



Richard Gordon

Annabel B. Bailey - Nancy Fortinham - Sarah Kibler - Clara Westley
"Turk"

IMAGE

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PHOTOGRAPHY at George Eastman House

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Front Cover: F41r., from the Campbell album, ca. 1867-1876. [Neg. 17312].

Back Cover: Gertrude Käsebier, Clarence H. White Family: Georgetown, Maine, platinumotype, n.d. (ca. 1910). [Neg. 17396].

NEW DIRECTOR OF THE MUSEUM

In December of 1972, the fourth director of the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House took office. He is Robert J. Doherty, previously of Louisville, Kentucky, and successor to the following men who have served as director since the museum was first founded: the late Oscar N. Solbert (1947-1958), Beaumont Newhall (1958-1971) and F. Van Deren Coke (1971-1972).

Mr. Doherty obtained a B.F.A. degree from the Rhode Island School of Design in 1951 (where he became Director of Development six years later) and a M.F.A. from Yale. He was first employed as Production Manager of Halliday, Inc., printers, at East Providence, Rhode Island, and eventually became Director of Graphic Design at Reynolds Metal Company (1953-1957), where he directed the sales promotion program, Aluminum in Modern Architecture. During this time he received the first of several significant design awards from the American Institute of Architects, the American Institute of Graphic Arts and the Lithographers and Printers National Association. In 1959 he published a book, *Aluminum Foil Design*.

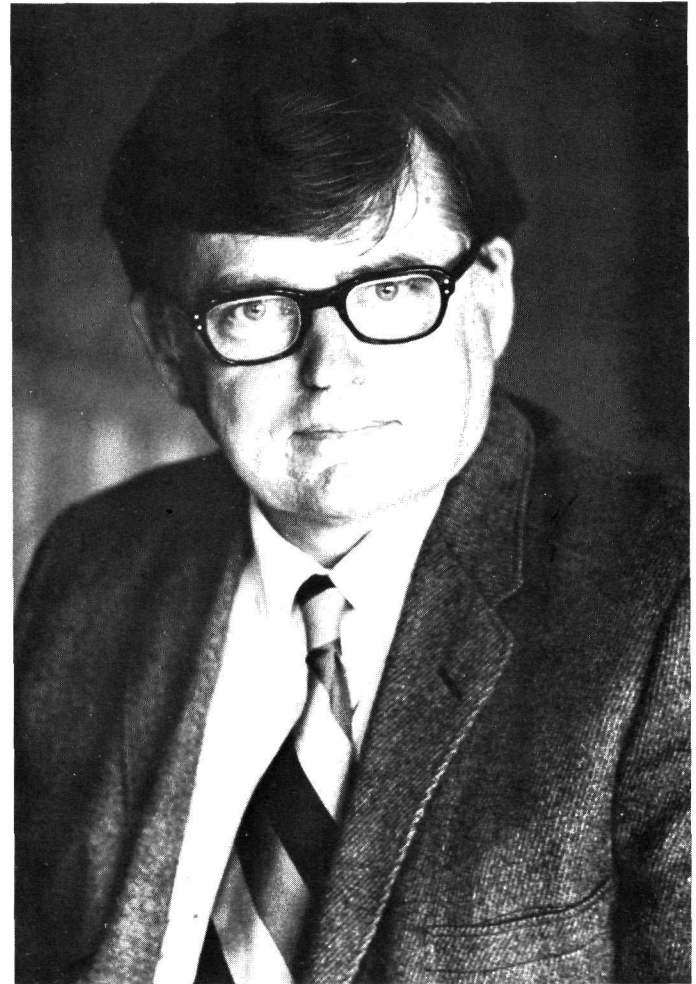
The same year he was named Associate Professor of the Fine Arts Department at the University of Louisville. In this department he became successively Professor (1965) and Chairman (1967), positions he continued to hold until he moved to Rochester.

His photographic work was first shown at Watertown, Conn., then at The Arts Club of Louisville, Louisville Art Center Association School, and most recently at the Allen R. Hite Art Institute, University of Louisville. He became Curator of the Photography Collection of the Hite Art Institute in 1962. He became Acting Director of the Institute two years later, and Director from 1967 to the present. He has also written on Creative Photography, and World War I photographs.

He organized and designed several exhibitions at the Hite Art Institute: Some Nineteenth Century Photographs, Graphic Design, and USA-FSA (1962), the latter an extensive show dealing with Farm Security Administration photographs. The entire October issue of *Camera* that year was devoted to USA-FSA, and this coverage was reprinted in *foto* (Sweden) and *fotographie* (East Germany). Mr. Doherty was also Photographic Editor of *Portrait of a Decade* (1972), a book about Roy Stryker and the development of documentary photography through the FSA in the 1930's.

He was awarded a Fulbright grant for travel to Germany in 1965.

His exhibition Visual Arts in Louisville was circulated throughout France by USIA. He was project director of three exhibitions of the Kentucky Arts Commission: The Art of Typeface, Nineteenth Century Coal Hole Covers, and Texture. His interest in architecture and city planning is reflected not only in exhibit (Historic Building Survey, Jefferson County, Kentucky), design and construction (Rice River House, Louisville) and publication (the books *Louisville Architecture and Preservation*), but also in alliance with innumerable community organizations involving planning and related areas, with which he



served as director or chairman. He was University Designer at the University of Louisville for 13 years.

Other facets of his community service are too extensive to enumerate.

Thematic content of his thesis, "Signs and the Law," also appeared in his article "The Eye and the Highway," and he lists his current research in progress as "Visual Controls for Roads and Highways."

Mr. Doherty is married to Esther Fiske Doherty, and they have three children: Jonathan, Anne and Timothy.

New Acquisitions

PRINTS AND NEGATIVES OF GERTRUDE KÄSEBIER

Gertrude Käsebier, a pictorialist photographer who was active from the 1890's into the 1920's, was one of the leading American photographers of her time. Early in her career her work was regarded as highly controversial. But she had both determination and a clear sense of purpose; and the support of Alfred Stieglitz, who devoted the first issue of *Camera Work* (1903) mainly to her work, and others who understood what she was doing, encouraged her efforts. Her pictures came to be widely admired, reproduced and exhibited, and the importance of her work is now firmly established. Recently a gift of her prints and negatives has enlarged the collection of the International Museum of Photography.

Käsebier was born Gertrude Stanton in Des Moines, Iowa, and she spent her childhood there and in Colorado. After an education at Moravian College for Women in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, she lived in New York, and was married in 1873 to Edward Käsebier, a German businessman. Although she had always had an interest in art, it was not until 15 years after her marriage—by which time her three children had been born—that she was able to begin formal study, at Pratt Institute.

In 1893 she went to Europe to continue her education and became seriously interested in photography, which she studied in Paris and in Germany. After returning to the United States, she learned photography as a business by working in a studio in Brooklyn. In the late 1890's she set up, in Manhattan on Fifth Avenue near Thirty-second Street, what was to become a highly successful commercial portrait studio, and she maintained a studio until eight years before her death in 1934.

Käsebier's more enlightened contemporaries had many reasons for admiring her accomplishments, among them her positive influence on professional portraiture. Portrait photography, as commonly practiced then, was characterized by standardized, bland presentations of the subject. Käsebier is credited as the single most important influence in bringing about a new kind of portraiture distinguished by natural poses, the use of light and shadow to create atmosphere, pictorial compositions, and careful printing and mounting techniques. But more than this, she recorded a moment of response, so that not merely the subject's features were recorded, but

a personality, a relationship or a mood was suggested. Some of the commercial photographers of the time objected strenuously to her practices—the use of backlighting in photographs of figures, for instance—but nonetheless her influence spread gradually.

Today it is not for her influence on commercial photography that we appreciate her, but for her work as a pictorialist. She was a founding member of the Photo-Secession and a member of the Linked Ring, and her place among the eminent photographers who belonged to these groups is secure. Both her pictorial conceptions and executions of them were praised and discussed at length in critical literature of the time. One of her special contributions was her treatment of the themes of mother and child and of the family. She continued to work in the pictorialist mode even as it declined aesthetically after 1910 or somewhat later, and she became associated with the backward-looking Pictorialist Photographers of America. But her photographs from the earlier period remain as examples of pictorialism at its best.

Except for a few pieces, the collection of her work at the International Museum of Photography is a recent gift from her daughter, Mrs. Hermine Turner, and her granddaughter, Miss Mina Turner, which includes both prints and enlarged negatives. The collection reveals the scope of Käsebier's work: commercial portraits and portraits of friends, two examples from her series on Indians, several versions of the well-known portraits of Rodin, photographs on the theme of maternity, pictures of her family, costume studies, bucolic landscapes, scenes in Newfoundland, a picture taken for a Kodak advertising contest. The gift also includes five portraits of Käsebier taken by others. Some of the negatives, which were enlarged for use in making contact platinum or gum-bichromate prints, are of special interest to students, for they show how she cropped and altered areas of pictures through application of paint.

In the Museum's collection Gertrude Käsebier's work is represented by 76 photographs and 76 enlarged negatives in the Turner gift, 8 portraits of Alvin Langdon Coburn and his mother from the Coburn bequest, and gravures from *Camera Notes* and *Camera Work*.

Melissa Reed



GERTRUDE KASEBIER, Edward Käsebir and Turner Children, gum bichromate, n.d. (ca. 1905). [Neg. 13562].



GERTRUDE KASEBIER, Untitled, gum bichromate (ca. 1903). [Neg. 13561].



GERTRUDE KASEBIER, *The Visitor*, platinotype, n.d. [Neg. 17397].



GERTRUDE KASEBIER, *The Red Man*, [modern print from enlarged glass plate negative], n.d. (ca. 1903). [Neg. 17281].



GERTRUDE KASEBIER, *The Gargoyle*, gum bichromate, n.d. (ca. 1905). [Neg. 13564].



GERTRUDE KÄSEBIER, Rodin, gum bichromate, 1907. [Neg. 13559].

ON KÄSEBIER'S WORK IN 1907

Sixty-five years earlier, Käsebier's work seemed more the magic product of her emotional reaction, bypassing in some miraculous way any mechanical intervention between the subject and the final print, at least as presented by the critic Giles Edgerton in this reprint from the magazine *The Craftsman*, in April, 1907.

Edgerton turns out to be a pseudonym for Mary Fanton Roberts, managing editor of the magazine. Her editorial work on many publications, including *Arts and Decoration*, extended years into the future.

This is one of the three pieces on photography by Edgerton which appeared in the magazine that year: the other two discussed Alvin Langdon Coburn and George H. Seeley, another Secessionist figure.

It is interesting that Edgerton cites the painter Monet and the composer Richard Strauss as having "enlarged" their respective fields. Expressionism and Cubism would presently alter the face of painting far more violently, and Debussy, whose piano works were becoming more familiar and whose great orchestral work *La Mer* would be played for the first time in America that season, was certainly more of an innovator than Strauss.

The Ibsen reference marks the continuing interest in his plays, although he had died the preceding year. There were two Ibsen premieres in America in 1907, and the new theatre movement was nourished still further by two first American productions of chatty plays by Bernard Shaw.

At year's end, Gustav Mahler was rehearsing for his first performance (American debut) at the Metropolitan Opera, conducting *Tristan und Isolde*, and Alfred Stieglitz was getting ready to show—for the first time in America—the drawings of Rodin, to the bafflement of some who felt he should exhibit nothing but photography in his gallery, "291."

Stieglitz included four prints by Käsebier in a group exhibition at "291" that closed the year there, and at various times during 1907 had exhibited portraits taken of Mrs. Käsebier by Baron De Meyer, Coburn and Edward Steichen.

PHOTOGRAPHY AS AN EMOTIONAL ART: A STUDY OF THE WORK OF GERTRUDE KÄSEBIER: BY GILES EDGERTON



PHOTOGRAPHY as an emotional art is one of the interesting discoveries that the twentieth century has forced upon us, for the Secession photographers here in America have made the phrase "mechanical process," as applied to the camera, show ignorance in the critic rather than limitation of the instrument. It is now acknowledged that Secession photography is in its way strongly creative, inasmuch as it reproduces conditions mellowed by the imagination and saturated with the quality of the artist, just as a Chase portrait is a creation, or a Tryon landscape is a work of individuality. Gertrude Käsebier, who is one of the original secessionists from conventional methods of photography, distinctly belongs to this class of emotional artists, because, in every photograph which she takes, she is expressing her own temperament and life as it has reached her through her imagination and through her growing understanding of humanity.

Creative art demands that the artist should know life, either by experience or by inspiration, and this knowledge of life must develop a profound sympathy with humanity. The technical method of expression may be whatever the artist wishes, whatever seems the simplest process. There is not a variety of creative arts; there is imagination and impulse to create and a variety of methods. The past few years have proved that photography is one of these methods, and Mrs. Käsebier has done much to establish this method on a basis with the older and more significant arts. She began doing this by living, in a largely comprehensive way, life as it came to her; by having the temperament that felt all its joys and its agonies; that was attuned to the utmost subtilty and resented equally all banality. Later was born in her the great need of expressing what had been experienced; then technique was acquired and the creative impulse found its channel. That this channel proved to be the camera rather than the palette or a musical instrument or a bit of wax, did not change the quality of the imagination which moved through it. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Käsebier first painted portraits, but felt it to be for her talent a less significant medium than photography and has actually

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done greater work with her camera than she ever did with her brush. She lived, and then studied, and then achieved, which is the natural process for the development of creative art, and of these three stages of growth the method of expression is the least significant. Possibly the greatest joy for an artist is to be found where the method is more or less undeveloped, where it can be enlarged, and where something of creation goes into the mechanical side of expression. It would seem that there was but little further opportunity for variation in painting or music, although in recent years Monet has enlarged our field in one direction and Richard Strauss in another; but the people who have dealt with the camera during the last few years have all but originated a new method of expression. It is an interesting experience in life to an artist when the medium and the art have grown side by side.

Yet the medium ever remains but a necessary detail which should never be confused with art itself; for art must come out of nature. And the price exacted from life for admitting workers into an intimacy is that they express her vividly, emotionally, heart-breakingly, perhaps, but truly at any cost. Thus is art created. To be an artist is to suffer through nature, and to think suffering a little price for great emotional opportunity. Each man makes good according to his own method. He expresses his interest in life, in what he has experienced, in the way which best suits him personally.

AFTER studying six years to become a portrait painter, overcoming almost unsurmountable difficulties to adjust her work to her home duties, and at last arranging matters so that she could see what Paris had to give her, just by chance Mrs. Käsebier discovered that the camera afforded her the widest field of expression for what she had found in life, and without any hesitation she promptly relinquished the "north light" for the "dark room." The point of view of the world at that time toward photography as a mechanical process without relationship to great art held no significance for her. She knew that when she was taking a photograph she was realizing an opportunity for big expression, for getting the utmost from her sitter, for accomplishing the utmost that she could in life, and so she devoted her time to making portraits in this way rather than in any other, regardless of the work she had done to perfect herself in portrait painting.

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To quote Mrs. Käsebier's own words, "I am now a mother and a grandmother, and I do not recall that I have ever ignored the claims of the nomadic button and the ceaseless call for sympathy, and the greatest demand on time and patience. My children, and their children, have been my closest thought, but from the first days of dawning individuality, I have longed unceasingly to make pictures of people, not maps of faces, but pictures of real men and women as they know themselves, to make likenesses that are biographies, to bring out in each photograph the essential personality that is variously called temperament, soul, humanity.

"Now, from my point of view, it is impossible to understand people unless you understand life. You see through experience. You can not read faces, the joy and sorrow in them, unless you have suffered and enjoyed; we do not see far beyond our own development; at least we see better through our own development, and my development came slowly through much suffering, much disappointment and much renunciation. I have learned to know the world because of what the world has exacted of me.

"First I gave my life to my children, then I gave years of it to the conventional study of portrait painting, and so it has come about that the quality in my portraits that is hardest to describe, for which the public has placed them in the realm of art, which has seemed to touch the heart of the world, I have achieved by getting at humanity, down in the deep sad places of humanity. I have learned most from the simple people, from their primitive qualities, and among these simple people are some of the greatest I have ever known—Rodin is one of them, my frontier grandmother was another. My people were all simple frontier people, out in the beginning of things in the West. My grandmother was of the splendid, strong, pioneer type of women. She was an artist with her loom. She made her own designs, and weaved the most beautiful fancies into her fabrics. She knew life from living, and was great through her knowledge. She was a model to me in many ways, and the beginning of what I have accomplished in art came to me through her."

In speaking of her need to express a certain creative impulse in art, Mrs. Käsebier used almost the identical words in which Eugene Higgins, the "painter of poverty," recently expressed his attitude toward his art.

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"Certain conditions in life," said Mr. Higgins, "certain qualities of people seem to me so overwhelmingly significant that I must express them in some way. I have often felt that I could not live without expressing them. There is a terrible picturesqueness and almost frightful beauty in the masses of color and outline that go with the last stages of poverty. These are the things that I want to speak of—not from the sentimental interest in poverty, but from the paintable quality of it, though that may sound very cruel and heartless." The one medium that appeals strongest to Mr. Higgins is painting. The urge of expressing himself would be no greater and no less, if it were plaster or music. Charles Haag, the sculptor, who has the same point of view about the picturesqueness of misery, does not wish to say it in color, but in plaster and bronze, and Rodin can see things best in stone. Mrs. Käsebier creates her most mysterious and beautiful effects in technical expression when seeking to realize the quality of her sitter, while studying every light and shade that will express the soul of the person before her; and with the work of adjustment and arrangement often is born a rare subtlety of atmosphere and of wonder that no striving for mechanical perfection would produce. It is the creative urge, not the machine, that develops the photographs which have made Mrs. Käsebier the subject of comment among artists all over the world.

It is a matter of fact that this photographer never approaches the sitter without a feeling that is a combination of excitement and stage fright. Each picture is a fresh experience to her, just as each painting must be a new phase of life to the artist, and each composition a fresh development to the musician. Every man and woman, old or young, who comes to Mrs. Käsebier, becomes for the time a part of her life. She is reading their biographies and studying into their lives, while she is posing them and moving her camera about. She has grown to understand people from this short reading of faces and expression as a blind man grows to see faces by touching them; the appealing glance of a plain woman, the patience on the face of the mother, the hope and inexperience in the young girl, are all twice told tales to this student of humanity; the man who has lived through imagination to indifference, the woman who has gone through joy to boredom, they all find a genuine sympathy, and their development, through success or failure, is what Mrs. Käsebier is photographing to the amazement of sitter

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and friend. These portraits are ultimate studies of the real people; they are human documents of permanent significance.

"It is not just that I am anxious to make these photographs for the sake of people," is Mrs. Käsebier's expression, "I am thirsty to do it for my own sake, to express what there is in me. I want to re-live life in this way. I want to see what life is doing to other people. I want to acquire the widest possible outlook on life. It is my way of living to the utmost to see other people live, and to prove that I have seen it in my pictures. I do not think of my work as photography, but as opportunity." And this is surely the profoundest craving to express the creative impulse which, when born of inspiration, becomes that strange thing we know as genius, and, when born of experience, follows in the footsteps of genius, and often fits into them very perfectly. Of course, apart from the emotional side of Mrs. Käsebier's art, there is a most careful study of mechanical detail, and the sincerest effort to perfect the means so that it may most completely express the end. Her knowledge of painting she has found invaluable in giving her a wide mastery of posing. She also has an understanding of color and form, and has learned to translate color into black and white at a glance, and to get effects from masses without being troubled by detail. Of the usual expressions of technical methods and the usual studio talk Mrs. Käsebier cares nothing, and knows but little. Her interest is not centered in the mechanical end. She knows it, and uses it with supreme skill, but with that unconscious skill with which a musician plays or a great painter wields the brush.

HER real work is done with the sitter—not in the dark room, and even here it is again not detail that interests her, not the actual question of dress and form; to her, photography is the essence of the individual, not the external. It is very difficult to express in words what this artist wishes to achieve in her photographs. She is trying to gather up the illusive mystery of character, of life itself, and hold it on paper in black and white. Rodin recognized this when he signed a letter to Mrs. Käsebier—"From one artist to another." The great Frenchman felt in her work what he had achieved in his own. And this quality of world sympathy it would be hard to express more sincerely and convincingly than Mrs. Käsebier has done in a series of photographs of Motherhood (which are shown in this article): "The

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Manger," or "Ideal Motherhood," "The Real Mother," "Blessed Art Thou among Women," and "The Heritage of Motherhood." To those having still in mind the old attitude toward photography, "that the camera does it," "The Manger" seems little short of a miracle. There is first of all a Corot quality of atmosphere, of light and shade through spaces of interior; and there is supreme management of composition and draperies, the effect of color and radiance, and withal the most exquisite tenderness and feeling, the most complete expression of maternity and motherhood. Prints of this subject are sold at one hundred dollars, and are now difficult to secure even at that price, for Mrs. Käsebier does the printing of each proof herself and discards many as unsatisfactory for one that is expressive of her ideal of the subject.

The photograph of Stanford White, which is shown here, was laboriously achieved by printing and reprinting during a period of two years. "I could not seem to get into the print," Mrs. Käsebier explained, "what I had seen through the camera. White was to me one of the best of men, but the camera would not say so, and then suddenly, at a last trial, I realized that the real person, the man of fundamental kindness, of great achievement, had found his way into the picture. For a long time Stanford White would not come and see the photograph. He said it would be too ugly, and that he did not like looking at pictures of himself, but at last he came one day, and then begged for it, but I had worked so long over it that I could not sell it, or give it up, so I used to loan it to him at intervals. And at the time of his death, I had just borrowed it back again. He once said to a friend that he thought it was the greatest portrait through any medium that he had ever seen."

But to return to the Motherhood pictures, which Mrs. Käsebier feels expresses more completely than all the rest of her work the greatness of artistic opportunity possible in photography. The second in the series, "Real Motherhood," is the portrait of her daughter and granddaughter. In speaking of this photograph she said quite frankly; "While posing my daughter there suddenly seemed to develop between us a greater intimacy than I had ever known before. Every barrier was down. We were not two women, mother and daughter, old and young, but *two mothers* with one feeling; all I had experienced in life that had opened my eyes and brought me in close touch with

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humanity seemed to well up and meet an instant response in her, and the tremendous import of motherhood which we had both realized seemed to find its expression in this photograph."

The third of the series is called "Blessed Art Thou among Women." It is the photograph of a plainly clad, strongly alert little girl standing in a doorway, with a slender woman bending near and suggesting in gesture and pose the utmost reach of tender maternity, the affection that is of renunciation and self-control rather than demonstration. It is a picture of great beauty and peace achieved in a chance moment as a "study in white" at a friend's home. The camera had touched upon a great spiritual moment, and Mrs. Käsebier realized it in taking and printing the picture.

"The Heritage of Motherhood" is the fourth, and perhaps the greatest, of this group. This particular subject Mrs. Käsebier had been waiting for fifteen years to secure. She did not wish to pose a model for it, but to gain her inspiration from some unconscious sitter posing for a portrait. What wild wastes of desolation, what barren paths of mental agony must a woman have trod to reveal to the camera this ghost of radiant motherhood! Ibsen would have written a four act tragedy from this picture.

A point to be made in this group of pictures is that in every instance there was no posing for these particular effects, no special arrangement. They were simply photographs taken for portraits of the people as well as photographs could be taken, the spiritual side developing during the sitting and being accentuated in the printing—in other words, coming through the temperament of the photographer, for Mrs. Käsebier ranks herself first of all a photographer; her profession in life is to make professional portraits—a great many of them, and within the reach of the mass of the people. She has on hand, since the beginning of her work, at least twenty thousand registered negatives, which shows that her interest in the camera is not that of the dilettante. The reason that her portraits are greater than the usual photograph is because she herself is greater than the usual photographer. She finds a way to express personality in her picture because she has it herself. Her great achievements in portraits have not been planned—are not studied arrangements, but the results of her emotional experience at the time, which gives her greater insight and greater power of expression. She does not seek to compose

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pictures of artistic merit in cold blood; her enthusiasm comes at the time of the sitting. People are an inspiration to her, she longs to understand them; she wishes to show what she has understood, to prove all that there is in each person, and incidentally in doing this, she achieves what the world has acclaimed as great photographs. In making a picture of Rodin, she sought to understand him, to make the portrait show his greatness as a sculptor and an artist, and out of this has grown a picture unique in composition, and a portrait that shows the depth of a marvelous nature—a genius among France's greatest men. Thus through the simplest methods, through feeling and insight, and real humanity, Gertrude Käsebier has become a pioneer in creating what the world must agree to recognize as a new art.

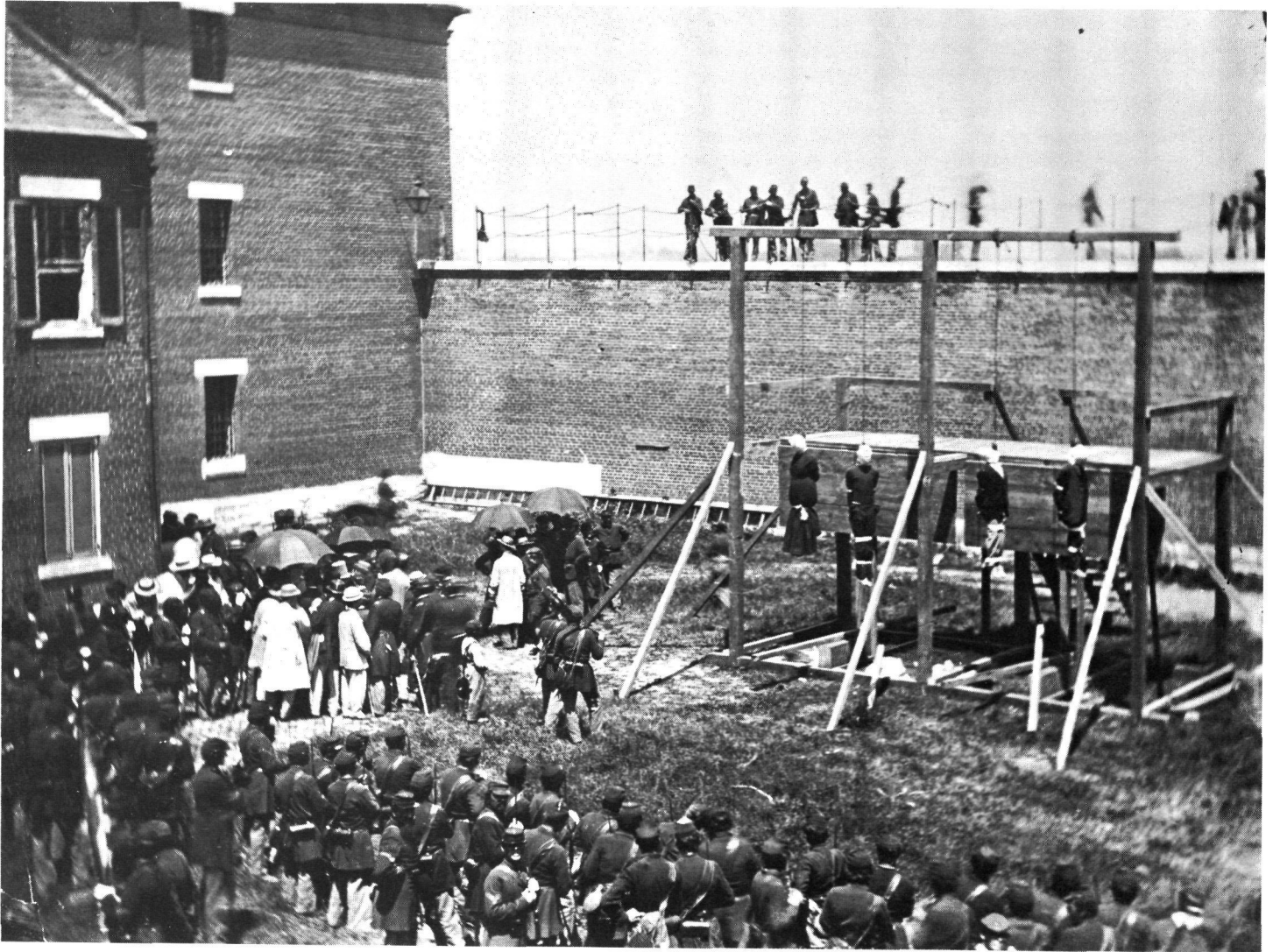
*De tout mon cœur
D'artiste à un autre artiste*

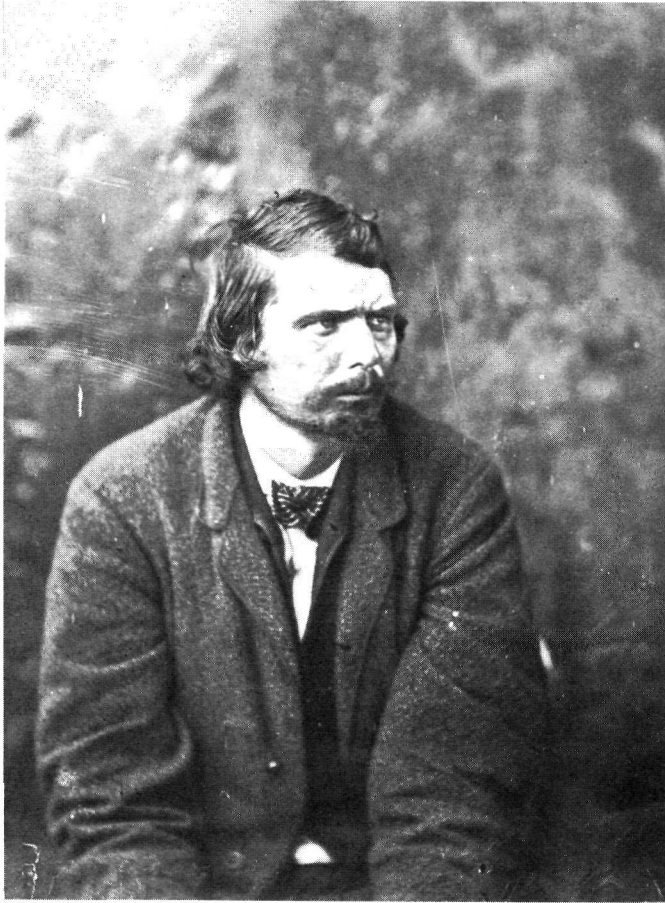
*Affectueux
A. Rodin
6 avril 1906*

FAC-SIMILE OF SIGNATURE IN
RODIN'S LETTER TO MRS. KÄSEBIER.

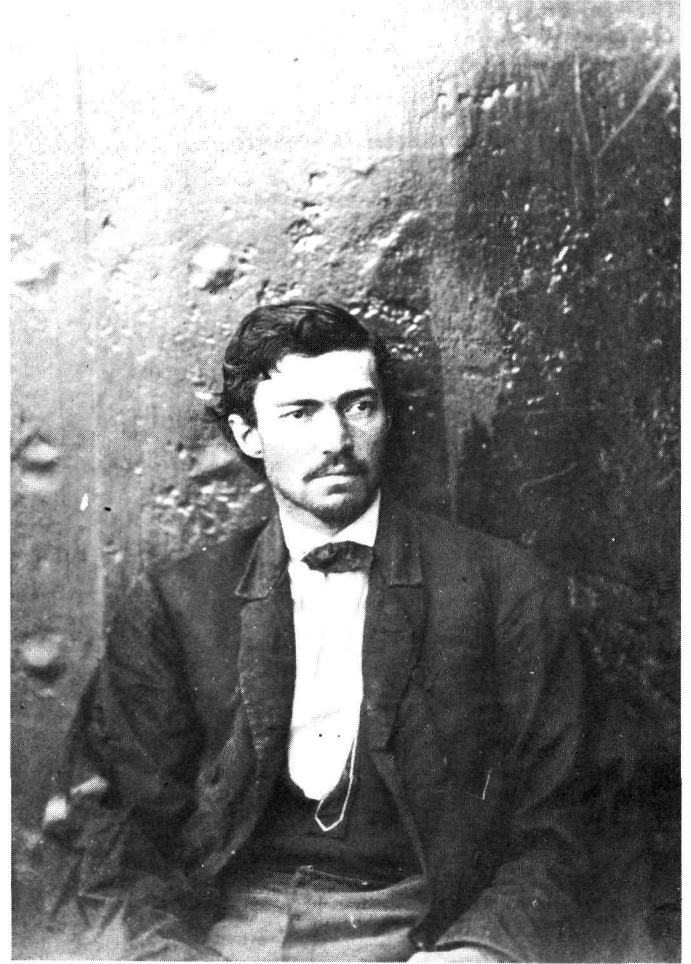
New Acquisitions
A GARDNER ALBUM

ALEXANDER GARDNER, Execution of the Lincoln conspirators at 2 p.m., July 7, 1865, in the Arsenal Penitentiary courtyard, Washington, D.C. [Neg. 17383].



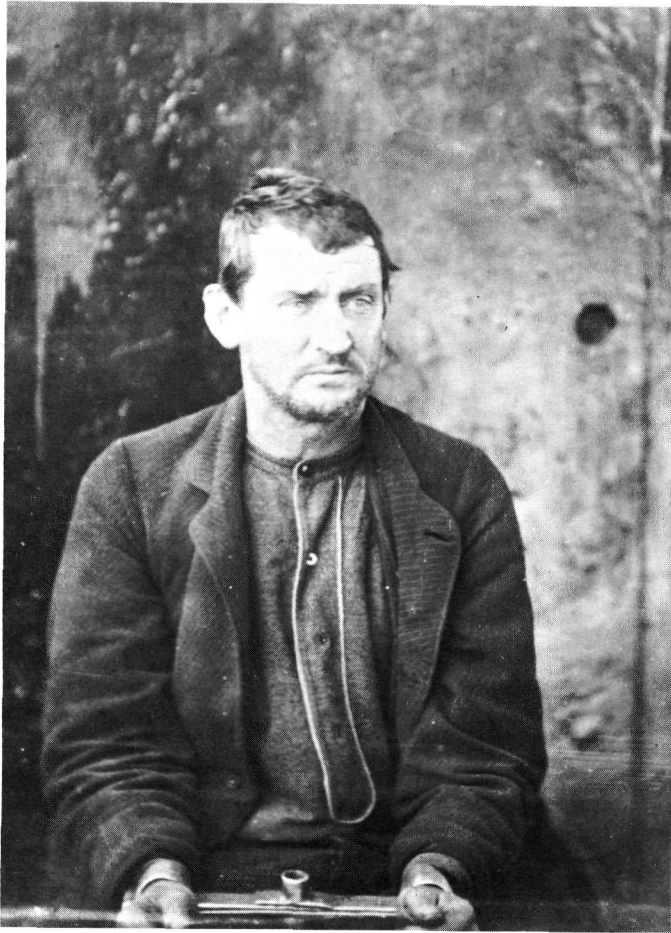


ALEXANDER GARDNER, George Atzerodt, 1865. [Neg. 17428].

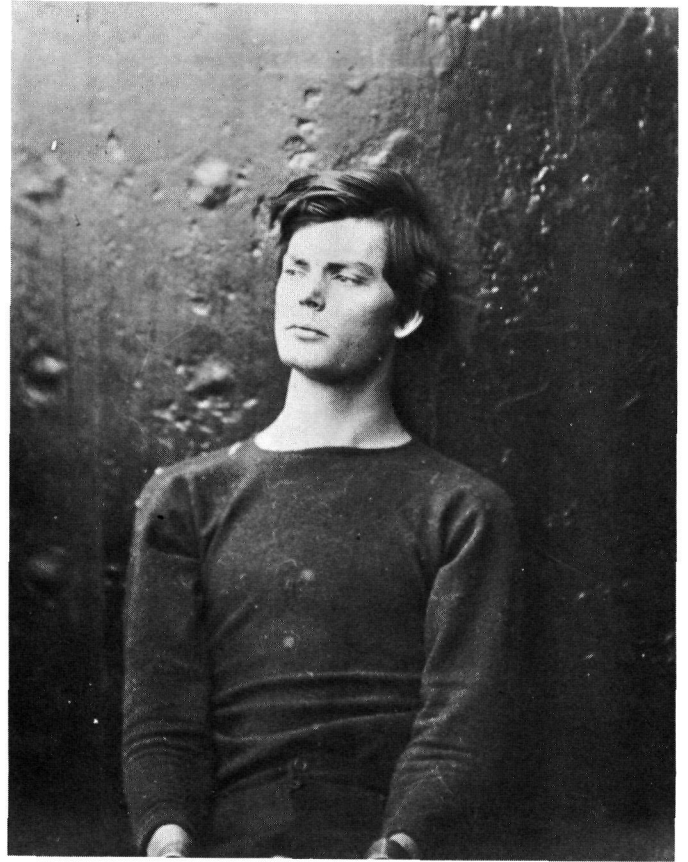


ALEXANDER GARDNER, Samuel Arnold, 1865. [Neg. 17427].

Portraits of doomed men: Lincoln conspirators. Before Gardner took these photographs, the prisoners had worn stifling canvas hoods cinched tightly at the neck with one small hole for feeding. Only two of these four were hanged.



ALEXANDER GARDNER, Edmund Spangler, 1865. [Neg. 17430].



ALEXANDER GARDNER, Lewis Powell, 1865. [Neg. 17425].

A recent and most exciting addition to the Museum collection is a ponderous leather-bound album compiled by a retired Union officer. After disbanding his 4th Cavalry Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, Colonel Arnold A. Rand established himself in a comfortable Boston townhouse, and became one of the earliest collectors of Civil War photography.¹ Late in the summer of 1865 he assembled this album as a chronological record of the Lincoln assassination and conspiracy trial. The engravings and lithographs in Rand's album originally were commissioned for *Harper's Weekly* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. A few cartes-de-visite bear the imprimatur of Mathew Brady, but all the really important photographs are attributed to one man—Alexander Gardner.

When Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865, Gardner was still in the field recording the smoking ruins of Richmond, Virginia.² That evening he rushed back to Washington, for he had, by an amazing stroke of good fortune, secured an appointment to photograph Abraham Lincoln on the following day. Gardner's picture of a relieved, half-smiling president was the last living portrait of that great American. Four days later, Lincoln was shot, and that violent act initiated a period of unprecedented hysteria, intrigue and judicial malfeasance.

While the action swirled around him, Gardner maintained a professional detachment, and kept his camera handy. The Rand album contains Gardner photographs of Ford's Theater guarded by soldiers and draped with black muslin; Howard's Livery Stable, where Booth rented his horse; and the Arsenal Penitentiary, which held a growing collection of suspects. To aid in the search for Booth, Gardner ransacked his gallery to locate and reprint every existing portrait of the actor.

An Army patrol brought in Booth's body on April 27, and that same morning authorities held an inquest aboard the ironclad *U.S.S. Montauk* at anchor in the Potomac. Since there was now some doubt as to the dead man's identity, Secretary Stanton selected a group of seven Washington citizens who knew Booth personally. This delegation rowed out to the monitor to make a positive identification. Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan were in that group, and even managed to photograph the corpse, only to have their plates confiscated by the Secret Service.³

A few days later, Gardner obtained permission to photograph the surviving suspects. The result was a remarkable series of portraits showing haggard, introspective men, broken by third-degree interrogation and resigned to the hopelessness of their situation. Gardner captures the very spirit of these prisoners in what have been termed "the most powerful American photographic portraits since Southworth and Hawes."⁴

Framed against the grimy iron-plated turret of the *U.S.S. Montauk* are: George Atzerodt, the dim-witted, little German immigrant; David Herold, an unstable youth who idolized Booth; and Lewis Powell, strong, handsome, almost noble, as we know from his selfless concern for Mary Surratt. Here too are the men who escaped the noose: Samuel Arnold and Michael O'Laughlin; Edmund Spangler, who held Booth's horse outside Ford's Theater; and Thomas

Jones, who hid the fugitive in a Maryland thicket. One man remains unidentified—most likely he is that luckless country doctor, Samuel Mudd.⁵

Although he was most certainly unaware of it, Gardner had photographed at least six of these men just two months earlier. The occasion was Inauguration Day, March 4, 1865. As usual, it was a public ceremony held on the steps of the Capitol, and Gardner had taken several views of Lincoln addressing the assembly. Ninety years later, a Lincoln scholar would hold his magnifying glass to one of these photographs and discover the conspirators standing menacingly within a few feet of the podium.⁶

On the morning of July 7, 1865, Alexander Gardner set up his camera on a balcony overlooking the Arsenal Penitentiary courtyard. In the following hours he took a sequence of devastating views as the prisoners were led out past their open graves and made to mount the scaffold. In the last grizzly photograph, Surratt, Powell, Herold and Atzerodt hang lifeless after slowly strangling on an ill-constructed gallows. These views, included in Rand's album, were made before the original negatives cracked and deteriorated. They provide a much clearer record of the execution than do modern-day prints made for history books.

Sickened and disillusioned by what they had seen of war, corruption and assassination, many Civil War photographers fled to the American West in those months following Appomattox. Perhaps they were as much in search of spiritual renewal as commercial opportunity. Gardner remained just long enough to complete work on his *Photographic Sketchbook of the War* (1866), and by September, 1867, he was traveling through Kansas, recording the westward progress of the Union Pacific Railroad.⁷

Thanks to the prescient collecting instincts of Arnold Rand, Gardner's coverage of the Lincoln conspiracy remains intact. Today Rand's album must be considered a unique and historically significant item, for it is the earliest known photographic picture story. It precedes, by twenty years, Nadar's famous photo-interview with Chevreul. Now the album is preserved at the International Museum of Photography, where it is accessible to Lincoln buffs and photographic historians alike.

Alan Clark Miller

NOTES:

¹ Research notes furnished by Miss Joan Hopkins, reference librarian, Rochester Public Library, from *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I. See also, Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene*, New York, 1938, p. 244.

² Dates for Gardner's whereabouts are based on varied evidence including a stereograph entitled "View on Bank Street, from Custom House, Richmond, April 8, 1865." Negative by A. Gardner, No. 906, *Photographic Incidents of the War*.

³ Theodore Roscoe, *The Web of Conspiracy*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1959, pp. 414-417.

⁴ Robert Sobieszek, "Accession Notes to the Lincoln Conspiracy Album," International Museum of Photography, 1972, p. 1.

⁵ Dorothy Kunhardt, *Twenty Days*, New York, 1965, p. 197.

⁶ Frederick Hill Meserve, "The Prologue to Assassination: Rare Photograph Shows Plotters Present at Lincoln's Inauguration," *Life*, Vol. 40, No. 7 (February 13, 1956), p. 15.

⁷ For further information see Robert Sobieszek, "Alexander Gardner's Photographs Along the 35th Parallel," *Image*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (June, 1971), pp. 6-13.

New Acquisitions THE QUESTAR TELESCOPE

The Questar can be described generally as a Maksutov Cassegrain Catadioptric telescope. One of these instruments was just presented to the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House by the Questar Corporation of New Hope, Pennsylvania. A catadioptric system is one containing image-forming mirrors as well as lenses; a Cassegrain telescope comprises two mirrors used in succession, a concave primary and a convex secondary; while Maksutov is the name of the Russian scientist who wrote a classical paper (*J. Opt. Soc. Am.* 34, 270-284, 1944) in which he showed that a concentric lens element could be used to correct the spherical aberration of a spherical mirror or of a pair of spherical mirrors used in the Cassegrain arrangement (Fig. 1). Here the convex secondary mirror is merely an aluminized reflecting disc deposited on the middle of the rear face of the Maksutov correcting lens.

The Cassegrain system is actually an extreme telephoto, for the entering and emerging segments of a ray intersect at the principal plane situated a considerable distance out in front, so that the focal length is considerably longer than the system itself.

In the Questar telescope, the primary mirror M_1 is 3.8 inches in diameter and 7.6 inches focal length, representing an aperture of

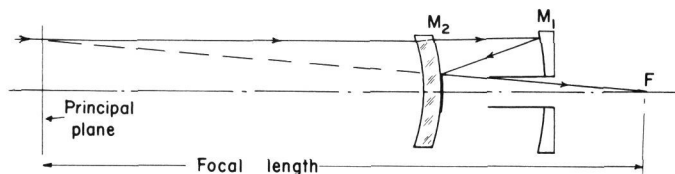


Fig. 1

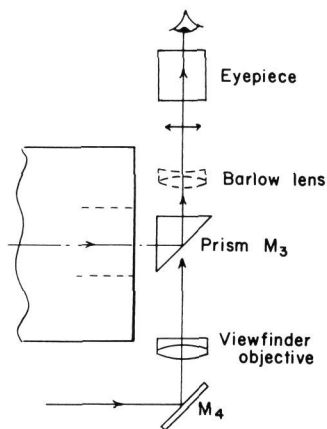
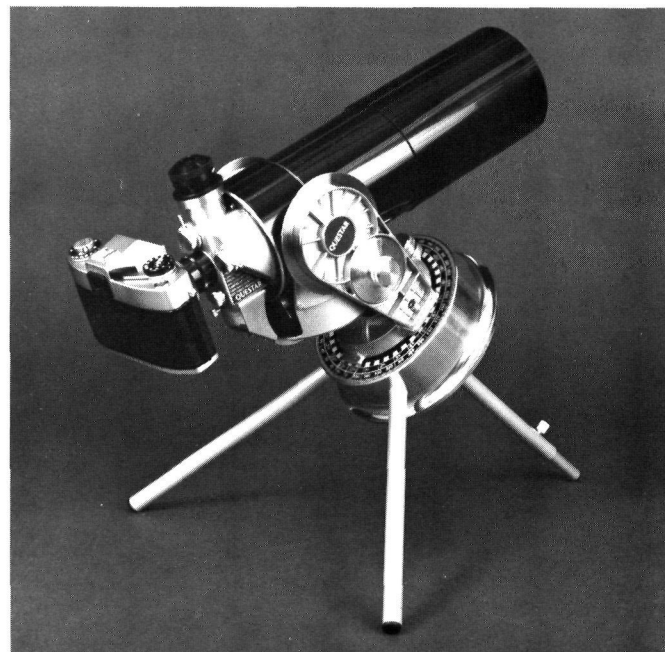


Fig. 2

$f/2$. The secondary mirror M_2 deposited on the back of the 3.5 inch corrector plate is about 6 inches from the primary mirror and serves to magnify the image almost 8 times, giving an overall focal length of about 56 inches. The diameter of the secondary mirror is about an inch and causes only a negligible loss of light by obstruction of the entering beam. The primary mirror is made either of Cer-Vit, which has a zero coefficient of expansion, or Pyrex glass. The correcting lens is made of borosilicate crown glass. The angular field of the instrument is 1.5° and it forms a photographic image about 1.5 inches in diameter. Focusing down to an object distance as small as 8 feet is accomplished by sliding the primary mirror along the axis by a fine screw. A long tubular baffle protruding from the center of the primary mirror prevents light from falling directly on the film without being reflected by the two mirrors.

When used for photography, the body of a single-lens reflex camera can be attached at the rear of the instrument so that the image F falls directly on the film. The photographic speed of the system is either $f/16$ or $f/18$ depending on whether extension tubes are used. For visual use a small 45° reflecting prism M_3 can be slid across into the beam behind the main mirror M_1 , sending the light out sideways to an eyepiece conveniently positioned for astronomical observation. In this case the focal length drops to about

The Questar Telescope. [Neg. 17310].



50.5 inches. The visual image is erect but left-right reversed. Two eyepieces are provided, having focal lengths of 16 and 24mm, giving magnifying powers of about 80 and 54 times respectively. A small negative Barlow lens of 44mm focal length can be flipped into the beam just above the 45° prism to double the magnifying power if desired.

As an aid in locating the object to be observed, a low-power (8x) "viewfinder" is provided (Fig. 2). This consists of a fixed 45° mirror M₄ located below the telescope and a small objective lens which

forms an image of distant objects in the focal plane of the telescope eyepiece; the viewfinder can be used only when the prism M₃ is moved aside, as when taking photographs. It forms a similar image to that seen through the instrument.

The optical system of the Questar is exceptionally well made, giving truly diffraction-limited performance. The larger model, with a 7-inch clear aperture, is a 2-times scaled up version of the original system.

Rudolph Kingslake

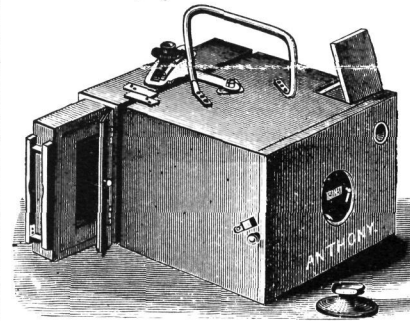
TAKING PHOTOGRAPHS ON THE WING.

THE "DETECTIVE" CAMERA—APPARATUS FOR AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHERS.

There has been of late years a large increase in the sale of photographic apparatus for amateurs, and one often runs across people who talk knowingly of cameras, lenses, "the time of exposure," "developing," "quick drops," etc. Amateur photography does not, probably, encroach to any extent on the business of regular photographers, but it affords amusement to thousands of persons and enables them to preserve bits of scenery, character-groups, etc., which they could not otherwise secured. A TRIBUNE reporter the other day dropped into the store of E. & H. T. Anthony & Co., who are among the largest dealers in photographic apparatus in the country. Mr. Henry Anthony has been in the business for over forty years and was an amateur photographer before that time.

"Show him the 'detective' camera, Mr. Knox," said he to a clerk, and the latter brought out a pretty little box about a foot long, which looked like a small medicine-chest with a handle on it. This invention has only been on the market a week or two. It is so made that one can carry it around anywhere and take a view of a street-fight, or a policeman in the act of clubbing a man, or a pretty girl's smile in a street-car, without any trouble. All one has to do is to press a button, after looking through a lens in the top of the box to see if the object is in view, and presto! in the twinkling of an eye the picture is taken. Then the exultant amateur has only to draw out a slide and reverse it, and he has his photographic gun ready for the next shot. The slide holds two extremely sensitive

plates. If one wants more than two pictures he can carry a half-dozen extra plates in his pockets. If the plates are not exposed to light after taking the picture they can be left for any time before "developing."



THE DETECTIVE CAMERA.

The reporter was shown the work of an amateur with the "detective" camera. The pictures were about four by five inches in size, and were as good as any out-door photographs. There were scenes in Broadway and the uptown streets in which men and horses in motion were clearly pictured. A horse was seen with a foot up, or a telegraph boy in the act of running. Here was a group at a fruit stand—everyone of the people being "caught on the fly," and "in the act," whether it was dropping pennies in an old woman's hand or devouring a big Bartlett pear. Amateur outfits come as low as \$10 and the extra prepared plates are quite inexpensive.

Excerpt from *The New York Tribune*, November 4, 1883. (Note the second paragraph).

New Acquisitions A NOTE ON EARLY PHOTOMONTAGE IMAGES

Fénelon's non-erasable image in congealed water of 1690 and Tiphaigne de la Roche's picture permanently impressed upon some "subtile matter" by the elementary spirits have various points in common.² Both imaginary pictures issue from works of speculative fiction, they predict the photographic image well in advance of its nineteenth century invention and they are produced without the aid of the human hand. In both instances the authors assign an extreme importance to the ultimate veracity of the picture, whether it be a landscape or a portrait. Additionally, they are congruent in their choice of metaphor: for Fénelon the pictures are "as faithful as the most polished glass mirror," for Tiphaigne in 1760 the initial effect of his canvas "is that of a mirror," differing finally only in that the canvas permanently retains its image.

When the first photographic process—daguerreotypy—was made public, the blatant comparison of the pictorial product to a mirror of nature or "mirror-pictures" was used to underline the extraordinary verisimilitude of the image.³ This precise, detailed rendering of material nature was exactly what awed and delighted early viewers of the camera's pictures. And notwithstanding the commercialization and the adverse criticism of Hanfstaeügl's retouched portraits during the 1850's nor the surprisingly early comments by Dr. Hermann Vogel on the falsity of the photographic image published in the 1870's,⁴ photography's penchant for *Realismus* in both concept and minutiae was singularly responsible for a public faith in the truth of the image unknown to the history of pictures. As late as ca. 1890, G. -A. Aurier could define naturalistic painting as "the short-sighted copy of social anecdotes, the imbecile imitation of the warts of nature, the flat observation, the optical illusion, the glory of being as faithfully and vulgarly exact as a daguerreotype."⁵ Even though Aurier's criticisms of academic painting bear very close similarities

to the language used by early critics of photography as an art, the present significance of his statements resides in the openly expressed assumption of photography's truthfulness.

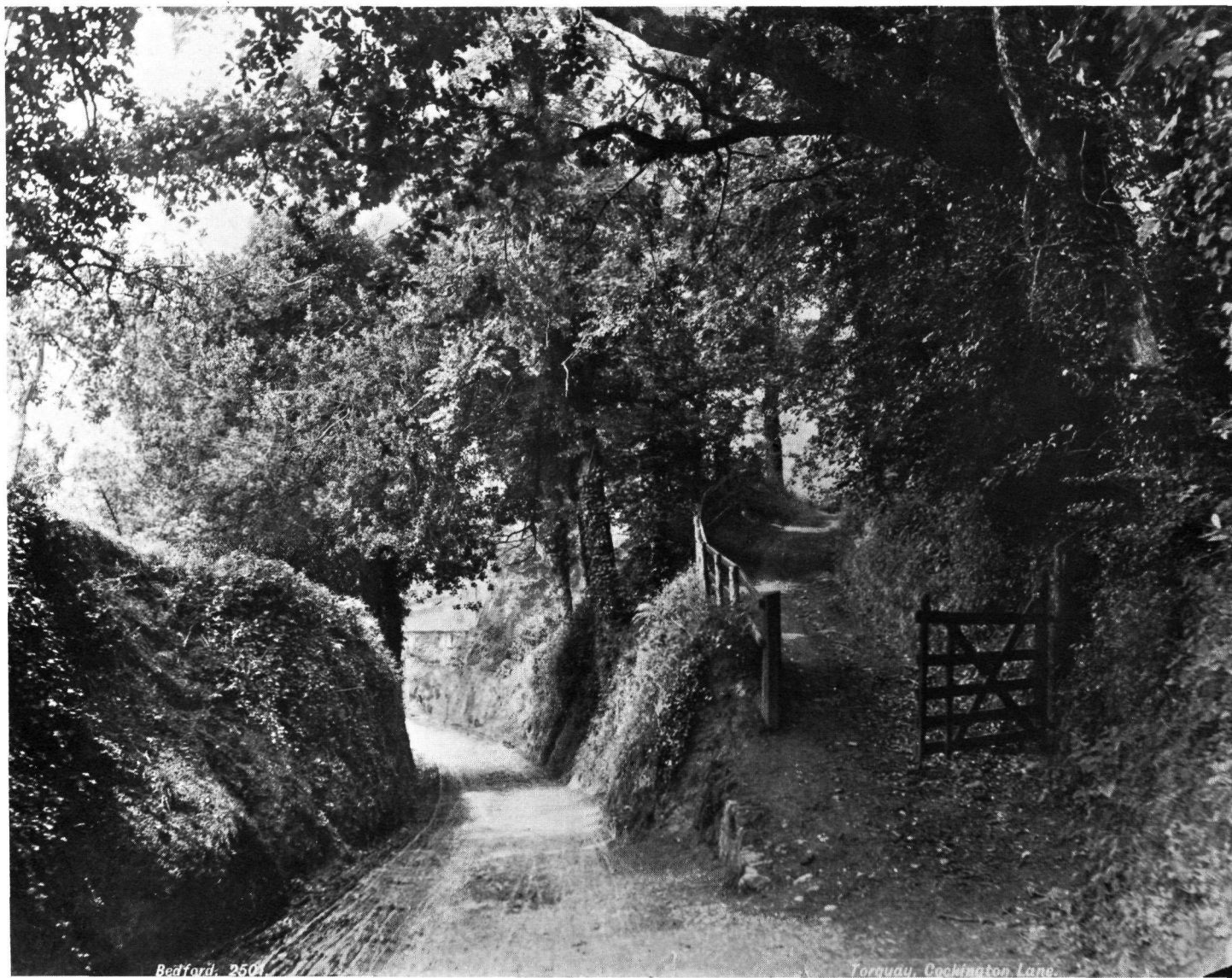
Faith in photographic veracity has continued to the present; it is still difficult to define the separation between the image and the nominal object. Photographs for most spectators are not something but are, rather, of something. And to be of something predicates the presence of the photographer and his camera. Since he was there and "took" the picture, therefore the object had to exist before the camera. For most of the nineteenth century at least, such was the overriding logical base for photographic interpretation. Exactly how often and to what degree this logic led to patently false conclusions is not yet fully understood, but there are numerous examples which indicate that this "mistake" did occur.

During the 1850's photographers found the means for circumventing certain technical limitations such as early emulsions' inability to properly expose both the sky and the landscape at the same time or the impossibility for certain lenses to allow for an extended depth of focus. The method was rather simple: make two or more negatives of the various parts of the picture and sandwich, piece together or combination print the negatives into a homogeneous print. A variation on this method was to simply glue portions of pictures atop others, hide the edges by retouching and rephotograph the photomontage; if done with a modicum of expertise the final print would appear straight-forward and correct. That the subject might never have existed in the exact way the photograph pictured it rarely presented an important ethical problem.⁶ The sole requirement was that the finished picture appear to be a naturalistic rendering of nature. To cite C. Jabez Hughes commenting on such composite photographs in 1861:

A photographer, like all artists, is at liberty to employ what means he thinks necessary to carry out his ideas. If a picture cannot be produced by one negative, let him have two or ten; but let it be clearly understood, that these are only means to the end, and that the picture when finished must stand or fall entirely by the effects produced, and not by the means employed.⁷

The latitude which these early photomontage techniques afforded photographers in their work at the same time negated the very truthfulness claimed as the essence of the photograph. The mirror of nature was subtly reflecting different points of time and often space and maintaining this to be conventionally true.

Throughout the nineteenth century numerous photographers made use of these techniques: Gustave Legray and Hippolyte Bayard in France, Berwick and Annan in Scotland, Oscar Gustave Rejlander, Henry Peach Robinson and Peter Henry Emerson in England, Eadweard Muybridge and George Barnard in America, and William Notman in Canada among others. The range of types of pictures produced by photomontage extended from elaborate, High Art compositions to veristically naturalistic scenes to wonderfully naive and amateurish assemblages. Also included would be, of course, photographic mock-ups acting as sketches for later, straight-forward arrangements.



FRANCIS BEDFORD, "2501. Torquay, Cockington Lane." n.d. (ca. 1880s). [Neg. 17321].

During the past year, the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House was fortunate in acquiring a number of nineteenth century photomontages and composite prints. With the exception of large scaled "machines" that were designed to compete with painting such as was the case with Rejlander's *Two Ways of Life*, the museum added some choice examples to its already fairly large collection of early "non-straight" photographs. Included were three commercial albumen prints most likely by the firm of Francis Bedford (two of which are montaged constructions), one Julia Margaret Cameron composite print from two negatives and a family album containing numerous folios of photomontages and mixed-media assemblages.

Francis Bedford (1816-1894), the British topographic photographer and publisher, was best noted during the late nineteenth century as a commercial producer of detailed and picturesque landscapes. H. Baden Pritchard characterized the Bedford firm, run by Francis and his son William, as standing "pre-eminent in reproducing the soft landscapes and craggy headlands of our own country."⁸ As an enterprise, the Bedford business was rivaled only by G. W. Wilson's, Francis Frith and Company, Messrs. James Valentine and Sons and possibly the firm of C. P. At some point during the 1880's the Bedfords were bought out by Frith, although prints were sometimes released with the Bedford name still at the lower left corner. The resulting confusion has made it nearly impossible to distill concrete data from the prints as to ownership, authorship or dating.

The three Bedford prints acquired by the museum demonstrate in a didactic fashion the degrees to which photographers could contribute to a picture's increased picturesqueness. The nineteenth century photomonteur was able to adapt elements of afterthought to any given image by adding photographic elements. With a simple landscape, "Torquay, Cockington Lane" (Bedford 2501), a 16.0 x 20.5 cm. albumen print the format of which was commonly called "Royal," Bedford created a nostalgic sentimental landscape scene that was extremely popular with the tourists at Torquay. On the reverse of this "straight" print is stamped "Copyright F. Frith & Co. Ltd., Reigate," and since neither of the other two prints bears the Bedford name, as does the first one, it is uncertain just who was responsible for producing the variations.⁹

Both of these variations have handwritten notations continuing the initial Bedford numeration: 2501a and 2501b. They are not only of the same scene, but are also based upon the same print from the same negative. 2501b, with trimming marks indicating it to be another "Royal," has three distinct photographic additions to the original Cockington Lane landscape: two groups of sheep and a young girl seated in some grass. Throughout the entire picture an extensive amount of retouching has been affected, both for high-lights as well as for hiding the edges of the pasted elements. When rephotographed and reprinted it would be almost impossible to suspect that this image was anything but a "straight" photograph. The same could be said for 2501a, where the horizontal format of the other two prints has been modified to a vertical and smaller format. The trimming marks are for a much more common "Cabinet"

picture, roughly 16.5 x 10.8 cm. A similar amount of retouching is present as is found in 2501b, but in this case only one new element has been pasted to the landscape, a young girl with a bonnet standing on the side path.

Another new acquisition to the collections is a composite printed study entitled "The Adoration" by Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879), an albumen print measuring 24.9 x 28.7 cm. Early in her career Cameron made a sizable number of adoration type tableaux most of which can be dated ca. 1865-1866. In at least one other instance a composite study has survived and is illustrated in Gernsheim's monograph on Cameron.¹⁰ In August of 1865 she made a number of photographs of her grandson, Archie, and it was the image of this child in various poses which she used repeatedly for the child figure in such allegories as her "Madonna and Child," "Sister-Spirits" and "The Day Spring." She also made a number of variations simply titled "My Grandchild." The sleeping child at the bottom of "The Adoration" can be identified as Archie by comparison. The three virginal maidens guarding over the infant are the same three models who appear in the much more elaborate composition "Sister-Spirits;" the inclusion of large lilies in both pictures is yet another correspondence.¹¹



[FRANCIS BEDFORD], "2501b. Cockington Lane, Torquay." n.d. (ca. 1880s). [Neg. 17322].

Cameron's aesthetics, as distinctive as they were for her period, did not generally allow for composite printing to be used for a finished print. It is obvious from the comparison of a composite study and its final version¹² that this was only a method of carefully determining the exact composition and the precise relationships of poses she desired. As such, "The Adoration" is more a sketch or a conceptual notation than it is an integral work, but it does clearly demonstrate the artistic process Cameron went through to achieve her often magnificent results.

To the poetic aestheticism of Julia Margaret Cameron can be contrasted the amateur prosaicness of the family scrapbook albums belonging to the family of Hugh Campbell, Com^{der}. R.N.¹³ One of these, a large tooled-leather bound album in a horizontal format, folios measuring 29.2 x 35.5 cm., contains 147 distinct photographs and photomontage constructions on 54 folios. An additional 24 blank folios are also bound in. From internal inscriptions the dates of the photographs range from 1867 (f. 30r.) to 1876 (f's. 48v., 49r., 50v., 51v., 52r. + v. and 53r.) The only geographic identification is that of Halifax, Nova Scotia; among numerous photographs of Halifax there are two William Notman views of the city from Citadel Hill (f's. 48v. and 52v.)



JULIA MARGARET CAMERON, "The Adoration." n.d. (ca. 1865-1866). [Neg. 16971].

The majority of images in this album have been heavily modified, cut apart, con-joined and mixed with various elements such as watercolor, cardboard and Canadian maple leaves. They are distinctly not the product of a highly aesthetic sensitivity like Cameron's nor are they the result of any commercial imperative as is the case with the Bedfords mentioned above. Rather, the entire album is the personal manifestation of a pictorially naïve and charmingly direct mentality. Most likely the work of a single member of the Campbell family, since the handwriting is similar throughout the folios, the corpus of images is crudely assembled while the painted backdrops and landscapes are almost infantile in their roughness. The disparate proportions, the conflicting perspectives and the complete inability to confound pictures as characters in a scene or as a painted portrait over the mantel (f. 41r.) [cover illustration] point to a folk-art attitude about pictures. The motivation for the images undoubtedly stems from leisure time entertainment and from a wish for completeness and decoration. The pictures contained within the Campbell family album provide an exquisite catalogue of a kind of picture making activity that was immensely popular during the nineteenth century, which in turn furnishes a foil to other photomontage achievements as well as to the ubiquitous amateur photograph, the snapshot.

Robert A. Sobieszek

1. Portions of this note are from an extended work in progress on nineteenth century photomontage.

2. François Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, "Voyage supposé, en 1690," *Oeuvres complètes de Fénelon, archevêque de Cambrai*, Paris, 1850, vol. 16, p. 337; and Tiphaigne de la Roche, *Giphantie*, (Paris 1760) London, 1761, pp. 95-96.

3. Cf. the review of initial criticisms of the daguerreotype in Richard Rudisill, *Mirror Image*, Albuquerque, 1971, pp. 50-52; also cf. *ibid.*, pp. 19-24, for background to the symbolism of the mirrored portrait in American culture.

4. See Hermann Vogel, *The Chemistry of Light and Photography*, New York, 1875, Chapter XII, pp. 120-133.

5. G.—A. Aurier, "Les peintres symbolistes," *Oeuvres posthumes*, Paris, 1893, p. 294; cited and translated in H. R. Rookmaaker, *Gauguin and 19th Century Art Theory*, Amsterdam, 1972, p. 281.

6. Notable exception is made for the labelling of Rejlander's "Two Ways of Life" (1857), a composite of close to thirty negatives, as a "patchwork heresy." See "Respite Finem," "The Sphere and Scope of Photography in Art," *The Photographic News*, IX, 363 (August 18, 1865), p. 392.

7. C. Jabez Hughes, "Art-Photography: Its Scope and Characteristics," *The Photographic News*, V, 122 (January 4, 1861), p. 4.

8. H. Baden Pritchard, *The Studios of Europe*, New York, 1882, p. 10.

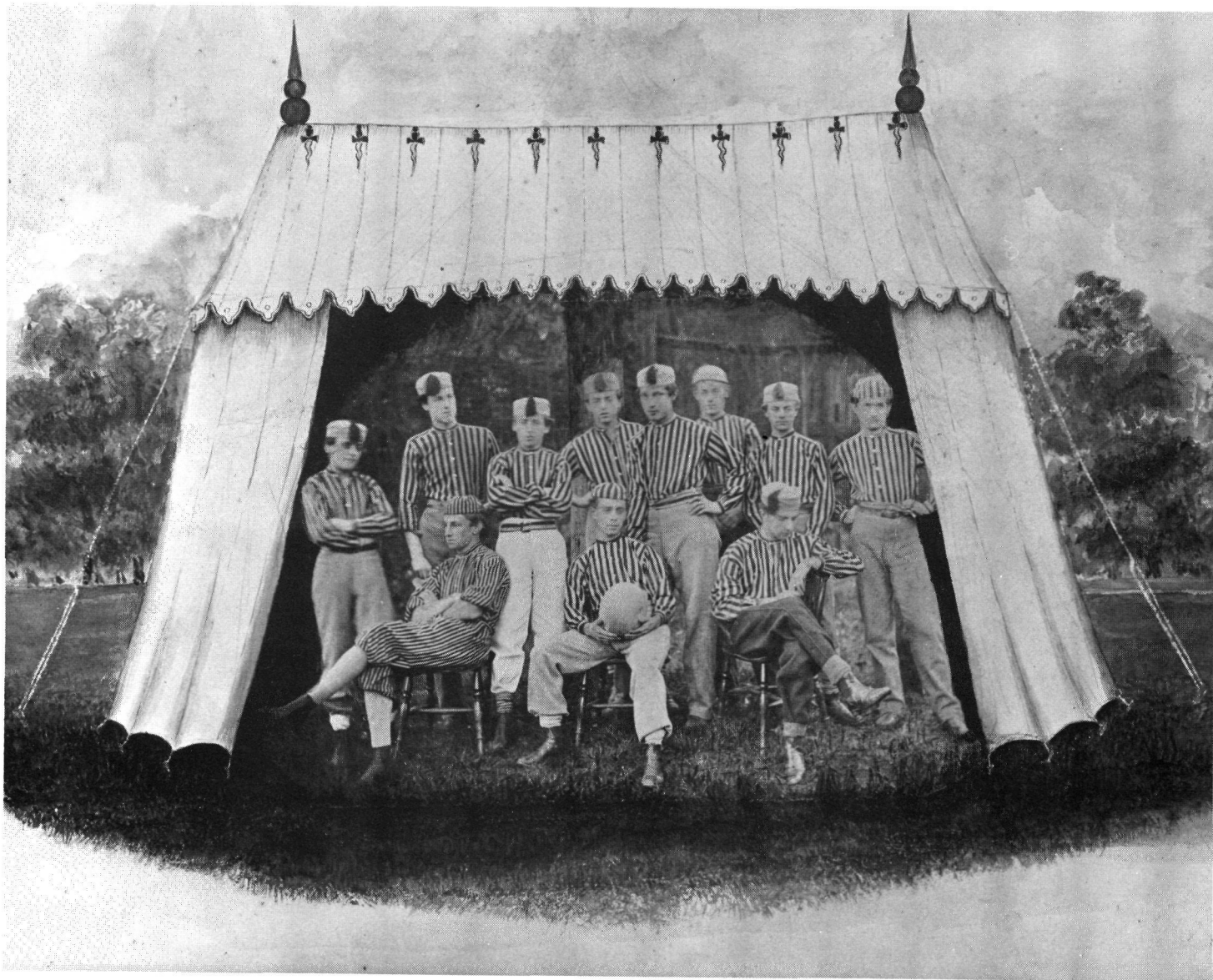
9. There is no mention of these exact subjects nor even similar numeration in the *Catalogue of the Principal Series of Photo-Pictures Printed and Published by F. Frith & Co., Reigate, Surrey*, Reigate, n.d. (1892).

10. Study for "My Grandchild" reproduced in Helmut Gernsheim, *Julia Margaret Cameron, Her Life and photographic work*, London, 1948, Plate 21b.

11. A print of "Sister-Spirits" is in the collections of the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House.

12. Cf. Gernsheim, *op. cit.*, Plates 21a and 21b.

13. The museum acquired two albums belonging to the Campbell family, the one not discussed here is basically comprised of quite ordinary portraits.



F. 10r., from the Campbell album, ca. 1867-1876. [Neg. 17318].



F. 31r., from the Campbell album, ca. 1867-1876. [Neg. 17319].

EXHIBITIONS

Newman, Toth, Brown

Recent exhibitions in the Brackett Clark Gallery at International Museum of Photography have included work by Arnold Newman, Carl Toth and Robert Brown.

The extensive retrospective exhibition of Mr. Newman's photographs contains 83 prints and spans his career as a photographer. Beginning in the late 1930's and the early 1940's with his apprenticeship in the medium, Mr. Newman developed an approach to portraiture which was to make him a dominant influence in that field.

In a sense, these portraits are environmental, but the sitter is not simply nestled into familiar surroundings. He is but a single component in a biographical statement composed to be graphically and symbolically definitive of his interests, occupation, and personality. Examples of an artist's work may be included within the frame, allowing the image of its creator to be an extension of his work (Alexander Calder, Henry Moore). Or the photograph itself may be an allusion to a man's manner or style (the dual portrait of Georgia O'Keefe and Alfred Stieglitz).

The effectiveness of these portraits is reinforced by the circumstance that Mr. Newman has frequently photographed prominent and conspicuous individuals. Our knowledge of the celebrity has made the symbolism more readable and more interesting.

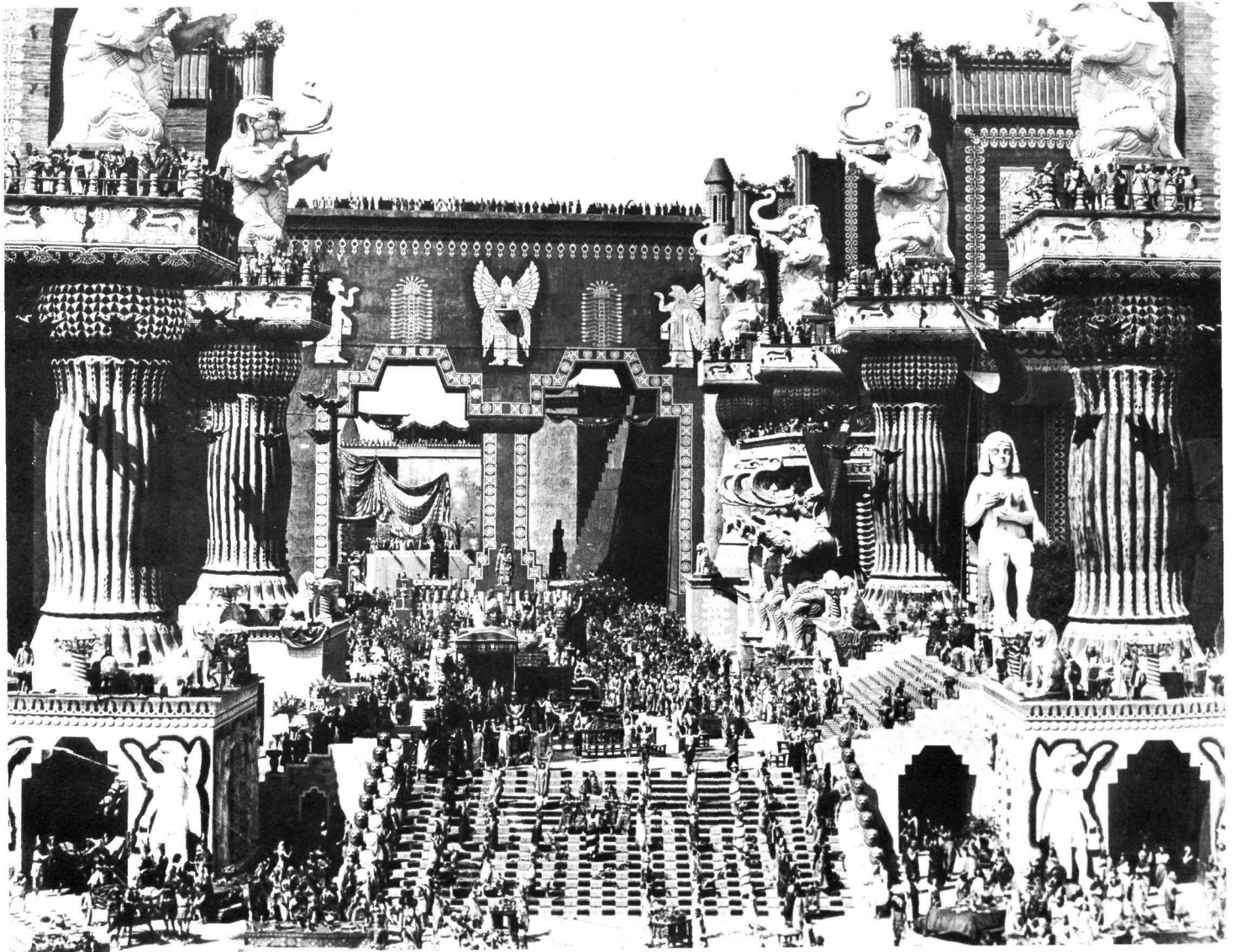
A collection of photo-assemblages by Carl Toth were on display through January 8. These large and small hand-colored constructions present views of a particular location fitted together from mainly square images often coinciding at the edges. The tinting recalls the hand-tinting in 19th Century stereopticon views. Mr. Toth is currently teaching at Cranbrook Academy of Art in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. He has studied at the State University of New York at Buffalo where he received a B.A. in 1970 and a M.F.A. in 1972.



ARNOLD NEWMAN. Stieglitz and O'Keefe 1944. [Neg. 17395].

Also on exhibit for the same period was recent work by Robert Brown. Cut-outs of sidewalks appear as large single-color variations of trapezoids set on a bare wall. Mr. Brown describes this uncomplicated exhibit as "mural prints of straight documentary imagery of natural monuments (hole in the ground—filled)." Robert Brown received his B.F.A. degree from Rochester Institute of Technology in 1959, his M.A. from San Francisco State College in 1967. Recently he completed work for a M.F.A. at San Francisco Art Institute.

Roger Bruce



The great central image of D. W. Griffith's film *INTOLERANCE* (1914-1916) is The Feast of Belshazzar. Even while Griffith was looking deep into the pool of time to make all ages one, James Joyce was at work on his novel *Ulysses*, in which, too, past and present mingle.

“THE ONENESS OF ALL AGES”

When James Joyce settled in Zurich at the very end of June, 1915, to continue work on his novel, *Ulysses*, begun more than a year earlier, he would, as Richard Ellman tells us, grow in his writing both more confident and more unconventional. His “modern Odyssey,” with Homeric parallel, would enable him to speculate “about the theme of the oneness of all ages which had always attracted him,” and to attack conventional English, “building the language afresh by fragmenting its sentences, . . . and in general dosing English prose with slang, archaisms, the rhythms of learned texts strangely mingled with those of ordinary speech, and a compressed poetry.”¹

I have purposely omitted some of Mr. Ellman’s commentary so that his remarks can be made to apply even more exactly—a striking coincidence—to another work in progress at the same period as the earlier sections of *Ulysses*: D. W. Griffith’s unique and time-conscious film, *INTOLERANCE* (1914-1916).

Joyce in Switzerland, Griffith in California, were each to state within a chosen medium their preoccupations with time. The decade of 1910 through 1919 contains other examples in the arts of such preoccupation. In music, Strauss’ *Der Rosenkavalier* (1909-1911), from a libretto by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, is as much about the aging of the Princess (Die Feldmarschallin) and the elusive nature of time, as it is about the rather trivial incidents of the plot. “Time is a singular thing,” the Princess muses, but its inevitability is also frightening, and she sometimes rises in the middle of the night to stop all the clocks, as if this could halt the flow of time’s passage.

Even in painting, Giacomo Balla, the futurist, was trying to incorporate motion (which can only occur in time) into a canvas: all the movements involved as a small dog patters along on a leash with its mistress (*Dynamism of a Dog on a Leash*; 1912). An even more celebrated example is Marcel Duchamp’s time-motion study, *Nude Descending a Staircase* (1912).

In literature, Marcel Proust had published in France in 1913 the first of a long series of novels called collectively *Remembrance of Things Past*. Two years later Henry James was to resume the writing of a novel on which he had reached an impasse some years before, *The Sense of the Past*. This concerns a merging of time and identity, but, one of the most difficult of all his conceptions, it was

still left unfinished at the time of his death in 1916. Years afterward, in 1928, it was “finished” by others hands in the form of the popular play (later a film), *Berkeley Square*, where it is explained that the past, present and future of a man travelling down a winding stream in a boat may be “all one” to a man in a plane above him: “Doesn’t that show that all time must really be one?”

And John Peale Bishop pointed out the “sense of surprise through contrast . . . the alternation of the present and the past”² in Ezra Pound’s *Cantos*, an enormously long poem-series begun in 1915. Pound in the following decade, when the *Cantos* were evolving to the point where he felt the design was at last clear, evoked music when he told his father in a letter: “the whole damn poem . . . [is] rather like, or unlike subject and response and counter subject in fugue.”³ Which is a giant echo of Joyce’s explanation (1919) of certain passages in the “Sirens” chapter of *Ulysses* (pp. 252-286 in the Random House edition): “They are all the eight regular parts of a fuga per canonem . . .”⁴

Ulysses was first conceived in 1906 as another of Joyce’s short stories for his book *The Dubliners*. Eventually it burgeoned into the novel as we know it, written between 1914 and 1921, setting down in an elaborate hidden structure occurrences on the day of June 16, 1904, in Dublin.

INTOLERANCE was originally a modest film to be called *THE MOTHER AND THE LAW*, dealing with certain injustices of 1914. It was begun in the latter part of that year, just after *THE BIRTH OF A NATION* had been completed but not yet released. Then, as Henry James once wrote in completely another context: “aspects began to multiply and images to swarm.”⁵ Fearful, after the unprecedented triumph of *THE BIRTH OF A NATION*, of anti-climax in *THE MOTHER AND THE LAW*, Griffith added three other stories from three different centuries to his original mono-plan, and instead of treating each separately, intercut them so that, advancing simultaneously, they reach their climax in the final reels.

Long before these final reels arrive, barriers of time have fallen away, so that all time has become one in an eternal present, but this is demonstrated again in passages of high excitement at the climax: while pardon is racing to the prison to intercept the hanging of the innocent man, Babylon falls, Christ is crucified, and the screen is splashed with the blood of the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Terry Ramsaye, one of the screen’s earliest historians, decides: “It was the first and only film fugue.”⁶ Mindful in advance of perplexities for his audience, Griffith warned them through program notes in the souvenir booklet: “These stories begin like four currents, looked at from a hilltop. These currents flow at first far apart, slowly and quietly. As they flow they grow nearer and nearer together, and faster and faster, ‘until . . . they mingle in one mighty river of expressed emotion.’”⁷ Or, as Iris Barry expressed it in the later 1930’s: “history itself seems to pour like a cataract across the screen.”⁸

Was the title wrong? Would *INTOLERANCE* have escaped financial failure if it had been called, instead, say, *OF TIME AND THE RIVER*? Or was the film too confusing to an audience already

disquieted by war abroad? INTOLERANCE was the peak of Griffith's experimentation with fragmentation which had begun at least as far back as 1911 with the one-reel films he was then directing. Each segment of INTOLERANCE is fragmented into shots that are usually brief, but the overall structure which builds up the four stories piecemeal also represents fragmentation on a towering scale. His vast 13-reel masterwork is composed of 1,716 separate shots, exclusive of the subtitles which almost weirdly fulfill Ellmann's description of Joyce's procedure: "slang, archaisms, the rhythms of learned texts strangely mingled with those of ordinary speech, and a compressed poetry."

We have no record, as far as I know, that Joyce or Pound ever saw INTOLERANCE. Joyce's letters, however, occasionally contain references to film, including some pertaining to his own disastrous participation in 1909-1910 as a co-partner of the Cinematograph Volta, Dublin's first regular motion picture theater (sold presently at a loss), and to films as widely spaced throughout his life as Nonquet's ROMAN D'AMOUR (1904; circulated in America as ANNIE'S LOVE STORY) and Flaherty's MAN OF ARAN, which bored him (1935). Pound in the 1930's developed an intense interest in film, but in previous years he had rather prominently revolted against it, sending from Paris a short negative review of THE CABINET OF DR. CALIGARI ("Paris Letter," *The Dial*, March, 1923, p. 274) and incorporating an even worse one of D. W. Griffith's THE AVENGING CONSCIENCE (1914) into his considerations of Joyce's play *Exiles* ("Mr. Joyce and the Modern Stage," *The Drama*, Chicago, February, 1916, pp. 122-132).

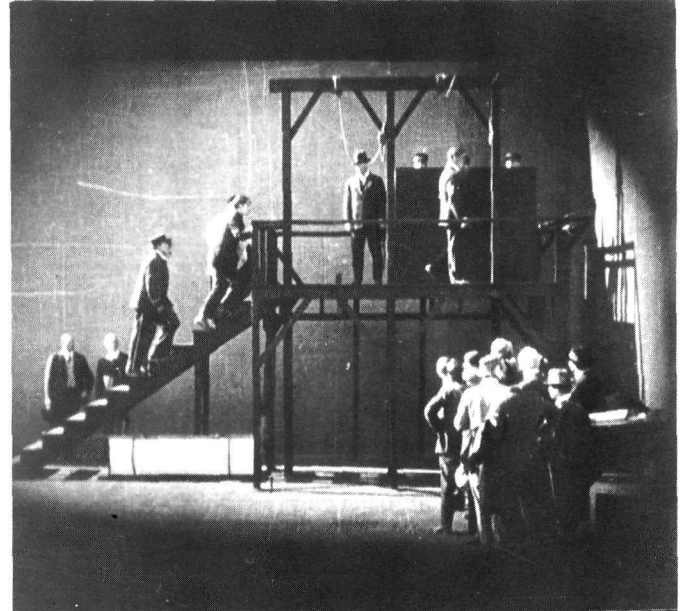
Although THE AVENGING CONSCIENCE (Pound does not name it, but identification is certain) preceded THE BIRTH OF A NATION, Pound makes it sound like INTOLERANCE, which it does not really resemble. The past is shown in momentary flashbacks, not sustained as co-existent with the present as in the later film. "There were a few sub-plots," he writes of THE AVENGING CONSCIENCE, ". . . later there came Moses and the burning bush, a modern detective doing the 'third degree,' Christ on Golgotha, . . . a wild chase over the hills, . . ."⁹

What Pound failed to recognize is that both he and Griffith had become fascinated with an alternating time-scheme, which each would put to use in a long, major and spectacular work. Joyce, of course, was busily engaged on his masterpiece, in which the past, though invisible, is always implied in the present.

George C. Pratt

In INTOLERANCE, Griffith juggles four periods of history. At the climax, the Boy of the Modern Story—who is innocent—ascends the steps of the gallows. He is rescued barely in time.

As if the occurrence were simultaneous, Christ has staggered to crucifixion.





In a more literal juxtaposition, California bungalows of 1915 ignore the rise of Ancient Babylon behind them in sets for Griffith's *INTOLERANCE*.

NOTES:

¹ Richard Ellmann, editor, *Letters of James Joyce*, Vol. II, The Viking Press, New York, 1966, p. 346.

² John Peale Bishop, "The Painter and the Dynamo, The Art of Fernand Léger and its Relation to the New Aesthetics of the Machine," *Vanity Fair*, August, 1923, p. 57.

³ Noel Stock, *The Life of Ezra Pound*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1970, p. 268.

⁴ Stuart Gilbert, editor, *Letters of James Joyce*, Vol. 1, The Viking Press, New York, 1966, p. 129 (letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver).

⁵ Henry James, *A Small Boy and Others*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1913, p. 2.

⁶ Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights, A History of the Motion Picture*, Vol. II, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1926, p. 755. As early as 1897 James Huneker had described Henry James' novel *What Maisie Knew* as "a five-voiced fugue" ("The Tattler," *Musical Courier*, XXXV, 22 (Dec. 1, 1897), p. iii).

⁷ Souvenir booklet, *The Story [of INTOLERANCE]*, Colonial Theatre, Chicago [1916], p. 6.

⁸ Iris Barry, *A Short Survey of the Film in America: INTOLERANCE*, Program Notes, The Museum of Modern Art Film Library, Series I, Program 3, New York, n.d.

⁹ Forrest Read, editor, *Pound/Joyce, The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound's Essays on Joyce*, New Directions, New York, 1970, p. 54.

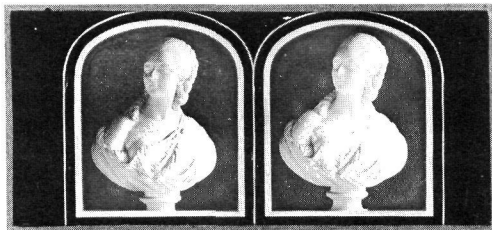
**SYNOPTIC CATALOG OF THE INTERNATIONAL
MUSEUM OF PHOTOGRAPHY COLLECTIONS—
continued**

Maxime DU CAMP [French, b. 1822-1894, active Paris and Middle East].

317 salt paper prints from various editions of *Egypt, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie*, Paris, 1852; 1 unrelated salt paper print. [Illustration: "Thebes: Gournah. Colosse monolithe d'Aménoph III," plate 56 from *Egypt, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie*. (19.8 x 16.0 cm.) Neg. 3561].



Louis Jules DUBOSCQ [French, b. 1817-1886, active Paris] and Jean-Baptiste Françoise Soleil [French, b. 1798-1878, active Paris]. 19 daguerreotype stereographs by the firms of Duboscq-Soleil. [Illustration: *Madame du Barry*, by Pajou, n.d. (ca. 1850). Neg. 17421].



Louis DUCOS DU HAURON [French, b. 1837-1920].

2 three-color carbon prints, one of which is signed and dated 1877; 5 albumen self-portraits from his series "Transformisme en photographie," n.d. (ca. 1889). [Illustration: untitled, from the series "Transformisme en photographie." (9.2 x 12.6 cm. Neg. 7392)].



DUDINSKI [active Rumania and Bulgaria, 1890s].

Album of 27 albumen prints, dated July 23 and 24, 1894, including views and genre scenes from the village of Filiasi in Western Rumania.

Rudolph DÜHRKOOP [German, b. 1848-Hamburg, 1918].

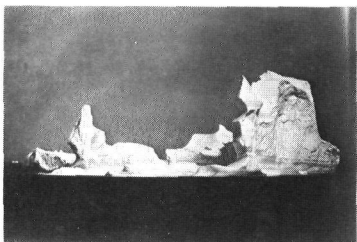
10 prints in various processes, all of A. L. Coburn, from a portfolio dated 1908. [Illustration: untitled portrait of Alvin Langdon Coburn, 1908. (20.4 x 16.3 cm.) Neg. 17394].



David Douglas DUNCAN [b. Kansas City, Mo., 1916-].
11 prints. [Illustration: untitled, n.d. (ca. 1951). (34.2 x 26.4 cm.) Neg.
17419].



[J. L.] DUNMORE & CRITCHERSON [active Boston, 1865-1875].
38 albumen prints from the William Bradford expedition to Labrador,
1864; 130 albumen prints in William Bradford, *The Arctic Regions*,
1873. [Illustration: plate 55 from *The Arctic Regions*. (14.7 x 22.0
cm.) Neg. 6756].



DUNSHEE [active Providence, 1860s-1870s].
3 cartes-de-visite, all portraits.

DUNSHEE BROS. [active Rochester, N.Y., 1865-1875].
8 cartes-de-visite, all portraits, some hand-colored.

C. E. DUNSHEE [active Rochester, N. Y., 1870s-1880s].
50 cartes-de-visite, all portraits.

E. P. DUNSHEE [active Boston, 1870s].
4 cartes-de-visite, all portraits. [Illustration: untitled, 1875. Neg.
17240].



E. S. DUNSHEE [active Rochester, N.Y., 1865-1875].
2 cartes-de-visite, both portraits of women.

H. S. DUNSHEE [active Rochester, N.Y., 1865-1875].
1 carte-de-visite of young girl.

S. E. DUNSHEE [active Rochester, N.Y., 1865-1875].
1 carte-de-visite of young man.

Aimé DUPONT [active Paris, 1865-1870 and New York (city), 1870-
1880].
1 carte-de-visite of a Frenchman; 8 cabinets of New York theatrical
personalities.

DURANDELLE, see DELMAET & DURANDELLE.

Pierre DURAT [active Paris, 1870s].
Loose portfolio of 44 issues of serial publication *Photo-biographie
des contemporaines*, Paris, n.d. (ca. 1870), each containing one al-
bumen portrait.

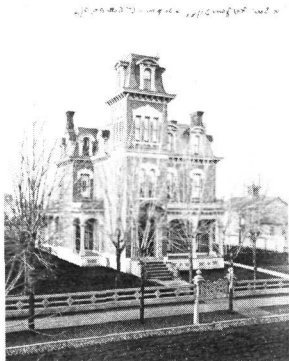
Frank DURGAN [active Sacramento, 1865-1870].
3 stereographs showing construction of Central Pacific Railroad
through Sierra Nevada Mountains, ca. 1869.

Eugène DURIEU [active Paris, 1850s-1860s].
119 albumen prints in album *Photographie*, n.d. (ca. 1854-1855).
[Illustration: untitled, n.d. (12.5 x 16.4 cm., oval) Neg. 2184].



DURONI & MURER [active Paris, 1860s].
8 albumen prints of Paris in Charles Soullier, *Paris-Neuf, ou reve et réalité*, Paris, 1861.

George EASTMAN [b. Waterville, N.Y., 1854—Rochester, N.Y., 1932].
1 ambrotype; 9 photographs attributed to Eastman, taken with a Kodak No. 1 in Europe, 1888; various photographs attributed to Eastman taken with a Kodak No. 2 and a Kodak No. 4; 3 negatives on experimental film; albumen print from a dry plate by Eastman; memorabilia. [Illustration: "C. T. Ham's House, Jones Ave.," albumen print from an early gelatin dry plate by Eastman inscribed "4 sec., Jan 31/80, 4.30 pm—6 in. Ball R[apid] R[ectilinear] f/14." (11.9 x 9.8 cm.) Neg. 1298].



A. B. EATON [active Lowell, Mass., 1860s].
3 carte-de-visite portraits, all identified and dated 1869.

Edric L. EATON [b. Franklin County, Vt., 1835; active during Civil War, later in Nebraska].
1 carte-de-visite of infant dated 1881; 19 albumen prints in A. C. Edmunds, *Pen Sketches of Nebraskans*, Omaha, 1871.

Harold E. EDGERTON [b. Fremont, Neb., 1903-].
37 photographs taken with stroboscopic flash, dated 1939-1962.

EDOUART [active San Francisco, 1860s].
4 cartes-de-visite, all portraits.

EDOUART & COBB [active San Francisco, 1860s].
2 cartes-de-visite, both portraits.

Ernest EDWARDS [British, b. 1837-1903].
4 albumen prints, ca. 1865; 96 albumen prints in Lovell Reeves, ed., *Men of Eminence in Literature, Science, and Art*, 4 vols., London, 1863-1867; 17 albumen prints in Rev. J.M. Jephson, *Shakespeare: His Birthplace, Home, and Grave*, London, 1864; 20 albumen prints in Edward Walford, *Representative Men in Literature Science, and Art*, London, 1868. [Illustration: "Cleft in the Rock—Anchor Church Derby," n.d. (ca. 1865). (22.6 x 18.7 cm.) Neg. 17417].



Frank A. EHRET [active American West, 1880s].
126 albumen prints of Yosemite and Yellowstone Park collected in four albums dated July 1888.

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 41 prints—\$125/month
 Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio Feb. 15-March 15
 University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. April 1-April 30
 BULLOCK, WYNN
 25 prints—\$75/month
 On extended tour by United States Information Agency
 HARRY CALLAHAN/CITY
 75 prints—\$225/month
 CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHERS IV
 30 prints—\$100/month
 On extended tour by United States Information Agency
 CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHERS V
 25 prints—\$75/month
 On extended tour by United States Information Agency
 CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHERS VI
 50 prints—\$150/month
 Plymouth State College, Plymouth, N.H. Feb. 1—Feb. 28
 Butler Institute of Art, Youngstown, Ohio March 15-April 15
 CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHERS VII
 25 prints—\$75/month
 Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill. March 1-March 31
 Everett Community College, Everett, Wash. May 1-May 31
 CONTEMPORARY PHOTOGRAPHY SINCE 1950
 50 prints—\$150/month
 University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana Feb. 1-March 1
 60'S CONTINUUM
 116 prints—\$350/month
 Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma, Wash. March 1-March 31
 DAVIDSON, BRUCE
 25 prints—\$75/month
 DOISNEAU, ROBERT
 25 prints—\$75/month
 FRANK, ROBERT
 25 prints—\$75/month
 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. Feb. 15-March 15
 Humbolt State College, Arcata, Calif. April 1-April 30
 FROM THE G E H COLLECTION
 100 prints—\$300/month
 University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware Feb. 15-March 15
 GIACOMELLI, MARIO
 50 prints—\$150/month
 Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown, Md.
 July 1-July 31
 HINE, LEWIS W.
 75 prints—\$150/month
 On extended tour by Concerned Photographers.

KRIMS, LESLIE
 25 prints—\$75/month
 Orange Coast College, Costa Mesa, Calif. Jan. 15-Feb. 15
 University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls, Iowa March 1-March 31
 St. Norbert College, DePere, Wis. May 2-May 31
 MUYBRIDGE, EADWEARD
 35 prints—\$110/month
 Jesse Besser Museum, Alpena, Mich. Feb. 1-Feb. 28
 University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. April 1-April 30
 NEW YORK IS/OGAWA
 25 prints—\$75/month
 PHOTO/GRAPHICS
 25 prints—\$125/month
 Orange Coast College, Costa Mesa, Calif. Jan. 15-Feb. 15
 University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill. May 6-June 17
 PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE 20TH CENTURY
 150 prints—\$400/month
 Santa Barbara Museum, Santa Barbara, Calif. Feb. 17-March 18
 University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. April 1-April 30
 Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa Sept. 22-Oct. 26
 SISKIND, AARON
 25 prints—\$75/month
 On extended tour by United States Information Agency
 SMITH, W. EUGENE
 25 prints—\$75/month
 E. Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tenn. Feb. 1-March 1
 Wofford College, Spartanburg, S.C. March 9-March 24
 University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. April 1-April 30
 DENNIS STOCK/THE SUN
 25 prints—\$110/month
 Dundalk Community College, Dundalk, Md. Feb. 1-Feb. 28
 TERMINAL LANDSCAPE
 40 prints—\$125/month
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 E. Tennessee State University, Johnson City, Tenn. March 1-March 31
 TESKE, EDMUND
 25 prints—\$75/month
 Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill. Feb. 1-Feb. 28
 TULSA/LARRY CLARK
 49 prints—\$150/month
 Wellesley High School, Wellesley Hills, Mass. Jan. 15-Feb. 15
 UELSMANN, JERRY
 40 prints—\$125/month
 University of Mississippi, University, Miss. March 1-March 31
 Flint Institute of Arts, Flint, Michigan May 1-May 31
 Mobile Art Gallery, Mobile, Alabama June 15-July 8
 Oakton Community College, Morton Grove, Ill. Aug. 15-Sept. 15
 Culver Stockton College, Conton, Mo. Oct. 1-Nov. 1
 The Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. Nov. 14-Dec. 14
 WESTON, EDWARD
 50 prints—\$150/month
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 WEST OF THE ROCKIES
 25 prints—\$75/month

