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Front cover: Roger Fenton, *[Reclining Odalisque]* (detail). See page 27.

Inside back cover: David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *The Abbey Wall, Saint Andrews* (detail). See page 19.

Title page: Unknown artist, [Boys Behind a Science Experiment]. See checklist 21.



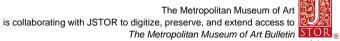
Inventing a New Art

EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE RUBEL COLLECTION IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART



MALCOLM DANIEL

The Metropolitan Museum of Art





The Metropolitan Museum began collecting photographs as art in 1928, when the Trustees accepted a gift to the Prints Department of twenty-two works by Alfred Stieglitz, this century's most passionate and articulate advocate for the acceptance of photography in the pantheon of fine arts. Stieglitz expanded upon this initial donation of his own prints with the further gift and bequest of more than six hundred pictures by the most advanced photographic artists of the early part of this century. On that foundation the Museum has constructed its present collection of approximately fifteen thousand pieces spanning the entire history of the medium, now cared for and continually enriched by an independent Department of Photographs, established in 1992.

This Bulletin celebrates a major acquisition for that department, a spectacular group of seventy-eight works from the renowned Rubel Collection, photographs of exceptional aesthetic quality and historical significance. This purchase and promised gift, featuring superb examples from the art's first quarter century in Great Britain, is the most significant acquisition the Metropolitan has ever made in the field of nineteenth-century photography, joining the Stieglitz Collection, the Ford Motor Company Collection of pictures from between the World Wars (formed by John Waddell), and the Walker Evans Archive as the fourth cornerstone of the Museum's holdings. The recently acquired photographs by William Henry Fox Talbot, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Roger Fenton, and Julia Margaret Cameron, like those by Edward Steichen, Paul Strand, and others in Stieglitz's gift, are key monuments in the history of the medium.

Needless to say, an acquisition of such magnitude could be realized only through the enormous generosity of the Museum's friends. Major support in obtaining the Rubel Collection was provided by Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee, Jennifer and Joseph Duke, The Judith Rothschild Foundation, Harriette and Noel Levine, Joyce and Robert Menschel, Thomas Walther, and four anonymous donors. Additional contributions were made by Alexandra R. Marshall, Muriel Kallis Newman, Harry Kahn, Manfred Heiting, W. Bruce and Delaney H. Lundberg, Michael and Jane Wilson, and Richard and Ronay Menschel. We are grateful to each of them.

We are also deeply indebted to William Rubel for his foresight and discernment in forming a collection of such exceptional quality, for allowing the Metropolitan to fashion an acquisition tailored to the specific needs of our collection, and for having designated eight of the most important pictures as promised gifts to the Museum.

In the following essay Malcolm Daniel, associate curator of photographs, tells the fascinating tale of photography's beginnings and maturity in mid-nineteenthcentury Britain as revealed by masterpieces from the Rubel Collection. Thirty-seven of these treasures will be exhibited in the Museum's Howard Gilman Gallery from June 1 through September 19, 1999, providing visitors an opportunity to discover the origins of a medium that transformed the world of art.

Philippe de Montebello Director



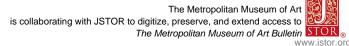
The period 1977-81, when the core of the Rubel Collection was formed, was a unique moment in the history of collecting photographs. Capitalizing on a growing public interest in photography as a quintessentially modern art form and in turn bringing about a heightened awareness of the medium's early masterpieces, the first photograph auctions were held in the early 1970s in London. It took only a few years for word to get out that the old photographs and albums sitting unnoticed in the attics and on the dusty bookshelves of country houses and institutions might actually fetch good money; for a period of a few years a flood of incomparable material poured forth from family collections, libraries, and institutions into the London auction houses. There were few players knowledgeable and sensitive enough to understand the significance of the material and courageous enough to commit what seemed at the time substantial resources to acquire it. Sadly, the Metropolitan was not among them; in the remarkable first decade of London auctions, 1971 to 1981, we acquired not a single notable nineteenth-century British photograph. The most important collectors who bought actively during the period included Howard Ricketts, a partner at Sotheby's in the 1960s, who first suggested that the house conduct photograph auctions; Samuel J. Wagstaff Jr., a visionary collector of photographs whose collection is now at the J. Paul Getty Museum; Paul Walter; Werner Bokelberg; the Canadian Centre for Architecture; the Gilman Paper Company; and William Rubel.

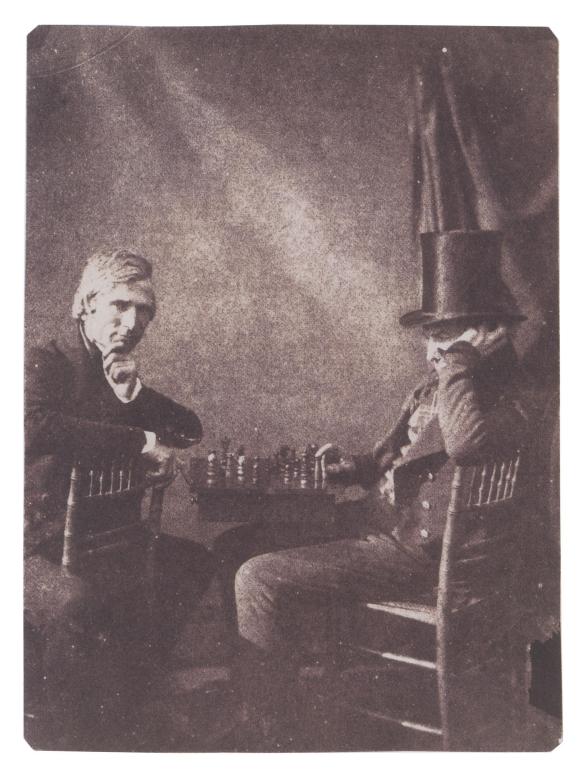
In 1977 Rubel, a Californian then in his twenties, inherited a group of daguerreotypes collected in the 1930s and 1940s by his grandmother, Hermine B. Rubel, and was named a beneficiary of her trust. Long fascinated by his grandmother's daguerreotypes, Rubel had already determined to build on the collection before inheriting it and sought out the San Francisco dealer most familiar with early photographs, Sean Thackrey. With Thackrey's guidance Rubel bought a few more daguerreotypes, but soon he expanded the collection to include early examples of paper photography. Thackrey had a keen eye and a sure grasp of the British photography scene, and he secured astounding treasures for the Rubel Collection, privately and at the London auctions, at just the right moment. By the 1980s the supply of early British photographs had begun to dry up. Isolated works of exceptional quality have occasionally surfaced in the years since, but a trove of material such as was offered at auction in the 1970s will never again appear.

The Rubel Collection thus provided the Metropolitan with a rare second chance to acquire exceptional examples of nineteenth-century photography and to fill what might otherwise have been permanent gaps in the collection. At the heart of the Museum's selection are works by the four giants of early British photography: William Henry Fox Talbot, inventor of the medium; the Scottish painter-photographer team of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, who, in the 1840s, were the first to use paper photography extensively for artistic aims; Roger Fenton, the great British master of landscape, architecture, still life, and genre; and Julia Margaret Cameron, the famous portraitist whose works from the 1860s are imbued with a deep spirituality. In addition, a small group of daguerreotypes and paper prints by other European and American artists is included.

In nearly every case the works are in superb condition and in many instances the provenance is exemplary. The prints by Talbot, for instance, come from his ancestral home in Wiltshire, Lacock Abbey; those by Hill and Adamson are among the finest of the ones Hill himself selected for presentation to the Royal Scottish Academy in 1852; and the photographs by Fenton are the only known prints of masterpieces from the artist's own albums. Many of the photographs are either the sole surviving or best-preserved example of the image. As a group they constitute an extraordinary representation of Britain's rich photographic history.

Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, wife of Sir Charles Eastlake—the director of the National Gallery of Art in London and first president of the Photographic Society—wrote in 1857 that the photographer "does no more than wink his eye, tracing in that moment, with a detail and precision beyond all human power, the glory of the heavens, the wonders of the deep, . . . the most fleeting smile of the babe, and the most vehement action of the man." This is the story behind that wink of the eye.





Attributed to ANTOINE CLAUDET. French, act. in England, 1797–1867 The Chess Players, ca. 1845 Salted paper print from paper negative, $7\% \times 5\%$ in. (19.5 × 14.5 cm) Ex colls.: William Henry Fox Talbot; Fred Bird; Harold White The Rubel Collection, Promised Gift of William Rubel

"A Little Bit of Magic Realised" WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT AND HIS CIRCLE

A young English gentleman on his honeymoon sat sketching by the shore of Lake Como early in October 1833, one eye pressed close to a camera lucida. With this simple draftsman's aid, consisting of an adjustable metal arm fastened at one end to the artist's sketchbook or drawing board and supporting a glass prism at the other, the young man saw a refracted image of the Italian landscape superimposed as if by magic on the pages of his sketchbook. It seemed a simple task to trace the features of the village buildings, lake, and distant mountains with his pencil. But alas, it only seemed simple, he later recalled, "for when the eye was removed from the prism—in which all looked beautiful—I found that the faithless pencil had only left traces on the paper melancholy to behold."

The would-be artist was William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877). A graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a recently elected Liberal member of Parliament in the House of Commons, Talbot was a true polymath. His intellectual curiosity embraced the fields of mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, and botany; philosophy and philology; Egyptology, the classics, and art history. He had published four books and twenty-seven scholarly articles on a variety of subjects and was a fellow of the Astronomical, Linnean, and Royal Societies. Amid shopping lists and daily reminders, he filled his pocket diaries with the titles of books to read, complex mathematical formulas, and notations of experiments and experiences.

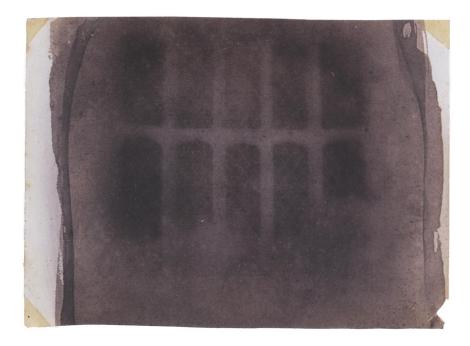
Talbot's frustration that day with the camera lucida led him to recollect his experiences ten years earlier with another drafting aid, the camera obscura-a small wooden box with a lens at one end that projected the scene before it onto a piece of frosted glass at the back, where the artist could trace the outlines on thin paper. The camera obscura, too, had left Talbot with unsatisfactory results, but it was not his own feeble drawings that he remembered after a decade. Rather he recalled with pleasure "the inimitable beauty of the pictures of nature's painting which the glass lens of the Camera throws upon the paper in its focus-fairy pictures, creations of a moment, and destined as rapidly to fade away." These thoughts in turn prompted Talbot to muse "how charming it would be if it were possible to cause these natural images to imprint themselves durably, and

remain fixed upon the paper." "And why should it not be possible?" he asked himself. Talbot jotted down thoughts about experiments he could conduct at home to see if Nature, through the action of light on material substances, might be brought to draw her own picture.

In January 1834 Talbot returned home to Lacock Abbey, an amalgamation of buildings incorporating the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century remains of a former abbey about eighty-five miles west of London. Within a few months he began to experiment with the idea that had occurred to him at Lake Como and soon found that a sheet of fine writing paper, coated with salt and brushed with a solution of silver nitrate, darkened in the sun, and that a second coating of salt impeded further darkening or fading. Talbot used this discovery to make precise tracings of botanical specimens: he set a pressed leaf or plant on a piece of sensitized paper, covered it with a sheet of glass, and set it in the sun. Wherever the light struck, the paper darkened, but wherever the plant blocked the light it remained white. He called his new discovery "the art of photogenic drawing."

As his chemistry improved, Talbot returned to his original idea of photographic images made in a camera. During the "brilliant summer of 1835," Talbot took full advantage of the unusually abundant sunshine and placed pieces of sensitized photogenic drawing paper in miniature cameras-"mouse traps," his wife called them-set around the grounds to record the silhouette of Lacock Abbey's animated roofline and trees. The pictures, Talbot wrote, "without great stretch of the imagination might be supposed to be the work of some Lilliputian artist." His first successful camera image, a photograph the size of a postage stamp, showed the oriel window in the south gallery of Lacock Abbey. Although indoors, the subject was ideal: the camera could sit motionless on the mantelpiece opposite the window for a long exposure, and the bright sunlight pouring through the window provided strong contrast. The image on that first photograph, now in the National Museum of Photography, Film, and Television in Bradford, England, has, unfortunately, nearly faded from view. But using a slightly larger camera, Talbot photographed the oriel window again, probably that same summer. (He wrote "some [pictures] were obtained of a larger size,





WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT. English, 1800–1877

The Oriel Window, Lacock Abbey, 1835 or 1839 Photogenic drawing negative, $3^{14} \times 4^{14}$ in. (8.3 × 10.7 cm); sheet $3^{14} \times 4^{16}$ in. (8.3 × 11.6 cm) Ex colls.: Lacock Abbey; Mathilde Talbot; Harold White

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Anonymous Gifts, 1997 1997.382.1

but they required much patience.") The result, still miraculously well preserved, is the earliest photograph in the Rubel Collection and among the earliest surviving photographs anywhere (above). The diamond-paned windows are mysteriously visible in the purple chemical stains on this scrap of writing paper. Like the "Venus of Willendorf," the crudely carved Paleolithic figure of a woman that is the first illustration in nearly every arthistory survey because it seems to hold the promise of all that came afterward, The Oriel Window stands at the very beginnings of a new art. One senses the still palpable excitement that Talbot felt at having brought to reality an idea that had until that moment existed only in his imagination, that Nature could record its own image independent of the artist's hand. "A person unacquainted with the process," Talbot would later write, "if told that nothing of all this was executed by the hand, must imagine that one has at one's call the Genius of Aladdin's Lamp. And, indeed, it may almost be said, that this is something of the same kind. It is a little bit of magic realised."

In *The Oriel Window* and Talbot's other early camera images, lights and darks were reversed; they were negatives, though the term itself was coined by Sir John Herschel only in 1840. As early as February 1835, however, Talbot recognized this tonal reversal as an asset rather than a defect, understanding that "if the paper is transparent, the first [photogenic] drawing may serve as an object, to produce a second drawing, in which the lights and shadows would be reversed" to yield a positive print. That a single negative made in the camera might serve as the matrix for multiple positives lay at the heart of Talbot's conception and has remained a basic principle of nearly all subsequent photography.

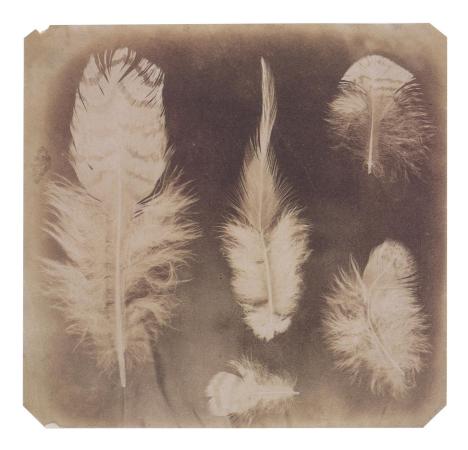
Occupied with other activities, Talbot worked little on his invention between the sunny days of 1835 and January 1839, when the stunning news arrived that a Frenchman, Louis Daguerre, had invented a wholly different means of recording camera pictures with dazzling precision on metal plates. Preempted just at the moment when he was beginning to revisit his earlier experiments with an eye toward publication, Talbot scrambled to stake a claim to priority, to produce pictures that might compare favorably with Daguerre's, and to solve the problems of lengthy exposure times and fugitive prints. Well before Daguerre revealed the details of his process, Talbot presented his own before the Royal Society in January and February 1839. At the time of Talbot's announcement, his "art of photogenic drawing" was clearly better suited for recording the shadows of plant specimens, lace, or similar flat objects by direct contact-pictures we would now describe as photogramsthan for camera images.

Others soon tried their hand at the new art. Nevil Story-Maskelyne, a teenager home from school during the summer of 1840, saw a demonstration of Talbot's process at Basset Down, his home not far from Lacock Abbey. In later years, beginning at Oxford in 1842, Maskelyne became adept at using the camera, but his first trials, like Talbot's own, were photogenic drawings made from direct contact with objects. The arrangement of chicken feathers (below) is among his earliest pieces, and, as in Talbot's botanicals, the medium's capacity to record the soft texture of down, the detail of individual barbs, and the barred pattern of the feathers must have seemed an astonishing rendering of natural form.

About 1841, at the same time he wrote the first historical account of the two-year-old medium of photography and its much longer prehistory, Robert Hunt experimented with practical uses for photography and applied some variant of Talbot's chemistry to paper, linen, and silk, perhaps seeking a new means of textile decoration (p. 8, top). The results look like delicately patterned damask—snippets of coffee- or wine-colored ribbon woven in a floral pattern by the most skilled of artisans. "Nature impresses herself in all her delicacy and decision," Hunt would write of photography in 1844, "in all her softness and her grandeur, and in all her richness of tone and breadth of effect."

Although such photogenic drawings were beautiful as objects and useful as scientific records, Talbot knew that a fast, permanent, and accurate means of producing photographic images in the camera was the true brass ring, and on September 23, 1840, he found a way to seize it. Talbot discovered that an exposure of mere seconds, leaving no visible trace on the chemically treated paper, nonetheless left a latent image that could be brought out with the application of an "exciting liquid" (essentially a solution of gallic acid). This discovery, which Talbot patented in February 1841 as the "calotype" process (from the Greek *kalos*, meaning beautiful), opened up a whole new world of possible subjects for photography. In the days that followed Talbot trained his camera on various features of Lacock Abbey and its grounds. Made only a few weeks after his September discovery, *Top of Sharington's Tower* (p. 8, bottom) reveals Talbot's newfound ability to render the tones and textures of masonry and glass and the myriad architectural details of the sixteenthcentury corner tower, built by the Abbey's first lay owner.

These early Talbot photogenic drawings, in shades of lilac and lavender, remain fugitive, for they were only partially stabilized with a solution of salt. A more permanent means of "fixing" the image with hyposulfite of soda was proposed by Talbot's friend the eminent scientist Sir John Herschel (see pp. 32, 33); "hypo" was adopted by Talbot for most prints beginning in the early 1840s and is still used today as a fixer for black-and-white photographs. With all the pieces of a workable process now in place, Talbot set out to promote his invention at home and abroad. He traveled to Paris in May 1843 to negotiate a licensing agreement for the French rights to his patented calotype process and to give firsthand



NEVIL STORY-MASKELYNE. English, 1823–1911 [Chicken Feathers], ca. 1840 Photogenic drawing, 7¹/₄ × 7[%] in. (18.5 × 19.3 cm) Ex coll.: Basset Down House, Wiltshire The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace and Anonymous Gifts, 1997–1997.382.5



Attributed to ROBERT HUNT. English, 1807–1887 [Botanical Specimens], ca. 1841

Photogenic drawings. Top left: ferns on gray linen, $4 \times 3^{15/16}$ in. (10.3 × 10 cm). Top right: ferns and leaves on grayish blue paper, $4^{12} \times 3^{34}$ in. (11.3 × 9.5 cm). Bottom left: plant study on brown silk ribbon, $1\% \times 3^{3\%}$ in. (4.8 × 8.6 cm). Bottom right: three leaves on wine-colored silk ribbon, $2^{34} \times 3^{5\%}$ in. (6.9 × 9.3 cm). Mount $7\% \times 10^{12}$ in. (20 × 26.8 cm)

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift, 1997 1997.382.6a–d

WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT Top of Sharington's Tower, Lacock Abbey, October 14, 1840

Photogenic drawing from a paper negative, $5\% \times 7$ in. (14.8 × 17.9 cm); sheet $7^{14} \times 8\%$ in. (18.5 × 22.5 cm) Ex colls.: Lacock Abbey; Mathilde Talbot; Harold White

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee, and Anonymous Gifts, 1997–1997.382.2



instruction in its use. No doubt excited to be traveling on the Continent with a photographic camera for the first time, Talbot seized upon the chance to fulfill the fantasy he had first imagined on the shores of Lake Como ten years earlier. Although his business arrangements ultimately yielded no gain, Talbot made a number of beautiful and complex pictures in Rouen, Orléans, and Paris. In a letter to his mother from Rouen on May 15, 1843, he described the scene depicted in *The Seine at Rouen* (p. 10): "Great bustle and commercial activity manifest everywhere. From early dawn to dewy eve incessant rumbling of carts & waggons-Ships constantly loading, unloading, and moving away-At one moment the quay strewed with large barrels-an hour afterwards not one of them left. Weather growing extremely stormy and rainynothing to be done in Calotype until it clears up."

At home, Talbot's hope for commercial exploitation lay in the widespread distribution of large editions of photographic prints, the principal advantage of his negative-positive process over the daguerreotype. In early 1844, in an effort to encourage the mass production of paper photographs, Talbot supported Nicolaas Henneman, his former valet, in the creation of a photographic printing establishment in Reading, a town on the route from Lacock to London. The firm's initial project was Talbot's Pencil of Nature, the first commercially published book illustrated with photographs-a milestone in the art of the book greater than any since Gutenburg's invention of moveable type. Issued in fascicles from June 1844 through April 1846, The Pencil of Nature contained twenty-four plates, a brief text for each, and an introduction that described the history and



GEORGE WILSON BRIDGES. English, 1788-ca. 1864 Basso Relievo—of Wingless Victory— Lately Found, 1848 Paper negative, 8¹/₈ × 6 in. (20.6 × 15.2 cm) Ex colls.: William Henry Fox Talbot; Mathilde Talbot; Harold White The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace and Anonymous Gifts, 1997 1997.382.7



WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT *The Seine at Rouen*, May 1843 Salted paper print from paper negative, 6³/₈ × 7 in. (16.3 × 17.8 cm) Ex colls.: Lacock Abbey; Mathilde Talbot; Harold White The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace and Anonymous Gifts, 1997 1997.382.3

chemical principles of Talbot's invention. The photographs and texts proposed, with extraordinary prescience, a wide array of applications for the medium that included reproducing rare prints and manuscripts, recording portraits, inventorying possessions, representing architecture, tracing the form of botanical specimens, and making art. The publication, however, was not a commercial success, and as sales declined with each new fascicle, Talbot abandoned the project just before the seventh group of plates was made; *The Ancient Vestry* (opposite, bottom), a photograph of Talbot's friend and fellow calotypist Calvert Jones seated in the sunlit thirteenthcentury vaulted vestry of Lacock Abbey, was to have been the first photograph in the seventh fascicle.

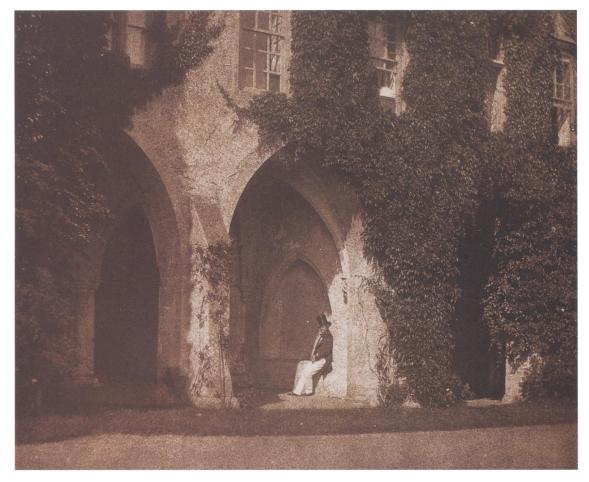
Talbot's second photographically illustrated book, entitled *Sun Pictures in Scotland* and published in 1845 with no text other than a list of plates, transported the reader via photography to sites significant to the life and writings of Sir Walter Scott. Among the images included was *The Tomb of Sir Walter Scott in Dryburgh Abbey* (opposite, top), a romantic expression perfectly suited to the writer. The tomb is embedded in the shadows of the Gothic ruin, itself nestled among the trees that grow where columns of the transept once rose, the whole scene in turn subsumed in the deep, rich tones of the calotype. Copies of this image in *Sun Pictures*, like many plates in *The Pencil of Nature*, faded dramatically from their original dark chocolate brown even in Talbot's time, due to impurities in the Reading establishment's water supply, to the printer having inadequately washed out the hypo fixer, and to the publishers having trimmed and affixed them to bristol, which left them more vulnerable to oxidation and exposed them to chemicals in the mounting glue. The Rubel Collection prints—never trimmed, mounted, or distributed—are extraordinary in their rich tonalities and exquisite state of preservation.

In less than a decade Talbot conceived and brought about a wholly new way of making pictures, perfected the optical and chemical aspects of photography, and learned to use the new medium to make complex images for the botanist, historian, traveler, and artist.



WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT *The Tomb of Sir Walter Scott in Dryburgh Abbey*, 1844 Salted paper print from paper negative, 6⁵/₈ × 7 in. (16.8 × 17.9 cm) Ex coll.: Lacock Abbey The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace and Jennifer and Joseph Duke Gifts, 1997 1997.382.4

WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT *The Ancient Vestry* (also called *Calvert Jones in the Cloisters at Lacock Abbey*), ca. 1845 Salted paper print from paper negative, 6 ½ × 8 ½ in. (16.4 × 20.7 cm) Ex coll.: Lacock Abbey The Rubel Collection, Promised Gift of William Rubel





DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON. Scottish, 1802–1870; 1821–1848 *The Minnow Pool* [Arthur, John Hope, and Sophia Finlay], ca. 1845 Salted paper print from paper negative, 8 × 6 in. (20.3 × 15.1 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Jennifer and Joseph Duke, and Harriette and Noel Levine Gifts, 1997 1997.382.20

"The Pictures Are as Rembrandt's but Improved" CALOTYPES BY DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON

Eager to perfect and promote his invention in the years immediately following his 1839 announcement, Talbot corresponded with fellow scientists throughout Europe and sent them examples of his work. Among those correspondents was the physicist Sir David Brewster, principal of the United Colleges of Saint Salvator and Saint Leonard at Saint Andrews University, just north of Edinburgh (see checklist 2). By 1841, Brewster and his colleague John Adamson, curator of the College Museum and professor of chemistry, were experimenting with the calotype process, and the following year, in response to Talbot's hope that someone in Scotland might be persuaded to practice his process as a competitor to professional daguerreotypists, they instructed Adamson's younger brother, Robert, in the techniques of paper photography. By May 1843 Robert Adamson (1821–1848), then just twenty-one years old, was prepared to move to Edinburgh and set up shop as the city's first professional calotypist.

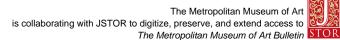
As important as Brewster's introduction of Adamson to the calotype was, another introduction proved even more consequential. Just weeks after Adamson had established himself in Edinburgh, Brewster saw an opportunity to send business his way. On May 18, 1843, the Church of Scotland met in General Assembly amid great dispute over the role of the Crown and landowners in appointing ministers. As the Assembly opened, the moderator, Rev. Dr. David Welsh, read an Act of Protest and led 155 ministers-more than onethird of those present-from the Assembly and through the streets of Edinburgh to Tanfield Hall, where in the days that followed they signed a Deed of Demission, resigning their positions and livelihoods, and established the Free Church of Scotland. Their act of conscience, at great personal risk and sacrifice, seemed heroic to many who were present, including Sir David Brewster and David Octavius Hill (1802–1870).

Hill was a locally prominent and well-connected painter of romantic landscapes and secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy of Fine Arts in Edinburgh (see checklist 1). With the encouragement of the new Free Church, he resolved to paint a large historical painting of the signing of the Deed of Demission, close in spirit to Sir David Wilkie's *The Preaching of John Knox before* the Lords of Congregation (1832), which commemorated a similar landmark in the founding of the Church of Scotland in the sixteenth century. As was often the case for works of this nature, Hill proposed to finance his painting through the sale of reproductive engravings of the finished work. In his advertisement for the engravings, issued within a week of the Disruption (as the upheaval was called), Hill wrote, "The Picture, the execution of which, it is expected will occupy the greater portion of two or three years, is intended to supply an authentic commemoration of this great event in the history of the Church . . . and will contain Portraits, from actual sittings, in as far as these can be obtained, of the most venerable fathers, and others of the more eminent and distinguished ministers and elders."

Brewster, sensing that Hill's intention to sketch each of the several hundred ministers before they returned to the far corners of Scotland would be close to impossible, suggested that the painter use the services of the newly established Adamson to make photographic sketches instead. "I got hold of the artist," Brewster wrote to Talbot in early June, "showed him the Calotype, & the eminent advantage he might derive from it in getting likenesses of all the principal characters before they were dispersed to their respective homes. He was at first incredulous, but went to Mr. Adamson, and arranged with him preliminaries for getting all the necessary portraits." Within weeks Hill was completely won over, and the two were working seamlessly in partnership. As artistic director, Hill composed the picture, placing his sitters as they might appear in the finished painting; Adamson operated the camera and carried out the chemical manipulations.

Hill and Adamson were a perfect team. Hill, twenty years older than Adamson, was trained as a painter and had important connections in artistic and social circles in Edinburgh; he easily attracted a distinguished clientele to the team's portrait studio at Adamson's home, Rock House. Most of all, he possessed a geniality, a "suavity of manner and absence of all affectation," that immediately set people at ease and permitted him to pose his sitters without losing their natural sense of posture and expression. Adamson was young but had learned his lessons well. He was a consummate technician,

www.jstor.ord







DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON Rev. Dr. John Bruce, Rev. John Sym, and Rev. Dr. David Welsh, ca. 1843 Salted paper print from paper negative, 5^{1/2} × 7^{3/8} in. (14.1 × 18.7 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.23

excelling in—and even improving upon—the various optical and chemical procedures developed by Talbot. Both men had a profound understanding of the way the world would translate into monochrome pictures.

If in May Hill had been incredulous, by June he was convinced; by July he was proud to exhibit the first calotypes (salted paper prints from paper negatives, we would term them today) as "preliminary studies and sketches" for his picture, and by the end of the year he and his partner had photographed nearly all the figures who would have a place in his grand painting. Their

DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL

The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland—Signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission at Tanfield, Edinburgh, May 1843, 1843–66. Oil on canvas, 5 ft. × 11 ft. 4 in. (152 × 344 cm). The Free Church of Scotland, Edinburgh. Photograph by Thomas Annan (British, 1829–1887), 1866, carbon print, 10½ × 23¼ in. (26.6 × 60.2 cm). Gift of Robert O. Dougan, 1976 1976.516

hundreds of preparatory "sketches" ranged from single portraits to groups of as many as twenty-five ministers posed as Hill envisioned them in his ambitious composition. Some portraits, such as that of Thomas Chalmers (see checklist 6), first moderator of the Free Church, were used as direct models for the finished work (above). However, at each sitting Hill and Adamson made numerous photographs in various poses, and many photographs of the ministers, such as the group of Rev. Dr. John Bruce, Rev. John Sym, and Rev. Dr. David Welsh (left), have no direct correspondence with the painting. Still other portraits, of people who were not present for the signing of the Deed of Demission but whom Hill apparently thought should have been, were used as models for the painting; the sculptors John Henning and Alexander Handvside Ritchie appear in the upper left skylight in precisely the poses they struck for their calotype portrait (opposite).

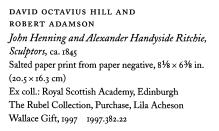
"The pictures produced are as Rembrandt's but improved," wrote the watercolorist John Harden on first seeing Hill and Adamson's calotypes in November 1843, "so like his style & the oldest & finest masters that doubtless a great progress in Portrait painting & effect must be the consequence." In actuality, though, it was so easy to make the portrait "sketches" by means of photography that Hill's painting was ultimately overburdened by a surfeit of recognizable faces: 450 names appear on his key to the painting. The final composition—not completed for two decades and as dull a work as one can imagine—lacks not only the fiery dynamism of Hill's first sketches of the event but also the immediacy and graphic power of the photographs that were meant to serve it.

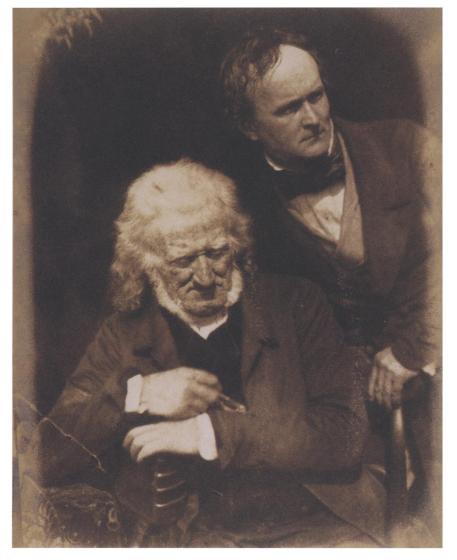
In 1844 Hill submitted seven calotypes to the annual exhibition of the Royal Scottish Academy, including portraits of Sir David Brewster and George Meikle Kemp (p. 16), architect of the two-hundred-foot-high monument to Sir Walter Scott, then nearing completion on Princes Street in Edinburgh. By August of that year Hill and Adamson clearly understood the value of their calotypes as works of art in their own right and decided to expand their collaboration far beyond the original mission, announcing a forthcoming series of volumes illustrated with photographs of subjects other than the ministers of the Free Church: *The Fishermen and Women*

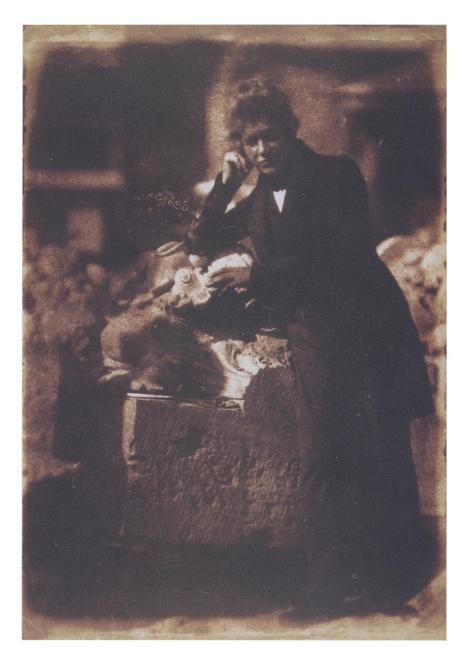
of the Firth of Forth; Highland Character and Costume; Architectural Structures of Edinburgh; Architectural Structures of Glasgow, Sc.; Old Castles, Abbeys, Sc. in Scotland; and Portraits of Distinguished Scotchmen.

Although these titles were never issued as published volumes, Hill and Adamson had already begun to photograph each of the subjects. Their extensive essay on the fishermen and women of Newhaven, some 130 images made between 1843 and 1845, was instantly admired; Brewster, for example, described the Newhaven pictures to Talbot as "singularly excellent." Indeed, the Newhaven photographs are still judged as among the high points of Hill and Adamson's oeuvre and are of interest not only as powerfully rendered portraits and artistic studies of colorful "types" but also as the first sustained use of photography for a social-documentary project.

At a time when the rising industrial revolution had led to great concern over the dismal living conditions of the working class—and the social unrest that those







left

DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON George Meikle Kemp, Architect of the Scott Monument, 1843-44 Salted paper print from paper negative, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. (21 × 14.5 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.12

opposite DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON [Newhaven Fishwives], ca. 1845 Salted paper print from paper negative, 11% × 8% in. (29.5 × 21.7 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Harriette and Noel Levine, and Alexandra R. Marshall Gifts, 1997 1997.382.19

conditions might breed—the fishing village of Newhaven, a mile and a half down the hill from the slums of Edinburgh, seemed a model society. Each person in this insular and self-sustaining community of 2,100 had his or her task, and each supported and was supported by the others. The men fished; the women baited lines and mended nets, cleaned and dried the catch, and climbed the hill to Edinburgh to hawk haddock, herring, cod, and oysters. One writer described the typical Newhaven fishwife, "the heavy fish basket at her back hardly stooping her broad shoulders, her florid face sheltered and softened in spite of its massiveness into something like delicacy by the transparent shadow of the white handkerchief tied hoodwise over her fair hair, and her shrill sweet voice calling 'Caller haddie!' all the way she went, in the melancholy monotone that resounds through the thoroughfares of Edinburgh."

Since most of the men's work was at sea and therefore not only beyond the reach of the camera but also impossible to capture with the long exposure times (thirty seconds or more in full sunlight) of the calotype process, Hill and Adamson paid particular attention to the labor of the women and to the sense of community that bound them together. "There is much stress laid on what may be called 'chumming,' or close companionship...," observed one commentator. "Each considers it



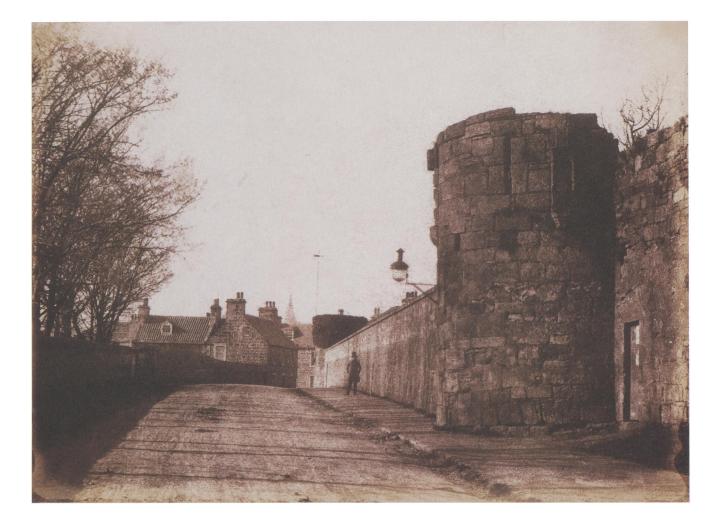


DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON Lady Ruthven, ca. 1845 Salted paper print from paper negative, 7% × 5% in. (19.9 × 15 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Manfred Heiting and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.18 her duty to help or attend to her 'chum' in time of need." It is just such mutual support that Hill and Adamson portray in the rare large-format print of Newhaven fishwives in the Rubel Collection (p. 17). The women pause from their work. One has set down her willow basket and taken a seat, her body turned inward, her face downcast and largely hidden as if burdened by sorrow or worry. Beside her, another woman stands tall, shouldering her willow creel with strength and grace, her apron more broadly striped and sculptural than that of the seated woman; her gestures are open and her attention is focused on her friend.

The calotype's characteristically strong contrasts of light and dark and its gritty texture are honest and earthy, rather like the wool petticoats and aprons, giving the prints a graphic strength perfectly suited to the subject. "The rough surface and unequal texture throughout the paper," Hill wrote, "is the main cause of the Calotype failing in details, before the process of Daguerreotypy—and this is the very life of it. They look like the imperfect work of man and not the much diminished perfect work of God." Indeed, these were the very qualities that imparted to all of Hill and Adamson's photographs an artistic effect that contemporaries judged akin to the works of Rembrandt, Reynolds, and Raeburn.

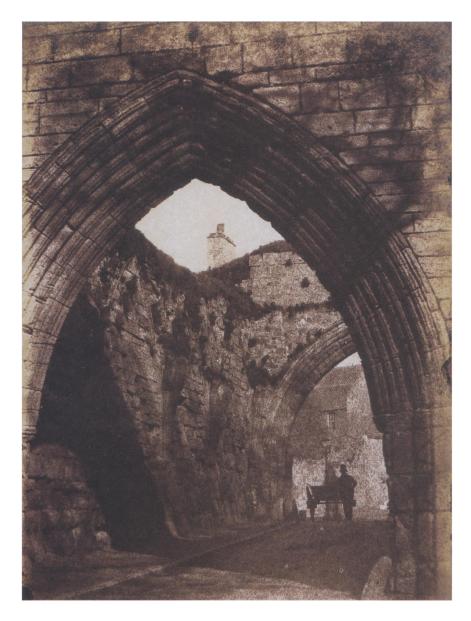
The vast majority of Hill and Adamson photographs show the ministers of the Free Church, notable residents of Edinburgh and distinguished visitors, or the hardy fisherfolk of Newhaven and Saint Andrews. On occasion, particularly in their portraits of the ministers—sober and all dressed alike—Hill and Adamson fell into formulaic patterns based on academic portrait

DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON The Abbey Wall, Saint Andrews, ca. 1844 Salted paper print from paper negative, $5^{34} \times 7^{34}$ in. (14.4 × 19.7 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.30



painting. But there is no doubt that they were among the medium's most gifted portraitists, and one need only look at a few superb examples from the Rubel Collection to understand that Hill and Adamson combined a profound human sensitivity with a sophisticated formal sensibility: the mysterious Lady Ruthven (p. 18); the frail Daniel Ainslie; the Byronic John Stuart Blackie; the affable clockmaker Robert Bryson; the brilliant if overblown lawyer Patrick, Lord Robertson; or Hill and friends horsing around for the camera in *Edinburgh Ale* (see checklist 7, 5, 3, 4, and 11).

Among the Rubel Collection's twenty-seven photographs by Hill and Adamson are also a number of their rarer subjects: architecture, landscape, and genre. Although Hill was primarily a painter of land- and townscape, he and Adamson made few photographs of those subjects. In several cases where they did, the choice of subject is understandable: the sixteenth-century house of John Knox, founding force and passionate voice of the Church of Scotland, because of its connection to the Church and the possibility in 1844 that it might be demolished (see checklist 13); the photographs in Greyfriars Churchyard, because of their romantic connections with death (see checklist 14). Others seem to have been made more for the sheer aesthetic pleasure of the result: *The Pends, Saint Andrews* (below) for its marvelous play of geometric forms and its surprising focus on negative space in the patch of sky seen through the arch; *The Fairy Tree at Colinton* (opposite) for the allover pattern of dappled light that seems to bring the leafless tree to life like the



DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON *The Pends, Saint Andrews*, ca. 1844 Salted paper print from paper negative, 7% × 5% in. (19.4 × 14.2 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Promised Gift of William Rubel



DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON The Fairy Tree at Colinton, ca. 1846 Salted paper print from paper negative, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20.8 × 15 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.29



DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON [Officer of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders Reading to the Troops, Edinburgh Castle], April 9, 1846 Salted paper print from paper negative, $5^{3/4} \times 7^{1/2}$ in. (14.5 × 19.2 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee, and Harriette and Noel Levine Gifts, 1997 1997.382.25 first warm rays of spring. These are brilliant renderings of visual epiphanies before the works of man and nature.

On occasion Hill and Adamson ventured into fullblown genre, costuming and staging literary scenes reminiscent of popular tableaux vivants. To modern eyes the most extreme of such compositions often have a false ring of straining for "high art," but in other cases, the artists found authentically engaging subjects in contemporary life. Officer of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders Reading to the Troops, Edinburgh Castle (opposite) may have served as a study for Hill's painting Edinburgh, Old and New, but it is also a very affecting photograph in its own right, a peek between the castle cannons at the elite group of soldiers, seemingly unaware of the camera, concentrating on the orders of their seated sergeant. Their slight movement, registering on the calotype as a blur, enlivens the scene and gives it a sense of immediacy. The bearskin hats, elaborate military coats, sporrans, and argyle socks provide a lush and lively pattern of tone and texture for the eye.

Masons at Work (below) shows the stone yard of the Scott Monument. As in the Newhaven and military pictures, Hill contrived to pose the masons so naturally that the illusion of instantaneity is altogether convincing. It is precisely this looseness of formal structure, the departure from painted convention, that makes photographs such as this and Officer of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders so remarkable just five years into the history of the medium.

In a time as pervaded as ours is by photographic imagery it is difficult to conceive that within the first few weeks of their collaboration, Hill and Adamson made more photographs than the two together had ever seen. In four and a half years and nearly three thousand images, they pioneered the aesthetic terrain of photography, creating the earliest substantial body of selfconsciously artistic work in the new medium. Their collaboration ended not because of any artistic falling out between the partners but rather because Adamson, sickly from childhood, fell ill in late 1847 and returned to Saint Andrews to be cared for by his family. He died in January 1848.

Hill, having always relied on Adamson for the technical aspects of their endeavors, was left to exploit the existing stock. In 1852 he selected many of the strongest prints of his best images and assembled them in albums for presentation to the Royal Scottish Academy, of which he was secretary. "Our Academy have been making important additions to their Library of late," he wrote to the painter David Roberts. "They have received ... a project of mine to form a Calotype department of the Library of which I have formed the basis with 500 of my own.... Look one day to see this an important feature of our collection." Indeed it was, but under dire fiscal pressure the Royal Scottish Academy decided in 1977 to deaccession and sell its Hill and Adamson albums. As the principal financial backer for the purchase, Rubel received many of the choicest examples of the collection, photographs of exceptional pictorial interest and breathtaking richness.

DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON Masons at Work, ca. 1844 Salted paper print from paper negative, $5^{3/4} \times 7^{7/8}$ in. (14.6 × 19.9 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift and Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.26





ROGER FENTON. English, 1819–1869 Valley of the Ribble and Pendle Hill, ca. 1858 Albumen silver print from glass negative, 125% × 16 ³⁄₄ in. (32.1 × 42.5 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace and Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gifts, 1997 1997.382.33

"More than Mere Photographs" THE ART OF ROGER FENTON

When Hill and Adamson began their partnership in 1843 they were the only professional paper-print photographers in Scotland, and there were a mere dozen licensees of Talbot's process in England; photography was still largely a pursuit for gentlemen amateurs in the 1840s. As the next decade began, however, millions of visitors to London's Crystal Palace saw photographs for the first time at the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of All Nations, creating a public demand that was promptly met by a host of new practitioners both professional and amateur. On the technical front, a new process using glass negatives was introduced in 1851, yielding sharper images with shorter exposures. Soon artists of great talent and ambition took up a fully mature medium and produced works of astonishing power and beauty, ushering in a golden age for photography.

The bright future that Hill envisioned for photography as he assembled his albums in 1852 would come about in large part through the art and advocacy of a thirty-three-year-old London lawyer just then taking up the camera, Roger Fenton (1819–1869). Born at Crimble Hall just north of Manchester, the son of a banker and grandson of a very successful cotton merchant, Fenton enjoyed a youth of modest privilege. At seventeen he moved to London to study Latin, Greek, mathematics, logic, and English at University College, and then to study law. But even as Fenton prepared for a career at the bar, the muses were whispering in his ear. He studied painting, first in London with Charles Lucy and later in Paris with Lucy's teacher Paul Delaroche, a popular history painter in whose studio Fenton probably met Gustave Le Gray, Henri Le Secq, and Charles Nègre, all of whom would become major photographers in the 1850s. After several years in Paris Fenton, his wife, and the first two of their six children settled again in London in 1848. There he exhibited work in the annual exhibitions at the Royal Academy in 1849, 1850, and 1851, the year he began practicing law.

It was also in 1851 that Fenton felt the strong pull of photography. He surely spent hours examining the photographic displays at the Crystal Palace, including works from America by Brady, Whipple, and Holmes; from France by Le Gray, Le Secq, and Bayard; and from England by Beard, Henneman, and Claudet. In the fall of 1851 Fenton traveled again to Paris to visit the rooms of the new Société héliographique, the first photographic society, and to examine photographs by its members, including those made by Le Gray in the French provinces as part of a government-sponsored photographic survey of the nation's architectural monuments. Instructed in Le Gray's waxed-paper negative process (or at least with a copy of Le Gray's treatise) and inspired by the beauty and utility of the French photographs he had seen, he returned to London convinced of the benefit that a photographic society could play in the advancement of the medium in England. In the March 1852 issue of The Chemist Fenton proposed the establishment of an English society: "all those gentlemen whose taste has led them to the cultivation of this branch of natural science, ... those eminent in the study of natural philosophy, ... opticians, chemists, artists, and practical photographers, professional and amateur" were urged to contact Roger Fenton. A provisional committee of the proposed Photographic Society, including Fenton, was formed and held its first meeting at the Society of Arts in London in June 1852 to plan its future.

That fall Fenton set out for Russia at the invitation of his friend the engineer Charles Vignoles, to photograph a bridge Vignoles was building for Czar Nicholas I across the Dnieper River near Kiev. With less than a year's experience but with obvious proficiency, Fenton saw no reason to limit himself to that appointed task. He returned with his portfolio filled with photographs of landmarks in Kiev, St. Petersburg, and Moscow, several examples of which he promptly included, along with English views, in an "Exhibition of Recent Specimens of Photography" at the Society of Arts, organized by the provisional committee of the not-yet-established Photographic Society. The first meeting of the group was held in January 1853, and Fenton was elected honorary secretary. His career as a photographer was launched.

Inspired by the example of his French colleagues, though lacking the government patronage that had sent them to distant monuments, Fenton set about photographing Britain's Gothic churches and abbeys on his own account. Working with glass negatives as large as 14 x 18 inches, Fenton wedded technical prowess with a



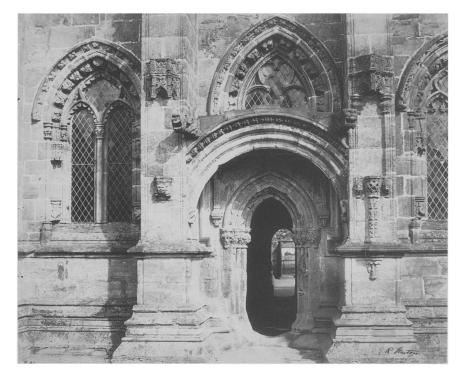


profound sensitivity for choosing the precise vantage point and lighting conditions that would best render the smallest details of architecture, convey a sense of monumentality, and imbue his subjects with a Romantic spirit. He excelled as a photographer of architecture throughout the decade, treating subjects across England and Scotland that included the cathedrals of Salisbury, Wells, Lincoln, and Litchfield; Windsor and Balmoral Castles; and the ruined abbeys of Rievaulx, Fountains, Rosslyn (below), and Lindisfarne.

In 1854 Fenton was appointed official photographer of the British Museum-the first to hold such a postand made portraits of the Royal Family. His most widespread acclaim, however, came the following year with photographs of the Crimean War, a conflict in which British, French, Sardinian, and Turkish troops battled Russia's attempt to expand its influence into European territory of the Ottoman Empire. By early 1854 the war was centered on the Crimean Peninsula in the Black Sea and its capital, Sebastopol (now Sevastopol), the siege of which was immortalized in Alfred, Lord Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade." Commissioned by the Manchester publisher Thomas Agnew and Sons and encouraged by the government, which hoped that his photographs would reassure a worried public, Fenton departed for the Crimea in late February 1855 with five cameras, seven hundred glass plates, a large cart outfitted as a traveling darkroom, three horses, and thirty-six large chests of provisions. His extensive documentation

of the war—the first such use of photography—included pictures of the port of Balaklava, where British forces landed; the camps, officers, soldiers, and support staff of the various allied armies; and the general terrain and battlefields. It did not include photographs of the fighting itself, which was beyond the technical grasp of the medium, or of the wounded and dead, which would have exceeded the bounds of taste. Fenton departed Balaklava at the end of June with more than 350 photographs and a case of cholera. He presented his photographs to Queen Victoria at Osborne House in August and exhibited them in London in early September just as news arrived that the Russians had retreated and Sebastopol had fallen.

If, three and a half years later, in January 1859, visitors to the sixth annual exhibition of the Photographic Society thought they were seeing another aspect of the photographer's work from the Crimea, perhaps made en route in Constantinople, they might be forgiven. Seven of Fenton's forty-two submissions to the exhibition had orientalist themes, including Turkish Musicians and Dancing Girl, Pasha and Bayadère, Nubian Water Carrier, Egyptian Dancing Girl, The Reverie, and In the Name of the Prophet, Alms. Men in robes and turbans sat cross-legged on Persian rugs, poured coffee, smoked water pipes, played oddly shaped drums and bizarre stringed instruments, or stared fixedly at a girl in Eastern garb playing finger cymbals as she danced. But Fenton had not made these images in Turkey, the Holy Land, or North Africa-what the nineteenth century knew as "the Orient." They were



ROGER FENTON Rossyln Chapel, South Porch, 1856. Salted paper print from paper negative, $14^{1/8} \times 17$ in. (35.8 × 43.3 cm) Gilman Paper Company Collection

opposite ROGER FENTON [Reclining Odalisque], 1858 Salted paper print from glass negative, 11¹/4 × 15³/4 in. (28.5 × 39 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Anonymous, Joyce and Robert Menschel, Jennifer and Joseph Duke, and Ann Tenenbaum

and Thomas H. Lee Gifts, 1997 1997.382.34



not ethnographic studies of foreign custom but rather costume dramas enacted the previous summer in Fenton's London studio, and they were products of fantasy more than documentation. If not British, his models were more likely Italian than Turkish or Egyptian.

In all, Fenton made just over fifty pictures in what we now refer to as the "orientalist suite," a series inspired by the Victorian vogue for the exotic trappings of empire and prompted by his desire to elevate the status of photography by tackling themes more frequently treated in painting. In Paris he had surely seen the harem scenes and odalisques of Eugène Delacroix and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, and he likely knew John Frederick Lewis's highly detailed drawings and watercolors of North African themes, exhibited in Manchester and London in 1857 and 1858.

Of the fifty or so orientalist pictures that Fenton made, fewer than a dozen were exhibited. Most were printed once and glued to the gray paper pages of the artist's personal albums. Those albums, consigned by an anonymous source and sold piecemeal at Christie's, London, between 1978 and 1982, are now recognized as having held an irreplaceable cache of rare Fenton material. Among the orientalist pictures found only in the "gray albums," as they have become known, was a remarkable photograph of a reclining odalisque (above) that William Rubel recognized as the masterpiece of the series and purchased at auction in 1978.

Reclining Odalisque is among the quietest pictures in the group. There are no cowering slaves or leering sultans, no music or dancing, few stage props, no narrative tale. She is simply there, a vision floating in darkness the exquisite embodiment of Victorian fascination with the exotic and the erotic. She lies languorously on dark pillows set on layers of carpet; she is barefoot but crowned with golden coins; she wears loose-fitting patterned harem pants and a blouse fully unbuttoned to reveal a

ROGER FENTON [Landscape with Clouds, I], ca. 1859

Salted paper print from glass negative, $9\% \times 17\%$ in. (25 × 43.6 cm) The Rubel Collection, Promised Gift of William Rubel

on pages 28–29







ROGER FENTON [Landscape with Clouds, II], ca. 1859 Salted paper print from glass negative, $12\frac{3}{8} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ in. $(31.4 \times 44.3$ cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift, Curator's Discretionary Grant from The Judith Rothschild Foundation, and Thomas Walther Gift, 1997 1997.382.35

opposite:

GUSTAVE LE GRAY. French, 1820-1882 The Great Wave, Sète, 1856-59. Albumen silver print from two glass negatives, 13¹/₄ × 16¹/₄ in. (33.7 × 41.4 cm). Gift of John Goldsmith Phillips, 1976 1976.646 hint of bare breast below gossamer; she caresses an upturned goblet drum, a phallic *darabukke* inlaid with mother-of-pearl; and she looks at us from the shadows, subtly provocative in a way calculated to stir the Western imagination.

Although most pictures in the orientalist suite are slightly shiny albumen prints, Fenton chose to make this image a salted paper print, with a velvety matte surface and deep tones that impart a fleshy sensuality to the object itself. Here is that rarest of moments when an artist's most subtle or complex conception finds perfect expression. It is one of the paradoxes of photography, a medium that promised the possibility of countless copies of each image, that the greatest works from the nineteenth century often survive in only a handful of exhibitable prints, or, as in this case, in only a single—but superb—example.

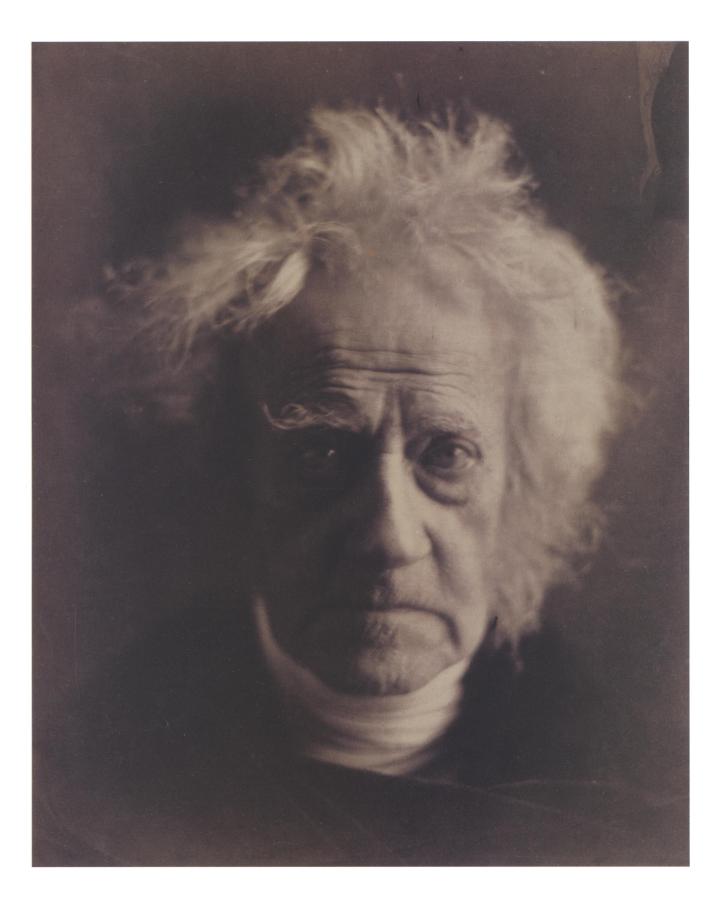
Fenton possessed a particular sensitivity for landscape, a subject he explored with as much determination and success as he did architecture. "No one can touch Fenton in landscape," wrote the critic for the Journal of the Photographic Society in a review of the annual exhibition in 1858. "... There is such an artistic feeling about the whole of these pictures . . . that they cannot fail to strike the beholder as being something more than mere photographs." Again the Rubel Collection includes two of his finest achievements in the genre, each a unique print from the "gray albums" (pp. 28–29, opposite). We don't know precisely where Fenton made these two views, but that seems of little consequence. Like others of his finest landscapes, they are not mere topographic records, depictions of a famous gorge or mountain, but rather expressions of man's spiritual connection to nature. They are minimal and awesome, seeming to hover between the imagined and the observed, reminding one of Wordsworth's love "of all the mighty world / Of eye,



and ear,—both what they half create, / And what perceive." These expansive cloudscapes—one extremely large, the other trimmed by Fenton in the slightest suggestion of the curve of heaven's dome—are the descendants of Constable's cloud studies and Turner's explorations of atmosphere and light.

Fenton, like every other photographer of the period, faced the problem that his photographic emulsion was not equally sensitive to all colors of the spectrum and that, as a result, a negative properly exposed for the landscape left a blank or slightly mottled sky. His friend Gustave Le Gray solved the dilemma famously by printing his seascapes from two negatives, one exposed properly for the shore and sea, the second for the sky (below). Fenton, by contrast, used a single negative and exposed it for the sky, letting the land go dark, for his intended mood and meaning were different. Unlike Le Gray's immensely popular and widely distributed seascapes with their theatrical sleight of hand, Fenton's masterpieces are private meditations upon nature, intensely felt, printed once and kept in his personal albums. Particularly in the slightly trimmed print (see pp. 28–29), Fenton pushed the dark surface of man's world—silhouetted trees, barely visible grazing sheep, distant hills and horizon-to the bottom edge of his composition and filled the page with a dreamlike sea of sky with waves of clouds, stretching to infinite distance.

With a series of large and luxuriantly detailed still lifes made in 1860 and exhibited the following year, Fenton succeeded in demonstrating photography's capacity to rival the other arts in every genre, and having done so in the span of a single decade, he left the field. In 1862, for reasons that remain unclear, Fenton announced his retirement from the profession he had helped establish, sold his negatives and equipment, and returned to a career in law. He may have been prompted by financial pressures, or he may have become disillusioned with the course the medium seemed to be following-ever more commercialized and industrialized with photographers increasingly forced to produce vaster quantities of cheaper prints, necessarily less refined in conception and execution. Or perhaps, having achieved the sublime, Fenton found little further challenge in photography.



"Men Great thro' Genius... Women thro' Love" PORTRAITS BY JULIA MARGARET CAMERON

In December 1863, little more than a year after Fenton retired from photography and sold his equipment, Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–1879) received her first camera. It was a gift from her daughter and son-in-law, given with the words "It may amuse you, Mother, to try to photograph during your solitude at Freshwater." Cameron was forty-eight, a mother of six, and a deeply religious, well read, somewhat eccentric friend of many of Victorian England's greatest minds: the painter G. F. Watts; the poets Robert Browning, Henry Taylor, and Alfred, Lord Tennyson; the scientists Charles Darwin and Sir John Herschel; and the historian and philosopher Thomas Carlyle. In the decade that followed the gift, the camera became far more than an amusement to her: "From the first moment I handled my lens with a tender ardour," she wrote, "and it has become to me as a living thing, with voice and memory and creative vigour." Her mesmerizing portraits and figure studies on literary and biblical themes were unprecedented in her time and remain among the most highly admired of Victorian photographs.

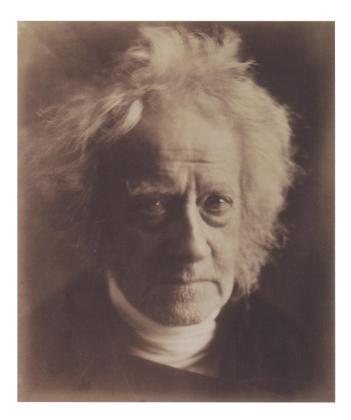
Cameron was born in Calcutta, the fourth of ten children of Adeline de l'Etang and James Pattle, an official in the East India Company. She was educated in Versailles, where she spent much of her childhood with her grandmother before returning to India at the age of eighteen. In 1836, at the Cape of Good Hope, she met Charles Hay Cameron, a classical scholar and jurist twenty years her senior; two years later, in February 1838, they were married in Calcutta. In the decade following their marriage, Charles rose to the positions of president of the Calcutta Council of Education and member of the Supreme Council of India, and Julia Margaret played an increasingly important role in social and diplomatic circles of British India, marked by an unusual dedication to the health and education of the local population.

When Charles retired in 1848, he, Julia Margaret, and their six children moved to England, where three of

opposite

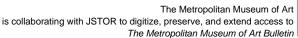
JULIA MARGARET CAMERON. English, 1815–1879 Sir John Herschel, April 1867

Albumen silver print from glass negative, 14¹/₈ × 11 in. (35.9 × 27.9 cm)



JULIA MARGARET CAMERON Sir John Herschel, April 1867 Albumen silver print from glass negative, 13³/₈ × 10⁷/₈ in. (33.9 × 27.6 cm) The Rubel Collection, Promised Gift of William Rubel

her sisters already lived in or near London. The Camerons settled first in Tunbridge Wells, near Charles's old friend the poet Henry Taylor, and later in Putney Heath, near Alfred, Lord Tennyson (p. 35) and his wife. "They had unconventional rules for life which excellently suited themselves," remarked one friend about all the Pattle sisters, whose domain was humorously referred to as "Pattledom." Cameron's home, like that of her sister Sara at Little Holland House, was forever filled with poets and painters. In 1860, while her husband was in Ceylon checking on the family coffee plantations, Cameron visited the Tennysons' new home at Freshwater on the Isle of Wight and promptly purchased two cottages next door, which she joined together and christened Dimbola, after the Camerons' estate in Ceylon.





The Rubel Collection, Promised Gift of William Rubel

The gift of the camera in December 1863 came at a moment when Charles was again in Ceylon, when their sons were grown or away at boarding school, and when their only daughter, Julia, had married and moved away. Photography became Cameron's link to the writers, artists, and scientists who were her spiritual and artistic advisors, friends, neighbors, and intellectual correspondents. "I began with no knowledge of the art," she wrote. "I did not know where to place my dark box, how to focus my sitter, and my first picture I effaced to my consternation by rubbing my hand over the filmy side of the glass." No matter. She was indefatigable in her efforts to master the difficult steps in producing negatives with wet collodion on glass plates. (This process, which had completely replaced Talbot's paper negatives by the late 1850s, yielded superbly detailed results, but at a cost of convenience: each negative had to be coated with an even layer of collodion [nitrocellulose dissolved in ether], sensitized with silver nitrate, placed in the camera, exposed, and developed in the darkroom, all before the sticky collodion dried.) She converted Dimbola's coal house into a darkroom and its glassedin chicken coop into a light-filled studio. "The hens were liberated . . . [and] the society of hens and chickens was soon changed for that of poets, prophets, painters and lovely maidens." Although she may have taken up photography as an amateur and sought to apply it to the noble noncommercial aims of art, she immediately viewed her activity as a professional one, vigorously copyrighting, exhibiting, publishing, and marketing her photographs. Within eighteen months she had sold eighty prints to the Victoria and Albert Museum, established a studio in two of its rooms, and made arrangements with the West End printsellers Colnaghi to publish and sell her photographs.

She had no interest in establishing a commercial studio, however, and never made commissioned portraits. Instead, she enlisted friends, family, and household staff in her activities, often costuming them as if for one of the amateur theatricals that she presented at Dimbola, aiming to capture in photographs of those around her the spirit of characters from poetry and the Bible. A parlor maid was transformed into the Madonna, her husband into Merlin, a neighbor's child into the infant Christ or, with swan's wings attached, into Cupid or an angel from Raphael's Sistine Madonna. Her artistic goals for photography, informed by the outward appearance and spiritual content of fifteenth-century Italian painting, were wholly original in her medium. She aimed for neither the finish and formalized poses common in the commercial portrait studios nor for the elaborate

narratives of other Victorian "high art" photographers such as H. P. Robinson and O. G. Rejlander. Her aspirations were, she said, "to ennoble Photography and to secure for it the character and uses of High Art by combining the real and the Ideal and sacrificing nothing of the Truth by all possible devotion to poetry and beauty."

Her technique was as unorthodox as her conception. She purposely avoided the perfect resolution and minute detail that glass negatives permitted, opting instead for carefully directed light, soft focus, and long exposures (counted in minutes, when others did all they could to reduce exposure times to a matter of seconds). No commercial portrait photographer of the 1860s, for instance, would have portrayed Sir John Herschel-the nation's preeminent scientist and mathematician, considered the equal of Sir Isaac Newton-as Cameron did in 1867 (pp. 32, 33). In Cameron's portraits there are no classical columns, no piles of weighty volumes, no scientific attributes, no academic pose, for Herschel was to her more than merely a renowned scientist; he was "as a Teacher and High Priest," an "illustrious and revered as well as beloved friend" whom she had known for thirty years. It was he who had written to Cameron in Calcutta of Talbot's invention when the art was in its infancy and sent the first photographs she had ever seen-scientific discoveries that were "water to the parched lips of the starved," she recalled. And so her image of him would be no stiff and formal effigy; she had him wash and tousle his hair to catch the light, draped him in black, brought her camera directly in front of his face, and photographed him emerging from the darkness like a vision of an Old Testament prophet. Her portraits are direct, unmediated by convention, recording faithfully, she hoped, "the greatness of the inner as well as the features of the outer man." As she wrote to Herschel, "I believe in other than mere conventional topographic photography-map-making and skeleton rendering of feature and form."

Her photographs were not universally admired, especially by fellow photographers. The *Photographic Journal*, reviewing her submissions to the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland in 1865, reported with a condescension that infuriated her: "Mrs. Cameron exhibits her series of out-of-focus portraits of celebrities. We must give this lady credit for daring originality, but at the expense of all other photographic qualities. A true artist would employ all the resources at his disposal, in whatever branch of art he might practise. In these pictures, all that is good in photography has been neglected and the shortcomings of the art are prominently exhibited. We are sorry to have



JULIA MARGARET CAMERON

Alfred, Lord Tennyson, July 4, 1866 [incorrectly inscribed "July 4th 1864"] Albumen silver print from glass negative, $13\frac{34}{12} \times 10\frac{58}{10}$ in. (35×27 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Michael and Jane Wilson, and Harry Kahn Gifts, 1997 1997.382.36



JULIA MARGARET CAMERON Zoë, Maid of Athens, probably 1866 Albumen silver print from glass negative, 11 % × 9% in. (30.1 × 24.5 cm) Ex coll.: G. F. Watts The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee, and Muriel Kallis Newman Gifts, 1997 1997.382.38

to speak thus severely on the works of a lady, but we feel compelled to do so in the interest of the art." The Illustrated London News countered, describing her portraits as "the nearest approach to art, or rather the most bold and successful applications of the principles of fine-art to photography." The Photographic Journal rebutted: "Slovenly manipulation may serve to cover want of precision in intention, but such a lack and such a mode of masking it are unworthy of commendation." Wilhelm Vogel reported the stir that her photographs provoked the following year in Berlin, where they won Cameron the gold medal: "Those large unsharp heads, spotty backgrounds, and deep opaque shadows looked more like bungling pupils' work than masterpieces. And for this reason many photographers could hardly restrain their laughter, and mocked at the fact that such photographs had been given a place of honour.... But, little as these pictures moved the photographers who only looked for sharpness and technical qualities in general, all

the more interested were the artists ... [who] praised their artistic value, which is so outstanding that technical shortcomings hardly count." Cameron dismissed the condemnation of the photographic establishment, writing later that it would have dispirited her "had I not valued that criticism at its worth," basking instead in the positive judgment of artists and friends.

In general, the men in Cameron's portraits were undisguised, in part because Herschel and Carlyle, Tennyson and Taylor, Watts and Darwin were genuinely heroic in her eyes—they were "men great thro' genius," as she wrote to Taylor—and in part because there existed a market for portraits of Britain's renowned poets, artists, scientists, and philosophers. The women Cameron photographed, however, were not celebrities—they were great "thro' Love." In them she found qualities of innocence, virtue, wisdom, piety, or passion that made them modern embodiments of classical, religious, and literary figures. *Zoë, Maid of Athens* (above), for example, is only superficially a portrait of May Prinsep, the adopted daughter of Cameron's sister Sara. Rather it is a poetic evocation of love and longing, deriving its subject from a poem by Lord Byron. Written as he left Athens and Theresa Macri, a young woman for whom he felt enormous affection, the poem begins "Maid of Athens, ere we part, / Give, oh, give me back my heart!" Through the use of an embroidered hat, to provide a slight suggestion of exotic locales, and careful posing, Cameron conjures up the very vision by which Byron swore his love:

By those tresses unconfined, Wooed by each Aegean wind; By those lids whose jetty fringe Kiss thy soft cheeks' blooming tinge; By those wild eyes like the roe, Zoë mou sas agapo [My life, I love you].

The sense of poetic truth, rather than of photographic truthfulness, is largely due to Cameron's lighting, to the sense of breath and spirit instilled by her model's slight movement during the long exposure, and to the softness of focus. "My first successes in my out-of-focus pictures were a fluke," Cameron wrote. "That is to say, that when focusing and coming to something which, to my eye, was very beautiful, I stopped there instead of screwing on the lens to the more definite focus which all other photographers insist on." In so doing, she gave the feeling of flesh without, in Rejlander's words, "an exaggerated idea of the bark of the skin."

Even allowing for slight movement as a positive attribute, posing for Cameron was no easy task. One of her models-or "victims" as Tennyson called themleft a vivid description of a photographic session with Cameron: "The studio, I remember, was very untidy and very uncomfortable. Mrs. Cameron put a crown on my head and posed me as the heroic queen.... The exposure began. A minute went over and I felt as if I must scream, another minute and the sensation was as if my eyes were coming out of my head; a third, and the back of my neck appeared to be afflicted with palsy; a fourth, and the crown, which was too large, began to slip down my forehead; a fifth-but here I utterly broke down, for Mr. Cameron, who was very aged, and had unconquerable fits of hilarity which always came in the wrong places, began to laugh audibly, and this was too much for my self-possession, and I was obliged to join the dear old gentleman."

Mary Hillier, a beautiful young house servant at Dimbola, was often pressed into photographic service, frequently in the role of the Virgin Mary. She managed to assume her various guises in a remarkably unselfconscious way, projecting both gentleness and strength of character. Hillier is also the model for Cameron's Sappho (p. 38), a profile portrait in the Florentine quattrocento style, perhaps inspired by the chromolithographic reproductions of Italian paintings distributed by the Arundel Society, of which Cameron was a member. The image has great presence, so much so that Cameron decided to print it even though she broke the negative. Precisely what the picture has to do with the Greek poet of Lesbos is unclear, especially since Cameron inscribed another print of the same image Adriana. The titles of two close variants reveal that by looking left instead of right Hillier was apparently transformed from Sappho into Dora or, when photographed from one step further back, Clio. Although Cameron often set out to portray a certain ideal, she also titled pictures after the fact, sometimes because the image seemed to embody the character of a certain literary or biblical figure, but sometimes, one suspects, quite simply because there was more of a market for images of the Virgin, Sappho, or Christabel (from Coleridge's poem) than there was for portraits of the photographer's niece or a parlor maid from the Isle of Wight.

Just as Cameron's two portraits of Herschel convey slightly different shadings of his character, so, in broader strokes, do two allegorical portraits of Miss Keene, an arresting model about whom we know nothing but her last name. Both images, Cassiopeia (p. 39, left) and Mountain Nymph, Sweet Liberty, were part of William Rubel's collection, and the relationship between them seems to enrich the meaning of each. Of the two, the Metropolitan acquired only Cassiopeia from Rubel because our collection already held a fine print of Mountain Nymph (p. 39, right), by far the best of thirty Cameron photographs bought in 1941 for the Museum by its early print curator A. Hyatt Mayor. As Rubel envisioned, the two images can be seen side by side. In Cassiopeia Miss Keene is shown full face, her hair pulled back, looking straight at the camera. Cameron's title, which refers to the Ethiopian queen who drew Poseidon's anger for claiming to be more beautiful than his sea nymphs, again seems to have little to do with this portrait of a touchingly vulnerable and melancholy young Victorian woman. Its pendant, Mountain Nymph, Sweet Liberty, is the emotional counterpoint to Cassiopeia. The model once more is shown full face, staring directly at the camera (and, by extension, at the viewer), but subtle changes entirely transform the image: now her hair is loose, her proper dress has been exchanged for a freer drapery, she fills the frame entirely, her eyes are wide rather than recessed, and she seems to step out of the







JULIA MARGARET CAMERON The Mountain Nymph, Sweet Liberty, 1866. Albumen silver print from glass negative, $14\frac{14}{3} \times 11\frac{14}{3}$ in. (36.1 × 28.6 cm). Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941 41.21.15

JULIA MARGARET CAMERON Cassiopeia, July 3, 1866 Albumen silver print from glass negative, $13^{34} \times 10^{34}$ in. $(34.9 \times 27.4 \text{ cm})$ The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, Harry Kahn, and Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gifts, 1997 1997.382.37

opposite

Sappho, 1866

Gifts, 1997 1997.382.39

JULIA MARGARET CAMERON

picture. The photograph takes its title from John Milton's

Albumen silver print from glass negative, $13^{34} \times 10^{34}$ in. $(35 \times 27.3 \text{ cm})$ The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Jennifer and Joseph Duke and Anonymous

poem L'Allegro, a celebration of life's pleasures: Come, and trip it as you go

On the light fantastic toe; And in thy right hand lead with thee The mountain nymph, sweet Liberty.

Cameron sent the photograph to Herschel, who wrote back, "That head of the 'Mountain Nymph Sweet liberty' (a little farouche & égarée [timid and distraught] by the way, as if first let loose & half afraid that it was too good to last) is really a most *astonishing* piece of high relief—She is absolutely *alive* and thrusting out her head from the paper into the air. This is your own *special* style." Herschel seized upon the photograph's most striking quality, its startling sense of presence and of psychological connection with the viewer.

All of these images reveal Cameron's extraordinary ability to imbue her photographs with a powerful spiritual content, the quality that separates them from the products of commercial portrait studios of her time. In a dozen years of work, effectively ended by the Camerons' departure for Ceylon in 1875, the artist produced perhaps nine hundred images—a gallery of vivid portraits and a mirror of the Victorian soul.



FÉLIX-JACQUES-ANTOINE MOULIN. French, 1802–after 1869 [*Two Standing Nudes*], ca. 1850 Daguerreotype, 5³⁴ × 4³% in. (14.5 × 11.1 cm) Ex coll.: Michel Simon The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift and Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.46

"Divine Perfection" THE DAGUERREOTYPE IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

The photographs of Talbot, Hill and Adamson, Fenton, and Cameron, represented so beautifully in the Rubel Collection, tell the story of photography's birth and artistic flowering in England. A full account of the medium's early years, however, must include another class of photography, more fully formed at birth than Talbot's was, but shorter lived. In January 1839 Talbot received the distressing news that Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1787–1851), a French painter and showman, proprietor of the famous Diorama, had invented a means of producing amazingly precise images in the camera. Talbot had been trumped even before he knew there was competition.

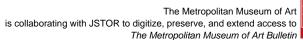
Daguerre's invention resulted more from relentless trial-and-error experimentation and shrewd business dealings than from learned chemical or optical research. Unsuccessful in his earliest attempts to record images projected by the lens of the camera obscura, Daguerre learned in 1826 that Joseph-Nicéphore Niépce was working toward the same goal and had obtained some measure of success. In December 1829, after much cautious correspondence, Daguerre and Niépce entered into a partnership to refine and perfect Niépce's primitive process, but it was only in 1837, four years after the death of Niépce, that Daguerre felt a workable technique to be at hand. Claiming the process to be an independent invention rather than a refinement of Niépce's discovery, Daguerre applied his own name to the new medium: the daguerreotype.

Each daguerreotype was a one-of-a-kind photograph on a highly polished, silver-plated sheet of copper, sensitized with iodine, exposed in a camera obscura, developed over mercury fumes, and fixed with salt or hyposulfite of soda. Generally small in size and having a delicate surface, a beautifully made and well-preserved daguerreotype is, still, a truly magical thing. Appearing at certain angles as nothing more than a mirror reflecting the face of the viewer, when properly lit the object suddenly reveals an image of astounding sculptural presence and seemingly infinite detail.

Unable to find subscribers in 1838 for his still secret process, Daguerre showed his pictures privately to several artists and scientists, including François Arago, secretary of the Academy of Sciences, who was wildly enthusiastic. Recognizing the potential benefits of Daguerre's invention to science, industry, and the arts, and calculating that the enforcement of patent rights would be difficult—a fact that Talbot would find painfully true—Arago sought to have the French government buy the rights to Daguerre's process and present it to the world for the benefit of mankind without restriction (except, ultimately, in England, where Daguerre took a patent). With the inventor's approval, Arago showed daguerreotypes to his fellow academicians on January 7, 1839, and during the next seven months led the legislative effort to grant annuities to Daguerre and the heirs of Niepce in exchange for public disclosure of the daguerreotype process.

Although Talbot's negative-positive method for paper photography would ultimately determine the course of the medium, Daguerre's process was far more refined at the outset. The reviews in Paris were predictably dithyrambic: Jules Janin, for instance, characterized the daguerreotype as "divine perfection." Such reactions were not confined to the French, however; even Herschel, who met with Daguerre and saw specimens of the new art while in Paris in May 1839, had to agree. He wrote to Talbot with an unbridled enthusiasm that must have heightened his friend's worst fears: "It is hardly saying too much to call them miraculous. Certainly they surpass anything I could have conceived as within the bounds of reasonable expectation. The most elaborate engraving falls far short of the richness & delicacy of execution. Every gradation of light & shade is given with a softness & fidelity which sets all painting at an immeasurable distance.... In scenes of great detail, every letter in distant inscriptions-every chip in the corner of every stone in every building is reproduced & distinctly recognizable."

On August 19, before a joint session of the Academies of Sciences and Fine Arts and an audience that overflowed the capacity of the Institut de France, Arago, on behalf of the stage-frighted Daguerre, presented three daguerreotypes and explained the apparatus, chemicals, and step-by-step operations required for their making. With the secret revealed, "daguerreotypomania" swept France and the world. Millions of daguerreotypes were produced in the 1840s. Unlike Talbot's calotype process which, because of the inventor's patent restrictions,





remained the domain of scientists, gentlemen amateurs, and a few licensees during its first decade—the daguerreotype was practiced as well by scores of artists, entrepreneurs, and itinerant artisans.

Just as the daguerreotypists ran the gamut of types, so did their subjects. The overwhelming majority were portraits: for the client such images fulfilled a profound human desire, and for the photographer, whose complicated procedures were best carried out with a darkroom at hand, it was easier to have crowds come to the studio than to take all of the necessary equipment in search of a subject. The most successful commercial studios built lavish salons outfitted with classical columns, heavy drapery, and fancy furniture to suggest the aristocratic status of their sitters, many of whom could in fact only pretend to inhabit such a reality. It seems as though everyone in Paris was daguerreotyped in the 1840s and early 1850s, from the baby in her crib to the wizened veteran of the Napoleonic wars (below).

In France—so different from England in its artistic traditions and contemporary mores-it was inevitable that this new medium with its extraordinarily realistic rendering of form and detail would be used for both art and erotica. The anonymous daguerreotype of a nude with a mirror (see checklist 19), for instance, was clearly made for private contemplation-and titillation. It was hand colored to heighten the feeling of flesh, and the pose didn't even begin to imitate the antique, a mantle of high art that some photographers employed to veil their nude studies, maintaining that they were intended for artists as a substitute for the live model. Another image, of two young women (p. 40) by Félix-Jacques-Antoine Moulin (1802-after 1869) seems more allied to art than to erotica; the models strike relaxed and unselfconscious attitudes, there are no boudoir props or jewelry, and the plate is not hand colored. Apparently not all of his work was so tame, however, for Moulin (who, incidentally, would later buy the rights to sell Fenton's Crimean pictures in



UNKNOWN ARTIST. French [Veteran of the Napoleonic Wars], September 14, 1850 Daguerreotype, $3\frac{34}{2} \times 2\frac{34}{2}$ in. (9.4 × 7 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.44



UNKNOWN ARTIST [House in Winterthur, Switzerland], ca. 1850 Daguerreotype, $3\% \times 4\%$ in. (8.5 × 11.7 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.47

France) was sentenced to a month in jail in 1851 for producing images "so obscene that even to pronounce the titles... would be to commit an indecency."

In spite of the technical complications, some daguerreotypists did make pictures outdoors. A few of the most adventurous traveled the world, returning with images of legendary landmarks and exotic sights. Others recorded places and events that had personal meaning now lost to history, as is the case with an anonymous picture made in front of a house in Winterthur, Switzerland (above). Like many daguerreotypes, it no doubt passed through generations of a family until the old photograph of distant and long-forgotten relatives found its way, perhaps through the hands of some flea-market "picker," to a London auction in 1975, where it was purchased by Rubel. Lost along the way was the detailed knowledge of just who were the women on the balcony and in the garden, and who were the two young boys posing before the camera with their long wooden sticks for hornussen, a ball game played in northern Switzerland. All that remains is the art: light filtering through the trees on a charming scene of mid-nineteenth-century life.

Daguerre demonstrated his new medium for Samuel F. B. Morse, the American inventor and painter, in March 1839. Morse returned to America, eagerly awaited Arago's August announcement of the details of daguerreotypy, and by September was trying his hand at it. The craze for daguerreotypes swept America as rapidly as it did France. As in Paris, the most accomplished artists established impressive studios in the major American cities-Mathew Brady in New York (see checklist 20), the Langenheim brothers in Philadelphia, John Whipple (1823–1891) and Southworth and Hawes in Boston. Whipple's portrait of Cornelius Conway Felton (p. 44, top), Eliot professor of Greek literature at Harvard and later the university's president, is marvelously enigmatic: a miniature diptych giving equal billing to the classical scholar and to his hat and coat. (Unlike in France, where daguerreotypes were often framed or sealed behind a painted glass mat for hanging on the wall, in America they were usually set in leather or thermoplastic cases to be hand-held for viewing.) What amusing story was told as its owner pulled this leather case from his pocket and showed these images to friends? We can only guess. Other daguerreotypes are more straightforward. Although the maker remains unknown (daguerreotypes were rarely signed), the Rubel Collection portrait of the abolitionist Frederick Douglass (p. 44, bottom) is a majestic portraval of man born in slavery, whose dignified posture, forceful gaze, and determined expression, along with the passion and eloquence of his words, proved the merits of his cause.

Albert Sands Southworth (1811–1894) and Josiah Johnson Hawes (1808–1901) were known worldwide for the extreme finesse of their daguerreotype portraits of Boston's notable politicians, writers, merchants, and other prominent citizens, a fine collection of which, including thirty-six whole-plate examples, was among the early photographic acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum in 1937. (Plates came in a standard 8½ x 6½-inch size



but were often cut in half, quarters, eighths, and even sixteenths for those who could afford only a smaller piece of immortality.) A whole-plate daguerreotype in the Rubel Collection shows a type of subject not otherwise represented in the Museum's collection of Southworth and Hawes-a display of American sculpture at the Boston Atheneum (p. 46). At the center is a plaster cast of Diana of Versailles, famed since the sixteenth century as a touchstone of Roman sculpture. (To those familiar with the sculpture something seems amiss, for this daguerreotype, like many, is laterally reversed.) Around it, in one of the earliest permanent displays of sculpture in America, are a cast of Houdon's bust of Washington and another, possibly of Franklin, a declaration of Boston's claim to be the "Athens of America." Like the casts themselves, Southworth and Hawes's exquisite daguerreotype is a faithful copy of reality, in their words a "transformation of shadows into substance."

In America, which lacked the centuries of artistic tradition that shaped daguerreotypy in France, the medium generally took a decidedly more democratic and vernacular form. Itinerant daguerreotypists with little technical or artistic training—modern equivalents of the colonial limners—offered an entire class of

UNKNOWN ARTIST. American Frederick Douglass, ca. 1855 Daguerreotype, $2^{34} \times 2^{14}$ in. (7 × 5.6 cm) Ex coll.: Hermine B. Rubel The Rubel Collection, Promised Gift of William Rubel JOHN ADAMS WHIPPLE. American, 1823–1891 Cornelius Conway Felton with His Hat and Coat, early 18505 Two daguerreotypes, each $3\frac{14}{4} \times 2\frac{34}{4}$ in. (8.3 \times 7 cm) Ex coll.: Hermine B. Rubel The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace, W. Bruce and Delaney H. Lundberg, and Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee Gifts, 1997 1997.382.41ab

<image>



Attributed to PLATT BABBITT. American, act. 18405–705 Niagara Falls, ca. 1855 Ambrotype, 5¹/₈ × 7¹/₄ in. (13.2 × 18.4 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997-382.49

people who would never have dreamt of having their portraits painted the possibility of recording their likenesses. However modest in ambition, such artisanal daguerreotypes and their poorer cousins, ambrotypes and tintypes, often achieved a poignant expression or inventive form precisely because of their lack of affectation. One can well imagine the emotions that accompanied the image made at the gravesite of Charles Carpenter, aged nineteen (see checklist 18), or a young gentleman's ecstatic descriptions and swelling pride as he displayed a photograph of himself standing at the edge of Niagara Falls (above), or the vivid sense of place conveyed by the

absolute clarity of description in a view of a California gold mining town about 1860 (see checklist 22).

It was the plainspoken truth and sheer physical beauty of such objects that first attracted the attention of Hermine B. Rubel in the flea markets of Los Angeles in the 1930s and 1940s and that later inspired her grandson William to build on their foundation a collection of photographs representing supreme achievements of the medium's early artists, many of which have now found a permanent home at the Metropolitan Museum.



ALBERT SANDS SOUTHWORTH and JOSIAH JOHNSON HAWES American, 1811–1894; 1808–1901 Sculpture Gallery, Boston Athenaeum, ca. 1854–55 Daguerreotype, 7% × 5¹⁄₂ in. (18.8 × 13.8 cm) Ex coll.: Hermine B. Rubel The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.40

Additional Works from The Rubel Collection

Titles in italics are those assigned by the artist or are precise identifications. Titles in brackets are descriptive only. Measurements (height preceding width) are those of the image, not of the photographic paper or mount, unless otherwise noted. For daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, and tintypes, the measurements refer to that portion of the image visible through the presentation mat.

A checklist of all 195 photographs originally in the Rubel Collection, from which the Museum made its selection, is provided in the sale catalogue for Hans P. Kraus Jr. by Larry J. Schaff, *Sun Pictures Catalogue Eight: The Rubel Collection* (see p. 55), to which we are indebted for much of the checklist and figure caption information in this *Bulletin*.



1. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. Scottish, 1802–1870; 1821–1848. *David Octavius Hill*, ca. 1845. Salted paper print from paper negative, 8×5^3 in. (20.2 × 14.6 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.8



2. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. Sir David Brewster, ca. 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative, 8×6 in. $(20.2 \times 15.1$ cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.9



3. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *Robert Bryson*, ca. 1846. Salted paper print from paper negative, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20.4 × 15.4 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Harriette and Noel Levine Gift, 1997 1997.382.10



4. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *Patrick, Lord Robertson*, 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative, 7% × 5³⁴ in. (19.9 × 14.7 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Warner Communications Inc. Purchase Fund, by exchange, 1997 1997.382.11



5. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. John Stuart Blackie, ca. 1845. Salted paper print from paper negative, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16.5 × 11.9 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Warner Communications Inc. Purchase Fund, by exchange, 1997 1997.382.13



6. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *The Reverend Thomas Chalmers*, D.D., ca. 1843. Salted paper print from paper negative, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. (16.1 × 11.9 cm)

Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund and Warner Communications Inc. Purchase Fund, by exchange, 1997 1997.382.14



7. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. Daniel Ainslie, ca. 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative, $7\frac{34}{5} \times 5\frac{78}{5}$ in. (19.8 × 14.8 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.15



8. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. Summer Noon [John Hope Finlay], ca. 1846. Salted paper print from paper negative, 6½ × 8¼ in. (15.4 × 20.9 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.16



9. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *Miss Glynn, Actress and Reader*, ca. 1845. Salted paper print from paper negative, 7³/₄ × 6 in. (19.6 × 15.2 cm)

Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift and Muriel Kallis Newman Gift, 1997 1997.382.17

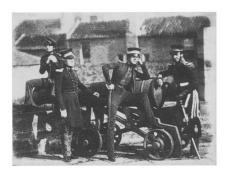


10. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. Adolph Saphir and His Tutor, Rev. Daniel Edward, ca. 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative, $7^{34} \times 6$ in. (19.8 \times 15.2 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.21



11. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *Edinburgh Ale* [James Ballantine, Dr. George Bell, and David Octavius Hill], ca. 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in. (14 × 19.7 cm)

Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Promised Gift of William Rubel



12. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *Major Crawford, Major Wright, Captain Saint George, and Captain Bortingham of the Leith Fort Artillery*, ca. 1845. Salted paper print from paper negative, $5\% \times 7\%$ in. (14.3 × 19.5 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.24



13. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. John Knox's House, Edinburgh, ca. 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative, $5\% \times 7\%$ in. (14.2 × 20 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.27



14. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *The Covenanters' Tomb, Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh* [The Martyrs' Monument and the McColluch Tomb], ca. 1845. Salted paper print from paper negative, 8¹/₈ × 5⁷/₈ in. (20.6 × 14.9 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.28

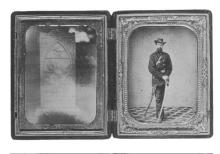


15. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. Cardinal Beaton Castle, Saint Andrews, ca. 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative, $5^{34} \times 7^{34}$ in. (14.6 × 19.8 cm)

Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.31



16. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. [Architectural Study, Probably in Saint Andrews], ca. 1844. Salted paper print from paper negative, $5^{1/2} \times 7^{5/8}$ in. (13.9 × 19.5 cm) Ex coll.: Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.32



17. Unknown Artist. American. [Tombstone of Margaret M. Stuart], ca. 1849. Daguerreotype, $3\% \times 2\%$ in. (9.1 × 6.8 cm). Soldier, ca. 1865. Tintype, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.8 × 6.3 cm) Ex coll.: Hermine B. Rubel The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.42ab



18. Unknown Artist. American. [Gravediggers at the Tomb of Charles Carpenter], 1853. Daguerreotype with applied color, $4^{34} \times 3^{1/2}$ in. (12.1 × 8.8 cm) Ex coll.: Hermine B. Rubel The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.43



19. Unknown Artist. French. [Nude with Mirror], ca. 1850. Daguerreotype, $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (7.1 × 5.6 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.45



20. Mathew Brady. American, 1823–1896. Grenville Kane, late 1850s. Ambrotype, 4³4 × 3¹/₂ in. (12 × 8.9 cm) Ex coll.: Hermine B. Rubel The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.48



21. Unknown Artist. English. [Boys Behind a Science Experiment], late 1850s. Ambrotype, $2^{1/4} \times 2^{3/4}$ in. (5.7 × 6.9 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Richard and Ronay Menschel Gift, 1997 1997.382.50



22. Unknown Artist. American. [California Gold-Mining Town], ca. 1860. Ambrotype with applied color, $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. (8.4 × 11.2 cm) Ex coll.: Hermine B. Rubel The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.51



23. Possibly Silas S. Holmes. American, 1820–1886. Niagara Falls, ca. 1855. Salted paper print from glass negative, $12 \times 15\%$ in. (30.5 × 40.4 cm)

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.52



24. John Wheeley Gough Gutch. English, 1809–1862. *The Little Ormes Head, Llandudno,* September 1857. Salted paper print from glass negative, $6\frac{1}{4} \times 8$ in. (15.8 × 20.2 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift, 1997 1997.382.53



25. John Wheeley Gough Gutch. Collier Boats and Little Ormes Head, Llandudno, September 1857. Salted paper print from glass negative, $5\% \times 7^{34}$ in. (14.9 × 19.7 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift, 1997 1997.382.54



26. John Wheeley Gough Gutch. *Saint Catherine's Island, Tenby*, ca. 1857. Salted paper print from glass negative, 6% × 8½ in. (16.3 × 21.5 cm)

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift, 1997 1997.382.55



27. Francis Lockey. English, 1796–1869. *Royal Private Baths*, ca. 1849. Paper negative, 7% × 8 in. (18.6 × 20.2 cm); sheet 8½ × 8¾ in. (20.5 × 21.3 cm)

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.56



28. John Murray. Scottish, 1809–1898. *The Taj Mahal*, mid-1850s. Paper negative, $15\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{4}$ in. (39.3 × 46.5 cm) Ex coll.: John Murray (grandson of the photographer) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.58



29. John Murray. *The Taj Mahal and Gardens*, mid-1850s. Paper negative, 15¹% × 18⁵% in. (38.5 × 47.2 cm) Ex coll.: John Murray (grandson of the

photographer)

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Anonymous Gift and Cynthia Hazen Polsky Gift, 1997 1997.382.57

This negative is the central panel of a three-part panorama, shown right.



John Murray, *The Taj Mahal and Gardens*, mid-1850s. Three albumen silver prints from paper negatives. Gilman Paper Company Collection



30. Attributed to Thomas Sutton. English, 1819–1875. *[Harbor Scene]*, ca. 1855. Salted paper print from glass negative, 7³/₈ × 9⁷/₈ in. (18.6 × 25.1 cm)

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.59



31. Linneaus Tripe. English, 1822–1902. Virabadra Drug, from the series Photographic Views of Ryakotta and Other Places in the Salem District, December 1857–January 1858. Salted paper print from paper negative, 10 $\% \times$ 15 in. (27.7 × 38.2 cm)

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Cynthia Hazen Polsky and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.60



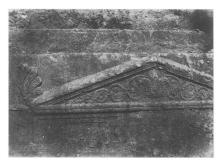
32. Linneaus Tripe. [Medieval Indian Statuary in the Central Museum, Madras], from the series Photographs of the Elliot Marbles, 1858. Albumen silver print from glass negative, $10\frac{1}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{8}$ in. (25.8 × 23.2 cm) Ex coll.: Atkinson Public Library, County Borough of Southport The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace and Richard and Ronay Menschel Gifts, 1997 1997.382.61



33. Felice Beato. British, born Venice?, 18205–1907 or later. Interior of the South Taku Fort and Showing the Place of [British] Landing, June 25, 1859 [central panel of a three-part panorama], 1860. Albumen silver print from glass negative, 10¹/₄ × 11⁵/₈ in. (25.9 × 29.5 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, by exchange, 1997 1997.382.62



34. Charles Nègre. French, 1820–1880. *Tarascon*, ca. 1852. Albumen silver print from paper negative, 9¹/₄ × 13 in. (23.6 × 32.9 cm) Ex coll.: Joseph Nègre (grandson of the photographer) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.63



35. Auguste Salzmann. French, 1824–1872. Pediment of the Tomb of Josaphat, Valley of Josaphat, Jerusalem, 1854. Salted paper print from paper negative (Blanquart-Evrard process), $9^{14} \times 13^{14}$ in. (23.4 × 33.7 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.64



36. Auguste Salzmann. Pool of Siloe, Canal Cut in the Rock, Jerusalem, 1854. Salted paper print from paper negative (Blanquart-Evrard process), $8\% \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ in. (22.6 \times 31.7 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.65



37. Nadar (Gaspard-Félix Tournachon). French, 1820–1910. *Charles Philipon*, 1856–58. Salted paper print from glass negative, $9\frac{14}{\times}$ $7\frac{3}{8}$ in. (23.4 × 18.7 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Ann Tenenbaum and Thomas H. Lee and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1997 1997.382.66



38. Albert Victor Nau de Champlouis. French, 1833–after 1867. *Interior View of the Entrance Portal, Temple of Jupiter, Baalbeck*, 1860–61. Albumen silver print from paper negative, $9\% \times 7\%$ in. (25.2 × 19.4 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.67



39. Constant Alexandre Famin. French, 1827–1888. *[Man in a Forest Landscape]*, ca. 1870. Albumen silver print from glass negative, 13¹/₄ × 10 in. (33.7 × 25.3 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson

Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.68



40. Circle of Giacomo Caneva. Italian, ca. 1812–ca. 1865. *Temple of Vesta and Fountain, Piazza Bocca della Veritá*, ca. 1855. Salted paper print from paper negative, $93 \times 71/2$ in. $(23.7 \times 19 \text{ cm})$

The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.69



41. Robert Macpherson, Scottish, ca. 1814–1872. Cascatelle at the Villa of Maecenas, Tivoli, ca. 1858. Salted paper print from glass negative, 12¹/₈ × 16¹/₈ in. (30.9 × 41 cm) The Rubel Collection, Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1997 1997.382.70

opposite DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL AND ROBERT ADAMSON Major Crawford, Major Wright, Captain Saint George, and Captain Bortingham of the Leith Fort Artillery, ca. 1845. See checklist 12.

ON THE RUBEL COLLECTION

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ON WILLIAM HENRY FOX TALBOT AND HIS CIRCLE

Larry J. Schaaf. Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot and the Invention of Photography. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

Larry J. Schaaf. *Records of the Dawn of Photography: Talbot's Notebooks P and Q.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Larry J. Schaaf. Sun Pictures Catalogue One-Catalogue Seven. New York: Hans P. Kraus, 1984-95.

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Colin Ford and Roy Strong. *An Early Victorian Album: The Photographic Masterpieces (1843–1847) of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

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Sara Stevenson. *Hill and Adamson's The Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1991.

ON ROGER FENTON

John Hannavy. *Roger Fenton of Crimble Hall*. Boston: David R. Godine, 1976.

Valerie Lloyd. *Roger Fenton: Photographer of the 1850s.* Exh. cat. London: Hayward Gallery, 1988.

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Helmut Gernsheim. Julia Margaret Cameron: Her Life and Photographic Work. Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1975.

Mike Weaver. Whisper of the Muse: The Overstone Album and Other Photographs by Julia Margaret Cameron. Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1986.

Sylvia Wolf. *Julia Margaret Cameron's Women*. Exh. cat. Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1998.







p. 3 "does no more than wink his eye..." Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, "Photography," *Quarterly Review* 101 (April 1857), pp. 442–68; repr. in Beaumont Newhall, *Photography: Essays & Images* (New York: 1980), p. 88.

p. 5 "for when the eye..." William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature* (London: 1844-46), n.p.

p. 5 "the inimitable beauty ... " Ibid.

p. 5 "without great stretch..." Talbot, "Appendix A, Parts I–II," in Gaston Tissandier, *A History and Handbook of Photography*, 2nd ed. (London: 1878), pp. 346–66; (repr. New York: 1973), p. 356.

p. 5 "some [pictures] were obtained ... " Talbot, Pencil.

p. 6 "A person unacquainted..." Talbot, "The Photogenic Art," *Literary Gazette* 1150 (Feb. 2, 1839), p. 74.

p. 6 "if the paper..." Talbot entry in *Notebook M*, Feb. 28, 1835, manuscript in the National Trust Fox Talbot Museum, Lacock, qtd. in Schaaf, *Records* of the Dawn of Photography, p. xviii.

p.7 "Nature impresses herself..." Robert Hunt, *Researches on Light* (London: 1844), p. 36.

p. 9 "Great bustle..." Talbot to Elisabeth Fielding, May 15, 1843, manuscript in the National Trust Fox Talbot Museum, Lacock. I thank Michael Gray, curator of that museum, for calling this letter to my attention.

p. 13 "The Picture ... " Advertisement in *The Witness*, May 24, 1843, qtd. in Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson*, p. 9

p. 13 "I got hold of the artist..." Sir David Brewster to Talbot, July 3, 1843, qtd. in Ford and Strong, p. 22.

p. 13 "suavity of manner..." Art Journal, 1850, qtd. in Stevenson, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, p. 17.

p. 14 "The pictures produced..." qtd. in Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson*, p. 21.

p. 16 "the heavy fish basket..." Frances Ann Kemble, *Record of a Girlhood*, vol. 1 (London: 1879), pp. 242–45; qtd. in Stevenson, *Hill and Adamson's The Fishermen*, p. 17.

p. 16 "There is much stress..." Mrs. George Cupples, *Newbaven: Its Origin and History* (Edinburgh: 1888), qtd. in Stevenson, *Hill and Adamson's The Fishermen*, p. 20.

p. 19 "The rough surface ... " Hill to Mr. Bicknell, Jan. 17, 1848, manuscript in George Eastman House, Rochester, qtd. in Ford and Strong, p. 30.

p. 23 "Our Academy..." Hill to David Roberts, Nov. 18, 1852, manuscript in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, qtd. in Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson*, p. 28.

p. 25 "all those gentlemen..." Roger Fenton, "Proposal for the Formation of a Photographical Society," *The Chemist*, March 1852, repr. in Hannavy, pp. 19–20.

p. 31 "No one can touch ..." "The Exhibition," *Journal of the Photographic Society*, May 21, 1858, pp. 208–9.

p. 31 "of all the mighty world..." William Wordsworth, "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey, on Revisiting the Banks of the Wye during a Tour, July 13, 1793."

p. 33 "It may amuse you ... " Julia Margaret Cameron, "Annals of My Glass House," manuscript in the Royal Photographic Society, Bath, repr. in Gernsheim, p. 180. p. 33 "From the first moment..." Ibid.

p. 33 "They had unconventional rules..." Anna Thackeray Ritchie, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson and His Friends* (London: 1893), qtd. in Amanda Hopkinson, *Julia Margaret Cameron* (London: 1986), p. 54.

p.34 "I began with no knowledge of the art \ldots " Cameron, "Annals," p.80.

p. 34 "The hens were liberated ... " Ibid., p. 181.

p. 34 "to ennoble Photography…" Cameron to Sir John Herschel, Dec. 31, 1864, qtd. in Gernsheim, p. 14.

p. 34 "as a Teacher ... " Cameron, "Annals," p. 182.

p. 34 "water to the parched lips . . . " Ibid., p. 183.

p. 34 "the greatness . . . " Ibid., p. 182.

p. 34 "I believe . . . " Cameron to Sir John Herschel, Dec. 31, 1864, qtd. in Gernsheim, p. 14.

p. 34 "Mrs Cameron exhibits ... " "Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland and Its Medals," *The Photographic Journal*, Feb. 15, 1865, p. 196.

p. 36 "the nearest approach ..." *Illustrated London News*, repr. as "The Exhibition of the Photographic Society" in *The Photographic Journal*, July 15, 1865, p. 117.

p. 36 "Slovenly manipulation ..." *The Photographic Journal*, Oct. 16, 1865, p. 161.

p. 36 "Those large unsharp heads..." *Photographische Mitteilungen*, 1867, p. 73, qtd. in Gernsheim, p. 64.

p. 36 "had I not valued ... " Cameron, "Annals," p. 181.

p. 36 "men great thro' genius ..." Cameron to Henry Taylor, July 1, 1877, manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, qtd. in Wolf, p. 23.

p. 37 "By those tresses ... " George Gordon, Lord Byron, "Maid of Athens, Ere We Part," 1810. Cameron probably understood "Zoë mou sas agapo" to mean "Zoë, I love you," but Byron himself translated it as "My life, I love you."

p. 37 "My first successes . . . " Cameron, "Annals," p. 181.

p. 37 "an exaggerated idea..." Oscar Gustav Rejlander, *Wolverhampton Chronicle*, Aug. 6, 1856, qtd. in Hopkinson, p. 99.

p. 37 "The studio, I remember . . . " A Lady Amateur, "A Reminiscence of Mrs. Cameron," *Photographic News*, January 1, 1886, p. 3.

p. 39 "That head..." Herschel to Cameron, Sept. 25, 1866, manuscript in the National Museum of Photography, Film, and Television, Bradford, qtd. in Schaaf, *Sun Pictures Catalogue Eight*, p. 58.

p. 41 "It is hardly saying too much..." Herschel to Talbot, May 9, 1839, manuscript in the National Museum of Photography, Film, and Television, Bradford, qtd. in Schaaf, *Out of the Shadows*, p. 75.

p. 43 "so obscene..." court document, July 23, 1851, qtd. in Serge Nazarieff, *Early Erotic Photography* (Cologne: 1993), p. 110.

p. 44 "transformation of shadows..." Southworth and Hawes advertisement, qtd. in Robert Sobieszek and Odette Appel, *The Spirit of Fact: The Daguerreotypes of Southworth and Hawes, 1843–1862* (Boston, Rochester: 1976), p. xviii.

