exposure

Alison Devine Nordström on **Paradise Recycled**

Vera Viditz-Ward on **Photography in Sierra Leone**

Victoria Wyatt on **Images of Native Americans**

Keith McElroy on **Education & Photos of the Non-Industrialized World**

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Left: Winter and Pond, *PCA 87-204*, from the Alaska State Library;
Right: Winter and Pond, *PCA 87-198*, from the Alaska State Library.

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Contents

Ethnographic Photography

Patricia Johnston

One of the newest and perhaps most promising areas of photographic history to emerge in recent years is the critical study of ethnographic photography These "documentary" photographs were long relegated to a minor place within the discipline of anthropology When first taken, they were viewed as useful journalistic descriptions for public information, but inferior scholarly tools compared with the field notes of trained anthropologists. A later generation of anthropologists banished them to the basements of museums, seeing them as embarrassments that embodied the racial stereotypes and political agendas of the expanding, imperialist western powers. Contemporary anthropologists and photographic historians have returned to ethnographic photographs, reading them as valuable documents of the contact between cultures and as venues for the study of both cultural practices and conventions of representation. Ethnographic photography can no longer be considered just an accurate description of faraway people and places, or a patronizing or idealizing vision of the "other"; it must be and is being examined as the conjunction between the representation of native identities and the values of the culture holding the camera.

The scholars featured in this issue of *exposure* examine corollary issues such as the emergence of racial types in photography, native participation in the production of the image, and the global distribution of such images under the rubrics of "travel" or "science" or "education." Alison Devine Nordström traces how the distribution of images—the sites of their reproductions—contribute to their meanings. Her essay, "Paradise Recycled: Photographs of Samoa in Changing Contexts," follows Samoan photographs created for specific personal uses through their re-use for commercial purposes, which concurrently transformed them into generic markers of the South Seas. Deprived of their individual contexts, the photographs' meanings became more general with each appearance in postcards, travel brochures, and family magazines. Each subsequent re-use reinforced and intensified the stereotypes held by the editor and the observer, and the photographs became crucial in shaping the western view of the South Seas during the era of imperialist expansion.

Vera Viditz-Ward's essay, "Notes Toward a History of Photography in Sierra Leone, West Africa," may be seen as part of the attempt to reconstruct the history of native peoples' own photographic imag-

ing of their cultures. Searching through African colonial archives and family albums in private homes, Viditz-Ward hoped to piece together African photographic imagery that might counterbalance the prevalent itinerant European photographers' views of the exotic. She discovered that the British colonial aesthetic was the main influence on early Sierra Leonean photographic styles. But despite the European-determined look of the images, the photographs provided a glimpse of one specific strata of African society· the urban middle-class Creoles who settled in Freetown. An African aesthetic in photography, Viditz-Ward observed, emerged only in the mid-twentieth century, concurrent with national independence and the growing public appreciation for indigenous art and religion.

Victoria Wyatt tried to determine if native voices could be discovered in images taken by white photographers. Wyatt points out that in the era of large awkward cameras and slow exposures, the photographers needed the acquiescence, if not the cooperation, of their subjects. Studying the Alaskan studio photographers Winter and Pond, Wyatt sought to untangle the collaboration between the native subjects and the photographers to discover how they worked together to construct the image of native identity Like Nordström, Wyatt also examines the production and distribution of the image and contrasts work clearly crafted for the tourist trade with native-commissioned portraits for private uses. Wyatt compares Winter and Pond's ethnographic photographs with much earlier drawings of similar costumes and rituals, suggesting a rich direction to locate the roots of photographic cultural imagery

In "Popular Education and Photographs of the Non-Industrialized World, 1885-1915," Keith McElroy contends that both the opponents and apologists for imperialism, groups with diverse viewpoints and needs, adopted a unified western vision in photography that survives into our own day McElroy's study outlines the technological developments that made possible the variant venues for the increased popular distribution of ethnographic and geographic photography· mass magazines, public school textbooks, missionaries' lantern slide shows, and many others all of which were instrumental in reinforcing stereotypes of race and gender.

As these essays demonstrate, the study of ethnographic photography must be a true interdisciplinary enterprise. The strongest studies evince a thorough knowledge of both the culture depicted and the culture depicting. Photographic history must move beyond the analysis of anthropological imagery as simply a generic "western" view of the generic "other" to study the specific circumstances of the contact between the photographer and the photographed and the subsequent uses of the images.

Finally, a note on the publication schedule for *exposure*: despite generous support over the years from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Society for Photographic Education, like all other arts organizations, is feeling the effect of difficult economic times and cutbacks in funding for the arts and education. For the foreseeable future, we will publish three issues of *exposure* a year, thus formally adopting the practice we had evolved out of necessity

Paradise Recycled: Photographs of Samoa in Changing Contexts

Alison Devine Nordström

By the end of the nineteenth century, photography was as firmly entrenched in Samoa, a small group of islands in the western Pacific, as it was in most other parts of the world. Amateurs on holiday, scientists in the field, and itinerant professionals from Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand passed through and took a wide variety of images away with them. In the 1890s, Apia, the largest town, was home to three white commercial photographers (all originally from New Zealand) whose work was regularly put to conventional private use. Samoans sat for family portraits and wedding pictures, and presented photographs of themselves to esteemed visitors. Unlike comparable images from other places, however, many of these photographs were later translated to other contexts in cultures where they were reduced to generic signifiers of the exotic and the other.

The Samoan Islands have been variously under the control of the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and New Zealand in the few hundred years that they have known any foreign influence. Today, the islands are divided, with Tutuila, Aunu'u, and the Manu'a group controlled by the United States as an unincorporated territory, and Upolu, Savai'i, Manono and Apolima constituting the independent state of Western Samoa. Apia, located on Upolu, and Pago Pago, located on Tutuila, are the only towns of any size in the group and, in the nineteenth century, were the only places with European and American communities. Today, Samoan populations can be found in most U.S. cities, particularly Honolulu, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake City, as well as in New Zealand and Australia and on other Pacific Islands.

Although small, isolated, and lightly populated, these islands had an historical relationship with their colonizers that parallels that of many larger countries. Outsider use of early photographs of Samoa, like that of Asia and Africa, can be read as representing Western efforts to classify an unfamiliar culture in terms of Western values and systems. Photographs of Samoa were made, distributed, and used by Westerners to reinforce stereotypes of the South Seas, often limiting outside knowledge of the place to clichés of palms, sunsets and beaches, sexually compliant women, barbaric chiefs, and the needs and opportunities for Western civilization, religion, and economic development.

In *European Vision and the South Pacific*, Bernard Smith argues that preconceived ideas of Pacific people influenced their depiction by European painters, both those who accompanied early expeditions, and those at home who found inspiration in travellers' tales. Despite an increasing emphasis on scientific description, specific visions of either noble savages or beastlike heathens were the filters through which these artists understood their unfamiliar subjects.[1] By the nineteenth century perhaps to some extent through the increasing quantity of visual information provided by photography, the apparently conflicting streams of nobility and degradation were no longer distinct in the imagemakers' imaginations or in the public mind. Users of early Pacific photographs showed the ability to hold both ideas simultaneously, or alternately The same image could be understood either way, as circumstances required.

While the content of a photograph may suggest clues to its maker's attitudes, it is the context of what is outside the frame, changing, as Barthes points out, from the moment the picture is taken,[2] that reveals its meaning as an object. The images of Samoa produced for sale were products of a complex context when they were made. This would have included, at the least, the social, economic, and political circum-

Figure 1 Thomas Andrew, *Untitled* (about 1894; courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University).

THE MERRIEST SAUCIEST LITTLE MAID."

Figure 2. Thomas Andrew (engraver unknown), *The Merriest, Sauciest Little Maid* (published in John Harrison Wagner "The Lotus Land of the Pacific," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. xcv (1897).

stances of the country, the relationship between subject and photographer, the photographer's experience and understanding of Samoa, the photographer's technical and intellectual limitations, the sitter's understanding of the process, and the sitter's and the photographer's intended uses of the finished product. Once a photograph is distributed, however, particularly when it is made available to those with no knowledge of its original circumstances, it can be put into new contexts for varied use in any number of categories unrelated to its earlier meaning. A portrait of a bare-breasted girl or a tattooed man, for example, even if taken at the request of the sitter for private use, can serve, once it finds its way into the marketplace, as pornography, a tourist novelty, a documentation of "racial types," or an anatomical record. The same photograph can be used as proof of a visit, proof of a political point, a paen to the passing glories of a vanishing race, a justification of economic exploitation, or an affirmation that a particular person or event not only existed, but was of sufficient importance to merit a photograph. Photographs are used in books and magazines both for the selective information they contain, and to decorate the text. As certain images and types of images are used repeatedly, they become markers, the primary purpose of which is to signify the place in a quick and efficient shorthand that requires little real seeing. Photographs that appear to contradict the generally accepted ideas of a place are dismissed as inaccurate, anomolous, or unimportant. As is the case with similar images from other places dominated by the imperialist nations of the West, early photographs of Samoa were used in ways that reflect the attitudes held by the colonizers towards their subject people.

Sometime around 1894, Thomas Andrew, a New Zealand-born resident of Apia and a trader, rubber planter and photographer, produced a portrait of a young Samoan woman (Fig. 1). The woman's gaze is fresh and confident, quite different from the

Figure 3. Josiah Martin? *Samoan Princess Faamu,* about 1895; courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Salem).

Figure 4. Josiah Martin? *Samoan Dancing Girl* (published as a postcard by Muir & Moodie, Dunedin, New Zealand, about 1910; in a private collection).

uncomprehending fear we see in many contemporaneous photographs of Pacific people. She wears the strip of cloth over her breasts that missionaries and other Western influences had established as standard daily costume in Apia at that time. In her small town it was likely that the sitter knew the photographer and possible, as was the case in many other Andrew portraits, that the work had been done at her request.

Whatever the original purpose of its making, Andrew appears to have recognized the appeal of this image. He titled it *A Samoan Belle*, produced it in multiple copies as number 72 in a series of half-plate albumen prints, and, on at least some of them, wrote title, number, and the abbreviations "Cop. Reg." (copyright registered) in the negative so that they appear across the top of the woman's upper garment. In 1894, Graham Balfour, a cousin of Apia's most famous white resident, the writer Robert Louis Stevenson, purchased, or was given, one of these prints during a six-month visit to Samoa. In 1895, Balfour (who was also a distant relation of Henry Balfour, the first curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum of Ethnology and Prehistory at Oxford) donated the print to the Museum, where it remains today A duplicate print, unsigned and purchased from John Waters, a photographer in Suva, Fiji, can be found in a similar collection at Harvard's Peabody Museum, filed under Samoa as an example of ethnic type. The image also appears at the Linden Museum für Völkerkunde in Stuttgart, in a similar file, and in the Visual Collections of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu.

We do not know to what scientific uses this particular photograph was put during the years when ethnographic studies included cranial and other anthropometric measurement, hierarchical classification of cultures by skin tone, and the like. It is clear, however, that the image also served both illustrative and commercial purposes outside of any scientific context. Titled "Fa'apui," and garishly colored, the portrait appears as the frontispiece in an 1896 bro-

Figure 5. Alfred John Tattersall, *Some of the Turtles Killed for Vao's Wedding Feast* (published in H.J. Moors, *With Stevenson in Samoa*, Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1910).

Figure 6. Alfred John Tattersall, *Greeting from Samoa* (published as a postcard, Suva: A. M. Brodziak, about 1905; in a private collection).

chure promoting the Ocean Steamship Company and extolling Samoa as a tourist destination. Here the text treats Samoan culture as a purchaseable experience of Arcadia, claiming "the most interesting thing about Samoa is not its fair scenery and tropic flora and fauna but the people," who are " noble, simple, honest and affectionate,"[3] a characterization reinforced by the initial smiling image of a young woman. The brochure is illustrated with photographs on almost every page including several other images of young women, all, like that of "Fa'apui," similarly captioned with only a first name, in which the subjects smile into the viewers' eyes. Also pictured are two notably handsome chiefs with elaborate necklaces and an exotic headdress, and a variety of lush tropical landscapes that reinforce the presentation of Samoa as an Edenic and timeless world.

This particular image of an attractive, innocent and welcoming female was used again as a generic marker for the Pacific Islands in 1897, when it decorated the pages of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, in a lush and effusive travelogue by John Harrison Wagner entitled "The Lotus Land of the Pacific" (Fig.2). Here it appears as the basis for an engraving captioned *The Merriest Sauciest Little Maid* and, although its connection to Andrew's original is unmistakeable, the engraver has made it conform more closely to the stereotypes embodying popular knowledge of the Pacific. As reinforced by the slyly leering tone of Wagner's article, the sexual availability of the South Seas siren is emphasized by the absence of an upper garment in the engraving. The engraver has removed it and drawn in bare breasts, as he has replaced her necklace of trade beads with a garland of flowers. Furthermore, in this text, the subject is named Maua and placed in a new, probably fictionalized, set of circumstances that receive at least some of their credibility from the "accuracy" of the photograph-based engraving.

Even in more common instances, where the content of an image remains constant in multiple uses, changes in the context of format, caption, and purpose can radically alter the meaning the image holds. A formal portrait of Samoan Princess Sao Tama'ita'i Faamu, the daughter of King Malietoa Laupepa, is tentatively attributed to New Zealand-based itinerant and self-styled artist, Josiah Martin (Fig. 3). The image shares many of the conventions of nineteenth century photographic portraiture made with artistic intent. The subject wears her best clothes: a combination of Western jewelry and the state dress appropriate to a woman of her title, an elaborate headdress, and valuable "fine-mat" skirt, the creases of which suggest that it has probably been brought out for the occasion of the photograph. She holds a war club as a European woman being photographed at that time might hold a fan or a flower, to keep her hands still during a lengthy plate exposure, but also to mark her status, for as late as the uprisings of the 1890s it was the princesses of each village who led the men into battle. Faamu stands before a painted backdrop, surrounded by additional greenery as props. She is composed and dignified as befits her station.

Figure 7 John Davis, *A New Year's Greeting From Samoa*, (1892; courtesy of the Robert Hull Fleming Museum of the University of Vermont).

Figure 8. John Davis (misattributed to A. J. Tattersall), *No. 30 Crater Lake Lanutoo* (about 1892, reprinted about 1905; courtesy of the Linden Museum of Stuttgart-Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde).

This photograph was one of many assembled into albums during Alexander Agassiz's voyage of the Albatross in 1899, and now held at the Peabody Museum of Salem. Like the other portraits obtained on that voyage, many of which are of Polynesian royalty, the print is hand-captioned with the subject's name and title, indicating a familiarity between subject and collector, and suggesting that the image had been used like a European one, given out as a memento of a visit, and respectfully valued by its recipient.

Perhaps ten years later, the photograph was reproduced as a sepia gravure postcard copyrighted and mass-produced by the New Zealand firm of Muir & Moodie and sold, probably not as a souvenir of a visit to the Islands, but more likely as a titillating novelty along with other popular offerings of music hall stars, actresses and society beauties. The card contains no identification of its subject. It is captioned *Samoan Dancing Girl* (Fig. 4).

At about the same time that Thomas Andrew was selling portraits of Samoan belles to visitors such as Graham Balfour, Vao, a younger daughter of Seumanutafa, Chief of Apia, was preparing to be married. As with weddings of the period held elsewhere, photography had an important role, and an unattributed picture shows her dressed proudly in her bridal clothing of knee length bark cloth skirt, fringed, flowered bodice, shark tooth necklace and bare feet, standing before a stylized painted backdrop (probably made in New Zealand) of banana trees and palms. Outside, A. J. Tattersall, whose remarkable career in Apia was to last from 1886 to 1949, was documenting the preparations for the wedding feast, perhaps the most striking of which was the capture of twelve large sea turtles to be used both as ceremonial gifts and as part of the wedding meal (Fig. 5). The picture shows the turtles incapacitated on land and upside-down. Behind them, holding spears and dressed only in trade-cloth lavalavas, are seven muscular Samoan

men, in front of a thick rank of greenery Sea turtles were unusual and highly favored items in a society that emphasized formal gift-giving at every important occasion. To a Samoan aware of its context, this image would have represented the wealth, power and prestige of Apia's high chief, and confirmed the status of his daughter, the socially and politically important taupo, or chief maiden, of Samoa's largest town.

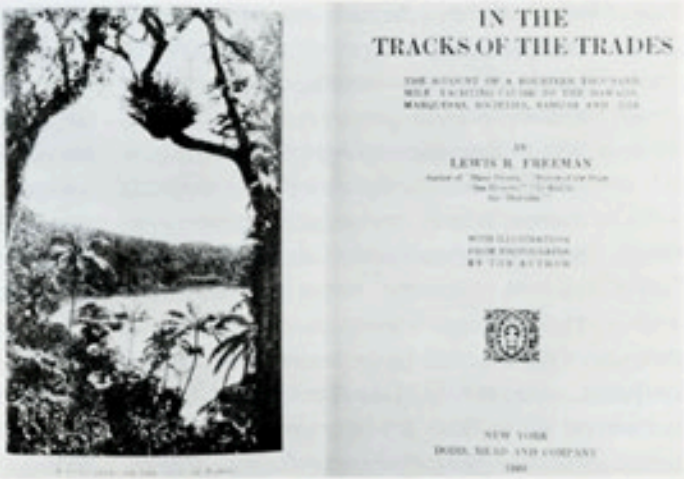


Figure 9. John Davis (misattributed to Lewis R. Freeman), *A Quiet Inlet on the Coast of Samoa* (about 1892, reprinted 1920, in Lewis R. Freeman, *In the Tracks of the Trades*, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1920, frontispiece).

Tattersall reprinted this image in several formats for general sale, the fierce and exotic subject matter taking precedence over the personal and social significance of the original image. It appears as a half-tone, with the title *Some of the Turtles Killed for Vao's Wedding Feast* in *With Stevenson in Samoa*, a somewhat self-congratulatory memoir published in 1910 by H.J Moors. The author, despite having been the entrepreneur who brought the Samoan hootchy-kootchy troupe to the Midway plaisance of the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893, was married to a Samoan and was strongly sympathetic to Samoan culture and Samoan attempts to overthrow European political domination. His reasons for choosing this image are not known, but it is unlikely that his readers in Boston and London could have brought to it any of the understanding that Moors would have had, and there is little in his text that would have helped.

More typical of the uses of this image is its presence in an album from a round-the-world tour assembled in 1897 by William Norman Campbell of the Union Club, Chicago, and now in the Butler Library at Dartmouth College. The full-plate albumen print, titled *Turtles*, joins others from Hawai'i, Fiji, Australia, and Java, in emphasizing the popular idea of the primitive, exotic and timeless character of non-Western cultures.

Photographer Tattersall was touted in the 1907 *Cyclopedia of Samoa* as the maker of "a very large collection of postcards, all of the best finish, and showing all forms of life and scenery... eagerly sought after by tourists."[4] A variant shot of the turtle hunters and their quarry appears (here one turtle has been turned top-up, and the man at the right kneels to restrain it) in a postcard printed in Germany around 1905 and captioned *Greeting from Samoa* (Fig. 6). Postcards such as this enjoyed tremendous popularity, not only as souvenirs of a trip to the faraway, but as amusing and novel evocations of the strange, and they were sold throughout the developed world at the turn of the century

By the time Frances Hubbard Flaherty visited Tattersall's Apia studio in 1923, any connection between the turtle photograph and the wedding ceremony that caused it to be made must have been long-gone. Besides, Flaherty was looking for exoticism and sea monsters, and the print of the turtles juxtaposed with their half-naked captors may have reassured her that she and her husband, the filmmaker Robert Flaherty, would find in Samoa the savagery needed to ensure the success of their movie, *Moana of the South Seas*. The opening paragraph of one of several articles she wrote for *Asia Magazine* shows her stereotyped attitudes and commercial goals:

> *The traditional romance of the Pacific Islands is bound up with the animal life of the sea. The natives are children of the sea. Familiar enough in the West are the stories of their wonderful skill and fearlessness as divers, as swimmers, as fishermen. As common as the day to them are the creatures of the underwa-*

ter world. To us they are strange and terrifying, particularly if huge, none the less fascinating. Everybody loves to see them on the screen; everybody loves the sport of a good hunt for them and a fair fight. The first thing we had to do therefore, once we were settled in Samoa, was to look about us for this one-hundred-per-cent screen material. [5]

The Flahertys were to be disappointed in their search for huge and savage sea creatures, as was the public, when *Moana of the South Seas*, billed by Hollywood as "the love life of a South Seas siren" turned out to be endless, if beautiful, footage of dancing, eating, and handicraft. Frances Flaherty produced several thousand romanticized still photographs that reflect her approach to "salvage ethnography." The subjects are dressed in anachronistic and inaccurate costumes, and all traces of Western influence are banished from the frame. The Tattersall image, which was some thirty years old when Flaherty bought it, confirmed the sense of untamed nature and unchanging primitivism that directed her own work. It was deposited in 1972 with her papers and other "documentation" of Samoa at the Robert and Frances Flaherty Study Center in Claremont, California.

Tattersall sold this photograph again in the 1930s, when, at the request of the National Library of New Zealand, he prepared 130 whole-plate prints from negatives that covered 50 years. Although the library sought the material for "ethnographic research,"[6] the selection was left to the photographer, and most of these photographs emphasize the interests of New Zealand and the British Empire rather than the customs of Samoan people. None of the images is dated, and the captions, written by the photographer at the time of sale, are mainly uninformative titles. *A Fine Catch of Turtles* appears with *Regatta Day, Queen s Birthday, Arrival of Lord Bledisoe, Governor General of New Zealand, British and American Troops in the Streets of Apia, Labour Boys Making Copra, Packing Bananas for New Zealand, German Police Station, Apia*, and a set featuring Samoan agricultural products labeled *Breadfruit, Coconut, Cocoa* and *Mummy Apple*. In this context, the half-naked men and their turtles become a marker embodying the two popular themes of wildness and exploitable wealth by which New Zealand chose to know its colony

Nineteenth-century landscape images of the tropics followed generic formulas and and functioned interchangeably Like today's conventions for picture postcards and illustrated tourist brochures, a few palm trees and a beach were sufficient markers of paradise to authenticate a visit and confirm expectations. In certain consistently popular beauty spots, the relationship between image and place was mutually reinforcing, so that the place became a tourist must-see because it looked like an already well-known photograph, while the photograph continued to be saleable because it confirmed the significance of the visited place. An example can be found in a popular image of Lanuto'o, a palm-fringed crater lake eight miles inland through the jungle outside of Apia, and a picnic destination within reach even of day-trippers off the trans-Pacific steamers. Lake Lanuto'o was described in a 1907 promotional publication as "afford[ing] a picture surpassingly grand and beautiful" with "rich nature pictures on every hand,"[7] and it is not surprising that a permanent souvenir of these pictures was ubiquitously purchaseable and republished for many years. Today it appears in at least seven museum collections, although, over time, its association with a particular place has been subsumed by its generic use as an image of the South Seas.

In 1892, John Davis, photographer, Apia postmaster, and A.J. Tattersall's first employer in Samoa, included an uncaptioned picture of Lanuto'o on a fourteen-image cabinet size photo collage collected by Ebenezer Ormsbee, who served as U.S. Land Commissioner to Samoa from 1891 to 1893 (Fig. 7). The photograph, now conserved with an eclectic selection of bark-cloth, war-clubs and other Ormsbee family souvenirs at the Fleming Museum of the University of Vermont, bears the printed message *A New Year's Greeting from Samoa. J.Davis. Photo. Samoa*. Along with four views of Apia, four portraits (three of women, two of whom are bare-breasted), four generic palm tree-and-path shots, native houses with bare-breasted women in front of them, and Papasea Waterfall (Apia's other standard picnic spot for tourists), the card encompasses all of Samoa that most visitors cared to know The same image of the lake, this time in full-plate albumen format, appears

without identification at the Peabody Museum of Salem, and in the ethnographic files of the Peabody Museum, Harvard, hand-labeled *Lake on the Mountain*. The Linden Museum of Stuttgart, dates the aquisition of a similar print to the German colonial period (1899-1914), and it is noteworthy that, by that time, Tattersall had appropriated the image, after taking over the photography business upon Davis's death in 1893 (Fig. 8). The Stuttgart print is labelled in the negative *No. 30, Crater Lake Lanuto o* and initialed A.T., an indication that Tattersall was then producing numbered sets of souvenir photographs. He had also joined the postcard craze, as is shown by several hundred Tattersall postcards held in a private collection in New Zealand. Among them is the familiar image of the lake, in sepia photogravure, captioned *Grüss aus Samoa*, and printed in Germany, perhaps its biggest market.

In 1907, the *Cyclopedia of Samoa (Illustrated)*, cropped the picture (although Tattersall's number, title, and initials remain visible) and published it under the heading "Amusements and Diversions" as part of its "complete review of the history and traditions and the commercial development of the Islands with statistics and data never before compiled in a single publication." In the 1930s, numbered, titled, and initialed, it was one of the few landscape images obtained by the National Library of New Zealand in the purchase described above.

The success of this image as a generic marker of the South Seas is evident in its appearance as the frontispiece half-tone in the 1920 publication of *In the Tracks of the Trades* by Lewis R. Freeman (Fig. 9). Here this attractive spot, located eight miles inland, is titled *A quiet inlet on the coast of Samoa*, perhaps to bring it more within the scope of the yacht voyage Freeman describes. Freeman claims in his text to have taken the book's photographs himself. As a comforting affirmation of the idealized, timeless tropical paradise with which the reader is already familiar, the predictable subject and content provide credibility to the narrative, and appear to offer material proof of the author's presence in the places he describes. That the photograph was made some thirty years before the author's visit, by someone other than the named photographer and that it is not of the place of which it is purported to be, is irrelevant to its real purpose. Although it appears to inform, the illustration is used primarily to decorate and verify Freeman's memoirs, while reinforcing the reader's previously held beliefs.

As was the case with other unfamiliar places, those with no direct knowledge of Samoa were informed about it through a distribution system that manipulated visual information to conform to a few manageable and marketable clichés. These clichés consistently presented Samoans as primitive "types" inhabiting an unchanging Eden that did not participate in the Western world of technology, progress, and time. Any unexpected fact of the place, whether a woman with her breasts covered, or the presence of modern technology and an active merchant class, is either forced into the existing pattern of stereotypes or rejected as anomolous, insignificant, or untrue and is therefore less often purchased or reproduced. Because photography retains the appearance of reality despite easy changes of meaning through cropping, changes to the negative, recaptioning, and the like, it has contributed more than other media to simplified views of complicated places, helping to justify the control and "improvement" that colonization meant to the colonizers. The images of Samoa that were regularly used were few and repetitive, but, indeed, because of this, provided the kind of information that let viewers outside the culture feel secure in their knowledge.

Endnotes

1 Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

2 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981).

3 Charles S. Greene, *Talofa, Samoa: A Summer Sail to an Enchanted Isle* (San Francisco: San Francisco News Company, 1896).

4 *The Cyclopedia of Samoa* (Sydney: McCarron, Stewart & Co., 1907 reprint, Apia: The Western Samoa Cultural and Historical Trust, 1984), p.104.

5 Frances Hubbard Flaherty, "A Search for Animal and Sea Sequences," *Asia Magazine* (November 1925), p. 954.

6 Correspondence, National Library of New Zealand (December 7 1989).

7 *Cyclopedia*, p. 6.

Notes Toward a History of Photography in Sierra Leone, West Africa

Vera Viditz-Ward

During the past two decades numerous books, articles, and exhibitions have addressed the use of photography by non-western peoples. Scholarly research on nineteenth century Indian, Japanese, and Chinese photography has revealed a rich synthesis of European and Asian imagery [1] These early photographs show how non-European peoples created new forms of artistic expression by adapting European technology and visual idioms for their own purposes. Because of the long history of contact between Europe and Africa, indigenous Africans were also making photographs in the last century

I began to collect data toward a preliminary history of black photography in Sierra Leone, West Africa, when I lived and worked there as an art teacher and photographer between 1977 and 1980. Through friendships with local photographers who operated busy Freetown studios, I was introduced to contemporary photographic practices. The expense of importing all photographic equipment and supplies prevents most Sierra Leoneans from owning their own cameras. They tend instead to hire photographers to make portraits and to document most of their social occasions, from formal weddings, baptisms, and funerals to the less formal and more raucous festivals and all-night parties that are characteristically West African. As with any studio photography, patrons select exposures and buy copies of these photographs to put in family albums or display in their homes. When visiting people in their homes, I noticed that photographs made in the nineteenth century were also frequently on display I was told usually that these images were portraits of deceased relatives and that they had been made locally Seeing antique photographs time and again in private homes, I realized that the Sierra Leonean enthusiasm for photography was not a recent development, but had taken root in the last century

In 1985 I returned to Freetown on a Fulbright research grant to study nineteenth-century photography made by Sierra Leoneans. For two years I viewed family portraits and photograph albums in the homes of Freetonians and I interviewed contemporary photographers throughout the country Sierra Leone unfortunately has no extant photo archives, but I was able to work in the various colonial archives in England to locate photographs preserved from the period of colonial rule. I discovered that a continuum of African photographers had been producing photographs in Freetown for an African audience for at least 130 years. The following is a survey of photographers who worked in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from the origin of photography until 1980.

When photography was introduced in 1839, Freetown was already a bustling city with an active commercial, governmental, and social life. Its history dates from 1787, when a group of destitute former slaves from London were sent to establish a self-governing colony with the help of a British benevolent society Over the next 60 years the British settled three other groups of liberated Africans in Freetown: escaped American slaves who had fought for the British during the American revolution; Jamaican "Maroons," who had waged guerrilla attacks on European plantations from mountain strongholds; and thousands of Africans released from slave ships by the British navy after Parliament prohibited the transatlantic slave trade. The descendants of these four groups, called Creoles, have dominated the urban culture of Freetown, while more traditional African societies (particularly the Mende and the Temne) inhabited the

rural areas of Sierra Leone. The Creoles, who had more contact with western culture, rapidly evolved a unique society combining both African and European elements. In their private lives the Creoles continued with many of their African social and religious practices, but in public, with the active encouragement of missionaries and colonial administrators, they emulated European dress and manners. Victorian Creoles took pride in their churches and public buildings. In 1827 Christian missionaries established a college in Freetown, and by 1876 it offered university degrees recognized in Britain. Creoles actively sought success in education, and international commerce, the civil service, and an affluent Creole professional class thrived under colonial rule and kept close contact with Britain. By the late nineteenth century Freetown had evolved into a thriving city that its inhabitants called the Athens of West Africa.[2]

The invention of photography was as welcome in Africa as it was in Europe and America. The most adventurous Europeans immediately embarked to document foreign lands that few of their countrymen visited. Late in 1839 French daguerreotypists were traveling to North Africa, the Middle East, and South America to photograph architecture, landscapes, and ruins. The British and some Americans in turn went to India and Australia. Through such early itinerant photographers the medium was introduced to the African continent. Since the most practical and direct route to India and Australia was around the Cape of Good Hope, the daguerreotype process was introduced to South Africa as early as 1840.[3] Ships traveling to Cape Town stopped at various ports of call along the West African coast, and photography was most certainly introduced to coastal West Africa before 1845 through contact with these ships and the daguerreotypists traveling on them.

Given the administrative and commercial importance of Freetown in the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that photography appeared there soon after its invention in Europe. The first professional Freetown photographers were probably itinerant merchants who traveled between the main ports of the West African coast. Although circumstantial evidence suggests the existence of African daguerreotypes in Freetown by the mid-1840s, the earliest documented evidence dates from 1857, when a newspaper advertisement announced the arrival of a daguerreotypist named A. Washington, who had worked in the United States and Liberia.[4] Daguerreotypes by Washington or by any other photographer from this period have not been discovered and, because of Freetown's climate, it is unlikely that they will. Daguerreotypes from northern and southern Africa exist today because these areas have climates with average humidity Freetown's tropical climate, with an annual rainfall of 200 inches would have been extremely destructive to the fragile, many-layered daguerreotypes unless they had been removed to a less harmful environment.

Figure 1 *Studio Portrait of Woman in "Kaba Slor"* (traditional Creole dress), head tie and Aku country cloth, Sierra Leone, c. 1860. Albumen print, photographer unknown. Sierra Leone Museum. Itinerant portrait photographers traveled with portable studios which usually included painted canvas backdrops depicting classical or European scenes. The photographs could have been taken in Freetown or perhaps in a village along the coast between Freetown and Monrovia.

The numerous technical innovations in the

Figure 2. Dionysius Leomy, *Market Scene, Freetown*, c. 1870. Albumen print. Sierra Leone Museum collection. Spontaneous photographs such as this were difficult to record before the invention of snapshot cameras and faster film in the late 1880's. Leomy appears to have specialized in this sort of "candid" photography. Note the two young men posing with bottle and glass in center of photograph.

Figure 3. J. P Decker *Landing Stage, Freetown*, showing harbor master's office and customs shed, 1869. Sierra Leone Museum. This is one of several hundred photographs Decker made on commission to document urban development under British colonial rule.

1850s made photography considerably easier and more portable for its practitioners. During this decade there were both African and some European portrait photographers who ran permanent studios or traveled as itinerant photographers among the West African coastal towns. But few of the Europeans making photographs came to Africa solely as photographers. Backed by institutions such as the Royal Geographic Society or the Colonial Office, soldiers, scholars, and adventurers documented the people and places they were sent to observe. The Europeans brought the most recent technology and latest photographic styles, and they frequently left behind both equipment and technical knowledge with their African assistants and colleagues.

By the late 1860s advertisements for photography studios established by Africans appeared regularly in the Freetown newspapers. These studios made photographic portraits and frequently sold photographic chemicals and supplies ordered from Liverpool. News articles from the *British Journal of Photography* were even occasionally reprinted in the Freetown papers. Creoles responded to this new art as enthusiastically as their European contemporaries, for whom photography was a major pastime. They collected photographs of family friends, public buildings, social events, and local scenery, preserving them in the ubiquitous photographic album. Whether in London or Freetown, the family album was an essential part of the respectable Victorian parlor.

Although the names of practicing African photographers are abundant from newspaper advertisements, identifying photographs made by these men has been difficult and biographical data is sparse.[5] The few extant photographs from the 1880s are found in archives in London and in the three water-damaged albums that constitute the entire photographic collection of the Sierra Leone Museum in Freetown. One photographer, Dionysius Leomy ran a studio in Freetown from 1880 until the early 1900s. Leomy's photographs are easily identifiable by his name, which is consistently printed diagonally across the lower right corner of each album print. His most interesting photographs are Freetown street scenes in which he captures the vitality of market women and hawkers as they sell their wares. He seems to have specialized in birds-eye-view photographs of Freetown. This style of image making

would have been considered clever and quite popular with those who collected photographs for their albums or wanted a souvenir view of Freetown.

Another photographer of this period was J.P Decker. Proprietor of a small studio in Freetown, Decker was commissioned by the London Colonial Office to document the British colonial headquarters in Sierra Leone, the Gambia, the Cape Coast, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. His photographs, which are in duplicate albums in the Sierra Leone Museum and the Commonwealth Library in London, primarily record government buildings and military structures. A few of his carte-de-visite portraits of Africans with his name embossed on the cardboard mount have survived, and these demonstrate both his technical skill and his artistic ambitions in his choice of vantage points and composition.

In May 1893 the following advertisement appeared in the front page of the *Sierra Leone Times*:

> *W.S. Johnston, photographer begs to inform the public that he is prepared during his visiting tour to Sierra Leone, which will only extend to a few weeks, to receive sitters at his residence in Howe Street and to solicit their kind patronage. Specimens can be seen during business hours: 7 to 11 a.m. and 1 to 5 p.m. Pictures of all sizes taken. Negatives kept. Copies may be had always. Landscapes, views of the Gold Coast, Lagos, Sierra Leone and Native Types are always on hand. Charges moderate.*

Figure 4. W. S. Johnston, *Freetown Botanical Gardens*, c. 1880's. Private collection. Photographs of Freetown buildings and street life were sold to local clients and European visitors for their personal albums. This particular image is unusual because of the conspicuous absence of urban development.

Figure 5. W. S. Johnston, *The Broderick Family*, Freetown, c. 1895. Collection of Dr S.M. Broderick, Freetown. Although wearing European clothes and posing in front of a faded backdrop painted with a classical motif, the entire family is standing on a large piece of locally produced cloth with a traditional African tie-dye pattern. This subtle intrusion of African culture into what appears to be a completely European portrait was not unusual by the turn of the century.

A second advertisement appeared in July 1893 in which Johnston thanked his patrons and announced that he was opening a permanent studio in Freetown. Business must have been active if a photographer chose to settle permanently in Freetown after only two months of work. Although Johnston might have been a Liberian, he was probably an itinerant Creole photographer who was finally able to establish a permanent business at home. His studio was quite popular with Freetonians and ultimately he was able

Figure 6. Alphonso Lisk-Carew, *Family Portrait with Photographs*, Freetown, c. 1910. The Royal Commonwealth Society Library, James Carmichael Smith Collection. Europeans resided in the exclusive suburb, Hill Station, located well above the frenetic African city and the photographer traveled to their homes to make portraits. The African included in the photograph is most likely the household servant.

Figure 7 Alphonso Lisk-Carew, *Natives Dressed for the Dance of the Bundoo Devils*, southern Sierra Leone, c. 1905-1910. Many of Lisk-Carew's photographs have considerable historical importance. Some depict features of life in Sierra Leone that have disappeared. This image documents traditional dance of the women of the Mende people. T.J. Alldridge, an Englishman, was the first to photograph this ritual dance (Alldridge 1901 opp. p. 60) but Lisk-Carew's photographs of the same subject were made only about ten years later and are both compositionally and technically more sophisticated.

to turn the business over to his sons.

Johnston's photographs are preserved in archives in London and in private collections in Freetown. Dating from the 1880s to about 1910, they cover such subjects as baby pictures, group portraits, and the 1910 visit of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, which was the social event of that year in Freetown. All his photographs show a consistent high quality in terms of artistic composition and technical execution.

The work of one photographer appears frequently in archival collections from the period just before World War I. The photographer, Alphonso Lisk-Carew, was born in Freetown in 1887.[6] When he was eighteen he opened his first photographic studio, probably after serving an apprenticeship in another Freetown studio. Lisk-Carew was active in the Creole community, devoting much time and energy to his church, to Freetown politics, and to entreprenurial ventures that included such activities as selling photographic supplies and bicycles.

The Lisk-Carew photography studio was a great success. An early albumen print shows his large two-story studio with framed photographs displayed on the open doors and a large sign advertising his business. His photographic output was extensive and diverse. Studio portraits of Creoles and expatriates are found alongside images of African life and landscapes. His zeal for photographing Freetown is especially evident in image after image of urban panoramas, the harbor, markets, bicycle tracks, and numerous other urban scenes. His early images are albumen prints made in the 8 x 10 inch format, although he did produce a series of landscapes and Freetown harbor views with a panoramic camera.

The photographs made by Lisk-Carew present a wide variety of vantage points and compositions. At times he fills the entire frame with a building, mountain, or waterfall. Other photos are wide-angle shots with the main subject off-center. When the Duke and Duchess of Connaught visited Freetown in 1910, Lisk-Carew was appointed the official photographer. He documented all aspects of the tour from public parties and military inspections to garden teas in the exclusive British residences above the city His work was rewarded with the royal recommendation and patent. From then until his studio closed in the late 1950s, his photographs and postcards were stamped with the royal coat of arms and read "Patronized by HRH The Duke of Connaught."

Figure 8. Lisk-Carew Bros, *Studio Portrait of Young Men*, Freetown, c. 1918. Private collection. Backdrops such as that used here became less popular with patrons after WWI, replaced by backdrops made of homespun cloth, tie-dye damask, woven mats or canvas painted with scenes from Freetown.

Figure 9. Photographer unknown, *Women in African Dress*, Freetown, c. 1950. The end of European control in West Africa resulted in a revived interest in traditional African culture. Backdrops were now made locally and patrons began to prefer portraits in traditional African dress.

Alphonso Lisk-Carew's active business benefited from the support of his large Creole family Around 1914 the stamp on his photographs was changed to read "Lisk-Carew Brothers," recognizing the assistance of his younger brother Arthur. Alphonso Lisk-Carew became the most well-known photographer in Sierra Leone; his work is represented in a number of archives and his reputation has extended even to the present.

Alphonso Lisk-Carew's career was the nexus between the Freetown photographers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The two world wars, the changing relationship between Sierra Leone and its colonial rulers, and national independence in 1961 all helped to highlight Sierra Leone's African cultural heritage. Africans migrated from the Sierra Leonean countryside and other West African countries to live and work in the city, and Freetown was no longer dominated by the Creoles. Although photography studios proliferated in the capital city their owners were no longer exclusively Creole but were often immigrants from Nigeria who wanted to replicate the success of studios in the rapidly growing capital of Lagos. No longer family-owned businesses, studios frequently changed owners.

Although the materials and equipment used by local photographers continued to be of western design and manufacture, the aesthetics of the photographic image began to be dictated by local African styles. Studio backdrops were no longer painted to imitate European parlors or street scenes, but were now local artists' paintings of Freetown, of village scenes, or perhaps of mosques. Locally made cloth, traditional tie-dye fabrics, and woven mats became popular backgrounds for studio photographs. The concept of what made a good formal photograph was

Figure 10. Daramola Photography Studio, *Son of Africa*, Freetown, 1970s. The exhilaration of independence from Great Britain combined with the growing pan-African movement reinforced the importance of African culture and heritage. Imposing portraits onto maps of one's country or the continent of Africa are still popular portrait motifs today.

no longer based on formal European poses, but instead on local styles, which might employ double-exposure or split imaging. Indeed, even today, when Sierra Leone is suffering severe economic hardship, the photographic trade remains vital as Sierra Leonean photographers constantly devise new styles to please their patrons and challenge their competitors.

This article presents only an overview of the long African photographic tradition in Freetown. From 1850 until about 1980, Freetown photographers acquired skill and knowledge of photographic processes equal to that in Europe and America. Although these earlier photographers did not develop a photographic vision that could be regarded as distinctly African or Sierra Leonean, they did build the foundations for a true African photography that has emerged in the last few decades.

Endnotes

1 An earlier version of this article, "Photography in Sierra Leone, 1850-1918," appeared in *Africa* 57:4 (1987). For information on other non-Western photography, see Judith Maria Gutman, *Through Indian Eyes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Clark Worswick, *Imperial China Photographs, 1850-1912* (New York: Penwick/Crown Books, 1978); Clark Worswick, *Japan Photographs, 1854-1905* (New York: Random House, 1979); Clark Worswick, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India, 1855-1911* (Millerton, NY: Aperture, 1976).
For pioneering work on African photography, see Christraud M. Geary, *Images from Bamum: German Colonial Photography at the Court of King Njoya, Cameroon, West Africa, 1902-1915* (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988); and Stephen Sprague, "Yoruba Photography: How Yoruba See Themselves," *African Arts* 12:1 (Nov. 1978), pp. 52-9.

2 Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 459. For a detailed analysis of Creole culture and history, see Author Porter, *Creoledom: A Study of the Development of Freetown Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963); and Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone: Responses to Colonialism, 1870-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974).

3 A.D. Bensusan, *Silver Images: History of Photography in Africa* (Cape Town: Howard Timmons, 1966), p. 9.

4 Martin Robinson Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored Peoples of the United States* (1852), p. 126.

5 See, for example, *The Watchman*, Oct. 25, 1881, Dec. 21, 1881, and Aug. 16, 1886; *The Sierra Leone Weekly News*, Sept. 6, 1884, June 6, 1885, Dec. 19, 1885 and Aug. 10, 1889; *The Methodist Herald*, Dec. 23, 1885; and *The Sierra Leone Times*, May 6, 1893. Copies of these papers may be found at the British Newspaper Library, Colindale Avenue, London.

6 My information on the life and career of Alphonso Lisk-Carew comes from two sources: Allister Macmillan, ed., *The Red Book of West Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1st pub. 1920, 1968), p. 267; and the *Catalogue Exhibition of Sierra Leoneona, 1895-1970* (University of Sierra Leone, 1970). Copies of this catalogue are in the pamphlet collection on Sierra Leone at the Indiana University Library, Bloomington, and at the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. For further information on his career, see Vera Viditz-Ward, "Alphonso Lisk-Carew, Creole Photographer," *African Arts* 19:1 (Nov. 1985), pp. 46-51.

Interpreting the Balance of Power: A Case Study of Photographer and Subject in Images of Native Americans

Victoria Wyatt

Very few primary sources pertaining to the history of native North American peoples reflect native experiences in native voices. Most written sources were left by non-native observers who wrote with specific motivations from vantage points outside the native cultures. Ethnohistorical photographs—which were generally taken by non-native photographers for non-native audiences—are no exception, and much has been written about their potential to misrepresent and misinform.[1]

However, historical photographs were by no means the sole creation of the photographers. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most photographers lacked the technology or the opportunity to take candid photographs of Indians. Almost always the native subjects knew the photographer was present, and usually the photograph could be taken only with the passive acquiescence or active cooperation of the subjects.[2] The image that resulted reflects an interaction between the photographer and the subjects. By being present in the image, native subjects always influenced the image to some degree—and that influence could be substantial. When we identify photographs that reflect such influence, we add to the small number of known historical sources that permit native voices to speak for themselves.

This discussion presents a case study of ways to examine images for insight into this interaction between photographer and subject. It gives background information on the Winter and Pond Collection on which the case study is based, and then explores questions about the motivations of the photographers and investigates the photographs' authenticity in the context of the art work that appears in the photographs. It compares photographs made for the private use of the native subjects with those made for commercial purposes, and examines the influence that native subjects may have had in determining the construction of the photographs. Finally, it emphasizes the value of analyzing individual photographs in the context of an entire collection.

The photographs discussed here come from a single collection at the Alaska State Library in Juneau, Alaska, which is a substantial portion of the opus of the photographers Lloyd Winter and Percy Pond in southeast Alaska.[3] Winter and Pond opened their commercial photography studio in Juneau in 1893 and operated it for fifty years. Most of the images reproduced here date from the studio's first two decades, in the heyday of its business.

Winter and Pond photographed a broad range of subjects. Their clients were local residents, tourists who traveled to Alaska during the summer on steamships, and mail-order customers who bought photographs sight unseen from a listing of titles. About 400 of the 4,700 images relate to native Alaskans: primarily Tlingit and Haida Indians, their villages and art. This body represents one of the largest and most valuable collections of ethnohistorical photographs of Northwest Coast Indians, but it is less than 10 percent of the Winter and Pond collection. The photographers by no means specialized in photographing Native Americans. The majority of the collection's negatives record other scenes: local town landmarks and holiday celebrations; portraits commissioned by town residents; scenic views; ships and shipwrecks; photographs of industrial equipment and mines commissioned by local mining concerns; even a few gold rush images. Although clearly interested in Indians, Winter and Pond did not style themselves as Indian photographers and they were certainly not attempting to create scientific or ethnographic documentation.

Winter and Pond took photographs in their

Figure 1 PCA 87–294, Alaska State Library.

Figure 2. PCA 87–39, Alaska State Library.

studio when feasible, presumably to control the lighting conditions. Even some images they could have obtained outdoors without staging— such as views of Tlingit women selling art to tourists—they chose to recreate indoors under more controlled circumstances. However, they also owned their own boat, the Photo Friday, and used it to reach remote outdoor locations in southeast Alaska. As active, year-round residents of Juneau, they had photographic opportunities unavailable to itinerant photographers who traveled to the region on steamships in the summers.

Winter and Pond did not leave documentation about the photographs they took, except for the captions on the negatives and some printing notations on the original negative sleeves. Nevertheless, the Winter and Pond Collection lends itself well to analysis of the attitudes of photographers and subjects. A fairly comprehensive ethnographic and historical literature on Indians in southeast Alaska provides context, and this collection offers a rare opportunity to study some 400 images of Indians taken by the same photographers over 20 years. When such an extensive sample exists, patterns—or just as significantly, the absence of patterns—may become apparent.

Such patterns afford glimpses into the motivations of the photographers and the native subjects at the moment their lives converged with the camera between them. They may also hint at the amount of control each party exercised in the creation of the image. Did the photographers or subjects have a preferred "stereotype" they repeatedly tried to portray in the images? How did the native subjects feel about the art work displayed—and about their own cultural heritage? In short, who is responsible for the "image of the Indian" that is recorded in the photographs—the image that reached contemporary audiences and that is preserved for us today? For most of these questions, definitive answers will be elusive, but by looking at single images in the context of the collection, we may gain sufficient evidence for responsible speculation.

The Winter and Pond photographs are remarkable for their striking diversity Winter and Pond photographed Indians both in their studio and in villages, but the tremendous variety in their images is due to more than differences in location: the intended audience is of greater significance.

Most of the images of Indians in the Winter and Pond collection appear to have been made to sell to a non-native audience. Some Indians, like many Caucasians, commissioned portraits, and a few images in the collection clearly were made only for the subject and were not circulated commercially but they were the exception. When captions are written on the negative—often with identification numbers—the image was almost certainly made to be sold publicly, although the subject may have been provided with a copy of the photograph. Even when those captions are absent, it is still possible the image was created with marketing in mind.

The captioned portraits fall loosely into two categories: Indians in Euro-American clothing with no visual reference to their native heritage, and Indians wearing ceremonial regalia. The images of Indians in Euro-American clothing were taken both in the studio and outdoors. By 1900, Indians in southeast Alaska had been wearing such clothes for at least a quarter century—and in some places much longer—so it is not surprising that so many appear in the photographs with no sign of "traditional" or "ethnic" dress.[4] What is significant is that Winter and Pond apparently felt the images would sell even without any clothing, art, or other hallmarks of native tradition. They emphasized the native heritage of the subjects in the captions, where the words "Native" or "Indian" appear liberally Such generic identification was much more important to the photographers than recording personal names.

There are a number of possible interpretations of this practice. Because the technology precluded most candid shots, the subjects' cooperation was essential to a successful photograph. The negatives that exist may not reflect Winter and Pond's preferences had they been the only ones making the choice.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the tourists on the steamships were not yet regularly carrying their own Brownie cameras. They relied on professional photographers for their photographic souvenirs. Travelers encountered Indians in ordinary street clothes; if they had expected anachronistic dress, more realistic impressions were formed by the time they reached Juneau. Winter and Pond may have found tourists most receptive to images that reflected commonplace scenes.

Figure 3. PCA 87–67 Alaska State Library.

This is not to say that Winter and Pond never supplied props to their Indian subjects. Several of the images show women wearing robes made of many small ground squirrel or marmot furs (Fig. 1). While some Indians still owned the robes in Winter and Pond's time (and some still do today), they probably did not normally wear such robes on the streets of Juneau as some of the posed images suggest.[5] By 1881, the robes were "being crowded out by the woolen blanket," according to geographer Aurel Krause.[6] Winter and Pond owned at least one of these robes, for one appears in an undated photograph of the

Figure 4. PCA 87–258, Alaska State Library.

Figure 5. PCA 87–250, Alaska State Library.

interior of their studio, and one, draped over a tree section, appears in a photograph of a man displaying a ceremonial blanket (Fig. 2). The photographers probably supplied at least some of the fur robes that appear in their images.

However, this does not necessarily constitute an attempt to recreate an anachronistic image of Indians, and it certainly does not suggest an attempt to obliterate evidence of European influence. No effort was made to hide the fact that the Indians wore regular street clothes under the robes. Winter and Pond probably included the robes because, as artists, they sought to engender a rustic or even "primitive" ambiance, not to pretend Indians wore no European clothes. Similarly, Winter and Pond used a tree section as a prop in several images of Indians (Fig. 3). This same tree section appears in a few images that Winter and Pond took of non-native men dressed in hunting clothes. Apparently, they included it in their images when they seemed to want to allude to a rustic or outdoors atmosphere—something they felt was appropriate in images of Indians. The tree section, like the fur robes, was supplied to add atmosphere and not to obfuscate.

In fact, there are only a few portraits in the extant collection of negatives that do not show European clothing, and these all depict Skundoo, a practicing ixt or shaman. In one image Skundoo displays rattles and art work; in another scene he is shown treating an ostensibly ill patient. In Figure 4, Skundoo wears a leather ixt apron with Chinese coins dangling from the fringe, a belt with amulets, and an ixt necklace. He wears a headdress and holds a rattle in each hand, while a painted drum, some Chilkat weaving, and other art works are displayed on the floor in front of him.

It is not clear whether Winter and Pond or Skundoo made the decisions about costume. What is clear is that all the images of other men Winter and Pond called "Doctor" or "Medicine Man" show evidence of European clothing. For example, the "Wrangell Medicine Man"(Fig. 5) wears a wig symbolizing the long hair that was related to an ixt's

Figure 6. PCA 87–20, Alaska State Library.

power.[7] Yet along with an apron with dentalia shells and puffin beaks, he wears a European-style shirt.

In addition to commercial images that show Indians in street clothes, Winter and Pond circulated many images of Indians wearing ceremonial regalia. In the studio, these regalia were limited to spectacular garments rather than masks and headdresses.[8] The man in Figure 2 poses wearing a Chilkat dancing blanket, holding it out to display its pattern and fringe to full advantage. In an image labeled "Wife of Chilcat Chief, Alaska," a woman sits for her portrait in the studio with a ceremonial button blanket pinned at the neck and draped gracefully over her shoulders. In these images and many others, European clothes also show clearly

Winter and Pond's outdoor portraits of Indians in ceremonial garb show people wearing masks and wooden headdresses as well as Chilkat weaving and button blankets. These images were generally taken on location in the villages where the subjects lived. The two best-known series were taken of a procession of Haida dancers in Klinkwan and on the occasion of a Chilkat Tlingit potlatch in Klukwan. The actual scenes in the Klinkwan images were almost certainly staged. Anthropologist Ronald Weber has suggested that the art works were worn by people who did not own the right to display those crests, which suggests that the images were not taken at the occasion of a real dance.[9] Many of the regalia were collected from the villagers by Charles Frederick Newcombe for the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago shortly after these images were made; therefore we know that Winter and Pond did not provide the costumes.

The images in the Klukwan series were almost certainly taken on the occasion of an actual potlatch. In Figure 6, dancers pause from their indoor activities to come outdoors for their portrait. The men in the foreground are clearly striking dramatic poses for the camera, but in the background, dancers and singers turn from the camera and give their attention to their own activities. Again, the art work clearly belonged to the dancers and not to Winter and Pond; many of the items were later collected from Klukwan for museums and are well documented.

Even when Winter and Pond photographed Indians at potlatches, European clothes figure prominently in their images. The potlatch dancers donned their full potlatch regalia over European clothes. Vests and ties are evident, suggesting that the wearers may even have chosen particularly dressy European attire for the occasion. When these dancers participated in their time-honored ceremonies, they were not trying

Figure 7 PCA 87–303, Alaska State Library.

Figure 8. PCA 87–198, Alaska State Library.

to construct literal reenactments of the potlatches of their forebears. Rather, their dances had living meaning to them; they did not need to eliminate evidence of their contemporary dress in order to find that meaning. Since all potlatch images show European clothes, it is likely that Winter and Pond did not ask people to remove this evidence.

Although museum documentation suggests that Winter and Pond did not supply the art that appears in their images of potlatches, some photographers of American Indians did supply props in order to craft a certain image. An examination of this practice provides insight into the balance of power between subjects and photographers in influencing the construction of the image. Evidence of this kind of manipulation rarely comes to light through looking at a single image unless the clothing being worn is extremely inappropriate to the culture of the subject. More often, such evidence surfaces when many images by the same photographer can be compared for patterns. If the same works of art appear repeatedly, worn by different individuals, in photographs taken at different times and places, the photographer probably supplied the art work.

The same art is not used repeatedly in the photographs of Winter and Pond, and art that they definitely did own does not appear. They ran a "curio shop" from which they sold native art to tourists, so they regularly purchased art work from Indians. Interior views of their shop show spectacular examples of art they could have chosen in posing their subjects. It is quite likely that the native subjects would have declined to display crests and regalia they did not own. As resident photographers, Winter and Pond needed to avoid posing subjects in ways that might jeopardize their friendship.

There is a striking difference between the images of Indians wearing ceremonial art taken in the studio and images taken in the villages. Wooden masks, frontlets, and helmets abound in the images taken in the villages, but only blankets, tunics, and articles of clothing appear in the negatives made in

Winter and Pond's Juneau studio.

In the villages, Winter and Pond came to the art work, but art work photographed in their studio apparently was brought to them. The evidence suggests that Indians chose to bring only ceremonial garments. Perhaps it was not appropriate to display masks and frontlets out of context in the studio; equally likely, Indians may not have wanted to travel with their more cumbersome and fragile art works. In either case, this pattern in the collection strongly suggests evidence of native choice that influenced the images.

As noted above, Winter and Pond's commercial portraits of Indians showed them wearing either street clothes with no art work or ceremonial or shamanic art over European clothes. In both instances, with a few exceptions, their street clothes show signs of wear and the people do not seem prosperous. Indians were at the low end of the pay scale in Caucasian-run industries, and had suffered tremendous social disruption as a result of white settlement. Even Indians who came from high-ranking classes in their own society suffered economically; in Figure 7, the two women wear lip plugs, a sign of high rank, but their clothes are old and patched.[10]

The images discussed above were intended for Caucasian audiences. In addition to portraits taken for public consumption, negatives in the Winter and Pond collection appear to have been made exclusively for the native subjects or their families. These private images lack captions and catalog numbers, and they are not inferior versions of scenes that were circulated. They resemble similar portraits of Caucasians that were made for private use, and they almost certainly were distributed only to the subject.

Different patterns emerge from a study of the private photographs. In vivid contrast to the commercial images—and practically without exception—the images that appear to have been made for private use show subjects dressed in elegant European clothes that were presumably quite expensive. In Figure 8, a young woman stands in a fine dress, her hair styled and her arm resting on a fence prop in accordance with the portraiture conventions of the time. In Figure 9, Winter and Pond apparently went to the home of their subject. He wears stately and prestigious European-style clothes, and poses before spectacular and equally prestigious ceremonial art.

Figure 9. PCA 87–204, Alaska State Library.

From these images, it appears that the Indians who had their portraits taken for private purposes were more prosperous than most who appeared in the commercial images. There is no documentation of Winter and Pond's fees, but their contemporary Edward de Groff of Sitka, is known to have charged Indians for taking their portraits.[11] Unless Winter and Pond were donating services to maintain good relations with Indians, they probably charged Indians for private portraits just as they charged whites.

Less is known about the financial arrangements for the commercial portraits. Caucasian audiences rarely saw images of Indians who looked prosperous in European terms. To the extent that Victorian audiences equated prosperity with sophistication, the Winter and Pond photographs could be viewed as a deliberate attempt to profit from the stereotype of Indians as "primitive." More likely, Winter and Pond paid some subjects to pose, therefore attracting less affluent Indians than those who commissioned private portraits.

Figure 10. PCA 87–313, Alaska State Library.

Figure 11 PCA 87–7 Alaska State Library.

The financial incentive to pose created more latitude for Winter and Pond to determine the composition and content of the photographs. Examples are the several commercial images of women sitting on or near the floor surrounded by small carvings, baskets and other art works, as if offering them for sale to steamship tourists (Figs. 1, 10). Among the private portraits, there are no images reproducing a specific scene in this way

Once, ethnohistorical images were viewed by scholars as ethnographic documents, rather than as products of artistic expression. Recent scholarship has emphasized the great extent to which photographers manipulate "reality "[12] Little attention has been paid to the input of the subjects themselves: the implicit assumption has been that the photographer controlled the entire choreography, arranging the native subjects in much the same way as inanimate props.

The Winter and Pond photographs suggest that, at least in this collection, the native subjects contributed considerably to the content of the images. Photographic illustrations were no mystery to Indians in southeast Alaska by the 1890s. Many Indians there had had considerable contact with missionaries or had seen newspapers or magazines that included drawings and photographs. Those passing the Winter and Pond studio in Juneau had certainly seen the photographs in their shop. The subjects who posed in front of Winter and Pond's camera clearly understood what the product would be, and could choose to affect it creatively

Some of the images show evidence of subtle humor based on deliberate misrepresentations of native culture. One of the most striking examples is Figure 11, showing twelve Tlingit men and boys posing in front of the house of Yeilgooxu (George Shotridge) in Klukwan around 1895. On the far right of the image, a young man wears a ceremonial spruce root hat with nine prestigious status rings. On the far left of the photograph, a boy wears what appears to be a similar spruce root hat. However, closer inspection reveals it to be the cover that protected the hat in storage; it was never intended to be worn.

Additional oddities appear in other photographs taken in Klukwan. In Figure 12 a young man emerges from the hole in a dance screen picture in the

Figure 12. PCA 87–13, Alaska State Library.

collection wearing an impressive fringed legging around his neck; and in another a man wears a painted leather wing—part of a bird costume—around his neck. Such anomalies definitely suggest one thing: Winter and Pond were not tremendously concerned with ethnographic accuracy They may not have noticed the difference between a hat and a hat cover, but they certainly knew that leggings and wings were not characteristically worn around the neck.

The question remains—why do these incongruities appear? Since the art was owned and used by the Indians, it seems likely that they themselves often chose the display In addition to rejecting poses they disliked, they probably also influenced content through creative expression.

Analyzing an entire collection of photographs, and comparing individual images within that collection, will provide information about their content that is unavailable by studying each image alone. To illustrate, in Figure 9, a non-commercial photograph, a man poses wearing a suit and tie and holding a Caucasian-style cane. He stands near a framed painting that appears European, while a bronze U.S. eagle and a U.S. flag adorn the table behind him. In addition, the image includes three Chilkat dancing blankets and a ceremonial frontlet.

Viewed in isolation, this photograph does not give conclusive indication of what the Native art means to the man. If he chose to have it in the photograph, this might suggest that he still holds his traditional art in high regard. However, it is also possible that the photographers asked him to include the art work in order to make an effective visual composition.

This question may be answered in the context of other works in the collection. Another image, taken some years later, shows this same man lying in state (Fig. 13). On his forehead, prominently displayed, is the same frontlet that appeared in the earlier photograph. By Tlingit custom, when high-ranking people died, their bodies were displayed for several days surrounded by prized ceremonial possessions. The lying-in-state image allows us to conclude that the man greatly valued the frontlet, and to postulate that he chose to pose with it in the earlier portrait. Together, the two photographs tell us that while assuming European dress and decorating his home with European art, this man retained pride in his ethnic identity

While it is not always possible to analyze photographic images in the context of a larger collection, comparing such images to other visual expressions can also be productive. For instance, there are striking similarities between the lying-in- state photograph referred to above and a drawing of a lying-in-

Figure 13. PCA 87–267 Alaska State Library.

Figure 14. Photograph courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California/Berkeley, reproduced from *Soft Gold*.

state ceremony for the Tlingit leader Kukhan-Tan, drawn by the Russian zoologist Ilia Voznesenskii when he visited Sitka in the 1840s.[13] The sketch shows a ceremonial frontlet positioned like that on the forehead of the deceased in the photograph. Ceremonial blankets are prominent both in the sketch and in the photograph image made over half a century later. The comparison cannot speak about the significance of the ceremony, but it does reveal that at least the visual presentation had changed little despite 60 years of upheaval in the lives of the Indians.

Other comparisons between photographs and sketches yield equally intriguing evidence of continuities. About 1805, George H. von Langsdorff, a German botanist traveling with a Russian expedition, sketched Tlingit Indians dancing in Sitka (Fig. 14). He wrote, "In their hands they each hold a tail of the white-headed eagle," and he illustrated those feather fans in his drawing.[14] These dancers also wear feathers on their heads, and von Langsdorff reported that some of them had their heads "powdered with the small down feathers of the white-headed eagle."

Ninety-five years later, Winter and Pond photographed Tlingit Indians on the occasion of a potlatch in Klukwan. In several different scenes, they too, waved white eagle feather fans (Fig. 6). Some wear feathers on their heads, while others incorporated fuschia-colored feather dusters into headdresses.[15] Again it is apparent that this practice survived, at least in some form, through a century of change.

Comparing ethnohistorical photographs with other sources— written, visual, and oral—is fundamental to evaluating their significance as records. These images document material culture and make suggestions about attitudes, values, the experiences of minorities, and enduring ethnic identity When viewed in context, they present us with a highly poignant record of human experience that is not available in written documentation alone. Often the images raise more questions that they answer, for they speak about aspects of life that are not easily measured and labeled. In leading us to think about these questions, they attain their highest merit as historical documents.

Despite this value, Winter and Pond's work will never be famous. They participated with commitment and enthusiasm in community affairs in Juneau but were not aggressively self- promoting in a wider sphere: while they contracted with the New York

agency Underwood & Underwood to market their photographs nationally, their main focus always remained local. They were technically excellent photographers whose images reflect much thought and creativity, but in this they are no different from the many other fine commercial photographers practicing in North America at the time.

The great importance of their work lies not in the aesthetic power of each individual image—although often substantial—but rather in their role as documentarians of a changing frontier. Winter and Pond acted as conduits through which some of this history has been preserved. In the process, their native subjects exercised some influence over the representations—and thus, over the historical records available today

In research it is tempting to pass by somewhat obscure regional collections in favor of those with more name recognition. However, used responsibly, these lesser-known collections can do much to illuminate understanding of the past. The above case study has suggested ways in which one such regional collection offers valuable contributions to historical understanding. There are many more throughout the continent waiting to be investigated.

Winter and Pond Photographs Figs. 1-13 are reproduced courtesy of the Alaska State Library, Juneau.

Endnotes

1 See, for instance, Christopher M. Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (Washington, D.C.. Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982); and Bill Holm "The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions," *American Indian Art Magazine* 2:3 (Summer 1983), pp. 68-73. Paula Richardson Fleming and Judith Luskey provide a more neutral discussion of the motivations of various photographers in *The North American Indians in Early Photographs* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986).

2 Articles that refer to relationships between native subjects and non-native photographers include Margaret B. Blackman, "Copying People: Northwest Coast Native Responses to Early Photography," *B.C. Studies* 52, (Winter 1981/82), pp. 86-108; Joanna Scherer, "The Public faces of Sarah Winnemucca," *Cultural Anthropology*, 3:2 (May 1988), pp. 178-204; and Carolyn J. Marr, "Taken Pictures: on Interpreting Native American Photographs of the Southern Northwest Coast," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (April 1989), pp. 52-61.

3 Through the generosity of a private donor, the Alaska State Library is fortunate to own 4,700 glass plate and nitrate negatives from Winter and Pond. The images of Indians in the Winter and Pond Collection are documented in Victoria Wyatt, *Images from the Inside Passage: An Alaskan Portrait by Winter and Pond* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1989).

4 Aurel Krause, *The Tlingit Indians: Results of a Trip to the Northwest Coast of America and the Bering Straits*, trans. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), p. 101, Frederick W Seward, "Eclipse at Chilkat," *Alaska Journal* 2:1 (1973), pp. 18-20.

5 Bill Holm, personal communication (June 1988).

6 Krause, *The Tlingit Indians*, p. 101.

7 The unusual carving the man is holding is now in the collection of the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State, University of Washington in Seattle, Washington.

8 Included among the negatives is a series of the Tlingit leader Anaatlaas wearing a ceremonial frontlet in a studio, but these images closely resemble a series taken by the photographic team of William H. Case and Herbert Draper, and cannot be definitely identified as Winter and Pond images. The collection contains some negatives of photographs that were actually taken by the Yakutat photographer Fhoki Kayamori. It is not clear whether the negatives were acquired by Winter and Pond, or whether they were inadvertently mixed in after the collection left the studio.

9 See Ronald L. Weber, "Photographs as Ethnographic Documents," *Arctic Anthropology* 22:1 (1985), pp. 67-78.

10 This incongruity was pointed out to me by an anonymous native consultant (August 18, 1987).

11 The *Alaskan* (Sitka, Alaska; April 2, 1897).

12 An example of this criticism is Christopher M. Lyman's *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions*. As noted above, Bill Holm persuasively discredits many of Lyman's criticisms in his review of Lyman's book.

13 See also Thomas Vaughan and Bill Holm, *Soft Gold: The Fur Trade and Cultural Exchange on the Northwest Coast of America* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1982), p. 247

14 On this image, see also John Frazier Henry, *Early Maritime Artists of the Pacific Northwest Coast 1741-1841* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), p. 29. This drawing is also reproduced and discussed in Vaughan and Holm, *Soft Gold*, pp. 234-235.

15 The color has been determined from like examples in museums.

POPULAR EDUCATION AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE NON-INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD, 1885-1915

Keith McElroy

...at any given moment the accepted report of an event is of greater importance than the event, for what we think about and act upon is the symbolic report and not the concrete event itself.

William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communications*, 1953

Of all professional and amateur photographic imagery, geographic and ethnographic photography, which has yet to be systematically treated by historians of photography, comes closest to revealing the essence of the era of international imperialism (1885-1915). Unlike earlier periods of colonialism, this period saw the advent of new practical systems of photomechanical reproduction which permitted the public to share a sense of participation in imperialist activities through an explosion of profusely illustrated popular publications. The information patterns invented at the turn of the century remain part of the perceptions held in common by both industrialized-and non-industrialized peoples. Our inadequate understanding and lack of theoretical tools for dealing with these images, and the secondary manipulations which used them to shape our shared vision, is a continuing threat to understanding in a world community locked in the consequences of the imperialist competition.

The semantic ambiguity of the term imperialism makes its use potentially confusing, since depending on the reader's ideological allegiance or scholarly tradition, it can have widely divergent denotative and connotative meanings. In this article, imperialism denotes a late 19th and early 20th century economic and political system used by the industrialized nations to exploit the peoples and resources of non-industrialized areas of the colonial world.[1]

The concern here is not with why but with how photographs of the non-industrialized world were manipulated by interests in the industrialized nations to produce a vision reduced to terms of race (labor) and commodities. This article will focus on public education, which was of particular concern to those who advocated these new perceptions. While the relationships with different portions of that exploited area during this period were diverse and constantly evolving, the portrayal of the third world in this category of photography had a remarkable homogeneity Fortunately for this analysis, writers of the period were often blatant and unguarded about their motivations and the critics of imperialism were assertive and insightful. We can therefore take the various motives of the factions within the dominant cultures as stated and concentrate instead on how they adapted photographs to their purposes, especially through systematic secondary usages. Despite irreconcilable differences in perspectives, in the industrialized nations a unified vision prevailed, apparently shared by conservatives and reformers, Social Darwinists and missionaries, capitalists and socialists, management and labor, the social elite and the urban masses, imperialists and anti-imperialists. In the absence of an available alternative, it survived to haunt our own era.

During the 19th century visual conventions derived from photography became linked to the concept of scientific accuracy and thus to the expectations of the educated classes. Spreading quickly via maritime trade routes, photography became an international medium and system of representation from its first years of existence. Shifting visual conventions

mirrored the evolution of such social sciences as anthropology, which made increasing use of these new photographic qualities as tools of study and description. The illustrations in 19th century texts on science and travel evolved from self-contained narrative drawings rendered directly from nature to fragments of reality taken directly from photographs. They simultaneously became less narrative and yet more reliable as accurate information.

Standard histories of the photographic medium, both those written from the modernist fine art point of view and those of social history, have avoided this enormous body of work while concentrating on art photography, photo-journalism, and social documentation. For all its pretentions the art photography of the imperialist era was aesthetically derivative and elitist; photo-journalism was just then establishing its place and trying with limited success to cast largely non-visual news events into still images. Such histories have been heavily influenced by the self-interests of publishers and corporate journalism and, within art, by the legacy of modernism, which viewed things other than "pure" formalism as tainted by commercialism. In recent years, when the photographic establishment has paid any attention to imperialist images, it has carefully selected them based on formal qualities, decontextualized them, and presented them as "pure" art. This practice lends prestige to vintage prints as collectible commodities for the art market in the developed nations. Scholarship and publications have been embarassingly superficial. What has emerged has not been a significant understanding of imperialism or the cultural history of the societies portrayed, but rather a renewed form of exploitation of the colonial and neo-colonial world. The appeal is to a new exoticism, which is judged not by the visual qualities that originally made these images so successful as a tool for disseminating a cultural message but the degree to which individual prints conform to current aesthetic expectations which postdate their production. While rejecting this abuse, it is equally unacceptable to merely reuse these materials to illustrate some current socioeconomic position in the guise of visual history We should recognize and explain how these components of our tradition encapsulated and transmitted the central values of the dominant culture at the time. To do this we must view them in context and attempt to isolate the conceptual archetypes and the practical functions which dictated their appearance.

Figure 1 Franz Hanfstaegt, *Pithecanthropus Alalus*, c. 1894, 0.18 x 0.125, halftone after a painting, from Heinrich Driesmans, *Der mensch der urzeit*, Stuttgart: Berlag von Streder and Gchroder 1907 frontispiece.

Mass literacy was an important contributing factor to the intensified rivalry between industrialized nations during the late 19th century and to their competition for colonial and neo-colonial markets.[2] Educational reforms had created a vast market of literate but mostly unsophisticated people. Publishers rushed to issue inexpensive editions of many older works to meet the ever increasing demand for books, and a new popular literature became widely influential. Themes of exotic travels and romanticised imagery of white men in the colonies were common.[3] The rise of the illustrated press and "yellow journalism" reinforced this trend. Editors of these periodicals championed such popular causes as nationalism and imperialism. Domestic economic, social, and racial anxieties were

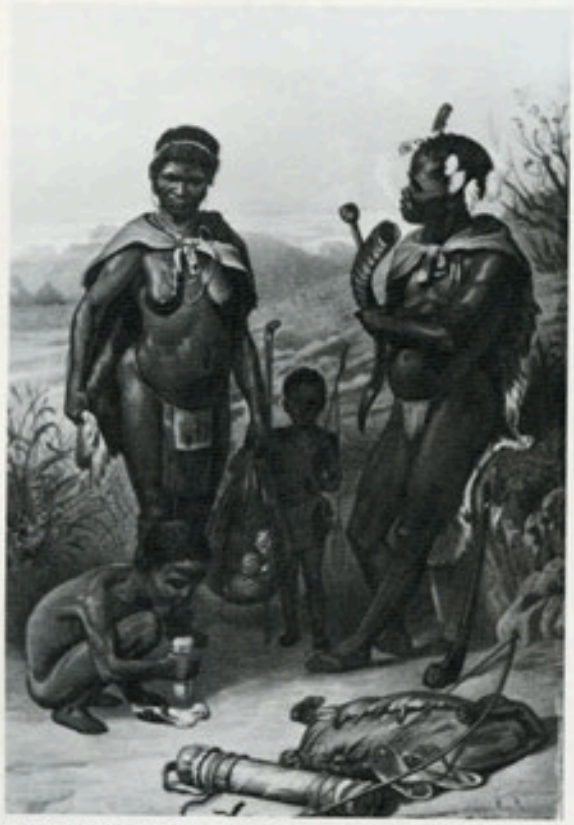


Figure 2. Anonymous, *A Bosjesman Family*, 1885, 0.20 x 0.13, chromolithograph, from Friedrich Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., II, 1896, frontispiece, trans. from Ratzel, *Volkerkund*, 1885-1888. Printed by Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig.

rechanneled and exploited by focusing attention on the undeveloped world. They profited from making colonial ventures a safe voyeuristic, spectator sport which served the needs of all classes.[4] Actions which would have been wholly unacceptable within the dominant society could be carried out literally or vicariously on the subordinate population.[5]

The period from 1985 to 1900 saw rapid changes in photographic and reproduction processes. Standardized manufactured photographic materials, as well as hand held cameras demystified professional photography and expanded the amateur market. Halftone relief printing became practical and economical, but most importantly, photographically illustrated books and periodicals became public expectations. By 1900 even full-color photographic illustrations using various techniques were not uncommon.

The nations competing for colonial markets and territories accumulated massive archives of photographs taken in the non-industrialized world, and proponents of imperialism were among the most astute users of photography and popular publications. Photographs had long been recognized by the British as important intelligence sources for governing their world empire, and photography was encouraged among military officers, missionaries, and colonial officials. Missionary societies and organizations promoting colonization were particularly interested in accumulating photographic materials for use in persuading the public to support their endeavors. These archives of public institutions and industries were the sources most frequently used by picture editors. Travelers and individual scholars frequently contributed to mass publications, and popular literature encouraged and instructed amateurs in how to make useable documentation.[6]

Germany was often seen in other nations by advocates of imperialism as a model of planned expansion, and it also set the standard in illustrated scientific books. During the thirty years after its unification, Germany went from owning no colonial territory to being the third largest empire and then back to zero at the end of World War I.[7] These were precisely the years during which the new systems of photomechanical reproduction matured and became part of the public expectation.

Critical to the successful administration of diverse ethnic populations was knowledge of the infrastructure, customs, and beliefs of each group, and the nature of intergroup conflicts. In colonialism knowledge translated into power and anthropology, especially ethnology, rapidly evolved in the 19th century from earlier eclectic compilations of curious anecdotes and bizarre artifacts to the systematic and objective research and presentation of information that was necessary for understanding every ethnic group contacted by European colonials. Thus anthropology became the science of colonialism.[8] A new geography, advanced especially in Germany, provided not only reliable maps but also detailed inventories of resources and potentially suitable uses.[9]

Social Darwinism was one of the most important and frequently invoked justifications for colonial and imperialist activities and had an appeal for all

social classes.[10] The European vision of human origins and the development of cultural institutions shifted from the Enlightenment's myth of the noble savages of a golden age portrayed with bodies derived from classical canons to the unsettling renderings of brute bestiality (Fig. 1). The importance of the new insights of evolutionary biology are apparent in the ape-like features of this new vision of the ancestral family grouping. As living fossils, individuals became specimens to be objectified for study The late 19th century sought a scientific explanation and definition for the previously ambiguous concept of race. Comparative side and front views of individuals thought to be characteristic of differing populations became a standard illustration category, reflecting the growing importance of anthropometrics. Like the biologists, the scientists of human culture searched for vestiges of earlier stages of human history among the surviving preindustrial societies.

Figure 3. Anonymous, *Jaqqa Sword-furbishers*, 1888, 0.12 x 0.13, woodengraving after a photograph by Dr Hans Meyer from Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, II, 1904, p. 526.

The illustrated ethnological anthology arose as a new model during these years.[11] An important early example is Professor Friedrich Ratzel's 1885 two-volume work, *The History of Mankind*, which was issued in various editions in Germany and elsewhere. Figure 2 shows the chromolithographic frontispiece, from the second English edition which used the 1,160 original plates described by publisher as "no mere book decorations."[12] Typical of the increasing concern for objectivity, the Ratzel text uses skillfully cut wood engravings which seek to faithfully reproduce the qualities of the original photographs, collected from a wide variety of sources. In contrast, the wood-engraved illustrations in earlier works on travel and ethnography had emphasized narrative devices even when based on photographic sources. Figure 3, a wood engraving of Jaqqa Sword-furbishers from Ratzel, demonstrates how accurately handmade plates could convey the peculiar qualities of the photographic original. The richness of the random detail and the exacting translation of the play of light are faithful to the source. In contrast to Figure 2 which is staged in a shallow space, these workmen occupy a convincing exterior setting and are not hierarchically arranged. The 1904 English edition added one photographic reproduction—a halftone plate showing a shrunken head in the collection of the British Museum alongside the original German woodcut illustration (Fig. 4). The juxtaposition is informative and demonstrates the limited range of middle values in most early halftones. Well executed woodengravings compared rather favorably

In illustrated compilations by Ratzel and his followers, pre-industrial peoples were presented in the context of their domestic and ceremonial material culture from a determinist viewpoint (Fig. 2 and Fig. 5).[13] Each person in Figure 2 represents a gender and age grade role which is related to the object the person is holding. The institution of the family is portrayed by grouping; technology was to be read in the ubiquitous still lifes of artifacts. Such carefully arranged still lifes and studies of local plants often stood alone as other categories of illustrations in works based on this formula. Figure 5 is typical of staged studio images of aborigines, complete with prop architecture and painted backgrounds, here convincingly translated by German illustrators into a wood engraving. Ratzel instructed his popular audience in how to read such images.[14] While photographs of exotic peoples had long been used as the basis for illustrations, the unromanticized photorealism of the Ratzel wood en-

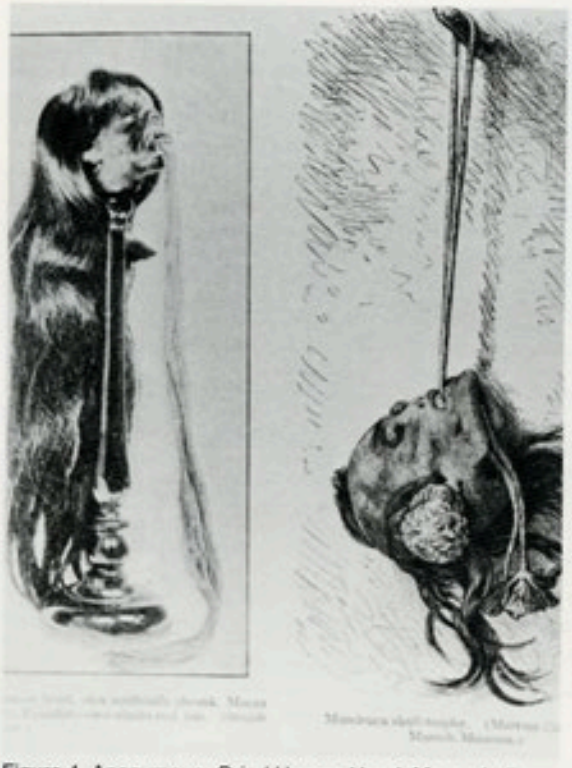


Figure 4. Anonymous, *Dried Human Head, Macas Indians, Ecuador,* c. 1904, 0.12 x 0.52, halftone, and *Mundrucu Skull-Trophy,* 1888, 0.13 x 0.6, woodengraving, from Ratzel, *The History of Mankind,* II, 1904, p. 138.

Figure 5. Anonymous, *New South Wales Women and Child,* c.1885, woodengraving after a photograph, 0.16 x 0.13, from Ratzel, *The History of Mankind,* I, 1896, p. 366.

gravings would have made them seem contemporary, progressive, and thus believable.

When halftone reproduction became practical, new ethnographic anthologies were issued. Figure 6 is an example of a family grouping after W Lindt of Melbourne, Australia. Lindt's work was frequently reproduced in this genre of literature. The artificiality of his photographic tableaux became apparent when the newer photomechanical technology permitted their direct reproduction. The textile floor covering and the flatness of the painted backdrop had not been apparent in the wood engravings derived from the photographs.[15] Anthologies were printed in numerous editions and translations, and illustrations were reused continually Publication depended heavily on scholarly and commercial picture archives, their credits appear beneath book and periodical illustrations with regularity The structure of such publications usually ordered the races by continents, with each group illustrated by the same general repertory of pictorial types. For example, H.N. Hutchinson's two-volume work *The Living Races of Mankind* contains nearly 650 photographs made over several decades and collected from various sources.

Despite the seemingly objective presentation of the information, such publications were not merely scientific catalogues. Hutchinson's introduction to this work clearly states its purpose as a tool of imperialist education. He observed that "until lately our relations with the rest of the world seemed so remote and accidental that colonial expansion was a fact for which statesmen were almost apologetic," but he noted, "a great change has now taken place." With "the rise of ... Imperial Spirit, we have begun to realize that the most promising fields of enterprise for our ever-increasing community, the profitable markets for our wares, may some day be found in places which are now the darkest corners of the earth," Hutchinson continued:

It is now perceived that, if we are to maintain a great Imperial policy and a lasting supremacy in trade, it must be through a better understanding of the needs and characteristics of the various peoples with whom we are brought in contact.... Everything should be done to popularize the study of ethnology;... Pictures, or wood engravings, may sometimes be prettier but they can never be so absolutely trustworthy as the products of the camera...such a collection of photographs from life—carefully selected...can never be entirely superseded.[16]

The illustrations which accompanied this frank statement are equally remarkable. The first was the portrait of an extravagantly dressed African male and the remaining three are human freaks. None of them is mentioned in the text but their presence certainly contains an encoded message of Social Darwinism. Human anomalies were widely regarded as vestiges of earlier evolutionary stages, and Krao, the Burmese hairy child, had been exhibited in London during the 1880s as just such a living "missing link" (Fig 7). Cartes-de-visite photographs of her were widely distributed. The disjuncture between text and illustrations was common to popular publications of imperialist propaganda and was in large part due to each being prepared by different individuals, but the syntax between the written and the visual, as here, is often important to the intention of the publisher. In these popular books it was the editor rather than the author or the photographer who ultimately controlled the message that reached-the public.[17]

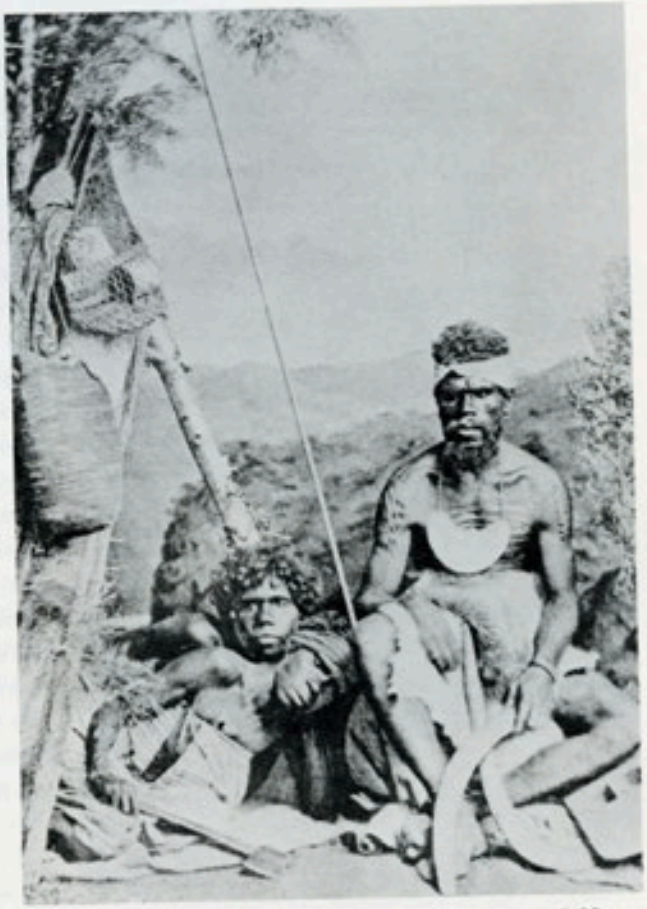


Figure 6. W Lindt, *A Native, with Wife and Mother*, n.d., 0.22 x 0.15, halftone, from H.N. Hutchinson et al., *Living Races of Mankind* (U.S. Edition), New York: The University Society, Inc, IV of the *Standard Library of Natural History*, 1906. p. 63.

The general public's desire for exotic pictures soon meant that the pretense of a scientific purpose could often be dispensed with altogether. Such publications are mere parodies of more serious works. The Australian family in Figure 8 was printed in violet ink and included in a collection suggestively titled *The Secret Museum of Mankind*.[18] The plates for this five-part series were reused from previous publications, as can be inferred from their cryptic captions. The arrangement of plates is unsystematic except as dictated by dimensions and layout requirements, and the chaos is increased by the use of four garish monochromatic colored inks for printing. Other publishers reached a mass audience by creating new formats such as the National Geographic Society magazine, which translated significant new research and exploration into language and, more importantly, pictures that were easily understood by nonspecialists.

The National Geographic Society of the United States was founded in 1888, and its journal, first issued in 1891, consisted of a scholarly report with few illustrations, all of which were physical geographic features. In 1896, at the suggestion of Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, the Society reoriented its publication to educate a popular audience and the

Figure 7 W. and D. Downey, *Krao*, n.d., 0.125 x 0.92, halftone, from H.N. Hutchinson et al., *Living Races of Mankind*, IV p. ii.

supply funds to support its activities. The rapid growth of circulation and the number of commercial advertisers it attracted demonstrated the appeal of its new formula. By 1912 there were 150,000 subscribers, and an annual income of $350,000.[19] The journal established a repertory of subjects and pictorial treatments early in its development and has remained relatively unchanged to the present. In 1896 a Zulu couple, the first of the "naked native" pictures that became standards of American pop-culture, appeared.[20] The title, a bride and bridegroom, is not merely factual information, but an indirect reference to their sexuality The inevitable voyeurism associated with such images in a strict puritanical society was commonly encouraged under the guise of science in all popular publication of the period. Polygamy, polyandry, harems, courtship, and marriage customs received constant attention in captions in many popular publications. The financial success and the blatant merchandizing by the National Geographical Society were both envied and criticized by similar bodies in other industrialized countries.

The National Geographic magazine's attitudes with regard to nationalism and imperialism were forthright. The first popularized issue noted that, "on this continent the rudiments of empire are... plastic yet and warm," a poetic reference to the persistent idea of the United States' Manifest Destiny The editors promised to supply "the latest and most authentic geographic intelligence concerning countries in which the people of the United States are now taking an exceedingly keen and friendly interest." They made reference to a particular concern for our economic future in Latin America, our "sister republics of the two Americas."[21] The Society's president, Gilbert H. Grosvenor, asserted that it was their ambition to "strive to make the study of geography more interesting in our schools and to the public at large," and he also set this into an international context:

> *Great Britain's success in acquiring the choicest portions of the globe is partially explained by the fact that her statesmen have usually kept a good map and secret reports of reliable explorers before them when a 'partition' or adjustment of boundaries was in progress; while the rapid development of Germany's foreign commerce in recent years emphasizes the truth that a knowledge of other nations and other peoples is as essential to the success of a nation nowadays as an understanding of other men is necessary to the success of the individual.*[22]

Thus Grosvenor clearly saw the mission of the journal as support for American imperialism, and in addition to supplying its readers with maps, the magazine was soon publishing more than 1,100 photographs per year.

A reexamination of women's roles in society and feminist issues also characterized the last decade of the 19th century in the industrialized nations. These issues were discussed within many disciplinary con-

texts. Social observers saw a direct link between colonial expansion and the changing roles of women.[23] The roles in colonialism for educated women from industrialized states were defined in such popular forms as a slide lecture entitled *Enlightened Women in Dark Lands*.[24] The roles of native women in colonial dependencies were described in books such as Otis Tufton Mason's *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, which used the format and the same types of illustration already established for photographic anthologies in ethnography [25] (Fig. 9). Mason's work and that of many other writers heavily depended on Dr. Heinrich Ploss's 1884 encyclopedic study, *Das weib in der natur und volkerkunde*.[26] Ploss systematically and in "scientific" fashion considered the physical and cultural nature of the human female, all of which was profusely illustrated with wood engravings from photographs. Within the redeeming context of a scientific study, images which would have otherwise been unacceptable were made widely available for inspection. An entire chapter with explicit illustrations examined the comparative anatomy of genitalia and another meticulously investigated types of breasts. The bare-breasted female was stock-in-trade for ethnographic photographers and has been widely discussed as evidence of the use of photography as an instrument of sexual aggression and exploitation. Ploss did devote considerable space to European women as well, in illustrations mostly derived from contemporary pornography! The caption of one such illustration of a woman, nude except for a small waist band and playing in a swing, simply identified her as Spanish. Spain was commonly perceived by more industrialized states in western Europe as part of the unindustrialized other. The obvious conclusion then was that the swing and corsette would be important ceremonial artifacts in that exotic culture below the Pyrenees.

In 1909 the anthology, *Women of All Nations* was issued in 24 biweekly parts. It promised subscribers "a feast of entertainment and instruction" on such subjects as woman's "evolution from the sexless age," "strange engagement ceremonies," "rituals," "kissing customs," "curious ideas of feminine modesty," "with comparisons of her status in savage tribes, under the harem system and in Western Civilization."[27] Figure 10 is almost identical to the first

Figure 8. Anonymous, *A "Blackfellow" and his Family Settled Down to Farming Life*, n.d., 0.185 x 0.125, halftone from Anonymous, *The Secret Museum of Mankind*, New York: Manhattan House, n.d., unpaginated.

National Geographic naked couple illustration. In the context of this suggestive anthology its erotic appeal becomes transparent. In each issue the last of the heavily illustrated chapters was cut off in the middle, making readers wait for the next two weeks to satisfy their curiosity For their female audience, such publications were patronizing in descriptive texts and for their male subscribers they were titillating in their photographic objectification of non-European women.

Commodities formed another significant category of photographically illustrated subjects indicative of this period. While distantly related to the botanical catalogues of previous generations, they are the mature expressions of the imperialist world view [28] The material is organized by commodity, and then as a narrative to explain the steps necessary to produce,

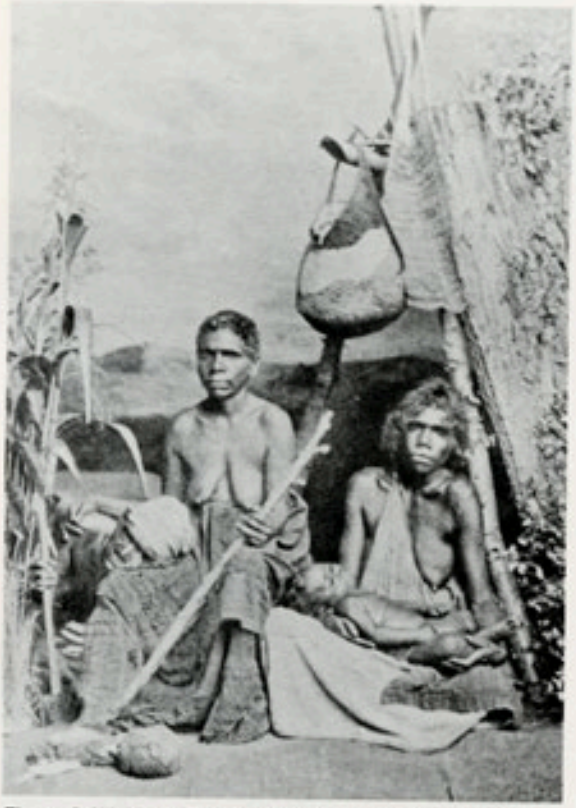


Figure 9. W. Lindt, *The Australian Family*, n.d., 0.135 x 0.10, halftone, from Otis Tufton Mason, *Women's Share in Primitive Culture*, London: MacMillan and Co., 1895, between pp. 218 and 219.

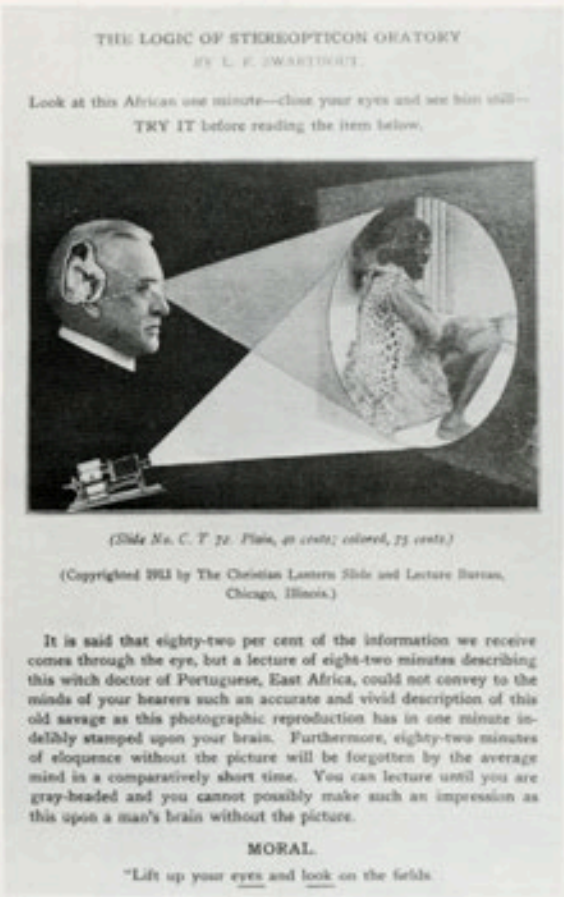
Figure 10. Anonymous, *A Married Bangala Couple*, n.d., halftone, 0.20 x 0.135, T Athol Joyce and N.W. Thomas, *Women of All Nations*, II part 10, p. 325.

ship, and manufacture the finished product. The photographs include the same type of plant studies and still lifes which had long been used, but images of labor and capital investment in equipment are even more prominent. No longer do near-naked natives face the camera bedecked with unique and strange ceremonial paraphernalia; rather, they are productive. For example, in Figure 11 laborers harvesting sugar cane in the West Indies all face away from the camera, anonymous and totally engaged in their work. Although the illustrations concerning any single commodity might be drawn from widely dispersed geographic and ethnographic sources, the workers in their white clothing and straw hats look amazingly homogeneous in the photographs. The same photographs were used and reused in diverse publications, and merged identification of the people with the products they supplied to the international system. Imperialist planners and academics took for granted that each area should concentrate on the commodity best suited to its resources and conditions regardless of other local considerations that might favor a more diversified economy Indeed one geographic educator even suggested that teachers dispense with instructing their students about political boundaries in the Third World because they were essentially irrelevant and confusing.[29]

Each colonial power had publications intended to familiarize citizens with the areas and peoples under their government's control. These were relatively unimportant in the United States until after the Spanish American War in 1898, when there was an abrupt change in conditions and in public awareness. Many photographically illustrated books were issued at that time. Figure 12 is from a sumptuous two-volume quarto-sized publication entitled *Our Islands and Their Peoples*, published in 1899.[30] While some of the images were made under Spanish rule, most

Figure 11 Anonymous, *Reaping Sugar-Cane in the West Indies*, n.d., halftone. 0.8 x 0.10 from W.G. Freeman and S.C. Chandler *The World's Commercial Products*, Boston: Ginn and Company, n.d., p. 87

Figure 12. Walter B. Townsend (?), *View of Rio Piedras, Porto Rico, from the Old Dutch Bridge*, c.1899, colortype process, 0.23 x 0.355, from Jose D. Olivares, *Our Islands and Their People as seen with Camera and Pencil*, I, St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Publishing Co., 1899, between pp. 192-193.



THE LOGIC OF STEREOPTICON ORATORY

BY L. E. SWARTHOUT.

Look at this African one minute—close your eyes and see him still—
TRY IT before reading the item below.

(Slide No. C. T 32. Plain, 40 cents; colored, 75 cents.)

(Copyrighted 1911 by The Christian Lantern Slide and Lecture Bureau, Chicago, Illinois.)

It is said that eighty-two per cent of the information we receive comes through the eye, but a lecture of eight-two minutes describing this witch doctor of Portuguese, East Africa, could not convey to the minds of your hearers such an accurate and vivid description of this old savage as this photographic reproduction has in one minute indelibly stamped upon your brain. Furthermore, eighty-two minutes of eloquence without the picture will be forgotten by the average mind in a comparatively short time. You can lecture until you are gray-headed and you cannot possibly make such an impression as this upon a man's brain without the picture.

MORAL.

"Lift up your eyes and look on the fields.

Figure 13. Anonymous, *The Logic of Stereopticon Oratory*, n.d., halftone, image 0.8 x 0.105, from Anonymous, *Open Door Catalogue No. 6*, Chicago: The Christian Lantern Slide and Lecture Bureau, c. 1907 p. 1

were commissioned by the publisher. The primary photographer, Walter B. Townsend, traveled throughout Cuba and Puerto Rico on this project. The text by Jose de Olivares is parallel rather than integrated with the illustrations. Great attention is given to what Anglos considered to be strange and even shocking customs: cock fighting, mortuary practices, and Hispanic Catholicism. There were also constant references to Spanish atrocities, Yankee benevolence, beautiful women of the upper classes, local products, and potentials for investment. The two volumes contained more than 1,200 photographs, of which 24 full-page images were handsomely reproduced in the Colortype process. Such lavish use of color increased the richness of the presentation but the subjects represented were seldom of great importance in themselves. Like stereo photographs they frequently lead the eye through the space, the advancing and receding of the color in the original reproductions intensifying the spatial illusion.

Missionary zeal was a primary force employed by imperialists in colonizing the non-industrial world, so much so that it is practically impossible to separate economic and religious motivations. David Livingston is credited with the motto, "Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization;" other missionaries preferred "education, toothpaste, and steel rails."[31] Protestant missionaries in the United States were among the strongest advocates for the retention of political control over the Philippines and other former Spanish territories. The clergy was certainly aware of the power of photographic images in their work. The photographic archive of the Education and Cultivation Division of the United Methodist General Board of Global Ministries in New York possesses more than 270 albums containing approximately a quarter of a million photographic prints.[32] Many such archives were assembled by governments and private agencies; this particular archive was used for making lantern slides to illustrate the church's mission work. The images were purchased, commissioned, or taken by missionaries in the various countries.

Illustrated slide lectures on many instructive subjects were an important component of Chautauqua, a favorite turn-of-the-century entertainment, that included concerts and other programs for self improvement. Figure 13 is a page from a catalogue issued by a commercial firm that supplied Protestant churches with the necessary slide sets, promotional materials, tickets, projection equipment, and even tents when there were no appropriate facilities for such activities. This first page of the catalogue graphically encapsulates the strategy: "Look at this African one minute—close your eyes and see him still..." [33] The image, the ad contended, would present "such an accurate and vivid description of this old savage" that the audience would be immediately and indelibly informed. This idea was widely shared not only by missionaries but especially by educators, who placed great emphasis on the use of lantern slides in schools. Such programs offered by churches carried multiple levels of propaganda including messages of sectarianism, racism, and economic exploitation. The promotional poster

for one such slide lecture offered by this catalogue demonstrates the genre (Fig.14). Despite the fact that this is intended for a church activity the emphasis is on investment and, more importantly the political debate on whether the United States should sponsor Cuban independence or keep the island as a colonial territory

The practical education of children for the realities of the new international economy was a major concern to advocates of imperialism. British and American writers constantly referred to the superiority of German efforts in education.[34] Not only were German scholars preeminent in ethnography and geography but students in their public schools and universities were receiving pragmatic instruction. There was even a school specifically dedicated to training colonists.[35] Reforms in the teaching of geography were perceived as matters of great urgency Geography as an academic discipline at the university level in Britain and the United States was a product of the era of international imperialism. What we commonly refer to as geography was created by combining areas of study previously spread among various disciplines such as geology and history The concept of "regionalism," which was first used in Germany, combined the physical, political, and cultural aspects of an area under one topic.[36] The process of formulating the discipline has a complex history and the struggle to implant this new attitude in public school curricula was a central educational issue of the time. The intention of this movement is clear from some of the many names they gave to the new regionalist approach: applied geography, realistic geography, economic geography, commercial geography, human geography, anthropo-geography and economic ethnography [37] The shift in content and the crucial role of photography in this reform can be easily grasped by examining the changes in school textbooks between the 1880s and World War I.

Figure 15 is from a text written in the 1880s and revised in 1891 The wood engraved illustrations are not based on photographs; they are highly romantic and except for the maps serve a decorative function. The landscape caption asserts, "In the beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth," and the preface states that: "In order to avoid confusing the mind of the student, controversial matters have been

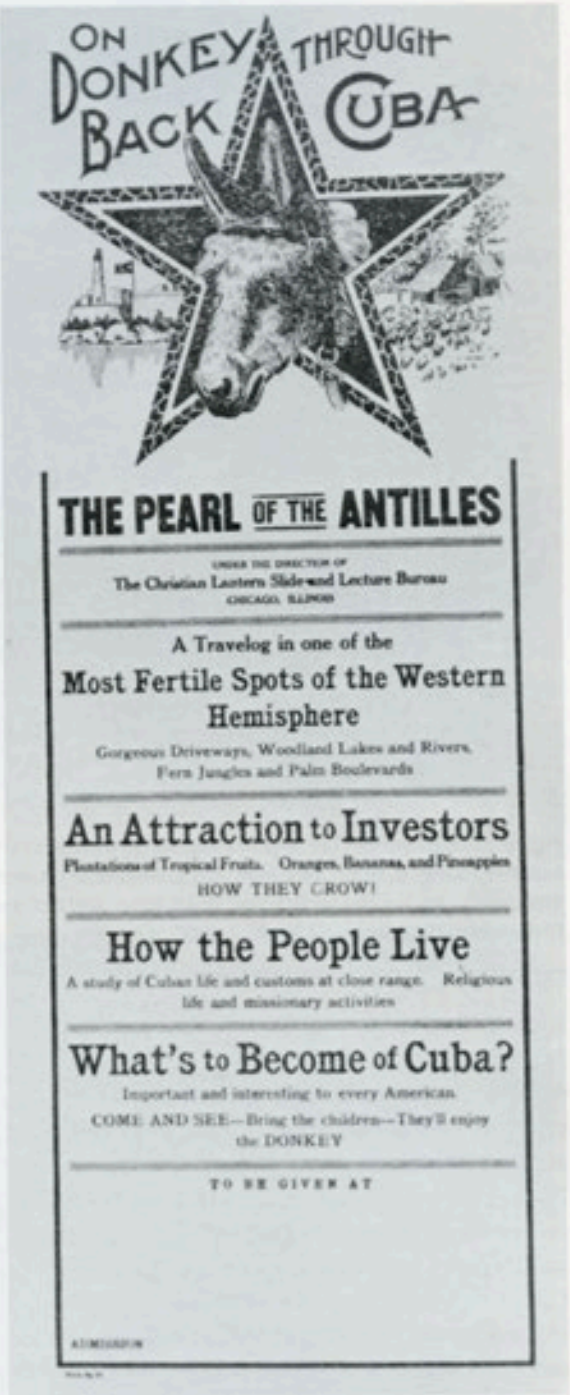


Figure 14. Anonymous, *Facsimilies of Advertising Hangers*, c. 1907 actual poster size 0.23 x 0.61 from Anonymous, *Open Door Catalogue*, c.1907 p. 6.

carefully avoided."[38] This was a code to assure parents that their children would not be exposed to the

Figure 15. E.B. Bensell del. and F Faas sc., *In the Beginning*, woodengraving, 0.19 x 0.145, from *The Elements of Physical Geography for the Use of Schools, Academies, and Colleges*, Philadelphia: Eldredge and Brother 1892, p. vii.

ideas of Charles Darwin. The book's title, *Houston's New Elements of Physical Geography*, accurately describes the preimperialist emphasis. Only the briefest reference is made to race or commodities and these are illustrated in decorative plates such as children lying in a corn field or a racially stereotyped African-American child sitting in a sugarcane field holding a stalk of cane. A second textbook published in 1893 for California schools has some wood engravings that are clearly derived from photographs but the layouts are still decorative (Fig. 16).[39] It is significant that by the time this geography text was written in the early 1890s it was necessary to elaborate the white-yellow-black racial classifications that had been used previously with specific examples such as Lapps and Hawaiians. During the last decade of the century the discipline of geography evolved rapidly and textbooks reflected the new emphasis. *Redway's Natural School Geography*, first issued in 1898, relegates physical geography to an introductory chapter and concentrates on the regional approach and especially commodity production.[40] It was illustrated with many halftone photographs and included substantial coverage of Mexico and South America.

Unfortunately for its publisher, in the United States all geography textbooks became obsolete in 1898 with the Spanish American War and the nation's sudden acquisition of distant territories. When informed by Admiral Dewey of the victory at Manila, President McKinley is said to have had to consult a globe to find out where the Philippines were located.[41] The word Cuba had appeared only once in *The Elements of Physical Geography* of 1892 and that was as a label on a small secondary map illustrating how islands formed chains.[42] But in 1907 the Redway textbook was reissued with a supplement, "Insular Possessions, Cuba, and Panama," which gave ample attention to statistics on Cuba and the other territories.[43]

The abundant pedagogical literature of this period repeatedly emphasized the importance of properly using the photographic resources available for teaching the new geography [44] Such books as *The Teaching of Geography* by William J Sutherland recognized the ambiguity of pictures as teaching devices and included detailed instructions on "Reading a picture, that is, in reducing it to language." Sutherland admonished, "Do not trust the pupils to read the pictures for themselves."[45] *The Journal of Geography*, a periodical which was published specifically for teachers, carried many articles on teaching the new geography with photographs.[46] Stereographic cards were particularly recommended despite cumbersome problems in their classroom use.[47] The principal advantage cited was not the three-dimensional illusion, but rather the systematic way in which the photographers working for the major stereo companies documented the production of raw materials and their use in industry [48] For each region and commodity a set of stereos formed a serial narrative, and each card carried a printed commentary on its reverse. Companies such as Underwood and Underwood (founded in 1882) and

Figure 16. Weekes, *Mankind*, c.1893, woodengraving, 0.21 x 0.26, from *Advanced Geography*, Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1893, p. 33.

Figure 17 Anonymous, *Harvesting Sugar Cane on a Great Plantation, Santa Clara, Peru*, V21912, stereo card, Keystone View Company, Meadville Pa., n.d.

Keystone (founded in 1892) supplied schools with boxed sets accompanied by a scholarly guide. By 1901 Underwood and Underwood was producing 7,000,000 cards per year.[49] The card in Figure 17, from a set documenting sugar cane production in Peru, devotes half its text to describing the regimen and diet of the workers. Teachers were provided with manuals that gave further information on each scene but also pointed out the specific questions which could be used to assure the student understood what was intended in each image.[50] The large investment necessary for lantern slide equipment or to provide students with viewers and a complete array of stereocards was beyond the budgets of many schools, but they remained the ideal.

Another use of photography was in conjunction with what was called a School Museum. In its simplest form such a museum was a collection of samples of commodities, carefully packaged and labeled, which could be used to familiarize students with the actual appearance of each raw material and its finished products.[51] This is an extension of the European tradition of collecting for curiosity cabinets. The plain black cabinet in Figure 18 is an example of such a school museum. The commodities are permanently arranged inside wooden drawers with glass covers. Each sample is carefully labeled, and each drawer is dedicated to a different commodity, including rice, coal, corn, coconut, wool, cotton, flax, silk, and the beverages coffee, tea, and cacao. Inside the door below, shelves contain slices of wood, half a coconut shell, and whole plants glued to card stock. Maps for each commodity are included, with colored areas indicating where it was produced and a stack of mounted photographs provides visual evidence. This cabinet was among the earliest school museum projects and was issued by the Philadelphia Commercial Museum in 1902. Several hundred such collections of more than 400 articles were distributed free to public schools in Pennsylvania.[52] A similar project was carried out by the Chicago Bureau of Geography, which circulated 110 traveling museums, and later by the Chicago Normal School.[53] The idea was widespread and other groups produced such study collections. The Philadelphia Commercial Museum, known as the Philadelphia Museums, was founded by business interests expressly to educate the public and promote commerce by collecting, exhibiting, and distributing information about products and industry The photographs in the cabinet were obtained from a wide variety of sources and some of the photographers are well known; but the prints are from copy negatives and each is mounted on heavy gray 9 1/2" x 12" card stock with a typeset caption.[54] Figure 18e shows the interior of a silver mine in Guanajuato, Mexico. Like other cards in this series it carries a lengthy text which after describing the mining technique in use, notes:

> *It is...often more economical to get out the ore in a very laborious fashion on account of the cheapness of labor and the high price of coal needed to run machinery.*

Together the samples, maps, and photographs present an integrated tool for conveying to the student a perception of the world grounded in commerce, but the configuration goes beyond the static, unique quality of each component; together they synergistically constitute an experiential process. The concern for process and flux, the functioning of the system rather than its parts, was the final objective of turn-of-the-century thought, and still photography was about to give way to cinema as the most effective tool for mass education.

By the time colonialism evolved into the highly competitive stage of imperialism, visual conventions derived from photography had become linked with scientific accuracy in illustration. Photographic qualities were carefully rendered in wood-engravings even before the practical systems of halftone reproduction, which were developed at this time, made possible the publication of massive picture anthologies for the increasingly literate masses. Working from enormous archives collected by various colonial organizations, ethnologists and advocates of imperialism created a new awareness of racial diversity Staged images of preindustrial families as naked, exotic, and highly particular others arrayed with distinctive material attributes were increasingly supplemented by images of the same people as anonymous, homogeneously clothed, cheap laborers with roles in the production of a single commodity demanded by the new international economy All segments of the dominant culture benefited from a Social Darwinist

Figure 18. Anonymous, *School Museum*, 1902, Philadelphia Commercial Museum, 1.065 x 0.29, McElroy Collection, Tucson. a. exterior b. objects, maps, and mounted photograph storage, c. The Sheep drawer d. Cocoanut (sic) drawer e. Mounted Photograph of Silver Mine.

interpretation of this photographic propaganda. Popular diversion, release from domestic political and class tensions, and voyeuristic eroticism were permissible despite puritanical mores under the guise of scientific curiosity and self-improvement. A pervasive reevaluation of the roles of women in both the dominant and the subordinate societies made use of the same formats and photographic documentation. Missionary societies intertwined their religious objectives with economic and political exploitation. Reformers seeking a more practical education for the young in the industrialized nations introduced regionalist geography to the curriculum of public education and made particular use of sets of photographs as tools for popular education.

Photography and photographic reproduction played a significant role in the formation of the imperialist world view and in the education of the masses for this new international order. Critical to this program was the role of the editor who manipulated photographs, which in many cases were decades old, and who controlled the juxtaposition of text and illustrations that often implied an important subtext. Standardized sequences of these images were used to construct a coherent stereotype for each colonialized people. The collective anthologies of these ideological configurations came to be accepted by both the dominant and the subordinate societies as accurate and scientific, and remain today in a post-imperialist context as uncritically accepted stereotypes. This genre of images which is the very ground on which modernism arose, remains to be interpreted and integrated into postmodern photographic history

ENDNOTES

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4 Hobson, *Imperialism*, p. 2; Langer, *Diplomacy*, p. 84.

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14 Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, second edition, pp. vi, xi.

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20 George F. Becken, "The Witwatersrand and the Revolt of the Uitlanders," *National Geographic Magazine* 7·11 (Nov. 1896), p. 23.

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22 Gilbert H- Grosvenor, *Scenes from Every Land* (Washington, National Geographic Society, 1907).

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and Influences, in 24 parts (London: Cassell and Co., c. 1909), pp. 26-27

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26 Heinrich Ploss, *Das weib in der natur und volkerkunde* (1884, 7th ed, Leipzig: Th. Gieben's Verlag, 1902).

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28 W.G. Freeman, *The World's Commercial Products: A Descriptive Account of the Economic Plants of the World and of Their Commercial Uses*, (Boston: Ginn and Co., n.d.).

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31 Baumgart, *Imperialism*, p. 14; Arthur E. Reeves, "Making Christians in Foreign Lands," *The Travel Magazine* (June 1910), p. 434.

32 Kaplan, *Missionary Chronicle*, pp. 5, 7

33 *Open Door Catalogue: Illustrated Home and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: The Christian Lantern Slide and Lecture Bureau, n.d.), p. 1.

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50 Emerson, "Field Work," pp. 81-97

51 D.C. Ridgeley, "The School Excursion and the School Museum as Aids in Teaching Geography," *The Journal of Geography* (Sept. 1904).

52 "The Philadelphia Commercial Museums," *The Journal of Geography* (May 1902).

53 Ridgeley, "The School Excursion," p. 329.

54 Most names of photographers have been cropped or scratched out. Three can still be read: W.H. Rau (Philadelphia), Skeen and Co. (Ceylon), and Shafer Studio (West Virginia).

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Photography From Now On?

Mary Panzer

Photography Until Now
by John Szarkowski
Museum of Modern Art, 1990

In February, 1990, the photography department of the Museum of Modern Art launched *Photography until Now*, one of the final historical exhibitions to appear in honor of photography's sesquicentennial year. The accompanying catalogue by the exhibition curator (and head of the photography department), John Szarkowski, recalls MoMA's influential publication by Beaumont Newhall, which first appeared in conjunction with an exhibition celebrating photography's centennial in 1937 With its text aimed at the intelligent non-specialist, its splendid illustrations, and its comprehensive chronological sweep, Szarkowski's book makes a bid to replace *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* as our standard classroom history

Early on, Szarkowski quotes a letter in which William Henry Fox Talbot described the new medium to a friend in terms of its utility· "Suppose that in traveling, you arrive at some ruins unexpectedly You stop, make your exposure, and in ten minutes are again on your way" (44, 47). Through this quotation, Szarkowski invites us to consider the function Talbot intended photography to serve, and the culture that created the need for it. He deftly spins out the Romantic, Victorian passion for archaeology and history, the widespread enthusiasm for buried and decayed evidence, the need for and fascination with incidental detail, the easy equation between photography and objectivity, or truth. Talbot himself becomes exemplary of a particular kind of photographer, one who repeatedly appears throughout the catalogue. Neither frivolous amateur nor vulgar entrepreneur, Talbot's serious commitment to his own work comes to distinguish the stance of each of this narrative's most esteemed practitioners. Through this disarmingly simple use of metaphor to define photography's social and pictorial function, Szarkowski lays out the structure through which he considers the rest of photography's short history For Szarkowski, Talbot's process, provides "the foundation on which photography until now has been built" (48).

The power of Szarkowski's method can best be demonstrated by analyzing the author's own casual allusions, which present assumptions as normative as Talbot's easy reference to ruins. Through these images Szarkowski recalls a world many readers will find foreign: the gentle reasonableness of tennis before television corrupted it, the dull evening with a neighbor's color travel slides, the genteel chaos of a jumble sale, the peripatetic professional affiliations of a jazz musician, and the thrill performers such as jugglers, or tenors, get from an audience. He quotes Dragnet's Sergeant Friday, who insists on "just the facts." He imagines the child's first problem in philosophy· what would you save from a burning house? Szarkowski praises images bearing tactile, sensual, sculptural values as "transparent" and "plastic."

This wreath of references coincides neatly with the vocabulary of a group (neither truly a class or a generation) whose golden Manhattan world exists most fully within the pages of the *New Yorker* Like its institutional author, this style is at once glamorous, demanding, down-at-the-heels, intelligent, cynical, energetic and capable of enormous, child-like delight. This set of references also coincides with New York of the fifties, the heyday of American formalism, of powerful critics, notably Clement Greenberg, and the art they championed, abstract expressionism. It is the era during which John Szarkowski's own photographs first entered the collection of the Museum of Modern Art.

Today historians view this period with great

disfavor, largely for the unexamined nature of the assumptions on which formalism's influence rests, and for the reluctance of its stars to acknowledge their impact on art in the marketplace. In the name of American democracy, this position assumes free, universal access to culture. One purchases privilege through native intelligence, a kind of intellectual grace. (As a midwesterner whose girlish infatuation with this stuff propelled her into the Ivy League, I recognize it all with fondness and considerable chagrin.)

A more important set of metaphors accompanies these simple cues to the archaeologist or library scholar *Photography Until Now* is filled with references to evolution. Early on, photographers struggle for scarce resources in order to survive, negotiating changing technology, enlarging opportunity, and fickle reception to their wares. When Stieglitz attempted to rescue photography for fine art, his experiment appeared to be a dead end, for like a species grown too specialized it provided no inspiration for the next generation. Eastman's success took an opposing course, when a wildly ambitious scheme to turn the whole nation into a society of photographers drastically altered the conditions for survival. Evolutionary progress is not always conscious, or controlled, thus Atget can be identified as an artist, if an unintentional one.

Photo mechanical reproduction created a whole new market, and a new set of challenges, for those who continued to navigate between the Scylla of shallow amateurs and the Charybdis of grasping professionalism. One solution came early on in the durable form of the photographic book, another in the form of the photographic essay, and a third in the studio of independent and powerful fashion photographers. But these forms were eventually compromised, and Szarkowski laments the diminishing opportunities for professional photographers by the end of the nineteen fifties because this restricted the "gene pool" of workers contributing to the field. When Szarkowski's narrative reaches the work of that supremely self-directed photographer Robert Frank, we learn that his images distressed "American photographers and editors and curators" because of their "indirection." And so for the purposes of this history Frank becomes "like a prophet reciting enigmas" — a description that better fits the work and texts of someone like Minor White. Frank's disruptive, irreverent work threatens the continuing evolutionary process, while Minor White strengthens and supports it by developing a new environment in which future workers can flourish. This environment is of course the art school. Its product, the art photograph made by the art photographer, arrives as a conclusion, and an evolutionary goal to which every image seems to have been leading from the start.

As this account reaches its close, we can see that it also tracks another competition for survival, one in which images and photographers strive to attain glory in the historian's eye. To have survived the test of history, to have landed a place in this text and this exhibition, a photograph must somehow aid the evolution of photography to fit the museum wall, the lavish text, the sensuous reproduction. In fact, Szarkowski makes no secret of his intentions. At the conclusion of a concise introduction, he states his interest in "the art of photography" as that segment of the medium "that embodies the clearest, most eloquent expression of photography's historic and continuing search for a renewed and vital identity" (9).

Because the narrative shows no real concern for or interest in the maker's reputation during his or her lifetime, many figures of conventional historical significance do not appear. (Independent-minded practitioners of the sort this narrative most admires rarely find conventional, financial success for long. In fact, material success works against them in this scheme.) Successful stereographers, advertising photographers, portraitists, and hobbyists have no place here, and neither do their most typical, popular spokesmen, such as Napoleon Sarony, E.O. Hoppé, or William Mortensen. Instead, images and photographers have been chosen to meet today's aesthetic standards, and, incidentally, to serve a more instrumental function, to propel the narrative.

Other specific criteria distinguish the winners in the historical march for survival. All change contributes to progress, and all progress travels west. Some idiosyncratic historical interpretations emerge as a result. For example, pictorial roots to the Historical Section of the Farm Services Administration are traced to the government–sponsored illustrated guides to national history that Isidore Taylor and Charles Nodier originated in France in 1818 and published as

Voyages pittoresques et romantiques. Photo-montage is discussed in light of its drastically modified American incarnation as advertising art, to which German, Swiss and French predecessors appear to be esteemed but evolutionarily unsuccessful ancestors. Similarly, those Americans and Europeans who practiced art photography before the turn of the century (such as Marcus Aurelius Root or F. Holland Day, the Parisian studios of Durieux or Marconi, or the orientalist productions of the Bonfils family) vanish from the record; their work contradicts too many of the survivor's key features; they mixed it up with printmaking, reproduction, careerism, and they adhered to aesthetic standards not specific to their medium, reading and applying romantic theory by aestheticians then popular and now obscure (writers who have lost out in another, related, competition for recognition). Stereographs, with their exhibition-resistant illusions are discussed in terms of the formal elegance of their images as seen outside the viewer, a perspective that has meaning for today's archivists, but which must have been irrelevant for the original makers and viewers of these popular pictures. Other images do not appear at all; no crassly commercial or dully amateur color pictures, no self-consciously artistic tableaux, and, as the exhibition approaches the present, nothing that challenges the work of those photographers whose careers have paid respectful homage to the tradition laid out here. In fact the overwhelming volume of photography of the present day is excluded by the strict standards of *Photography Until Now*.

Forty out of the catalogue's roughly 250 images are by anonymous workers. Other images, by familiar hands, have been little seen or exhibited. There is a certain democracy is such industrious connoisseurship. Any archive can yield important trophies. But many archives must be searched in order to assemble a convincing array of evidence to support any argument.

For those still seeking a text book to assign their students, *Photography Until Now* has some important virtues. It avoids some features of Newhall's history that today's students and teachers most regret. The old familiar canon, with all its predictable images, acquires new images and new workers. At the same time, the story of photography's technological development remains; the passages in which Szarkowski explains important episodes in that story are convincing, clear, and backed up by compelling illustrations. This text could convey the real excitement and frustration of early photographic experiments to even the most reluctant audiences. (No small feat, given students for whom the Viet Nam War seems ancient history.) The book's many images are beautifully reproduced. In contrast to Naomi Rosenblum's *World History of Photography* this text seems written with grace and efficiency, but it also lacks Rosenblum's commendable range, and her attention to the nature of the photographic medium as a whole.

Those who seek a history for the medium inside and outside the Museum of Modern Art will be disappointed, even angry with this book. Yet its frank bias can be deemed a virtue in the end. For *Photography Until Now* articulates the fundamental prejudices which have informed the exhibitions, publications and activities of that influential institution over the past quarter of a century, prejudices which the public has absorbed largely without question. But, like every modernist author Szarkowski provides the tools with which to dismantle his masterful construction.

Because images by their nature offer an enormous amount of evidence that resists didactic control, the illustrations here easily prompt questions that quickly expose the fictive nature of this (or any) developmental narrative. Eventually every reader is bound to wonder where all the forms of photography that fill his life fit in. Unless you were the one who took that snapshot at Coronado Beach around 1930 (159), you must ask why these anonymous workers, and not others? Why these self-portraits and not mine? But, as an evolutionist, Szarkowski provides the structure through which we can perceive the significance of the many photographs that can not appear in this history In the overwhelming mass of photographs that lie outside this narrative we will find the large, healthy gene pool from which the "renewed and vital identity" of the medium must come.

At the that moment Szarkowski's structures clash most vigorously with the experience of every reader, a dialogue begins. With a dialogue, comes the real possibility for change. This volume eloquently presents our history of photography until now But it does not need to be our history from now on.

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