the early nineteenth century, the portrait miniature became extremely popular. Portrait miniatures were small, between two to four inches square, which emphasized the intimacy of the medium. The portrait is enclosed in an ornate, gilded case, with a velvet lined side to protect the image and add elegance to the overall experience. In the image, a young child is positioned in a three-quarters turn so that they gaze off to the viewer's left. Their golden hair is curled and drapes gently over the sitter's shoulders. The portrait, including the case, is less than four inches square, so that the experience of the image is private. The relationship between the sitter in the portrait and the owner of the miniature was normally that of a close family member or loved one, and the same was true for conventional daguerreotype portraits. Most portrait miniatures are small, even locket sized, and were often hung on necklaces or used as fobs, so that they could be carried everywhere with their owner. Painted portraits were very desirable, but commissions were limited to those with considerable means; all others were reduced to the genre of cut-paper silhouettes, which were a fraction of the cost (fig. 4). The daguerreotype met the needs



Fig. 5. Photographer unknown (French), *Nude Woman with Mirror*, c. 1850, daguerreotype, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997, 1997.382.45

of those in the middle class, who wanted to emulate those who could afford to commission a painted portrait.

While portraits were the primary genre of daguerreotype photography, another genre—although much smaller in scope and production—focused on capturing images of nudes, predominantly women, for artistic, erotic, and pornographic purposes. An example of this is the daguerreotype (c. 1850) of a nude with mirror (fig. 5) now at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The image depicts a woman, shown from behind, with her slip pulled up to reveal her backside. Not only does the small size create an aura of intimacy, but the image of a woman seen at her toilette increases the private nature of the photograph. The nude has long been a popular subject of visual arts. Thus, it is no wonder that with the advent of photography, the medium would become a popular vehicle for depicting such imagery.

However before considering nude daguerreotypes in greater detail, it is necessary to define the terms “erotic” and “pornographic.” As Gloria Steinem has argued:

“Erotica” is rooted in “eros” or passionate love, and thus in the idea of positive choice . . .

“pornography” begins with a root “porno,” meaning “prostitution” or “female captives,” thus letting us know that the subject is not mutual love, or love at all, but domination and violence against women. . . . It ends with a root “graphos” meaning “writing about” or “description of,” which puts still more distance between subject and object, and replaces a spontaneous yearning for closeness with objectification and voyeurism.³

While some daguerreotypists sought to present their photographs of nudes as “art,” to be seen as “erotic” in the way they posed the model, many of the photographs were, for all intents and purposes, essentially pornographic in nature. Other photographs, however, were created purely for sexual gratification, with no thought for, let alone pretense to, the concept of eros. In terms of the female subjects themselves, the process of capturing their nude bodies is, as Susan Sontag notes, “to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed.”⁴ As the women captured in most nude daguerreotypes did not know the consumers of their images, and their images therefore, by definition, cannot be erotic in intent, the idea that the models in these images are nothing more than objects to be commodified is even more apparent. In the scholarship on daguerreotypes, there is a hesitation to use the word “pornography,” as the negative connotations associated with the word creates an environment of hostility, as Sontag argues.⁵ This essay eschews such hesitation and will use the terms as defined by Steinem.

Nude, Erotic, and Pornographic Imagery and the Birth of Photography

Greek and Roman art provides a plethora of imagery that features nude figures, both male and female, for a wide range of artistic, erotic, and pornographic purposes, which created a foundation for such imagery in the secular and religious art of the Renaissance and early modern era. While there are countless examples of art from the early modern period in which representing the nude form was a requirement of the subject, such subjects were not always chosen for the most elevated intentions. Claims for elevated subjects were often simply euphemisms for pornographic imagery, as is overtly satirized in Thomas Rowlandson’s *Italian Picture Dealers Humbugging My Lord Anglaise* (1812), which lampoons collectors whose interest in images of nude women appears greater than their interest in art (fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Thomas Rowlandson, *Italian Picture Dealers Humbugging My Lord Anglaise*, 1812, engraving with handcoloring, Darlene K. Morris Collection

However, there is a humorous quality to Rowlandson’s print that is often lacking in later pornographic imagery. In Rowlandson’s print, an Italian art dealer displays Guido Reni’s painting of Mary Magdalene, who, once a prostitute, is often depicted nude or bare chested. The lecherous man to the far left looks directly at Mary’s hidden chest, with one hand in his pants pocket. Around the figures, on the gallery’s walls, are countless old master paintings, all of which feature nude women. Rowlandson’s print shows the contradiction between the concept of “high art” and pornography, as subjects in the Christian tradition such as Mary Magdalen as well as mythological figures like Venus were often justification for making and displaying images of nude women.

For items like prints, which were relatively small, intimate, and tucked away in albums and drawers there was little need of justification for erotic or pornographic imagery. For example, in *Nymph, Putto, and a Satyrino*, Agostino Carracci uses the subject as a means to pursue clearly pornographic ends. Typically, mythological subjects like this one present a nude Venus before a mirror; however, in this print, Venus



Fig. 7. Agostino Carracci, *Nymph, Putto, and a Satyrino*, c. 1590-95, engraving, The British Museum, 1867.0413.546

lounges on a rock while a putto gives her a pedicure and a small satyrino fingers her genitals (fig. 7). The satyrino's actions allude to the Italian saying, "le unghie dalle cosce" (lit.: removing one's nails from the thighs) or satisfying a sexual "itch."⁶

Although erotic imagery, meaning that based on love, is less discernable in the history of art, Sarah Goodridge's *Beauty Revealed* (1828) provides an important and well-documented example of this type. In her alleged self-portrait, the artist represents her bare breasts (fig. 8). No face or limbs can be seen. The painting is protected by a red case, as is typical for a portrait miniature. However, the painting is striking not only for its overt focus on a woman's nude breasts, but for the fact that she made the self-portrait for the statesman Daniel Webster.⁷ The relationship between Sarah Goodridge and Daniel Webster is well documented in over forty-four letters that date from 1827 to 1851.⁸ This self-portrait was sent to Webster after the death of his first wife, perhaps in hopes of a further connection between the two, although Webster would go on to marry another woman.⁹ Despite its overtly sexual nature, what defines this image as erotic, rather than

pornographic, is the affection expressed between Goodridge and Webster. In her decision to paint and send this self-portrait to Webster, Goodridge displays her personal choice, which, in Steinem's terms, shows erotic intention.

Within the context of erotic imagery, it is necessary to consider the subcategory of eye-portrait miniatures. Eye portraits were often exchanged by close family and friends as intimate tokens of love and affection. However, unlike *Beauty Revealed*, which was not to be displayed publicly, eye portraits could be made into small objects for personal adornment, like watch fobs and necklaces, so that the portraits could be carried or displayed by their owners.¹⁰ In a *Portrait of a Right Eye* (ca. 1800), the painting is set into the top of a hatpin, so that the owner could carry and display the image with them (fig. 9). Although eye portraits display nothing sexually explicit, there is an intimacy in eye portraits that, in many instances, suggests erotic intent, since when viewing these eye portraits, the viewer connects strongly with the image, as the eye of the sitter looks back at them. As eye portraits were usually shared among intimate partners, these images also tend toward the erotic.



Fig. 8. Sarah Goodridge, *Beauty Revealed* (allegedly a self-portrait), 1828, watercolor on ivory, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Gloria Manney, 2006, 2006.235.74

As this small selection of examples illustrate, prior to the invention of photography in 1839, there was a well-established tradition of making and buying imagery featuring nude or partially nude women, be it pornographic in nature or erotic. Significantly, access to such imagery was largely restricted to those who could purchase art or frequent salons and public galleries. This ensured that erotic and pornographic imagery was, to a degree, restricted to the fine arts and therefore beyond the reach of the lower classes. The



Fig. 9. Artist unknown, Portrait of a Right Eye, c. 1800, watercolor on ivory, Philadelphia Museum of Art, gift of Joseph Carson, Hope Carson Randolph, John B. Carson, and Anna Hampton Carson in memory of their mother, Mrs. Hampton L. Carson, 1935, 1935-17-13

arrival of photography would eventually make such imagery broadly accessible to all classes.

Forms of Nude Daguerreotypes

With the arrival of photography in 1839, the supply of lower-cost erotic and pornographic images quickly emerged, supplied by photographers working in both areas of production: the paper-based negative-to-positive techniques pioneered by William Fox Talbot and the silver-coated daguerreotype developed by Louis-Jacques-Mandé

Daguerre. The images produced with the paper-based techniques stressed the artistic and painterly style in their images of nudes. This was in part due to the fact that the nature of the media produced soft, gauzy-textured works that emulated oil paintings. Such images served a dual purpose of satisfying aesthetic conventions while maintaining the erotic or pornographic intent. This contrasted strongly with the daguerreotype, as that technique produced crisp, sharp images with a mirror-like realism that left nothing to the imagination of those accustomed to the selective and idealizing hand of the artist.

As photographs, particularly daguerreotypes, could be true to life in ways that paintings and prints could not, they made it increasingly difficult for viewers to ignore the pornographic nature of certain works, as the veil of art grew thin; previously, mythological and religious subjects provided a “fig leaf,” as it were, for explicit nudity. Moreover, since photography was often considered to be more a mechanical process than an artistic one, the claim that photographic art justified the appearance of nudes was less convincing. Eugene Mirabelli writes that “it is a generalization, but a good and true one, that the nineteenth century did not look for hard clarity of line and precision when it came to high art. . . . the gallery-going public was more interested in overall general effect in pictorial art, and preferred subtle gradations in tone and line.”¹¹

The nude daguerreotype contradicted this statement in two ways: not only do daguerreotypes have “hard clarity of line,” which makes the medium all too realistic, but many were created for pornographic purposes, which went against notions of propriety. Although some nude daguerreotypes disingenuously mimicked the conventions of art in this period, as will be discussed later in the essay, other forms of nude daguerreotypes overtly fed the market for pornography.

Within the practice of daguerreotypes, three distinct variations emerged: those created for artistic study, *études d’après nature*, with little or no pornographic intent; art daguerreotypes, which imitate classical or old master compositions with pornographic intent; and pornographic daguerreotypes, which lack any pretense to art and were created solely to solicit a sexual reaction in the viewer.

The daguerreotypes in the first category, *études d’après nature*, were used by artists as an inexpensive alternative to live models. The *études d’après nature* was especially popular in



Fig. 10. Artist unknown (French), Seated Female Nude, ca. 1850, daguerreotype, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gilman Collection, gift of The Howard Gilman Foundation, 2005, 2005.100.30

France, as live models were costly and generally accessible only at art academies.¹² In France, the sale of *études d'après nature* daguerreotypes was authorized by the Ministry of the Interior, but many found their way into the underground market.¹³

In this example of a seated female nude (c. 1850), the purpose of a nude daguerreotype as an *études d'après nature* is clear (fig. 10). The *études d'après nature* was used to give the artist “a repertoire of poses accurately translated into two dimensions for easy consideration of contour, proportion, and foreshortening.”¹⁴ In the daguerreotype, the model faces away from the camera, with one leg raised to the level of her hips and the other bent at the knee, resting on the floor. Her left arm is raised, holding a piece of draped fabric. Only the side of the model's left breast is visible, and above her left leg some of her pubic hair is visible. The artistic purpose of this photograph stems from the pose and the prop she holds. Drapery was a common prop in art, as it gave the artist the opportunity to display their abilities to render highlights and shadows in a convincing manner. In addition to the fabric, the model's pose itself is emblematic of painting. Her pose is dynamic, especially in her raised arm and propped right leg, which give the appearance of active movement. The model's head, which is turned away from the viewer, perhaps in order to conceal her identity, offers a degree of respect and



Fig. 11. Attributed to Bruno Braquehais, Reclining Female Nude Posed as Danaë, c. 1850, daguerreotype with hand coloring, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Herbert Mitchell, 2008, 2015.400.51

anonymity to the model. It also eliminates the possibility of her direct gaze at the viewer, which imparts a sense of clinical remoteness that discourages a sexual reading of her image.

Turning to the second category, art daguerreotypes, the stark realism of the medium made it unsuitable for creating painterly effects. Nevertheless, there were photographers who made daguerreotypes in the style and composition of old master paintings. *Reclining Female Nude Posed as Danaë* (c. 1850), attributed to Bruno Braquehais, represents Ovid's account of how Perseus was “conceived in that gold shower” of the transformed Zeus, which fell on Danaë and impregnated her (fig. 11).¹⁵ For this daguerreotype, Braquehais appears to have drawn inspiration from Titian's *Poesie* series, (c. 1550–1562) which he created for Philip II of Spain. Braquehais's photograph of Danaë shares various features with Titian's work, including the model's raised left arm, which appears to be drawing back a curtain, allowing the golden shower to fall upon her. Even though the image is not explicit, the subject of divine sexual congress adds to the sexual nature of the daguerreotype under the guise of art. To enhance the artistic nature of this photograph and to reinforce the mythological subject of the scene, the photographer applied gold tints and highlights to the daguerreotype after it was developed. Indeed, tinting, or hand coloring,



Fig. 12. Photographer unknown (French), *Two Women Embracing*, c. 1848, daguerreotype with handcoloring, J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.XT.172.6

was a way for photographers to compete with painting, as the black and white of the daguerreotype was sometimes criticized as too austere, particularly for images of nudes. In this photograph, hand coloring can be seen in the blue draped fabric and gold shower, which has the appearance of gold coins. The model's cheeks and chest are also lightly tinted with a blush of red, which adds realism to the stark black-and-white tones of the daguerreotype.

The third, and most ambiguous category of nude daguerreotypes is the pornographic. An example of such a daguerreotype is that of two nude women embracing (fig. 12).¹⁶ The image shows two nude women in what appears to be an intimate romantic moment. The two models look smiling into each other's eyes. The woman on the left is positioned above the other figure, and a mirror behind her allows the viewer to see her backside. The breasts and pubic area of both women are exposed, and the model on the left is cupping the breast of the other. Images such as this one, that suggest a lesbian

type of relationship, would not have been sold in the open trade, as the expense and risk of making such a multifigure scene would have outweighed the benefits.¹⁷ While scenes like this are the most explicit, many scenes that would be considered art daguerreotypes and *études d'après nature* were, no doubt, used for pornographic gratification.

Censorship of Pornographic Daguerreotypes

Although research on nude daguerreotypes is not as well developed outside France, the work of scholars there provides some illuminating trends. For example, the French censorship laws of the mid-nineteenth century forced the sale of pornographic daguerreotypes underground. By 1852, French censorship laws required that copies of all photographs be deposited at the Ministry of the Interior or the Prefecture of Police, in order to put a stop to the distribution of pornographic imagery to the general public.¹⁸ To work around these regulations, many photographers would sell *études*

d'après nature, which were officially sanctioned, to a more general audience, who viewed these images for pornographic purposes. In 1857 the French magazine *Le Triboulet* wrote of the pornographic trade, “the commerce in these stupid nudes—the models for which seem to be selected in the most heavily trafficked establishment in Paris—are not authorized, but simply tolerated.”¹⁹

Issues of censorship also raised discussions about the “right” way to show the female nude. Following an 1863 seizure of nude photographs in Paris, a prosecuting lawyer named Genreau wrote that the artistic nude consisted of “female nudities in natural poses, either standing or reclining . . . [whereas photographs were] absolute nudes, exhibiting to the public in a provocative manner objects that should be erased by art when they are not veiled by modesty.”²⁰ According to Genreau, the female nude in art should strive for something greater than itself, and not simply be a stark image of sex.

The Nude Model

The human form was long considered to be the principal medium for conveying ideas in the visual arts. Artists relied heavily on an academic study of the nude figure, which required live models. Since society frowned on such a practice, especially for women, most female models were drawn from low-income backgrounds and often overlapped with the prostitution industry. For the models themselves, the stark realism of the photograph—regardless of the type of nude daguerreotype—made it a more difficult job, as “women who were accustomed to disrobe for a painter prudently hesitated to pose in the same way for the painter’s camera.”²¹ The photograph, while much more accurate, exposed the model for who she was; unlike painting, it was more difficult to conceal her identity.

Although there are rare examples of images of male nudes made for erotic and pornographic purposes, the vast majority of such imagery represents women. A reason for this is suggested by an article in the *London Times*, written in 1788, which attested that “a naked male figure . . . is a disgrace to public modesty.”²² Evidently, the demand for erotic or pornographic images of nude males, by women or men, was insufficient to create a significant market for their production. In contrast, Lynda Nead notes that “representations of the female nude created by male artists testify

not only to patriarchal understandings of female sexuality and femininity, but they also endorse certain definitions of male sexuality and masculinity.”²³ The nude daguerreotype reinforced the idea of the male gaze, the idea that a woman’s body in a work of art has been placed there solely for the male viewer’s pleasure.

The stigma of erotic imagery in the mid-nineteenth century also displays the inequalities between creator and consumer. For the nineteenth-century English viewer, many nude photographs were considered inappropriate, as “to many Victorians, no clear distinction existed between studies of the nude made for artists, those done for personal expression, and those intended as titillating commercial image.”²⁴ Regardless of the motive for the nude daguerreotype—be it art, eroticism, or pornography—the stigma extends only as far as the artist and his model, and generally, as the model is visibly seen, much of ignominy rests on the model. The consumer of nude daguerreotypes is relatively blameless in the transaction. Nead notes that the representation of the nude in erotic imagery “resides *in* the image, that it is a question of content rather than form, of production rather than consumption.”²⁵ Not only does the trade in erotic nude photographs publicly implicate the model above the photographer, especially when, in the mid-nineteenth century, women who participated as models were often prostitutes, it almost completely disregards the consumer as an issue in the discussion. In the majority of nude daguerreotypes, the model’s face is not visible, nor are there many images in which the model makes direct eye contact with the camera. The lack of eye contact reinforces the model’s position as an object, since without the engagement of the model’s gaze, the viewer is free to look where they please.

While nude daguerreotypes soon became obsolete with the rise of glass-plate negatives, which could more readily and more cheaply supply the demand for such imagery, the nude daguerreotype marked the advent of the nude in photography, as well as the beginning of the pornographic photo trade in earnest. In these nude daguerreotypes, it is possible to see the influences of classical and contemporary art that photographers incorporated, endeavoring to connect the new technology to the long history of art. Additionally, both the legal sale and the underground market distribution of nude daguerreotypes was based in a society in which all photographic nudity was considered inappropriate.

Ferrotypes, Negatives, and Digital Photography

The ferrotype (“tintype”), a close relative of the daguerreotype, does not seem to have as illustrious a history with nude photography as its more refined predecessor. Not only are there very few nude tintypes known, there is also very little research on the use of tintypes for any type of nude photograph, despite the lower cost in comparison to daguerreotypes.²⁶ This casual form of photography arguably would have been the perfect medium for pornographic photography, since unlike the other, more elegant forms of nude daguerreotypes, the purpose and focus of the pornographic daguerreotype is solely on the pleasure and experience of the viewer, meaning that the artistry that is admired in daguerreotypes would not be a necessary consideration. The lack of nude

tintypes may be due to a lack of research on the topic: the tintype was in general an American technology and much of the research on early nude and pornographic photography is centered on French photographers, who used the daguerreotype method.²⁷

The world of pornographic photography did not open up to lower-class audiences until the invention of later forms of mass-produced photographic images, with the emergence of glass and film negatives. With the creation of color film and color offset printing in the first half of the twentieth century, the print pornographic industry flourished among all classes. In recent years, digital imagery and the internet have completely overtaken virtually all print forms of erotic and pornographic media.

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1. Susan S. Williams, *Confounding Images: Photography and Portraiture in Antebellum American Fiction* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 39.
 2. The most common sizes of the daguerreotype are the full plate, 6½ x 8½ inches; the quarter plate, 3¼ x 4¼ inches; and the sixth plate, 2¾ x 3¼ inches. The most popular sizes were the quarter and the sixth plate, in part due to the fact that they were less expensive than the full plate. Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 4th ed. (New York: Abbeville, 2007), 44.
 3. Gloria Steinem, “Erotica and Pornography: A Clear and Present Difference,” *Ms. Magazine*, November 1978: 54.
 4. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 14.
 5. Sontag, *On Photography*, 14.
 6. Patricia Simons, “Fiction and Friction: Agostino Carracci’s Engraved, Erotic Parody of the *Toilette of Venus*,” *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 36, no. 2 (Winter 2017): 93–94.
 7. Dale T. Johnson, *American Portrait Miniatures in the Manney Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1990), 126.
 8. Johnson, *American Portrait Miniatures*, 126.
 9. Johnson, *American Portrait Miniatures*, 126.
 10. Hanneke Grootenboer, *Treasuring the Gaze: Intimate Vision in Late Eighteenth-Century Eye Miniatures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 55.
 11. Eugene Mirabelli, “Looking and Not Looking: Pornography and Nude Photography,” *Grand Street* 5, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): 200.
 12. Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848–1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 152.
 13. Raisa Rexer, “Nana in the Nude: Zola and Early Nude Photography,” *Dix-Neuf* 22, nos. 1–2 (July 2018): 75.
 14. Maria Morris Hambourg et al., *The Waking Dream: Photography’s First Century: Selections from the Gilman Paper Company Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 280.
 15. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.611–12.
 16. Bates Lowry and Isabel Barrett Lowry, *The Silver Canvas: Daguerreotype Masterpieces from the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1998), 157, pl. 58.
 17. Lowry and Lowry, *The Silver Canvas*, 156, suggest that images like this one informed Gustave Courbet’s painting *The Sleepers* (1866). Courbet’s *The Origins of the World* (1866) follows in a similar vein, and, despite its obvious pornographic intentions, is often considered to transcend pornography due to its fine attention to color and detail. Although both paintings date to after the invention of photography, the influence of photography, and likely nude daguerreotypes, is clear.
 18. McCauley, *Industrial Madness*, 155.
 19. McCauley, *Industrial Madness*, 156.
 20. McCauley, *Industrial Madness*, 161.
 21. Mirabelli, “Looking and Not Looking,” 202.
 22. Danielle Thom, “Amorous Antiquaries: Sculpture and Seduction in Rowlandson’s Erotica,” in *Burning Bright: Essays in Honour of David Bindman*, ed. Diana Dethloff et al. (London, UCL Press, 2015), 207.
 23. Lynda Nead, “The Female Nude: Pornography, Art and Sexuality,” *Signs* 15, no. 2 (Winter 1990): 326.
 24. Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 220.
 25. Nead, “The Female Nude,” 324.
 26. Floyd Reinhart, Marion Reinhart, and Robert W. Wagner, *The American Tintype* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999), 5.
 27. Reinhart, Reinhart, and Wagner, *The American Tintype*, 5.



Mass Reproduction of Mounted Photographs

"[Cartes-de-visite]... have become the social currency, the sentimental 'Greenbacks' of civilization."

—Oliver Wendell Holmes

The development of glass plate negatives in the 1850s transformed photography. It combined the sharpness and clarity of a daguerreotype with the reproducibility of the paper negative. Since the in-camera exposed image was a glass negative, one could use it to contact print a limitless number of sharp, identical silver-albumen photographs at a very low cost. Photographers mounted albumen prints onto heavy cards that bore the name of the studio. This set in motion the practice of collecting photographs of people and places in and beyond one's family and home.

The carte-de-visite was among the most popular formats of this photographic type. They were small (4 x 2 ½ in.), inexpensive, readily collectable, and enormously popular. They rivaled and eventually overtook the production of tintypes, which were unique objects that could not be reproduced easily. In addition to portraits of family and friends, prominent subjects included monarchs, presidents, and celebrities. Before long, commercial manufacturers were producing handsome albums designed to hold scores of cartes-de-visite. The larger cabinet (6 ½ x 4 ¼ in.) and boudoir (8 ½ x 5 ¼ in.) cards filled the market for a more generously sized photograph that were suitable for domestic display on a mantle or shelf.

Among the most fascinating of the mounted photographic cards were those made for stereoscopic viewers. These oblong cards were designed to hold two separate images made from a glass negative that was exposed in a specialized camera fitted with a pair of lenses that approximated binocular vision. When viewed through a stereoscope, the pair of images combined to create the effect of three-dimension. Stereoscopic photographs became the dominant photographic format in the 1870s.



Fig. 1. John N. Choate, *White Buffalo, Cheyenne, Native Dress*, 1881, albumen print mounted on card, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 9. (cat. 26)



Fig. 2. John N. Choate, *White Buffalo, Cheyenne*, 1884, albumen print mounted on card, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 13. (cat. 31)

Before-and-After Photographs from the Carlisle Indian School

Hill Gbourne

Traditional photographic methods are based on scientific processes that use light, metals, and chemicals to create an image. Unlike hand-drawn illustrations, which are the product of individual style, selection, and emphasis, photographs are the product of objective scientific properties and processes that imbue them with an aura of greater documentary integrity. While early photographers found ways of making images that appeared to record one thing when they were doing something else, such parlor tricks did not fundamentally challenge the assumption that a photograph documented a brief moment in time faithfully.¹

This assumption of veracity and truth in the photographic image is the driving force behind the well-known before-and-after photographs made of Native American students at the Carlisle Indian School, which was in operation from 1879 to 1919. These photographs—which purport to show the dramatic, civilizing effects of acculturation—illustrate the persuasive power of photography and how it can be used as “evidence” to shape public perception. In this case, the photographs were created explicitly to “demonstrate the feasibility of educating Indians for citizenship.”² These before-and-after prints were made by Carlisle portrait photographer John Nicholas Choate,³ who worked on these photographs under the direction of Richard Henry Pratt (fig. 1), the superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School from 1879 to 1904.⁴ Pratt commissioned these photographs in part to demonstrate the supposed efficacy of his assimilationist mission at the school.

A pair of cabinet card photographs representing White Buffalo, a member of the Cheyenne Nation who arrived at the Carlisle Indian School in 1881, stands as an example of this type (figs. 2, 3). In the “before” portrait, White Buffalo is shown seated, wearing a feathered headdress, long-sleeved tasseled animal-skin shirt, long pants, and moccasins. His hair nearly reaches his waistline, and his hands cling to a bow and arrow. He appears before a typical nineteenth-century painted backdrop that represents a tree, shrubs, a stone wall, and a distant sky. White Buffalo sits on a pile of stones and various logs lay by his feet. A strip of beaded cloth appears draped over the stone in the foreground. The reverse of the



Fig. 1. John N. Choate, *Capt. Pratt, Supt of Indian School, Carlisle, Pa.*, n.d. albumen print mounted on card. Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, 2002.2, Folder 1.

card bears a handwritten ink inscription that reads: “No 86 / White Buffalo / Cheyenne / Native Dress / Choate / Photog’r.” The tall headdress, reserved for chiefs and warriors, is a curious item for White Buffalo, who would have been approximately seventeen at the time. Indeed, the staged nature of this photo causes one to question whether any of the items (props?) belonged to White Buffalo.⁵ However, to those unfamiliar with the subtleties of Cheyenne dress, it would appear sufficiently exotic and that Choate had created a “carefully packaged, White-led version of ‘Indianness.’”⁶ In contrast, Choate’s “after” photograph from 1882 presents a different representation of the Cheyenne. In this image White Buffalo is presented as a standard, bust-length portrait with no background. His demeanor is that of a serious,

dignified individual, which is echoed in his apparel. He wears a buttoned jacket, collared shirt, and tie. His headdress and long hair are gone, and he lacks the props used in the “before” photograph. The before-and-after photographs are designed to demonstrate the efficacy of Pratt’s program since he used them in Carlisle publications and other forms of school advertisement. Likewise, he sent copies to the parents of students to reassure them of their child’s well-being. He sent copies as well to potential benefactors of the school to visibly document the transformation of the students, and by implication, the success of the institution. Pratt’s “white-led version of ‘Indianness’” was an effort to shape a narrative of Native Americans.

Another set of before-and-after photographs features Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, and Chauncey Yellow Robe (figs. 4, 5). The “before” exposure captures one

figure standing in the middle flanked by a pair of boys seated on a patterned rug in the photographer’s studio. A painted backdrop decorated with a vague architectural feature in front of a view of the sky appears behind them. Each of the seated boys wears a single feather and strands of beads. They wear moccasins and the center figure is covered (excessively?) in animal fur and blankets. Each sitter looks directly out at the viewer and their hair, though long, is clean and combed. They wear jackets with large buttons and a neckerchief.⁷ Collectively, their clothing, hairstyle, and eagle feathers mark them as “other,” and suitably exotic. Although subtle, staging the photograph with the two boys sitting on the carpet, rather than in chairs, is highly unusual for nineteenth-century portrait conventions. Such a gesture was surely a slight aimed at the Plains Indians’ practice of sitting on blankets placed on the ground. In the photo taken six months after their arrival, the three students feature short hair. They each wear



Fig. 4. John N. Choate, *Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe, Upon their Arrival in Carlisle*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 6 (cat. 27)



Fig. 5. John N. Choate, *Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe, 6 Months after Entrance to School*, n.d., albumen print mounted on card, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, PC 2002.2, Folder 7 (cat. 28)

a uniform, which features a collared shirt, a buttoned jacket with matching pants, and black hard-soled shoes. Although the rug remains the same, the painted background suggests a refined domestic interior, and the flanking students now sit in upholstered wood chairs and rest their hands in a formal manner. For all the portrait's formality, Choate could not resist seating the one boy in front of a plant so that the fronds appear mockingly above his head as if they were eagle feathers. Taken together, this pair of before-and-after photographs appears to document the kind of dramatic change that Pratt believed the school could effect on Native American children.

A final, and the most famous, set of before-and-after photographs represent the Diné (Navajo) student Tom Torlino (figs. 6, 7). The “before” portrait was made in 1882, upon Torlino’s arrival in Carlisle. In this photograph he appears dark-skinned with long, frayed hair pulled back with a

headband. He wears earrings, a number of necklaces, a cloth shirt with an open neck, and, over his shoulder, a folded cloth that features Navajo patterns. The “after” portrait shows him wearing a white collared shirt with tie, a buttoned jacket, and hair that has been cut and fashioned according to styles common at schools and military institutions of the time. Perhaps most striking is the lighter tone of his skin in the “after” photograph.⁸ To the viewer, this aspect alone suggested that Pratt’s educational system “brought not just crisp clothes, short hair, and a manly gaze but also whiter skin.”⁹

Choate’s prints were well widely promoted in part to satisfy the fascination with the exotic and the “other.”¹⁰ This is demonstrated by the backs of many of the cards, which list Choate’s full line of such images and promote their purchase and collection (fig. 8). Pratt assisted Choate in this matter by promoting the photographs in the pages of the Carlisle



Fig. 6. John N. Choate, *Tom Torlino* (upon arrival at Carlisle), c. 1882, albumen print mounted on card, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.



Fig. 7. John N. Choate, *Tom Torlino* (three years later), c. 1885, albumen print mounted on card, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

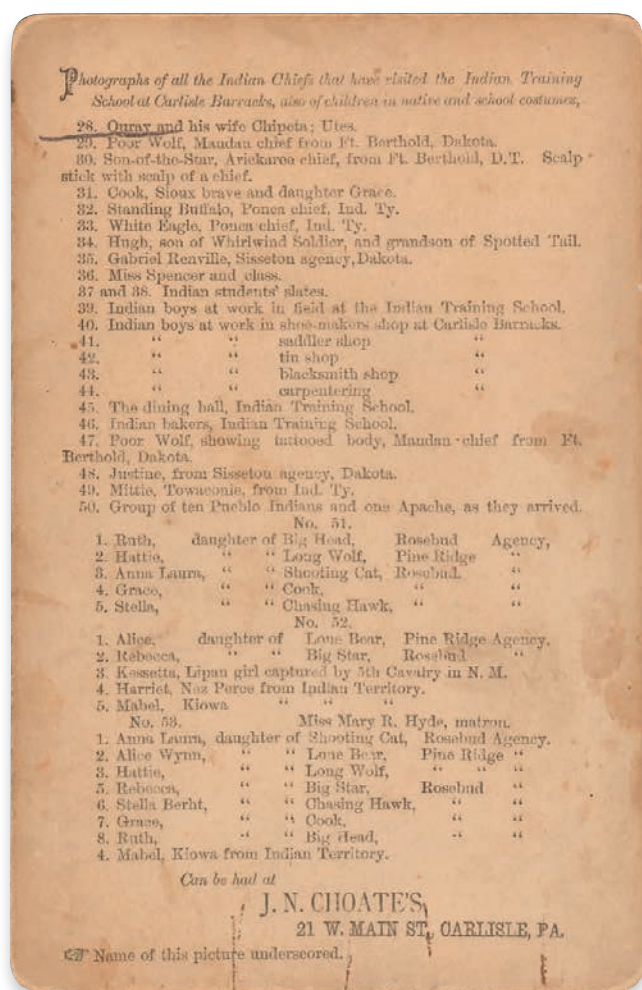


Fig. 8. Back of Photographic Cabinet Card from Choate's Studio, n.d., archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Folder 12 (cat. 29)

Indian School's newsletter, *Indian Helper*. While Choate was able to successfully market portraits and scenes from the Carlisle Indian School, his photographs raise issues regarding how images of the Native Americans enrolled were exploited in the interests of the school. One issue is the notion of collecting and commodifying the "other." Such capitalistic practices inform and reinforce a sense of superiority on the part of the dominant consumer group at the expense of those who are made into a commodity. A second issue concerns the way in which before-and-after photographs were used to promote acculturation into the dominant, "civilized" White society as the solution to the "problem of the other," implicitly stating that those who are "primitive" and have not been acculturated into the dominant society are inherently inferior. Photography was used to reinforce a racial hierarchy and solidify stereotypes.¹¹ The captured "after" transformation demonstrates a stereotype that suggests the Native American (prior to acculturation) is unable to be a functioning member in American society. The after image is supposed to represent

an individual who has been "bettered" through Pratt's educational system and has come out as a "civilized" person.

Stereo Views and the Marketability of the "Other"

Since the colonial era, members of the dominant White class in America have used images of Native Americans—many of them based on racial stereotypes—to help shape a national identity favorable to those in power.¹² Such stereotypes include but are not limited to "the good Indian, the bad Indian, the nostalgic vanishing, brave warriors, and countless ignoble images of brutality and degradation."¹³ The creation of the Carlisle Indian School and similar boarding schools coincided with the reduction of hostilities in the western United States. The conclusion of the Indian Wars in 1881 ended the Native American threat to continued westward expansion. With a growing sense of security, members of the dominant White society increasingly came to regard the Native American with nostalgia. No longer a threat, Native Americans fell victim to American commercialization and commodification. They were no longer regarded as the "other" as enemy warriors; now they were the "other" as "mild reservation dwellers."¹⁴ Such notions mingled with other well-established stereotypes of Native Americans that resulted in the widespread production and consumption of Native American-themed items including cabinet cards, such as those made by Choate, and photographic stereographs.¹⁵

Indeed, the innovation and extraordinary popularity of stereographs in the last quarter of the nineteenth century contributed to the commodification of Native Americans (fig. 9).¹⁶ Prior to his arrival at Carlisle, Pratt oversaw the making of stereo views of Native Americans who were held captive at Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida (fig. 10), in what was to be a precursor to his work at the Carlisle Indian School. These stereo views were sold to tourists who visited the fort. Thus, only a few years before his arrival in Carlisle, Pratt was well acquainted with the marketability and commodification of Native Americans. Pratt brought this sensibility with him to Choate, who recognized the marketability of selling cabinet cards and stereo views that capitalized on the spectacle of the "other" and advertised them as souvenirs of the Carlisle Indian School. Through such popular items, often sold as educational resources (fig. 11), images of Native Americans took on an allure similar to that of exotic tourist attractions. Stereo views with scenes of monuments and exotic locations were increasingly common within Victorian homes. Those who could not visit the Plains, Carlisle, or St.

Augustine in person could still consume the commodity that was the Native American by purchasing stereo views of them.

A Picture of Civilization

Native Americans were often depicted as exotic, primitive, savage beings who needed to be educated and civilized. Support for this position was sketched out in Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877). In this work Morgan defined seven ethical periods, or rather stages, of cultural evolution to which every person or group could be assigned.¹⁷ These stages ranged from lower savagery to lower barbarism and lastly to civilized. He placed Native Americans in the savage and barbaric tiers. The reason for this rested in the cultural differences between the White and the Native American populations. Native American tribal life, their dependence on wild game, and their level of technical and material development, among a range of other factors, assigned them to a primitive state. In his analysis of Morgan's work, Robert F. Berkhofer notes: "Whites overwhelmingly measured the Indian as a general category against those beliefs, values, or institutions they most cherished in themselves at the time. For this reason, many commentators on the history of White Indian imagery see Europeans and Americans as using counterimages of themselves to

describe Indians and the counterimages of Indians to describe themselves."¹⁸

Morgan argued as well that anyone could eventually reach a civilized state "since Americans had already attained civility via historical and environmental circumstance . . . and some argued . . . [that] by divine intent" they had assumed the responsibility of erasing the "savage" ways of Native Americans, replacing them with the structured and civilized lifestyle of Whites. In essence, this labeling of Native Americans as a savage people was a convenient and self-serving means to justify acculturation. In this way, off-reservation boarding schools, such as the Carlisle Indian School, played a fundamental role in this civilizing process.

Within this broader trend toward acculturation, it is important to situate Pratt's view of the Native Americans. While he saw potential in them, much as he saw potential in newly enlisted military cadets, he regarded their indigenous cultural practices and way of life inferior to that of Whites in every way. However, he saw no need to physically eliminate them to secure American prosperity. In his much repeated statement "Kill the Indian, and save the man in him," he argued that the "solution to the Indian problem lay in the rapid assimilation of the race into American life."¹⁹ He wanted the Native American to be able to join White society on equal



Fig. 9. John N. Choate, *Miss Sarah Mather and Indian Girls Upon their Arrival at Carlisle*, 1879, albumen prints mounted on stereoscopic card, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle Indian School, Folder 16 (cat. 37)

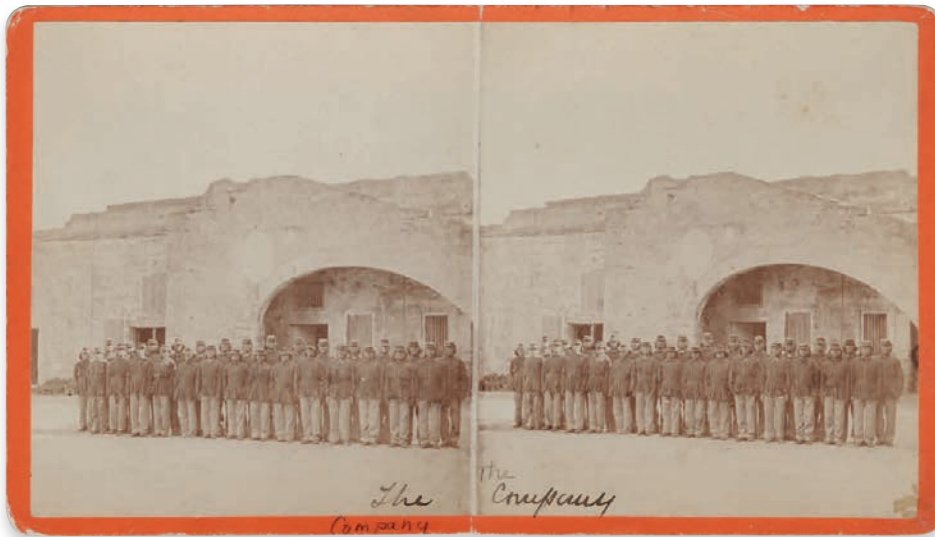


Fig. 10. Photographer unknown, *A Group of Plains Indian Prisoners of War in Military Uniforms Assembled in the Courtyard, Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida*, c. 1875–1878, albumen prints mounted on a stereo view card, Richard Henry Pratt Collection, MSS S-1174, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT

Fig. 11. Underwood & Underwood, Publishers, *The Stereograph as Educator—Underwood patent extension cabinet in a home library*, ca. 1901, gelatin silver prints on stereographic card, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC



terms and extricate them from the severe racial animosity Black people regularly suffered and endured. Therefore, a stern, military-style academic and industrial education was essential to the absorption of Native Americans into the White “civilized” culture. Additionally, Pratt emphasized the role of Christianity as a civilizing force in the daily routine at the Carlisle Indian School: “In Indian Civilization I am a Baptist, because I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked.”²⁰ Pratt’s actions also reflected his environmentalist perspective to explain the Native Americans’ “backward” state. To him their setting led inescapably to a savage state. Consequently, moving the Native American from the natural to a more industrious and civilized location was a determining factor in transforming them from a savage into a civilized state. To best facilitate this level of immersion, Pratt insisted on removing only the younger generation of Natives from their home environments

for instruction. In doing this Pratt not only focused a longer period of study on more malleable students but prevented the continued practice of traditional methods of Native American way of life.

As a way to codify the progress of these efforts, Pratt turned to an alternative means to “foster interracial respect and dramatize the Indians special status,” the before-and-after photographs.²¹ These images showed the results achieved through an education from the Carlisle Indian School. Choate’s photos solidify the image of the civilized Native American, which was to be juxtaposed against the image of the primitive Native American. Aside from their rhetorical value, the photographs were profitable. However, the before-and-after photographs, whether manipulated or misleading, rest on the belief in assimilation, one that required the complete erasure and replacement of a culture because it was different and incompatible with that of White society.

1. Examples include employing multiple exposures on the same negative (to make "ghost" or "spirit" images) and the use of multiple negatives to produce a single image. For the composition *Fading Away* (1858), in which a young woman appears to be passing away before her bereaved family members, Henry Peach Robinson integrated several separate negatives to produce a dramatized combination print that caused a stir among nineteenth-century viewers who took the work of Romantic fiction to be a tragic document of life. See Mia Fineman, *Faking It: Manipulated Photography before Photoshop* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012).
2. Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 170. On the before-and-after photographs, see Phillip Earenfight, "Shan Goshorn's *Resisting the Mission* and the Origins of Before-and-After Photographs at the Carlisle Indian School," in *Shan Goshorn: Resisting the Mission*, ed. Earenfight (Carlisle, PA: The Trout Gallery, 2018), 54–65.
3. For John Nicholas Choate see Richard Tritt, "John Nicholas Choate: A Cumberland County Photographer," *Cumberland County History* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1996): 77–90; Lonna M. Malmshiemer, "'Imitation White Man': Images of Transformation at the Carlisle Indian School," *Studies in Visual Communication* 11, no. 4 (Fall 1985): 54–75; Laura Turner, "John Nicholas Choate and the Production of Photography at the Carlisle Indian School," in *Visualizing a Mission: Artifacts and Imagery of the Carlisle Indian School, 1879–1918* (Carlisle, PA: The Trout Gallery, 2004): 14–18; Antonia Valdes-Dapena, "Marketing the Exotic: Creating the Image of the 'Real' Indian," in *Visualizing a Mission*, 35–41; Beth Haller, "Cultural Voices or Pure Propaganda? Publications of the Carlisle Indian School," *American Journalism* 19 (2002): 65–68.
4. Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964); James L. Haley, *The Buffalo War: The History of the Red River Indian Uprising of 1874* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976); Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt, the Red Man's Moses* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935).
5. The generous use of props to enhance the exotic appearance of Native Americans in before-and-after photographs was referenced in a letter to Pratt from Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who with Pratt operated a biracial boarding school for formerly enslaved Black people and Native Americans at Hampton, Virginia (1877–1878): "We wish a variety of photographs of the Indians. Be sure and have them bring their wild and barbarous things. This will show whence we started." Samuel C. Armstrong to Richard H. Pratt, August 26, 1878, MSS-S-1174, Richard Pratt Papers, Yale Center of Western Americana, Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 46; Earenfight, *Shan Goshorn*, 61.
6. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 164.
7. The card mounts vary over time. On the reverse of this card, Choate not only lists the subjects' names, but he also includes his studio's contact information and states that one may purchase photos of the Carlisle Indian School from him.
8. The striking difference in Torlino's skin tone in the "before" and "after" photographs of him has attracted much attention. In spite of considerable speculation, there is no consensus on how to account for it. Theories range from the use of face powder or photographic filters to particular darkroom chemistry and processing techniques. None of Choate's other before-and-after photographic pairs exhibit such a strong contrast. Regardless of how Choate arrived at these results and whether they were intentional, there is little doubt that Pratt found value in the striking difference in the appearance of Torlino in the two photographs.
9. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 163.
10. Turner, "John Nicholas Choate and the Production of Photography at the Carlisle Indian School," 14–18.
11. Richard Dryer identifies three points of what a stereotype is and does: "Stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes 'difference.' Secondly, stereotyping deploys a strategy of 'splitting' . . . stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power." Dryer, "The Role of Stereotypes," (in *Media Studies: A Reader*, ed. Paul Marris and Sue Thornham (New York: New York University Press, 200): 245–251.
12. Stuart Hall, "The Spectacle of the 'Other,'" in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Hall (London: Sage in association with the Open University, 1997), 223–90.
13. Arlene Hirschfelder and Paulette F. Molin, "I is for Ignoble: Stereotyping Native Americans," *Stereotyping Native Americans*, February 22, 2018, accessed November 17, 2021, <https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/native/homepage.htm>.
14. S. Elizabeth Bird and Frank Goodyear, "The Narratives of Sitting Bull's Surrender: Bailey, Dix & Mead's Photographic Western," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. Bird (New York: Routledge, 2018), 29–45.
15. Valdes-Dapena, "Marketing the Exotic," 35–41.
16. On stereographs see William Culp Darrah, *Stereo Views: A History of Stereographs in America and their Collection* (Gettysburg: Times and News, 1964).
17. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 14.
18. Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., "The Idea of the Indian: Invention and Perpetuation," in *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 2004).
19. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 52.
20. Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879–1918*, 3rd ed. (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 2002), 19.
21. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 166.

Take a
KODAK
with you



The Kodak Girl

Snapshots

"I am a passionate lover of the snapshot, because of all photographic images it comes closest to the truth."

—Lisette Model

The term "snapshot" was first documented in a diary (1808) of an English sportsman, who, in the context of hunting, wrote that "every bird he got was by snapshot, meaning by a hurried shot, taken without deliberate aim." The term, however, was not applied to photography until 1860, when Sir John Herschel speculated that sometime in the future people would take photographs, "as it were, by snapshot." This was speculation, since in his day, cameras were large and bulky, the negatives were made of glass plates, and exposures were often measured in seconds—hardly the conditions for a spontaneous "snapshot."

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, Herschel's speculation was a reality. The development of small, light-weight, easy to use cameras, highly light sensitive flexible roll film, lenses that emitted more light, and faster shutters, enabled photographers to capture an event at a moment's notice, making the snapshot possible and, with it, capturing a smile.

The Eastman Kodak company capitalized on these developments when it introduced its full service film and print processing under the slogan (1888): "You push the button and we do the rest." This approach further liberated photography from the grip of the professionals and placed it squarely in that of the mass consumers, who eagerly defined and embraced the snapshot aesthetic.



The Kodak Girl: A Snapshot of Women's Role in Photography

Ana-Elena Karlova

In a Kodak advertisement from 1934, a woman in a fashionable blue-and-white striped dress promotes Kodak film for the upcoming Paris Exhibition scheduled to take place in 1938 (fig. 1).¹ In her right hand, she holds above her head a Kodak camera, and from her left hand, Kodak Verichrome film cartons spill over, like a cornucopia, presumably to the lilliputian crowds below her. The woman depicted in the advertisement reminds the viewer of the classical virtue of Abundance. She appears as a colossus dwarfing even the grand neoclassical architecture below, which suggests a cosmopolitan lifestyle associated with the world's fairs, where products from around the world were displayed. As Nancy West notes, "Radiant, she looks to the heavens, holding her camera as the Statue of Liberty holds her torch. And like the Statue of Liberty, she joins an impressive array of women who personified a new social order."²

This figure, known as the Kodak Girl, reflects the growing freedom of women in the early twentieth century. With her camera, she can enjoy her independence. Not only does the Kodak Girl display monumental proportions, but so too does the pile of Verichrome film on which she stands. The excess and spillover of film boxes emphasize a world of surplus and consumption.³ In this image, science, art, and consumer products are associated with freedom and modern society. The Kodak Girl is always radiant, full of energy, and ready to document events in her life.⁴

The Progressive Era in the United States transformed women's positions in society and coincided with advertisements from the 1890s to 1920s featuring the Kodak Girl.⁵ During this period, Americans challenged the traditional roles women occupied in an array of spheres: the home, the workplace, and the community.⁶ This era gave birth to the establishment of the Women's Trade Union League, the Women's Bureau of the US Department of Labor, greater employment opportunities, and in 1920 suffrage.⁷ The image of the Kodak Girl embodied these notions of women's independence and unprecedented opportunities. However, as founder George Eastman admitted, these were not his intentions for marketing consumer products: "a picture of a pretty girl sells more than a tree or a house."⁸ That said, this aspect

of Eastman's marketing created a side effect: placing women at the center of taking pictures. Known for her independence, energy, youth, and beauty, the Kodak Girl inspired women's active participation in photography.

Origins of the Kodak Girl and the Snapshot

The Kodak Girl dates to 1892, when George Eastman devised the idea of a fictional person to represent the company in many of its advertising campaigns.⁹ The following year, she appeared for the first time in an advertisement to promote Kodak products at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (fig. 2). Eastman incorporated women in the world of photography, a previously male-dominated world, to



Opposite: **Fig. 1.** Fred Money, *Kodak Girl at World's Fair* (detail), 1934, lithograph advertisement, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

Fig. 2. Eastman Kodak, *Kodak Girls at the Chicago World's Fair*, 1893, lithograph advertisement, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

showcase the simplicity of the Kodak camera and to broaden its market base. The Kodak Girl promoted an adventuresome, liberated use of the camera and a spirited attitude about the lifestyle of taking photos. This casual, enjoyable approach reflected the candid, “snapshot” nature of the advertising.¹⁰

Not only did the Kodak Girl reflect increasing change in women’s rights, but the snapshot, as a type of photograph, reflected the characteristics of both the Kodak Girl and the era. Such photographs are small mementos that remind one of the historical, socioeconomic, and cultural context in which women lived. The snapshots studied here reflect the growing power of women, represented by the Kodak Girl.

The term “snapshot” was first documented in a diary of an English sportsman, who, in the context of hunting, wrote in 1808 that “every bird he got was by snapshot, meaning by a hurried shot, taken without deliberate aim.”¹¹ However, the term was not applied to photography until 1860, when Sir John Herschel speculated that sometime in the future people would take photographs, “as it were, by snapshot” at one-tenth of a second.¹²

Kodak played a central role in promoting the snapshot through technological developments that made taking pictures of daily life easy and carefree. As the advertisement for its Brownie camera claims, “You push the button and we do the rest”; the technological concerns were all left to the company, liberating photography from the grips of the professionals and amateurs, placing it squarely in those of the mass consumers. The snapshot’s immediacy, authenticity, and accidental qualities often resulted in a humorous image. As noted street photographer Lisette Model would assert much later in the twentieth century, “I am a passionate lover of the snapshot, because of all photographic images it comes closest to the truth.”¹³

Advances in technology made the snapshot possible and, with it, capturing a smile.¹⁴ The subject matter of snapshots often includes family members with an emphasis on children, pets and animals, traveling, outdoors, cars, and fashion. The snapshot emerged within the informal, domestic realm where women play a central role. Consequently, women were found on both sides of the camera lens. And so was the Kodak Girl.

The Kodak Girl and the Great Outdoors

The Kodak Girl first appeared in an advertisement for the Chicago World’s Fair of 1893 (fig. 1). As Kara Fiedorek Felt has noted, over twenty female photographers, both amateur and



Fig. 3. Eastman Kodak, *Kodak Girl*, 1913, lithograph advertisement, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

professional, documented events at the fair.¹⁵ Their numbers suggest that there was a large following of women photographers well before the Kodak Girl, but with limited visibility. In the advertisement, not one but two Kodak Girls appear curiously searching for inspiration for their next photograph. The presence of two Kodak Girls also emphasizes that any woman can be the Kodak Girl. One carries a camera, which she points at the viewer, highlighting their presence as photographers. They are depicted near the fair but also at a distance from the main event, emphasizing their independence and curiosity in the outdoors.

In a subsequent ad from a decade later (fig. 3), the Kodak Girl appears near the beach, with the wind blowing her signature blue-and-white dress.¹⁶ The image incorporated the nautically inspired dress to suggest the freedom of the sea and travel, which associates the Kodak Girl with the enjoyment and the independence of the outdoors.¹⁷ Her smile and exuberant hands-up-in-the-air gesture accentuates a life of enjoyment that she records with her Kodak camera. One can see such an



Fig. 4. Photographer unknown, *Four Women in a Boat*, c. 1910, gelatin silver print, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College (cat. 45)

approach to photography in snapshots from this era (fig. 4). In such images, women embrace their newly acquired independence to explore nature. No man is present in the image, emphasizing the women's ability to navigate nature and the great outdoors.¹⁸ As these examples illustrate, the Kodak Girl was often depicted away from home, outdoors, without a male companion, discovering the world and herself. Kodak presents an appealing image of the independent woman photographer, inspiring many women across the United States and the world to buy a Kodak camera and emulate the Kodak Girl.¹⁹ However, it is important to note that Kodak created the image of the Kodak Girl as a way to increase the sales of its products, not necessarily to elevate women's voices in photography.

The Traveling Kodak Girl

As a corollary to the great outdoors, the Kodak Girl was often associated with travel. In an advertisement from 1905 (fig. 5), the adventurous American Kodak Girl enjoys Japan with her prized possession: the Kodak camera. As a traveler and a photographer, she fully embraces her new freedom and independence. As John P. Jacob notes, "the Kodak Girl embodied the positive potential of a changing world without abandoning traditional values."²⁰ The Kodak Girl appears here accompanied only by a ricksha driver. Her elaborate hat dances with the movement of the wind, but her fashionable form-fitting dress, which would have been striking for the time period, remains still. Both figures turn their attention to the left, and the Kodak Girl instantly turns the camera in that direction to capture the view in front of her. The lantern hints that a Japanese garden will emerge, and the Kodak Girl prepares to photograph it.²¹ Although George Eastman promoted the Kodak camera to the average American, the modern fashion and means to enjoy a visit to Japan hints that the Kodak Girl has the means for such an adventure. The Kodak Girl explores Japan, a rapidly modernizing country,



Fig. 5. Allan Gilbert, *Kodak Simplicity*, 1905, lithographic advertisement, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

with the aid of a modern invention: the Kodak camera. In this image, Japan represents the extreme of long-distance travel and the lure of the exotic to the American consumer.

The Kodak Girl and the Automobile

In the twentieth century, the mass-produced automobile became an integral part of leisure activities. With some 450,000 cars registered in 1910, the United States was the world's dominant automobile culture.²² Advertisements typically reflect ongoing cultural, economic, and social changes; inevitably the Kodak Company incorporated this increasingly important element in its advertisements, with a particular emphasis on women enjoying the open road.²³ As West observes, "What mattered most to the first and second generations of car owners was a sense of an independent journey through unfamiliar terrain, the adventure of seeing what had not been seen before, and doing it without the restrictions of the timetables and schedules that circumscribed public tourism."²⁴



Fig. 6. Eastman Kodak, *Kodak, as you go*, c. 1910, offset lithograph advertisement, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY



Fig. 7. Photographer unknown, *Catherine Davis on Car*, April 1, 1925, gelatin silver print, The Trout Gallery, Dickinson College, museum purchase with funds from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2020.25 (cat. 54)



Fig. 8. Eastman Kodak, *Kodak as you go*, c. 1920, offset lithographic advertisement, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

The car symbolized independence and adventure in the same way that the Kodak Girl with her camera suggested travel and enjoyment. Kodak cleverly combined the car with the Kodak Girl in its advertisements, drawing a visual connection among these values. The speed and freedom of the automobile aligns with the camera's quick, informal spontaneity and its freedom of expression.²⁵ In this way, snapshot photography and cars met in Kodak advertisements. Indeed, the viewer often finds the Kodak Girl in a car ready to take the next snapshot.

In an advertisement from 1910 (fig. 6), a woman, fashionably dressed, holds a camera to capture the scenic view revealed by the road. Interestingly, she is the driver and alone. The woman enjoys the new freedom that both the camera and the car provide. The popular Kodak slogan "Kodak as you go" promotes the new opportunities that are presented to her. These advertisements shaped perceptions of womanhood, as is suggested by snapshots made at this time (fig. 7). In such images, the vehicle provides a background and prop for the sitter, removing the awkwardness of posing alone in front of the camera. The snapshot radiates control through the woman's dominant posture on top of the car; the only element missing is the Kodak camera. Although out of frame, the camera is surely present in the hands of the photographer.

In another advertisement, Kodak continued its marketing campaign of promoting picture taking and travel by car (fig.

8). The woman, about to enter her car, proudly shows her camera to the viewer while holding it with one hand. The viewer easily equates her with the Kodak Girl as a young woman who enjoys the freedom of the automobile and the camera. Women and cars are not only depicted together in advertisements but also in snapshots. In a photo that features four women in fashionable dresses with a car, the subjects display the youth and energy of Kodak's marketing invention (fig. 9). Once again, the car becomes the ideal prop as it removes the awkwardness of deciding how to position the subjects. The four women enjoy their time together, and the car reminds them of their independence.

Is the Kodak Girl a Mother?

Two Kodak advertisements from the early 1920s depict a family scene (figs. 10, 11). The multi-figure illustrations suggest more complex scenarios than those examined above, where the Kodak Girl appears alone. In these ads, the Kodak Girl's isolated but observant position raises certain questions about her association with the family pictured. Is she a mother? Is she just an observer? Is she hoping to be a mother? Is she looking back in time? In both images, she wears her signature blue-and-white striped dress. In the first example, which includes a small river, a man and a woman admire their daughter's efforts to cross a narrow stream as she steps on several stones—a metaphor of growth and progress. The mother carries a camera, ready to take a snapshot of her



Fig. 9. Photographer unknown, *Velva Diven '27, Jo Wright '27, and Vi Oiler '27 Standing on a Car Bumper*, c. 1927, gelatin silver print, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College (cat. 50)

daughter, knowing that these moments are limited, and that the only effective way to remember them is to take a photo. The floral frame around the intimate scene and the vintage font create a sense of nostalgia, perhaps suggesting that this advertisement depicts a window into the past. However, the Kodak Girl's gaze on the family and her camera in one hand seem almost voyeuristic. In this advertisement, she observes the family scene. Is she aspiring to be a mother? Is she looking back at her own childhood?

In the second example, intended for the British market, the Kodak Girl appears near a family picnic scene. This image it is even less clear whether she is part of the family or not. She is the only figure carrying a camera, so she might be the mother, but her camera also seems to separate her from the other subjects. The man coming up the hill and the multiple women in the ad, however, challenge this assumption.²⁶ Nevertheless, even if not a mother, the Kodak Girl carries the camera proudly everywhere she goes, emphasizing that female photographers are part of the new reality. Picnics were, of course, a staple of snapshot photography, but as the evidence here suggests, not all picnics were as comfortable as those shown in the ads (fig. 12).



Fig. 10. Eastman Kodak, *Kodak Time*, lithograph advertisement, c. 1920, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY



Fig. 11. Eastman Kodak, *Kodak*, lithograph advertisement, c. 1919, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY



Fig. 12. Photographer unknown, *Three Women Having Lunch on the Side of the Road*, gelatin silver print, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College (cat. 49)

... And Children?

As previous examples demonstrate, domestic photography developed in tandem with the Kodak camera. The company strategically targeted women as the audience for its advertisements, perhaps because women typically spent a great deal of time with their children and had more opportunities to take pictures of them. A pair of snapshots provides an example of how technological advancements in the photographic industry enabled parents to capture and document in unprecedented ways cherished childhood moments (figs. 13, 14). In the first snapshot two children appear in identical outfits and pose for a photo, but something out of frame distracts their attention. In the other snapshot a boy poses with his dog. While some snapshots capture widely recognizable scenarios, and are thus easy for almost anyone to appreciate, many snapshots are meaningful only to those who are involved in the process.²⁷

The Kodak Girl . . . Later

The advertisement of the Kodak Girl at the Paris Exhibition mentioned earlier (fig. 1) serves as an interesting transition to the later images of the Kodak Girl. In this poster, the Kodak Girl achieves iconic status, one that would anticipate the significant role of women in the workforce during World War II. However, during the period between the wars and up

through World War II, Kodak moved its iconic representative to the domestic realm until she ultimately disappeared.²⁸ As Martha Cooper notes, "I grew up in the '50s, when there were not many women photographers, or I thought there were very few. So, when I discovered the Kodak Girl, there was an immediate connection."²⁹ She continued to appear in advertisements afterward, but her presence slowly faded away until the 1970s, when the Kodak Girl campaign officially ended.³⁰ Snapshots, however, continued to grow in popularity, reaching their most widespread practice to date, with cell-phone cameras and digital imagery.



Fig. 13. Photographer unknown, *Kermit "Kim" Roosevelt Jr. and Joseph Willard Roosevelt*, c. 1920, gelatin silver print, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College (cat. 46)



Fig. 14. Photographer unknown, *Scottie and Topsey*, c. 1940, gelatin silver print, Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College (cat. 63)

1. Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 60.
2. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 60.
3. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 60.
4. In devising the Kodak Girl, the marketing team of Kodak drew inspiration from the Gibson Girl, who became a symbol of the Progressive Era in the United States. For the Gibson Girl, see Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895–1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); John P. Jacob, foreword to *Kodak Girl: From the Martha Cooper Collection*, ed. Jacob (Göttingen: Steidl, 2011), 10.
5. Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015).
6. Jacob, foreword to *Kodak Girl*, 9.
7. Jacob, foreword to *Kodak Girl*, 9.
8. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 113.
9. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 53.
10. During the nineteenth century, the time-consuming and complex process of producing photographs limited the practice to a select number of professionals and devoted amateurs. It was not until the simplification of photographic processes that the average American was able to take photos easily, successfully, and at a reasonable cost. Such developments—increased light-sensitive emulsions, flexible roll film, better lenses, compact lightweight cameras, shorter shutter speeds, commercial processing, and industrial-scale production that led to affordable pricing—allowed the snapshot to emerge.
11. John A. Kouwenhoven in *The Snapshot*, ed. Jonathan Green, *Aperture* 19, no. 1 (New York: Aperture, 1974), 107.
12. Kouwenhoven in *The Snapshot*, 107.
13. Lisette Model in *The Snapshot*, 6.
14. Diane Waggoner, “Photographic Amusements, 1888–1919,” in *The Art of the American Snapshot, 1888–1978, from the Collection of Robert E. Jackson* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2007), 29.
15. Kara Fiedorek Felt, “Before the Kodak Girl: Women in Nineteenth-Century Photography” (lecture, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, November 24, 2019), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x4i5r8O9EJ4>.
16. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 56.
17. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 56.
18. Ironically, the Kodak Company relied on hand-painted illustrations for much of its print advertising, rather than photographs. This was due in part to the superior degree of sophistication, artistry, and control achieved by illustrators at the time—particularly in color—who built on generations of experience in print advertising and poster design dating back to the late nineteenth century.
19. Felt, “Before the Kodak Girl,” points out that before Kodak, some women were assistants in photography studios, but their secondary role often rendered them invisible. In addition, by the late nineteenth century, many women opened their own photographic studios. See Jacob, foreword to *Kodak Girl*, 9.
20. Jacob, foreword to *Kodak Girl*, 10.
21. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 131.
22. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 66.
23. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 66.
24. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 66–67.
25. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 67.
26. This advertisement is particularly ambiguous due to the multiple women present. Perhaps the casualties in World War I contributed to a shifting demographic in Britain, which led to the ambiguity present in this advertisement.
27. Snapshots are often very personal and private in nature, and, like private written reflections (journals, diaries), raise questions regarding the ethics of access to someone else’s private moments. Sarah Greenough, introduction to *The Art of the American Snapshot*, 5.
28. Jacob, foreword to *Kodak Girl*, 12.
29. Jacob, foreword to *Kodak Girl*, 13.
30. Jacob, foreword to *Kodak Girl*, 12.



From Copyright Photograph 1910 by G.P. Smith

Photograph by G.P. Smith
A.P. 5/12

WATCHING THE DANCERS

Photographs in Printed Books and Journals

“...making reproductions [...] substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence.”

—Walter Benjamin

Since its development in 1839, photography has been connected to the printing industry. Just as the early pioneers of photography sought to make images with this technology, there were others who were trying to find ways to incorporate it into existing and newly emerging printing processes. Such developments would eliminate the time-consuming and costly task of making image-based printing plates by hand.

However, developing an industrial speed printing process that could print photographic images with the sharpness of a daguerreotype was out of reach until the twentieth century. It would be well into the 1960s before color printing would reach a similar level of quality.

Despite the time lag between the developments in photography and its full incorporation into the printing industry, the vast majority of people know photography through printed books and journals, and not through the photographs themselves. The power of photography rests on the image reproduced in various contexts, not in its original form.

This traditional scenario, however, has been shattered by digital imagery, which has entirely eliminated the time span between the moment of capture and the moment of publication. Moreover, the degradation of quality between the photographic original and the published image is gone as well, as is the distinction between the original capture and the published image.



Photojournalism's Dreadful Power: How *Life* Provoked a Nation

Jackson Rhodes

I walked up and saw these guys doing strange things. . . . Setting fire to the hootches and huts and waiting for people to come out and then shooting them. . . . going into the hootches and shooting them up. . . . gathering people in groups and shooting them. . . . As I walked in you could see piles of people all through the village. . . . all over. They were gathered up into large groups. I saw them shoot an M79 grenade launcher into a group of people who were still alive. But it was mostly done with a machine gun. They were shooting women and children just like anybody else. We met no resistance and I only saw three captured weapons. We had no casualties. It was just like any other Vietnamese village—old papasans, women and kids. As a matter of fact, I don't remember seeing one military-age male in the entire place, dead or alive.¹

March 16, 1968

Private First Class Michael Bernhardt's disturbing account describes what he observed as a soldier in the second platoon of the US Army's Charlie Company when tasked with attacking one of the villages in My Lai, Vietnam, on March 16, 1968. American forces launched an offensive on the village of My Lai, killing between 300 and 500 innocent villagers. Despite the abundance of war crimes committed at My Lai, news of the massacre only reached national US audiences twenty-one months later, in December 1969, through a photo spread and article published in *Life* magazine (figs. 1–5). The article, featuring firsthand accounts by soldiers at the scene, was especially influential because of the photographs included, each of which confirmed that the gruesome details told by those at the scene were accurate and could not be ignored. While the objectivity of a photograph should be subject to scrutiny, that Americans reacted quickly and passionately to the photographs in *Life* indicates the power that photojournalism holds. The publication of these photographs shaped how Americans experienced the photographs as well; as they thumbed through the pages of *Life*, the range of reactions to the images reflected the differences in Americans' opinions regarding the war and those involved in it.

Known to many soldiers as “Pinkville,” the village, one of several in the My Lai area, was targeted as a potential Viet Cong outpost. Charlie Company, one of the two battalions ordered into the operation, had begun to report casualties in weeks prior to the operation. This uptick in violence stands in sharp contrast to the company's peaceful arrival a few months earlier, in December 1967. The news of a direct offensive on a purported Viet Cong camp in My Lai was to some a cathartic operation, as the tolls of war in Vietnam had begun to wear on the soldiers of Charlie Company. Captain Ernest Medina had told his men the night before the operation that no civilians would be present after 7:00 a.m., and instructed his men to destroy everything in the village that was “walking, crawling or growling.”² At 7:30 a.m. the following morning, Medina led approximately 100 soldiers into the town, followed by three platoons, the first led by Second Lieutenant William Calley.³

Unknown to any of the soldiers in Charlie Company, the real Viet Cong base was some 200 miles away from the village. The villagers, already accustomed to soldiers walking among their homes, were not alarmed by the US presence. While there is no clear testimony from soldiers as to when the first shot was fired or by whom, the general consensus is that it was without warning. The sound of these shots began a rapid chain reaction of violence, motivating other soldiers to begin killing any villagers in sight. Ultimately, seventy to eighty villagers were rounded up into a ditch and fired upon. Women were raped before being killed, and children were not spared. Former Private First Class Paul D. Meadlo later said under oath that he had purposefully shot mothers with babies in hand “because he was afraid the babies might be carrying concealed grenades.”⁴

Ignoring orders, Warrant Officer Hugh Thompson, a helicopter pilot, rescued some of the Vietnamese villagers from being gunned down, and at times stood in front of US officers before they could kill more innocents. After returning to camp around 11:00 a.m., Thompson reported the massacre to his superiors, who promptly radioed Captain Medina to stop the attack. Thompson was later interviewed by Colonel Oran Henderson to ascertain a timeline of the day's events;



Fig. 3. *Life*, vol. 67, 40-41



Fig. 4. *Life*, vol. 67, 42-43



Fig. 5. *Life*, vol. 67, 44-45

apparently unmoved by Thompson's report, Henderson submitted a Letter of Commendation to Medina on March 27. The following day, a combat action report of the operation noted 128 Viet Cong combatants killed. *Stars and Stripes* reported at the time that "U.S. infantrymen had killed 128 Communists in a bloody day-long battle."⁵ In what appears to be a gesture of retaliation, Thompson was sent on dangerous solo missions throughout the following three months, during

which he crashed four times.⁶ Tom Glen, a gunner with only a vague understanding of the day's events but who recognized the seriousness of the situation, wrote a letter to his general around six months after My Lai, stating that "what has been outlined here I have seen not only in my own unit, but also in others we have worked with, and I fear it is universal."⁷ Major Colin Powell was tasked with investigating the letter, concluding that "in direct refutation of this portrayal is the fact that relations between American Division soldiers and the Vietnamese people are excellent."⁸

Despite the initial reports and interviews, details regarding the gruesome events of March 16, 1968 did not reach the US public at large for more than twenty-one months. This is not to say that the events were not recorded on film. Rob Haeberle, an Army photographer, was assigned to accompany soldiers to My Lai. Haeberle carried two cameras: one was a standard-issue US Army camera loaded with black-and-white film, and the second was a personal camera loaded with color film. Haeberle used his army camera, which was subject to censorship by the army as standard protocol, to document official army procedures. He used both cameras to document the events of My Lai. Although Haeberle submitted his black-and-white film to the army following standard procedure, he kept the color film from his personal camera, which he maintained following his previously scheduled exit from the army a mere one week later after being honorably discharged.

As Haeberle returned to civilian life, investigations into the events of My Lai worked their way through the halls of power. Ronald L. Ridenhaur, a helicopter gunner, sent a letter to President Richard Nixon and thirty members of the US Congress in March 1969, recounting second-hand consultations with members of Charlie Company as well as his own flyover of My Lai several days after the incident. In the letter, sent some three months after Ridenhaur was discharged from the military, he wrote that something "rather dark and bloody did indeed occur" in Pinkville.⁹ Although several members of congress who received the letter began an internal investigation that charged Lieutenant Calley on September 5, 1969, with premeditated murder, the army's investigation was internal; investigative journalist Seymour Hersch was the first to officially expose the story to the public after thorough questioning of Lieutenant Calley. Hersch lacked sufficient credibility

at the time to garner support for the story, and publishers questioned its accuracy.¹⁰ The lack of corroborating visual evidence left publishers with sufficient doubt to shelve the story—that is, until Haeberle's photos of the events were brought to light.

Haeberle showed his photos from My Lai to army investigators in August 1969. Ridenhaur's letter prompted Haeberle to reflect on his My Lai photographs and a potential cover-up. Concerned that the events would not see the light of day, he contacted the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and spoke with Joe Eszterhas, a writer for the newspaper and former classmate at Ohio State University. Eszterhas and Haeberle agreed to collaborate on the story, with Eszterhas writing the text accompanying the photos.

November 20, 1969

In the days leading up to the *Plain Dealer's* publication of the photographs, US Army prosecutor Aubrey Daniel pressured the newspaper not to publish the photos, falsely claiming that they were taken with Haeberle's army camera, and that publishing them would be illegal. Confident of the veracity of the soldiers' stories and Haeberle's photographs, the *Plain Dealer* published its front-page My Lai story on November 20, 1969. Haeberle and Eszterhas then sold their photos and news article to *Life* for around \$20,000, a significant sum of money at the time.¹¹

Despite the graphic nature of the photographs and the potential damage they could do to the war effort, they met the objectives of *Life* editors. *Life* bought Haeberle's photographs with the intention of publishing an exposé.¹² Indeed, the original mission statement of the magazine, written by publisher and editor Henry Luce in 1936, makes clear its goals:

To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things—machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon. . . . Thus to see, and to be shown, is now the will and the new expectancy of half of mankind. To see, and to show, is the mission now undertaken by a new publication, *The Show-Book of the World*, herein-after described.¹³

The December 5, 1969, issue of *Life*, which included the My Lai coverage, printed the article not as a cover story, but

well within its pages. The issue's cover features a photo of an African antelope, with the subtitle: "Great Action Pictures by John Daniels" (fig. 6). Readers could hardly anticipate what they found on pages 36 to 45. The editors' unassuming presentation of deeply disturbing images of war departed from their overt presentation of the casualties of war earlier in the year. Indeed, managing editor Ralph Graves had supervised the publication of the cover article for the June 27, 1969, issue, titled "The Faces of the American Dead in Vietnam: One Week's Toll." The article was essentially a photo album of some 200 men killed in Vietnam between May 28 and June 3. As one writer noted, "Turning the pages is like looking at a high school yearbook. The faces are mostly young. Some of them are in civilian clothes, others in uniform."¹⁴ The June 27 issue contradicted what had, up to that point, been the magazine's overall support of the war effort. Perhaps because of the divisive reaction to this presentation, Graves adopted a more subtle approach to the My Lai article, and left readers to discover the photographs with almost no introduction.

The layout of the article lends itself to accidental discovery. Beginning on page 36 of the issue, the first two double-page spreads include some of Haeberle's most provocative photographs, filling the vast majority of the pages. The photo of villagers corralled together takes up the entirety of page 37, and the following page prominently features a photo of corpses along a dirt road as well as smaller yet equally psychologically powerful images. Especially when placed among the cheerful and inviting holiday-themed advertisements found throughout the December 5 issue—in particular, one for Kodak cameras on the preceding double-page spread (fig. 7), Haeberle's photographs are simultaneously repulsive yet gripping.

While *Life* may have intended readers to find the article explosive, subsequent media outlets handled the controversy differently. *Newsweek*, for example, published a photo of Lieutenant Calley in full military garb on their front cover with the title "The Killings of Song My," alongside the descriptive title "Accused: Lieutenant William L. Calley Jr." In contrast, "British press and politicians had reacted immediately, and emotionally, to the massacre."¹⁵ The *New Statesman*, a liberal antiwar magazine, blamed the US military for the massacre. The communist world, including Chinese media outlets, Russian intellectuals, and East German protestors, vocalized their condemnation of the US military's actions. The *Japan Times*, acknowledging that "we have had our share of atrocities," stated that My Lai was a "grisly example of the brutalization that overtakes men in war."¹⁶



Fig. 6. John Dominis, *Life*, vol. 67, no. 23, December 5, 1968, cover



Fig. 7. *Life*, vol. 67, no. 23, December 5, 1968, 35

Eszterhas's article, with the added input of *Life* correspondents, is more descriptive than analytical. By setting the context as Calley's subsequent court-martial and governmental lack of response, the article depicts the day's events primarily through accounts by Haeberle and accompanying journalist Jay Roberts, squad leader Sergeant Charles West, and several lower-ranking soldiers. The style of writing aligns with Luce's mission statement: while Eszterhas writes segues and paraphrases to establish context, the bulk of the article is composed of quotations from interviews with some of those present at the event and the photographs themselves. Even though this approach seems to promote a narrative of objectivity based on primary sources, *Life* did not hesitate to emphasize provocative details. Aside from the title, "The Massacre at Mylai," quotes such as "Before, Americans always brought us candy and medicine" and "You don't call them civilians—to us, they were VC" are typeset as call-outs next to the copy. West, although cognizant of the horrors of war, regards violence as the necessary cost of war: "I was thinking about the security of my own men. I said to myself this is a bad thing that all these people had to be killed. But if I was to say that at that time I actually felt a whole lot of sorrow for the people, then I would be lying."¹⁷

While Eszterhas's article describes the context of the day and reactions of those involved, it supplements Haeberle's photographs. Of the ten pages dedicated to the story, only two do not feature a Haeberle photograph. Of the other eight, photos often take up half of the page, and one particularly striking photo is given its own page entirely. That photo, said in the article to be of women shot immediately after Haeberle captured the moment, is shocking because of the lack of gore, instead portraying the psychological horror that My Lai villagers felt before their deaths (fig. 1). Of the seven figures, three look to the viewer's left at what could be assumed to be the soldiers about to murder them. In Haeberle's photograph, the small girl in white, whose facial expression emotes feelings of terror and impending doom, combines the uneasiness this type of gaze seems to project with the pain of having to bear witness to a young child's face in such panic. While the child's face could be said to connote panic, the expression of the central figure, a woman in red, again facing to the viewer's left, cannot be said to be anything but profound grief. Her body posture and facial expression are practically fetal: her upper back is slouched, and her hands barely seem capable of holding a piece of cloth as a result of her stress. The woman, who can be inferred to better understand the

doom of the situation because of her age, still exhibits the purity of emotion normally associated with young children, albeit only because of this doom.

Photos From My Lai And Other Conflicts

Another of Haerberle's photos depicts a road leading from the village covered in corpses, some entirely naked (fig. 2). In contrast to the full-page photo of those about to be killed, this photo is absent of individual identities, as the corpses have become abstract forms composed of human shapes rather than cognizant people. Besides the shock value of showing mangled corpses, photos of this nature indicate, as Susan Sontag notes, that "the scale of war's murderousness destroys what identifies people as individuals, even as human beings."¹⁸ Where Haerberle's photo of women and children on the cusp of death suggests impending violence, this photo confirms those grim suspicions. Haerberle's photo of corpses lining a Vietnamese road supersedes imagination and denies viewers the separative degree of imagination. The confrontational nature of gore in Haerberle's photograph was utilized by antiwar protestors in the poster titled *And Babies* (fig. 8). Based on a quote from a television interview in which a US soldier admitted to indiscriminately murdering Vietnamese on the day of the attack, the poster connects the soldier's apathy to the carnage dealt by him and his fellow soldiers. Most likely due to the undeniable that US forces caused such a gruesome scene, "*And Babies* served to vent the outrage that many felt against the conflict in southeast Asia."¹⁹



Fig. 8. Art Workers' Coalition, Frazer Dougherty, Jon Hendricks, Irving Petlin, Ron L. Haerberle (photographer), *Q. And babies? A. And babies.*, 1970, offset lithograph on paper. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Jon Hendricks, 2017.10, © 1970 Irving Petlin, Jon Hendricks, and Frazer Dougherty.

Photographs are nuanced in that their meanings do not necessarily dictate what is represented. Provocative photographs can be a form of coercion when attached to provocative headlines; governments worldwide have the ability to harness the emotional weight of a photograph to direct societal understanding of foreign affairs. Contests like the Spanish Civil War, Vietnam, and the Israel-Palestine conflict "were guaranteed the attention of many cameras because they were invested with the meaning of larger struggles," states Sontag.²⁰ American intervention in Vietnam hinged on public distrust of communism and fear of its spread in Southeast Asia, a narrative that could be justified through manipulative framing of photographs. Although intended to create the opposite impact, the same manipulative lens can be applied to *Life's* article. Titling its article "The Massacre at Mylai" forces readers to view the photographs as that of a "massacre," a word charged with feelings of mercilessness and brutality.

Regardless of subjective opinion on the photographs, the fact that photos exist is proof that, in Sontag's words, "this is the truth . . . Of course the photographer saw it. And unless there's been some tampering or misrepresenting, it is the truth."²¹ When Seymour Hersch first published his exposé on the massacre, the urge by publishers not to release the story seemed to be shaped as much by legal concerns as it was by desperate incredulity that their countrymen could commit such an atrocity. To have photographic evidence to corroborate a written account reduces optimistic imagination that what is said to have happened is merely an exaggeration.

As opposed to paintings or other visual media, photography is the result of a machine's technical process as directed by a human rather than a human's process entirely. A different form of visual art such as painting certainly has the ability to evoke emotions and ideas in a unique way separate from the restrictions of a camera. As Sontag remarks, however,

"a single photograph or filmstrip claims to represent exactly what was before the camera's lens. A photograph is supposed not to evoke but to show. That is why photographs, unlike handmade images, can count as evidence."²²

Viewers of war photography are also less suspicious of the authenticity of the photograph because of the filter of war, where it could be deemed that photojournalists should present events more truthfully out of good faith or professional

standards. This is a thin argument to test a given image's credibility, but to attempt to ascertain the authenticity of a war photograph is in many cases difficult, bound to become more daunting when considering the sheer volume of war photographs. To accept war photography as authentic is so interconnected with casual societal understanding of photojournalism that the question is absent rather than ignored.

Life and other news media offer an unavoidably inauthentic presentation of war in that they are bound to sustain their own well-being while simultaneously presenting unsettling images. The presence of advertisements alongside war media desensitizes the hell that is war. Where television news has commercial breaks that immediately remove viewers from the immersion of violence abroad, printed media like *Life* dedicate entire spreads to advertising. In an example cited by Susan Sontag:

When Capa's at-the-moment-of-death picture of the Republican soldier appeared in *Life* on July 12, 1937, it occupied the whole of the right page; facing it on the left was a full-page advertisement for Vitalis, a men's hair cream, with a small picture of someone exerting himself at tennis and a large portrait of the same man in a white dinner jacket sporting a head of neatly parted, slicked-down, lustrous hair. The double spread—with each use of the camera implying the invisibility of the other—seems not just bizarre but curiously dated now.²³

The photo essays in *Life* had the effect of a mass-produced photo album. When considering the mass production of images, Walter Benjamin contends: . . . the technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. By making many reproductions it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence.²⁴

When the horrors of war are said to be justified politically, to expose the horrors appears as though it is a political statement. That *Life* showed readers photos from Vietnam created two degrees of separation between the reader and the actual event: the physical distance between the event and the reader, and that between the information being presented and a news source. Although the photographs highlight individual scenes of gore and terror, it is up to the reader to fill in the gaps created by these degrees of separation, a process that is unavoidably subjective. Coming almost twenty-five years after the end of World War II, images of the results of US

carnage forced many Americans to question whether they were ethically on the wrong side of the conflict. Gone was the romance wherein Americans joined the fight to save the world from an immediate, indisputably tyrannical dictator and a power-hungry empire. The Vietnam War brought US self-interest up against the concept of communism, while photographs like Haeberle's forced nuanced perspectives on how we interpret war photography.

Innovations in photographic technology allowed photojournalists to capture color images, depicting Vietnam far closer to reality than previous US wars. Although identical in all technical aspects other than its lack of color, black-and-white photography suggests a representation that is one or more degrees separated from reality. Color war photographs provide more information, and thus more readily invite viewers to posit themselves in the image. Consequently, color eases the viewer into more easily accepting the photograph as proof. If a photograph could be evidence, the element of color increases its weight.

The December 19, 1969, issue of *Life* published readers' responses to the My Lai story. Responses varied: James Jones, twenty-two and a former Vietnam veteran, stated that "the responsibility is on the Vietnamese people. They are alike, they dress alike and look alike. When they are trying to kill you, well, if it had to happen, it had to happen." Others, like Glen Butler, twenty-one, wrote that "the whole world is guilty—the Army as an institution and the government as representative of the American people. It lowers the image of America throughout the world. It lowers whatever we strive for in Vietnam." Virginia Apsey added that "one feels a need to place the blame for this latest horror. All we need to do is look in our mirror."²⁵

The editors of *Life* noted that "seldom did Mylai reverse a person's feelings about the war; it served only to intensify views already held."²⁶ Most responses to the article by former veterans were supportive of the soldiers, who empathized with the soldiers of Charlie Company because of their own horrific experiences. Others used the story as a means to criticize President Richard Nixon and the government, to attack those who would use the story as a means for governmental criticism, or even to distance themselves from engaging with the story's implications altogether. These responses mirrored US society on the eve of 1970. The mass-produced magazine became an individual's unique object with which one had an intimate connection. When discussing the concepts on a

larger scale, whatever conclusions were formed through that intimacy became intertwined with broader, societal issues. Some veterans who saw the photographs attributed negative sentiments toward Charlie Company as criticisms of their own service, and thus by defending the actions as complying with orders were defending such actions of their own. “Massacre” as a term could be seen by these individuals as unnecessarily pejorative. In contrast, many who were already opposed to the war had their biases confirmed by assertions that photojournalism delivered the truth. While narratives are formed by those who produce content, readers identify with a story in ways that are shaped by their individual perspectives. To those already opposed to the war, Haeberle’s photographs fit their narratives that the United States was not on the right side of the war.

Although Ron Haeberle’s photographs in *Life* vary in terms of what is depicted, the essence of each photograph is similar in that they all present horrors associated with war. Despite this, the supposed justification of violence as a wartime activity alters our perceptions of war photography. When only photos of an event are present, discussions about those events can be misinformed in that they are based solely on still images, an appropriation of reality by the photographer. The nature of photography is such that the only context provided is that which is depicted, prompting individuals to perceive what they believe the images represent. Photography is certainly not an objective representation of reality. However, the trust invested in Haeberle’s photographs as photojournalism makes the photos objective markers by which to observe Americans’ subjective responses.

1. Seymour Hersh, “GIs Call Viet Killings ‘Point-Blank Murder,’” *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland), November 20, 1969.
2. “Calley’s Trial Puts Emphasis on CO,” *Bangor (ME) Daily News*, December 21, 1970.
3. Firsthand accounts of the events of the My Lai massacre appear in *American Experience*, season 22, episode 6, “My Lai,” directed by Barak Goodman, aired April 26, 2010, on PBS, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/mylai/>.
4. Homer Bigart, “Mylai G.I. Feared Babies Held Grenades,” *New York Times*, January 13, 1971.
5. Seth Robson, “Clemency Is Last Hope for a More Normal Life,” *Stars and Stripes*, May 12, 2009.
6. *American Experience*, “My Lai.”
7. Robert Parry and Norman Solomon, “Behind Colin Powell’s Legacy—My Lai,” *Consortium for Independent Journalism*, July 22, 1996.
8. Parry and Solomon, “Behind Colin Powell’s Legacy—My Lai.”
9. Ronald Ridenhour to members of the US Congress, Phoenix, March 29, 1969. For contextual information on Haeberle, see Evelyn Theiss, “My Lai Photographer Rob Haeberle Exposed a Vietnam Massacre 40 Years Ago Today in *The Plain Dealer*,” *Plain Dealer*, November 20, 2009.
10. Padraig Moran, “How reporter Seymour Hersh uncovered a massacre, and changed the Vietnam War dialogue,” *The Current*, aired June 14, 2018, on CBC.
11. Evelyn Theiss, “My Lai Photographer Rob Haeberle Exposed a Vietnam Massacre 40 Years Ago Today in *The Plain Dealer*,” *Plain Dealer*, November 20, 2009.
12. This was not in alignment with the magazine’s stance in years prior to Luce’s arrival. *Life* had shifted its focus since the magazine’s inception in 1883 from a general, light-interest magazine to an intense focus on photojournalism after being bought out by Luce in 1936.
13. Henry Luce, “A Prospectus for a New Magazine,” unpublished confidential prospectus circulated among staff at Time Inc., November 1936.
14. Alex Ashlock, “‘Look at These Beautiful Boys’: In 1969, *Life* Magazine Published the Faces of Americans Killed in Vietnam,” *Here & Now*, aired June 27, 2019, on WBUR.
15. “My Lai from Abroad,” *Time*, December 19, 1969, 46–47.
16. “My Lai from Abroad,” *Time*, 46–47.
17. Joe Eszterhas, “The Massacre at Mylai,” *Life*, December 5, 1969.
18. Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 61.
19. M. Paul Holsinger, *War and American Popular Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1999), 363.
20. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 36.
21. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 46.
22. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 47.
23. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, 32.
24. Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (1935), in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969), 44.
25. Readers responses appeared in “Americans Speak Out on the Massacre at Mylai,” *Life* 67, no. 24, December 19, 1969, 46–47.
26. “Americans Speak Out,” 46–47.

II. In a Gallery

PHOTOGRAPHY AS ART





CAMERA WORK^{oo}

A PHOTOGRAPHIC QUARTERLY
• EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY •
ALFRED STIEGLITZ NEW YORK

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MDCCCXIII

Prints and Photobooks

*“Why am I seeing and
feeling this?
How am I growing?
What am I learning?”*

—Ansel Adams

Photographs are the product of chemistry and physics. As such, photography challenged the established, manual tradition of painting and printmaking. It pitted chemical and physical processes against the deliberate, thoughtful action of hand and mind. Consequently, it was not long after the invention of photography in 1839 that the question of whether photographs could be art soon emerged.

Initial answers to this question concluded that photography was: (a) a science, and thus not art; or (b) useful to artists as an aid to achieving greater naturalism in painting, but not an art; or (c) that it was an expressive art form similar to etching. That photography represented a direct threat to the livelihood of painters of portraits, still-lives, and landscapes earned it many critics among the artists.

For much of the nineteenth century, photographers who sought to explore the artistic dimension of the medium frequently aimed to imitate the soft, gauzy, romantic style found in many paintings of the day; they include the Pictorialist and Photo-Secessionists. Such a strategy made photographs “look” like art but denied the medium its full potential and made it dependent on painting. It was not until the Modernists of the twentieth century that photographers began to explore the unique artistic potential of the medium. Today, there are few who would deny photograph its place among the arts.

Opposite: Alfred Steiglitz, *Camera Work*
(cover), nos. 42/43, 1913 (cat. 96)

Previous spread: Lissa Rivera, *Yellow Classroom*
(*Desire*) (detail), 2017, archival pigment on
paper (cat. 113)



Fig. 1. Robert Frank, *The Americans* (New York: Grove Press, 1959), dust jacket (cat. 100)

Photographic Poetry: Robert Frank and Jack Kerouac's *The Americans*

Tenzin L. Crowley

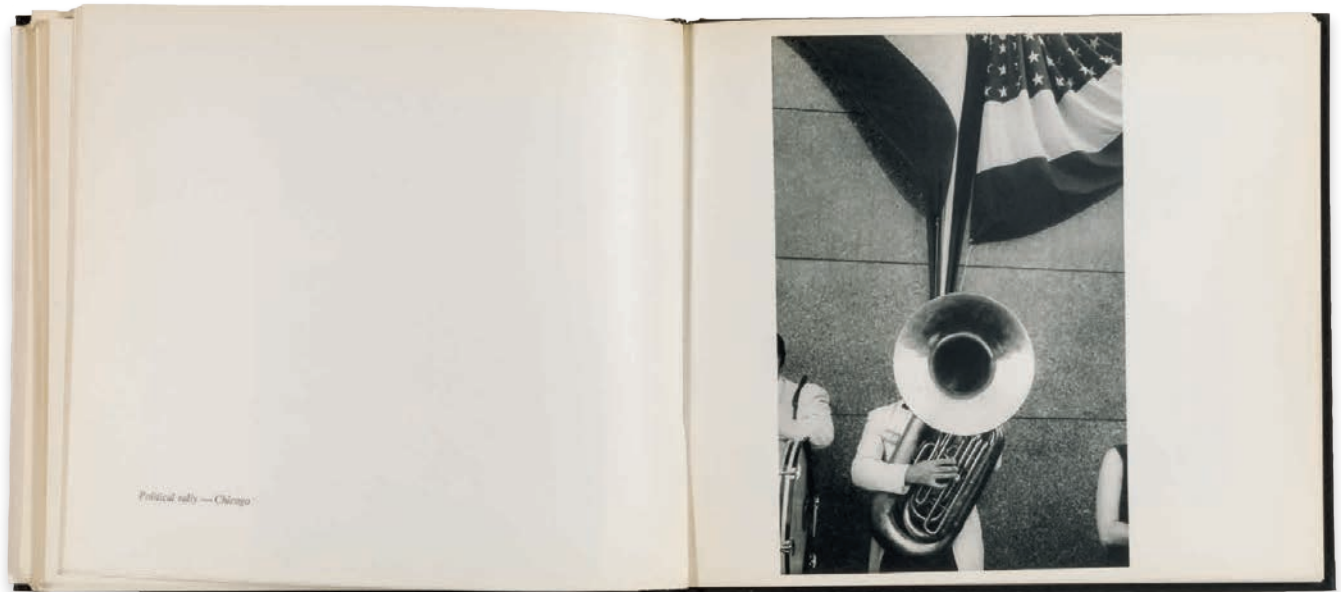


Fig. 2. Robert Frank, *Candy Store—New York*, from *The Americans*

The Americans sits heavy on the table, wrapped in a glossy dust jacket (fig. 1). It is moderately thick and wider than tall. On the jacket is an image of a bus. The photo is high in contrast, nearly to the point of a detriment as details are lost, such as the boy's hand that reaches around the window frame. The picture is on a white background with the title "The Americans" set in big, black, block letters. Below the bus window, superimposed on the photo—in such a way that the words look to be on the bus itself, the text reads "Photographs by Robert Frank / Introduction by Jack Kerouac." Picking up the book and flipping open the cover, the reader comes face to face with Americans who display expressions of sadness, joy, contempt, intrigue. Thumbing through the 180 heavy pages reveals a simple design: each double-page spread presents on the right a single black-and-white photograph, surrounded by ample white margins, and on the left a short descriptive title (fig. 2). Each photo is printed with a deep, saturated black ink that captures the nuanced gradients in Frank's work.

The Americans exists essentially as a photobook; the photographs themselves were not shown in an individual exhibit until 2009—more than fifty years after the book was first published.¹ *The Americans* as a photobook originally came

into being through a fellowship Frank received from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The photobook features 83 images, which represents a fraction of the 27,000 Frank made during his travels back and forth across America's lower forty-eight states.²

From Boy to Beat

Robert Louis Frank was born in 1924 into a middle-class family in Zurich, Switzerland. His mother came from a wealthy factory-owning family; his father imported Luxor radios into the country from Sweden and was also an amateur photographer. Although Europe in the 1920s and 1930s was socially and politically tumultuous, plagued by war, economic crisis, and genocide, Frank and his family were relatively safe in neutral Switzerland. In 1940, Frank began an apprenticeship with Herman Segesser, a photographer and image retoucher who lived in the neighborhood. Segesser introduced Frank to the world of magazines, newspapers, and book publications. At the age of twenty-two, Frank self-published a hand-bound volume of photographs, which he called *40 Fotos*. The project encompassed his photographic education over the previous six years, which laid bare the influence of European modernism and Heimist—a Swiss

regional style. Frank would continue to produce hand-bound books, publishing four more in the next decade.

In 1947, Frank moved to New York City, where he soon began work with Alexey Brodovitch, the celebrated art director of *Harper's Bazaar*. Exasperated with the magazine's atmosphere, Frank worked only briefly for the magazine and left later that year. During this period, Frank focused his work on people. He traveled widely making photographs in Peru, Paris, London, and Wales. From city to city, he ventured to create impact and address broader ideas through his imagery. Even though Frank's work earned respect, he grew frustrated that editors were not publishing his images. This frustration led him, in the fall of 1954, to apply for an artist grant from the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. Frank stated in his grant application that he aimed to capture a "picture record of things American, past and present," and thus compile "a visual study of a civilization."³ This would become *The Americans*.

A Brief History of the Photobook

By the time Frank began work on *The Americans*, the photobook was a well-established publication genre. It is essentially a book that presents a selection of photographs, usually by a single artist, printed one or more per page with limited or no text or editorial content. A critical difference between the photobook and earlier publications that included photography, such as travel catalogs, journals, and pictorial magazines, was the increased focus on photographs within the book and emphasis on the individual photographer's creative vision for the project. *The Americans*, as it was published in the United States, focused on photographic imagery above all, omitting text except for explanatory titles and the book's introduction, written by Jack Kerouac.

The concept of such photo-based publication projects evolved critically from the late nineteenth century into the twentieth century. In 1844, William Henry Fox Talbot established the foundation for the photobook with his treatise *The Pencil of Nature*. This publication included text discussing the value of photography and illustrated with hand-tipped calotype plates.⁴ Photographers of the 1860s, such as Alexander Gardner, used the photobook to record the Civil War. Some, like Timothy O'Sullivan, used photobooks to document and survey the unmarked territory of the US West, while others, like John Thomson, documented industrialization and immigration.⁵ This type of documentation emphasized realism above expression. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, Edward S. Curtis published *The North American*

Indian, one of the most ambitious photographic publications in history (fig. 3). The project spanned twenty volumes and featured extensive field research and hundreds of photogravure plates. The primary objective was to artfully document what were assumed to be the vanishing peoples and traditions of the Indigenous peoples who inhabited North America. Prior to the development of offset lithographic printing, such projects were labor-intensive, costly endeavors that required each image to be produced separately and hand tipped or inserted among text pages. This was still the case with Edward Stieglitz's landmark photographic quarterly journal *Camera Work*—which was cost and labor intensive to produce (fig. 4). However, over the course of the early twentieth century, the development of the half-tone plate and offset lithographic printing ushered in a new era of photobook publishing.⁶

In contrast to early illustrated books, which featured a balance of photographs and text, the photobook placed primary emphasis on the picture. In the 1930s, curators at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) became interested in the concept of the photobook and published Walker Evans's *American Photographs* (1938). Evans's book was followed by one from fellow Works Progress Administration photographer Dorothea Lange. Lange and Walker shared a similar approach



Fig. 3. Edward Sheriff Curtis, *Watching the Dancers*, 1906, photogravure, from *The North American Indian*, The Trout Gallery, gift of Angelo Brutico, Jr., 2015.24.1 (cat. 94)



Fig. 4. Alfred Stieglitz, *Mary Learns to Walk*, 1913, photogravure, from *Camera Work*, XLII and XLIII, 1913, The Trout Gallery, museum purchased with gifts from the Friends of The Trout Gallery, 2020.22.4 (cat. 96)

to their subjects: each turned their lens toward unrefined, gritty subjects, the United States' people, places, and signs. Additionally, each book was limited to a brief introduction, thereby focusing on the photographs. Collectively their photobooks encompass what Ralph Prins defines as "an autonomous art form, comparable with a piece of sculpture, a play, or a film. The photographs lose their own photographic character as things 'in themselves' and become parts, translated into printing ink, of dramatic event called a book."⁷

The 1950s Photographic Standard: Edward Steichen and The Family of Man

During the 1950s, Edward Steichen exercised considerable influence over photographic circles. Steichen's exhibition *The Family of Man* (1955), which debuted at MoMA four years prior to the publication of *The Americans*, encompassed the stark differences between the photographers' respective visions. The *Family of Man* amassed over 500 photographs taken by 273 photographers from 68 different countries,

covering a space of more than 50 years (figs. 5, 6).⁸ Steichen aimed to comfort the world with images that highlighted humanity's similarities, to prove that humankind was "one." The exhibition focused on the family portrait, including images that would resonate positively with a wide range of viewers. Some of the photos were hung on the gallery walls; others were suspended from the ceiling, hung at varying levels; one even dangled above the viewer, looking down at them (fig. 7). The images varied in size, some spreading across entire walls while others were the size of a pamphlet.⁹ Together the photographs filled the entire second floor of MoMA, creating a homogenous presentation. Since Steichen left little blank space in the exhibition design, an onslaught of utopian images met visitors upon entering.¹⁰ The exhibit garnered widespread public praise, toured for eight years, and attracted over nine million visitors.

Frank's relationship to *The Family of Man* is nuanced. Frank was a member of the photographic team; ultimately, Steichen included seven of his images in the show. Frank's thoughts on

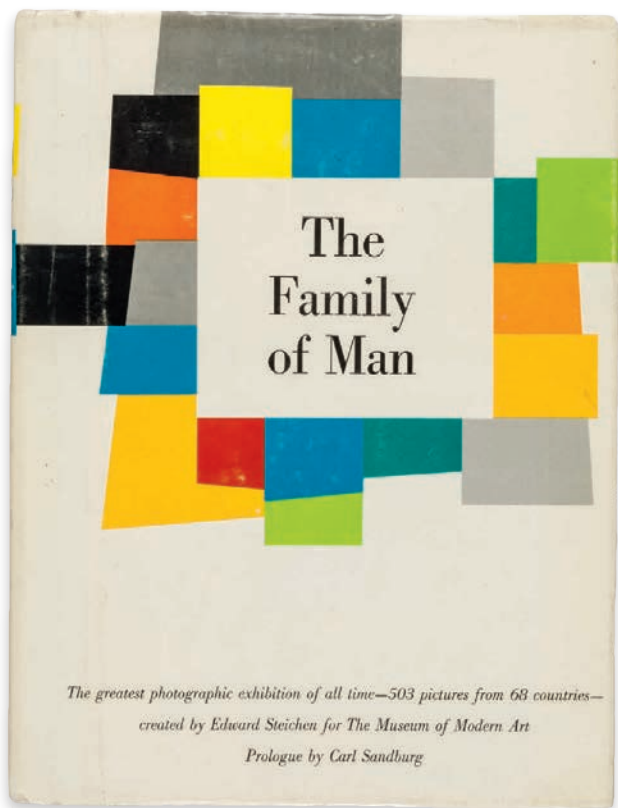


Fig. 5. Edward Steichen, *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955), dust jacket (cat. 99)

The Family of Man were mixed, in part due to the difference in working ideologies between him and Steichen. Frank's later work in *The Americans* is starkly different from Steichen's *Family of Man*. Frank's pictures challenged the celebration of middle-class life: his selection of photographs constructed a narrative of what is; Steichen's selection constructed a romanticized vision of what should be.

Although Frank enjoyed the attention that the show attracted to his photography, he disapproved the effacement of context from his individual images and the emphasis placed on the theme of unity. Frank later added: "I am not a pessimist but looking at a contemporary picture magazine makes it difficult for me to speak about the advancement of photography, since today it is accepted without questions, and it is also presumed to be understood by all—even children. I feel that only the integrity of the individual photographer can raise its level."¹¹ A prevailing curatorial theme limits the possibilities and the message that a photographer can make, since the overarching theme effectively strips the original context from the images. At the time, setting a theme was the documentary photographic standard. However, Frank believed that



Fig. 6. *The Family of Man*, 34–35



Fig. 7. Ezra Stoller, Installation view of *The Family of Man*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, January 24–May 8, 1955, © The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA / Art Resource, NY

imposing a theme over an entire show obscured the photographer's original objective. The viewer loses subtle nuances in the photographer's work if they try to connect the artist's image to other unrelated images and to the larger theme.

Frederick Gross makes the salient observation that Steichen's show and Frank's application for the Guggenheim grant seem more than coincidental.¹² After experiencing Steichen's homogenous presentation of humankind, which lacked acknowledgment of artistic, cultural, or racial individuality, Frank sought to produce photos with a clear personal voice. After embarking on the Guggenheim Fellowship, Frank was consistently clear and adamant that he wanted to create dense, layered, and opinionated photos.¹³ However, as Erik Mortenson indicated, Frank's photography "did not attempt to replace one flawed vision with another equally problematic. Rather, by focusing so intensely on personal subjectivity, it created a space that folded the desire for meaning back onto the viewer, forcing a productive relationship with the difficulty of the photograph."¹⁴

Frank felt that Steichen's theme of "oneness" promoted rhetoric that overlooked the reality of horrors that the twentieth century imposed globally. Steichen's curatorial approach captured a selective aspect of the humanistic experience and provided little space for those who did not align with the hopeful imagery. *The Americans* aimed to capture with an unbiased eye American experiences. His photos mirrored the state of humanity onto Americans. Frank's presentation is open ended: What is the state of this country? This question was one pondered by the Beat generation, notably Allen Ginsberg: "America I am putting my queer shoulder to the wheel."¹⁵ Ginsberg and other Beat writers denounced the American dream as a disillusioned fantasy fed to US citizens. If the American dream is a fantasy, it is not for the people

who are marginalized, and the Beats recognized this. Ginsberg speaks about the need for a change. By using the expression "putting my queer shoulder to the wheel," he is signifying that he will create a country equal for queers and other minority groups in society.

Frank rejected the standard set by Edward Steichen and embarked on his fellowship without a preconception of what the finished product would be. The photos came from meticulous observation and reflection. As Jonathan Day pointedly summarizes, Frank's "photographs certainly suggest that they were taken rapidly, as if Frank were stanching at something, desperately trying to catch a moment before it was gone."¹⁶ Frank's documentary method was crucial in capturing, as Kerouac put it, "the actual pink juice of humankind." Unburdened by the photographer's thoughts or feelings, documentary photography is shot from the hip, to capture the authenticity of life within the imagery. Frank later described his photographic process as that of an "intuitive observer" who was "seeing those faces, those people, the kind of hidden violence [of] . . . the country at that time."¹⁷

Frank's method led to images that were sometimes out of focus or caught the subject looking at the camera in an unfavorable position. Although many critics noted what they regarded as technical imperfections, Frank believed that the photos captured the moment when "matter ends, and the mind begins."¹⁸ For example, the dark, blurry photo *Yom Kippur—East River, New York City 1954* (fig. 8) obscures the identity of the figures. Here Frank captures only the men's backs; this image expresses more than a portrait displaying their identity. Frank took this image ten years after the end of the Holocaust. The communal memory of a global public had been seared since witnessing the horrors of mass genocide. In this photo, several men turn away from the camera and look out over a fog-concealed East River, suggesting those lost during the Holocaust. In the lower right corner, a young boy wearing a kippah turns the other way. He represents youth and the new direction in which history is going.

Publishing Les Américains and The Americans

Despite the prestige of Guggenheim Foundation funding, *The Americans* book project failed to resonate with editors, and no US publisher was willing to take the book to print. Frank received a far more favorable response in Paris, from the publisher Robert Delpire. Frank presented Delpire with two potential introductions, one written by Walker

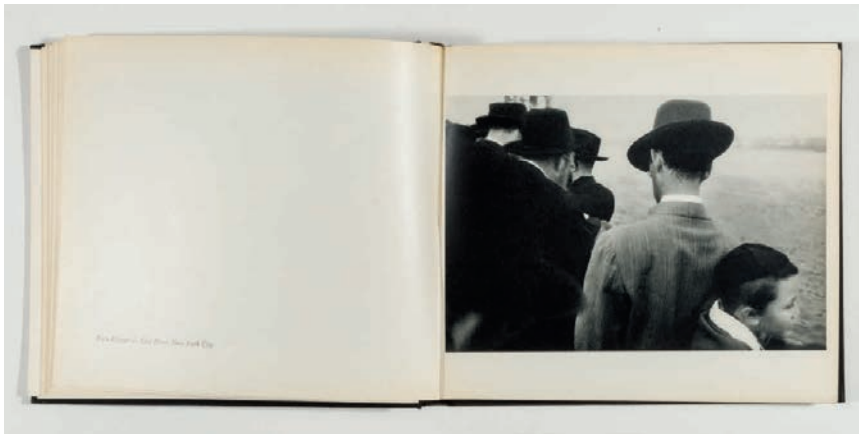


Fig. 8. Robert Frank, *Yom Kippur—East River, New York City*, from *The Americans*

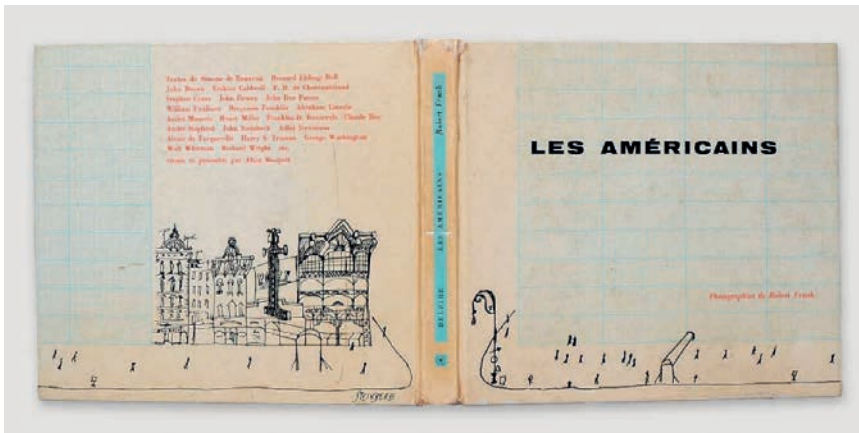


Fig. 9. Robert Frank, *Les Américains* (Paris: Delpire, 1958), cover

Evans and the other by Jack Kerouac. Delpire rejected both, choosing instead to mirror Frank's images with statistics about the United States and excerpts of text by French and American writers including Alexis de Tocqueville, Walt Whitman, John Dos Passos, Simon de Beauvoir, and Richard Whites. Combined, the statements, figures, and photographs created a narrative that appeared to be highly critical of the United States. The book was published in 1958 under the title *Les Américains* (fig. 9) and was sold in both France and the United States. Although it received some attention from the French press, almost nothing was said about the book by American critics. In the words of Sarah Greenough, it "slipped into circulation with barely a ripple."¹⁹

In light of its initial publication, Grove publishing founder Barney Rosset reconsidered the project, with the condition that the design include a literary element. Rosset wanted to place poems opposite the photographs, a concept used by Edward Steichen in MoMA's *Family of Man* publication in 1955. Frank opposed the idea as he wanted to show his

pictures individually and without text to communicate better the concept he envisioned. However, Frank was open to the idea of an introductory text and offered the one Kerouac had written for the French edition. Rosset agreed and abandoned his idea to publish the book with poetry interspersed among the photographs, ultimately publishing *The Americans* in May 1958.²⁰ Grove printed 2,600 hardcover copies of *The Americans*. By 1960 only 1,113 copies had sold.²¹

Critical Response in the United States

Little prepared Frank for the scathing reviews he would receive upon the book's introduction to the US public. Critics disapproved of the harsh documentary style and the blunt nature of his subjects. The public regarded the book as a scathing condemnation of the country from an immigrant, an outsider. In spite of lingering postwar optimism, the United States in the

1950s suffered from issues associated with civil rights, social justice, segregation, and McCarthyism, and Frank unapologetically captured every facet. Perhaps that is why each of the seven editors from the consumer-oriented magazine *Popular Photography* denigrated Frank's work with chauvinistic fury. John Durniak, James Zanutto, Arther Goldsmith, Les Berry, Bruce Downes, H. M. Kinzer, and Charles Reynolds accused Frank of being "a joyless man who hates the country of his adoption . . . a liar, perversely basking in the kind of world that the kind of misery he is perpetually seeking and persistently creating." The editors described the book in its entirety as "a sad poem for sick people" and as having "no sociological comment . . . nor reportorial function . . . [being] merely neurotic, and to some degree dishonest." The critics berated the prints as "flawed by meaningless blur, grain, muddy exposure, drunken horizons, and general sloppiness," which spoke to the artist's "contempt for any standard of quality or discipline in technique (fig. 10)."²² Other critics opposed the title, claiming that it was too broad for the world represented in Frank's book. In his review in *Aperture*, Minor White added, "Chicago

has more valid facets to its personality than haranguing politicians, New York more than candy stores and homosexuals, Las Vegas more than gaming tables and quick weddings” (fig. 11).²³ Reviewing the book for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, William Hogan remarked that a more appropriate title for the project would have been “Why I Can’t Stand America.”²⁴ However, not everyone agreed with this criticism. In response to the book’s hostile reception, Edward Steichen, Frank’s early mentor in the United States, offered Frank an exhibition with Harry Callahan at the Art Institute of Chicago. Steichen believed that Frank’s work deserved recognition.²⁵

Moreover, the Beats appreciated the honesty that Frank captured in his images. While much of the photographic press considered the book antipatriotic, the Beats found it authentic. Jack Kerouac famously attested that one should never rewrite or rework their initial genius;²⁶ he and fellow writer Allen Ginsberg believed that the most authentic expression of reality was found when one possessed freedom of movement and openness of mind. The qualities that invited criticism from photographic circles earned praise among the avant-garde, such as Abstract Expressionists and Beats, because the images embodied independence from societal expectation.

Kerouac’s Introduction

In his introduction to *The Americans*, Kerouac identifies the untamed spirit of the United States, which he argues is evident in Frank’s photographs: “That crazy feeling in America when the sun is hot on the streets and the music comes out of the jukebox or from a nearby funeral . . . that’s what Robert Frank has captured in [his] tremendous photographs.”²⁷ Kerouac recognized the melancholy captured in Frank’s photographs, equating a jukebox and a funeral procession. Arguably both are representative of American sounds and celebrations of life, but one concerns the living and the other the dead. The jukebox found in nearly every neighborhood across the United States is



Fig. 10. Robert Frank, *Candy Store—New York*, from *The Americans*



Fig. 11. Robert Frank, *City Fathers—Hoboken, New Jersey*, from *The Americans*

a returning motif in Frank’s imagery; it embodies bop, jazz, and rock and roll, and represents joy and the youth counterculture. Similarly, the funeral encompasses a more solemn United States remembering the lives of soldiers lost during the world wars and the death of the innocent.

In the eyes of Jack Kerouac, the United States that Frank captured was not as unrepresentative as his critics had so adamantly claimed. His photos encompassed the nation’s dichotic force, Black and White, poor and wealthy, young and old. These elements traditionally held in opposition are simultaneously intertwined. In the words of Caroline Blinder, Frank’s “photograph transcends its subject because of its simultaneous ability to convey American culture as it exists symbolically, in the torn flag and neon sign, and in the individual’s actual experience of that culture.”²⁸ Frank’s images capture an American communal experience that includes the majority and the minority. In response to Frank’s broad representation in his work, Kerouac proclaimed that Frank had captured “the humor, the sadness, the EVERYTHING-ness and Americanness” of the country.²⁹

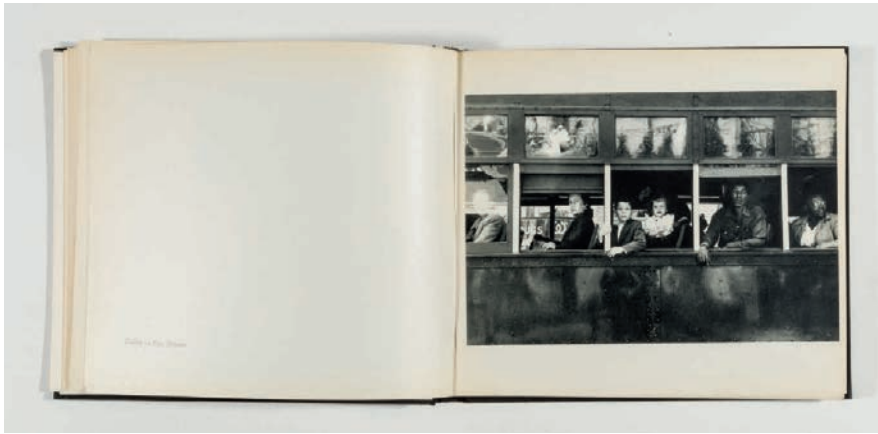


Fig. 12. Robert Frank, *Trolley—New Orleans*, from *The Americans*

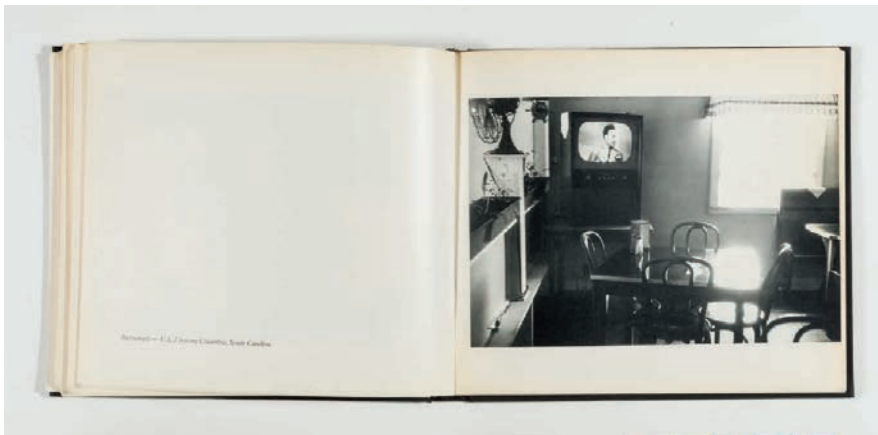


Fig. 13. Robert Frank, *Restaurant—U.S. 1 leaving Columbia, South Carolina*, from *The Americans*



Fig. 14. Robert Frank, *U.S. 91, leaving Blackfoot, Idaho*, from *The Americans*

Kerouac's description of the United States, as a commentary on Frank's photos, shines with euphony. His words emphasize the beauty of the country's landscape, "coast of blue pacific starry night... the sunflower in the glass—orange butted west land of Arcadia, forlorn Sands of the isolate earth,"³⁰ and the sweetness of the people who inhabit it: "the sweet little white baby in the

black nurse's arms both of them bemused in heaven... showing love under the sky and in the womb of our universe the mother."³¹ Many of Frank's images that highlight the United States' dark underbelly oppose Kerouac's optimistic description. For example, the dust-jacket photo mentioned earlier captures a bus where a White woman and two children sit at the front of the bus, and a Black man and a Black woman are seated behind them, all looking out from their respective windows (fig. 12). The photo records the deeply ingrained racial inequality in Jim Crow America. Kerouac omits all discussion of negativity, presenting a tolerant United States: "As America a picture—the faces don't editorialize or criticize or say anything but 'This is the way we are in real life and if you don't like it I don't know anything about it' cause I'm living my own life my way and may God bless us all." Frank's imagery is of brutal truth, while Kerouac writes about a very hopeful America.

Kerouac presents the United States in a linguistic combination of abstract feelings and prosaic details. He notes Hoboken politicians "in prayer politico (yawning probably)," implying cynicism at governmental systems. He notices how election posters hang as the backdrop at a "gaming table at

Butte Montana," suggesting that politics are synonymous with games. Referencing another picture, Kerouac mentions "the holy halo" found on "some chair in some café with the sun coming in the window,"³² finding holiness in even the most simple places (fig. 13), suggesting that America's greatness is not found under flashing lights or in the evening news. Rather, the spirit is instilled in the mom and

pop shop, the labor workers, the everyday coffee shop. He repeatedly references cars, the open road, and the West “leading around the bend into the openings of space towards the horizon,” speaking to a vibrant subculture in the United States, the automobile. Fluctuating between what he sees and feels in Frank’s images, Kerouac expresses the effects of Frank’s photos: they inspire the viewer’s response.

Kerouac pays special attention to movement and action in Frank’s photos. Kerouac specifies the actions of people, for example, “tall thin cowboy rolling butt,” “haggard old Fowsey dames . . . leaning peering out . . . Old Paw’s car,” “tattooed guy sleeping . . . snoring dead,” “madroad driving men” (fig. 14).³³ Every description is a quick snapshot of the lives of real American people. By recognizing their ability to move independently, Kerouac emphasizes their humanity. Kerouac’s juxtaposition of each moment features the wide span of personalities embodied in *The Americans*. The people whose lives are captured at that moment are tangible, but as quickly as Kerouac presents them, he is onto the next. This presentation creates a sense of movement for the reader. One senses the force of drive as they pass through Kerouac’s emblematic lineup. As found in cross-country travel and jazz music, free movement was central to Beat life philosophy, since forward drive encompasses liberation from normative American systems. Kerouac’s *On the Road* is a testament to the Beat imperative of spontaneous movement and desire for independence. Movement encompasses change, innovation, the rebirth of the United States. Frank’s *Assembly Line—Detroit, 1955* (fig. 15) exemplifies his high-contrast, grainy images that increase the implied sense of movement.³⁴ Filling the image frame is an indiscernible mass of moving

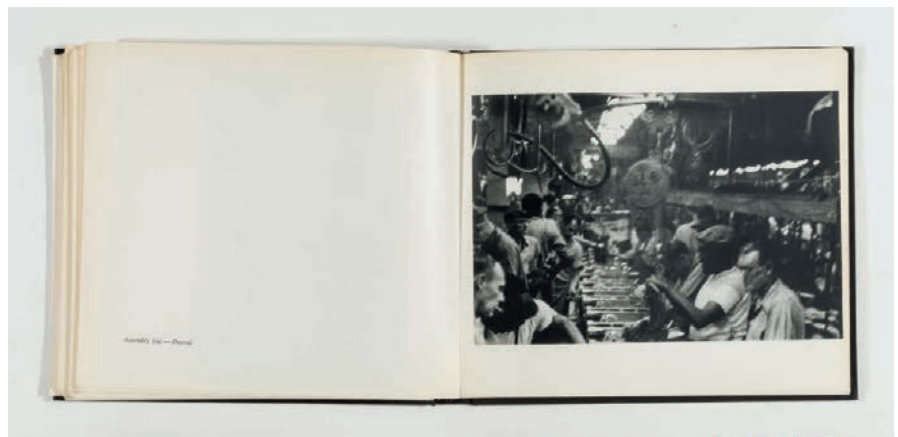


Fig. 15. Robert Frank, *Assembly Line—Detroit*, from *The Americans*

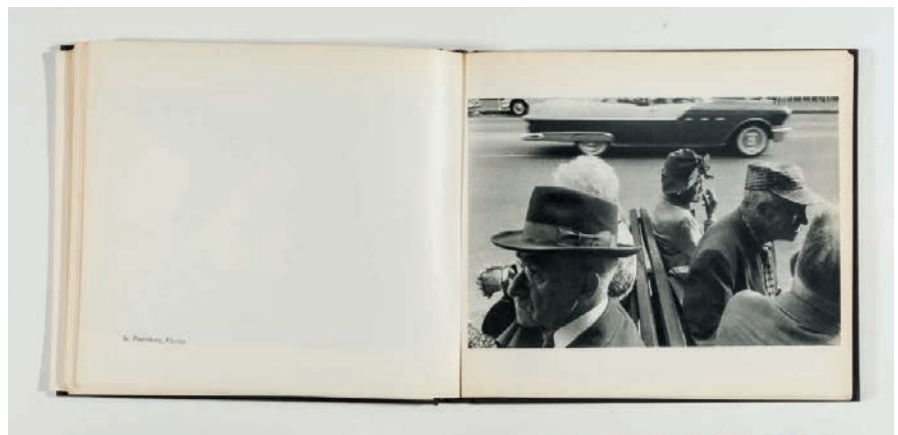


Fig. 16. Robert Frank, *St. Petersburg Florida*, from *The Americans*



Fig. 17. Robert Frank, *Parade—Hoboken, New Jersey*, from *The Americans*

bodies and machinery. The fact that the people in the photo are the working force of the United States represents Frank’s larger thesis, which Kerouac and other Beats loved—that people not bureaucracy drive the country.

In Kerouac’s introduction, he makes analogies for the images about sound, specifically jazz: “I think Seminole half



Fig. 18. Robert Frank, *Navy Recruiting Station, post office—Butte, Montana*, from *The Americans*



Fig. 19. Robert Frank, *Fourth of July—Jay, New York*, from *The Americans*



Fig. 20. Robert Frank, *Bar—Detroit*, *The Americans*

negro Woman pulling on her cigarette with thoughts of her own, as pure a picture as the nicest tenor solo in jazz” (fig. 16).³⁵ The Beats aligned themselves with the spontaneity of jazz music. Kerouac, Ginsburg, and other Beats regularly referred to jazz as a holy form of language in their poems and novels. Kerouac calls the people of the United States

holy by reference to the women as jazz. Additionally, since Frank did not literally capture sound, Kerouac’s discussion of it is a testament to the “everythingness” that Frank captured.

The Rhythm of The Americans

Like prose in poetry or jazz sets, Frank uses the US flag to “keep the beat” and mark the introduction of a new theme or the beginning of each of the four sections.³⁶ The first section opens with *Parade—Hoboken, New Jersey* (fig. 17), which shows two women standing before their respective windows, their faces obscured by a fluttering US flag. The first section outlines what kind of people, events, and ideas are presented in the rest of the book. Sarah Greenough describes these opening images: “like a jazz riff—short, pungent, easily overlooked but critical to continuity, mood, and even meaning—these reiterations and counterpoints subtly bind the photographs together, creating an overarching, sweeping rhythm that propels readers through the book.”³⁷

The next photo that includes a flag is *Navy Recruiting Station, Post Office—Butte, Montana* (fig. 18); this image marks part two of section one. With this image, Frank’s narrative shifts from a broad introduction of themes

to condemning American individualism. The next section begins with *Fourth of July—Jay, New York, 1954* (fig. 19). In these twenty images, Frank displays how Americans “live, play . . . and drive cars.”³⁸ They capture the open road, gambling, a young man picking a song from a jukebox, a bar in New Mexico. They are an ode to the US pastime.

Marking the beginning of section three is a bar decorated with portraits of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln flanking a US flag (fig. 20). This section describes the physical character of public spaces and features the fewest number of people per image. In the fourth section, Frank considers American compliance and acceptance of racial inequality in a democratic society. This section, similar to part one, is divided into two segments. The first part presents images of broken store windows, television sets, and bureaucratic paperwork, suggesting that freedom and equality for all is a mirage (fig. 21). Frank's message shifts with an image of a young Black waitress standing behind a coffee bar (fig. 22). In contrast to the pictures before her, she is still and reflective. The photos that follow her emphasize the human connection. They capture sweet moments of stillness and love, such as a mother and her son cuddling in a car (fig. 23). Frank seems to say that the United States' true beauty is in the truth of lower- and middle-class citizens. The beauty of America is in the people who are grounded to its earth. This is what the Beats thought as well.

Beat Idioms in The Americans

In his introduction, Kerouac announced that Frank “sucked a sad poem right out of America and onto film,” bestowing upon Frank the tremendous honor of Beat literature: being a poet. Frank himself associated his work with poetry, saying that “when people look at my pictures, I want them to feel the way they do when they want to read a line of a poem twice.”³⁹ Like an

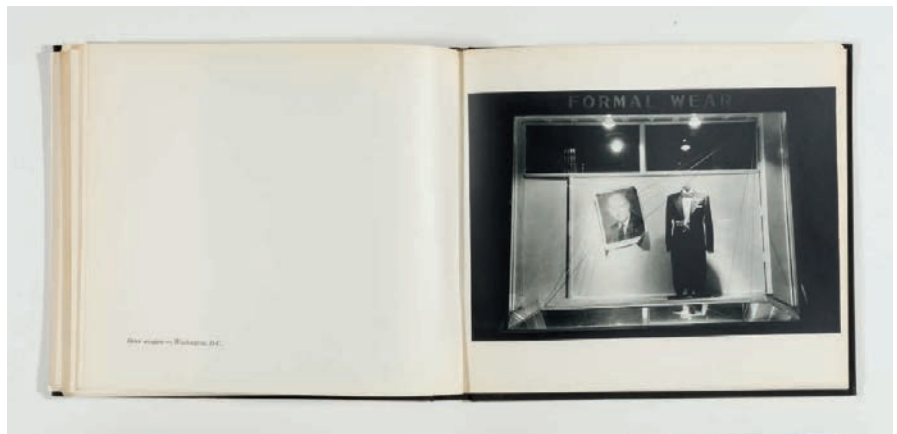


Fig. 21. Robert Frank, *Store Window—Washington, D.C.*, from *The Americans*



Fig. 22. Robert Frank, *Coffee Shop, railway station—Indianapolis*, from *The Americans*

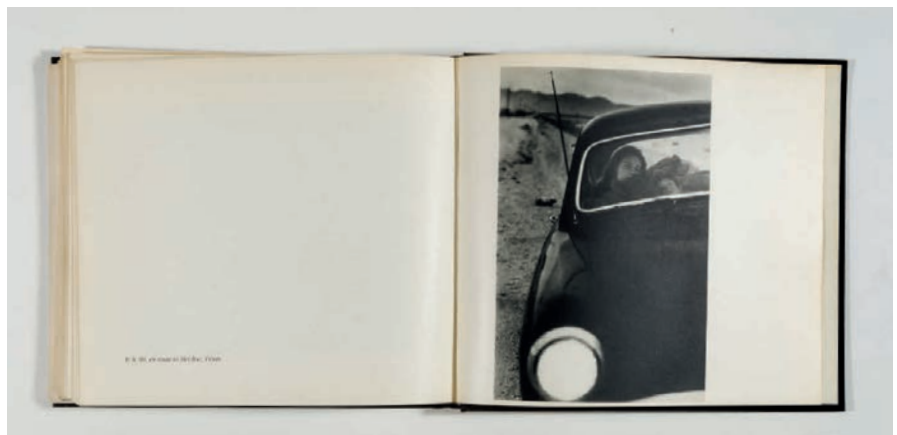


Fig. 23. Robert Frank, *U.S. 90, en route to Del Rio, Texas*, from *The Americans*

author who formulates prose with complex rhyme schemes and repeating motifs, Franks quilted a narrative from snapshot experiences in his photobook. It is no wonder that Kerouac saw Frank as a kindred spirit to the Beats, as *The Americans* aligns seamlessly with Beat culture and philosophy. Running currents in Beat philosophy included their rejection

of traditional expectations and mainstream culture. Frank made metaphors similar to those of Beat authors by referencing jazz, Black culture, the open road, and the automobile.

The Lasting Impact of The Americans

Despite its poor reception, Robert Frank and *The Americans* would mark a change in photographic style. In the 1970s, critics reevaluated Frank's work. They found value in Frank's methods and images. Upon his passing in 2019, National Public Radio released an article with sentiments from

modern photographers expressing how exposure to Frank's work altered their eye through the camera. Documentary photographer Maggie Steber called *The Americans* her "bible."⁴⁰ Susan Meiselas noted that where "school taught [her] to be objective, Robert Frank's work taught [her that she] *should* be subjective and *commit* to something."⁴¹ Glenna Gordon noted that Frank's images taught her to capture "quiet moments, the unexpected beauty."⁴² These modern-day reflections on Frank's work mirror what Kerouac testified in his introduction. Frank captured the authenticity of Americans, and that testimony remains relevant today.

1. Sarah Greenough, ed., *Looking In: Robert Frank's The Americans* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009).
2. Luc Sante, "Robert Frank and Jack Kerouac," in Greenough, *Looking In*, 202.
3. Robert Frank, "Guggenheim Application and Renewal Request," repr. in *Robert Frank: New York to Nova Scotia*, ed. Anne W. Tucker and Philip Brookman (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts; New York: New York Graphic Society, 1986), 20.
4. Gerry Badger, "Photobook," *Grove Art Online*, last modified January 22, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T2254105>.
5. Adam Silvia, "Photographically Illustrated Books and Photobooks," Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Reading Room, published 2017, <https://www.loc.gov/rr/print/coll/photographically-illustrated-books-and-photobooks.html>
6. Badger, "Photobook."
7. Elizabeth Shannon, "The Rise of the Photobook in the Twenty-First Century," *St Andrews Journal of Art History and Museum Studies* 14 (2010): 57.
8. Susan Sontag, "America Through Photographs Darkly," in *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1977), 32.
9. Fred Turner, *The Family of Man and the Politics of Attention in Cold War America*, *Public Culture* 24, no. 1 (2012): 57.
10. In 1958 Robert Frank was adamant about not having poetry next to the images in his book because he wanted a black page next to his photos; this is an interesting difference between Frank and Steichen. Frank provided space for his viewers so that they could form their own opinions on his images. Steichen bombarded readers with his message.
11. Stuart Alexander, "Robert Frank and Edward Steichen," in Greenough, *Looking In*, 51.
12. Frederick Gross, "Photography and the Positivist Social Gallery," in *Diane Arbus's 1960s: Auguries of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 36.
13. Sarah Greenough, "Transforming Destiny into Awareness," in *Looking In*, 176.
14. Erik Mortensen, "The Ghost of Humanism: Rethinking the Subjective Turn in Postwar American Photography," *History of Photography* 38, no. 4 (2014): 420.
15. Allen Ginsberg, "America" (1956), <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/49305/america-56d22b41f119f>.
16. Jonathan Day, *Robert Frank's 'The Americans': The Art of Documentary Photography* (Chicago: Bristol Intellect, 2011), 42.
17. Eugenia Perry Janis and Wendy MacNeil, ed., *Photography within Humanities* (Danbury, NH: Addison House, 1977), 58.
18. Day, *Robert Frank's 'The Americans'*, 42.
19. Greenough, *Looking In*, 138.
20. Stuart Alexander, "The Criticism of Robert Frank's *The Americans*" (MA thesis, University of Arizona, 1986), 60.
21. The book struggled for recognition in the following decade. The first reprint of the photobook was by Aperture and Grossman Publishers in 1968. Subsequent publication dates show a growing interest in the book, and numerous reprintings and editions followed in 1969, 1978, 1986, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1998, 2000, and 2008.
22. H. M. Kinzer et al. "An Off-Beat View of the U.S.A.: *Popular Photography's* Editors Comment on a Controversial New Book," *Popular Photography* 45, no. 5 (May 1960): 104–5.
23. Minor White, review of *Les Américains*, *Aperture* 7, no. 3 (1959): 127.
24. William Hogan, "Photo Coverage of the Ugly American," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 27, 1960, 25.
25. Alexander, "Robert Frank and Edward Steichen," in Greenough, *Looking In*, 51.
26. Jack Kerouac, "Essentials of Spontaneous Prose," *Evergreen Review* II, 5 (Summer, 1958), 72–73; and "Belief & Technique for Modern Prose: List of Essentials," *Evergreen Review* II, 8 (Spring, 1959), 57 (also known as "30 Rules for Writing").
27. Jack Kerouac, introduction to *The Americans* (New York: Grove, 1959), x.
28. Caroline Blinder, "'A kind of Patriotism': Jack Kerouac's Introduction to Robert Frank's *The Americans* (1959)," in *Writing and Seeing: Essays on Word and Image*, ed. Rui Manuel G. de Carvalho and Maria de Fátima Lambert (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 242.
29. Kerouac, introduction to *The Americans*, xi.
30. Kerouac, introduction to *The Americans*, xiv.
31. Kerouac, introduction to *The Americans*, xv.
32. Kerouac, introduction to *The Americans*, x.
33. Kerouac, introduction to *The Americans*, xi.
34. Notably, the grainy image was a necessary consequence due to the nature of the film and lenses, and Frank's decision not to use artificial lighting. Such limitations rendered it impossible to produce a crisp image in a dark warehouse when the subjects did not hold still. That Frank selected grainy and blurry images from among the tens of thousands he made for this project indicates an aesthetic choice on his part.
35. Kerouac, introduction to *The Americans*, xii.
36. Greenough, "Transforming Destiny into Awareness: *The Americans*," in *Looking In*, 177.
37. Greenough, "Transforming Destiny into Awareness," 183.
38. Robert Frank to Hermann and Regina Frank, late December 1955/January 1956, in Tucker and Brookman, *New York to Nova Scotia*, 28.
39. Greenough, in *Looking In*, 53.
40. Maggie Steber in Keith Jenkins, "How Robert Frank's Vision Influenced and Inspired Generations of Photographers," posted September 12, 2019, *The Picture Show*, NPR, <https://www.npr.org/sections/pictureshow/2019/09/12/759470766/how-robert-franks-vision-influenced-and-inspired-generations-of-photographers>.
41. Steber, "How Robert Frank's Vision Influenced and Inspired Generations of Photographers."
42. Gordon in Jenkins, "How Robert Frank's Vision Influenced and Inspired Generations of Photographers."





III. In a Camera Obscura

PHOTOGRAPHY AS
ENTERTAINMENT



Projections and Illuminations

“The fetishism of the commodity...attains its ultimate fulfillment in the spectacle, where the real world is replaced by a selection of images which are projected above it, yet which at the same time succeed in making themselves regarded as the epitome of reality.”

—Guy DeBoard

Stained glass artists of the Middle Ages knew well that light passing through colored glass made remarkable images on the walls and floors of their buildings. By the seventeenth century, this principle, enhanced with magnifying lenses, mirrors, and candle-light, led to the development of magic lantern shows, which featured imagery that was hand painted onto glass slides and projected onto a screen. Magic lantern slide shows soon became popular theatrical events.

In the mid-nineteenth century, photographers discovered how to create black-and-white lantern slides photographically. This led to a revolution in the industry and photographers were making lantern slides of every conceivable subject. Slides were made for large scale projection but also for personal experience in special hand-held viewers.

In 1885, Kodak introduced the first flexible roll film, which would eventually replace glass slides. It also created the necessary element for the development of motion picture film.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the brothers Lumière developed Autochromes, one of the first color glass slides, which were made for personal viewing only. They remained popular until the introduction of Kodachrome and Agfachrome films, which dominated the color slide and motion picture film market until the arrival of digital imagery in the 1980s.

Regardless of the means of capture, projection, or illumination, few photographic experiences can compare to the magic of viewing back-lit images in a camera obscura—a dark room.

Opposite: Edward Steichen, *Moncure Daniel Conway*, '49, c. 1907, Autochrome (cat. 123)

Previous spread: Bauch & Lomb, Lantern Slide Projector, c. 1911, (cat. 121)



Fig 1. Photographer unidentified, *View of a Colorama on display in Grand Central Terminal, New York*, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY.

Colorama: The Largest Photograph

Zuqing Qi



Fig 2. Charlie Baker, *Swimming Pool*, displayed July 17–August 8, 1960, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

On August 8, 1960, visitors walking into the main hall of Grand Central Terminal in New York City (fig. 1) would have encountered an illuminated panoramic image on a gigantic billboard showing a scene of a private swimming pool on a summer day (fig. 2). Surrounding the pool, four women sit on chairs, one man is leaning against his wife, and the other man is holding a camera and capturing the couple. One child swims in the pool, and the younger one is cradled in his mother's arms. Dressed in leisure clothes, they harmoniously chat with each other and enjoy this summer party. The balanced composition is filled with saturated colors—the swimming pool in bright blue, the flourishing trees in green, the women's dresses in light pink and purple—that emphasize the enticing, youthful atmosphere of the season. This colossal backlit billboard presented images like this one by the Eastman Kodak Company in what became known as "Colorama," articulating the company's dominant position in the photographic industry while conveying a vision of the United States. Used as an advertising tool in the legendary train station from 1950 to 1989, the backlit transparencies spanned 60 feet wide and 18 feet tall and were illuminated from behind with 61,000 watts of light.¹ The display was a communication tool to promote the company's film and cameras. For forty years, Kodak Coloramas staged the story of seemingly ideal families with exemplary lives. These images conveyed the very expression of the postwar American dream, in its most pleasant and universally adoptable form. They were directed at a range of visitors, most of whom were daily commuters from the suburbs on their way to and from

work in the city, long-distance travelers riding Amtrak trains, and New Yorkers passing by the large photographic display. Indeed, the routine installation of a new Colorama was cause for conversation and a moment's pause in a busy commuter's rush to and from the train platform. Coloramas were a spectacle in their own right. In their day, the Colorama represented the height of innovative advertising techniques that promoted photographic products as part an idealized representation of American culture.

The Panorama and the Colorama Project

The concept of colossal imagery for public entertainment and consumption can be traced back to the emergence of the

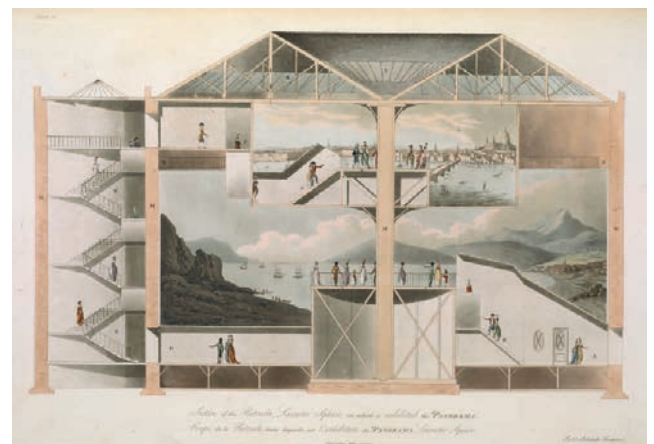


Fig. 3. After Robert Mitchell, *Cross-section of the Rotunda in Leicester Square in which Panoramas were Exhibited*, etching and aquatint, 1801, © The Trustees of the British Museum, 1875.0710.4485



Fig. 4. Eadweard Muybridge, *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill*, 1877, albumen prints, collection of the Sack Photographic Trust

panorama in the eighteenth century. The early panoramas were massive paintings applied to the walls of a circular room in order to create the experience of being entirely surrounded by a view of a distant landscape or a recreation of a famous historical event (fig. 3). Panoramas served as mass entertainment, popular education, and propaganda. They were a spectacle in their own right, like the theater, the opera, the circus, or a museum. As Shannon Selin states, “panoramas provided convincing illusions of the real, transporting the audience to another place and time.”²

The word panorama (lit., all-view) was first used by Robert Barker, an Irish-born painter working in Edinburgh, Scotland. In 1787, Barker obtained a patent on an “entirely new contrivance or apparatus . . . for the purpose of displaying views of nature at large, by oil-painting, fresco, water-colors, crayons, or any other mode of painting or drawing.”³ In the next year, Barker publicly displayed his first panorama: a painted view of Edinburgh that covered the interior of a wooden rotunda that he had constructed in the back garden of his home.⁴ Five years later, Barker built a brick rotunda in Leicester Square to more fully explore the potential of panoramas. With this purpose-built structure, Barker could control the light source from above, the height of the painted canvas, and the distance between the audience and the image.⁵ Viewers purchased tickets and entered the circular room fitted with a view of a marvelous painted scene. For an additional fee, visitors could purchase a series of six prints that modestly recalled the experience.⁶ Barker’s invention proved popular and soon every major city, from London to Paris and New York, boasted such an attraction.

The appeal of panoramic imagery remained strong throughout the nineteenth century. Large and small, this format was particularly popular among landscape and topographical artists who sought to encompass a view that exceeded normal vision. The popularity of the panoramic view soon found its way into the practice of photography,

shortly after its development in 1839. The earliest panoramic camera dates to 1843, when the Austrian Joseph Puchberger patented a swing lens camera, which provided a 150-degree view with long, narrow daguerreotype plates. Improvements on the swing lens camera followed quickly over the course of the next few decades. Another approach to creating panoramic images was to take a series of separate exposures with a conventional camera and align them along the horizon line. This is how Eadweard Muybridge made his striking *Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill* (fig. 4).⁷ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the introduction of flexible roll film led to significant advances in the development of panoramic cameras. Such advancements were particularly popular among portrait photographers tasked with documenting large groups at formal events, such as graduations and weddings.

Although such advances in equipment and technology enabled photographers to record an all-encompassing view, it was the development of color film that made photography more lifelike. Beginning with the introduction of Autochrome glass plates in 1903 by the Lumière brothers, the long-sought-after goal of a commercially successful process for making color photographs was increasingly within reach. Finally, in 1935, the invention of Kodachrome combined color emulsion with the advantages of flexible roll film, setting in motion what would become the 35mm color transparency, or “slide”, as well as color motion pictures. By the 1950s, Kodachrome had become the industry standard for high-quality color imaging, and no family was complete without a Kodak projector for sharing important moments that were captured on Kodachrome slides and home movies.

The Colorama campaign derived from Kodak’s initial plan to promote color photography to the masses at the 1939 New York World’s Fair. The Cavalcade of Color, as it was branded, was an automated color slide show that projected a total of 2,112 Kodachrome slides onto a 188-foot wide



screen in a specially built theater at the site. Through the use of multiple projectors, the slideshow exhibited eleven 35mm slides at once, which created a panorama of color snapshots. The subsequent promotional campaign was to replicate the Cavalcade of Color on the east wall of Grand Central station. The idea of using this cavernous space as a site for promotional material was not new. During World War II, the US Farm Security Administration (FSA) had used the east balcony wall to display material from the Department of Agriculture's photography program. Keen on its potential for advertising revenue, representatives from Grand Central Terminal approached Kodak executives in January 1949 regarding the space for commercial advertising.⁸ Kodak was interested in the space, but discovered that it was not dark enough to show the projected imagery effectively. Undaunted, Kodak scientists changed their approach from a projected image to one that was backlit. This involved the monumental task of fabricating a gigantic transparency that was to be mounted in an equally giant light box.⁹

The process began with a Kodak photographer taking the desired Colorama image using a massive banquet camera—the ones used to make photographs of large crowds—that produced enormous 8-by-20 inch transparencies.¹⁰ The original transparency was then enlarged onto dozens of 18-foot sheets of Ektacolor film that were developed and spliced together to create the 18-by-60-foot display.¹¹ Once mounted in the equally large light box in Grand Central Terminal, the Colorama transparency was back lit with a mile of cold-cathode tubes that brought to life images of family rituals, exotic travel, and sporting events. The transparencies were replaced every few weeks for forty years, resulting in a total of 565 Coloramas.¹²

Marketing Strategies in Public Space

From 1950 to 1990, people passing through Grand Central Terminal could hardly fail to notice Eastman Kodak's

Colorama advertisements. The backlit transparencies in the gloomy hall were comparable in scale to the outdoor billboards in Times Square. As an eye-catching display in a public space, the Colorama illustrated an idealized representation of the American family and an environment of abundance: a limitless supply of consumer goods, services, and experiences, collected at the direction of advertising executives and art directors from the Kodak Company. From an advertising perspective, this massive display in a high-volume traffic space maximized potential exposure and impact. Indeed, Vianca Kruk and Daniel Van Der Velden underscore the role of such advertising in America and the exponential growth of value extracted from public space.¹³ Moreover, Vivien Philizot notes how the Colorama appears as a presentation of the consumerist figures displayed in the public space when the market economy was expanding. The Colorama was designed not just for selling film, but also to shape a lifestyle outside the image that includes film and photography in the field of social practices.¹⁴

Nearly 650,000 commuters viewed this attractive billboard every day, and many of the photographs were chosen to be the subjects on the covers of widely distributed newspapers and magazines.¹⁵

Philizot considers the tension within the public space—a space that has been the subject of several attempts at conceptualization related to two broad activities: communication and politics and the rise of mass media and advertising. According to W.J.T. Mitchell: “The very notion of public art as we receive it is inseparable from what Jurgen Habermas has called ‘the liberal model of the public sphere, a pacified space distinct from economic, private, and political dimensions.’ In this realm disinterested citizens may contemplate a transparent emblem of their own inclusiveness and solidarity and deliberate on the general good, free of coercion, violence, or private interests.”¹⁶ In this light, Philizot suggests that such idealization of pacified public manifestation is quite



Fig 5. Lee Howick, *Thanksgiving Dinner*, displayed 1968, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY



Fig 6. Photographer unidentified, *Young couple and tulips*, Sterling Forest Gardens, Tuxedo, N.Y., displayed 1964, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

similar to the visual material of the Coloramas. The case of the Colorama can contain commercial, political, and cultural meanings and functions.¹⁷

The Social Meaning of the Idealized Family Image

The family plays an important role in these idealized scenes of photographing daily life. Susan Sontag has argued, “As that claustrophobic unit, the nuclear family, was being carved out of a much larger family aggregate, photography came along to memorialize, to restate symbolically, the imperiled continuity and vanishing extendedness of family life. Those ghostly traces, photographs, supply the token presence of the dispersed relatives.”¹⁸

Nancy West notes that within the context of World War I, nostalgia was part of Kodak’s strategy, “when Americans . . . desperately needed photographs to perform as confirmations of family unity.” She demonstrates that the culture of photographs was conceived not only as a leisure activity but also as “an obligatory act of preserving memories as defense against the future and as assurance of the past.”¹⁹ The representation of the family unit serves a particular social function, and in some cases, it even ends up possessing a real

stake in power. Moreover, Diane Hope has observed that in the Coloramas “no indication of the sociocultural changes occurring through those decades found reflection in Kodak portrayals.”²⁰ In this sense, the Coloramas showing the idealized image of the family in Grand Central were inconsistent with the reality outside.

The vast majority of Coloramas present scenes that feature the life and activities of economically comfortable, White families, which are defined by a husband and wife, and their children and pets. Philizot points out that the subjects in the Coloramas indeed revealed the system of values that accompanied the deployment of the image in public space. This image was constructed and perceived from a point of view that is situated in social space. The Coloramas defined and promoted the representation of a White and hetero-patriarchal United States. François Cheval adds that the family staged in the Coloramas is “White, of English-American origin, the foundation of the new consumerist and traditionalist middle class convinced of the benefits of liberalism.”²¹

The Coloramas often pretend to be photographs of situations where a family photograph is being taken. In all of the images, we see one of the participants either carrying



Fig. 7. Jim Pond, *Family in Convertible Somewhere in Texas*, displayed 1968, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY



Fig. 8. Photographer unidentified, *Pumpkins for sale at roadside stand, Vermont*, displayed 1971, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

a camera or—most often—caught in the act of taking one. Sometimes viewers can see the whole scenario in the Kodak's Colorama photograph, with the supposed “real” snapshots taken by the amateur photographer in the image. For example, Lee Howick's Colorama *Thanksgiving Dinner* 1968 (fig. 5) features a father photographing his son and daughter breaking the wishbone at the Thanksgiving table. This photo was directed by Norman Rockwell—the famed American genre painter. Likewise, a photo of a young couple and tulips presents the woman holding a camera and trying to capture a beautiful moment (fig. 6). These images are not pictures taken to show the quality of cameras; instead, each of the photos was constructed and meticulously planned by art directors, photo crews, and models in order to promote picture taking as an essential aspect of leisure, travel, and family. It is an integral part of the way in which the public itself grasps the truth of images. What happens behind the scenes has now entered the stage.²²

Photographers were invited to enter the frame of the Colorama and to reveal their construction process.²³ This creates the sense that the staged family photographs that mimic real family photographs are much more trustworthy. Usually the people posing are very well aware that they are

being photographed; therefore, they potentially acknowledge the role of photography enhancing their everyday life, and accept the normative idea of the good family life and the important role of photography in preserving the family memories.²⁴ Overall, Kodak's Coloramas make each photograph adhere to a conventional and ritual posing practice. This display can be regarded as an archive of the discourse of the modern idea of “the family.”

Archive, Photographs, and Family Album

In a sense, the 565 Coloramas form a veritable photo album of the nation, especially of idealized American families. In Mette Sandbye's research, she notes that early in the history of photography, the photo album had already established a convention of how to present the bourgeois self within the frame of the family, and the very idea of the photo album seems to have continued to conceptualize our way of understanding and depicting what a modern nuclear family is.²⁵ In Elizabeth Siegel's study of the American family photo album in the nineteenth century, she argues that the album must be considered a practice that helped people to become members of an “imagined community”: “Albums helped fix Americans in time and place and provided them with both



Fig. 9. Photographer unidentified, *Colorama #565: Kodak Thanks The Big Apple for 40 years*, displayed 1989, George Eastman Museum, Rochester, NY

a personal genealogy and a national history.”²⁶ Family photo archives point to central aspects of how we view the family photo album: as a treasure we need to archive and secure, as a record keeper, as family heritage, and as something that represents an eternal truth about the individual and its roots in a larger historical context. Apart from the purpose of creating personal identity, we make family photo albums to document the past in order not to forget it. According to Sandbye, Kodak’s Coloramas—labeled “archives of family photographs”—can be placed between the staged and the real, the discursive construction and the documentation of the everyday.²⁷ Adolph Stuber, Kodak’s vice president of sales and advertising when the Colorama was conceived, stated that viewers “should be able to visualize themselves as being able to make the same wonderful photo.”²⁸ By the 1950s, Kodak was the world’s leading manufacturer of products for the amateur and professional photographer, with images representing the general iconography of the good family life used throughout all Kodak advertisements. *Family in Convertible Somewhere in Texas* (fig. 7) is an example of a happy family on the highway in Texas, with the father driving, the mother taking photos, and the children enjoying leisure time with a dog. *Pumpkins for Sale at Roadside Stand* (fig. 8) shows a father photographing his wife and son, who hold pumpkins at a roadside stand in the harvesting season.

To confirm the idealization of the “imaginary family,” as John Gillis calls it, in the early 1960s ordinary people, even children, were allowed to buy and operate a camera, to buy film regularly, and to have the rolls processed and printed at the lab: “What sets our age apart from all others is that each family is now the creator and custodian of its own myths, rituals, and images.”²⁹ Kodak’s Coloramas standardize the ambitions of American families through various cultures and rituals. Memory has become an essential “bonding factor”

for the modern nuclear family, and the notion that the family is part of a broader chronology is far more important than it once was. This phenomenon is mirrored in the steadily increasing dissemination of the family photograph throughout the past century and in its ritualized redundancy of motif in depicting the family’s leisure and holiday life and events such as weddings, Christmas celebrations, and birthdays. In terms of Colorama display, a large number of images perform family histories. All of these are created on the basis of social norms governing what and how we photograph, so that even the family album is alleged to recall communal memory.

Replacement by New Surfaces

Although panoramic imagery on film enjoyed renewed popularity in the last decades of the twentieth century, its current popularity rests on significant advancements in the digital realm. Today, digital cameras and cellphone cameras are fully equipped with automatic stitching software that combines several overlapping images into a complete panoramic view.³⁰

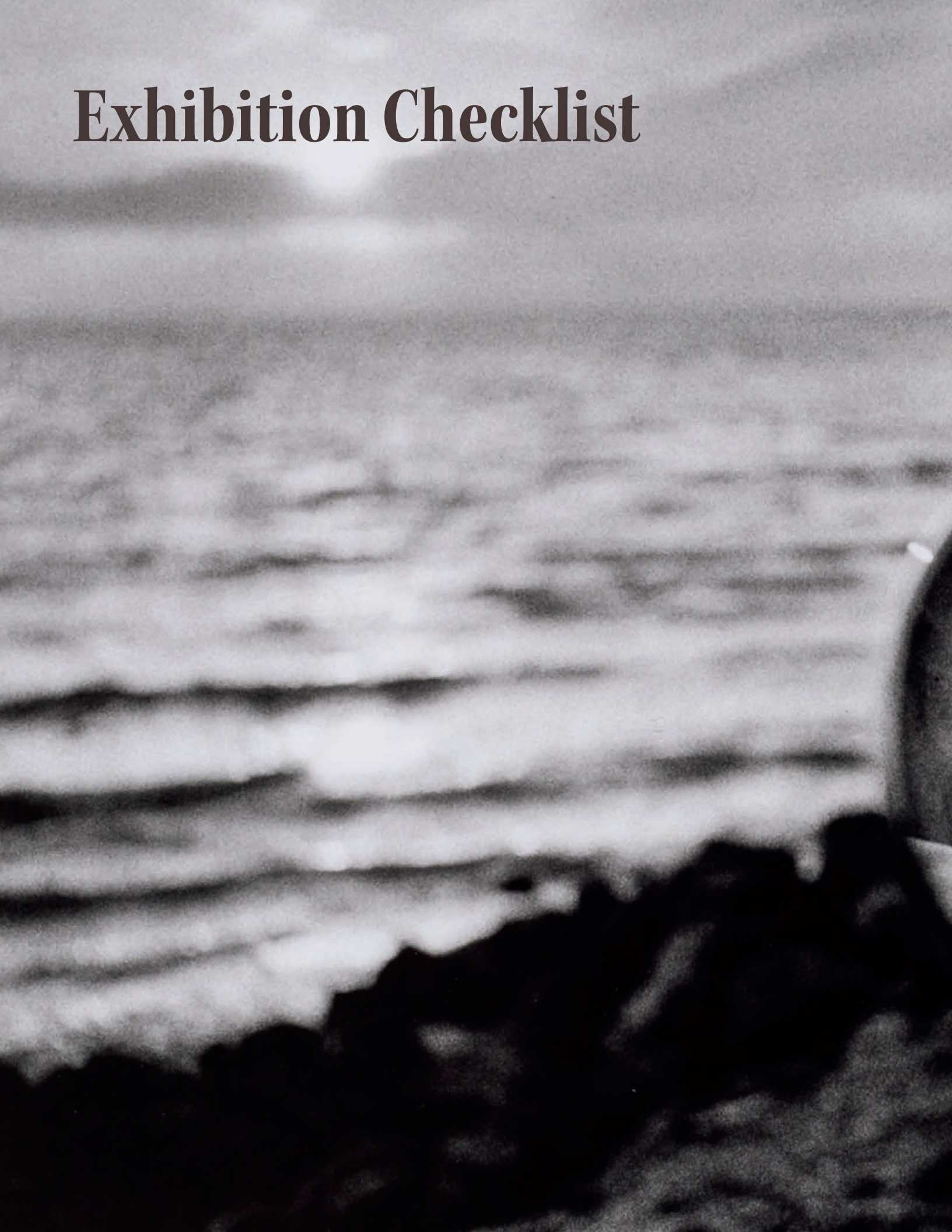
The era of Colorama ended in 1989 when the last colossal transparency representing a view of the New York City skyline superimposed with an image of big red apple was removed from Grand Central Terminal (fig. 9). By this time, the backlit light box was well out of date, having been superseded by giant video displays that use large-screen television technology. A year later, Sony’s Jumbotron arrived at Times Square, where it delivered an ever-changing menu of dizzyingly hyperkinetic vision of news, sports, weather tidbits, music videos, “infotainment,” and the ubiquitous commercials.³¹ Moreover, the hypertrophied surface of the Coloramas has now been reduced to the more discreet space of smartphones, laptops, and other digital tablets, which provide different visual practices and experiences, as well as reorganizing the notions

of image, point of view, and reflexivity. In doing so, the value of the surface has been kept or has even increased tenfold when looking at the profits generated by purchases of digital space and the smartphone economy.³² At the same time, new questions are raised: How has our way of looking at images changed? How is the iconological dimension of these surfaces connected to their physical and technical properties? Between the Coloramas of the 1960s and today's touch screens, did the display of the surfaces alter something in the way that the image is constructed in public space?

In short, when tracing the history of Kodak's Colorama in Grand Central Terminal, it should be noted that the gigantic images presented an idealized and panoramic view of twentieth-century life in the United States that reflected and reinforced American values and aspirations in the form of archive and memory, as well as simultaneously promoting photography as an essential leisure activity with social functions. Even though the imagery problematically omitted any reference to diversity or a range of ethnicity, these surfaces were designed to maintain eye contact to embrace the multiplicity of the aspects of an individual's life.

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26. Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 4.
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29. John Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), xvi, xvii.
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Exhibition Checklist





I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Antecedents: Portrait Miniatures



1.
John Carlin
Young Child, c. 1840
Case: 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (9.3 x 8.1 cm)
Watercolor on ivory
Juniata College Museum of Art
1998.1.045



2.
Painter unknown
Young Girl, nineteenth century
Case: 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (7.5 x 6.3 cm)
Watercolor on ivory
Juniata College Museum of Art
1998.1.051



3.
Henry Williams
Cr. Samuel Clarke, c. 1800
Case: 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (8 x 6.5 cm)
Watercolor on ivory, human hair
Juniata College Museum of Art
1998.1.067

Antecedents: Silhouettes



4.
William M. S. Doyle
Youth, nineteenth century
Case: 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (9.4 x 8 cm)
Cut paper and watercolor
Juniata College Museum of Art
1998.1.088

Daguerreotypes



5.
Photographer unknown
Sara Kutz with Children Harry and Ralph,
c. 1850
Daguerreotype
Case: $3 \frac{5}{8} \times 3 \frac{1}{8}$ in. (9.3 x 8 cm)
Cumberland County Historical Society
CP 06-07



6.
Photographer unknown
Judge Samuel Hepburn, c. 1850
Daguerreotype
Case: $3 \frac{5}{8} \times 3 \frac{1}{8}$ in. (9.3 x 8 cm)
Cumberland County Historical Society
CP 03-F-5



7.
Photographer unknown
Youth, c. 1850
Daguerreotype
Case: $3 \frac{5}{8} \times 3 \frac{1}{8}$ in. (9.3 x 8 cm)
Cumberland County Historical Society
CP-6-7



8.
Photographer unknown
Man, c. 1850
Daguerreotype
Case: $3 \frac{3}{4} \times 3 \frac{1}{8}$ in. (9.3 x 8 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2020.23

I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Daguerreotypes



9.
Photographer unknown
Four Students '57 including Jacob Stock and Gustavus Claggett Bird, c. 1855
Daguerreotype
Case: 3 5/8 x 3 1/8 in. (9.3 x 8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
AC-00324



10.
Photographer unknown
Samuel C. Caldwell '58, c. 1860
Daguerreotype
Case: 2 7/8 x 2 1/2 in. (7.3 x 6.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
AC-00323

Ambrotypes



11.
R. Adams
Dickinson College President Charles Collins, c. 1860
Ambrotype
Case: 3 5/8 x 3 1/8 in. (9.3 x 8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
#AC-0796

Ferrotypes (Tintypes)



12.
Photographer unknown
John Taylor Cuddy, c. 1862
Ferrotype with hand coloring
Case: 3 5/8 x 3 1/8 in. (9.3 x 8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
#AC-2001.9



13.
 Photographer unknown
Frank Dailey, Four Years Old, with Bull,
 c. 1860
 Ferrotypes
 3 5/8 x 4 5/8 in. (9 x 11.7 cm)
 The Trout Gallery
 Museum purchase with funds from the
 Friends of The Trout Gallery
 2020.33



14.
 Photographer unknown
Four Men in a Prop Boat, c. 1880
 Ferrotypes
 Case: 3 5/8 x 3 1/8 in. (9.3 x 8 cm)
 The Trout Gallery
 Museum purchase with funds from the
 Friends of The Trout Gallery
 2020.24



15.
 J. T. William (York)
 Unidentified family, c. 1885
 Ferrotypes with hand-coloring
 Case: 4 5/8 x 3 5/8 in. (11.8 x 9.3 cm)
 Dickinson College Archives and
 Special Collections
 #AC-0023



16.
 Photographer unknown
Three Women and Two Men: George
Bowman Family Vacation, Atlantic City,
NJ, 1890
 Ferrotypes
 3 1/4 x 2 3/8 in. (8.2 x 6.2 cm)
 Dickinson College Archives & Special
 Collections
 #PC 2008.3, Folder 7



Ferrotypes (Tintypes)



17.
Photographer unknown
*Two Men with Bicycle: George Bowman
Family Vacation, Atlantic City, NJ, 1890*
Ferrotypes
3 1/2 x 2 1/2 in. (8.7 x 6.1 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
#PC 2012.3, Folder 2



18.
Photographer unknown
*Woman and Child: George Bowman Family
Vacation, Atlantic City, NJ, 1890*
Ferrotypes
3 3/4 x 2 5/8 in. (9.2 x 6 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
#PC 2008.3, Folder 7



19.
Photographer unknown
Frederick A. Rumpley in Carriage, c. 1890
Ferrotypes
3 3/4 x 2 3/8 in. (9.5 x 6 cm)
Cumberland County Historical Society
#52E-8-10



20.
Unknown
Man before a Pair of Mirrors, c. 1900
Ferrotypes
5 x 3 1/2 in. (12.6 x 9 cm)
Cumberland County Historical Society
#TT-01-09

I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

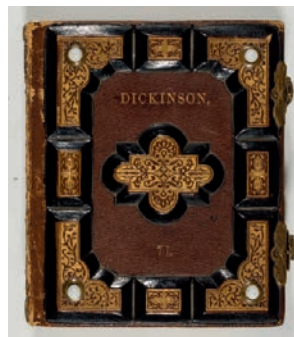
Cartes-de-Visit



21.
Photographer unknown (Williamsport)
Two Girls, c. 1870
Carte-de-visit: albumen print mounted
on card
Mount: 4 ½ x 2 ½ in. (10.5 x 6.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Andrew Gregg Curtin, MC 2001.21, Box 1



22.
Weneroth, Taylor & Brown (Philadelphia)
Man, c. 1870
Carte-de-visit: albumen print mounted
on card
Mount: 4 x 2 ½ in. (10.1 x 6.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Andrew Gregg Curtin, MC 2001.21, Box 1



23.
Cartes-de-visit album, Dickinson College
Class of 1871
Archives and Special Collections
MC 2019.4



C. L. Lochman (Carlisle)
Rev. Henry C. Cheston, c. 1871
Albumen print mounted on carte-de-visit
Mount: 4 x 2 ½ in. (10 x 6.2 cm)

C. L. Lochman (Carlisle)
Professor Charles F. Himes, c. 1871
Albumen print mounted on carte-de-visit
Mount: 4 x 2 ½ in. (10 x 6.2 cm)



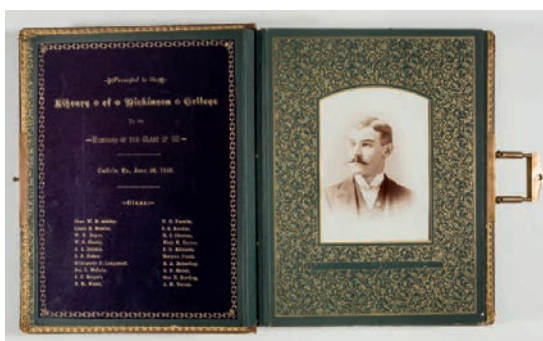
C. L. Lochman (Carlisle)
Andrew Beal, janitor, c. 1871
 Albumen print mounted on carte-de-visit
 Mount: 4 x 2 ½ in. (10 x 6.2 cm)

C. L. Lochman (Carlisle)
George Norris, janitor, c. 1870
 Albumen print mounted on carte-de-visit
 Mount: 4 x 2 ½ in. (10 x 6.2 cm)

Cabinet Cards and Albums



24.
 Cabinet Card Album, Dickinson College
 Class of 1888
 Archives and Special Collections
 MC 2019.6



John N. Choate (Carlisle)
Charles W. D. Ashley, c. 1888
 Albumen print mounted on cabinet card
 Mount: 6 ½ x 4 ¼ in. (16.4 x 10.6 cm)



John N. Choate (Carlisle)
Ulysses Simpson Grant, Elizabeth Ryan Bender, c. 1888
 Albumen prints mounted on cabinet cards
 Mount: 6 ½ x 4 ¼ in. (16.4 x 10.6 cm)

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Cabinet Cards and Albums



25.
John N. Choate (Carlisle)
Northern Arapaho and Shoshone Students upon their Arrival at the Carlisle Indian School, 1881
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 5 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (13.2 x 21.5 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
CIS-PC 004, Folder 36



26.
John N. Choate (Carlisle)
White Buffalo, Cheyenne, Native Dress, 1881
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.5 x 13.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
CIS-P-0022



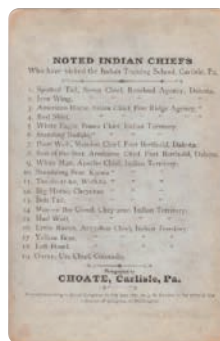
27.
John N. Choate (Carlisle)
Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe upon their Arrival at the Carlisle Indian School, 1883
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.5 x 13.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
PC 2002.2, Folder 6



28.
John N. Choate (Carlisle)
Wounded Yellow Robe, Henry Standing Bear, Timber Yellow Robe, 6 Months after Entrance to School, 1886
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 8 1/2 x 5 1/4 in. (21.5 x 13.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
PC 2002.2, Folder 7



29.
John N. Choate (Carlisle), (after Matthew Brady)
Ouray and his Wife Chipeta, Utes, 1881
(1858)
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 6 1/2 x 4 1/8 in. (16.3 x 10.6 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
CIS-P-0013



30.
John N. Choate (Carlisle)
Noted Indian Chiefs, c. 1881
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.3 x 10.7 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
CIS-P-0012



31.
John N. Choate (Carlisle)
White Buffalo, Cheyenne, 1884
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.3 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
CIS-P-0023



32.
Line Studio (Carlisle)
Group of Female Students '97: including Anna Mabel Geiger, Annie "Ruth" E. Miles Saulsbury, Helen R. Horn Jordan, c. 1897
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 8 1/2 x 5 1/8 in. (21.3 x 13.1 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC Class of 1897, Anna Mabel Geiger

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Cabinet Cards and Albums



33.
Andrews Studio (Carlisle)
Anna Mabel Geiger '97, c. 1897
Gelatin silver print on cabinet card
Mount: 7 x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (17.7 x 11 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC Class of 1897, Anna Mabel Geiger



34.
D. H. Heller Studio (Newville)
Young Girl, n.d.
Albumen print on card
Mount: 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16.5 x 10.3 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth Hodge Collection



35.
M. J. Hoover Studio (Newville)
Bearded Man, n.d.
Albumen print on card
Mount: 6 x 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (15 x 10.5 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth Hodge Collection



36.
Rossé and Shempp Studio (Williamsport)
Group of Women, n.d.
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (16.3 x 10.7 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth Hodge Collection



I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Stereographs



37.
John N. Choate (Carlisle)
Miss Sarah Mather and Indian Girls upon their Arrival at the Carlisle Indian School, 1879
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 7 in. (10 x 17.5 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
CIS-P-0037

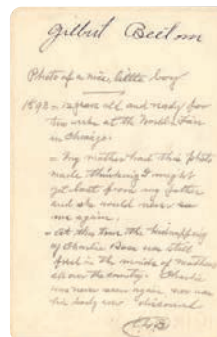
Other Mounted Photographs



38.
Studio Unknown
Sarah... (), n.d.
Gelatin silver photo postcard
Mount: 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.6 x 8.6 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth Hodge Collection



39.
J. N. Choate (Carlisle)
Gilbert Beethem, 1893
Albumen print on card
Mount: 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16.5 x 10.8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
PC 2002.7-Beethem



40.
J. N. Choate (Carlisle)
Gilbert Beethem, 1893
Albumen print on card
Mount: 6 x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (15.3 x 10.8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
PC 2002.7-Beethem



41.
Photographer unknown
Women's Dormitory Room, Dickinson College: (L-R) Jennie M. Taylor '89, Mary Evans '88, and Mary Curran '88 in Jennie's Room, c. 1890
Albumen print on card
Mount: 8 x 10 in. (20 x 25 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
PC Dickinson College, Buildings & Grounds, Non-Academic Rooms



42.
Photographer unknown
Men's Dormitory Room, Dickinson College: (L-R) Joseph A. Bennett '94, Charles Oscar Ford or William Henry Ford, and unidentified student, c.1895
Albumen print on cabinet card
Mount: 8 x 10 in. (20 x 25 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
PC Dickinson College, Buildings & Grounds, Non-Academic Rooms

Snapshots



43.
Photographer unknown
"Margaret" Anderson (?) on a Donkey with a Dog, n.d.
Cyanotype
2 1/2 x 3 7/8 in. (6 x 9.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
PC 2013.03, Folder 76



44.
Photographer unknown
New Lebaudy Airship, c. 1904
Gelatin silver on paper
4 1/4 x 3 1/8 in. (10.8 x 8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and Special Collections
PC 1999.8, Folder 1

I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Snapshots



45.
Photographer unknown
Four Women in a Boat on Water, c. 1910
Gelatin silver on paper
2 ½ x 4 ¼ in. (6.2 x 10.7 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Folder 2012.1, Folder 22



46.
Photographer unknown
*Kermit "Kim" Roosevelt Jr. and Joseph
Willard Roosevelt*, c.1920
Gelatin silver on postcard
5 ⅞ x 3 ⅞ in. (15 x 10 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2012.12, Folder 11



47.
Photographer unknown
Eleanor Waugh with Cat, c. 1920s
Gelatin silver on paper
3 ¼ x 3 ⅞ in. (8 x 9.7 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2017.04, Folder 5



48.
Photographer unknown
Zatae Longsdorff '87 with Chickens, c.
1920
Gelatin silver on paper
Mount: 5 ½ x 6 ½ in. (14 x 16.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2002.2, Folder 31



49.
 Photographer unknown
Three Women Having Lunch on the Side of the Road, c. 1925
 Gelatin silver on paper
 2 ½ x 4 ¼ in. (6.3 x 10.7 cm)
 Dickinson College Archives and
 Special Collections
 Folder 2012.1, Folder 22



50.
 Photographer unknown
Velva Diven '27, Jo Wright '27, and Vi Oiler '27 Standing on a Car Bumper, c. 1927
 Gelatin silver on paper
 4 ½ x 2 ¾ in. (11.6 x 7 cm)
 Dickinson College Archives and
 Special Collections
 PC 2012.6, Folder 2



51.
 Photographer unknown
Velva Diven '27, Jo Wright '27, and Vi Oiler '27 Standing in front of a Car, c. 1927
 Gelatin silver on paper
 4 ¼ x 2 ⅝ in. (11 x 6.8 cm)
 Dickinson College Archives and
 Special Collections
 PC 2012.6, Folder 2



52.
 Photographer unknown
Ruth Trout '36 and Helen Trout in a Swimming Hole Next to a Car, c. 1920
 Gelatin silver on paper
 6 x 3 ¾ in. (15 x 9.3 cm)
 Dickinson College Archives and
 Special Collections
 MC 2005.01, Folder 50

I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Snapshots



53.
Photographer unknown
*Ruth Trout '36, Helen Trout, and
Friend Playing*, c. 1920
Gelatin silver on paper
3 1/2 x 2 1/2 in. (9 x 6.4 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
MC 2005.01, Folder 43



54.
Photographer unknown
Catherine Davis, 1925
Gelatin silver on paper
4 1/4 x 2 3/4 in. (11.6 x 7 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from
the Friends of The Trout Gallery
2020.25



55.
Photographer unknown
"Eleven Strong," c. 1925
Gelatin silver on paper
5 3/4 x 3 1/2 in. (14.6 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth "Pappy" Hodge
Collection



56.
Photographer unknown
"A Touch Down," c. 1925
Gelatin silver on paper
2 1/2 x 3 1/4 in. (6 x 8.3 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth "Pappy" Hodge
Collection



57.
Photographer unknown
"Oh Boy," c. 1925
Gelatin silver on paper
2 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (6.1 x 8.6 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth "Pappy" Hodge Collection



58.
Photographer unknown
Beach, Atlantic City, NJ, c. 1925
Gelatin silver on paper
5 x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (12.5 x 8.8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth "Pappy" Hodge Collection



59.
Photographer unknown
George Gorgas on a Camel, Sabara Desert,
1925
Gelatin silver on paper
Mount: 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.7 x 24.8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2002.4, Folder 8



60.
Photographer unknown
*William H. H. Knight on a Road Looking
at a River Gorge,* 1926–1929
Gelatin silver on paper
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.7 x 14.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 31

I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Snapshots



61.
Photographer unknown
*William H. H. Knight and Grace Cook
next to a Car, c. 1928*
Gelatin silver on paper
2 3/4 x 4 5/8 in. (7 x 11.8 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 31



62.
Photographer unknown
*Pavel Tchelitchev (?) and Allen Turner, c.
1930*
Gelatin silver on paper
1 5/8 x 2 1/2 in. (4.2 x 6.4 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2013.03, Folder 57



63.
Photographer unknown
Scottie and Topsey, c. 1940
Gelatin silver on paper
3 5/8 x 2 3/8 in. (8.7 x 6.1 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2019.14, Folder 79



64.
Photographer unknown
*Margaret in Front of a Cottage, England,
1930*
Gelatin silver on paper
2 1/4 x 3 1/4 in. (5.8 x 8.5 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2009.6, Folder 3



I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Snapshots



65.
Photographer unknown
Ruth Trout '36, Brook Trout (?), Helen Trout
(3 identical exposures on sheet), c. 1940
Gelatin silver on paper
3 1/2 x 8 1/4 in. (9 x 21 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 50



66.
Photobooth
Ruth Trout '36, c. 1950
Gelatin silver on paper
2 x 10 1/8 in. (5 x 25.5 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 58



67.
Photobooth
Helen Trout, c. 1950
Gelatin silver on paper
2 x 10 1/8 in. (5 x 25.5 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 49



68.
Photobooth
Helen Trout, c. 1950
Gelatin silver on paper
2 x 10 1/8 in. (5 x 25.5 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 49



69.
Photobooth
Ruth Trout and Helen Trout '36, c. 1950
Gelatin silver on paper
2 x 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5 x 25.5 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 52



70.
Photographer unknown
Young Boy Wearing a Cowboy Hat on a Toy Horse, c. 1950
Gelatin silver on paper
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (9 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 27



71.
Frank Masland Jr.
View of Galapagos Islands from Airplane,
c. 1953
Gelatin silver on paper
5 x 7 in. (12.7 x 18 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2009.4, Folder 5



72.
Frank Masland Jr.
Woman with a Cow, Galapagos Islands,
1953
Gelatin silver on paper
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (6.4 x 6.4 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2009.4, Folder 5

I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Snapshots



73.
Frank Masland Jr.
Woman with Two Cows, Galapagos Islands,
1953
Gelatin silver on paper
2 ¼ x 3 ½ in. (6 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2009.4, Folder 5



74.
Frank Masland Jr.
Woman with Two Cows, Galapagos Islands,
1953
Gelatin silver on paper
2 ¼ x 3 ½ in. (6 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2009.4, Folder 5



75.
Frank Masland Jr.
Everglades, c. 1960
Chromogenic print
2 ½ x 3 ½ in. (6.2 x 8.7 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2009.4, Folder 9



76.
Photographer unknown
*Two Women and a Young Girl with Flowers
at a Cemetery, 1961*
Chromogenic print
3 ½ x 3 ½ in. (9 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 10



77.
Photographer unknown
Young Girl in front of a House, c. 1960
Gelatin silver on paper
3 1/2 x 3 1/2 in. (9 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 1



78.
Photographer unknown
*Woman Seated next to a Table-Top
Christmas Tree*, 1969
Chromogenic print
3 1/2 x 5 in. (9 x 12.6 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 10



79.
Photographer unknown
Man in Front of House, c. 1965
Chromogenic print
3 1/2 x 3 1/2 in. (9 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 3



80.
Photographer unknown
*Young Man Seated on a Building Rooftop,
Chicago*, 1967
Chromogenic print
2 3/8 x 3 1/2 in. (6 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2013.3, Folder 115

I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Snapshots



81.
Photographer unknown
Child under a Christmas Tree, 1970
Chromogenic print
3 ½ x 3 ½ in. (9 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2005.1, Folder 11



82.
Photographer unknown
Frank Masland Jr. and Friend in a Canoe on Land, c. 1970
Chromogenic print
2 ½ x 3 ½ in. (6.2 x 8.7 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2009.4, Folder 17



83.
Photographer unknown
Young Boy and Young Girl Seated in front of a Christmas Tree, 1973
Chromogenic print
3 ½ x 3 ½ in. (9 x 9 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 2012.1, Folder 55

Travel Albums



84.
Charles Francis Himes (compiler)
European Travel Album, 1890
Albumen prints on paper
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
MC 2001.1, Box 28



I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY

Travel Albums



85.
Charles Francis Himes
Columbian Exposition Album (Chicago),
1893
Albumen prints on paper
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
MC 2000.1, B27, Folder 3

Snapshot / Scrapbook Albums



86.
Charles Francis Himes
*Observations of a Tot Traveler by Sea and
Land* (for his daughter, Mary), 1903
Cyanotypes
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
MC 2001.1, Box 17, Folder 11



87.
Photo Album of Frank E. Masland Jr.,
c. 1917
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
MC 2009.4, Box 16, Folder 7





88.
Scrapbook of Velva Pearl Wagner Diven '27
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
MC 2012.6, Box 1, Folder 12



89.
Photo Album from Paul Ellsworth "Pappy"
Hodge, c.1930
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
Paul Ellsworth Hodge Collection

Equipment



90.
Eastman Kodak
Brownie #2 Camera, Model F
Type: Box Roll-Film
Film size: 120; 2 1/4 x 3 1/4 in.
Introduced: 1901
The Trout Gallery

Photographs in Printed Books and Journals



91.
Charles Francis Himes
Leaf Prints: or Glimpses at Photography
Philadelphia, Bennerman & Wilson: 1868
Gelatin silver print (copy of photogenic
drawing)
Mount: 8 3/8 x 6 3/8 in. (21.5 x 16.4 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections

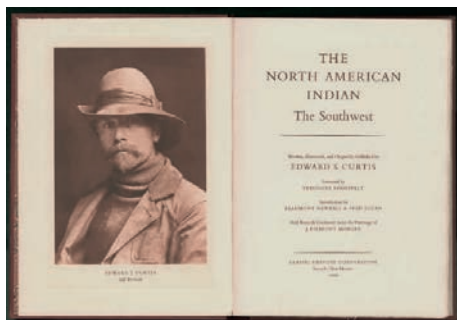
I. At Home | PHOTOGRAPHY AS MEMORY



92.
Eadweard Muybridge
Plate 627, Gallop; thoroughbred bay
mare, "Annie G" from
Animal Locomotion, 1887
Collotype
13 ¾ x 19 ⅜ in. (34.9 x 49.2 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Samuel Moyerman
1987.4.76



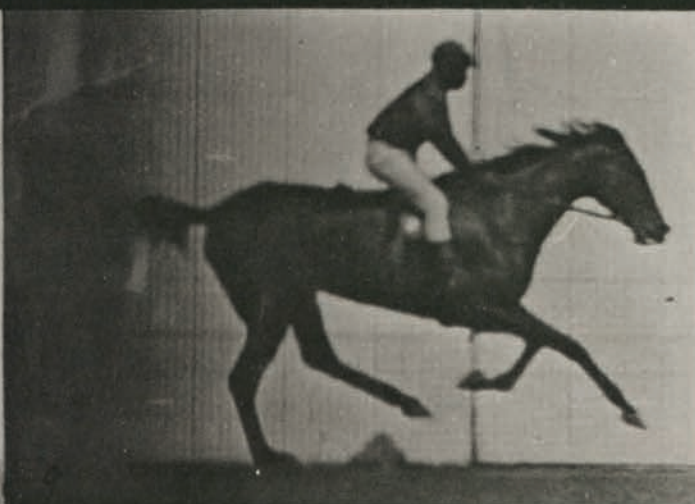
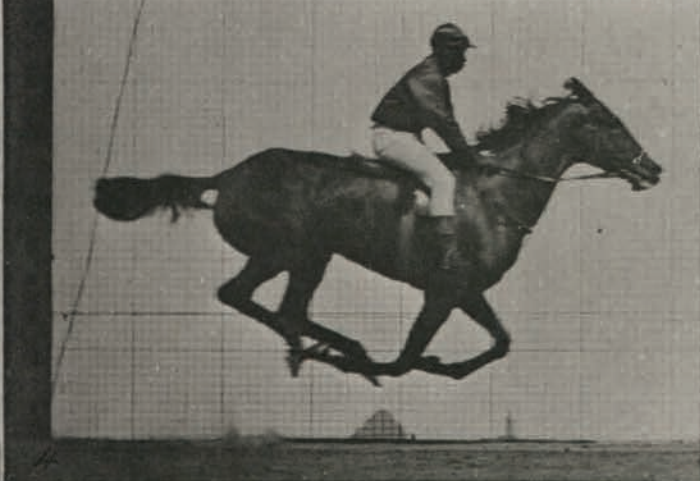
93.
Jacob Riis
*How the Other Half Lives: Studies among
the Tenements of New York*
Charles Scribner's Sons: New York: 1890
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2020.19



94.
Edward Sheriff Curtis
Watching the Dancers, 1906
Photogravure from
The North American Indian
Plate: 17 ¼ x 12 ½ in. (43.8 x 31.8 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Angelo Brutico, P '18
2015.24.1

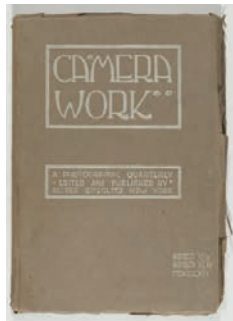


95.
Ronald L. Haeblerle
"The Massacre at Mylai"
Life, December 5, 1969, 36-45
Dickinson College, Waidner-Spahr
Library



II. In a Gallery | PHOTOGRAPHY AS ART

Prints



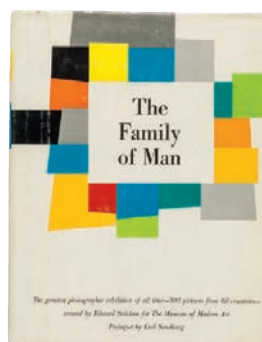
96.
Edward Steichen
Mary Learns to Walk, 1913
From *Camera Work*, XLII and XLIII
8 ³/₁₆ x 6 ³/₁₆ in. (20.8 x 16.0 cm)
Photogravure
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with Funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2020.22.2.4



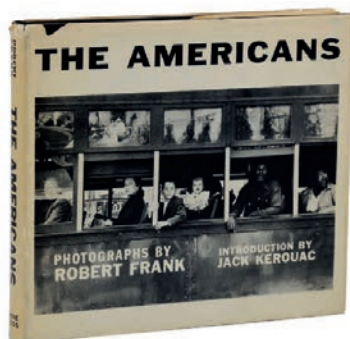
97.
Ben Shahn
Cotton Pickers at Work, Pulaski County, Arkansas, 1935
Gelatin silver on paper
13 ¹/₂ x 10 ¹/₄ in. (34.3 x 26.0 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2019.16



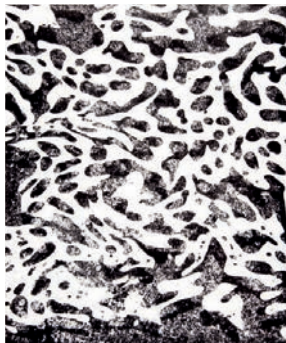
98.
Elliott Erwitt
California Kiss, 1955
Gelatin silver on paper
11 x 14 in. (27.9 x 35.5 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2020.20



99.
Edward Steichen and Carl Sandburg
The Family of Man
Simon and Schuster for the Museum of
Modern Art: New York, 1955
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with Funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2020.18



100.
Robert Frank with Jack Kerouac
The Americans
Grove Press: New York, 1959
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with Funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2020.17



101.
Lucien Clergue
Fountain at the Seagram Building, NY,
1961
Gelatin silver on paper
15 ¾ x 13 in. (39.9 x 33.0 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of the D'Angelo Family
2011.8.3



102.
Peter N. Turnley
McClellan Street, Ft. Wayne, Indiana, USA,
1973
Pigment on paper
20 x 24 in. (50.8 x 60.9 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Kurt Olender
2016.10.8



103.
Duane Michals
The Room Where the World Ended, n.d.
Gelatin silver on paper with hand-written
ink inscriptions
8 x 10 in. (20.3 x 25.4 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of The Dickinson Club of
Washington
1986.5

II. In a Gallery | PHOTOGRAPHY AS ART

Prints



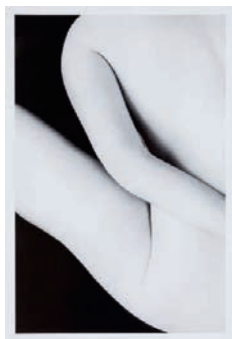
104a-i.
Andy Warhol
Lucio Amelio, c. 1975
Dye diffusion instant prints (Polacolor
Type 108 process)
(9) 4 ¼ x 3 ¼ in. (10.8 x 8.3 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of the Andy Warhol Foundation
2008.6.62–70



105.
Donna Ferrato
*Like Two Ships Passing in the Night, Sailors
and Twin Sisters Nearly Collide, San
Francisco*, 1976
Archival pigment on paper
20 x 24 in. (50.8 x 60.9 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Elisabetta Bartoloni
2017.28.2



106.
Allan Ludwig
Looking Out, n.d.
Gelatin silver with selenium toning on
paper
10 in. (25.3 cm) dia.
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Jeffrey Baron
1982.12.1



107.
Ralph Gibson
Nude Back, 1989
Pigment on paper
16 1/8 x 10 5/8 (41 x 27 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Berkin Kologlu
2012.9.5



108.
Tom Baril
Chrysler Building, 1995
Gelatin silver with toning on paper
20 x 16 in. (50.8 x 40.6 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Mark W. Connelly
2007.9.11



109.
Sally Gall
Fiji, 2000
Archival pigment on paper
24 x 20 in. (60.9 x 50.8 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Chris Campbell
2014.14.4

Kodak 160NC-2 3161





110.
Lalla Essaydi
Harem, #14C, 2009
Chromogenic print mounted to
aluminum
40 x 30 in. (101.6 x 76.2 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2017.8



111.
Masao Yamamoto
Small Things in Silence
Amanasalto and RM: Tokyo, 2014
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with Funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2015.2.3



Masao Yamamoto
Japanese Luna Moth #1597, 2014
from *Small Things in Silence*
Platinum on paper
8 1/2 x 5 7/8 in. (21.6 x 14.2 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with Funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2015.2.1



Masao Yamamoto
Egg-Shaped Nude #1159, 2014
from *Small Things in Silence*
Platinum on paper
3 7/8 x 6 1/4 in. (10 x 15.7 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with Funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2015.2.2

II. In a Gallery | PHOTOGRAPHY AS ART



112.
Joyce Tenneson
Mango Calla Lily, 2015
Archival pigment on paper
22 x 17 in. (55.9 x 43.2 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Gift of Michael Moses
2017.33.2



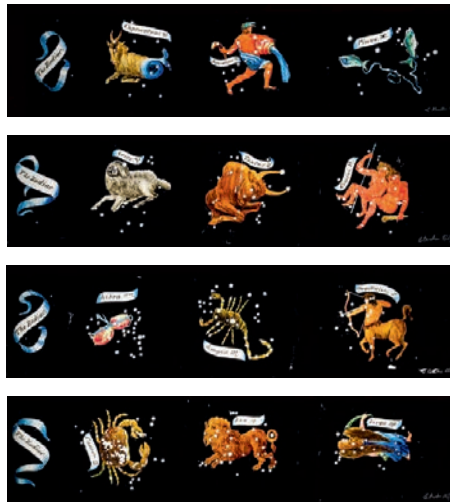
113.
Lissa Rivera
Yellow Classroom (Desire), 2017
Archival pigment on paper
22 ½ x 30 in. (57.1 x 76.2 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery
2019.5

III. In a Camera Obscura | PHOTOGRAPHY AS ENTERTAINMENT

Hand-Painted Glass Lantern Slides



114 a, b, c
C. Burton
Astronomy, 1847
Three in a set of hand painted glass
lantern slides
4 1/2 x 13 1/8 in. (10 x 33.3 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
AC 00403



115 a, b, c, d.
C. Burton
The Zodiac, 1847
Complete set of 4 hand painted glass
lantern slides
4 1/2 x 13 1/8 in. (10 x 33.3 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
AC 00403

Photographic Glass Lantern Slides



116.
C. T. Milligan, Philadelphia
*Girls Industrial Room, Carlisle Indian
School*, c. 1895
Gelatin silver lantern slide
3 1/4 x 4 in. (8.3 x 10.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
CIS-P-0046

III. In a Camera Obscura | PHOTOGRAPHY AS ENTERTAINMENT

Photographic Glass Lantern Slides



117.
C. T. Milligan, Philadelphia
Laundry, Carlisle Indian School, c. 1895
Gelatin silver lantern slide
3 1/4 x 4 in. (8.3 x 10.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
CIS-P-0045



118.
C. T. Milligan, Philadelphia
School Assembled, Carlisle Indian School,
c. 1895
Gelatin silver lantern slide
3 1/4 x 4 in. (8.3 x 10.2 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
CIS-P-0042



119.
C. T. Milligan, Philadelphia
Art Class, Carlisle Indian School, c. 1895
Gelatin silver lantern slide
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
3 1/4 x 4 in. (8.3 x 10.2 cm)
CIS-P-0040

Color Transparencies



120 a-t.
Phillip Earenfight
Travel Views: Florence and Siena, 1990
Twenty chromogenic transparencies
35mm format
Private collection

Viewing Devices

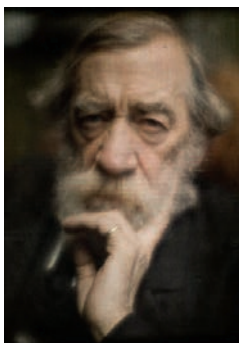


121.
Bauch & Lomb
Lantern slide projector, c. 1911
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
AC 00403



122.
Viw-Master
Pana-Vue I Lighted 2 x 2 Slide Viewer, c.
1970
The Trout Gallery

Autochromes



123.
Edward Steichen
Moncure Daniel Conway, '49, c. 1907
Autochrome
6 1/2 x 4 1/2 in. (16.5 x 11.6 cm)
Dickinson College Archives and
Special Collections
PC 1999.6, Folder 8



124
J. C. Straus Studio (St. Louis)
Autochrome viewer, c. 1910
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery

III. In a Camera Obscura | PHOTOGRAPHY AS ENTERTAINMENT

Autochromes



125.
J. C. Straus Studio (St. Louis)
Amedee B. Cole, c. 1909
Autochrome
5 x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (12.7 x 8.5 cm)
The Trout Gallery
Museum purchase with funds from the
Friends of The Trout Gallery



126.
Photographer unknown
Landscape, c. 1925
Autochrome
3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.9 x 12.3 cm)
Cumberland County Historical Society



127.
Photographer unknown
Four Women Seated in a Landscape I,
c. 1925
Autochrome
3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.9 x 12.3 cm)
Cumberland County Historical Society



128.
Photographer unknown
Four Women Seated in a Landscape II,
c. 1925
Autochrome
3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (9.9 x 12.3 cm)
Cumberland County Historical Society



129.
 Photographer unknown
Three Women in a Landscape, c. 1925
 Autochrome
 3 3/4 x 4 3/4 in. (9.9 x 12.3 cm)
 Cumberland County Historical Society



130.
 Photographer unknown
Two Women in Front of a Brick Home,
 c. 1925
 Autochrome
 3 3/4 x 4 3/4 in. (9.9 x 12.3 cm)
 Cumberland County Historical Society

Cellular Phone



131.
 SNAPSHOTS. January 1–December 31,
 2020. *How the Dickinson Community
 Experienced the COVID-19 Pandemic*
 (produced in conjunction with
 the exhibition: *In Light of the Past:
 Experiencing Photography 1839–2021*)
 Phillip Earenfight, editor
 The Trout Gallery, Carlisle: 2020



132.
 Apple, Inc.
iPhone, 2020
 Private collection

Acknowledgements

In Light of the Past: Experiencing Photography 1839–2021 is a curatorial project by senior art history majors at Dickinson College. It stems from an annual seminar designed to introduce students to the practice of preparing an exhibition and catalogue. Working with objects from several collections, the six student curators selected the works for the exhibition, organized the material into major themes, and prepared the essays for this catalogue.

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Phillip Earenfight
Director, The Trout Gallery



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The Trout Gallery, The Art Museum of Dickinson College

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Inside front cover: Ben Shahn, *Cotton Pickers at Work, Pulaski County, Arkansas* (detail), 1935, gelatin silver on paper (cat. 97)

Inside back cover: Photographer unknown, *Three Women and Two Men: George Bowman Family Vacation, Atlantic City, NJ* (detail), 1890, ferrotype (cat. 16)