

11-1-1999

Material Vision : A Portrait of Change from Victorianism to Modernism in America

Anne Liljedahl Schock
Skidmore College

Follow this and additional works at: https://creativematter.skidmore.edu/mals_stu_schol



Part of the [American Art and Architecture Commons](#), [Classical Archaeology and Art History Commons](#), and the [Visual Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Schock, Anne Liljedahl, "Material Vision : A Portrait of Change from Victorianism to Modernism in America" (1999). *MALS Final Projects, 1995-2019*. 23.
https://creativematter.skidmore.edu/mals_stu_schol/23

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the MALS at Creative Matter. It has been accepted for inclusion in MALS Final Projects, 1995-2019 by an authorized administrator of Creative Matter. For more information, please contact dseiler@skidmore.edu.

Material Vision : A Portrait of Change

from

Victorianism to Modernism in America

by

Anne Liljedahl Schock

FINAL PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN LIBERAL STUDIES

SKIDMORE COLLEGE
JULY 1999

Advisors : Joanna Zangrando , Charles Stainback

Abstract

This study is a portrait of Victorian culture in America as it is represented in the photographic album and an examination of the album as an artifact of material culture . The album is viewed as a material and visual reference and the photograph as an historical document . Parallels are drawn between the album's structure , pictorial content and presentation, and compare similarly to the infra-structure of the society . A series of four photographic collections establish a chronology from the 1860s to the early twentieth century, while each documents the changes in the process and presentation of the photographic medium respectively, the four collections provide evidence that signify changes in social attitudes and behaviors that were occurring from 1860s to early 1900s.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Introduction 1

Photography in its Original Context 8

The Victorian Home as a Vital Institution 12

Prologue to the Collections Text 15

The Catherine Suckley Album : The " Memoir " 25

The 1906 Album : The " Essay " 36

The Glass Plate Collection : The " Survey " 50

The Snapshot Collection : The " Caption " 54

Epilogue 57

Works Cited 59

Illustrations

- Fig. 1. Carte de visite Album , Wilderstein Preservation Collection
- Fig. 2. Front inside cover flyleaf to carte de visite album
- Fig. 3. Portrait of Mary Suckley
- Fig. 4. Caroline Bowne
- Fig. 5. Carte from album
- Fig. 6. Carte de visite portrait of Queen Victoria ,1861, John Edwin Mayall . Beaumont Newhall Collection . The History of Photography by Beaumont Newhall . Museum of Modern Art , N.Y. 1988.
- Fig. 7. Wilderstein , photo by author.
- Fig. 8 *Upper Gallery of the Crystal Palace, Sydenham , England. ca. 1853 . Philip Henry Delamotte . Gernsheim Collection, University of Texas, Austin. The History of Photography by Beaumont Newhall . Museum of Modern Art, N.Y. 1988.*
- Fig. A Carte de visite lithograph
- Fig. B. Silhouette of Robert Suckley
- Fig. C. Carte de visite chromolithograph of *Moss and Cranberry Vine*
- Fig. 9. Album leaf , carte de visite album.
- Fig.10. Carte de visite lithograph portrait
- Fig.11. Carte de visite portrait of Grace Hunt and chromolithograph of pansies
- Fig.12. Carte de visite of " Kittie " and chromolithograph of bluebells
- Fig.13. Carte de visite lithograph of mother and child
- Fig.14 Carte de visite lithograph of mother and child
- Fig.15. Carte de visite lithograph
- Fig.16. Carte de visite lithograph
- Fig.17. Cartes de visite portraits of *Margaret and Maria Tillotson*
- Fig.18 Carte de visite portrait of *Dr. George Suckley*
- Fig.19 Carte de visite portraits *Related to Star Miller, Dr. George Suckley*
- Fig.20 Carte de visite portrait of *Rutsen Suckley*
- Fig.21 Hand colored carte de visite portrait of *Robert Suckley*
- Fig.22. Carte de visite portrait of "*Kittie*"
- Fig.23. Ferrotpe portrait of *Grace Hunt* and lithograph illustration
- Fig.24 Carte de visite portrait of "*Kittie*" *R. Suckley*

Fig. 25. Snapshot album , Heinn Company, Milwaukee

Fig. 26 Photograph of House , 1906

Fig. 27. Photograph of Grounds , 1906

Fig. 28. Snapshot photograph of harness racing

Fig. 29. Photograph of horse , *Sept. 1906*

Fig. 30 Portrait of young girl from 1906 album

Fig. 31. Group photograph, *June 1906.*

Fig. D. Snapshot photograph of fair , *Sept. 1906*

Fig. E. Snapshot photograph of fair, *Sept. 1906*

Fig.34 Snapshot photographs from 1906 album

Fig.35 Snapshot photographs from 1906 album

Fig.36 Photographs of illustrations from 1906 album

Fig.37. Photographs from 1906 album

Fig.38. A pair of group photographs from 1906 album

Fig.39 Group photograph, *Aug. 1906*

Fig.40. Group photograph, *Aug. 1906*

Fig.41. Group photograph , *Aug. 1906*

Fig.42. Group photograph , *Aug. 1906*

Fig.43. Oval portrait photograph from 1906 album

Fig.44. *Barnet Plates* box

Fig.45. Positive, Group portrait photograph from glass plate collection

Fig.46. Negative , Group portrait from glass plate collection

Fig.47. Photograph from glass plate collection

Fig.48. Photograph of mother and son celebrating , from the " formless " snapshot collection

Fig.49 Group photograph from the " formless " collection

Fig.50 Group photograph from the " formless " collection

Fig.51. Photograph of *Mother* from the " formless " collection

Fig.52. Photograph of two men in hats from the " formless " collection

Fig.53. Photograph of solitary child from the " formless " collection

Introduction

" It is the age of great expectation and unwearied striving after better things" (quoted in Houghton 33) . Thomas Carlyle declared in 1882 in an essay entitled " A Few Words About the Nineteenth Century ". Carlyle's words echo those of Charles Kingsley who , in 1851, had spoken more poetically of a future in a voice nostalgic for a past that ostensibly eulogized the medieval age: " what a yearning , what an expectation ... of some nobler , more chivalrous, more god-like state ! " (Houghton 12). Their words speak to and for a class of people who shared the ideals of a great society whose material wealth and social and political influence spread throughout the world during the reign of Queen Victoria from 1837-1901 . When did this segment of British society begin to regard themselves as " Victorians ? " David Newsome concludes that it was some time in 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition in London (2) the first of several extravaganzas boasting of Victorian accomplishments. Two years later in 1853 and 1854 the Crystal Palace Exhibition was held in New York City. One of the purposes of such exhibitions, including the International Centennial Exhibition in 1876 and the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893 , was to showcase the " civilized " world's progress by displaying " ... the latest and best products of art and industry, with new machines and recent inventions prominent among them " (Briggs 27) .

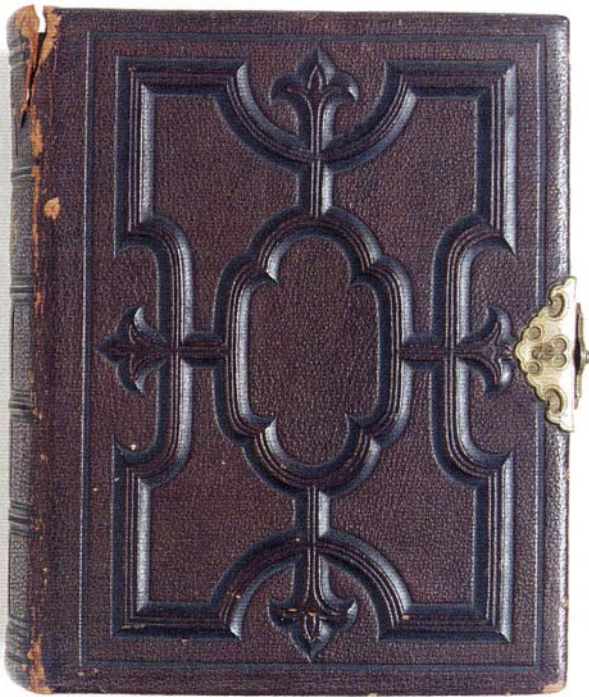
Identified as the middle- and upper- classes, the Victorians were the products as well as the producers of the era , characterized as " ... an intensely materialistic people ... relying on goods to know and define themselves and others , to structure and give meaning to life , to make and find meaning in the world around them, and to express and advocate systems and patterns of belief " (Ames , Death In The Dining Room 5). This study analyzes the material object of the photographic album and its contents as a means

of understanding and defining who the Victorians were and as evidence of their expressions of beliefs and values.

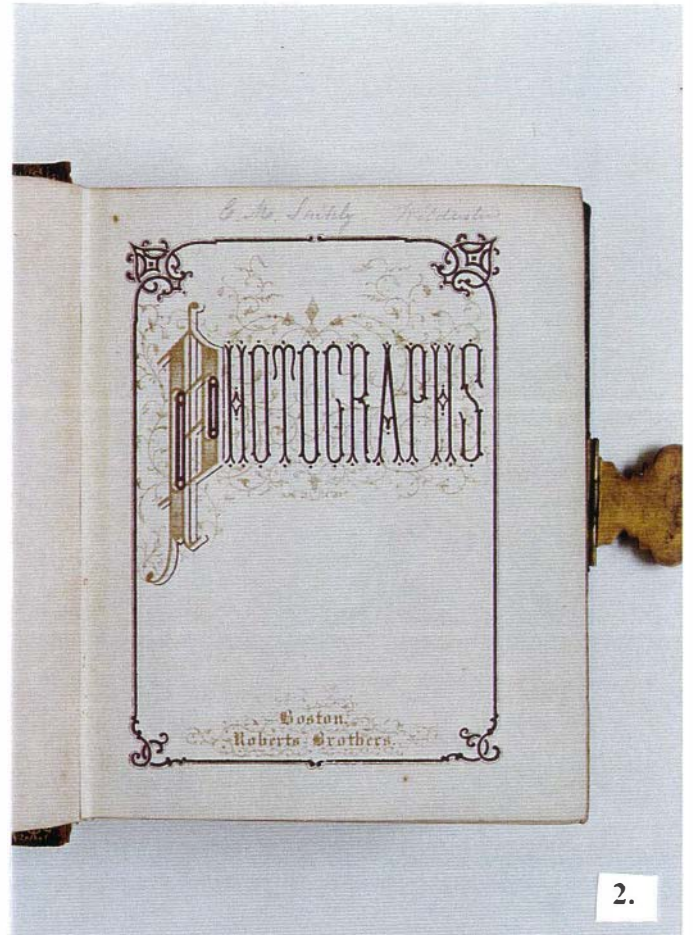
Although Victorian era writers such as Carlyle and Kingsley had much to say about Victorian society, reliance solely on the generalizations of language from which to construct an understanding of the culture limits one's understanding . Furthermore , the writers themselves are limited in their vision , being as much a product of the culture as the words they used to construct their texts . The rhetorical elements of their expressions convey as much about them as about the age they wrote about ; as Kenneth Ames points out , both words and objects are " culturally constructed artifacts " (Death In The Dining Room 3).

Like artifactual objects that survive through the passage of time , words are also passed from one age to the next . Kingsley used words that evoke the ideals of the Medieval Ages, a time lost to the Victorians but one they persistently recalled in the literary and applied arts and architecture that spread from England to America in the second half of the nineteenth century "... where every phase of Victorian taste had its counterpart in architecture, interior decoration and furniture design " (Gloag 56). On a grand scale , emulation of the Gothic was proclaimed in the designs of American architect , and the first landscape gardener as well , A . J. Downing , that appeared in his first book in 1841 entitled Cottage Residences; or a Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage Villas, and their Gardens and Grounds adapted to North America . Downing followed , in 1850 , with The Architecture of Country Houses . Both books were " lavishly illustrated with examples ranging from cottages in the ' English or Rural Gothic style ' to villas in the ' Italian style , bracketed ' (59) .

On a smaller scale , Gothic elements are reflected in the deeply embossed leather covers of the carte-de-visite album (fig. 1) , whose exterior resembled a prayerbook but whose inside cover flyleaf is similar in design to that of the illuminated manuscript of the Middle Ages described in the word " Photographs " (fig.2) .



1.



2.



3.



4.

When the linear arrangement of a culture's written words , its literal evidence of past experience , is combined with the culture's things , its material remnants , our knowledge becomes dimensionally shaped and extended by the contours and substance of objects. The photograph as an historical document expands our knowledge about Victorians and their society. The photographic medium arrests time and transforms the visual remnants of the Victorian era onto the two dimensional plane of a paper support . The iconography of the photograph , the pictorial evidence that is within the borders of the framed image supplies cultural definition . Visual evidence indicates what Victorians wore and the extent of it (fig. 3 , 4) as well as how environments were furnished ; the data that is visibly apparent presents " a precise record of material reality" (Collier 10) yet the image recorded in the photograph was as much a cultural construct as were the literary works .

If the cultural meaning of the photograph is to be explored it is necessary to go beyond the edges of the photographic frame. A comprehensive understanding of its historical context requires the unity of written evidence with the visual representation of the image . In its transcription into what Alan Trachtenberg identifies as a " cultural text " (Reading American Photographs16) , the photograph becomes a document *as* history as well as a document *of* history. Pictorial analysis and knowledge of the technical process of image making gives us the *what* and *how* of the photograph , respectively. Comprehending its historical context provides clues to the *why* of the photograph.. Like the writer of history whose efforts are , in Trachtenberg's words , " to shape an intelligible and usable past " (17) by studying the linguistic patterning of words , the cultural historian uses various other records to develop a narrative of history, including material artifacts, like the objects of this study -- the album and the photographic documents that are contained within it .

" A history ", Thomas Schlereth states , " is a narrative from both the stuff and the spirit of past and present human moments " (Material Culture Studies 14). Like time's

ancestral messengers, this "stuff and spirit" is dispatched through various forms that communicate the beliefs and values of the people who produced them. Albums are references to history, holistically as artifactual objects as well as sources of information about the past that they contain in visual material. These objects are "remnants of the environment of earlier periods, a portion of the historical experience available for direct observation" (Lubar ix). The process of retrieving the information that is lodged in the object requires examination of the object and its physical structure as well as contemplation of its symbolic qualities and what it communicates about the society that produced the object and what it portrays about the individual who may have owned or maintained it. Interpreting its meaning is "to move from the object to the culture behind it to find the beliefs and behaviors that are sustained" (Ames, Death In The Dining Room 2). The album is a cultural symbol as well as a container of iconographic elements. Comprehending this significance requires knowledge of beliefs and perceptions that are external to the object itself. When artifacts are used in conjunction with other sources, including written documents from primary and secondary sources that correspond to the album, another dimension is gained that enhances the historian's understanding of the object, the context of its association as well as what it conveys about the society as a whole.

This is a study of Victorian culture in America as it is embodied by and represented in the photographic album. A series of four photographic collections that span a period of time from the mid-nineteenth century to the early teens of the twentieth-century establish a chronology. Each collection, while it documents changes in the photographic process and presentation of the photographic medium, respectively, provides evidence that signifies changes in social attitudes and behaviors that support the claim that "a society represents itself in what it produces" (Stevenson 17).

The study is an examination of the album as an artifact of material culture: its physical structure and its visual contents, the entire "package" as the artifact. The album is a material and visual reference and the photograph is an historical document with narrative capabilities when analyzed in sequential order. The album's structure, pictorial content and arrangement may be compared to the structure of society. Analysis of the photographs identify signs of the visible external environments of the Victorians, signs that embody invisible, internal values and beliefs. The keeper of the album became an agent of transmission and it is through that keeper's personal remembrances and choices that one may see primary evidence of his or her culture, material fragments of time that were collected and preserved as well as images of those who participated and whose significance warranted inclusion in these visual signatures of memory.

The disposition of the middle- and upper- classes of Victorian society may be clarified by looking at the albums as records of its members' relationships to one another and to the larger world. It is evident that the objects in the two albums have been intentionally arranged by the album's keeper. Articles in the carte de visite album are uniquely framed and one to a page, each a singular entity that is intimately paired with an adjacent image, as if in confidence with one another situated in private conversation on the settee appropriately named "tête à tête." Similar to this specialized parlor furnishing, the album's form was purposely designed for the carte de visite portrait. The form of the 1906 album is book-like, as well, but exhibits a nondescript style containing pictorial representations associated with a more public life. Having exited the cloistered parlor space, the photographs in the latter housing portray diverse images, including groups of people and an expanded range of subject matter. The organization and placement of material within the album suggests connections among adjacent images as well as messages conveyed by the sequencing. A selection of images from the two unhoused collections, the fifteen glass plate negatives and the resulting photographic prints and the thirty snapshot photographs were not pre-arranged nor have they an established

sequence. The historian must impose order and suggest messages that are not fixed but mutable.

According to Steven Beckow , understanding what is conveyed requires " seeing everything in the most literal way" (Material Culture Studies 31). Studying the relationship of one image to another initiates the process of reading the text of the album / collections that contributes to an interpretation of the message. From here the pictorial content can be further examined to determine how the people represented relate to the album keeper as well as how this corresponds to the wider world. These four collections document the transformation of relational changes that occurred over a half century. The coherence and the placement of images represented in the first two albums allow a formal study of sequential images that augment an understanding of pictorial relationships as well as a relative understanding of their connection to each other and to the album keeper. The lack of any pre-existing housing in the last two collections prevents studying any pre-established links that might have been formalized by such an arrangement and suggests the displacement of Victorian values and the increasing ambiguity of relationships that influenced social interactions , especially in the home environment .

When these albums in their entirety are taken in sequential order , cultural patterns emerge that are first evident in the earliest album , the carte de visite portrait album from the 1860s. The changes in social mores that occur over a period of time are perceptible in the visual record of each successive collection of images. Each collection is regarded as a unique visual text , like the thumbprint of the album keeper who composed it . In addition to acknowledging the individuality of each as an entity that records the process of cultural change, they also indicate the technological progress of photography. This is exhibited in the assorted media in the album of the 1860s reinforced by the range of camera formats and print qualities in the gelatin silver photographs of the early twentieth- century and even includes the resin coated paper I used to print the glass plate negatives , giving credence to Kenneth Ames' claim that "... technology may truly

progress, but culture, like art, seems only to change" (235). There is an analogy between the social changes occurring and the advanced technologies that recorded the changes formalized in the material and visual components of these four collections .

The meaning of the photograph is contingent on what the viewer brings to the picture . What the album may have meant to its keeper as well as what it portrays about life in Victorian times is influenced by this contingency . I have become the biographer of these collections by transcribing the visual evidence into narratives of history but have done so influenced by a personal frame of reference. Siegfried Kracauer describes the historian and the photographer as sharing similar tendencies - " ... the realistic tendency which involves gathering all available data of interest , and a formative tendency which requires the explanation of the material in hand ... and by so doing ... historian and photographer are both passive and active, a recorder and a creator " . As the historian and the photographer responsible for transcribing the glass plate negatives into positive images , I have made an effort to balance the " construction and reproduction " of these collections' biographies in order to present an accurate picture of this "conglomerate of particular events, developments, and situations ..." that are components of their " historical reality " (52,56).

Reality for the Victorians was observed by historian Walter Houghton as an " age of transition " (1) . Although not unlike other eras in respect to the dilemmas of change , what distinguishes it from others is that the change *from* the past *to* the future was in the consciousness of the Victorian : "... they saw themselves stranded between medieval and modern perspectives "(Meyer 61) . Acknowledging Kracauer's claim that historical reality " is manifested by its conforming to the materials of which it is woven" (57) this passing on from one state to another became visible to the Victorians as well in the tangible objects that they produced and consumed , therefore changes were *visibly* as well as *consciously* evident that combined to effect a " pervasively self-conscious society " (Ames , Death in the Dining Room 4). The image of the photograph reflected this

characteristic self-consciousness and influenced the way Victorians thought of themselves, their view of the world and how they saw themselves in relation to it .

Photography in its Original Context

The genre of portraiture , its representational image of the Victorian and the encompassing contextual changes , is the focus of this study but it is important to note that the original concept and function of the camera was as a device to accurately and efficiently replicate the facts of nature. The camera functioned mechanically as both the eye and hand of the operator thus saving time as well the proverbial " face " of the artist/operator whose talent as a draftsman was limited .

Photography had its conceptual roots in the terrain of the landscape as a tool for the painter .The photograph originally functioned as a mechanical method of recording information more precisely about the natural world and was subsequently used as a visual reference by the artisan . In the 1830s , Jacques Louis Daguerre, a painter of stage sets, was searching for a way to project an authentic picture of nature on the walls of his Diorama in France. As early as 1822 , Joseph Nicephore Niepce attempted to find an alternative medium for transferring images to the lithographer's stone. Niepce , briefly , became Daguerre' s partner but died before the results of their joint efforts , the direct-positive process of the Daguerreotype, were made public in 1839. At about the same time in England William Henry Fox Talbot was developing the first negative-positive process on paper he named the " Calotype ". Among its several applications Talbot , in his 1839 essay entitled " Some Account of the Art of Photogenic Drawing " , promoted the use of the camera for " Architecture , Landscape , and External Nature " (Goldberg 45).

As Estelle Jussim points out " the profound difference between creating something and making a statement about the quality and character of something had not been perceived prior to the introduction of photography that ultimately ... changed human

thought and perception " (61). The medium of photography transformed people's perceptions of the world and their own identity as the photographic portrait conveyed the image of the subject before the camera. The art of portraying the characteristics of the subject in the " best light " was the task of the camera operator as portrait photographer who utilized mechanical techniques to capture the " ideal . "

What had begun in the late 1830s by itinerant portraitists had become a " profession of unquestioned dignity " by the 1850s. In larger cities , the prestige of the studio photographer appealed to the " better clientele " shaping the medium into an " institution of urban middle class " thus eclipsing the work of the portrait painter in part by appropriating the aesthetic traditions of the artist to the medium of photography (Trachtenberg 22 ,25). To the portrait painter " pursuit of the ideal meant idealization of the sitter ". The painter had established a corpus of ideas that the makers of " light portraits " or photographs , adapted to their own procedures while conforming to doctrines of the genre , including the ultimate goal of conceptualizing ideal beauty . This goal was achieved through expression " the main vehicle by which the intangible , spiritual qualities of the mind and soul were made manifest in the picture ... " and received through the mechanical eye of the camera (Linkeman 35,41) . " Expression " became the key word that represented the major goal of the portraitist , and the direction of the eye's gaze was a primary factor that determined the success of the portrait as a signifier of virtue and respectability and dated as far back as Roman busts. The portraitist arranged the sitter with eyes averted from the camera , caught in distant thought " ... or apprehended in a moment of timelessness " (Trachtenberg 46) .

The image of the photographic portrait had originated in the daquerreotype process that produced a mirrored image believed to be a " true " reflection of the soul of the sitter. These unique portraits were housed in fine morrocan leather cases and were treasured objects in the 1840s. Some people believed that the daguerreotyped portrait image was empowered with the mystical qualities of a " seer of the soul " and was

"reflected " from the medium of the finely detailed daguerreotype that preserved the " literal transcripts of features and forms ," according to Marcus Aurelius Root in The Camera and the Pencil . He professes that these transcripts " once dear to us ... we are scarcely more likely to forget, or grow cold to their originals, than we should be in their corporeal presence... and maintained that ... our loved ones, dead or distant, our friends and acquaintances, however far removed , are retained within daily and hourly vision " (Root 23). Thus the photograph became the surrogate for the loved one who was absent either temporarily or permanently. The art of the daguerreotyped portrait thrived until the late 1850s when multitudes of cartes de visite populated the market and a special housing that could accommodate multiple images and furnish protection for these diminutive portrait photographs was manufactured . The conventions of portraiture as well as the alleged powers of the image that had been established were assumed by the carte de visite portrait imagemakers, in spite of the inability of the viewer to perceive any expression because of the diminutive size of the image.

What was visibly obvious in the carte de visite was the conventional stance of the subject as well as the studio furniture and backdrops. The sitter was to be judged " not by the face ... but by the array of material objects that surrounded the figure ". The object itself " ... accommodated the established nineteenth-century practice of invoking a language of shorthand symbols ... and ... even though it was of an inferior quality, the photograph remained a unique trace of the sitter " (Marien 78, 80) . To the Victorian , this " preserved material image " became a treasured token of a loved one and as Steven Halpern suggests " it transformed person to object and allowed for the material possession of one person by another " (66).

Prior to the portrait image appearing on the small calling-card sized photographs , the ritual of leaving one's card while paying a visit was a part of nineteenth-century Victorian life . Ames notes that " the task fell to the woman of the household " because "

if she were at all genteel , she was presumed to have the time to devote to this activity ". The " card ritual was evidence of conspicuous leisure and an instance of nonproductive labor ". It was significant because " card leaving was a way of entering society, of designating changes in status or address, of issuing invitations and responding to them, of sending sentiments of happiness or condolence, and , in general , of carrying on all communication associated with social life" (Material Culture 219, 220). As the person was received in the entry hall so too was the calling card which was placed on a special tray , often an elaborate cast metal stand made for that purpose. When the individual being called upon was not present the caller left a card .

The introduction of the carte de visite portrait photograph overrode this ritual entry into the home by by-passing the hall, a place that Ames describes as " neither wholly interior nor exterior but a sheltered testing zone which some passed through with ease and others never went beyond, " (221) and entering into the parlor where it was placed in the album by the album's keeper. According to books of etiquette , the calling card was not to be delivered in any way other than in person, yet the carte de visite portraits travelled by post and was given entrée unimpeded by convention . It did not escape the rigid structure of the album where place order , and therefore its status , was determined by the album's keeper .

The novelty of the camera and its potential to impress an image photographically , equipped the Victorians with an opportunity to give definition to their image and pursue the refinement of it . The choice to sit for one's portrait brought about a new regard for one's visibility, as Trachtenberg concludes : " showing people a new way of seeing themselves in the eyes of others, seeing oneself as an image" (Reading American Photographs 29).

The studio portrait offered the sitter the opportunity to participate in developing the proper expression while the photographer enhanced the sitter's stature by following standard methods on how to arrange the body, where to allow light to fall, what

background and furniture to provide , and what to do with the sitter's hands, legs and direction of eyes. The personality presented required collaboration between subject and photographer, following a book of instructions. M.A.Root's 1864 treatise on photography ,The Camera and the Pencil, was one of the first to provide guidance for the "Heliographic artist ." Root claimed that " every manager of a camera should be an artist in feeling and judgement ... to see the best view of each face, and rouse the intellectual faculties of his sitter ...sketch(ing) the moral as well as the physical lineaments " (122) . He likens the "...Heliographic rooms to a 'cathedral ' ... of beauty and grandeur ... that those entering therein may inhale a spirit which shall illumine their faces with the expression which the true artist would desire to perpetuate " (48). He goes on to describe the " true artist as an imitator of the Supreme Proto-Artist , whose aim is to reproduce , as exactly as possible , the creations of the Divine original " (144). Root not only directs the photographer and his subject onto a righteous path but presents the mundane making of a portrait as a divine experience . In so doing, he characterizes the religious tone and the didacticism prevalent in Victorian society.

The Victorian Home as a Vital Institution

Perhaps the most sacred locus for the divine was in the domestic sphere of the home , " the vital institution of Victorian culture" (Coben 3). The carte de visite album , the earliest of the four collections which dates to around 1860, is emblematic of this vital institution , itself a protective dwelling that shelters its inhabitants from the adversities of the outer world . Coupled with its resemblance to the religious object , the prayerbook, the album connotes the sanctity of homelife. Architect and critic John Ruskin described the home figuratively as " the place of peace... and a shelter from all injury...all terror... doubt and division ... a sacred place , a vestal temple, a temple of the hearth watched over



5.



MR. MAYALL THE QUEEN

6.

by Household Gods ... ". It was like " a rock in the midst of a rushing stream " , as traditional institutions and beliefs were being transformed, the Victorians clung to " the oldest of all traditions and stressed its ordered hierarchy and daily ritual " . The home was a refuge from the " the anxieties of modern life" (Houghton 344 , 346) for the husband who commuted to an office in the sphere of the commercial world and "... by the 1860s , Cultural Historian Louise Stevenson notes in her introduction , a majority of men in the middle class were their own bosses ... and increasingly worked at a distance from home , women assumed responsibility for the education and discipline of children and the management of the home " . Historian Stanley Coben describes the home as the place where children " received training which enabled them to develop the ideal " character " that marked a successful Victorian " . Children were encouraged to have "self-control " and to be " punctual " and " orderly " as well as " piously religious " and " conscientious " , striving for " self- improvement " (3) . These virtues applied to both genders but each gender played a specific role in Victorian society . Ames asserts that " the Victorians intensified gender distinctions , the distance between the masculine and feminine poles ... and ... through the doctrine of separate spheres, houses became terrain overseen by women" (Death In The Dining Room 239). If the domestic realm of the home was a " temple " then the woman was the " guardian angel " of it . If the carte de visite album , can be likened to the protective shelter of the Victorian home then the lithograph (fig. 5) depicting a "madonna " image and three children can provide a reference to the religious sensibility apparent in the first album and representative of Catherine , the mother , and her three children, Rutsen, Robert, and Catherine (Kittie).

In 1865 Ruskin described the marital function of the woman as a " guide ... to uplift her more worldly and intellectual mate " and " of all women in the world the most pure ... was Mother " (Houghton 349 , 355). The wife and mother made the home a " school of virtue" (Houghton 350) where she nurtured the health (body *and* mind) of its occupants as well as tended to the financial management of the household. According to

Julia McNair Wright " it was the duty of the husband to make money and of the wife to spend it judiciously, to save as far as you can, without sacrifice of comfort and decency " (Briggs 218). Wright's domestic wisdom flowed from a series of books entitled the Complete Home and helped to nourish the "cult of domesticity " by reminding the reader that "...the Home is an institution of God himself ; it is his ideal of the life of humanity ... and...should not only be a moral center but garrisoned by Family Faith " (Briggs 214). While in the sanctuary of the home , the middle-class Victorian women could apply 'secular' knowledge gathered from the volumes of the Complete Home variously sub-titled : The Household in its Foundation, Order, Economy, Beauty, Healthfulness, Emergencies, Methods , Children, Literature, Amusements, Religion, Friendship, Manners, Hospitality Servants, Industry, Money and History ; and a Volume of Practical Experiences Properly Illustrated (222). The Victorian era was an " age of prescriptive writing ... from child-rearing and household management ... to poetry and fiction ... and where literature and art was expected to benefit society by instructing and elevating the audience " (Harris 25)

Queen Victoria , the ultimate matriarch, " embodied these domestic values and glorified them , elevating family, maternity and the home to a high status " (Green-Lewis 16). The home was not only where the heart should be but where the material possessions resided as well. Besides being credited with maternal instincts , the Queen Mother, herself an avid supporter of photography authorized the camera's documentary capabilities by ordering photographic inventories of the objects she owned , thus visually documenting her royal material possessions and compiling the evidence into albums . Queen Victoria also accumulated more than one hundred albums portraying European royalty and distinguished persons. She supported the medium by promoting the use of photography in portraiture and frequently enlisted the services of the court photographer to record important family occasions and had the photographs added to the private archives . Assorted images were routinely offered to the public, joining the ranks of

celebrity portraits that were collected and placed in family albums like the carte portrait of the Queen (fig 6). Photographs of the rich and famous became as familiar and as available as portraits of the faraway relative and all came literally face to face as they were mounted on the pages of the family photograph album , " not only a family shrine but also a window open to a wider world " (Henisch, 162) . The album was prominently displayed in the parlor, the most public room of the Victorian home, the room that " presented the family's face to the world... where guests were received ... and inevitably it was the best room in the house " (Wallace, 20).

Prologue to the Collections' Text

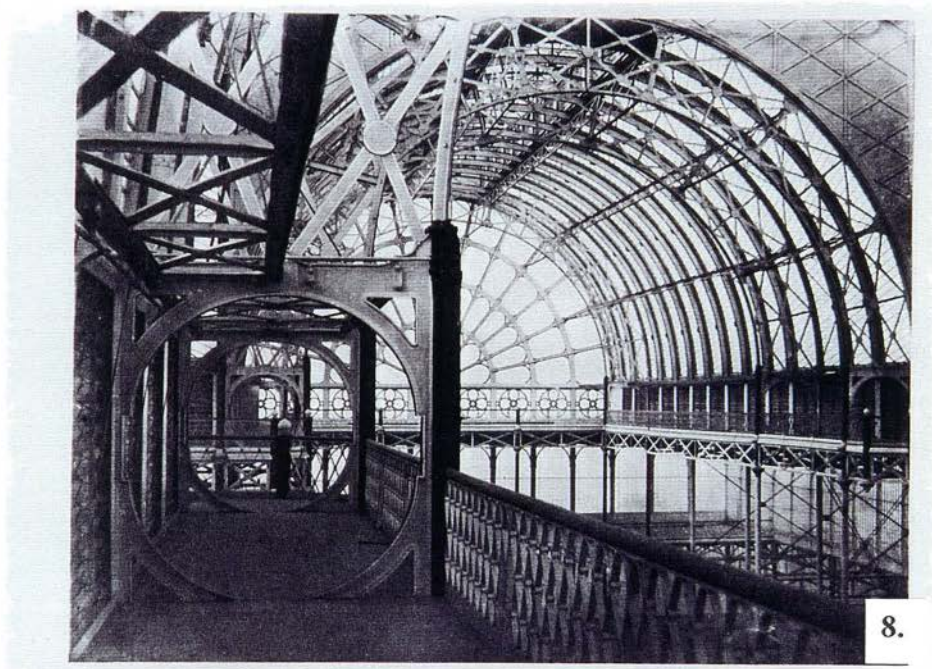
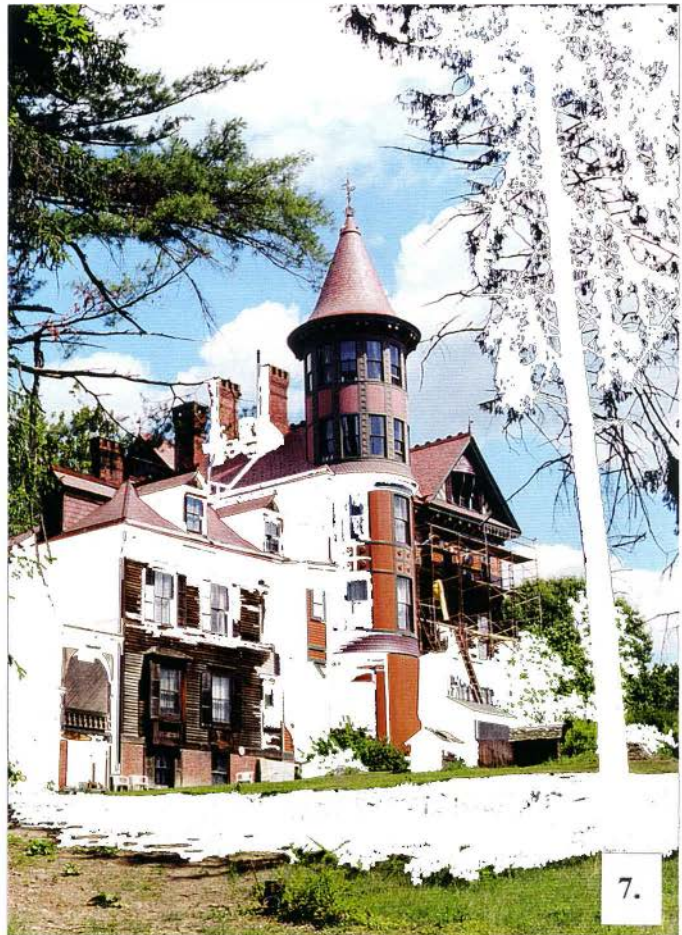
The cultural phenomenon of the photographic experience expanded the world by extending the visual field and subsequently the individual's frame of reference . As an agent of change , the camera recorded the transformation from the private sequestered life to a collective social consciousness that included an interest in public activity . Signs of this transformation are visible in the Suckley album ,and this characteristic expansion into the outer world is evident throughout the remaining collections. It should be understood that the main emphasis in Catherine Suckley's album is on family and the text represents a testimony to its members , especially to her children and to a coterie of close relatives. Among family dwells the esteemed countenances of political figures , including 'Abraham Lincoln '(whose identity is noted by hand) as entry thirty-nine and 'John Quincy Adams' , entry forty-one. Accompanying Lincoln is 'Union Officer Admiral Foote ' standing with sword at his side and seemingly attentive to the President as if waiting for his orders. Adams is in company with a man typified as a " soldier of God " , the Reverend (name illegible). The inclusion of these portraits informs the viewer of the keeper's spiritual and political allegiances and demonstrates the degree of respect given to these men. Their presumed high moral standards warrant their dwelling in league with those people

Catherine treasured but their placement toward the back informs the viewer that family had a higher priority .

The album belonging to Catherine Suckley was eventually located in the parlor of the Queen Anne dwelling that Robert, her son , had constructed . The special nature of her album's contents leads to the conclusion that it was not an object given to public display and for this reason is more like the predecessor of the multiple image album , the cased portrait Daguerreotype. This solitary image , in some cases measuring as small as 1 3/8 " by 1 5/8 " , that had introduced the photographic portrait in 1839 was being vanquished to the remote corner of the dresser drawer by the 1860s , having conceded to the profusion of portraits presented on the carte de visite that measured a mere 2 1/2 " x 4 " .

By the end of 1860 the proliferation of cartes de visite necessitated a more suitable receptacle than the tray that was used to collect calling cards in the entry hall. The introduction of the album fulfilled this need and brought a veritable explosion of " calling cards with faces " into a physical uniformity as well as a visual conformity which became a form that resembled a bound book. This resemblance to the structure of a book was a practical solution to the dilemma of housing multiple images and , almost overnight , small book-like albums became available. The visual as well as the alleged physical similitude to a book and what it implied -- intellectual cultivation and refinement , as well as its spiritual affinity to the prayer book -- facilitated the assimilation of the album and ultimately the photographic image into the realm of Victorian middle-class culture.

To its proponents , the making of a photograph was akin to the workings of nature's hand wherein " the sun was the artist, the camera the vehicle ... and that ... nature had profited from photography which gives her a voice, arms her with a language , and invites her to commit to paper her memoirs " (Green-Lewis 60-61). Art Historian Richard Rudisill describes the camera as becoming " a sort of insight machine by which limited human capacity is enabled to receive the truth which nature provides out of



herself " . Photographs became " ... pictorial records of the essence underlying nature and within man himself " (Goldberg 74 ,75).

While the " spiritual truth " of nature materialized through the medium of photography the Victorians appropriated designs from the natural world and configured their environments with elaborate motifs of flora and fauna . John Gloag tells us that "excessive ornamentation of nearly every article of the Victorian home made even spacious rooms in large houses seem overcrowded ... yet... this excess of ornament , this restless conflict of motifs, helped to create an atmosphere of solid , unshakable comfort ..."(138). The architectural manifestations of this indulgence are epitomized in the Queen Anne style that identifies the architecture of the Suckley estate known as " Wilderstein " (fig 7) and ... after the Great Exhibition of 1851 the Victorian love of ornament for its own sake was immoderately indulged " . The preponderance of ornamentation , according to Gloag, served " to disguise reality ... giving many people innocent pleasure by draping a curtain over the realities of life, as conventional respectability draped a curtain less fantastic but far thicker , over the crude facts and aberrant lusts of human nature " (136).

Like the photograph that could be reproduced in multiples , ornamentation proliferated on mass produced objects and goods ranging from the massive headboards of the bedroom suite to the lilliputian pickle fork in the dining room , to the infinite yards of floral chintz that draped the parlor walls and settees . Imagination predominated in the affectations of material objects but in matters of the mind a disciplined self-control was expected and above all was necessary to maintain control over one's image as well as over the natural world . Self-control was a virtue that brought order in the world. A belief in the absolutes of right and wrong and the practice of this conviction required that appropriate codes of conduct be followed, to assure oneself that human society was in harmony with the natural order of the universe. The emotions were to be controlled as well and were " to remain subordinate to the rational order "of the mind (Stevenson 25).

To create and maintain order was a structural necessity of Victorian society and was precipitated, according to Historian D.H. Meyer, by "a need for psychological stability amidst rapid changes that occurred during the nineteenth century" (26). The external manifestations were in the formality of social interactions and the conformity to rituals and conventions of behavior. A regimental order is repeated in the consecutive die-cut openings on each album leaf as well as exhibited in the rigid stances of the carte de visite portrait subjects in the first album. Order patterned behavior and modelled predictability and, as Historian Mary Warner Marien determines, "even the commercialization of photography worked to assure the impression of this stability... and ... the ubiquity of the cartes gave (this) assurance" (82). Imposing order required standardizing methods of manufacturing and regulating mass production and uniformity of goods. Classification brought order to people, places and things, establishing categories of identification and function. The scientific community instituted systems based on physiognomy and phrenology-- pseudo-sciences that associated a person's hidden true character with certain external physical signs such as the size of ears, or the height of the forehead and the spacing of eyes and, as Marien concludes, "physiognomy became synonymous with anthropological investigation, which in turn, assisted classification of race, gender and physically observable attributes" (81).

Another form of classification, that of specialization, was adapted to material goods, to the natural environment, and to the uses of domestic space in the human environment. Kenneth Ames tells us that "specialization was endorsed by apparent truths discovered in the study of the natural world and humankind... and it was ...as much an attribute of highly developed organisms as it was of highly developed societies ... to many Victorians living well meant living in a highly specialized world ... (where) concepts of refinement and specialization were inseparable" (Death In The Dining Room 238). Books of etiquette provided special instruction in areas of social propriety that applied to human interactions both inside and outside the home. Areas of specialization were

assigned to the function of each room as well as to the special role of each gender and the parts they were expected to play, both inside and outside the domestic sphere thus , presumably , insuring efficiency , harmony, and order. Like the home in perfect order, the carte de visite album portrays this and in a larger sense emblemizes the "home" managed by the females of the Suckley family, from Catherine to grand-daughter Daisy.

People and things were also systematically arranged into categories and put on exhibition. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was the preliminary showcase for regiments of objects in the Crystal Palace in London (fig. 8). The very " regularity and severity of the building's design was a symbol of Victorian order with its 293,655 panes of glass, 330 standardized iron columns, 24 miles of guttering , the Crystal Palace was the biggest and most extravagant thing on display" (Briggs 54). In America , to help cultivate these traits of order , cultural, civic, and academic organizations were founded and grew into institutions that became centers for learning and life enriching activities, including colleges and libraries , as well as lecture halls and athenaeums in cities throughout the nation . Public education itself was thought to be a way of influencing social order. Museums of natural history and art showcased objects from private collections . The habit of ordering nature led to the establishment of parks and to networks of paths laced throughout these " natural " environments.

As the nineteenth century advanced , changes accelerated the very day to day lives of the Victorians , increasing the movement of mass numbers of people as well as the number of activities that occurred during a day. Mechanization and the invention of an array of devices and gadgetry reduced the amount of time spent in the tasks of day to day life affecting work , travel and communications for the middle- and upper- classes thus saving time. It was the medium of photography that literally stopped time by recording the visual traces of it in pictographic form .

The sixty years (1860-1920) considered in this study in the form of visual documents represent the products of a medium that gave Victorians and the succeeding generation a degree of control over both the past and the future , providing an opportunity to select who and what to remember, the content of the remembrance , as well as the physical location and emotional context of the memory. An important aspect of this study is the interpretation of the evidence of each collection as a means to understand their meaning and how each , in part and collectively , contributes to understanding the cultural history of middle-class Victorians .

I found it advantageous to work from a framework of analysis that functioned by dividing each collection into specific component parts . One step was to organize a general typology that included information about the albums -- physical elements such as material composition, stylistic characteristics, date and manufacture -- as well as material analysis of the images -- process, technique and /or imaging material , format, subject genre and related conventions. Another part of analysis applied to the internal forms of the photographic image for which I used John Szarkowski's components -- the thing itself (the subject focused on) , the detail , the frame (what the photographer sees) , and vantage point . As part of this pictorial analysis I studied the iconography of the photograph to see the changes recorded in the media that occurred over time . I have integrated these first two steps into my discussion of the photographic documents providing tools for interpreting the " language " of each collection . I have studied the " format " of the story to determine how the physical component of the photo/album contributes to the tempo or pace of what's being told . The "content " of the visual text , the inclusions, exclusions, and placements, have been studied to understand how these factors evoke certain meanings . By studying the sequencing of the media I have developed narratives of the albums .

Each collection represents increments of time that provide primary evidence of

an historical past . The artifacts are representative of a time period when the various formats , processes , and techniques of imaging were changing the physical appearance of the photographic object. Yet, similarities in subject matter exist throughout the four collections and include most notably the representation of dwellings as signs of family relationships and those who were seemingly integral to their occupancy. Other signs relate to the larger world as the photographer structured it through the photographic frame.

One can chart a pattern of time and the signs of its acceleration by looking at each of the four collections as segments along the continuum of photographic history that corresponds with the pace of life from the mid- nineteenth century into the early twentieth century . Each of the four groups of photographs document a time past but are also documents of the time required for their production : from the several minutes "spent " in arranging and literally bracing the subject for the lengthy exposure time necessary to produce the carte de visite portraits, to the large format negatives of the second collection that were the product of the field camera and involved the photographer in a lengthy preparation , exposure and development process. The 1906 album and the snapshot collection are the material products of less formal arrangements and instantaneous exposures that were least contingent on the time factor, although time certainly factored into making these records as well . The notation of the month and year on the photographs in the 1906 album refer to a chronology that is visually documented ; the seasonal changes that are visible in the photographs support the transition over the course of a year. The evidence is less distinct in the fourth collection , these thirty snapshots represent a very brief period of time -- no more than the length of a day .

Each successive group of photographs is less dependent on the quantity of time. The greatest difference in production time is between the first collection , the carte de visite album and the fourth series. The latter, not contained in an album , is the " formless" collection . Read by the amount of time that was invested to arrange and preserve the material memories and the way in which they are displayed . The amount of attention

given to this endeavor is proportionate to the time taken to produce the photograph and decreases as the nineteenth century advanced into the twentieth century.

As late-era Victorians stepped up the tempo of their lives, the visual evidence of memories proliferate but the time it took to mechanically record the memory was shortened. The product of this compression is the "formless" collection of photographs that record a time specific event that most likely occurred over the span of a day and photographically illustrate the celebration of a patriotic holiday, an observation supported by the array of American flags decorating the cottage. In comparison, the activity of collecting the mementos contained within the carte de visite album from the 1860s spans a period of several years.

As the century advanced, the amount of time required to produce a photograph decreased while the number of photographs taken over a particular duration of time increased. One of the negative results of this was that as people produced more photographs they spent less time in preserving the material representation of the memory--the photograph itself. Time, like the material goods that were produced by the Victorians became a commodity, segmented into parts that were used increasingly for leisure activities such as "taking pictures". The fourth collection documents this leisure time and those who participated in it. Unfortunately, when the holiday ended the people's remembrance of how they celebrated it remained solely in their minds because the photographs were not given any permanent housing and were found decades later in three polyethylene envelopes; their provenance unknown as well as the identity of those who are pictured.

In a broader sense, perhaps this condition corresponds to the cultural changes that occurred in America in the early twentieth century. Victorian values and beliefs were being questioned by an emerging intelligentsia that included academics and sociologists, as well as by the women's movement, affecting the hierarchical structure that supported it, including the institutional heart of the Victorian -- the home and family life.

The collection of memories in the fourth collection is an anonymous commodity, now public curiosities available for nominal cost . Like dreams, their connection with any previous identifiable reality remains obscure and ambiguous, but what does remain is the material evidence of their previous existence, portions of history that are personalized pictures of the past that can be studied as primary sources that require analysis to try to determine the thoughts of the people who made them. Trachtenberg states that " what empowers an image to represent history is not just what it shows but the struggle for meaning we undergo before it " (Reading American Photographs xvii). Deciphering these remnants of messages is my task as an historian of photographs and photographic processes .

Supplemental information may help the historian to understand the original context of a photograph . Collections of photographs in albums provide more information than solitary photographs, even more so do albums that are part of an extensive collection of other photographic media . The first album belonged to an ancestor of the Suckley family and shares in common with the other three collections its uniqueness as the only one in existence. What distinguishes it from the others is that it is the only object that has an identifiable history thus a more consistent documented record . Like a contributing chapter in the family chronicle it helps to illustrate, the Suckley album requires the least amount of speculation in order to comprehend the visual elements . What adds to its specialness is the assortment of media that accompanies the carte de visite portraits and supplements the visual text of the album.

The album's external design , its resemblance to the book , including contents , is significant . For the middle-class Victorians in England and the United States books " had great symbolic importance ... a moral necessity ... that ... provided access to knowledge that empowered the individual " . Furthermore , " a display of books balanced the materiality of the parlor decorations that suggested that the owners valued a world beyond

the temporal one " . (Stevenson 12 ,24) . It certainly mattered what kinds of books were read and in addition to devotionals and the family bible , books that offered advice were in demand . The importance that the Victorians placed on appearances and the need for social conformity was nourished by books that offered ways to cultivate the reader morally and intellectually.

Apart from the literal usefulness of the material , books are important in a symbolic sense. A book was often an accessory of a studio portrait , functioning not only as an emblem of literacy and refinement but as a metaphorical link with the past as validation as well as reassurance of the mode of communication that preceded the photograph , the printed word. Whereas Gutenberg's printing press had automated the process of writing now the photograph produced uniform pictorial facsimiles of the world creating meaning based on a syntax of images. Marshall McLuhan informs us of the power of photography to alter meanings and like any new media , communicated new patterns of information to the Victorian by accelerating the older patterns based on words.

Like the words that compose the narrative of a book, the sequence of images is the " text " of the photographic album but instead of words , an ensemble of pictures tell the story. The ordering or sequencing of the images usually follows a particular logic often , but not exclusively , time based . While chronological arrangement may illustrate time advancing -- the aging of a child or the changing seasons, for example-- editorial decisions about who as well as what to record in the album reveals a great deal about the keeper of the album . Visual entries were sometimes rearranged or removed completely , as is evident on the first page of the Suckley album .

The Catherine Suckley Album - " The Memoir "

The stylistic resemblance of the Suckley album to a prayerbook implies a link to a divine power. This similarity to religious books characterized albums that Audrey

Linkemann declares was intentional by the manufacturer , "craftily appropriating external features of bibles, hymnals, and other books of religious devotion... appropriating for photography the respect and prestige accorded to Christian religion... thus forging a tangible link between the bible and album" (71). If the external design of the album corresponded to an object that represented a symbol of faith and devotion then a similar association could be emblematic of the feelings that the owner of the album felt for the photographic representations of the people found inside. This is evident in the carte de visite album that belonged to Catherine Suckley.

Catherine Murray Bowne the wife of Thomas Holy Suckley , was the keeper of the carte de visite album that is part of the photographic collection at Wilderstein Preservation , an historic site in Rhinebeck, New York. Married in 1852 and residing in New York City , they purchased thirty-five acres from a cousin and owner of " Wildercliffe " on which to build their own estate. Constructed one year before the railroad came up the Hudson, the Italianate Villa style dwelling became home to Thomas and Catherine and their three children . A domestic sphere of family life was created and nurtured by Catherine , that was separate from the business of urban life that Thomas , in typical Victorian fashion commuted to frequently by train .

Following a European tradition of giving an estate a romantic name , the Suckley's named their estate " Wilderstein " . In 1888 , son Robert inherited the property and incorporated the original Italianate structure into the present Queen Anne style , the jewel of late Victorian architecture that had originated in Great Britain , made its debut at the Philadelphia Exposition in 1876 . The last female resident of Wilderstein, Catherine's granddaughter Margaret " Daisy " Lynch Suckley eventually became the keeper of the family estate and its entire contents. It is through her efforts that the mansion stands today and houses the extant family archive that is preserved on site.

The fact that the original dwelling was not demolished to make room for the construction of the stylish Queen Anne mansion and valued enough to remain a part of the

Suckley family legacy, is indicative of the worth given to the house as a material object as well as to its contents that were in turn passed on to Robert's children . It was Daisy particularly who believed on a personal level , in the value of the house and its contents but on a grander scale it was her adherence to a social and civic obligation , another vestigial Victorian trait, to preserve its historical value for the benefit of the region and the nation . The notion that the house and its contents were worth preserving was a conviction Daisy inherited from her Victorian ancestors . Endeavoring to save the family estate is exemplary of the value Victorians gave to domestic life and the importance of family relationships. It was she who assumed the responsibility of caring for the Suckley family collection , making every effort to assist in protecting and preserving the property for posterity by helping to establish Wilderstein Preservation in 1983 .

As the function of rooms became more specialized in the mid-nineteenth century the parlor room was designated as the public room of the Victorian home where social activities occurred for family and friends. The parlor became an important part of the 1888 Queen Anne style interior and the Catherine Suckley album , together with several other family albums, remain in a cabinet located in the parlor.

The leather-bound structure of the Suckley album , manufactured by Roberts Brothers of Boston, was the conventional housing for the diminutive cartes de visite- size portraits popularized in the late 1850s, but the fifty images between its rigid leather covers are not exclusively cartes de visite portraits. The only uniformity among the image material is the placement of the assorted media in identical die-cut window openings, each framed with a decorative motif of vines entwined around each window. In addition to the twenty-two albumen cartes de visite photographs and two tintype portraits are nine photographic reproductions of lithographs and /or engravings (fig .a) as well as a pictorial artifact that represents a subject in profile typical of itinerant artists prior to the introduction of photography , the portrait silhouette of son Robert (fig. b). The ten



C



B.



A.

chromo-lithographs of various flora (fig .c) from pansies to mosses and lichens complete the assortment. More than photographs contribute to the text and show that the editor's interest was to select material that had personal significance as well as relevance to the persons represented .

An object that was used as a repository for memories prior to the introduction of the photographic album was the general purpose scrapbook . Victorians made use of the scrapbook in which to collect material keepsakes , including mementos that were not uniformly sized , thus giving the editor of the scrapbook the freedom to compose and arrange assorted material . As memories were increasingly associated with the photographic image following conventions , the camera operator became the arranger and composer within the designated field of the photographic frame that referenced memory . The photograph began to set the trend for the type and format of material mementos as well as the presentation of the material . In one respect the scrapbook was an inappropriate housing for the photograph because of the weight of the mounted photograph. Each individual photograph was permanently flattened by mounting it onto card stock, thus compensating for the characteristic curl of the thin albumenized print surface. It could not be supported by the insubstantial weight of the scrapbook pages. In another respect the scrapbook lacked decorum and was not distinctive enough compared to the special place reserved for the visage of each personage surrounded by the bronze powder stamped frame on each album leaf. The photography studio catered to the distinguished guest as well , by surrounding the subject in a decor that resembled a drawing room that, according to Alan Thomas "expressed a fashionable respectability " (34). Thus it was the drawing room of the 1860s that set the standard for the milieu of Victorian portraiture and it was in the special purpose album where it established residence .

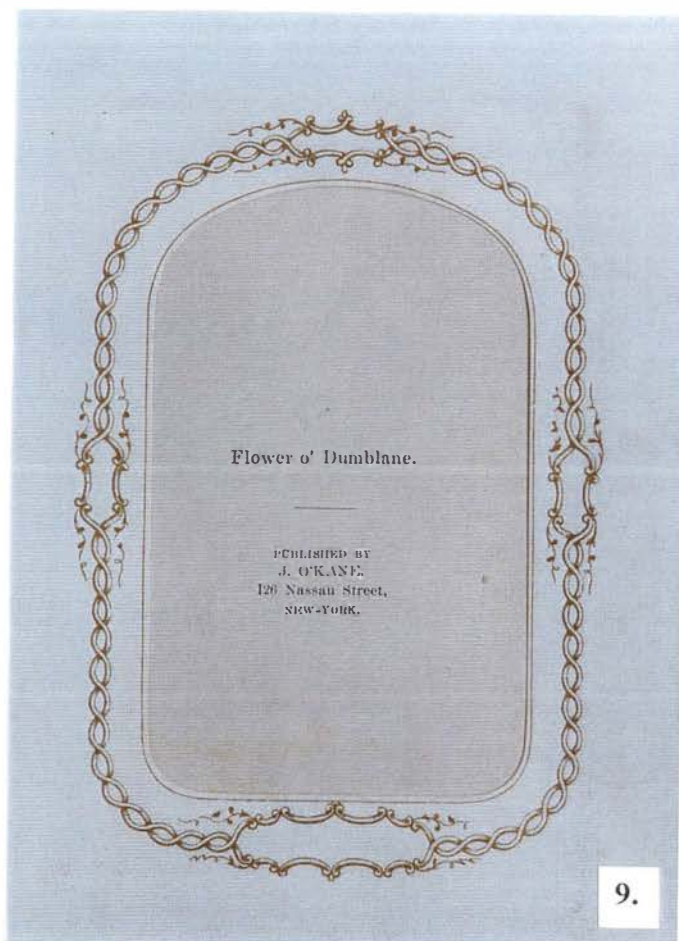
From a commercial perspective the album was a success. According to Audrey Linkeman " the purpose designed album was an inspired marketing strategy and was the

finest campaign ever launched for photographers from a business point of view " (70). Relating its structural attributes to a cultural perspective , the fabrication of the album was molded by the preoccupation of Victorians to conform to social conventions , including the compliance of one's image to the uniformity of the album.

An important difference between the scrapbook and the album is in the presentation of the material and the availability of usable space for display purposes. The characteristic size of the carte de visite album as well as the intentional framed affect for each entry provides only a limited area for display and draws exclusive attention to one picture at a time . The non-photographic media as well as the photographic copies of lithographs were regulated to this standard size in order to dwell in this hallowed place . The similarity in size the other media share to the photographic cartes indicates the attention given by the publishers of these pictures to gaining access to the venue of the popular album. The identity of a New York publisher , J.O. Kane at 126 Nassau Street , that appears in the window apparently offered carte-sized prints like the one displayed in the window of the preceding page (fig . 9). Entitled 'Flower o'Dumblane' , the appropriately sized portrait engraving is framed in the album leaf (fig . 10).

Conversely, it may have been the photograph that accompanied the engravings and the popular " chromos " or chromolithographs , that were available for purchase through catalogs, into the larger dwelling of the home and onto the walls of the parlor , where both photograph and lithograph were displayed . Stevenson informs us that by the 1860s publishers were offering " an incredible variety of art to the public ... and ... that according to the suggestions of the advertising copy could ... act on their memories and evoke associations " (5 , 6). These offerings included religious subjects, as well as genre and allegorical scenes. In this regard the album represents a miniaturized Victorian parlor by its function as a housing and a vehicle for display of similarly themed images.

What distinguishes the Suckley album from others that contain a full regiment of carte de visite portraits is in the variety of media and the assortment of images that are



represented as well . In addition to photographs, the album contains artifactual codes of visual language recorded in the lithographs and engravings , a kind of " crazy quilt " of images that enhances its individuality . The album contains material its owner selected as meaningful intimate mementos that relate to the portraits , and she kept them for this reason regardless of convention. In a time prior to the photograph the author may have used a scrapbook to house keepsakes. With this in mind , one can claim that the album becomes a transmitter of change encoded by media antecedent to photography as well as topically illustrative of images that tell stories. The progress of this change is visible by the inclusion of the tintype portraits that were a product of the collodion- based emulsion that followed the earlier albumen based cartes de visite.

An examination of the contents in relation to the history of graphic reproduction reveals that , prior to the introduction of photography , lithographs and engravings were made by the hands of artisans . Although the lithographic cartes were photographically reproduced from a negative and the albumen process, they represent an earlier technique of graphic imaging . They are technological overlaps that connect " antiquity with the modern " thus the photographer becomes the purveyor of the message. What is also apparent is the role photography began to play by appropriating the familiar images , in a sense creating counterfeits . The lithographs and engravings lose their material integrity when copied photographically, creating a facsimile and in a sense parody the authentic graphic works . Conversely , the original photographs in the album become the authentic medium . The photograph proceeds to document reality by recording what was actually in front of the camera , regardless of the apparent artifice (such as studio backdrops) of that reality . This comparison signifies the changes pictorial communication underwent as the new technology of photography took on the role of communicator . Photography borrowed from these familiar images much like the appropriation of the familiar had occurred with the external likeness of the album to devotional books , from an outmoded

method of communication that was in turn tailored to the standard form of the carte de visite photograph. Thus the new medium took on the role of the "symbolic report" (Ivins 308). The illustrator had framed the reference for this report, but photography surreptitiously initiated the displacement of this referent by replacing engraving and lithography, the former codes used for visual communication, while simultaneously borrowing the affects of their image.

Interpreting the album's contents as mementos of an individual's past, each artifact of memory holds a fragment of the past, a portion of the story, and are like visual entries in a diary. Some of the material are portraits of real people while others represent figurative language of allegory and symbolism. Chromolithographs are the other visual components of the album and include flowers, lichens, mosses, and leaves, that add a vibrancy and contrast to the monotonous brown tone (the exception to this is the handcolored portrait of Robert - see fig. 21) of the albumen photographs. These pictures of natural materials not only add color to the album but allude to the customary practice of pressing flowers and leaves between the pages of a book. Certainly flowers and leaves were materials commonly saved rather than mosses and lichens but all of this imagery serve to supercede the real with a symbol and a code that is expressed through the mechanics of a chromatic medium.

The Victorians practiced a "floral code" that gave meaning to particular flowers, including the pansy that is adjacent to a baby portrait of niece Grace Hunt and the bluebell (fig. 11) next to one of the portraits of daughter Kittie (fig. 12). If the unspoken language of the flowers is understood, the messages that are linked to the adjacent portraits by these two "chromos" brings about a correspondence between the portrait and the flower image and communicate Catherine's sentiments toward these two individuals. Evidently little Grace was in Catherine's thoughts (and frequently in sight because there are three portraits of her in the album), for Pansy is the English word for the French "pensee", which means "thought" and according to Penhaligan's Treasury of Scented

Verse and Prose : The Language of Flowers , this flower " has ... been a favorite of children and country folk" . Further , " Bluebells are one of (the) hardiest wild flowers , faithfully returning year after year, and surely... mean Constancy " (Pickles15, 75). The word and image is dually significant as a descriptive token of Kittie's temperament as well as a measure of Catherine's admiration toward and attention to her only daughter. Kittie's portraits, the most constantly represented , appear five times throughout the album , from the age of toddler to young adulthood .

The figurative illustrations echo a sentimentality that typified Victorians' nostalgia for the past, but the pictorial details of these entries communicate the personal sentiments of the album's keeper and have meaning that adds to the text of the story. Apart from the photographic portraits , these assorted images are material keepsakes and descriptors of the portrait images , associative extensions and codifying elements that are intimate components of the story and contribute to the narrative by conveying sentiments that complement the individual portraits. The album's contents affirm Grant Romer's claim that " the use of the album is united with the identity of the author. " The artifacts in this particular album trace Catherine's devotion to family life , especially to her children , and to her extended family and for this reason the album can be identified as a " devotional object ". The material is evidence of her faith in God , and affirmation of patriotism represented by the inclusion of Lincoln and Adams .

On the one hand , the very first image (see fig. 5) is evidence of the photograph as carrier of the code of lithography, while mimicking its iconography it unintentionally memorializes this earlier form of graphic reproduction. On the other hand , its symbolic content intentionally conveys the conviction that motherhood and children have a divine association and by introducing it on the first page this theme is given homage. One can read the iconography of this first image as a figurative representation of Catherine and her three children Rutsen , Robert and Kittie. The details of the picture; including an ecclesiastical arched column together with the font of holy water , the madonna-like



figure's supplicant gesture and the height and angle of the light suggest that all four are in the presence of the divine . This picture , by its primary location appears to be the original introductory image of the album but examination of the space below the window reveals the true original was a portrait of " Kittie (at) 2 1/2 years ". This portrait had been moved to frame number twenty-eight of the album (see fig. 22). Why was a portrait from real life replaced by a picture symbolizing figures of divine virtue? No index of entries and dates exist in the album or appear in the visual record of the album. Believing that chronological data would add a time frame to the visual content , I referred to the family geneology records to look for an explanation of why the change of imagery from a literal transcription to a figurative one.

In addition to identifying the names of family members and relatives, I found records of births and deaths in the Suckley geneology . What this revealed was that both Kitty , age nineteen and her mother Catherine, died in 1879. The celestial aura of the carte that supplanted the child's portrait and its prayerful imagery conveys a sense of quiet expectancy and unity in the radiance of heavenly light ; the picture may have been both a comfort and an acknowledgement of faith , *and* of death . It may have been the last entry in the album , in response to Kittie's death and to Catherine's imminent death or , it may have been placed there upon the death of Rutsen , the first son who died in 1865 at the age of twelve. Aside from any speculation that cannot be confirmed, what the imagery of this first entry does is to link the external religious character of the album to its interior . Gone is the youthful image of baby Kittie's portrait , replaced by a sentiment alluding to a spiritual presence. The authentic image of the daughter has been displaced by a more catholic ideal and juxtaposed to the vitality of childhood , whether Rutsen's or Kittie's , having departed from a corporeal existence to death , thus motherly devotion was transixed . Throughout the album there are images that communicate these devotional sentiments between mother and child (fig.13 , 14). The album is punctuated with photographic copies of Victorian narrative images that echo themes of popular Victorian

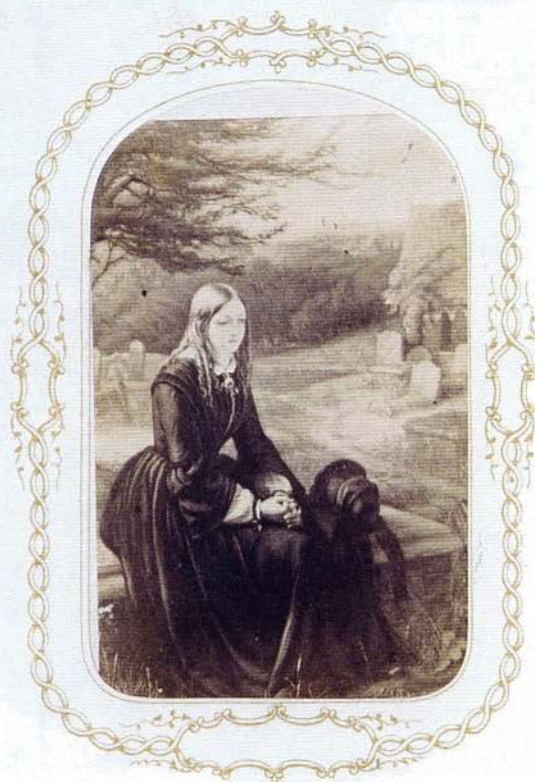
paintings based on partings and death . Allusions to sickness (fig. 15) and , in the final entry, mourning (fig . 16). What gives these otherwise cliched figurative entries poignancy is that they translate into direct references to the daughter's illness and death .

With the exception of the solitary first and last images , all others share an adjacent space one to the other thus establishing a relationship between pairs of images with all encompassed by the two that have been highlighted here. Catherine's relationship to several of the portrait subjects can be traced by again referring to the geneological records to determine who were the dearest to her . The relationship of twin sisters "Margaret and Maria Tillotson" is obvious as well as clearly identified (fig. 17) while others are more ambiguous as in the portrait of " Mrs. Wallsher " and the " chromo. of cherries " .

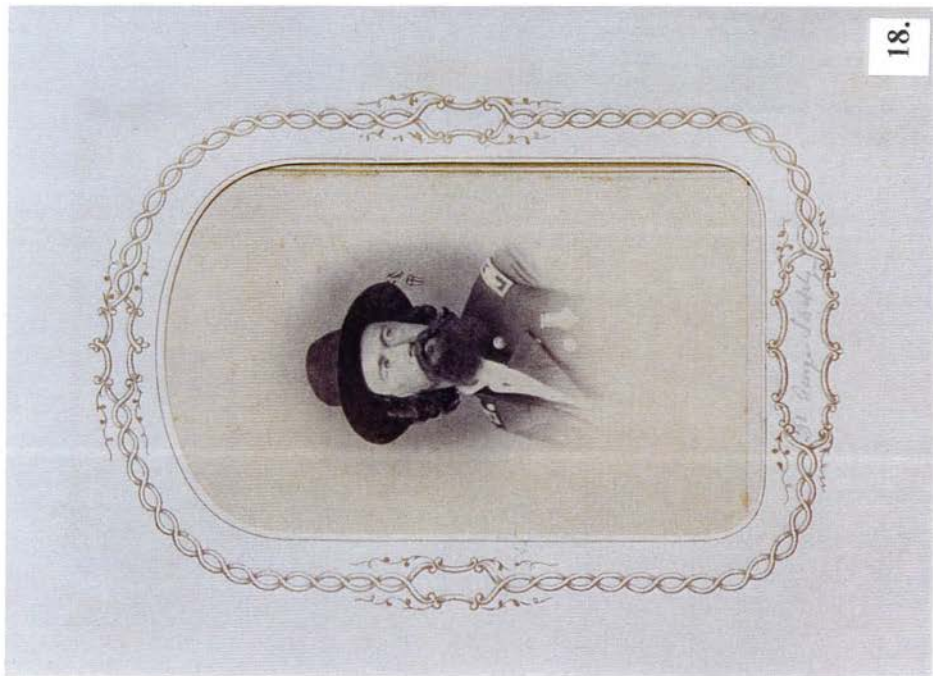
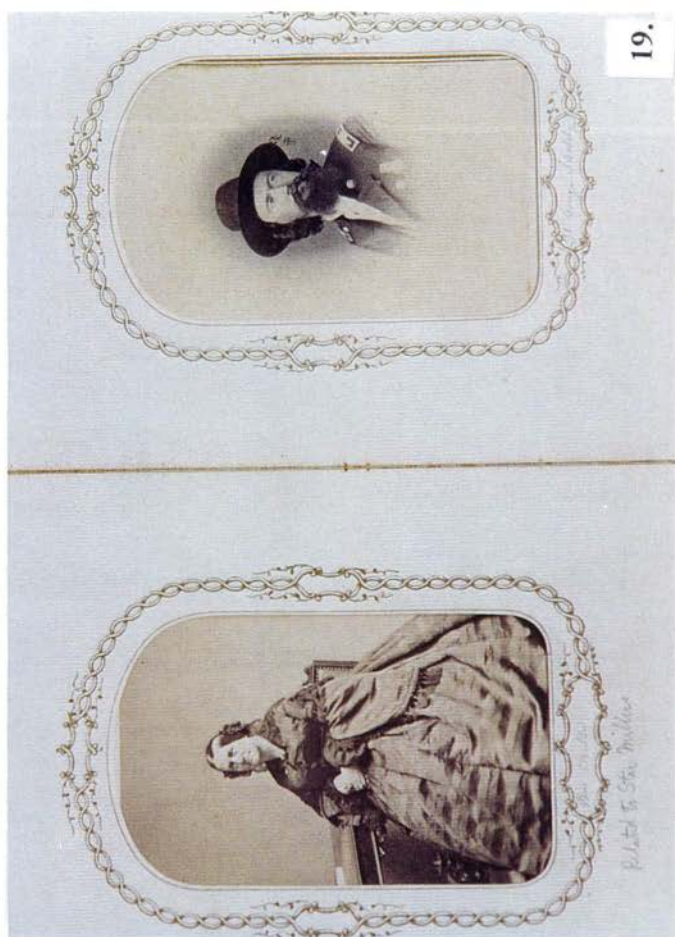
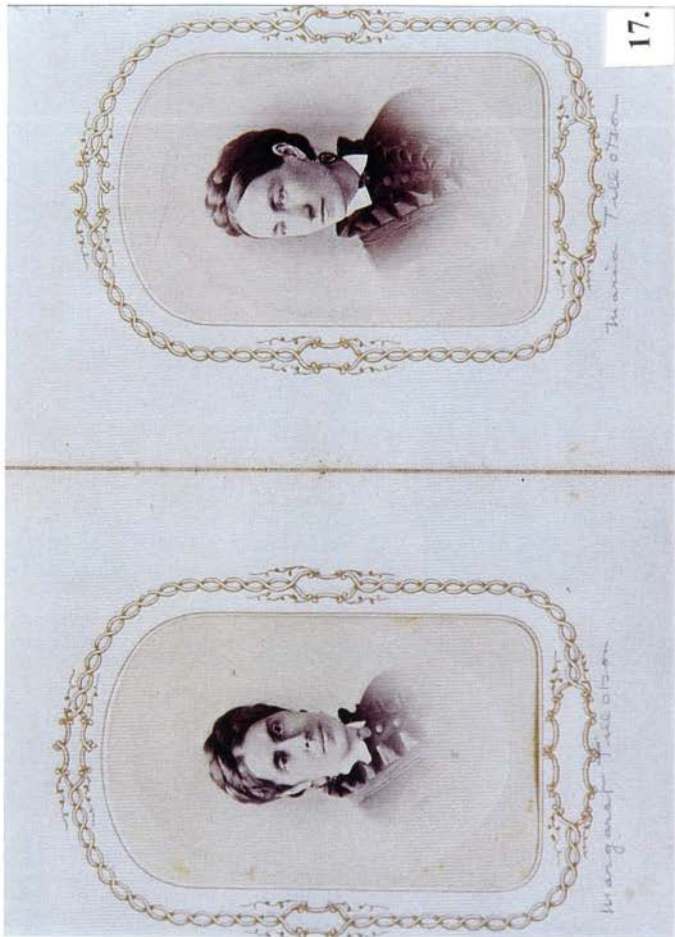
The subjects that predominate throughout the album represent the portrait genre , yet there are typical stylistic changes that occur over time that are differentiated by the presentation, including pose of the subject , the orientation of the camera operator as well as the portion and amount of the figure recorded in the frame. Studio portraits of female subjects comprise most of the entries. Two subjects share in proximity to each other yet illustrate the modifications that occurred over time in conventions of portraiture as more of the figure became part of the composition. This comparison is made between the head as the main focus in the earlier vignetted cameo profile of Thomas's older sister Mary Suckley (see fig. 4) to the later full- figured portrait of Catherine's sister, Caroline Bowne (see fig. 3) who gazes directly into the camera. Entry number twenty-three (fig. 18) is similar to the earlier portrait in that it is vignetted , although the camera encompassed more than the head of the subject . Each subject was photographed in attire that identifies their social or professional status and dates the portraits to the mid-sixties. Dr. George Suckley exhibits a dissimilarity in pose, presentation , and gender as well as familial relationship to his neighbor (fig. 19) , who is "related to Star Miller ". The geneology chart indicates that this Union soldier-physician was related to Catherine's husband Thomas, incidentally not represented .



15.



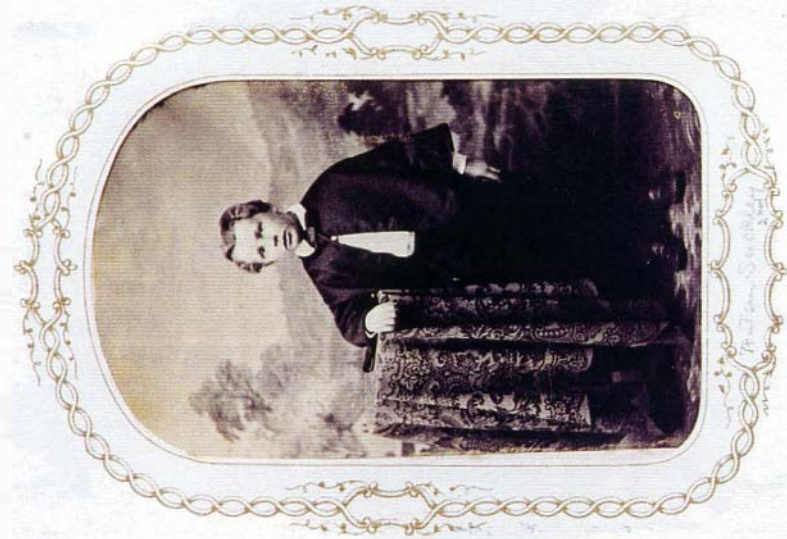
16.



Catherine , the album's author , is identified as the person who gathered and arranged the material , the recipient but not the maker of the portraits. Various photographers produced the portraits, but apart from removing the articles from each window frame to read the verso they are not identifiable . Yet, there is a similarity in pictorial details , namely those of the three siblings; Rutsen (fig. 20) , Robert (fig. 21) and Kittie (fig. 22), that link these portraits to the same studio. The three subjects are accessorized with the same paisley cloth draped over the table upon which their arm rests and patterned floor covering beneath their feet. One difference is the absence of the scenic background behind Robert who is posed before a blank wall . The application of color adds a verdant tint to the hassock that supports his right foot and the ruddy paisley tablecovering amply compensate for the lack of background pattern. If formality is considered a factor that influenced the choice of background in Rutsen and Kittie's portraits then the posed casualness of Robert's stance as well as the tinted straw skimmer he holds, accessorizes the informality of this portrait.

Certain patterns of arrangements share a visible coincidence in compositional elements including the chair, a concealed yet obvious support for Grace Hunt(fig. 23) , and the clearly recognizable chair in the adjacent illustration and the diagonal line that is the strength of both compositions , thus establishing a visual connection between the two . The two entries are obviously linked symbolically by subject matter while a difference is apparent in the technology of the media process . The ferrotyped process , or tintype of the former portrait , is a product of the advanced collodion process whereas the lithograph illustrates a medium antecedent to photography.

An examination of the Suckley album provides insights that signal the values embraced by an individual who lived in mid-Victorian America . Catherine collected and arranged the images according to a rationale personally meaningful to her and that , in part , is shared with a wider audience.



20.



T. B. Smeeking, aged 64 in 1921

21.

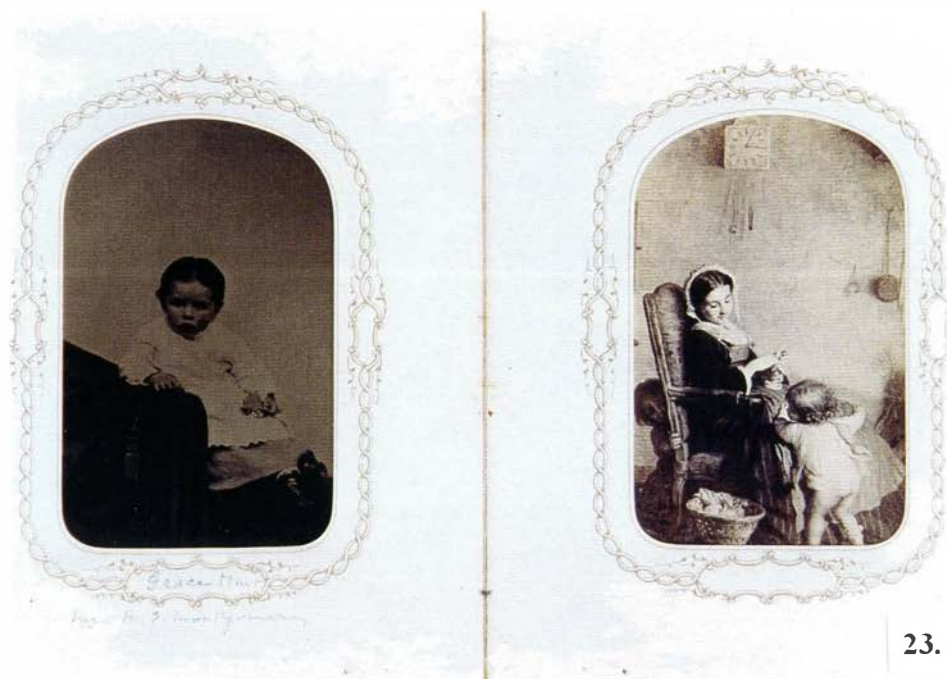


2.

There are no references to dates in the album, with the exception of data that Daisy later added (fig. 24) . A chronology was established from an external source , the family geneological records. This source introduced the relatives that were represented thus establishing the lineage as well as a linearity to the arrangement of images punctuated by other media that become momentary dwelling places for reflection. Each image , a singular article and a concise entry, becomes a keepsake object that carries a minimal amount of textual information . This is due in part to the intentionally limited allotted space by the manufacturer, implying that words were not necessary for identifying such personal images. Daisy amended details to the album in the 1980's while providing oral history project information , thus adding another layer to the history of the album . By adding her personal marks she has influenced the associations that developed .

In a sense I have opened a door to a dwelling that contextualizes Victorian time and the articles of memory. The album's time dimension can be measured by the series of photographs taken during the lifetimes of Catherine's children. Intervals of time are measured by the age of daughter Kittie, who entered the album as a toddler and evolved into a teen-aged adolescent. If the illustrated carte on the last page is considered emblematic of death then it represents a closure to Kittie's young life and indicates as well the duration of time the album was referred to by Catherine . The album's arrangement denotes a passage of time that was as methodical as the regulated ticking of a clock ; Catherine maintained and referred to it for almost two decades

The miniature size and indistinctness of the individual pictures , the amount of space around the subject and placement well inside the frame , the subject's distance from both the photographer and the viewer, as well as the stylized formality of subject imply that Victorians maintained a certain distance in society. Conversely , an intimacy is conveyed by the size of the album and the privacy of viewing one photograph at a time. Each portrait is slid into place on the album leaf and separated by white space that isolates its image from others . This arrangement succeeds in making the singular portrait the central



focus while seemingly upholding social conventions of polite distance yet formally corresponding to the neighboring image. Victorian Americans' concern with material comfort and display is evident in the studio's accessories : the familiar objects of home . In turn , the objects of one's personal affections , these solitary entities , remained within the interior of the album , protected from the outer world by the deeply embossed Gothic covers and engraved metal clasps. Any indication of the exterior world existed only in the view painted on the backdrop . The album became an artificial encapsulation of the natural and domestic environment . No photograph documenting " home " is displayed in the carte de visite album .

The 1906 Album - " The Essay "

As the world faced the major changes illuminated by the dawn of a new millenium , the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 signalled the loss of a maternal namesake that identified an era and whose conduct had formalized an ideal. The evidence recorded in the snapshot album of 1906 indicates the crossing of a threshold into the twentieth century where many of the elements that defined the previous object of the carte de visite album and its contents are modified or eliminated . Middle-class Americans embraced a Modernist aesthetic that erased the elaborate surface decoration that embellished the Victorian era , thereby stripping away the artifice that had influenced social behavior and ornamented material objects . Ames asserts that " ... it was in opposition to these qualities that the modern cult of authenticity was formulated ... furthermore ... modernist notions of authenticity cannot be fully understood without ... appreciating how much movement toward authenticity was also movement away from imitation... " (Death In The Dining Room 236). The second album (fig.25) is devoid of any surface ornament and does not pretend to be an object other than what it is - a photographic album. This album is similar in size to the Suckley album , 5 1/2 x 7 and contains fifty leaves. The vertical viewing



25.



30.



31.

orientation of the rectangular carte album differs from the oblong , horizontal position of the latter. The black moroccan leather covering was typical of the Badger Album manufactured by The Heinn Company of Milwaukee, that sold for \$.85 (1901 Anthony & Scovill Company photo-supply catalog). There is an absence of text to identify its function as a housing for photographs but it is recognizable by the black construction paper leaves that became the conventional mounting material . Between each two leaves is a sheet of translucent parchment " to prevent marring or rubbing of pictures " (catalogue). A changed stylistic aesthetic influenced the design of the subsequent album and the elimination of a closure signified a perceptible shift in the status of the photograph reflective of the proliferation of the media , suggesting that the worthiness of the contents had diminished as cherished objects . What had been protected previously by the housing was now exposed to exterior elements, effecting changes in the chemical composition of the print and the welfare of its condition.

The constancy of change is inevitable in spite of an individual's or an entire society's desire, or need , to control or to impede change and its pace. The Victorians sentimentalized and held onto the past and by insulating themselves from the uncertainty of the future. They surrounded themselves with objects of comfort and constructed a code of behavior based on exclusiveness ensured by a hierarchy of social class . They valued the home as a sanctuary from the chaos of a changing world ; these inhabitants were honored, the relationship between mother and child deemed sacred ; the Suckley album emphasized these characteristics . The carte de visite album is a material object of the values of an era's cultural history.

Examination of the second album reveals both change and continuity represented in the function of the album as a housing for photographs and the representation of the home as a dwelling place for the family . The concept of the ' home ' as a dwelling place encompasses cultural paradigms that signify communal values and relationships. This concept undergoes redefinition in the second collection thus it becomes a signifier of social

change and applies to both the stylistic characteristics of the housing as well as to the appearance of the house as the subject of a photograph and the individual's visible proximity to it.

The primary focus of my examination of the 1906 album was on several group portraits. Evidence of a pictorial phenomenon that juxtaposes the singularity of the *carte de visite* portraits and are a visible counterbalance to the portrayal of the previous era . The 1906 album represents a liberation from the formulaic conventions of picture taking carried out in the confines of the studio. The subjects in the group photographs have not only been released from the painted backdrops of generic scenery and the assorted furnishings that accessorized the studio portraits but have been united as well .

The camera was no longer the exclusive instrument of the photographic artist who created images in the sanctity of the studio. Technical progress simplified the camera's use and effected this transfer of authority from the specialist to the person who used the camera recreationally . In 1878 Charles Bennett had perfected a way of sensitizing dry gelatin plates so they would produce negatives with an exposure of one twentieth of a second or less , making it possible to stop action and record the events of everyday life. During the 1880's innovations such as the folding camera , roll-film ,and the astigmatic lens continued to simplify the process of picture taking and by 1888 the Kodak roll-film camera was introduced and " the era of family photography had begun " (Coe 63) . By 1900 the Eastman Kodak Company introduced another of its landmark cameras the Brownie No. 1 that sold for \$1.00 and took a six exposure roll of film for 15 cents . By 1906 the Eastman Kodak Company had offered thirty-six different camera models .

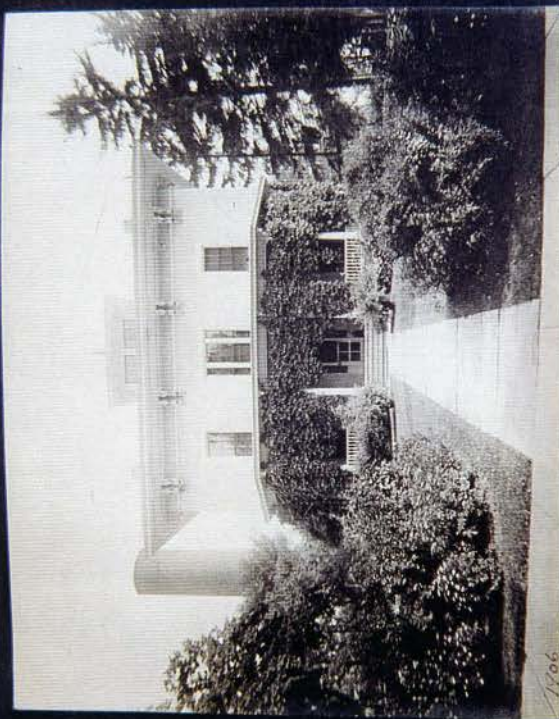
It was the middle class , once the patron of the studio, who captured moments and movements that occurred both near and far from home , thus secularized the medium and translated it into a vernacular language . Subjects were contextualized in locales that recorded actual experiences framed by a member of the family who may have participated as well , in entering the memory into the album. The photograph is the material evidence

of the imagemaker's conceptualization of these occasions. If culture is seen as " an organization of ideas " (Beckow 114) and if making these ideas material creates a context within the album then the album can be viewed not only as representative of a larger culture but as a culture itself , uniquely created . This is evident in the Suckley album and also in the 1906 album. One of the most visible components influencing the physical characteristics of this albums' culture is the imaging material .

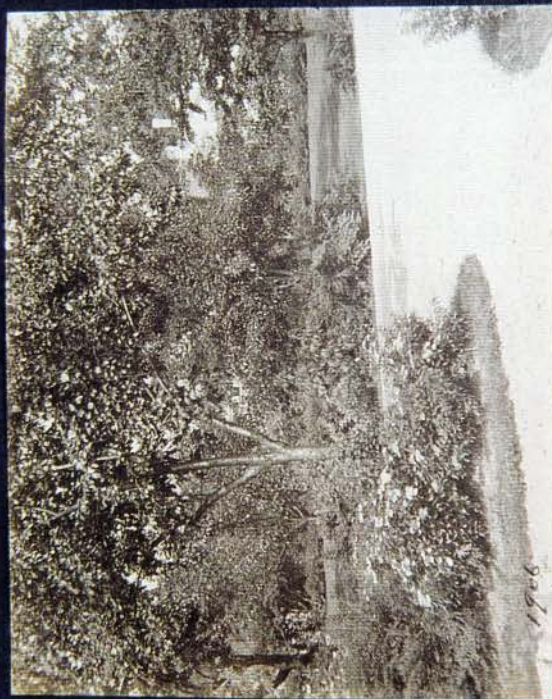
The collection of photographs in this album were produced by the silver gelatin developing out process and printed from flexible film negatives exhibiting a range of print qualities , and paper types including tones, grades , and surfaces. The variety of horizontally and vertically framed camera to subject orientations of images demonstrates the photographer's discriminating awareness that evolved from the recurrent use of the camera as well as an expression of an aesthetic sensibility. This attention is manifested further by slight variances in the sizes of prints as well and by the removal of the white margins surrounding the image , demonstrating that the photographer trimmed each as a finishing detail .

" A cooperative product of photographers and family "(Thomas 54) , the 1906 album is evidence of a dual editorial and photographic authorship. Analysis of the second album begins from the nucleus of the family environment where individuals' presence is acknowledged at intervals throughout the first segment of this photographic chronicle. As their faces recur, they are continually represented in the context of the group emphasis on the family as a unit . This trait distinguishes the 1906 snapshot album that " now saw the family as an integral unit " from the carte de visite keepsake that presented " the individual within the family " (Thomas 54) . These group photographs convey the social changes occurring in early twentieth century America that were influencing family life and the individual's position both within the family and in the wider world . A transition within the context of the album is marked by a change in emphasis , from photographs that depict relationships among the social unit of the family , identified as group

26.



27.



29.



28.



photographs , to the latter part of the album where a change in the camera's focus (as well as a change in the person activating the shutter) creates a distance between home and the wider world . The camera's mobility allows the photographer to convey this transition in an ordered arrangement that documents a visit to the fair as well as a boatfaring adventure on a waterway. What was recorded in the frame was pre-determined by the photographer and because the images have a common origin , the sequencing, whether " ... arranged in temporal or spatial orders ... approximate(d) the original circumstances in which they were made " (Collier 173) ; thus the photographer developed a commentary by the number of sequential images. The camera was the photographer's tool that separated the observer from the observed , interpolating a distance that is marked as well by a detachment from family , affirmed by their diminishing presence. Signs of this detachment are observed in the series that document the exterior of a large dwelling (fig. 26) that is eerily devoid of any trace of occupancy and where the only visible effect of human presence is in the elaborately landscaped grounds that surround it (fig.27). The photographer's objective distance in the pictorial essay of the fair is in contradiction to a place customarily associated with social recreation and entertainment .

This second album provides the sights of an era as well as insights about the persons who made a visual record of the social landscape of early twentieth century culture and created a visual commentary about what was observed. As it was mentioned earlier, the style and content of images on the first twenty-two pages is distinguishable from those made on the last twenty-eight pages dividing the album into two parts . Gender factors into differentiating the two parts as the feminine hand and eye are seen as a major influence in the authorship of images in the first part whereas the material in the second part inclines toward masculine interests such as horses and harness racing (fig.29,28). There is pictorial evidence of equality between the two genders , yet within the album there exists a dichotomy. The entries to the first several pages are comprised



32.



33.

of pictorial elements that identify an environment that is associated with family and work from a woman's perspective as maternal guardian of a daughter as well as a staff of women . The first segment contains an assortment of images that depict individuals and objects that are in closest proximity to the home and work environment. One such group photograph (fig. 32) depicts individuals that are identified as family related , as well as members of the office " family " whose full and direct attention conveys congeniality and loyalty . In contrast the home becomes objectified in the latter part (see fig. 26) where a view of the exterior is recorded from a distant perspective .

It is on the first page where the viewer meets a subject who is central to this family group and who is also very close to the heart of the photographer as suggested by the very direct and personal manner (fig. 30) of presentation . Unlike the previous album that presented a religious metaphor on the first page eulogizing mother and child , there is no mystery about who is portrayed here , although no name identifies her. The child's image takes up almost the entire frame emphasizing her importance to the photographer whereas the direct frontal pose and the close proximity of the camera discloses the degree of familiarity between photographer and subject. It is on the second page (fig. 31) where the first group photograph is encountered and where the child is represented as a central figure in a group of adults , important to her support and to whom she is closely related . The adults , perched atop a fence rail are engaged in sharing something on a plate while the girl's attention is directed outside the frame. No one is attentive to the camera , in fact they appear to be deliberately ignoring the presence of the camera and what is occurring , posturing an unawareness that betrays the self-consciousness of the picture taking event in the previous generation. This rapport between camera and subject becomes a stylistic characteristic that is repeated in other group photographs throughout the album . The composition suggests a pre-arranged tableau rather than a snapshot of a fleeting moment but what distinguishes this " portrait " from the product of the studio is the informality of the subjects and the location of the picture taking activity . The context of the

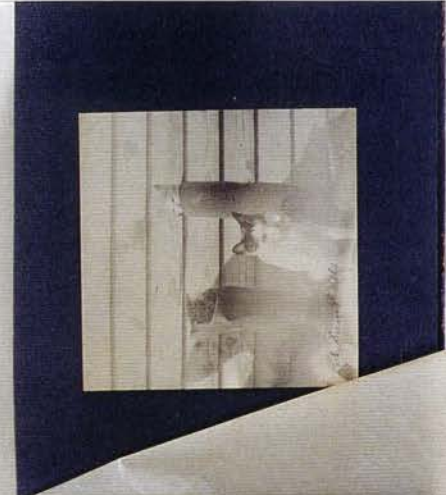
photographic activity liberated both the photographer and subjects as technology advanced the picture taking process . The evident indifference of the group to the presence of the camera also suggests the subjects' familiarity with the camera and the frequency of the picture taking activity .

The photograph's June 1906 date is the same date printed on the wall calendar behind the eight female subjects in the next photograph and connects these two photographs chronologically. As well , the photograph is visual documentation of women employed as clerical workers (fig. 32). The context of the group signifies the changes that distinguished a woman's role from that of the Victorian woman's role as caregiver and guardian. The clerical workers were separated from the sphere of domesticity of women in the previous generation. Writing about the changing lifestyles of Americans from the mid 1870s to the early twentieth century , Ray Ginger mentions the typewriter as " a chief agent ... for women's liberation ... that became common in offices in the early 1900's (341). The first three photographs introduce the key individuals in the lives of the two authors of the album as well as employees that staffed an office that may have been primary to the occupation and livelihood of the collaborators of the album. The next photograph of a lithograph may illustrate the product of a printing business (fig. 33) . Its inclusion suggests the album keeper's good natured temperament . Other imagery had been components to the text of the carte de visite album but humor and lightheartedness , communicated by the image of these two monkeys, were not part of the former text . A second difference is that one or both of the albumkeepers was responsible for producing the image. Obviously, the caption " Here's One on You " has a double meaning to an impersonal audience but by its inclusion in the album its meaning becomes a privatized joke. These first four entries provide clues about the persons represented and their temperament, vocational occupations and their relatedness in the work and home environment. The compositional pattern of the photographs have a precision and a linear quality that is repeated in the imagery throughout . This apparent skillfulness with the

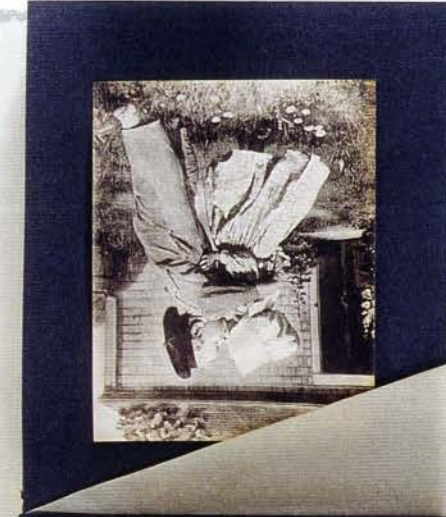
camera suggests a graphic arts related or printing occupation and the photographer has utilized the camera as a tool for both work and leisure. The viewer is introduced to the photographer's technical skill and understanding of the media in the sophistication of the child's portrait. This proficiency continues to be evident in both the arrangement of pictorial elements as well as the presentation of subject matter.

. Although this 1906 album is a chronicle of a generation that succeeds the *carte de visite* album, the tempo of the images in the first segment is regulated by singular entries that relates to the pacing of the images in the Suckley album and relate to the adjacent image. This is not the result of the sequential framing from the film roll (evident in the second segment of the album) although a few brief series do exist, but for their symbolic connection. A contrast is in the extent of the integral relationship, a continual trait in the *carte de visite* album, is not present here (fig.34) or in some instances remains unknown (fig. 35) because the corresponding entry has been removed. The following two entries (fig. 37) serve as an example of how a resemblance in pictorial elements function as a correspondent link to the adjacent image as in the posture of the four subjects that may portray the moody temperament of one or both of the corresponding subjects. By the same token the humor intoned here (including the benign impropriety of activity on the left) is in contrast to the pervasive sentimentality relayed in the Suckley album. Humor and wit is quietly communicated in several other entries collected in the 1906 album that is a subtle component of the text and complements the album's charm.

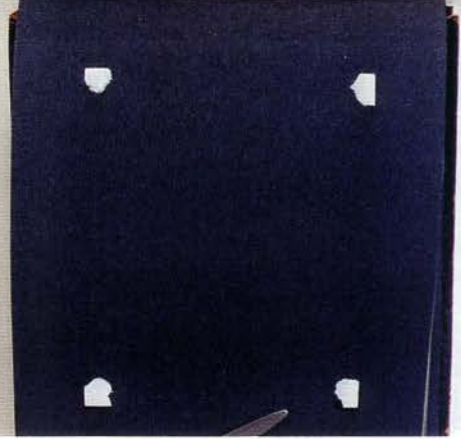
Another similarity that relates the two albums is in the varied content and the transmission of other media by the negative process onto the two dimensional plane of the photographic print into this chronicle of memories (fig. 36). This practice was taken one step further in the 1906 album by utilizing the camera as a tool to compress three-dimensional objects that subsequently become adjuncts to the album's text such as the paper mache figure previously mentioned (see fig.35).



34.



36.



35.



37.

Ten photographs were intermittently removed throughout the album leaving only the corner remnants glued to the pages . On the one hand, these absented images create gaps in the text that interfere with the sequencing of the narrative, yet these absences become a part of the pattern to the album's syntax. On the other hand , questions arise as to why the photographs were removed and by whom. Did the empty pages once contain mementos worth saving while the entire text of the album had lost meaning and was therefore worthless and discarded , and if so by whose hand ? Of unknown origin and lacking any provenance the album remains in part like a puzzle with missing pieces . If the empty pages were removed the album's history would be altered. But when what is missing is acknowledged as crucial to the album's story the integrity of the object is sustained. I would argue that evidence appearing to be insignificant may contain fragments worthy of preservation.

The notation of month and year hand - written on the face of photographs in both the first and second parts record a random sequence that resembles the motion of a time traveller beginning with the initial June 1906 entry , a marathon to April 1907 , backflipping from July to April of 1906 , catapulting to October of 1906 , a return relay to April and May , a jump to August , sprinting to September and a final return to August of 1906 . I believe this peculiar arrangement suggests that groups of photographs were installed at various times and not in the order in which they were printed , although this arrangement gives credence to the notion that general notations were made prior to their physical entry into the album , sustaining unity in the interim.. The album is evidence of the temporal aspect of a culture , but in this particular album I believe that the element of time has been manipulated by the authors.

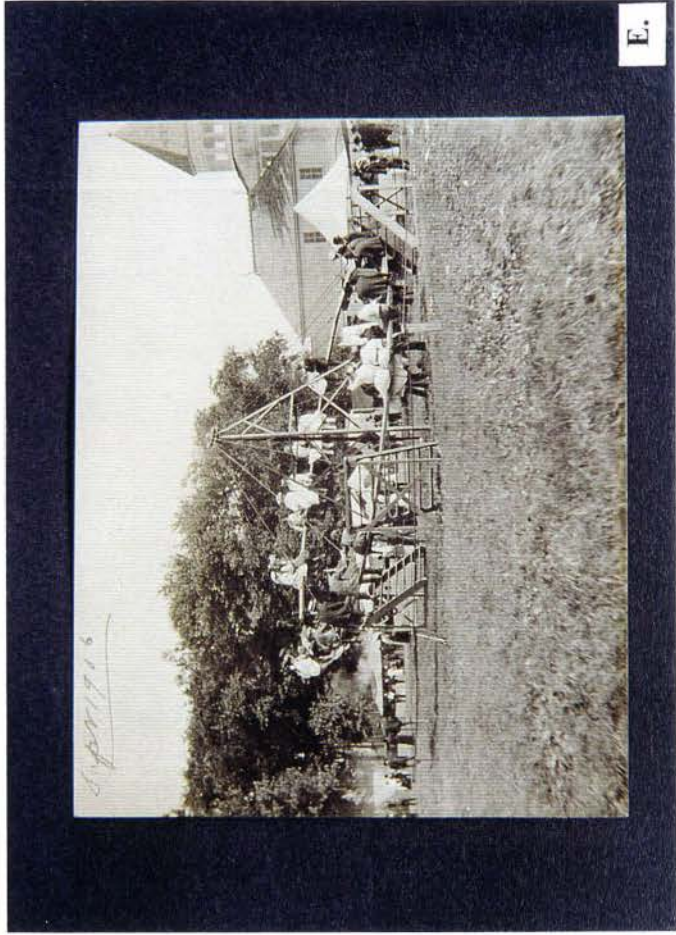
Different inks as well as two different writing styles imply to me that more than one individual contributed to arranging the album's content and points as well to the involvement of two persons in the manual entry of the material , making it a cooperative activity. In the carte de visite album each image was an entry that contributed to the

narrative of the entire album and correspondences were created by the volition of Catherine , as the editor , who placed them in a particular order , but who did not participate in composing the pictorial elements of the photograph. The photographer and the editor remained in separate spheres distinguished by gender , class, and specialty, thus a collaboration between photographer and editor could not occur.

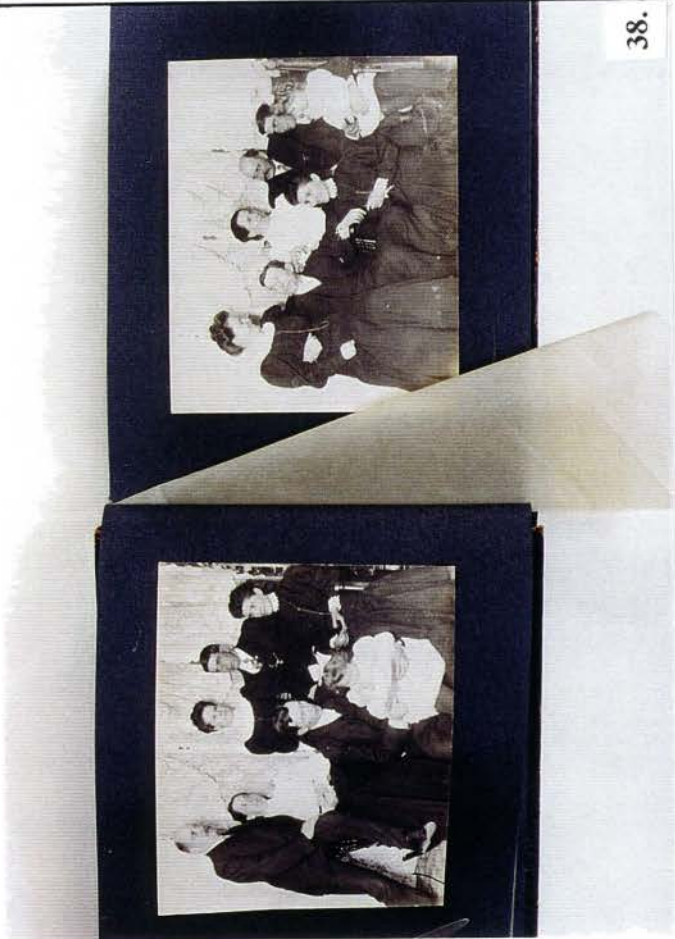
Two variations of the family group are presented on pages eighteen and nineteen (fig. 38)and a third couple has joined the assembly since the album's second entry. The group is arranged in front of the drawn lace window curtains serving as a practical deflector for the flash that illuminates this indoor scene and serving incidentally as an ornamental embellishment to the background. The subjects of the first of these two photographs display a more stilted posture who are distracted from the family unit. An uneasiness is conveyed by the subjects' focus on different points outside the frame . Three look left , two look right and the two in the foreground look down as if engaged in reading the book compounding the disunity of the group. A more relaxed posture prevails by the second photograph , as they are in closer proximity to one another their physical engagement of hands and arms intertwining , their focus is brought inside the frame , a unification is communicated . They refrain from looking directly at the camera perhaps to avoid the glare of the magnesium powder flash that illuminated the portrait as the man on the left in the first photograph straddles the arm of the rocker extending his right foot outside the frame to trigger the cable mechanism that exposes the film. In the second photograph it is the woman who has taken the position of photographer as the cable is concealed by the woman's skirt. A certain formality is displayed by the manner of dress , the floral pattern on the lace curtained backdrop adds a delicacy to the presentation of the tableau. The subjects fill the frame and little or no space separates the subjects and except for the manner of dress, the distinctions that separated male from female are absent , engendering a more equal status among the group. Both male and female participate in taking the photograph as well as share the same position to do so. While the filigree of



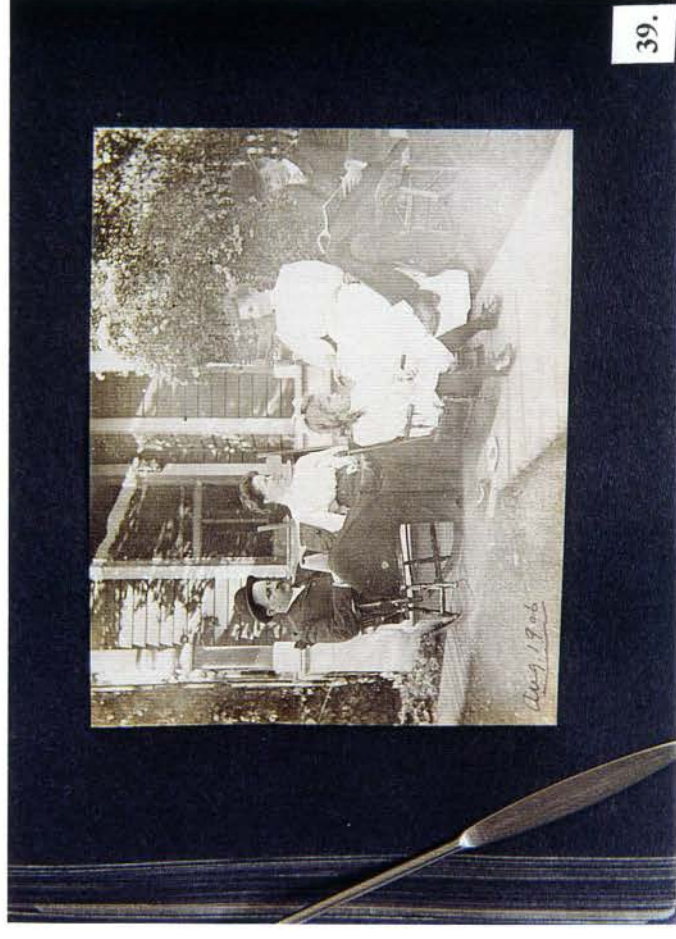
D.



E.



38.



39.

lace curtains are emblematic of the home as a sphere of feminine influence, the photograph on the right can be interpreted as a sign of the changing social status of women, as her companion looks up to her with a smile that has been inspired perhaps by an ingenuous admiration for who she is rather than a culturally inculcated idealization. As Steven Halpern informs us, "the snapshot began to characterize the family in terms of interaction ... allowing each member ... to acquire an identity defined by that person's relationship with others and the physical surroundings" (66).

Another group photograph contains the pattern of interactions among the family group and signs relevant to the changing status of both genders in the context of domestic life. This particular photograph (fig. 39) is pivotal as visual evidence of lifestyles of the early twentieth century effected the changing social structure of American culture. It does this initially, in the physical context of its sequential placement within the album and is regarded as a departing statement from the first segment of the album. Secondly, meaning derived from the signs of change in the visual record can be read from the iconography of the picture and the arrangement and content of the elements that are visible as well as those that are more obscure and require closer scrutiny.

One of the most obvious is the manner of dress and its completeness on a day in late summer, noted as August 1906, conveying the vestiges of the previous era's codes of formality. The symmetry of the seating arrangement is more than a Victorian preoccupation with order however, and can be regarded as the product of a requisite precision developed from an occupational expertise. The result is a compositional harmony that has been sustained in every group photograph as well as a characteristic that seemingly describes the interrelationships among the five subjects. The signs that are more deeply embedded in the photographic record reveal a paradox associated with the momentum of change.

The two men on each side flanking the three females assumes a guardian position yet each appear to be passively engaged in reading a magazine. The magazine's

inclusion as an accessory object to the photograph is noteworthy when compared to the presence of the book as a common prop in the studio portraits of the previous era . Not only does the magazine replace the book but the book's acquired connotation has been supplanted by a medium identified with popular culture. The book as a symbol of wisdom and sustained involvement , has been replaced by material that engages the reader for short intervals of time ultimately providing more entertainment than enlightenment . The magazine also economizes the act of reading as well as something perused at one's leisure or as a casual past time , even while waiting for one's picture to be taken ! The two women , on the other hand appear to be in conversation with one another , but upon closer examination it is revealed that the woman on the left is the activator of the shutter that is attached to the string partially concealed behind the man to her right. The slightly off-centered position of the camera (a minor flaw in the precision of the composition) exposes what was most likely thought to be hidden and outside the frame thus it becomes part of the record . Once again, the inclusion of the child and her prominence in the foreground conveys her importance in relationship to the four adults and , again her focus is projected outside the frame, as if signifying her eventual departure from home . As a compositional element , the child unifies the two halves of the photograph and perhaps is a purveyor of harmony as well to the lives of the four adults . The outdoor location of the picture taking event is significant in that it represents an extension of the domestic environment and the actual dwelling becomes the scenic backdrop. The rocking chair , upon which each of the participants are seated , is an object that has significance as well and invests the picture with another layer of meaning. Kenneth Ames has compared the rocking chair to the male activity of " tilting ," or leaning on the back two legs of a straight chair , thus the chair "conforms to the will of the sitter ". On the other hand , it is the sitter who " conforms to the will expressed in the rocking chair ... as ... rocking was a domesticated , feminized behavior that was in the mainstream of American popular culture by 1820 " (Death In The Dining Room 223) . Furthermore, the rocker was traditionally

located on the porch , a transitional zone between the private and the public space of a residential environment . The meaning of the rocker in the context of this 1906 photograph may be interpreted as extending the boundaries of the rocker's position spatially. This transition can be taken one step further. Because both men and women may occupy a rocker, the object symbolically diminishes the distinctions that separated the spheres of male and female behavior in the Victorian era . Evidence of an impetus for change has been initiated by the transportation of an object -- the rocking chair as a signifier of separate spheres, from its traditional function as well as its original context . It has become immobilized , by the very device, the camera , that captured this cultural transition.

It is this juncture in the album that signals the photographer's turning away from the proximity of home and the group as a familial emblem toward a more distant landscape where the camera is used to document social activities from an impersonal distance . The excursive coverage of the fair (fig. D , E) and those that precede the physical departure of the photographer , as a component of the group , occurs in a sequence of photographs of nine subjects taken outdoors . The author of the first part of the album and her daughter are among the five adults and four children all of whom are first recorded standing attentive to the camera and move en masse frame by frame through the picturesque scenery (fig. 40 , 41 , 42). The torrid August weather (the month and year are noted on the face of the photograph) effects alter the formality of the group that is gradually made visible over the time span of the picture taking event eventually causing a surrender to the heat as the group melds into shaded repose. Refreshed , by the final frame , they stand at the banks of a rushing waterway that is documented in an extensive series (numbering eight) of photographs. The group remains on shore with the turbulent waterway in the background marking a visual point of departure for the photographer , the male constituent of the album , continues a solo journey by boat . The continuous flow of



41.



43.



40.



42.

photographs in the lengthy series that document this river voyage are remarkable in that the viewer experiences vicariously the dynamism of the adventure documented by the photographer . As the progress and acceleration of the vessel's movement is recorded , the event in its completeness resembles the continuity of film reeling through a motion picture camera , the product of what McLuhan refers to as the hybrid of photography and machine (194). This series of photographs portend the age and popularity of the moving picture and the further extension of man facilitated by the progressive reach of technology. A destination has been reached that is as remote from the dwelling of home as the age of the elderly gentleman (an indicator as well , of the temporal distance of ancestry) on the last page(fig. 43) is from the five year old child who introduced this family chronicle. The oval shape of the portrait marks its peculiarity as a vestigial emblem of a format that reflects the miniature painted portrait of another era that also bares a resemblance to an even earlier identifier of ancestral lineage , the family crest . As Roland Barthes reminds us we are limited in our actions because history occupies an exclusive domain existing in a time when we were not born and " as living souls are contrary to it by virtue of our aliveness " (64). This portrait may have had a more personal meaning to those who shared a lineage with the subject but the image remains a referent to a past life for both his ancestors and the contemporary observer. Delineated on the final page is this portrait of an elderly ancestor , whose position in the family's history may be as tenuous as the severed page , upon which it is mounted, from the rest of the album . A terminus has been reached and the anonymous portrait becomes a final fragment of a family's history and a closure to the album's text .

The Glass Plate Collection - " The Survey "

In the previous two collections the album was the unifying element that held the photographs in a particular sequence originated by the album keeper . The syntactical

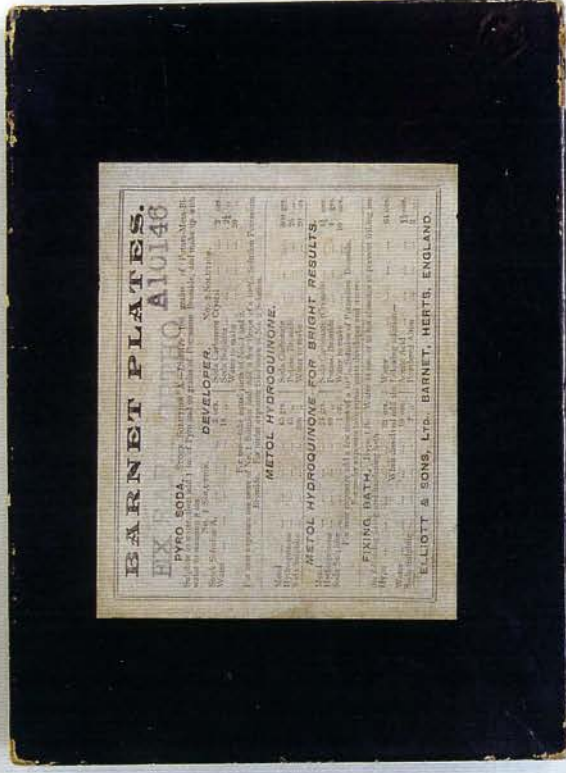
arrangement had meaning to its author and provided a key to understanding what was valued not only by the pictorial content of the photographs but also by the order in which they were placed, thus endorsing the album's narrative quality. In both the Suckley and the 1906 collections, the albums maintain a coherent record structured by the author's intentions.

The two remaining collections are not enclosed in an album, therefore any organization of ideas, or culture intrinsic to the album as identified in the two previous collections, is transferred to an agency external to its origins. As the historian and the caretaker of the object, I become that agent and interpret the internal culture of the collection by studying the pictorial evidence. I attend to its preservation by fabricating a housing, thus creating a context where these cultural elements are stabilized. By making the positive print from the glass plate negatives, I have influenced the interpretation of the media. Like Daisy annotating the portrait of Kittie in the Suckley album, I have given clarity and legibility to the collection, adding another layer of meaning to the documents.

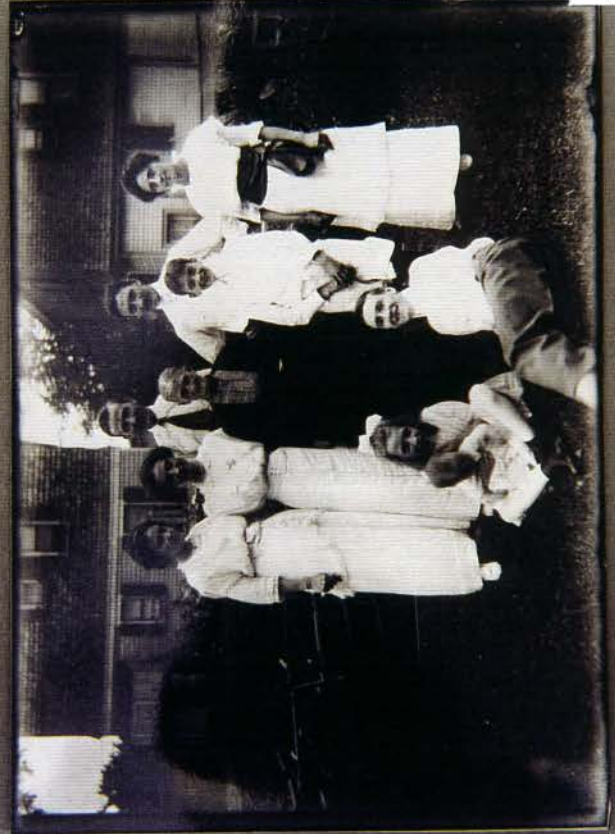
The original package provides some evidence of its material origins. Given the impermanence of the cardboard box material and the fragility of the glass supporting the negative images, remarkably the contents remain undamaged by time and remain intact. The box (fig. 44) in which the negatives were stored in all probability contained the plates in their original unprocessed condition as well and the label on the boxtop provides the product name and location as 'Barnet Plates, Herts England' and includes directions for processing these silver gelatin emulsion plates. The negative, as Schlereth asserts, "is unrivalled as (an) historical document ... and the primary source ... of evidence ... providing ... the forms and textures first recorded by the camera" (45). Contrary to the precise record of details it provides there are only clues that inform about the identity of the photographer. The address on the plate box corresponding to Great Britain provides a link to that country whereas the type of camera equipment used and pictorial evidence



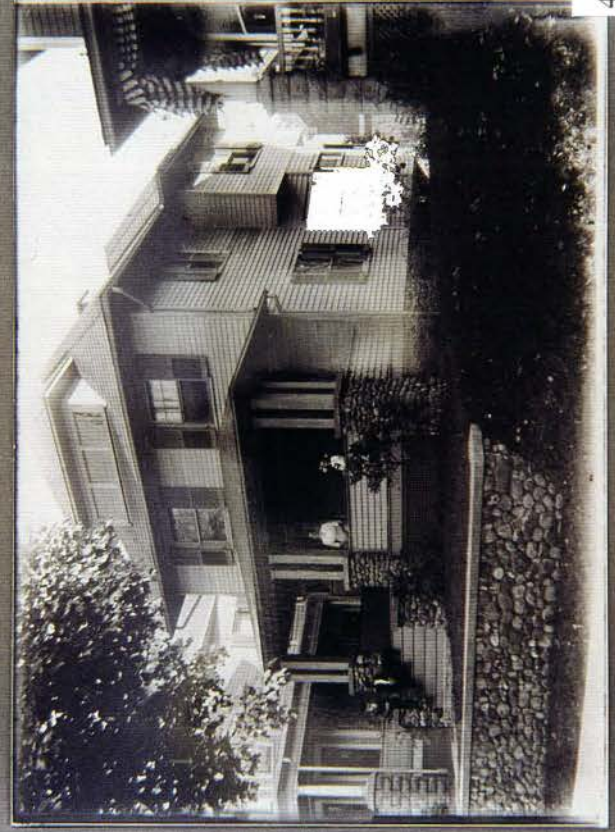
46.



44.



45.



47.

conveys the seriousness of a professional . These 5 x 7 negatives are the product of a field camera , an instrument that required a learned practitioner familiar with its various features that would produce "... in photographic parlance, no distortion , but a perfect rectilinear effect " (Drake 23). The operator's success in maintaining this perfection is visible in this corps of images that present several front , back and side views of a select number of architectural subjects including a primary and a secondary residence, a lodge of impressive design and proportions located at the base of a mountain , another more rustic structure nestled on a wooded hillside and a primitive tower situated along a rocky shore and seemingly constructed from stone found on site. Only a token of the photographer's correspondence with any familial association is viewed in the single group portrait (fig. 45). The imagemaker may also be present in this portrait , as the cable release is either concealed or activated by one of the subjects within the frame , a strategy that was used to produce several photographs in the previous album . The resulting portrait conveys a studied thoughtfulness to its compositional arrangement as well as an economy in that four generations are encompassed in one frame . Grandmother , the family matriarch , is situated in the center of the group that doubles as a shelter for her aged frailty as well as the locus of the family nucleus radiating from this center are her progeny and successors . The contrast between her in her black dress and those in white surrounding her further offset not only her distinct solitariness as a widow but the member most receded in family history . The sole surviving progenitor of the subsequent generations she is also paradoxically consumed by them . A past captured in the details of the negative (fig.46) is released in the photograph that is printed in the currency of present time (see fig. 45) . The past and present is compressed in the synthesis of negative image and positive paper recycling history and archiving the information onto a two dimensional resin coated surface of twentieth century plastics technology .

In the preface to Picturemaking for Pleasure and Profit, a book published in 1902, the author suggests that "... the selection of an instrument should invariably be determined

by the character of the work, ...whether ... to provide himself with agreeable diversion and recreation or with a scientific art which may be employed as a profession to insure permanent occupation and revenue " (29). These documents reflect the earnestness of an imagemaker who enlisted the camera for work while a single group portrait conveys a brief interlude from the principal mission of recording the architectural structures that are extended environments and are in some capacity associated with these individuals . Some of these same people serve as components of the major architectural features recorded within the frame of subsequent photographs.

When the human elements are seen in the context of these architectural photographs, as in the following representation (fig. 47) , their inclusion functions as a device to measure scale. Their significance as individual human entities is diminished , not only by their diminutive size but also as their purpose is translated into a tool that supports the viability of the structure. The photographer's primary task of documenting the architectural dwelling is neither deterred nor distracted by the presence of the human figure. A physical and psychological separation is elicited as a result , distancing the photographer from the human element within the photographic frame . The housing has been compressed and objectified onto a two dimensional plane populated by figural representations . Whereas a detachment is evident in the diminishing presence of family in the latter part of the 1906 album, the size of the human presence remains consistently diminished in this current series.

As a professional , the photographer's pragmatic eye has erased any sign of religious devotion , instead using the mechanical device of the camera to survey the products of development . The housing no longer supports an endearing portrait of a loved one, as the material object of the album provided in the first collection nor does it serve as a supplemental backdrop as it did in the second album . Now it is the barely distinguishable human figure whose presence supports the scale of the architecture , yet a scale that has been reduced as well from the impressive dwellings of the previous era.

The Queen Anne , matriarch of Victorian architecture has been supplanted by one of a regiment of homogenized suburban dwellings represented in the previous photograph, the solution engineered to house a changing demographic as the result of a developing and expanding mobile professional class. Whether in the context of the album or in the domestic realm of the home , its structure no longer encapsulated the ideal in either the pictorial representation as in the portrait ,or in the conceptual values of homelife.

Extrinsic forces pressed against the outer walls of the home as the ' moral center garrisoned by family faith '. Forces that influenced personal relationships and expectations that nurtured the confidence in family values became less viable, thus the internal structure of the family weakened . Instigating this debility was the attenuated connection between the mother and child , and the influence of the peer group loosened this bond . One of several factors that eroded the Victorian ethos according to historian Stanley Coben , is that " children ... felt closer to their peers than to their parents " (175). The space that separates the two figures of mother and daughter on the porch (fig. 47) signifies this breach , seated on the periphery are the girl's cohorts as if in anticipation of her departure to join them . Traditional family roles had changed prompted by those who had originally maintained its identity . This transferal of allegiance was as much a symptom as an effect of " ... parents placing personal fulfillment above devotion to spouse and children ... leading to ... the consequent divorce rate ... and ... the rise of women's proportion in the workforce...all deliver(ed) shattering blows to the primary Victorian haven (the home) against the world's vicissitudes ".

The Snapshot Collection - " The Caption "

The fourth and final collection represents a pictorial antithesis of Victorianism as it is portrayed in the genre of snapshot photographs that portray an era unharnessed from the constraints of convention . Holiday tradition is highlighted pictorially in a selection of

images from the complete series of thirty gelatin silver photographs (each measuring 2 1/4 x 3 1/8 inches with overall dimensions of 3 1/2 x 5 1/2 inches) . The patriotism of the celebration resounds in a decor of American flags . The informality of the couple's pose and their animated gestures (fig. 48) depict the symbolic liberation from the domain of Victorian culture . Decorum has evaporated as mother and son share equally in the exuberance of the moment . The subjects , photographed in an outdoor setting , have not only escaped the formal confines of a home but have completely escaped -- to the rustic environs of a lakeside dwelling . The subjects in the photographs in the collection in its entirety are unrestrained by any housing , thus verifying the loss of original sequencing. The randomness of order is a cue to the fragmentation and social disorder that followed the dissolution of cultural relationships in the early twentieth century .

Formal relationships and the allegiance to home had maintained the stability of the Victorian homefront . Like the regiment of pre-cut openings provided an internal order , each portrait in the carte de visite album was framed by an identical motif . The snapshots in the following photos (fig. 49)portray a more impromptu order conveying an unconventional approach to the genre of portraiture captured in a different light and composition . The white margin of the album leaf that carried the ornamental motif surrounding the carte portrait is now internal to what is framed in the snapshot . What was a decorative embellishment in the former album is now a major compositional element that unifies the group (and not the solitary individual) and organically intertwined by the natural material of the roots of a tree . The general absence of smiles may indicate that picture taking events could still be an uncomfortable experience for the subject whether in a studio setting and the contrivance of a headclamp or in the heat of the open air and conceding to the photographer's whimsy and the discomfort of the stabilizing accessory object .

The Victorian's separate spheres had defined gender roles that differentiated male and female roles and expectations as expressed in ritual behaviors . The feminist movement of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries contributed to the denouement of



48.



49.

Victorianism by protesting the precepts that had defined a woman's position in the patriarchal structure of the home. The following snapshot (fig. 50) conveys the movement's equalizing effects as male and female appear alternately side by side in a linear pose. The parity of the group is expressed in this arrangement that includes the equally present matriarch, distinguished from the peer members that form the line as the only representative of a previous generation. In another photograph (fig. 51) the matriarch sits solitarily poised, garmented in the traditional white of summer, offset by the informality of the campsite and by the primitiveness of the object she holds like a torch in her right hand, a gesture that acknowledges the American icon of freedom - the Statue of Liberty.

The photographic medium insinuated a revolution, according to Marshall McLuhan, for the artist and writer could "... no longer depict a world that had been much photographed (and) turned, instead to reveal the inner process of creativity in expressionism and abstract art ... and to the inward gestures of the mind ... to achieve insight ... thus ... art moved from outer making to inner making" (194). An interest in the unconscious and what was *not* evident characterized the modern era's interest in psychology and the mind that perceived the photograph as a nonverbal language conveying messages via a silent language of posture and gesture. It was "the snapshot of arrested human postures ... that directed more attention to physical and psychic posture than ever before". According to McLuhan, "Freud and Jung built their observations on the interpretation of the languages of both individual and collective postures and gestures with respect to dreams and to the ordinary acts of everyday life ... adding that the physical and psychic *gestalts*, or "still" shots, with which they worked were much owing to the posture world revealed by the photograph" (McLuhan 193).

The word "posture" is defined variously as "... a characteristic way of bearing one's body; carriage ... a stance or disposition ... and ... a frame of mind affecting one's thoughts or behavior". Except for the last, all of these refer to the physical characteristics of the word and imply a visible counterpart, the last refers to a condition of



50.



51.

the mind that is obscured from view. Similar parallels exist between what was visible and intended to what remained hidden from the photographer's eye at the time the picture was taken. A juxtaposition of the conscious and the subconscious mind is represented in the iconography of this snapshot (fig. 52) that expresses the cognition of the photographer, the intention to photograph a gesture of friendship: two subjects in the foreground shake hands. In the background, a headless female figure (identified by her dress as the matriarch) like a haunting apparition, is permanently captured, inadvertently becoming part of the text. The light and shadow areas intensify a visible contrast and the spatial definition between foreground and background is flattened onto one plane. What distinguishes the two planes is in the pictorial representation of the two subjects physically engaged, in a handshake as well as consciously attentive to the photographer and very much in possession of their heads endorsed by the size of their hats. In contrast the subject in the background is perceived as not only physically separated spatially hovering in the upper corner of the frame but is psychically disengaged, a separation distinguished by the absence of the figure's head. Perhaps an omen for the demystification of the traditional Mother as the figurehead of Victorian culture. The image characterizes the contingency of the snapshot and its potential to juxtapose reality with the universe of the surreal. The irrational aspect of this " silent language of the image " was in complete contradiction to the disciplined order of the world conceived by the Victorian " frame of mind " thus further deconstructing beliefs that had instituted and sustained cultural values. Like the freedom celebrated symbolically in these snapshots, the original independence gained was not without sacrifice or loss. This verity applies as well to the losses incurred, including a person's identity, as cultural guideposts of Victorianism were uprooted.

Throughout this study the child has played a significant role as an indicator of the health of the family institution; their ubiquitous presence is evident in the first two albums that " housed " their image. The briefly acknowledged presence of children in the glass plate photographs suggests the decline in the family relationship. The solitary child depicted



52.



53.

in the final photograph (fig. 53) , displaced from home and family , is separated from the " terra firma " of tradition and immersed in a changeable substance that , like an unknown future , is potentially as dangerous as it is essential . He stands alone like a vulnerable target in the center of the frame extending his vision to me , the viewer in the present , affirming a statement by Schlereth that " photography is future oriented in that it carries the record of the past into the future " (43). Perhaps the message carried is that by extending our vision beyond the limit of expectations we can continue , in Carlyle's words , " striving after better things " and ... continue to value our histories.

Epilogue

The form of the first two collections provided the objective evidence of the housing influencing the methodology by which I read and interpreted the visual records. I characterized the formality of the third collection by a physical and tactile quality inherent in the glass supporting the negative . The size of the negative provided a finer optical resolution to the information in the details but represented only the primary layer in the imaging process . Resolution came to the photographic process when those details were transmitted onto paper, thus completing the secondary layer. I have limited my reading and interpretation of the pictorial record of the entire text. As fragments of the entire text , the images I cited function as data that supplement the body of my thesis rather than support the corpus of the collection as an independent entity.

The evidence in the " text " of the negatives and the photographs are without a formal housing , exposing it to indiscriminate handling by persons who may be indifferent to the collection's value as an object of material culture and the messages conveyed in the visual record . The lack of any permanent enclosure for these objects endangers the loss of the primary evidence stored in the negatives. By fabricating a housing for both sets of records , the

negatives and photographs printed from them as well as the " formless " collection , a contribution would be made to their preservation and by ordering the arrangement of the media I would be contextualizing the information , thus constructing a layer of meaning .

As Siegfried Kracauer notes, " ... time and process is essential to the making of a photograph as well as the factors in the making of history " (50). The fate of the collections , their physical condition and accessibility to the history recorded in these documents are dependent on the quality of care they receive . The extent of time invested in caring for photographs and the method by which this is achieved are also important factors in the preservation of their history. This applies in varying degrees to all four collections , their care is contingent on those who inherit their histories , embodiments of the material of a culture as well as of its spirit.

Works Cited

- Ames, Kenneth L. Death in the Dining Room and Other Tales of Victorian Culture. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1992.
- "Meaning in Artifacts : Hall Furnishings in Victorian America". Material Culture Studies in America . Ed. Thomas J. Schlereth . Nashville, Tenn. : American Assoc. for State and Local History , 1982.
- Anthony & Scovill Co. (catalog) . New York : Sept. 1901.
- Barthes, Roland . Camera Lucida, Reflections on Photography . trans. Richard Howard, New York : Hill and Wang , 1981.
- Beckow , Steven M. " Culture , History , and Artifact " . Material Culture Studies in America . Ed. Thomas J. Schlereth . Nashville , Tenn. : American Association for State and Local History , 1982 .
- Briggs, Asa .Victorian Things . Chicago : Univ. of Chicago Press , 1988.
- Coben, Stanley . The Assault on Victorianism in the Twentieth Century . Ed. Daniel Walker Howe. Pennsylvania : Univ. of Pennsylvania Press , 1976.
- Coe , Brian and Paul Gates. The Snapshot Photograph : The Rise of Popular Photography , 1888 - 1939 . London : Ash and Grant , 1977.
- Collier, John Jr. and Malcolm Collier. Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method . Albuquerque : Univ.of New Mexico Press, 1986 .
- Ginger , Ray . Age of Excess : The United States from 1877 to 1914 . New York : Macmillan Publishing Co. , 1975 .
- Gloag, John . Victorian Taste. New York : Macmillan Co. , 1962.
- Green-Lewis , Jennifer. Framing the Victorians : Photography and the Culture of Realism . Ithaca : Cornell Univ. Press , 1996.
- Halpern , Steven . " Souvenirs of Experience: The Victorian Portrait and the Twentieth-Century Snapshot " . The Snapshot . Ed. Jonathan Green . Millerton, N.Y. : Aperture , Inc. 1974.
- Harris ,Neil . The Land of Contrasts 1880-1901. New York : George Braziller, 1970.
- Henisch, H.K. and Bridget A. Henisch. The Photographic Experience 1839-1914: Images and Attitudes. Pennsylvania : Penn State Univ. Press , 1994.
- Houghton, , Walter E. . Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870 . New Haven : Yale Univ. Press , 1957.
- Howe, Daniel Walker ed. Victorian America . Pennsylvania : Univ. of Pennsylvania Press , 1976.

- Ivins, William M. Jr. Prints and Visual Communication . London : Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. , 1953.
- Jussim, Estelle . Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts. New York : R.R. Bowker , 1974.
- Krakauer, Siegfried . History: The Last Before the Last . New York : Oxford Univ. Press, 1969 .
- Linkeman, Audrey . The Victorians : Photographic Portraits. London, New York : Tauris Parke Books, 1993.
- Lubar, Steven and W. David Kingery, Ed. History from Things : Essays on Material Culture. Washington, D.C. : Smithsonian Inst. Press, 1993.
- Marien , Mary Warner . Photography and Its Critics : A Cultural History 1839-1900. Cambridge, MA . : Cambridge Univ. Press. ,1997.
- Meyer D.H. . " American Intellectuals and the Victorian Crisis of Faith " Victorian America . Ed. Daniel Walker Howe. Pennsylvania : Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. 1976.
- McLuhan, Marshall . Understanding Media : The Extensions of Man: " The Photograph " New York : McGraw Hill, 1964.
- Newsome , David . The Victorian World Picture: Perception and Introspections in an Age of Change . New Jersey : Rutgers Univ. Press. 1993.
- Picturemaking for Pleasure and Profit . Chicago : Frederick J. Drake & Co. , 1902 .
- Pickles , Sheila . The Language of Flowers . New York : Harmony Books, 1990 .
- Romer, Grant. " The Conservation of Photographic Albums at George Eastman House, Reflections upon the North American Context ". Paper presented at conference of the SFIIC Photographic Group , Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle. Paris : 26-27 November, 1998.
- Root, Marcus Aurelius . The Camera and the Pencil. 1864 . Pawlet , Vermont : Reprinted by Helios, 1971.
- Rudisill, Richard. " Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society " , Photography in Print. Ed. Vicki Goldberg. Albuquerque : Univ. of New Mexico , 1981.
- Schlereth, Thomas J. , Ed. Material Culture Studies in America. Nashville , Tenn.: American Assoc. of State and Local History, 1982.
- Stevenson, Louise L. . The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture 1860-1880. New York : Twayne Pub.,1991.
- Thomas , Alan . Time in a Frame : Photography and the Nineteenth Century Mind. New York : Schocken Books, 1977.

Trachtenberg , Alan. Reading American Photographs: Images as History . Mathew Brady to Walker Evans. New York: Hill and Wang , 1989.

Wallace, Carol McD. . Victorian Treasures : An Album and Historical Guide for Collectors. New York : Harry N. Abrams, Inc. , 1993.