

FORGET ME NOT



FORGET ME NOT  
PHOTOGRAPHY & REMEMBRANCE

*Geoffrey Batchen*



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Frontispiece: [12] Photographer unknown, *Unidentified couple, woman holding a daguerreotype*, c. 1850

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## FOREWORD

Vincent van Gogh, although visionary in many respects, deeply mistrusted the medium of photography. There are only two known photographic portraits of the artist, and they date to a period when he was very young and had probably not decided for himself that a picture should be taken of him. There is possibly another photograph of the painter, if it is indeed Van Gogh who sits at the bank of the Seine, talking to Emile Bernard, his back to the camera.

On the 9th of October in 1888, Vincent wrote to his brother Theo that he was dissatisfied with a *carte-de-visite* portrait of their mother: “I am working on a portrait of Mother, because the black-and-white photograph annoys me so. Ah, what portraits could be made from nature with photography and painting! I always hope that we are still to have a great revolution in portraiture. I am writing home for Father’s portrait also. I do not want to have black photographs, but I do want to have a portrait” (letter 548/437). The colorless likeness was obviously not powerful enough to convey the emotion that Van Gogh believed a visual record of his mother should possess. Vincent’s painting of his mother is now in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (F 477/ JH 1600). It is a truthful copy of the photograph, though obviously much larger and with a dominant green background.

The ambivalence of the medium of photography, its possibilities as well as its limitations, and the reactions to photography of customers and viewers—here represented by Van Gogh—are the subjects of this book. How does photography function—or not—as a catalyst for remembrance? Geoffrey Batchen’s writings on the history and theory of photography make him particularly well qualified to elucidate this little-researched aspect of the medium. Batchen not only explores how ordinary people have used and transformed the visual records of the camera, he also takes us on a journey into what it means to remember. And as the case of Van Gogh’s portrait of his mother suggests, questions inevitably arise. For whom did Anna Carbentus-Van Gogh have the portrait of herself made? How was it

received? Why did her brilliant son dismiss it as inadequate? Why did it annoy him so? As Geoffrey Batchen makes clear, Van Gogh's response was not unusual, nor was it the sort of response limited to Western cultures.

That this meditation on photography and remembrance is published in conjunction with an exhibition at the Van Gogh Museum will not, I hope, be too much of a surprise. For a number of years the museum has featured varied exhibitions, many of which have not necessarily focused on its great Dutch patron, but which have sought to present a range of the visual and artistic media of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* fits neatly into this tradition. We believe that this publication offers a groundbreaking approach to the history of photography, and we are proud to be associated with it.

I would like to thank Geoffrey Batchen for his inspiration and organization. I first heard him lecture on this subject many months ago, and from that talk to this book I have learned an immense amount from him. I would also like to thank my colleagues at the Van Gogh Museum who have helped to make possible both the exhibition and the book. We are most grateful to Princeton Architectural Press for the outstanding editing and beautiful production. Together we hope to draw attention to an important legacy of both individual and collective memory.

*Andreas Blühm*

Head of Exhibitions and Display  
Van Gogh Museum  
Amsterdam

# FORGET ME NOT

## PHOTOGRAPHY & REMEMBRANCE

*Geoffrey Batchen*

### Our Precious Memories



In September 1868, the English photographer Julia Margaret Cameron made an albumen print of a young woman and titled it *Mnemosyne*, or *Memory*. Gazing sightlessly down and away from the camera, the young woman caresses the dark cascade of her long, flowing hair, as if lost in thought. Flowers and leaves circle her head and hang from her waist, evoking an eternal nature. But the woman also carries a distinctly cultural artifact—looped over one arm is a string of beads (useful when trying to remember things, when placing them in chronological order). It is a wistful and ethereal image, and a telling one. For in naming this figure for the Greek goddess of memory and mother of the Muses, Cameron would seem to be suggesting that photography itself is an art of memory. This is an idea that has long been popular, so much so that we usually construe photographs and memories as synonymous. As early as 1859 the American writer Oliver Wendell Holmes called photography “the mirror with a memory,” and the Eastman Kodak Company has extensively promoted this notion as well: “[Kodak] enables the fortunate possessor to go back by the light of his own fireside to scenes which would otherwise fade from memory and be lost.”<sup>1</sup> And so we have taken our photographs, voraciously and anxiously—Americans alone take about 550 snapshots per second—as if to fail to do so would be to let our precious memories fade into the mists of time.

No wonder that so many photographs made in the nineteenth century show people pensively contemplating other photographs. What could they



[34] Julia Margaret Cameron, *Memory (Marie Spartali)*, 1868

be calling to mind, if not their memories? What, for example, is Princess Anna Murat trying to remember? Photographed by the Disdéri studio in Paris in the mid-1860s, the princess has taken care to stand to one side, allowing us to admire the drape of her sumptuous dress. She is staring intently at a photograph she holds in her hand, posing as if unaware of the camera, and of us, staring at her staring at it. It's a common theme, variously photographed. In another image of the same kind, a woman leans an elbow on a table, her head propped on her hand, and gazes soulfully into the cabinet card portrait she holds in her other hand.

Or consider the woman portrayed by a Canadian photographer named Reeves. She looks straight out at us, one hand against her cheek and the other clutching a *carte-de-visite* portrait of a man. Does she see us staring



[8] Photographer unknown, Mr. George James Webb, Mrs. Webb, Mary Isabella Webb, Caroline Elizabeth Webb, c. 1845

back, or is she looking only inward, eyes open but mind elsewhere, recalling her missing lover? And here is another example: framed within a large daguerreotype, Mr. George James Webb is insistent that the rest of his family stare at a small photograph he proffers in his hand; his daughter's head is being held steady to ensure that her gaze does not wander. The whole picture is organized around this act of collective looking, its composition dominated by a void occupied only by Mr. Webb's pictorial *aide-de-memoire*.

It seems we are being invited to look at a picture that is all about its subjects looking at another picture. Why was the picture taken? Perhaps it was a way for this family to acknowledge their sustenance of memory: someone may be gone but is certainly not forgotten. The family in this picture wanted to be remembered as remembering.

In many such pictures we see people holding photograph albums, as if to represent their relationship to family dynasties. In one photograph two sisters from Zehsis in Latvia are shown dressed in identical clothes, their



[72]



[16]



[85]



[15]



[13]

72: Disdéri studio, *Princess Anna Murat examining a photograph*, c. 1865

15: E.C. Dana, *Portrait of a woman looking at a photographic portrait of a woman*, c. 1880

16: Reeves, *Portrait of a woman holding photograph of a man*, c. 1880

85: L. Borewitz, *Two sisters in identical clothes with an open photograph album*, c. 1890s

13: J. Baum, *Unidentified woman seated, holding a daguerreotype*, c. 1845

familial relations reiterated in the way they both touch an open album on a table before them. Holding a photograph within a photograph answers to the need to include the virtual presence of those who are otherwise absent.



[73] L.F. Cramer, *Portrait of a woman in a white dress unveiling a framed photograph*, c. 1880s

In some cases, the reason for this absence is made clear. In one image a woman in mourning clothes shows us a daguerreotype of her deceased husband. In another, a young woman stands facing us in a beautiful white dress, a flower pinned to her chest. With her right hand she lifts the corner of a dark drape that covers a large framed photograph of another woman (her mother? her sister?). This framed photograph would have had to be carried from her home to the studio to make this double portrait possible, to enable life and death to stand side by side before the camera. The young woman has, in adopting this pose, turned the experience of being photographed into an explicit act of remembrance.

Some daguerreotypes feature images of people holding daguerreotype cases, allowing them to display someone else's portrait within their own. Sometimes the case is open, sometimes not.

But why would someone, in these circumstances, display a *closed* daguerreotype case? In one portrait, two children are shown facing the camera. The girl holds a closed daguerreotype case in her right hand so that it rests upright in her lap. The boy standing at her side extends his arm awkwardly across her body so he can be seen touching the back of the case. The girl and boy surely know what image is contained within the case, and maybe that knowledge informs their understanding of the picture. But for us the gesture remains a mystery; all we know is that it was important for these children (and presumably their parents) to include the daguerreotype in the picture and to be seen to be touching the case.

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[70] Photographer unknown, *Young girl and young boy; she is holding a daguerreotype case*, c. 1855



[71] Photographer unknown, *Woman holding a daguerreotype case*, c. 1850

Sometimes the case in the picture is the one that now contains this same picture. Think about what this means. First we handle the case, feeling its surfaces. Usually made of leather, daguerreotype cases were sometimes decorated with embossed designs, painted landscapes, and patterned inserts. (And daguerreotypes themselves, made of metal, glass, timber, and leather, have a distinctive heft, a feature that adds the gravitas of gravity to their characteristics.) Early on, some cases were disguised as books, or covered in expensive materials like mother-of-pearl. Later, cases were made from thermoplastic materials, enabling detailed scenes to be shown in relief; these stimulated the fingers as much as they delighted the eyes. The case was—and is—an important part of the daguerreotype. In certain examples we see and touch the outside of the case, then we open it up and look inside to see that case again, presented to us as a picture (and in that picture the case is being touched once more, but by someone else). This is an object that continuously collapses sight and touch, inside and outside, into the same perceptual experience. It is as if, in these pictures within pictures, the subjects want to draw our attention not only to the image they hold, but also to photography itself as a touchable entity, to the comforting solidity of its memorial function.

But is photography indeed a good way to remember things? The question demands that we define what we mean by “memory,” for there are many types of memory and many ways to remember. There is even a kind of memory we call “photographic,” meaning an exact and self-conscious recall of past events, scenes, or texts.<sup>2</sup> But the pictures I am discussing seem to be less about the detailed recall of appearance and more about the extended act of remembrance, more about a state of reverie. For us today, these nineteenth-century images might even evoke another kind of memory—nostalgia. Involving an illogically warm feeling toward the past, a kind of pleasurable sadness, nostalgia was regarded as a neurosis in previous centuries and thought to be manifest by a swelling of the brain. Now, of course, the stimulation of nostalgia is a major industry—the past has become a profitable commodity. But that doesn’t make nostalgia any less real.

Nostalgia aside, what comes to mind when we remember something? How do you remember? Under what circumstances do you remember? Photographs might prompt recall of an absent loved one, but we have all at some time searched our family albums and not recognized those we see within. Perhaps we know who they are and can identify them from a photograph or its caption—we might recognize them in this limited sense. But the photograph does not really prompt you to remember people the way you might otherwise remember them—the way they moved, the manner of their speech, the sound of their voice, that lift of the eyebrow when they made a joke, their smell, the rasp of their skin on yours, the emotions they stirred. (Can you ever really *know* someone from a photograph?) Think back to childhood. Can you remember it? Or do the images that come to mind resemble the photographs you have been shown of your childhood? Has photography quietly replaced your memories with its own?

Some of photography's most insightful critics have argued that photography and memory do not mix, that one even precludes the other. French cultural critic Roland Barthes, for example, has claimed that "not only is the Photograph never, in essence, a memory...but it actually blocks memory, quickly becomes a counter-memory."<sup>3</sup> Following Proust in *Remembrance of Things Past*, Barthes based his claim on the presumed capacity of the photograph to replace the immediate, physically embracing experience of involuntary memory (the sort of emotional responses often stirred by smells and sounds) with frozen illustrations set in the past; photography, Barthes implies, replaces the unpredictable thrill of memory with the dull certainties of history.<sup>4</sup> Barthes is referring to a kind of memory that pierces the complacency of everyday experience, crossing time to affect us right now, in the present. For Barthes, it seems, memory is not so much image as sensation. The challenge, then, is to make photography the visual equivalent of smell and taste, something you can feel as well as see.



[9] Photographer unknown, *Portrait of a woman holding a daguerreotype of a couple*, c. 1850



[82] Photographer unknown, *Standing woman with an open photograph album and handbag*, c. 1890

Writing in 1927, the German critic Siegfried Kracauer also expressed misgivings about photography's relationship to memory. "An individual retains memories because they are personally significant. Thus, they are organized according to a principle which is essentially different from the organizing principle of photography. Photography grasps what is given as a spatial (or temporal) continuum; memory images retain what is given only insofar as it has significance. Since what is significant is not reducible to either merely spatial or merely temporal terms, memory images are at odds with photographic representation."<sup>5</sup> Photography, he argues, captures too much information to function as memory. It is too coherent and too linear in its articulation of time and space.

It obeys the rules of nonfiction. Memory, in contrast, is selective, fuzzy in outline, intensely subjective, often incoherent, and invariably changes over time—a conveniently malleable form of fiction.

### The Degree of Slowness



All this deserves further thought. But first let us look at more photographs, at framed and painted tintypes, for instance. As American collector Stanley Burns has shown, these objects were produced in large numbers from the 1860s through the 1890s in rural areas of the United States; the practice employed frame makers, photographers, and folk art painters whose portrait businesses had been made obsolete by the cheaper and quicker tintype technology.<sup>6</sup> The word "tintype" is a misnomer, for these are collodion



[62] Makers unknown, *Dour couple in horizontal arched window*, c. 1870s

negatives developed on a blackened sheet of iron (the dark background makes them look positive to the eye). Individuals and families would sit for their photographic portraits, their heads usually supported by a standing metal device to keep them steady during the relatively long exposure. In early photographs, it seems, if one wanted to look lifelike in the eventual image, one had to pose as if dead. Not surprisingly, the resulting portraits have all the animation of a wax effigy. This stiffness is not softened by the addition of paint, which was limited in color range and usually covered whatever idiosyncratic detail once may have enlivened the photograph. One consequence is that the subjects in these portraits all exhibit a certain sameness of expression, monotonous to a contemporary viewer but perhaps comforting to a clientele seeking familiarity of genre rather than artistic innovation. This clientele looks out at us from their standard gray backgrounds with the fixed stare of the blind, their facial and bodily comportment insisting on a dignified formality of presentation. Such formality was perhaps fitting for a procedure that may have occurred only once in a lifetime. Indeed, these otherwise humble portraits declare “do not forget me” with as much intensity of purpose as any pharaoh’s tomb, a declaration made all the more poignant by the anonymity to which most of these sitters have been consigned.

One of the interesting things about this genre of photo-portraiture is how easily its images depart from the realism we associate with the photograph. The portraits of children, in particular, often look strangely surreal, the contest for supremacy between photograph and paint producing striking distortions of perspective and expression. The photograph testifies that the child was indeed there, in front of the camera at some past moment, but the matter



[98] Makers unknown, *Portrait of a woman*, c. 1860-1880



[67] Makers unknown, *Seated girl in a plaid dress*, c. 1860s



[102] Makers unknown, *Traveling mirror*  
with portrait of a man wearing a hat, c. 1860s

of his or her appearance in the present was left to the mercies—tender or not—of the painter. In one instance, the owner of a traveling mirror in an embossed leather case has removed the central mirror and replaced it with a painted tintype of a man in a cap. Every time the owner of the mirror opened the case for her daily toilet, she would have been reminded of that man in the tintype—would have stared into his face even as she looked at the reflected image of her own. Merely to open the mirror was to perform a memorial act.

These portraits are fascinating as well for what we don't see: the photograph, for example. In many, the photographic base has been almost entirely covered by paint or erased through the application of a solvent. The resulting image was often elaborately matted and framed, which gave the finished object both pattern and depth. This sort of presentation gave each example of an otherwise generic image-making process a unique and distinctive appearance. The opulence of the mats is often striking; some of



[100] Makers unknown, *Portrait bust of a woman*, c. 1870

them surround the glum countenance of a portrait sitter with a glittering border of gold, or with inked decorative corners, or perhaps with a piece of textured carpet or an expanse of red velvet. What we are looking at is thus a strangely hybrid piece of work: part photograph, part painting, part etching, part sculpture. The practice of producing them was strange, too. One took a photographic portrait—the indexical guarantor of the veracity of the appearance of a person. Then one covered that guarantee with a layer of paint, often inexpertly applied. The mechanical exactitude of the camera is still apparent—we are aware of its foundational role—but the eye perceives mostly the traces left by the hand of the painter. Nevertheless, however clumsy the artist, the portrait we witness continues to be supported by the truth-value of its photographic base. Indeed, the epistemological presence of the photograph is strengthened by its perceptual absence. These images, so simple at first glance, exploit a complex form of palimpsest; they could be said to offer “an erasure which allows what it obliterates to be read.”<sup>7</sup>

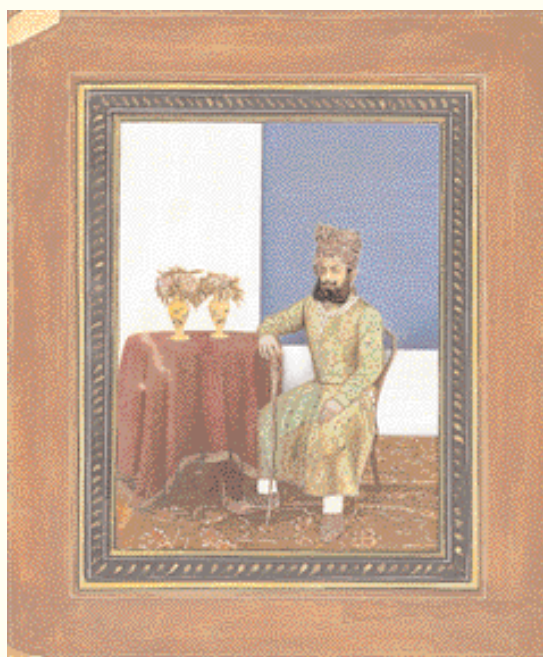


[1] J.C.A. Dannenberg, *The Raja of Bhurtpore [Bharatpur]*, 1863

Not all acts of erasure, however, signify in this same way. Compare American tintypes, for example, to the painted photographs produced in India from the 1860s until the early twentieth century. In the tintypes, to cover a feature with paint is to void it, to declare it no longer there. But in the Indian portraits, painted decoration can be deeply meaningful; it can have presence in its own right. In Indian paintings, for example, the picture plane is sometimes treated as a vertical surface against which a series of narrative incidents is articulated, as if the figures stand, in separate sets of spatial coordinates, before a theatrical backdrop. In some cases the entire surface of the picture plane is covered, often with lavish and iconographic patterning and materials (including calligraphy and gold leaf).<sup>8</sup> It is good to keep in mind this indigenous picture-making tradition when looking at Indian photographs. In an 1863 portrait of the Raja of Bharatpur, for example, the conventions of European portrait

photography have been maintained, including the motif of a gathered curtain beside the seated figure. The photographer gives us a strictly frontal view of the dignitary, again obeying European conventions. But the manner in which paint has been applied to the surface of this albumen photograph departs from Western tradition. For while the painting of photographs was common in Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century, in the Indian portrait this painting is unusually meticulous and detailed. The painter picked out the intricate patterning on the Raja's costume in subtle, rich colors; he left only his photographic face untouched. The effect is to push his figure forward and out of the pictorial space, counteracting photography's tendency to reduce everything to a pictorial equivalence.

Other Indian portraits are even more striking. In one instance, a member of the Indian ruling class, Maharana Fateh Singh of Udaipur, sits at a table, one hand propped on an upright sword. His smiling face (an unusual choice of expression for this typically serious genre) beams out of his painted avatar, with its richly tinted green gown, red turban, and white highlights. The composition is also unusual, with the Maharana shown sitting to one side of the center of the picture, balanced by a pair of flower-filled vases on a table draped in red cloth. The Maharana's importance is underscored by a large blue rectangle that has been painted in behind him, over the otherwise white backdrop. This minimal plane of color allows the lavish patterning of his garment and of the carpet under his feet to be appreciated. The addition of paint does not always produce



[4.] Makers unknown, *Maharana Fateh Singh of Udaipur, seated at a table with two vases of flowers*, 1890s



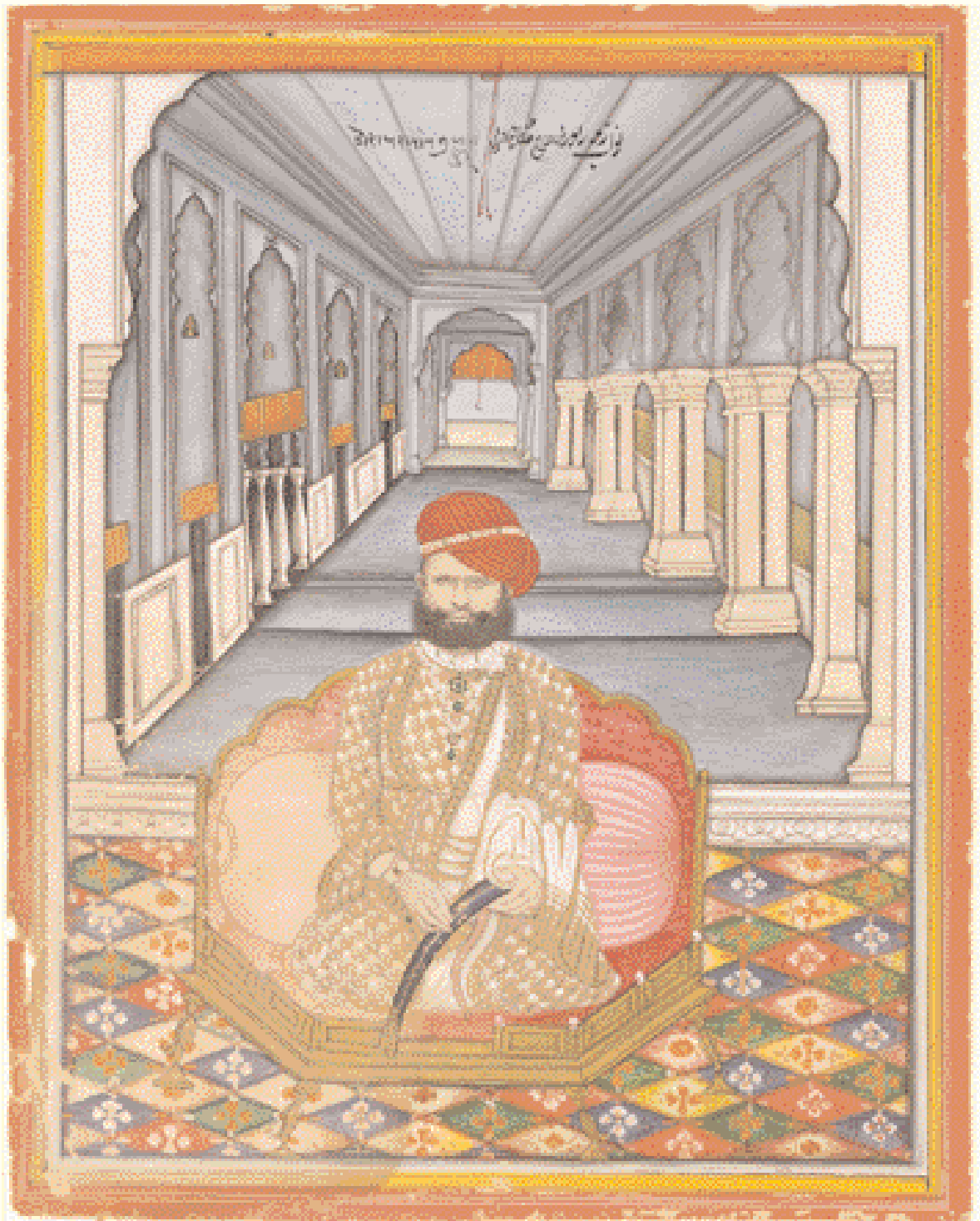
[3] Makers unknown, *Indian prince with mustache*  
(possibly the Raja of Datia), 1890s

such fine results. In one relatively large portrait, the face of an Indian prince looms out of the darkness of its background, brightened only by his blue sash and feathered turban. Here the oil paint has been applied somewhat roughly, its painterly brushstrokes still visible. The painter has tried to make the man's necklace look three-dimensional, using Western techniques to suggest reflections and shadows. All this is surrounded by an undecorated but ornately scalloped mat and augmented with a rather incongruous exhortation to "Be Good" painted underneath.

Not much is known about the function of these painted photographs, whether they were meant for the pages of an album

or a frame on a wall, for private or public space. American historian Judith Mara Gutman notes that Indian photographs were often painted after the death of their subjects, as a memorial.<sup>9</sup> This form of portrait would seem to be an affectation adopted by the Indian ruling classes (similar pictures of Europeans living in India are unknown), and they usually, but not exclusively, feature men. The emphasis on the depiction of dress suggests that these photographs were, at least partly, a statement of wealth and social status, much like European portraits. But the way they are decorated also speaks to their difference from European traditions, becoming a means to articulate the tension generated when one culture seeks to accommodate the visual conventions, and political demands, of another.

Consider another Indian portrait. A red-turbaned raja sits in splendor on a pink sofa. The picture's fastidious overpainting works to flatten the perspectival depth usually offered by a camera-produced image. We notice how the even patterning applied to the floor refuses to allow it to recede into space, making that floor appear as a vertical plane rather than a horizontal



[2] Makers unknown, *Ruler with a sword and red turban, sitting on pink sofa [gadi]*, 1890s

one. The strangeness (to Western eyes) of this effect is accentuated by its contrast with the upper two-thirds of the picture, which is dedicated to a gray-and-white colonnaded space that plunges into the background according to the rules of one-point perspective. These two competing and seemingly irreconcilable depictions of space are joined, but also divided, by a baseboard running from left to right across the picture. Its high placement suggests that the “real space” of the colonnade is an illusion, a painted backdrop that hangs vertically behind the sitter. The sense that space is here being staged (that space is an artifice, an effect of representation) is intensified by the red, yellow, and orange border that frames the scene. Its theatrical presence declares this to be a picture rather than a photograph—an important distinction, given all that photography implies about certain Western ideas of truth and realism, time and space. The picture incorporates this adopted European image-form but it is not confined to it—perhaps it even disputes these European ideas, insists on its difference from them.

To return to the image: the symmetry of its composition focuses our attention, despite these distractions, on the elegantly dressed figure seated at its center. His clothing, topped by that striking red turban, has been beautifully rendered. The raja floats within this conjunction of spaces, overlapping the intersecting planes of the picture but seeming to belong to none of them. The front legs of the sofa, for example, rest not on the floor rising behind him but on the picture’s ornamental border. This detail (the picture’s most abstract pictorial element is apparently also its most secure) further displaces this man from real time and space. Notice also the addition of some calligraphic script high above his head; depending on how you have read this picture, it is either floating there impossibly in space or has been written over the painted backdrop and then obediently recorded by the camera. Or maybe we see it as inscribed directly on the surface of this painted photograph, thereby reminding us of the physical presence that is *its* reality. Through such techniques, the picture asserts that it is an object in the present, not simply a window onto the past.

The differences between American tintypes and Indian painted photographs are obvious, but what links these practices is an attempt to make

the photograph unique, and thus to make any memory it might conjure unique too. In both cases the photographic base is removed or painted over. This makes the image that remains look less situated in a specific moment, more ageless, less mortal. But that image is also slowed down. The photograph is no longer just the remnant of an instant's exposure to light. It still represents that instant, of course, but now it conveys as well the added time lavished on it by the hand of a painter. The image has been made more slowly, and it takes more time to look at. You can't take it in quickly but instead must "read" its elaborated surface. This changes the nature of the perceptual experience. In the words of Czech novelist Milan Kundera, "The degree of slowness is directly proportional to the intensity of memory; the degree of speed is directly proportional to the intensity of forgetting."<sup>10</sup>

### A Collective Identity

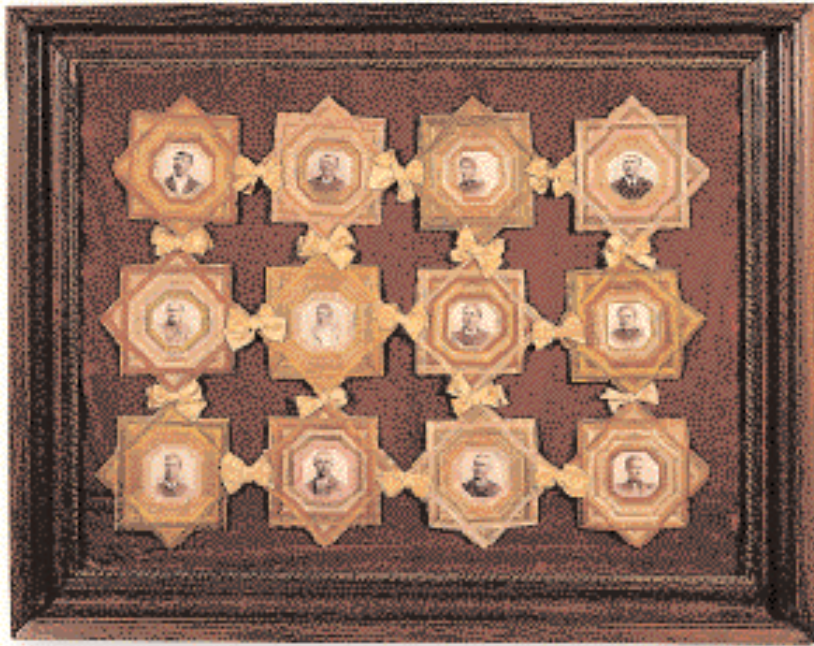


There are many ways in which remembering might be provoked by photographic practices. Photographs taken on separate occasions are, for example, sometimes brought together to form a single coherent object. In the nineteenth century diverse daguerreotype, ambrotype, and tintype portraits were sometimes gathered and grouped in one frame, thus becoming, in the resulting object, part of the same familial genealogy. The twenty-one individual tintype portraits that comprise the University of Rochester's *Class of 1857* have been well coordinated, with all but five of these men adopting almost identical poses and serious expressions. The inclusion of the names under each portrait serves to underline their submission to a collective identity. Another example, from twenty years later, again depends on the uniformity of the featured photographs. It shows the albumen portraits of twelve men and women (their bond now unknown to us) all framed in embroidered eight-pointed stars, with each then joined to the rest by satin ribbons. When organized into geometric grids of rectangles, squares and ovals, this sort of ornate wall sculpture stresses the potential connections



[19] Richard B. Appleby, *University of Rochester*,  
*Class of 1857*, 1857

between one image and the next. In combining the antinatural, antimimetic order of the grid with the insistent realism of the photograph, such objects also recall the spatial abstractions of optical science that informed the invention of photography. Their gilt geometries—so solid and visible, compared to the elusive, reflective images of the photographs they contain—evoke the window that photography claims to provide onto the world, even as they firmly demarcate our separation from that world. And the grid provides these portrait assemblages with the unmistakable structure of narrative, with the capacity to tell a story, a power which few individual photographs possess.



[21] Makers unknown, *Twelve unidentified male and female portraits*, c. 1875



[20] Makers unknown, *Group of young adults*, c. 1863



[130] Makers unknown, *Collage*, c. 1910

Grids represent a call to narrative order, but sometimes groups of photographs are organized into patterns that are hard to understand. In one case, we are presented with a collage of printed cigar bands pasted onto a rectangular board, thickly covering every inch of its surface, like so many multihued scales. Fourteen small photographic portrait busts (nine men and five women) have been glued onto this “found” surface, all radiating, as are the cigar labels, from a central point occupied by one of the men. What could this mean? Apparently this mode of image making was a fad that swept the United States in the early decades of the twentieth century, resulting in the amateur production of many such cigar-label collages.<sup>11</sup> Its effect here is to surround the assembled portraits with a cacophony of superlative small

texts referring simultaneously to the foreign (“King Alfred,” “Mogul,” “*pour la nobles*,” “*non plus ultra*,” “Turkish Trophies”) and to the national (portraits of American presidents and the American flag). Maybe this assemblage is about place, about America’s tendentious relation to the rest of the world? Or maybe it’s just meant to be amusing?

We find the impulse to group different photographs together in one object manifest in various forms. In the early years of the twentieth century, for example, it was not uncommon for women to turn their family snapshots into cyanotypes printed on cloth and then to sew these together as pillowcases or quilts. One such pillowcase, in the collection of Eastman House in Rochester, New York, consists of thirty cyanotype images machine-sewn together, all but one showing outdoor scenes of family holidays. Some feature male and female portraits, while others depict landscapes; one shows the interior of a house with its own complement of





[22] Photographer unknown, *Pillow made up of 30 cyanotype images on cloth*, c.1910

photographs displayed on a bookcase. Each image no doubt prompted a memory for members of this family. But the pillow as an object was also a reminder within the home of the outside world that it depicts, a daily reference to a picturesque elsewhere. The production of these kinds of photographic keepsakes was encouraged by contemporary women's magazines and was influenced more broadly by the Arts and Crafts movement, which sought to preserve handcraft traditions amid expanding industrialization. So the apparent ordinariness of an object like this cyanotype pillowcase belies the deeper social and cultural complexities embodied in its making.

As American scholar Erin Garcia has written, “Made at a time when modernity and industrialization threatened to wholly transform society, the pillow would have participated in a larger cultural negotiation of past and present. . . . Far from a straightforward fusing of (modern) photography with (traditional) quilting, the cyanotype illustrations on the quilted top of the Eastman House pillow blur the boundaries between old and new. In the pillow, distinctions between the machine-made and the hand wrought are as conflated as the photograph and the fabric in which it is embedded.”<sup>12</sup> The physicality of this fabric, its straight seams and crumpled edges, enhances the object’s capacity to provoke remembrance, for it gives these photographs substance and texture, making them touchable and warm, and allowing past and present to cohabit in everyday domestic life. (What would it mean to rest your head on such a pillow?)

It is worth reflecting on the role of touch in the experience of photographic objects like this pillow. Painted photographs draw attention to the surface of the image, inviting us to imagine the touch of the brush that animated that surface. The pillow allows its photographs literally to be touched—fingers and eyes both play a part in their perception. In this it symbolically reiterates one of the most distinct and abstract properties of photography. Photography is privileged within modern culture because, unlike other systems of representation, the camera does more than just see the world; it is also touched by the world. Light bounces off an object or a body and into the camera, activating a light-sensitive emulsion and creating an image. Photographs are therefore designated as indexical signs, images produced as a consequence of being directly affected by the objects to which they refer. It is as if those objects reached out and impressed themselves on the surface of a photograph, leaving their visual imprint, as faithful to the contour of the original object as a death mask is to the deceased. Photographs can thus claim to be a kind of chemical fingerprint. It is surely this combination of the haptic and the visual, this entanglement of touch and sight, that makes photography so compelling a medium. Compelling, and strangely paradoxical. For as Barthes has suggested, “touch is the most demystifying of all senses, unlike sight, which is the most magical.”<sup>13</sup>

## A Form of Perpetual Caress



We find this sensory consummation of sight and touch, of visual magic and physical reality, explored in many photographic practices, including those that combine several photographs in a single object. Imagine a silver locket lying in your hand, cold at first, and then warming as it absorbs the heat of your body. Its metallic surfaces are articulated with incised patterns, geometric and floral designs that emphasize its circular form. Designed to be touched, the locket touches back, grazing your skin with its textured surfaces. This is an object with an inside and an outside, and to be experienced it must be handled as well as viewed. But only when you open it do you realize that it is also a photographic artifact. For this locket opens out on both sides, and does so to reveal no fewer than four daguerreotypes. Two feature husband-and-wife couples facing each other, while two show individual portraits of a man and a woman. We do not know the names of the men and women or the nature of their relationships to each other, but it seems likely that they belonged to the same family. Thus the locket gives material form to what is usually unseen, to emotional and dynastic bonds.



[96] Makers unknown, *Locket with portraits of six people*, c. 1850s (top and bottom)



There are frequent references to such photo-lockets in nineteenth-century advertisements and newspaper stories.<sup>14</sup> An 1865 issue of *The Scientific American*, for example, reports that a Mr. E.N. Foote of New York City had been awarded a patent for a miniature gold locket in the shape of a photographic album, “with leaves for pictures of friends, so made that each of the golden leaves receives two ferrotypes or other pictures, the number of leaves being varied with the size of the locket.” The reporter mentions seeing an example that held eight portraits, each pair opening out in its leaf like the pages of an album, and with the exterior surfaces “chased and engraved

with elegant designs.” Thanks to this inventor’s ingenuity, the writer concludes, an owner “can have with him always, in this elegant locket, the faces of his dear kindred and friends.”<sup>15</sup>

Locketts are mentioned in advertisements taken out by photographers to attract customers. From the evidence of such advertisements, it would seem that photographic jewelry was a staple of the professional portrait photographer of the mid-nineteenth century. George Barnard, working in Oswego, New York, informed his fellow citizens in August 1847 that “he is prepared to take Photographic Miniatures, unsurpassed by any artist in the country...and neatly set in Morocco cases, locketts, breast pins, and in a few minutes.” In January 1852, J.H. Fitzgibbon of St. Louis, Missouri, encouraged potential customers to “secure the shadow ere the substance fade, let nature copy that which nature made.”<sup>16</sup> Having made use of what would become one of photography’s most familiar exhortations, he advises that he can provide “pictures taken by the most Improved Method, and Colored true to Nature, from the finger ring to the double whole size plate, and put up either in cases or frames, to suit tastes.” Augustus Washington, an African-American daguerreotypist working in Hartford, Connecticut, advised his customers in April 1853 that “he has also on hand 100 fine Gold Locketts, from six different manufacturers, of every size and variety, suitable for one, two, three or four pictures, which he will sell cheaper than they can be bought at any other establishment.” A Miss M. MacFarlane, of Belfast, Maine, took out a similar advertisement in the *Maine Free Press* in April 1857 to report that her daguerreotype “miniatures” could be “neatly inserted in Pins, Locketts, Bracelets, etc.” In September



[44] Makers unknown, *Gilt brass brooch with four albumen prints*, c. 1860s



[43] Makers unknown, *Locket with two photographs*, c. 1860s

1854, *Humphrey's Journal* reported that Willard Ellis Geer, "who is Daguerreotyping on wheels," had written a catchy poem to attract new customers. Here are a few lines from it:

I can put them in Rings, in Keys, or in Lockets;  
Or in nice little Cases to slip into your pockets;  
In a word, I've Cases of all kinds, single and double,  
Locketts too, of all sizes, which saves you all trouble  
Of looking any farther than my Daguerrean Gallery.<sup>17</sup>

The practice of carrying a small portrait of a loved one predates photography.<sup>18</sup> By the late eighteenth century, small portrait paintings of members of the aristocracy were often incorporated into jewelry and especially into mourning jewelry (a type of ornament that dates at least to the 1600s).<sup>19</sup> It was logical that, following the introduction of photography in 1839,

calotypes, daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, tintypes, and albumen prints would also find their way into the pins, rings, pendants, brooches, and bracelets that were then so fashionable. By this means, photography allowed the middle classes to adopt a cheaper version of the accoutrements of the rich.<sup>20</sup> There are many examples of photographs showing their subjects wearing brooches and bracelets that themselves contain photographic portraits. Judging by these and numerous surviving objects, photo-jewelry came in many shapes and sizes and varied considerably in cost and fineness of finish.



[24] Makers unknown, *Oval pendant with portrait of mother and two children*, c. 1855



[28] Makers unknown, *Pendant with portraits of a man and a woman*, c. 1850s

Photo-jewelry fulfilled a range of functions (and, of course, the same piece of jewelry might signify affection at one time and mourning at another). Many of these objects were made as declarations of love, or at least of marriage. A pendant might contain portraits of a husband and wife, lying back to back on the opposite sides of their container, never to be parted. For the object to be fully experienced, it had to be turned from side to side, a form of perpetual caress preordained by its designer. Other examples include lockets containing two facing but separate portraits, such that the man and woman inside initially lie hidden, kissing each other in the dark until the locket is opened and they are liberated into the light of a loved one's gaze. But whatever their form or meaning, these photographic objects turn the body of their owners into an accessory. One displays one's affections in public, wearing them not only on the sleeve, in the form of a bracelet, but also as pendants against the chest or as earrings framing the face. A photograph incorporated into a piece of jewelry is put literally in motion—twisting, turning, and bouncing, sharing the folds, volumes, and movements of the wearer and his or her apparel. No longer seen in isolation, the photograph becomes an extension of the wearer; or perhaps it is we wearers who become prostheses to the body of photography.

## They Will Always Be Together



In addition to being incorporated into jewelry, photography was used in diverse ways to commemorate marriage. Consider the framed certificate with which a Dutch couple, Mr. A.N. van Diepen and Miss M.P.H. van Diepen-van der Voort, chose to memorialize their 1864 marriage. In the nineteenth century it was common for the bonds of matrimony to be confirmed in printed certificates like this, which often included tintype or albumen photographs of bride and groom and sometimes even of the officiating minister as well. The photographs added an extra element of indexical weight to the signatures that had already authenticated the event. In such indexical artifacts, the photograph finds itself joined to the dictates of both religion and law, as well as to a plethora of textual admonitions to the happy couple (for instance, “A prudent Wife is from the Lord, Her price is above Rubies”). Sometimes these sorts of hopeful aphorisms were embroidered around a pair of albumen portraits of the couple being addressed. A Dutch example from about 1895 remembered a wedding in the following terms: “Where in the world would one find a more honest faithfulness than between man and woman? May God bless your marriage.” The words



[111] Makers unknown, *Portraits of a man and a woman in wedding clothes*, c. 1900

come from a play by Joost van den Vondel, the greatest Dutch poet and playwright of the seventeenth century. Some photographic memorials to marriage were less declamatory. A small brooch, for instance, shows portraits of a young bride and groom on their wedding day, with the man and the woman in separate compartments of the brooch. Neither is looking at the camera; they seem lost in

thought as well as in their newly married world, an impression enhanced by the fact that their images were from the same original photograph (if you look closely, you can see a waft of her veil in his image).



[53] Makers unknown, *Wedding certificate for Mr A.N. van Diepen and Mevr. M.P.H. van Diepen-van der Voort, c. 1864*



There are many examples of such memorials. A cabinet-card portrait of a husband and wife on their wedding day, sometime around 1900, was included in the memory box they made to commemorate the day; the box contains as well the rosette worn by him and the veil worn by her—tangible reminders of the bodies now joined in marriage. As an ensemble, this homemade reliquary speaks of, almost embodies, the marital experience, more than what can be seen in images or described in words. It underscores the symbolic and abstract qualities of memory, without forsaking the proof of “what has been” provided by the medium of photography.

In yet another instance, the photographic portraits of a man in uniform and a woman we presume to be his wife have been set somewhat incongruously into a symmetrical frame made from bullet shells, two of which project out into space as if aimed at the viewer. On the back of each photograph there is text. The writing on the back of his image is brief but evocative: “Aug ’42 Spokane, Wash. This isn’t very good, but its [sic] all I have.” Perhaps this object, a kind of military handicraft, was made by the man while stationed in an army camp; perhaps he used the only photo he had of himself and of his wife (“Norma Lee” according to her text). And perhaps he then sent the object to her as a keepsake, to hang on the wall of their home, a rather aggressively masculine memorial to both his military service and their marriage bond. (How might its meaning have changed if this man never came back?) This object underscores an attitude to the photograph that informs many of these hybrid photo-artifacts. These constructions breach, in effect, the



[137] Makers unknown, *Portrait of husband and wife on their wedding day*, c. 1890



[136] Makers unknown, *Portraits of a man in uniform and a woman (Norma Lee)*, c. 1942

virtual walls of the photographic image, forcing us to project our mind's eye back and forth, into and out of the photograph they incorporate. They punctuate the temporal character of the photograph, its capture of "what has been," of a past moment, with the more immediate and tangible realities of physical space.<sup>21</sup> They collapse looking into touching and history into memory, and by making the photograph a relatively minor element of a larger ensemble, they refuse to privilege a pure photography over other, hybrid types of representational experience.

And in doing all this they offer a kind of commentary on photography as a representational system. When fitted into a frame, photographs become three-dimensional; and that framing makes us aware that the photograph is a thing as well as an image whose perception requires our hands as well as our eyes. Framed photographs are objects, with physical presence, and this presence complicates what has long been understood as a defining attribute of photography—its indexical relationship to a world outside itself. Or at least, by turning the photograph into a sign of itself as well as of its referent, it prompts us to question the nature of that relationship.



[129] Makers unknown, *Solid Trainload (32 Box Cars)*, January 8, 1937

### Something Much More Personal



The addition of text to photographs was a common strategy used by those who wished to enhance the memorial power of the image. The inscription of signatures, for example, was a potent way to make a photograph more than a record of appearance; for a signature is the unique trace of a person's hand, a proof of identity, an unequivocal statement that "I was there, and here is my mark." A framed panoramic photograph from 1937 of a thirty-two-car train comes with an inscription that speaks for itself: "To Our Friend, Colonel Neff—In Appreciation of your Substantial contribution to this trainload." A thoughtful gesture, to be sure; but what most expresses appreciation is not the gift but instead the extravagant flurry of signatures that accompanies it, each more flamboyant than the one before.

A poignant example of this phenomenon is a gelatin silver photograph, from 1910, of the R.M.S. Orsova, taken by F.C. Gould & Son of Gravesend, England. Matted and framed in dark timber, the photograph was the kind of object that passengers sailing from Great Britain to Australia and New Zealand might have bought as a souvenir of their voyage (the photo was found in New Zealand). But this photograph is



[126] F.C. Gould & Son, *Photograph of R.M.S. Orsova*, 1910



[127] Makers unknown, *U.S.S. Wainwright Shake Down Cruise*, c. 1950

festooned with signatures, representing the direct touch on this piece of paper of many of those on board. Usually, a signature on a photograph is meant to establish its authenticity as the product of a certain photographer (and with this authenticity comes its status as art and value in the market). This object unwittingly parodies that tradition, claiming a collective authorship of both the photograph and the voyage. Dating to an era when the experience of travel was giving way to the ritual of tourism, the handwriting on this photograph makes it seem less a commercial keepsake than a personal memento. Notice how the signatures cover the entire surface of the object, both mat and photograph; some of the signatories even played with the image itself, writing down between the ship's chimneys. And on the back of the object there is yet more text, a handwritten inscription that hints of shipboard romance and shared emotions: "To Margerie with love from Roo. In memory of many Happy Days (& Evenings) spent on the 'Orsova' 20.10.10."

Commemorative photographs of ships are common (we all want to remember our travels). Another shows a naval ship in harbor. The photograph is not very interesting, neither heroic in composition nor informative in content. The photographer has included a lot of water in the foreground, as if he knew that text would be added. And so it was, painted by hand on the glass: "U.S.S. Wainright Shake Down Cruise Rio De Janeiro—Rio Grande Do Sul Montevideo—Buenos Aires Santos-Bahia—Para." In the corners of the frame are fluttering flags, representing the nations the ship has visited on its tour of duty. The photograph is carefully bordered with a band of brown butterfly wings and framed in inlaid wood. What dazzles, however, are the shimmering Brazilian butterfly wings that border the entire object—with their intense, almost incandescent colors, they vividly evoke a life of adventure and travel.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries it was common for sailors and soldiers to embroider mementos of their service in wool and silk. This was an international practice, with examples to be found in Germany, the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States.<sup>22</sup> Eventually photographs were incorporated into these cloth artifacts,



[35] Makers unknown, *Erinnerung an meine Dienstzeit: Reserve 1907*, 1907

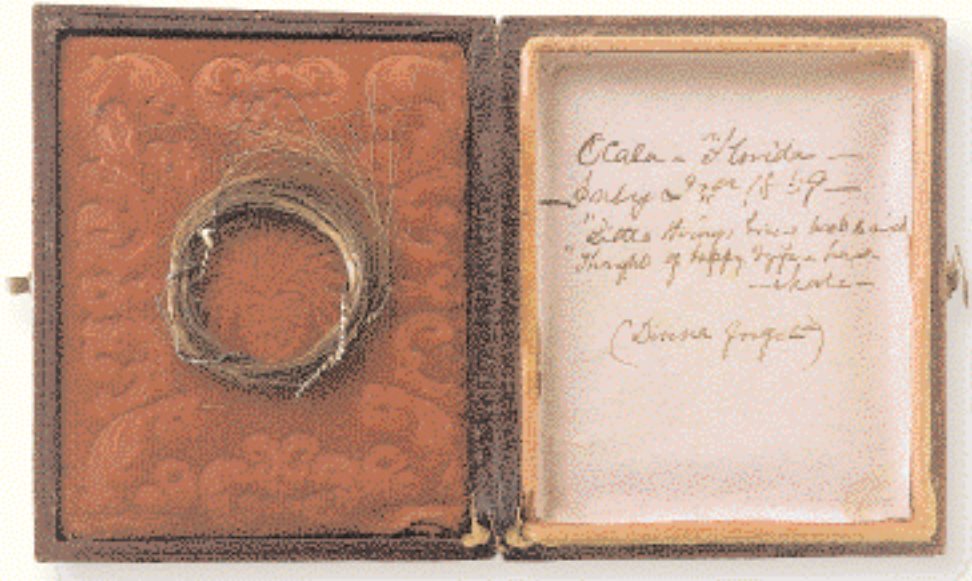


[36] Makers unknown, *Erinnerung an meine Dienstzeit: Stolz kann ich sagen, dies Zeichen darf ich tragen 1904-1906*, 1906

adding a realistic element to an otherwise symbolic image field. At a certain point this amateur practice became a commercial one, with flags and other motifs being embroidered by professionals around a space left open in the picture plane, ready for the purchaser's photographic portrait to be inserted. These embroidered objects often came with inscriptions, some matter-of-fact (for instance, "Memory of my military service: reserve 1907"), some more descriptive ("I can proudly say I was permitted to wear these insignia"). Perhaps the most impressive example is American. Two crossed U.S. flags and a resplendent eagle woven in multicolored silk frame an elliptical photograph of a young sailor, posed next to his gun on the deck of a ship. The ensemble comes with a generic inscription: "In Remembrance of my Cruise in China Japan & Philippine Islands." The silk not only stimulates the eye but also invites our touch. This mix of materials and text prompts a stereotypical image of the Far East and glorifies American imperial ambitions; the addition of a casual snapshot



[128] Makers unknown, *Portrait of a young American sailor on board his ship*, c. 1910



[125] Makers unknown, *Kate*, c. 1859



[124] Photographer unknown, *Portrait of Catherine Christ*, c. 1859

works to individualize an otherwise prescriptive and entirely commercial product.

Handwriting, as noted above, also personalizes photography. Even when prosaic in content, handwritten inscriptions suggest the voice of the writer, adding sound to the senses of touch and sight already engaged. This is particularly so when the inscription is in verse and thus demands to be read aloud so that we can enjoy its rhythms. Verse can even imply a distinctive accent. A daguerreotype case might contain, for example, a handwritten inscription and a lock of hair woven into a circle. “OCala—Florida—July 20th 1859— ‘Little things bring back to mind Thoughts of happy bygone times’—Kate—(Dinna Forget).” A portion of Kate’s body—the lock of hair—nestles near that same body’s photographic imprint, once again bringing touch into the picture and adding a trace of the real (as well as the animation of her presumably Scottish voice) to the simulation of the image. Through the addition of text, Kate has insisted on an exchange of memories, asking us to remember her, just as she remembers the recipient of this daguerreotype. These objects, then, are not really about remembering; they are instead dedicated to the fear of forgetting, or of being forgotten.

And some writers go further, imploring us from beyond the grave to remember them. Here is a short poem written on a piece of paper hidden underneath an image in a daguerreotype case:

Letherolfsville Oct 29 AD 1859  
 This is the likeness of Catherine Christ  
 When I am dead and in my grave  
 And when my bones are rotten  
 Remember me  
 When this you see  
 or I shall be forgotten.  
 The grass is green The rose is red  
 here is my name when I am dead

An internet search reveals that this same piece of doggerel (“The grass is green/The rose is red/here is my name/when I am dead”) was also inscribed in 1877 in a child’s Bible in Simcoe County, Canada, and in 1882 in



[17] Edouard Clement, *Portrait of woman displaying image of a child and holding a pansy*, 1854

Pennsylvania in an Amish man’s German Bible. The writing of such verse—a plea to the future to “please remember me”—was a common American practice in the nineteenth century. Some of these texts are especially poignant. In an 1854 photograph a woman in a blue-striped dress holds a framed photograph of a young child. On the back are some sad words, written somewhat indistinctly, once again exhorting the reader (a “Mary” who has recently died) to “forget me not”:

Forget me not  
Dear beloved Mary  
From the sky continue to be my guardian [angel?]  
And pray for your [name?]  
Not Farewell, but good [bye]  
I hope so

Such pleas return us to a critical consideration of these photographs. Hybrid objects constitute a skeptical commentary on the capacity of photography by itself to provide a compelling memorial experience. They suggest that something creative must be done to a photograph, some addition has to be made to its form, if it is to function as an effective memory object. Nowhere is this assumption more apparent than in photographic albums.

### The Murmur of Laughing Voices

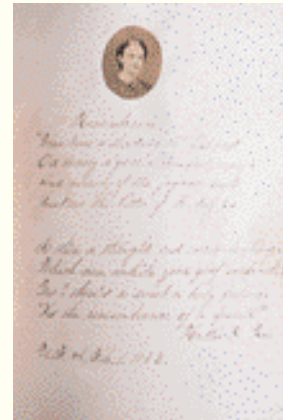


As do cased photographs, albums often feature embossed leather covers and enticingly tactile surfaces, imaginatively decorated with patterns and inserts. (Modern albums, with their plastic covers, retain visual hints of

this tactility.) Some nineteenth-century albums were built into decorated stands, from which they folded down to reveal mirrors (presumably to let viewers compare their faces to the representations on the page). Some albums even incorporated home altars, blurring the distinction between photography's secular and spiritual capacities.<sup>23</sup> Today, we usually encounter historical albums in a museum, displayed behind glass, in a vitrine. Yet albums are tactile objects with moveable parts, and to be experienced fully, they too—like so many of the photographic assemblages discussed here—demand that we add the physical intimacy of touch to the more distanced apprehension of looking. And when we do touch an album and turn its pages, we put the photograph in motion, literally in an arc through space and metaphorically in a sequential narrative. Albums are also prompts for speech, an excuse for friends and families to gather, for stories to be exchanged, incidents to be recalled, biographies to be invented. When we view albums in museums, we can only imagine the murmur of laughing voices that would have animated and shaped the experience of leafing through them.<sup>24</sup>

Albums give their owners the chance to determine and design how their photographs will be displayed and seen. Images can be sequenced, captioned, and embellished according to personal taste. Here too, the addition of text to photographs, whether in the form of simple captions, extended commentaries, or passages of verse, can enliven images and enhance their capacity to arouse our emotions. Consider, for example, the album put together by Martha B. Meacham of Utica, New York. She filled it with tintype and albumen photographs of friends and then asked each friend to write something. One page, titled “Remembrance,” was signed by Hattie G. Rae on February 1, 1862. Here is the verse, sentimental and almost painfully sincere, that accompanies Hattie’s tipped-in albumen vignette portrait:

When time a shadowy veil has cast  
O'er many a year flown fast away;  
And memory of the joyous past

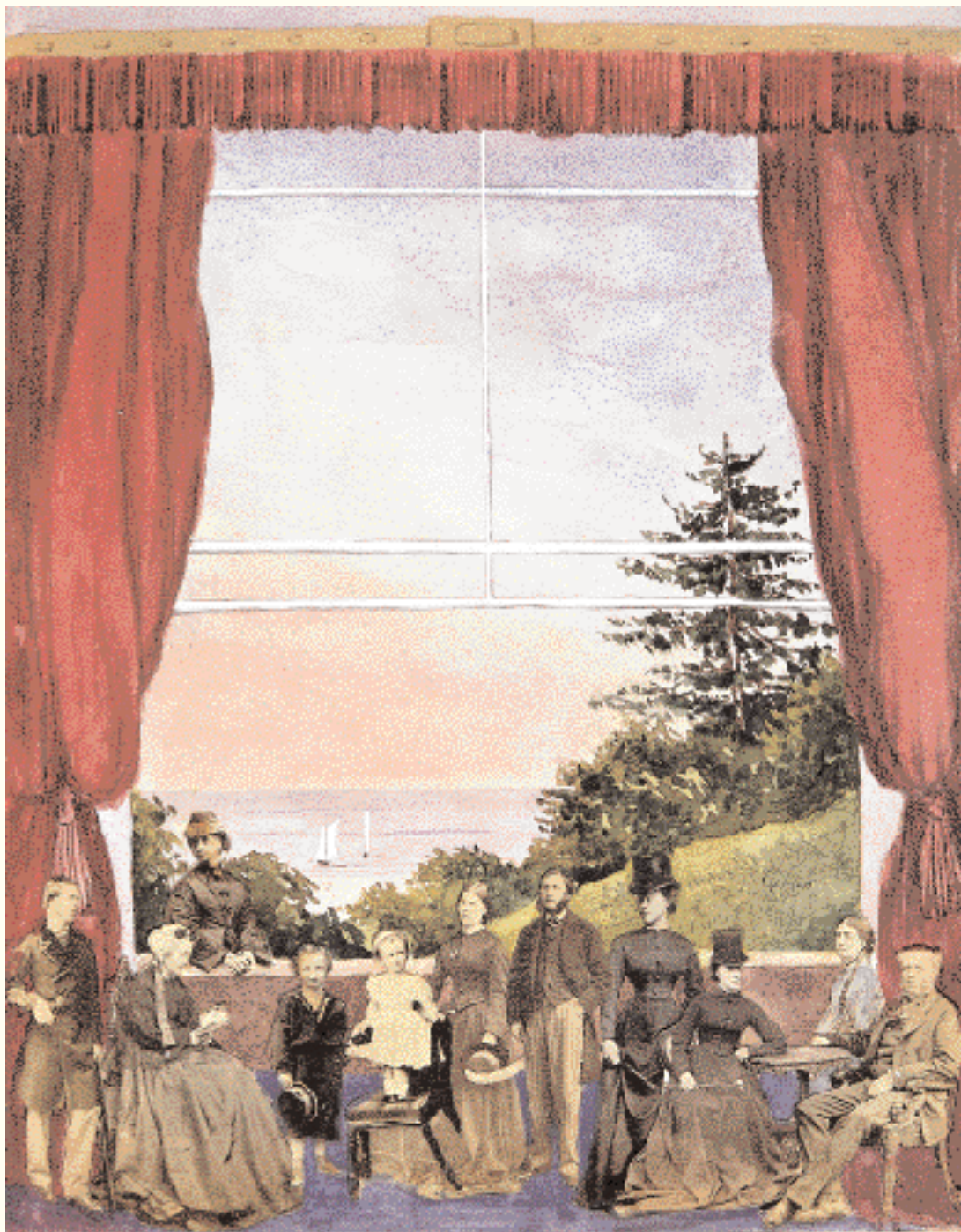


[69] Martha B. Meacham,  
“Remembrance” album, 1862

Sweetens the bitter of to-day;  
Is there a thought sad sorrow healing,  
Which can awhile your grief suspend?  
Yes! there's a sweet, a holy feeling,  
Tis the remembrance of a friend.

Some albums are embellished with more than verse. The album pages produced by upper-class English women in the mid-1860s, for example, rely on a remarkable degree of visual invention. Some combine an artful collage of albumen prints with ink and watercolor drawings, arranged sometimes in symmetrical patterns and sometimes in seemingly random profusions of forms that recall contemporaneous trompe-l'oeil paintings or even the fantasies of Lewis Carroll.<sup>25</sup> The mechanical exactitude of the photographic portrait is here softened and elaborated into personalized tributes to friends and family and to the desires and dreams associated with them. As with all collage practices, attention is drawn to the edges of each page's constituent images, disrupting the realism of the photographs and locating them in the here and now of the page itself.

In the album that features portraits of the Cator family, produced by an unknown member of that family, we find 156 albumen prints mounted on forty-six pages. Many of the pages are decorated with ink illustrations and watercolor paintings. The album's carved wood cover, with its geometric design of oak leaves and nuts, speaks of the album's importance; it also creates a theatrical entryway to the pages within, whose own decorations often echo those of the cover, with detailed depictions of entwined blackberries, strawberries, and lychee fruit encircling the photographs. The album-maker emphasized family genealogies (many of the portraits are captioned with names). One page shows a collage of Cator family members; the backdrop is a huge painted glass window, framed by red curtains. Through the window we see an idyllic seascape, which includes two boats. Another page shows a similar gathering in front of another huge piece of interior architecture, this time a fireplace. This scene of domestic harmony features a large elliptical photographic portrait of a young child hung



[57] M.H.E. Cator and unknown photographers,  
*Cator family album*, 1860s



[57] M.H.E. Cator and unknown photographers,  
*Cator family album*, 1860s

above the mantelpiece; a dog is curled up in the front of the hearth. Some scenes are more whimsical. In one, images of a man and a woman, each cut from a separate photograph, occupy a rowboat headed out to sea. And in another image—perhaps the most unusual—a large figure, dressed as a jester in red, yellow, and blue, grins sardonically while tossing eleven thumbnail-sized albumen portraits from his gathered apron, scattering them over the surrounding page like so much seed. Was this jester the surrogate for our album-maker, his future crop the album we now peruse with such pleasure?

Twentieth-century albums also deploy photographs in interesting ways. An anonymous doctor from Liberal, Kansas, for instance, put together an album densely packed with snapshots of his family from the late 1930s through the years of the Second World War. On the cardboard cover of the album, below the word “Photographs” written in gilt lettering, he pasted an exhortation—a piece of folksy wisdom from Elbert Hubbard—that surely expressed his feelings about the pictures within.

Pictures Beyond Price—

The time to take the picture is when you see it. Children grow up and go away. Faces change. Pets may disappear.—The historic value of things fixed in the form of a picture is beyond price.

Elbert Hubbard

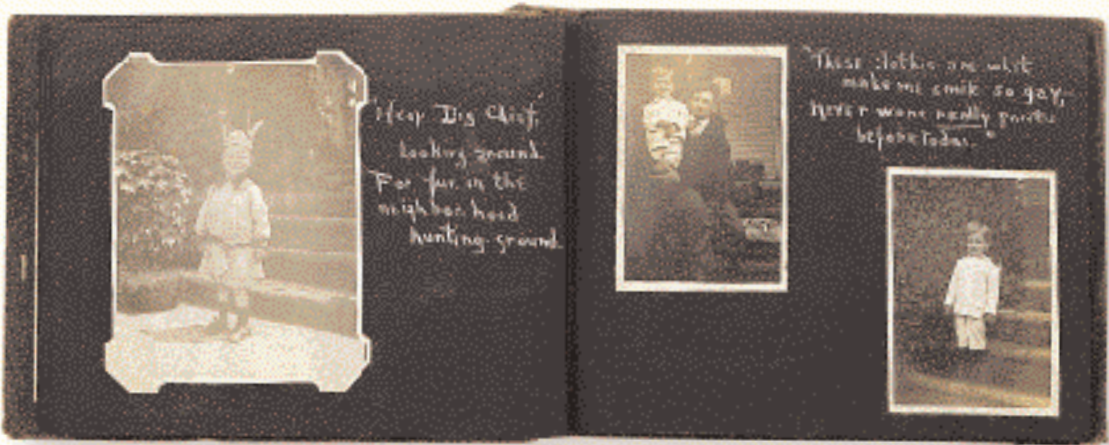
The snapshots in the album cover each page from edge to edge, mostly recording the birth and early development of the album-maker’s first grandchild. They have simple ink captions, naming names (only first names—this album was meant for the pleasure of the immediate family) and dates: “6 weeks,” “6 weeks,” “6 weeks,” “4 weeks,” “6 weeks,” and so on. These obsessively taken images speak not only of familial love but also of the extraordinary events—such as births—that enrich ordinary lives.

So too do the homemade verses that accompany a small album compiled in 1916 by Edward F. Henne of Saline, Michigan. The album was assembled by Henne to commemorate the visit of his nephew, George





[132] Makers unknown, *Photograph album*, c. 1939-1950



[131] Edward F. Henne, *Photograph album for "Tanglefoot"* (George Edward Martin), December 1916

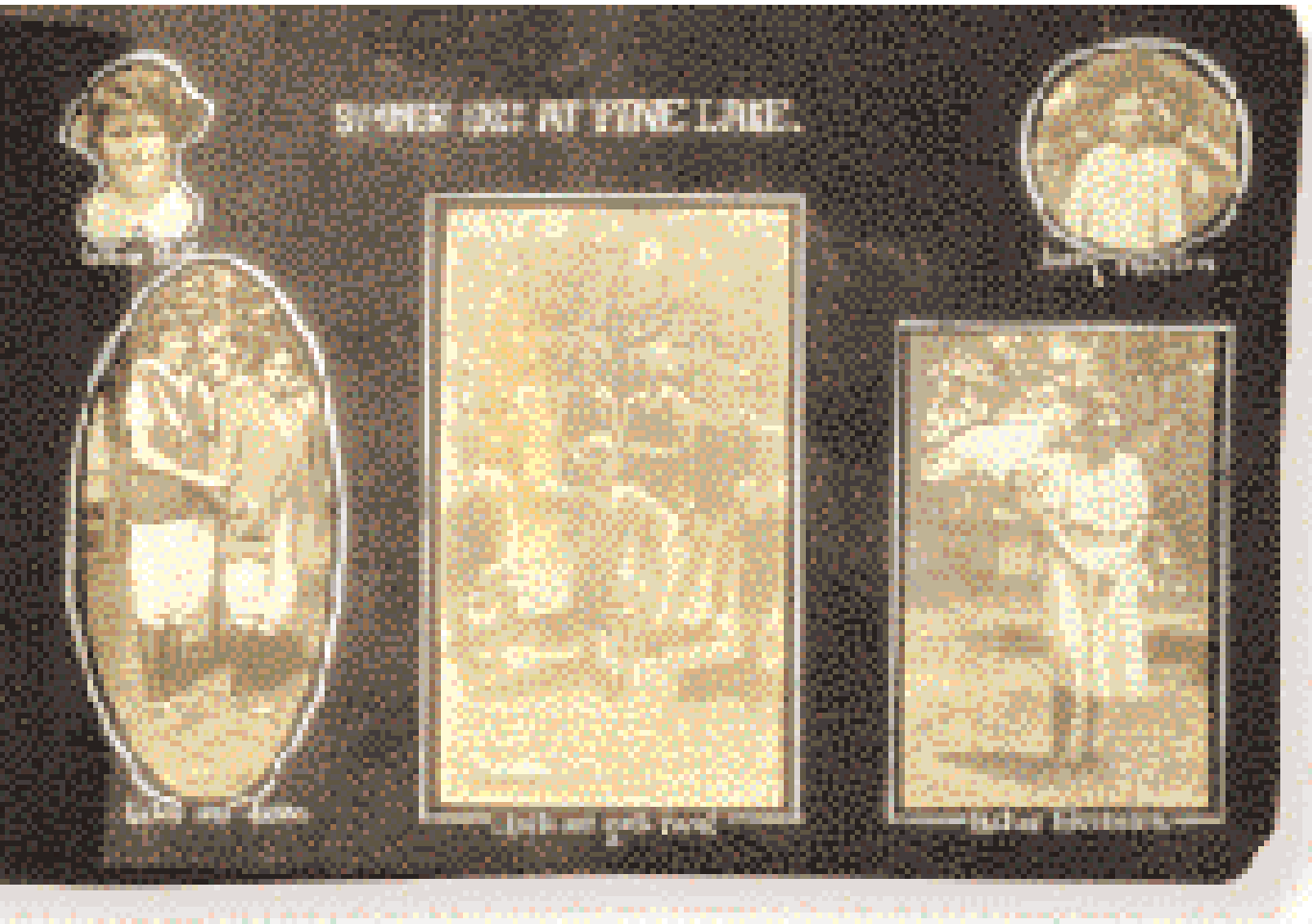
Edward Martin, here nicknamed “Tanglefoot,” and it was given to Martin as a gift on Christmas Day, 1916. Each adjoining page in the album features photographs of the lucky child and an appropriate bit of verse. On one page he sits with his sister on the edge of a wagon. “Sister and baggage, Southward bound. Are safe when Tanglefoot’s around,” reads the accompanying verse. On another page he wears some feathers in his hair and smiles for the camera, and the caption reads “‘Heap Big Chief,’ Looking around, For fun in the neighborhood, hunting ground.” Thanks to the creative generosity of his uncle, this child is the perennial star of his own storybook. Humor is obviously an important element of these homemade memory objects. Sometimes this humor, along with a photo-album aesthetic, was transplanted into a frame, as if to demonstrate that even grown men can act like children when a camera is around. The day that “Pa made himself a bike” was, for example, obviously of sufficient hilarity to warrant its permanent display on the family wall.



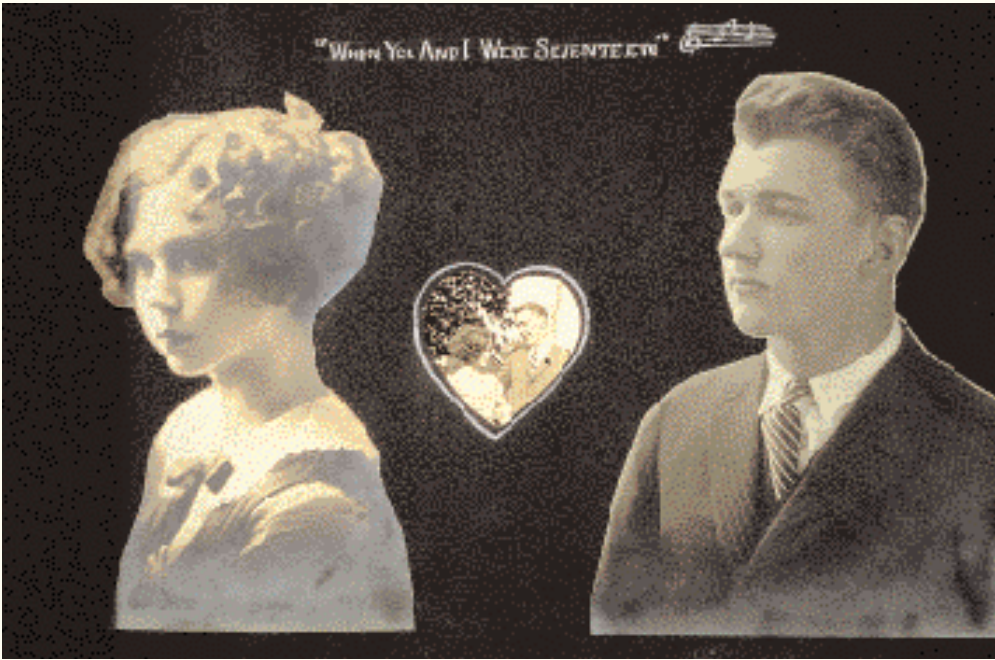
[133] Makers unknown, *Pa made himself a bike*, c. 1950

Albums give everyday people the opportunity to represent their autobiographies in artful combinations of words and pictures. The subject of these bio-pics is often designated simply as “me.” The album’s storyline might then faithfully follow this often photographed but otherwise anonymous “me” throughout her youth, starting with snapshots of family outings, and then gradually including photos of the occasional boyfriend until one young man is singled out for marriage. The album usually finishes shortly thereafter. One such album begins in Michigan in about 1920 and continues through 1924, “when Norm first bought the pup” (whose photograph is shown outlined by a doghouse-shaped white line), and beyond. This particular album is wittily captioned throughout, its owner enlivening its recurring cast of characters with textual teasers (“that crazy summer 1922”) or even fragments of musical notation (from songs like “When You and I Were Seventeen”). The page presenting “that crazy summer” is





[68] Mary von Rosen, *Photograph album*, c. 1920-27



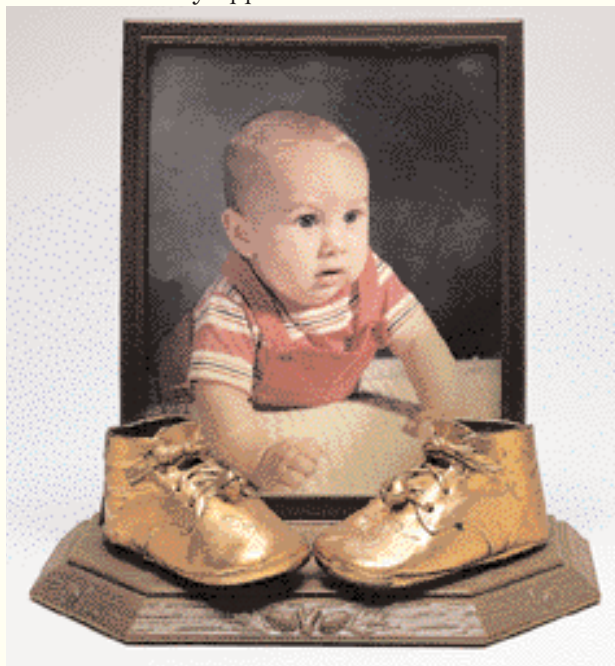
[68] Mary von Rosen, *Photograph album*, c. 1920-27

festooned with a pink souvenir of “the Fair,” some sensuously tactile red feathers, a still-aromatic “Sinbad Special” cigarette (cigarettes were then the ultimate sign of daring womanhood), a fanned arrangement of assorted cigarette papers, and cut-out photos of “Kate” and “Jean” posing in alluring swim suits. The cigarette papers form a heart shape on the page (these girls apparently equated the bad-girl act of smoking with at least the possibility of sex).<sup>26</sup> Once again, we are witness to the creative efforts of ordinary people who, by coordinating sound and smell as well as sight and by exploiting the possibilities of a touched and touchable photography, were able to express the intricacies of their social rituals, personal dreams, and projected memories in tangible visual form.

## Distanced Intimacy



Most photo albums are full of snapshots dedicated to the family and to the small but important triumphs of child rearing. Sometimes professional photographers are given the task of making a recalcitrant baby appear to be the ideal child. The fantasy image that results (often enhanced by artificial lighting and coloring) is a descendent of a painting tradition in which accuracy of likeness was less important than an overall atmosphere of prosperity and well-being. In some cases photographic baby pictures are put into frames and combined with the child's bronzed booties—an altar-like tribute to parental pride. Here is yet another manifestation of that creative maneuver I have been exploring—the self-conscious doubling of that indexicality often considered to be a special attribute of photography. Such artifacts as the baby altar suggest that, to these parents at least, a photograph by itself was not enough to alleviate the fear of mortality to which the object is surely dedicated.



[55] Makers unknown, *Jason Hoyt baby altar*, c. 1975

American families are not the only ones to prefer their photographs to come in sculptural form. Many Mexican and Mexican-American homes still display a distinctive form of photographic portraiture known as *foto-escultura*. Made by collectives of Mexican artisans from the late 1920s through the early 1980s, these family portraits combine a photograph, usually an enlarged and hand-colored studio portrait, with a carved bust, elaborate frame, and painted or applied decoration; the final object is sandwiched between two sheets of beveled glass. The result is a fascinating and distinctive form of photography. As I write, I have one in front of me. It

features a portrait of a man dressed in a dark suit and tie. The man stares out, straight ahead, without smiling or otherwise acknowledging my presence as viewer. The skin beneath his nose is so dark that it looks at first



[135] Makers unknown, *Portrait of a man wearing a tie*, c. 1950

like a mustache. There is a gentle curve to his face and a photographic sheen to his skin, as if he were sweating slightly. This face has the modulated shadows and colored tones of life, but its outline has an unearthly sharpness, with nothing but air behind and around (stereoscopic portraits have a similar look). When I examine the portrait, I see that his tie comes right out from his body; I can even see underneath it. The wooden armature around the photograph is vaguely baroque, curling away from the bottom of the frame and then reaching up beyond the curved glass to form a pyramid pointing further upward and beyond. The wood does not look precious or fine and there are now vertical cracks in it. The glass between him and me is fastened with four upholstery

tacks. I turn the object over and see nothing much—no paint or modeling on the other side, just flat wood. The fotoescultura was meant to be seen from the front, more deep carved relief than three-dimensional sculpture.

Fotoesculturas were commissioned from traveling salesmen for various reasons: to commemorate weddings and *quinceañeras*, to memorialize the dead, to honor individuals, and even to promote the images of certain celebrities, from Gary Cooper to Richard Nixon. Large quantities of them were sold not only in Mexico but also among Mexican-American communities in U.S. cities like Chicago and Houston. They were particularly popular during and after the Second World War, when many families were



[30] Makers unknown, *Family of three*, c. 1950

anxious to memorialize absent sons, brothers, and fathers. Today one finds them in domestic settings, such as home altars, and also in mausoleums. They are often combined with a profusion of other visual material, both religious and personal.

Art historian Monica Garza has argued that *fotoesculturas* exhibit a peculiarly Mexican aesthetic sensibility. She points to their merging of the secular and the sacred (the double-glazing, for example, gives these portraits the distanced intimacy of a reliquary) and to how they fit into the Catholic tradition of three-dimensional effigies. According to Garza:

This imagery can best be described as a concrete or literal form of representation, at least in comparison to the more abstract one found within Protestant religious practice. In popular Mexican Catholicism, the actual physical presence of spiritual figures is emphasized whenever possible in order to confirm the devotee's faithful and personal relationship with these sacred beings. Examples of this can be seen throughout Mexican and Mexican-American communities, such as in the construction of elaborate home altars and outdoor shrines for *santos* (sculptured representations of patron saints), or in the production of *retablos* and *ex votos* (painted illustrations of answered prayers). For this reason, the distinction between what is secular and what is sacred in Mexican Catholic settings becomes somewhat indistinguishable to the foreign eye.<sup>27</sup>

In this practice, the photograph is treated as a tangible metaphor, as something one looks at rather than through, as an opaque icon whose significance rests on ritual rather than on visual truth. While the photograph usually speaks to us of the past, of the time when the photograph was taken, the *fotoescultura* occupies an ongoing present. While the photograph speaks of death, of time's passing, the *fotoescultura* speaks of eternal life, suggesting the possibility of a perpetual stasis, the fully dimensioned presence of the present. This inevitably informs its memorial function. As Barthes has argued, "Earlier societies managed so that memory, the substitute for life, was eternal and that at least the thing which spoke Death should itself be immortal: this was the Monument. But by making the (mortal) Photograph into the general and somehow natural witness of 'what has been,' modern society has renounced the Monument."<sup>28</sup> Could it be, in an age in which, in Karl Marx's famous phrase, "all that is solid melts into air," that *fotoesculturas* are an attempt to restore a kind of monumentality to both modern memory and the photograph?

## A Sort of Sympathetic Magic



The fotoescultura recalls the body of the photographed subject. Other memorial practices find ways to incorporate pieces of actual bodies in the photographic object, usually in the form of a lock of hair. Such practices were commonplace by the early decades of the nineteenth century. As Thomas Laqueur notes, during this period hair began to enjoy a new prominence as the raw material of memory: “It became the corporeal auto-icon par excellence, the favored synecdoche—the real standing for the symbolic—perhaps not eternally incorruptible but long lasting enough, a bit of a person that lives eerily on as a souvenir.”<sup>29</sup> Hair, intimate and yet easily removed, is a convenient and pliable stand-in for the body of the missing, memorialized subject. Women in particular were encouraged to use hair in domestic handicrafts, beginning with horse hair and then, as their skills improved, working with the finer human hair, either bought or gathered from friends or even from their own heads. This amateur practice ensured that the hair was from an “authentic” head—there was concern that professional braiders were not so particular on this point.<sup>30</sup> And it also turned hair into a cultural sign, while allowing the braider to involve—or entangle—herself with the body of another person as well as with the work of remembrance that braiding spurred.



[116] Makers unknown, *Portrait of an elderly man*, c. 1850

Custom-made braiding tables were available to facilitate the production of complex patterns, which included flowers, landscapes, and feathers. The 1856 *Elegant Arts for Ladies*, for example, devotes a chapter to the complex art of “Weaving or Plaiting Hair Ornaments,” including subsections on “Plaits for Rings, Locketts, and Brooches” and “Mourning Devices.” The

accompanying text underlines the gender specificity of the practice, while stressing once again hair's memorial function.

Hair, that most imperishable of all the component parts of our mortal bodies, has always been regarded as a cherished memorial of the absent or lost. Impressed with this idea, it appears to us but natural, that of all the various employments devised for the fingers of our fair country-women, the manufacture of ornaments in hair must be one of the most interesting. Why should we confide to others the precious lock or tress we prize, risking its being lost, and the hair of some other person being substituted for it, when, with a little attention, we may ourselves weave it into the ornament we desire? And the dainty and very tasteful handling hair-work requires, renders it as truly feminine an occupation as the finest crochet or the richest embroidery.<sup>31</sup>

Hair was often combined with a photograph, and then the hair-and-photograph incorporated into a piece of jewelry. A silver locket, for example,



[118] Makers unknown, *Silver locket containing tintype portrait of man and human hair*, c. 1855

contains a portrait of an elderly man, in the form of a circular tintype behind glass, and facing it, on the other side, also behind glass, is a small sample of human hair. What could such a combination mean? What kind of memory does it seek to stimulate? Not much is known about the locket. Bought in an eBay auction, it came into my possession without any information about the identity of its maker or subject. All that is (probably) sure is that the locket was manufactured in the U.S. sometime between 1860 and 1900. More than a century later, it speaks largely of its age, of the undeniable aura of the antique. But then to some degree, so do all nineteenth-century photographs.

This tintype portrait is unremarkable in either pose or feature. It shows the old man looking directly, almost quizzically, into the camera, his graying hair askew. The wisps of fine hair that face him on the other side of the locket have a reddish tint, suggesting that they may have been taken from a younger head—perhaps from this man, several years before this photograph was taken, or perhaps from a loved one who wanted to stay close to the man's image. Thus do we enter the seductive realm of speculation. Was this object made by a loved one after the man's death? Was it a memorial or mourning object, or a token of ongoing love or friendship? In the locket, at least five distinct moments intersect—the time of its manufacture, of the taking of a hair sample, the making of a photograph, their later combination, and its perception now, many years after it was made. Collapsing distinctions between being and becoming, this locket reminds us that historical identity is always a manifestation of this kind of temporal oscillation.<sup>32</sup>

It is tempting to associate these objects with mourning (as I have already done), but only about twenty percent were used for that purpose. These are the ones that still tug at the heart. During the Victorian era, mourning was a carefully calibrated social ritual, with fashion, jewelry, and photography all playing important roles in the public representation of grief. The popularity of photographic jewelry as a mourning device is often traced to its adoption by Queen Victoria after the death of her husband, Prince Albert, in 1861. A cabinet card dated 1897 shows her with right arm raised to reveal a photographic portrait of Albert, still firmly encircling her wrist.<sup>33</sup>



[117] Makers unknown, *Portrait of a young woman*, c. 1860s

Although adding hair to jewelry was not an exclusively feminine activity, it was certainly dominated by women. By the mid-nineteenth century, American women especially were being charged with new social roles as keepers of memory, as mourners, and as home-based teachers of religious belief. Even non-Catholic American homes were decorated with religious artifacts of one kind or another, and this pervasive Christian context invested hair lockets with a distinctly sacred significance. Marcia Pointon has suggested that the practice may have stemmed from an interpretation of the Book of Revelations, which made a lock of hair seem like a harbinger of reunion with the deceased in the afterlife.<sup>34</sup> The bloody Civil War of the 1860s added urgency to the practice. Before heading off to war, many Union and Confederate soldiers had their photographs taken and clippings of hair gathered, knowing it might be their last chance to be so recorded. Family and friends cherished these photos hopefully, and then, if their loved ones died in battle, they incorporated the images into ornaments designed for mourning.<sup>35</sup>

The locket I have been describing is one of the simpler presentations of hair and photograph, its lack of visual sophistication suggesting that it was put together by unskilled hands. Some brooches, by contrast, feature a portrait on one side and on the other display two artful filigrees of hair



[120] Makers unknown, *Portrait bust of a young woman*, c. 1860s



verso of left: two samples of human hair, one woven and one natural

behind glass, each teased into an exquisite plantlike design and tied with strands of tiny pearls or precious stones. In some instances, samples of hair from different heads were woven together or simply conjoined, an obvious metaphor for friendship and love or a discreet act of courtship. Thus hair could signify either love or death (or both), and refer simultaneously to past and present. Some oval-shaped brooches were made with a photographic portrait on one side and a glass viewing-window on the other, so that a sample of the subject's hair could be placed in its own mini-sarcophagus. One elliptical silver brooch, for example, features a tintype portrait of a young woman on its public side and, behind glass on the other side, two samples of hair woven together, with yet another "natural" sample laid on top. Thus representative pieces of another's body could be worn against one's own, creating a private bond strengthened by the act of touch. Of course, being behind glass, the hair in a locket offers only an imagined touch of the absent body. But some objects—for instance, a pair of bracelets woven from human hair, each with an inset daguerreotype portrait (one of a man and the other of a woman)—allow that touch to become real and continuous, the bracelets resting on the wrist as a tactile and public reminder of the missing subjects and of their relationship to each other.



[25] Makers unknown, *Portrait of unidentified man*  
in hair bracelet, c. 1850



[26] Makers unknown, *Portrait of young woman*  
("Lizzie") in hair bracelet, c. 1850



[119] Makers unknown, *Portrait bust of a man*, c. 1870



verso of left: woven human hair behind glass

Sometimes hair was plaited into a thick knot of interlinked braids, or, alternatively, woven into a tight grid pattern, so fine that it looked like a piece of cloth. Other times, a lock of hair might be tied up with a scrap of silk and placed inside a case next to a photograph, waiting to be encountered (touched and seen) whenever the case was opened. The shift in scale from strands of hair to the photographed head from which they presumably came heightens the interplay between reality and representation. There is sometimes an equally intriguing play between the visibility and invisibility of the hair in such objects. In some examples, memorial locks of hair were placed behind or underneath an image and therefore were out of sight (unless the object is taken apart). Its existence known only to the owner, the hair remains buried beneath the photograph, part of the object's significance, but just in the mind's eye of a single viewer.

In the case of an inlaid wooden box now in the collection of Eastman House, both photograph and hair remain hidden from sight until the



[40] Makers unknown, *Hair bracelet with portrait*, c. 1860



[23] Makers unknown, *Wood box with three cased images set into inside of lid*, c. 1857

box is opened. Made in 1857, the box incorporates two daguerreotypes and a tintype portrait, each accompanied by a sample of woven hair taken from the subject of the photograph, with the names of each subject captioned in ink. We can only imagine what the box once might have held—perhaps a collection of keepsakes. In another example, a daguerreotype case containing a portrait of a woman named Anna Mowatt, touch and sight are joined by yet another sensory experience. To this case someone, perhaps after Mowatt's death, added not only a lock of her hair but also a sprig of rose-

mary—a pungent signifier of memory. Every time you open this daguerreotype case, the very air you breathe is suffused with memories of her, even before you read Anna's name or look at her image or touch the remnant of her body.<sup>36</sup>



[46] Makers unknown, *Anna Cora Mowatt*, c. 1855

What does the addition of hair, whether visible or not, do to the photograph it accompanies? The hair serves a metonymic memorial function, standing in, as I have noted, for the body of the absent subject. But why does the photograph alone not fulfill this function? The person pictured has, after all, represented himself or herself through that wondrous intercourse of object, light, and chemical reaction that is the photographic process. The subject (human, building, landscape, or still life) is present as visual trace even when absent as material thing. So why adulterate this magical trace with something as carnal and common as a lock of hair? Perhaps the answer takes us back to basics. For the addition of hair to otherwise ordinary photographs can be understood as a vernacular commentary on tracing itself, on the strengths and limitations of photography as a representational apparatus.

More than any other medium, photography promises an unhindered immediacy of representation. It could even be argued that photography is the manifestation of a desire for pure opticality, for visibility without mediation. In a photograph, the thing pictured is transformed into a portable visual sign (mobilizing that thing, and also completing its commodification). But much the same can be said about the photograph itself; it too is a portable commodity and a kind of sign. But we do not usually think about photography in such terms; usually we are more concerned with the subject(s) of a photograph. Photographs are nothing if not humble, ready to erase their own material presence in favor of the subjects they represent. Typically, we are expected to look through a photograph as if it were a sort of window, to penetrate its limpid, transparent surface with our eyes and see only what lies within. Posing as pure sign, or even as no sign at all, the “good” photograph offers minimal resistance to this look. It appears to provide a representation generated by the referent itself.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce formalized this observation in his taxonomy of relationships between signs and referents. According to Peirce, an iconic sign looks like the object it denotes; in contrast, an index “is not the mere resemblance of its Object...but it is the actual modification of it by the

Object.” Photographs, Peirce argues, “are very instructive, because we know that they are in certain respects exactly like the objects they represent....But this resemblance is due to the photographs having been produced under such circumstances that they were physically forced to correspond point by point to nature. In that aspect, then, they belong to the second class of signs, those by physical connection.”<sup>37</sup> As a footprint is to a foot, so a photograph is to its referent. Photographs are, scholars have suggested, “physical traces of their objects,” “something directly stenciled off the real,” even “a kind of deposit of the real itself.”<sup>38</sup>

Barthes makes much of the physicality of photography’s connection to its subject. “The photograph is literally an emanation of the referent. From a real body, which was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me, who am here...a sort of umbilical cord links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze.”<sup>39</sup> For Barthes, photography’s indexical system of representation provides “a new, somehow experiential order of proof,” a “certificate of presence” of “what has been.”<sup>40</sup> According to Barthes, the reality offered by the photograph is not that of truth-to-appearance but rather of truth-to-presence, a matter of being (of something’s irrefutable place in space and time) rather than of resemblance. For Barthes this is an important distinction. “For resemblance refers to the subject’s identity, an absurd, purely legal, even penal affair; likeness gives our identity ‘as itself,’ whereas I want a subject—in Mallarmé’s terms—‘as *into* itself eternity transforms it.’ Likeness leaves me unsatisfied and somehow skeptical.”<sup>41</sup> The indexicality of the photograph allows it to transcend mere resemblance and conjure a “subject,” a presence that lingers (the sidelong reference to ghosts and haunting seems no accident). No wonder photographs have such a strange effect on him: “neither image nor reality, a new being, really: a reality one can no longer touch.” These sorts of photographs tantalize Barthes with a nearness made insurmountably distant, “a mad image, chafed by reality.”<sup>42</sup>

Could the addition of a tactile portion of the human body to a photograph be an effort to bridge the distance, temporal and otherwise, between viewer and person viewed as well as between likeness and subject?

Contaminating visibility with touch, lockets that contain both hair and a photograph might then be regarded as efforts to bring the “mad image” back to earth, or at least back to the body of the subject. Truth to presence is joined by the actual presence of a part of the body being signified. In the context of a memorial locket, hair is an index of the body from which it has been taken because, in Peirce’s words, “it necessarily has some Quality in common with the Object, and it is in respect to these that it refers to the Object.” An index is, he says, “in dynamical (including spatial) connection both with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the senses of memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other. . . . Psychologically, the action of indices depends upon association by contiguity.”<sup>43</sup> In its combination of hair and photograph, my locket has therefore become an indexical sign twice over, two physical traces of the same referent brought face to face, first with each other and then with the viewer. It’s an uncanny representational device. And if you are thinking that this was a practice peculiar to the nineteenth century, consider those lamps that are still made in the United States—those with lampshades featuring photographic images of grazing deer and with stands made from preserved deer legs; once again, a strangely surreal conjunction of body and photo-simulation.

What are the effects of a doubled indexicality, as opposed to a single one? The photograph in my locket was presumably thought to lack something that the addition of hair supplied; but it would appear that the hair alone was also deemed to be not enough—apparently, neither was fully effective as an act of representation without the presence of the other. Like a photograph, the hair sample recalls the body of the absent subject, turning the locket into a modern fetish object; as a mode of representation, it “allow[s] me to believe that what is missing is present all the same, *even though I know* it is



[121] Makers unknown, *Trophy lamp with deer forelegs as base*, c. 1970

not the case.”<sup>44</sup> A talismanic piece of the body thus adds a sort of sympathetic magic to the photograph, insurance against separation, whether temporary or permanent.

The hybridity of an object like the locket heightens the potential portrait experience. Adding a lock of hair to a photograph reiterates and strengthens the indexical presence of the subject. The *studium* of mere resemblance (and the formulaic portrait in my locket offers little more than this) is transformed into the *punctum* of the subject-as-ghost (a figure absent and present, alive and dead). As with fotoescultura, this sorcerer’s animation of the missing subject has a temporal dimension, too—the play between the past captured in the photograph and the physical immediacy of a piece of the body in the present. A photograph makes us conscious of time’s passing, and ultimately of death, but the locket makes us dream of the possibility of everlasting life.

We are also made to reflect on the relationship of the image to its referent, a relationship repeated twice in the confines of the silver locket. To repeat something is to declare it as coded, as sign. This locket thereby takes indexicality to its logical conclusion; here, in Jacques Derrida’s words, “the thing itself is a sign . . . from the moment there is meaning there are nothing but signs.”<sup>45</sup> This declaration could be extended to encompass all the identities incorporated in the locket (hair, photograph, subject, viewer); reality and representation are each made to signal and (de)generate the other, a physical manifestation of “the impossibility for an identity to be closed in on itself, on the inside of its proper interiority, or on its coincidence with itself.”<sup>46</sup> The language is difficult, but so too is the artifact; both underscore the puzzling complexity of identity, photographic and otherwise.

## Fearful Ghost of Former Bloom



Hair is not the only thing that can be added to a photograph in the service of memory. A while ago I came across an object in an antique store in New York. It was large, propped up on a top shelf, and hard to make out clearly. All I could see at first was a big glass and timber frame and what seemed like a bunch of floral decorations in a wreathlike arrangement. It took a moment before I noticed that this object was a photograph and thus potentially within the range of my professional interests. I climbed onto a chair to have a closer look.

What I saw, in the center of the object, was an albumen photograph of a young woman, a little faded and stained around the edges but otherwise distinct. She is staring into the distance, lost in thought; her smile is ethereal and somewhat vacant. Under this rather formulaic studio portrait are the words “At Rest,” impressed into a sheet of copper and pinned to the backing board. At the two top edges of the portrait are rosettes, woven out of human hair (probably hers). Surrounding the portrait is an extravagant wreath of wax flowers, with wax butterflies flitting decoratively among the petals. Some of the flowers have melted away or simply crumpled a little, adding to the sense of sadness that suffuses the scene. Based on its style, *At Rest* was probably made around 1890.

Finding such artifacts gives you pause for thought. Who was this woman? What was her life like? What possible relationship could I, as a viewer of this picture today, have to her? A short essay in the April 1867 *Godey's Lady's Book* touches on such musings: “Somehow it gives me a desolate feeling to think of having my faded picture trundled about some hundred years hence as worthless lumber, or being tolerated as a thing of habit, rather than affection, in some out-of-the-way corner.”<sup>47</sup> A faded picture, some ruined flowers, a desolate feeling. She could be speaking about an artifact like this one, or she could be offering a metaphoric description of memory itself. Both Plato and Freud use the image of a tablet of wax to describe the operations of memory. In their descriptions, the pristine surface of a wax tablet must be ruined, marked by impressions of “perceptions



and thoughts,” in order to function as a memory apparatus.<sup>48</sup> The tablet can never actually have been pristine, of course—for how could we remember something unless some trace were already there, unless the wax had already been shaped or marked in a moment now being recalled?<sup>49</sup> The weathered condition of many of the photographic objects explored here is therefore true to memory and an enhancement of an object’s capacity to move us. For memory is always in a state of ruin; to remember something is already to have ruined it, to have displaced it from its moment of origin.<sup>50</sup> Memory is caught in a conundrum—the passing of time that makes memory possible and necessary is also what makes memory fade and die. In

*At Rest*, the crumpled wax flowers remind us of real petals, but they suggest also the inevitable loss of impression that remembrance can only delay. It is not memory that this artifact has now come to represent for me, but rather its inescapable dissolution.<sup>51</sup>

At first glance, from the perspective of the twenty-first century, *At Rest* appears to have been a commercial product. And yet this seems unlikely: mourning and remembering were considered the province of women in the nineteenth century. Until the advent of a professional “death industry” in the later years of the century, middle-class women were expected to prepare the body of the deceased for burial and to lead the family in elaborate grieving rituals.<sup>52</sup> These included the making of memorials and keepsakes. No doubt the time spent in crafting such things was part of the period of mourning, a time of contemplation and creative activity that helped to heal the bereft as well as memorialize the dead. In *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America*, Colleen McDannell notes that gloves, rings,



[141] Makers unknown, *Portrait of a young woman with wax flower wreath*, c. 1890

and hair art were among the tokens typically exchanged in memory of the deceased.<sup>53</sup> On the evidence of stories and instructions published in nineteenth-century English and American books and women's magazines, the making of wax flowers, too, was one of those accomplishments women were expected to master and practice in the home. *Elegant Arts for Ladies*, for example, devotes a chapter to "Waxen Flowers and Fruit," with forty-six detailed illustrations. It also offers the following rationale: "The practice of the art of modelling fruits and flowers in wax directs the mind to study what is beautiful and wonderful; and hence to feel, after all, how utterly beyond imitation in detail are the marvellous handiworks of the Creator!"<sup>54</sup> *At Rest* is, then, the product of a particular gender and class, a domestic and amateur craft, much like embroidery and quilting.

The fiction published in nineteenth-century magazines gives us a glimpse into the emotions such practices both reflected and provoked. Here, for example, is a passage from "Bessie Black, or, The Undertaker's Courtship," published in *Appleton's Journal: a magazine of general literature*:

She had learned, among other simple accomplishments, in her younger days, to make wax flowers, and, in the success of her manipulations, she conceived the idea of applying her knowledge to the preservation and embalment of funeral wreaths. Bessie was proud of them, and Mr. Hollowshell and the aristocratic coroner pronounced them "handsomer than the real things," and the undertaker made two frames of pine-wood, and painted them to look like ebony, inclosing French plate-glass, cut from the remnants of a large pane, that had formerly made up one of the sides of his best hearse. And these mummified flowers were hung up in a conspicuous place in the undertaker's shop. They were horribly attractive and fascinating, as a rattlesnake is fascinating. It seemed as if these charming heaven-favored gifts of bounteous Nature had been frozen by a sudden breeze of wind from the wing of Death, which had left them shriveled, shrunken, ghastly corpses of what were once flowers—their heaven-scented fragrance departed, and now smelling only of the earth from which they were born.<sup>55</sup>

Note the emphasis on a fragrance and a breeze, both sensorial metaphors for the ascension of the soul to heaven. The wax flowers in *At Rest* suggest a version of this same message, which is repeated in the wax butterflies, symbols of metamorphosis, of springtime and rebirth. And as Bessie has remarked, the replacement of real flowers with wax ones not only recalls the ritual of embalming; it also emphasizes the link between life and death.

We find a similarly morbid reading of such wreaths in “The Funeral Wreath, or, The Ghost’s Photograph,” written by someone named Bessie O’Byrne and published in *Catholic World*. In this horror story, a group of women are living alone in a rented house. They find an aged and dusty funeral wreath of dried flowers in a cupboard, from which drops an equally aged photograph of a man who looks ill, an apparition of whom soon returns to haunt them. One of the girls describes the crumbling flowers as the “fearful ghost of former bloom” and asks “why do people want to torture themselves by preserving such private and individual racks whereon to stretch their own sensibilities?”<sup>56</sup>

It’s a good question. But before we investigate further, let us concede that *At Rest* is a challenging object for several reasons. Like many of the artifacts discussed here, it does not fit easily into the art history that we usually encounter in books and museums devoted to photography, the discourse that has traditionally decided what photography is and is not, and that has thus established the definitional boundaries of the medium for academics and the art market. Until recently, neither museums nor survey histories of photography have cared to include hybrid objects like *At Rest* within those boundaries.<sup>57</sup> Can it therefore even be called “photography”?

*At Rest* does have a photograph, centrally placed; but the main visual impact of the piece comes from its frame size and its wax wreath. The object is not avant-garde in aspiration or innovative in form; it wants to look more or less like everyone else’s memorial. Neither the photographer nor the subject, nor the maker of the wreath or frame, are named, so no colorful biographical details are available to animate its story. It remains, then, an obdurately anonymous and conformist object, comprised of different

materials, with added text in case we miss the meaning of the iconography. What are we to make of it?

Perhaps the first thing to recognize is that although *At Rest* is a necessarily unique artifact, it is also a typical product of the late nineteenth century. We could compare it, for example, to another version of the same kind of product, this one dating to around 1910 and equally elaborate in its treatment of grief and remembrance. Its deep box frame contains even more stuff than does *At Rest*. The central place is again given to a portrait, an albumen cabinet card, this time of a young man photographed in a studio in Minnesota (by P.E. Lynne of Crookston) against a stylized scroll motif. Above his portrait are two white doves—taxidermy was then a popular hobby for boys. The doves are depicted in midflight, each the mirror image of the other, both a little glassy eyed but still clutching grains of wheat in their beaks. Beneath the doves are the familiar words, “At Rest,” here inscribed in brown fabric. There are some further words clustered around the photograph: “There Rest He In Sweet Heaven” written in purple pipe cleaners. The inside edge of the gilt box frame is filled with green fabric leaves and wax-paper rosettes.

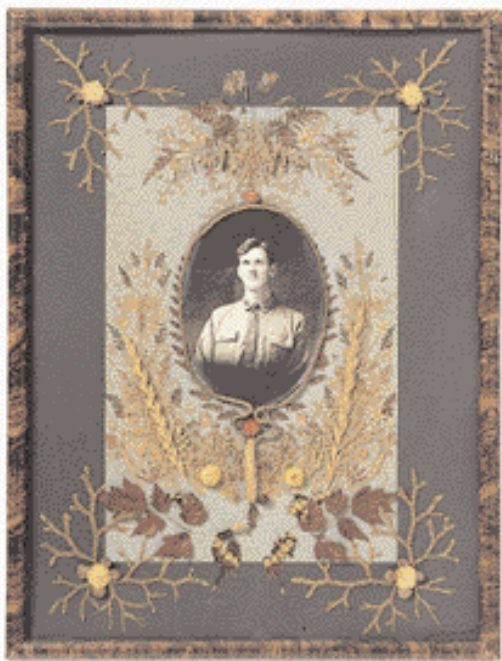
Memory is here made manifest. Or would it be more accurate to say that this object, too, is dedicated to a fear of forgetting? Why else would it so anxiously reiterate the same message again and again? Mingling Christian iconography—the dove of peace and resurrection, symbol of the Holy Ghost—with a secular, mechanical image—a photograph of the deceased—it speaks of death and mourning but also of the renewal of life. It seeks to remember this man not as someone now dead, but as someone once alive, young and vital, with a future before him.

Faced with such an ensemble, one recalls Barthes’s famous incantation in *Camera Lucida*, inspired by the image of another young man with death before him: “I read at the same time: *This will be* and *this has been*; I observe with horror an anterior future of which death is the stake. . . . I shudder *over a catastrophe which has already occurred*.”<sup>58</sup> Barthes would seem to share the fascination with death of those nineteenth-century magazine writers from whom I have quoted. But perhaps they all need to look again.



[56] Makers unknown; photographer: P.E. Lynne,  
*Memorial to a young man*, c. 1910

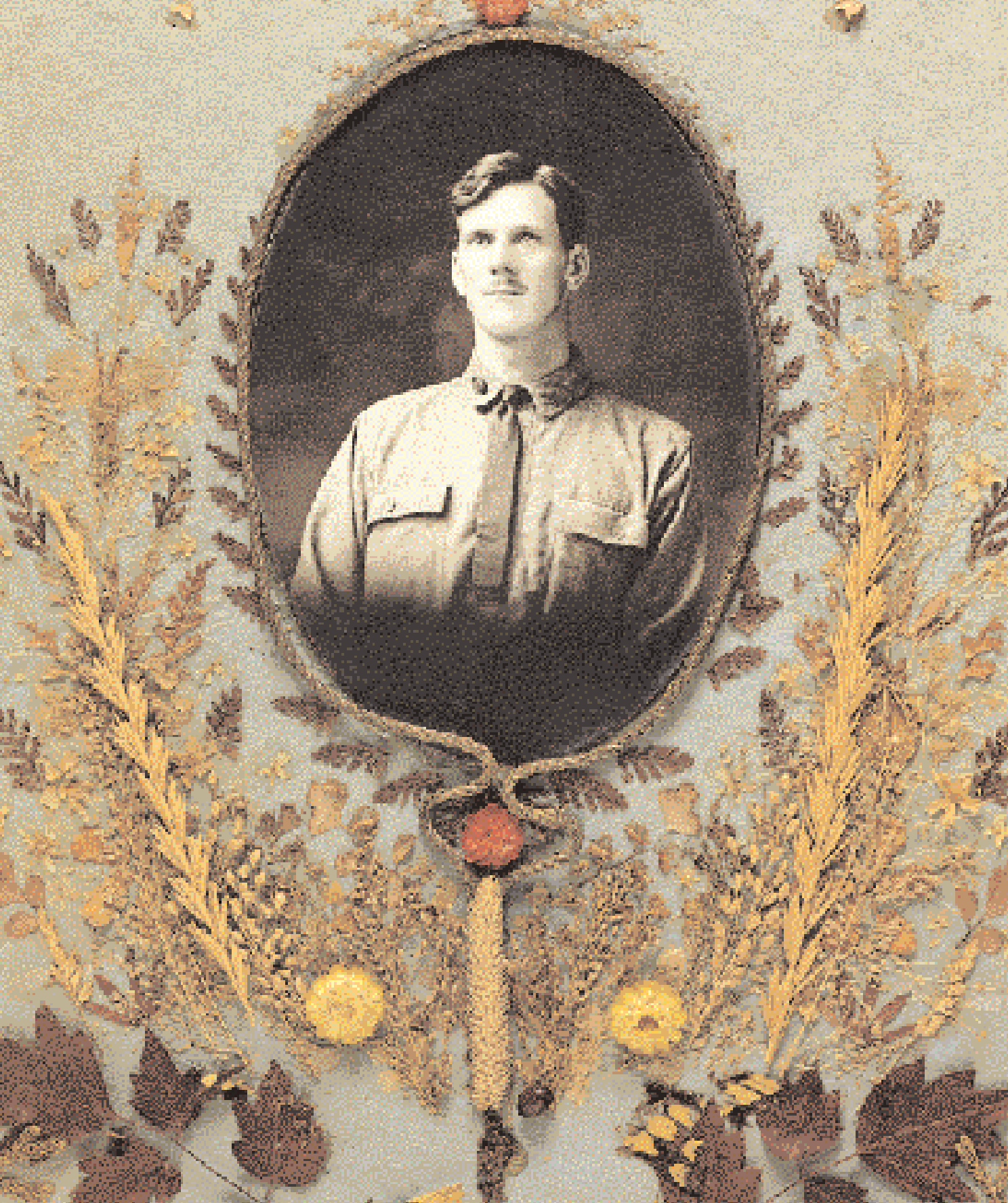
Barthes starts from a photograph—an 1865 image of a man about to be hanged—from what once was life, and then looks forward, like a seer, to a future death, a death that, by the time he looks at the photograph, has already occurred. But with the assemblage of the man and doves, we must start with the fact of the man’s death, a fact emphasized by the iconographic paraphernalia arrayed around him, and only then can we look back—literally, into the depths of the object, as well as metaphorically, back in time to when he was still alive. This process is the reverse of Barthes’s, and thus it allows for a different outcome, for optimism instead of gloom. By shifting the pall of death from the photograph to its surrounds, this object declares that Life, more than Death, is the primary signification of the photograph. The photographed subject is still a ghost of his former self, but here that ghost haunts with the comforting presence of eternal life rather than with the morbid reminder of everlasting death.



[139] Makers unknown, *Portrait of man in uniform*, c. 1915

This object speaks to a particular articulation of time, and thus to matters of life and death in general. Its elaborate hybridity enables it to reverse the usual temporal character of the photograph that it incorporates and to contest the quotidian wisdom of no less a figure than Roland Barthes. But it speaks as well of a vernacular tradition involving photography that has yet to be acknowledged in the discourses devoted to this medium, a tradition in which any individual photograph might play only a bit part, but in which “photography” as a concept occupies center stage.

Another example of this tradition shows a photographic portrait of a man in uniform, the portrait surrounded by various materials glued to the backing board. Made in the U.S., probably around the time of the





[138] Makers unknown, *Memorial with a portrait of a man and his child*, c. 1860-1880



[37] Makers unknown, *Portrait of General José Antonio Páez*, c. 1873

First World War, it is a somewhat modest object. In it the photographic portrait is surrounded by a wreath made of string, butterfly wings, flowers, and leaves. In scale, ambition, and quality, it seems more intimate and amateurish than *At Rest* or the man with doves. It actually looks homemade, like a domestic and private act of devotion and remembrance. In another example, a small tintype of a little girl sitting on what we take to be her father's knee has, after her death, been surrounded by some fancy metal edging and by a finely embroidered garland woven into a black velvet background. The embroiderer's hand (belonging to the father, or to the mother or sister?) thus remains in tender communion with the photograph of the deceased, itself the residue of the interaction of girl, light, and photographic chemistry. One touch embraces the other in a perpetual enactment of mourning and remembrance. The labor of embroidery ensured that the act of remembrance would be painstaking, extended through time, deliberated. The object also thereby manages to simultaneously refer inside and outside itself, to the time when the photograph was taken and to the later act of encircling it with embroidery. The same can be said for a framed albumen portrait of General José Antonio Páez, a hero of the independence struggles of both Colombia and Venezuela. Páez dominated the political life of Venezuela from the 1820s through the 1860s (being made president on three separate occasions). In about 1873, after his death in New York, an official portrait of Páez in uniform was surrounded by a wreath made from one of his shirts. Through this skillful act of remembrance, this labor of respect, history is made personal, and an otherwise banal portrait made to seem like a sacred relic.

Such memorial practices extended also to Europe. Consider a Spanish object, found in a flea market in Madrid. In its center is a circular gelatin silver photograph of a young girl, "Pilar Garcia," according to the handwritten caption. Her photograph has been circumnavigated by a cross-hatched, ink border and surrounded by a cavalcade of colored, printed figures representing angels and saints praying or reading from the Bible. Images of children are everywhere in this floating wreath of figures. Indeed, the composition is topped by the figure of baby Jesus, ascending to heaven above a cradle guarded by two kneeling angels and offering a raised

hand in blessing. In the lower left of the picture is another photograph, a portrait of the girl's mother, the maker of this object—Candida de la Peña. Opposite her, on the right, is a small ink drawing of the sprig of a plant, with leaves and flowers.

Candida's memorial contains a text, written in vernacular Spanish, first in pencil and then in ink. The text makes the purpose of the object tragically clear:

To my late lamented daughter Pilar Garcia  
Born in Madrid 16 June 1916  
Ascended to heaven 9 June 1926  
Your mother, who will not forget you,  
dedicates this memorial to you.  
Candida de la Peña  
Madrid 2 January 1927

The strange thing about this object—a memorial to a deceased daughter, made by her mother six months after the girl's death, after the first flush

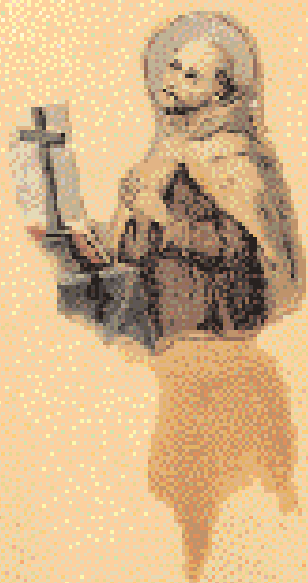
of grief had passed—is that it turns out to be a kind of votive offering, a promise of succor in the afterlife. For if you take apart the object, you find, hidden under the surface sheet, a document, an official certificate signed by Julian, the Bishop of Salamanca, on December 7, 1914—two years before Pilar was born. This certificate of indulgence grants a remission from sin to a Mr. Juan de la Peña, presumably Candida's husband, providing that he offer fifty days of prayers before specified religious images in his private chapel. In Catholic doctrine, it is permissible to transfer an indulgence from one



[140] Candida de la Peña, *Memento Mori* to her daughter Pilar Garcia, Madrid, 2 January 1927, 1927



*Por la*  
*Virgen*



*Tu madre que no*  
*te olvida te dedica*  
*este recuerdo*

*de la*

*Madrid 9 Enero*  
*1907.*





[33] Makers unknown, *Portrait of a woman* ("M.R.")  
*surrounded by woven hair*, c. 1890

person to another. The placing of the indulgence in the memorial was, it becomes clear, a loving and poignant gesture. With its hidden certificate of indulgence, this object both venerates and remembers Pilar, while reminding an all-seeing God of the remission from purgatory that, through the good graces of her father, she has already earned.

A visit to the Haus der Fotografie in Burghausen, in Bavaria, reveals that a notable local tradition in the late nineteenth century involved surrounding photographs with wreaths woven from dried flowers and human hair. In this tradition a visual trace of the body of the deceased is encircled, embraced, and accentuated by parts of that same body. So once again we

view photo-objects that attempt to transcend the hard fact of death with the sweet promise of resurrection. Such artifacts offer reassurance, an optimistic response to the existential doubt that any mourner feels at the interment of a loved one's body: *Can These Dry Bones Live Again?*<sup>59</sup> And as in previous examples, the addition of hair to these objects suggests that the photograph by itself was not considered sufficient; not sufficient, that is, if these objects are to work powerfully as memorials.

One such object comes with a text, the words "M.R." embroidered as the caption to a cabinet card of a young woman. That only this woman's initials are inscribed within the object suggests that it was meant for private consumption, for the contemplation of only those who already knew both her full name and her full self. Her portrait has been vignettted to delete the gentleman standing beside her; his strangely dismembered arm is all that



[31] Photographer: W. Stölzl, *Portrait of a woman surrounded by woven hair*, c. 1890

remains of him, entwined lovingly with her own. Her other, free hand clutches a small bouquet of flowers, a symbolic remnant of which now rests in the cradle of the hair wreath. The generic pose and iconography strongly suggest that this photograph was originally taken as a wedding portrait of the happy couple. Could her husband, on M.R.'s untimely death, have taken the negative and had his own image partially deleted from the original portrait, leaving her as the only entirely visible subject? (Ironically, he, rather than she, ends up being represented here as a ghost-figure.) This photograph now speaks of her, of how she once looked, but also of the emotional violence of their enforced separation. And photography is revealed as a practice of reproduction, even while every effort has been made here to ensure that this particular reproduction is a unique and individual one.

The ubiquity of this kind of object underscores the importance of the wreath as a visual form. Indeed, the wreath has a long history. The wearing of garlands made from flowers or leaves dates to ancient Greece; wreaths of laurel were worn, for example, by victors at the games at Olympia. The Romans used garlands of evergreens to celebrate the winter solstice and to honor their god Saturn. In the early Christian era, evergreen wreaths were used at the funerals of virgin martyrs, to symbolize victory over death. Hung above graves and in churches, wreaths referred to the head of the deceased and the hand of the maker, and hence to a sort of kinship between them.<sup>60</sup> The circular shape of wreaths is meant to symbolize eternity, while their flowers and leaves represent life and renewal; thus the funeral wreath promises resurrection and eternal life. In Victorian times, most flowers and plants had distinct and recognizable meanings, which enhanced the symbolic value of wreaths; cypress and willow, for instance, signified mourning.<sup>61</sup>

Let us look again at the albumen photograph with its wax wreath of flowers and its caption in copper, declaring its subject to be "At Rest." Clearly, the production of this wreath-object represents various nineteenth-century social and cultural rituals. Still, we know nothing specific about it, nothing about its subject or owner or their intentions, except what is implied or enacted by the object's form and design. Refusing to

give up its meanings easily, the object asks that I supplement its existence with my own (it animates me even as I animate it).<sup>62</sup> Such objects thus encourage both speculation and an empathetic, phenomenological style of historical writing that seeks to bridge the temporal and emotional gap between them and us.

I have already noted that *At Rest*, like many other objects discussed here, was almost certainly produced by a woman within a social and cultural context in which women were designated as the keepers of memory and mourning rituals. Can we develop a history for this object that can accommodate narratives other than those avant-garde versions of modern history usually associated with urban, white men? I agree with Australian critic Meaghan Morris when she says, “I prefer to study...the everyday, the so-called banal, the supposedly un-or-non-experimental, asking not ‘why does it fall short of modernism?’ but ‘how do classical theories of modernism fall short of women’s modernity?’”<sup>63</sup> In fact we need an approach to objects such as *At Rest* that can engage still more divergences within the history of modernity. In this artifact, for example, we see the juxtaposition of a mechanical, industrial process—photography—with pre-industrial handicrafts and rituals. As were the painted photographs from India, *At Rest* is an example of what cultural theorist Homi Bhabha has called a “contra-modernity,” in which the values of the center have been peripheralized, or at least complicated, to interesting and potentially even political effect.<sup>64</sup>

In terms of historical method, this wreath-object’s greatest provocation is perhaps the shifts of voice that it demands from its interpreters. To do it justice, we need not only to speak cogently and coherently about the past and its social histories and meanings, but also to evoke the immediacy of the moment of personal grief, right here in the present. Such shifting from past to present (and back again), and from third to first person, might begin to register the complexity of identity we witness in this object, and in many others examined here. In this sense, these vernacular photographic practices issue a serious challenge to the history of photography; they challenge us not only to include them in that history but also to transform

some of this history's fundamental assumptions. For if these objects are indeed to be included in photography's story, then an art history focused on origins, artists, and purity of medium will no longer be adequate. We need to develop a mode of photographic history that matches the complexity of these objects and that can make them intelligible both for the past and for our own time. We need to develop a way of talking about the photograph that can attend to its various physical attributes, to its materiality as a medium of representation, as well as to its many potential meanings and effects. We need, in short, to develop a new kind of history for photography.

### A Memory Disorder



I began by considering the proposition that, contrary to popular opinion, photography does not enhance memory—involuntary, physically embracing and immediate memory—but rather replaces it with images—images that are historical, coherent, informational. To induce the full, sensorial experience of involuntary memory, a photograph must be transformed. Something must be done to the photograph to pull it (and us) out of the past and into the present. The subject of the photograph must be similarly transformed, from somebody merely seen to someone really felt, from an image viewed at a distance on the wall into an emotional exchange transacted in the heart. Thus we have been looking at the efforts of ordinary people to overcome—or at least reduce—the power of photography to replace living, emotive memories with static and historical images. These efforts have included the addition of writing, paint, framing, embroidery, fabric, string, hair, flowers, butterfly wings, and other images to photographs. Whatever the means, in every case attention is drawn to the physical presence of the photograph itself.

Such efforts enhanced the capacity of photography to conjure personal memory, and this at a time when, according to historian Richard Terdiman,

memory itself was in a state of crisis. Of course, memory is always in crisis, always in fearful struggle with its other, with the encroachment of amnesia.<sup>65</sup> But it was in the nineteenth century, according to Terdiman, that this perpetual memory crisis became more social and systematic, due to the bewildering changes wrought by political revolution and industrial modernity. Europeans of this period, he has argued, “experienced the insecurity of their culture’s involvement with its past,” a type of memory crisis in which “the very coherence of time and of subjectivity seemed disarticulated.”<sup>66</sup> Along with other nineteenth-century texts, he points to the commentary in Marx’s *Capital* on commodity fetishism, suggesting that, “because commodities suppress the memory of their own process... ‘reification’ is a memory disturbance: the enigma of the commodity is a memory disorder.”<sup>67</sup> Indeed, memory is one of those abstractions increasingly reified in the nineteenth century, used to enhance the commercial value of such objects of exchange as keepsakes and souvenirs. One might regard the invention and proliferation of photography not only as a response to the “crisis of memory,” but also as a symptom or product of that crisis. The photograph reveals a loved one’s appearance, but the appearance provokes a memory that is hollowed out, disconnected from the social realities of its own production and also from those who are doing the remembering.

Such considerations remind us of what is at stake in these hybrid photographic practices. History, for one thing—its narrative structure, its logics of inclusion and exclusion, its investments and prejudices, repressions and valorizations. Memory, for another—the manner of its production, its relationship to history, its critical capacities. Does memory have any capacities beyond the obedient repetition of bourgeois sentiment?<sup>68</sup> This last question seems important. Surely these various practices—in which the photograph is touched, worked on, added to, transformed into a handmade object and into a multisensory experience—could be regarded as attempts to counter or complicate the crisis of memory that Terdiman describes. After all, these artifacts make no effort to repress their means of production; they explicitly recall how and why they were made. They are also

intensely social entities, filled with emotion. Moreover, the practices I have been describing personalized what was otherwise a prescribed and commodified trade in memory objects. They use a technology capable of



[11] Photographer unknown, *Portrait of an unidentified French couple*, c. 1854

producing an endless series of exact copies, and they make one of those copies individual and unique.<sup>69</sup> And yet these individualizing practices are themselves vernacular—ordinary, everyday, ubiquitous, typical, endlessly repeated, found everywhere. The photographs that result are thus not exceptional, nor are they intended to be. I could have chosen from thousands of other examples and made essentially the same observations. Made to be unique and yet typical, these hybrid pleasures and periodic tragedies of bourgeois family life. But they also point to life's fractures, resistances, and contradictions. Attempting to reconcile social conformity and individual desire, collective and autobiographical identity, these photographic memory objects disturb the presumed homogeneity of ordinary life

(and with it, the presumed homogeneity of photography too).

Displayed in parlors or living rooms or as part of everyday attire, these objects occupied a liminal space between public and private. They were, in other words, meant to do their work over and over again, and to be seen by both intimates and strangers. They are liminal in other senses as well. Photography is usually about making things visible, but these elaborated photographs are equally dedicated to the evocation of the invisible—relationships, emotions, memories. They affirm the close proximity of life and death, and attempt, against common sense, to use one to deny the finality of the other. Their ultimate goal is nothing less than immor-

tality. For the aim of these practices is to enhance the memory capacities of photography and thereby to counteract the fact of death (or its surrogate, absence). Memory, a ghost of the past, is continually conjured, brought back to life, as a real component of the present. Shuttling us back and forth between past and present, slowing down our perceptions and drawing them out, or speeding us toward an ideal future, these photographic artifacts are like time machines. By means of sensory and temporal manipulations, they ask us to remember the subjects to whom they are dedicated, to sense them as still-living beings, as presences. Even now we cannot help but empathize with these subjects and with those who loved and grieved over them. But we are also prodded to reflect critically on the nature of memory itself. For these objects turn remembering into a complex interaction in which the natural and the cultural can no longer be distinguished, in which memory is generated as an emotional exchange between an evocative image ensemble and a receptive viewer. Memory, to borrow the words of Roland Barthes, is posited here as both artifice and reality, something perceived, invented, and projected, all at once: “whether or not it is triggered, it is an addition: it is what I add to the photograph and *what is nonetheless already there.*”<sup>70</sup>

In this scenario, memory cuts both ways; the act of remembering someone is surely also about the positioning of oneself, about the affirmation of one’s own place in time and space, about establishing oneself within a social and historical network of relationships. No wonder we surround ourselves with memory objects, and with elaborated photographs in particular. One’s sense of self, of identity, is buttressed by such objects. This is not a simple process. In the case of hybrid photographs, for example, individual identity is posited not as fixed and autonomous but as dynamic and collective, as a continual process of becoming. Perhaps this is why these artifacts offer such a powerful experience. Complex object-forms devoted to the cult of remembrance, these photographs ask us to surrender something of ourselves, if they are to function satisfactorily. They demand the projection onto their constituent stuff of our own bodies, but also of our personal recollections, hopes, and fears—fears of the passing of



[14] Photographer unknown, *Portrait of two boys, one holding a daguerreotype*, c. 1855

time, of death, of being remembered only as history, and, most disturbing, of not being remembered at all.

Not being remembered at all: this has, in the end, been the fate of the subjects of most of these photographs. The men and women in these portraits are now, for the most part, unknown to us. As historical artifacts residing in the present, these photographs have therefore come to represent not their subjects, but rather the specter of an impossible desire: the desire to remember, and to be remembered. It is this desire, and the creative effort expended in its pursuit, that is surely the source of their special poignancy.

For these photographs remind us

that memorialization has little to do with recalling the past; it is always about looking ahead toward that terrible, imagined, vacant future in which we ourselves will have been forgotten.



[10] Photographer unknown, *Woman seated, holding daguerreotype*, c. 1850

NOTES

- 1 Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," *The Atlantic Monthly* (June 1859), 728–748, as quoted in *Photography: Essays and Images*, ed. Beaumont Newhall (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 59, 60–61. On Kodak's attempts to ally photography with memory, see Dan Meinwald, "Picture Perfect: The Selling of the Kodak Image," *Frame/Work*, 1: 2 (1987), 15–25; James E. Paster, "Advertising Immortality by Kodak," *History of Photography*, 16: 2 (Summer 1992), 135–140; and Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000).
- 2 For a discussion of this kind of memory and its reliance on architectural metaphors, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). See also Douwe Draaisma, *Metaphors of Memory: A History of Ideas about the Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
- 3 Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 91.
- 4 See Roland Barthes, "From Taste to Ecstasy" (1980) and "On Photography" (1980), in *The Grain of the Voice: Interviews 1962–1980*, trans. Linda Coverdale (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 351–360. See also Catherine Keenan, "On the Relationship between Personal Photographs and Individual Memory," *History of Photography*, 22: 1 (Spring 1998), 60–64, and Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," in *Material Memories*, eds. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 221–236. Neither Barthes nor Proust (writing between 1913 and 1926) was the first to suggest that images work to replace memories. Flaubert also canvases the idea in *Madame Bovary*, published in 1856. "In order to recapture something of her presence, he fetched from the cupboard at the bedside an old Rheims cookie-box, in which he usually kept his love letters. An odor of dry dust and withered roses emanated from it. First he saw a handkerchief stained with pale drops. It was a handkerchief of hers. Once when they were walking her nose had bled; he had forgotten it. Near it, almost too large for the box, was Emma's miniature: her dress seemed pretentious to him, and her languishing look in the worst possible taste. Then, from looking at this image and recalling the memory of the original, Emma's features little by little grew confused in his remembrance, as if the living and the painted face, rubbing one against the other, had erased each other. Finally, he read some of her letters." Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*, trans. Paul de Man (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965), 145.
- 5 Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography" (1927), in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, ed. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 47–63.
- 6 See Stanley Burns, *Forgotten Marriage: The Painted Tintype and the Decorative Frame 1860–1910: A Lost Chapter in American Portraiture* (New York: The Burns Press, 1995).
- 7 Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 6.

- 8 For more on Indian painting and its use of European techniques and conventions, see *Interaction of Cultures: Indian and Western Painting 1780–1910: The Ehrenfeld Collection*, ed. Joachim K. Bautze (Alexandria, Virginia: Art Services International, 1998).
- 9 Judith Mara Gutman, *Through Indian Eyes: 19th- and Early 20th-Century Photography from India* (New York: Oxford University Press and International Center of Photography, 1982), 108–115. For further commentaries on Indian photography, many skeptical of Gutman’s claims, see Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); *Street Dreams: Contemporary Indian Studio Photographs from the Satish Sharma Collection*, eds. Val Williams and Anna Fox (London: Booth–Clibborn Editions and the Shoreditch Biennale, 1997); Vidya Dehejia et al., *India Through the Lens: Photography 1840–1911* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 2000); and John Falconer, *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850–1900* (London: British Library and the Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection, 2001).
- 10 Milan Kundera, *Slowness* (New York: Perennial, 1995), 39.
- 11 Bates Lowry, *Looking for Leonardo: Naïve and Folk Art Objects Found in America by Bates and Isabel Lowry* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 76–77.
- 12 Erin Garcia, “Nothing Could Be More Appropriate,” *Afterimage*, 29: 6 (May/June 2002), 14–15.
- 13 Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (London: Paladin, 1973), 90.
- 14 Although a common product of photographic studios in the nineteenth century, photo-jewelry is not discussed in the major histories of photography, including Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1982), Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), and Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (New York: Prentice Hall, 2002). The history edited by Michel Frizot shows illustrations of a daguerreotype button and some twentieth-century photo-badges but does not discuss these objects; see *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot (Cologne: Könemann, 1998), 33, 747. Among the few publications on this genre of photography are Henriette Kappler, “Fotoschmuck: Fotografie in dekorativer Fassung,” *Fotogeschichte: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Ästhetik der Fotografie*, 44: 12 (1982), 11–12; Larry West and Patricia Abbott, “Daguerreian Jewelry: Popular in its Day,” *The Daguerreian Annual* (1990), 136–140; Jane Spies, “Collecting ‘Photographic Jewelry’: This Jewelry is Picture Perfect!,” *Warman’s Today’s Collector* (July 1997), 36–40; and Geoffrey Batchen, “Ere the Substance Fade: Photography and Hair Jewellery,” in *Photographs Objects Histories*, eds. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London: Routledge, 2003).
- 15 I thank Bill Jay of Tempe, Arizona, for supplying a copy of this publication.
- 16 The same lines of verse, “secure the shadow ere the substance fade,” appear, for example, in the advertisement taken out by Noah North in September 1845 in the *Livingston County Whig* of Geneseo, New York. This advertisement is quoted in Daniel Fink, “Funerary, Posthumous, Postmortem Daguerreotypes,” in *The Daguerreian Annual*, ed. Peter Palmquist (1990), 56. The phrase also appears in an 1843 advertisement published by “Alvah Ames, Daguerreian Artist,”

held in the collection of Matthew Isenburg in Connecticut, and in an advertisement for a photographer named Faxon published in the *Springfield Gazette* in September 1841.

17 The copy for these advertisements comes from Gary Ewer's invaluable internet site, *DagNews*. See also Peter Palmquist, "Timely Likeness," *History of Photography*, 4: 1 (January 1980), 60. Palmquist reproduces an advertisement from a 1902 Sears Roebuck catalogue promising "an ever present reminder of your relatives or friends, in the form of a photograph on the dial or back cap of your watch . . . done by the Photographic Enamel Process." He reports that a photographer in California was offering a similar service as early as 1869: "What could be more appropriate than having the miniature likeness of very dear friends on the dial of one's watch, which would meet the gaze whenever the watch was taken out to tell the time?"

18 Susan Stewart provides a chapter on "The Miniature" in her *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

19 See, for example, Robin Jafee Frank, *Love and Loss: American Portrait and Mourning Miniatures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

20 According to Frank (*Ibid.*, 296–297), a hand-colored daguerreotype produced in the United States in about 1855 cost between \$3 and \$4, while a miniature painting from the same period could cost between \$50 and \$500.

21 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 115.

22 See, for example, A.J. Lewery, *Popular Art: Past and Present* (Devon: David & Charles, 1991), 74–75.

23 See Alan and Pauline Cotter, *Reflecting on Photography 1839–1902: A Catalog of the Cotter Collection* (Santa Barbara: National Directory of Camera Collectors, 1973).

24 For discussions of photographic albums, see Amy Kotkin, "The Family Photo Album as a Form of Folklore," *Exposure*, 16 (March 1978), 4–8; Marilyn Motz, "Visual Autobiography: Photograph Albums of Turn-of-the-Century Midwestern Women," *American Quarterly*, 41: 1 (March 1989), 63–92; Jeremy Seabrook, "Photography and Popular Consciousness: 'My Life is in that Box,'" *Ten.8*, No. 34 (Autumn 1989), 34–41; Philip Stokes, "The Family Photograph Album: So Great a Cloud of Witnesses," in *The Portrait in Photography*, ed. Graham Clarke (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 193–205; Patricia Holland, "'Sweet It Is to Scan . . .': Personal Photographs and Popular Photography," in *Photography: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Liz Wells (London: Routledge, 1997), 103–150; Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

25 For commentaries on such albums, see Anne Higonnet, "Secluded Vision: Images of Feminine Experience in Nineteenth-Century Europe" (1987), in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, eds. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 170–185; Marina Warner, "Parlour Made" (1992), in *Creative Camera: Thirty Years of Writing*, ed. David Brittain (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 220–225; Diane Block, *Books and Company: Mid-Victorian Photo-Collage Albums and the Feminine Imagination*

(unpublished MA thesis, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1995); Mark Haworth-Booth, *Photography: An Independent Art, Photographs from the Victoria & Albert Museum 1839–1996* (London: Victoria & Albert Publications, 1997), 74–77; Isobel Crombie, “The Work and Life of Viscountess Frances Jocelyn: Private Lives,” *History of Photography*, 22: 1 (Spring 1998), 40–51; François Heilbrun and Michael Pantazzi, *Album de Collages de L’Angleterre Victorienne* (Paris: Editions du Regard, 1997).

**26** For more on this album, see Catherine Whalen, “Finding ‘Me,’” *Afterimage*, 29: 6 (May/June 2002), 16–17.

**27** Monica Garza, “Secular Santos,” *Afterimage*, 29: 6 (May/June 2002), 8–9. See also Tomas Rivera, “...And the Earth did not Devour Him,” *The Complete Works* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1992); Pamela Scheinman, “Foto-Escultura,” *Luna Córnea*, 9 (1996), 97–101; Monica Garza, *Foto-Escultura: A Mexican Photographic Tradition*, exhibition catalogue (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Art Museum, 1998); Geoffrey Batchen, “Vernacular Photographies,” *Each Wild Idea: Writing, Photography, History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 74–76.

**28** Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 93.

**29** Thomas Laqueur, “Clio Looks at Corporal Politics,” *Corporal Politics*, exhibition catalogue (Cambridge: MIT List Visual Arts Center, 1992), 16–17. In 1855, a life-size portrait of Queen Victoria, composed only of hair, was exhibited at the Paris Exhibition. Writing in 1856, Flaubert linked the heroine of *Emma Bovary* with the bourgeois fetishization of hair. “Besides, she was becoming dreadfully sentimental. She had insisted on exchanging miniatures; handfuls of hair had been cut off, and now she was asking for a ring—a real wedding-ring, in token of eternal union.” In an earlier scene, Emma commissions “a funeral picture made with the hair of the deceased.” By 1862, advertisements for “artists in hair” were appearing in such journals as the *Illustrated London News*. See Deirdre O’Day, *Victorian Jewellery* (London: Charles Letts Books, 1982), 36. In England hair jewelry was popular until the 1880s, when, following Queen Victoria’s agreement in 1887 to wear some silver jewelry on state occasions, the mourning period for Prince Albert was considered to be at an end and “hair jewellery was now regarded as being in the worst possible taste.” See Luthi, *Sentimental Jewellery*, 29.

**30** See Mark Campbell’s *Self-Instructor in the Art of Hair Work: Hair Braiding and Jewellery of Sentiment with a Catalog of Hair Jewellery* (1875 edition), eds. Jules and Kaethe Kliot (Berkeley: Lacis Publications, 1994). Campbell suggests many designs to be made from human hair, including some that surround a glass-faced locket suitable for photographs. In his preface, he stresses hair’s potent memorial function. See also O’Day, *Victorian Jewellery*, 36–37 and Mary Trasko, *Daring Do’s: A History of Extraordinary Hair* (Paris and New York: Flammarion, 1994). American women were informed by the influential *Godey’s Lady’s Book* of the availability of hair bracelets with clasps made to hold ambrotypes. See Daile Kaplan, “Pop Photographica in Everyday Life, 1842–1968,” *The Photo Review*, 21: 4 (Fall 1998), 9. A short story by Mrs. F. M. Rowe, “Lucy Hyde’s Christmas Gifts: A Story for Children,” provides more evidence of this practice. It appeared in a magazine published by the Methodist Episcopal Church in Cincinnati, *The Ladies’*

*Repository: A Monthly Periodical, Devoted to Literature, Arts, and Religion*, 21: 1 (January 1861), 43. In the story, a recently orphaned girl, Alice, is given a Christmas gift by the man who has just adopted her. “Mr. Hyde caused the tears to flow afresh, as he clasped on her arm a bracelet made of her mother’s hair and containing a beautiful photograph of her loved face.”

**31** Authors unknown, *Elegant Arts for Ladies* (London: Ward and Lock, 1856), 3–4.

**32** Consider this commentary on identity by Stuart Hall: “It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything else that is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power.” Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” in *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (New York: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 225.

**33** The cabinet card, produced by Gunn & Stuart in London, is reproduced in *Happy and Glorious: 130 Years of Royal Photographs*, ed. Colin Ford (New York: Macmillan, 1977), 41. According to Heinz and Bridget Henisch, “A memorial ring was designed for the Queen, containing a micro-photograph of the Prince Consort, made in 1861 and attributed to Mayall.” See Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget A. Henisch, *The Photographic Experience 1839–1914: Images and Attitudes* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 140. And as they report, in 1862 Garrard & Company, Goldsmiths to the Crown, supplied Victoria with “nine gold lockets for photograph Miniatures, with Crown loops and black pearl drops.” Victoria was a photography enthusiast, having her own photographic portrait taken as early as 1844, appointing Royal Photographers, donating money to the Photographic Society of London, taking lessons (and even having darkrooms installed at Windsor Castle), visiting photographic exhibitions, and collecting more than 100,000 photographs of herself and relatives. As her lady-in-waiting Eleanor Stanley disrespectfully remarked: “I have been writing to all the fine ladies in London for their husband’s photographs, for the Queen. I believe the Queen could be bought and sold, for a photograph.” See Frances Dimond and Roger Taylor, *Crown and Camera: The Royal Family and Photography, 1842–1910* (New York: Penguin, 1987).

**34** Pointon writes that “the use of hair in jewellery seems to begin during the Middle Ages and seems to be a peculiarly Christian practice.” See Marcia Pointon, “These Fragments I Have Shored against My Ruins,” in *The Story of Time*, ed. Kristin Lippincott (London: Merrell Holberton and the National Maritime Museum, 1999), 198–201, 293.

**35** For examples of these objects, see Kaplan, “Pop Photographica,” 2–14. See also her *Pop Photographica: Photography’s Objects in Everyday Life 1842–1969* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2003).

**36** See Melissa Banta, *A Curious and Ingenious Art: Reflections on Daguerreotypes at Harvard* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000), 148–150.

**37** See Charles S. Peirce, “Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs” (c. 1897–1910), in *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology*, ed. Robert Innis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 8, 11.

- 38 These quotations come from the following authors: Allan Sekula, "Photography between Labour and Capital," in *Mining Photographs and Other Pictures 1948–1968: A Selection from the Negative Archives of Shedden Studio, Glace Bay, Cape Breton*, eds. Benjamin H.D. Buchloh and Robert Wilkie (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design and the University College of Cape Breton Press, 1983), 218; Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 154; Rosalind Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), 112.
- 39 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 80–81.
- 40 Ibid., 85, 87.
- 41 Ibid., 102–103.
- 42 Ibid., 115.
- 43 See Peirce, "Logic as Semiotic," 8, 13.
- 44 Régis Durand, "How to See (Photographically)," in *Fugitive Images: From Photography to Video*, ed. Patrice Petro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 146. On fetishism, see also Marcia Pointon, "Materializing Mourning: Hair, Jewellery and the Body," in Kwint, Breward, and Aynsley, *Material Memories*, 39–57.
- 45 Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Spivak (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 48–50.
- 46 Derrida, *Positions*, 94.
- 47 R.H.E. Godey's *Lady's Book*, April 1867, as quoted in Shawn Michelle Smith, *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 51.
- 48 Plato writes: "Well then, let me ask you to suppose, for the sake of argument, that there's an imprint-receiving piece of wax in our minds: bigger in some, smaller in others; of cleaner wax in some, of dirtier in others; of harder wax in some, of softer in others, but in some made of wax of a proper consistency.... And let's say it's the gift of Memory, the mother of the Muses; and that if there's anything we want to remember, among the things we see, hear, or ourselves conceive, we hold it under the perceptions and conceptions and imprint them on it, as if we were taking the impressions of signet rings. Whatever is imprinted, we remember and know, as long as its image is present; but whatever is smudged out or proves unable to be imprinted, we've forgotten and don't know." Plato, *Theaetetus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 78. Sigmund Freud takes as his model a writing machine with a wax slab as part of its mechanism, a *Wunderblock* (or "mystic writing-pad"). "If we imagine one hand writing upon the surface of the mystic writing-pad while another periodically raises its covering sheet from the wax slab, we shall have a concrete representation of the way in which I tried to picture the functioning of the perceptual apparatus of our mind." Sigmund Freud, "A Note Upon the 'Mystic Writing Pad'" (1925), *General Psychological Theory: Papers on Metapsychology* (New York: Collier Books, 1963), 212.
- 49 This contradiction is discussed by Derrida in "Freud and the Scene of Writing" (1966), *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 196–231.

50 In the catalogue essay for the exhibition *Memoires of the Blind*, Derrida suggests that self-portraits—because they are drawn from memory (as the artist looks from mirror to paper and back again), and because memories are inevitably a corruption of what they seek to recall—are a kind of ruin. “The ruin does not supervene like an accident upon a monument that was intact only yesterday. In the beginning there is ruin. Ruin is that which happens to the image from the moment of the first gaze. . . . Ruin is, rather, this memory open like an eye. . . .” Jacques Derrida, *Memoires of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 68–69. For a commentary on this exhibition and Derrida’s arguments, see Meyer Raphael Rubinstein, “Sight Unseen,” *Art in America*, 79: 4 (April 1991), 47–53.

51 As Marina Warner has suggested, “The anonymous photograph returns as a paradoxical sign of memory, a warning about the irreversible human fall into forgetfulness, into forgottenness.” Marina Warner, “Parlour Made,” 29.

52 See John Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians* (London: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971); Martha V. Pike and Janice Gray Armstrong, *A Time to Mourn: Expressions of Grief in Nineteenth-Century America* (Stony Brook, New York: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1980); Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Gary Laderman, *The Sacred Remains: American Attitudes Toward Death, 1799–1883* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). For a photographic history of the death industry, see Dan Meinwald, *Memento Mori: Death in 19th-Century Photography* (California Museum of Photography Bulletin, 1990), and Jay Ruby, *Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).

53 Colleen McDannell, *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

54 Authors unknown, *Elegant Arts for Ladies*, 184. The book comes with three pages of advertisements for such things as “Barnard’s Photographic Watercolours” and “Barnard’s Photographic Powder-Colours.” This same Barnard also produced books such as *Wax Flowers: The Art of Modelling*, by Mrs. Skill, and *Wax Flowers and Fruit: The Art of Modelling*, by G.W. Francis. Practical advice on “this delightful branch of ornamental work” can also be found in Madame L.B. Urbino et. al., *Art Recreations* (Boston: J.E. Tilton and Co., 1860), 265–283.

55 T.B. Thorpe, “Bessie Black, or, The Undertaker’s Courtship,” *Appleton’s Journal: a magazine of general literature* (New York, August 7, 1869), 583.

56 Bessie O’Byrne, “The Funeral Wreath, or, The Ghost’s Photograph,” *Catholic World*, 72: 428 (November 1900), 176–194.

57 For more on this exclusion, see Geoffrey Batchen, “Vernacular Photographies,” *Each Wild Idea*, 56–80, 199–204. See also my “Fearful Ghost of Former Bloom: What Photography Is,” in *Where is the Photograph?*, ed. David Green (Brighton: Photoworks/Photoforum, 2003), 15–29.

58 Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 96.

59 This is a paraphrase of the title of an oil painting at the Tate Gallery in London: H.A. Bowler (England), *The Doubt: Can these Dry Bones Live?* (c. 1856). It is reproduced in Morley, *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*.

- 60** See Phillis Cunnington and Catherine Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972), and Amy Worthen, *Death and Flowers*, exhibition brochure (Des Moines: Des Moines Art Center, 2002).
- 61** See Cooper and Battershill, *Victorian Sentimental Jewellery*, 72–82.
- 62** Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 59.
- 63** Meaghan Morris, cited in Karen Burns, *Urban Tourism, 1851–53: Sightseeing, Representation and The Stones of Venice* (PhD dissertation, Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1999), 310.
- 64** Homi Bhabha, quoted in Ann Stephen, “A Hybrid Site,” *Agenda: Contemporary Art*, No. 28 (Summer 1992/93), 19–21. “The hybrid site is the moment that opens up through something that has been disavowed, a reinscription of that disavowal; but it is also a moment of the displacement of the previous antagonism, and indeed it opens up because that antagonism cannot be contained within it.”
- 65** Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 7, 17.
- 66** Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 3–4.
- 67** *Ibid.*, 12.
- 68** The relationship of history and memory is a much-discussed issue. Pierre Nora has argued that “history is perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it.” As quoted in Sturken, *Tangled Memories*, 5. Also see Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Representations*, 26 (Spring 1989), 7–25, and Pierre Carrier, “Places, Politics and the Archiving of Contemporary Memory in Pierre Nora’s *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” in *Memory and Methodology*, ed. Susannah Radstone (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 37–57. Walter Benjamin sees the two as intertwined and even interdependent. “History in the strict sense is an image from involuntary memory, an image which suddenly occurs to the subject of history in the moment of danger.” Walter Benjamin, “Theses on History,” as quoted in Eduardo Cadava, “Lapsus Imaginis: The Image in Ruins,” *October*, 96 (Spring 2001), 55.
- 69** In this sense they try to return the individual photograph to a political economy that photographic reproduction works to undermine. “In photography, exhibition value begins to displace cult value all along the line. But cult value does not give way without resistance. It retires into an ultimate retrenchment: the human countenance. . . . The cult of remembrance of loved ones, absent or dead, offers a last refuge for the cult value of the picture.” Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (1936), *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Fontana/Collins, 1970), 227–228.
- 70** Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 55.

## EXHIBITION LIST

### Alkazi Collection of Photography, New York

- [1] J.C.A. Dannenberg, *The Raja of Bhurtpore* [Bharatpur], 1863  
see p. 20 painted albumen photograph behind glass  
25.6 x 20.9 cm (image)  
10.0 x 8.2 in  
no. 98.72.0021
- [2] Makers unknown (Indian), *Ruler with a sword and red turban, sitting on pink sofa* [gadi], 1890s  
see p. 23 painted albumen photograph  
27.5 x 21.8 cm (image)  
10.8 x 8.5 in  
no. 98.83.0187
- [3] Makers unknown (Indian), *Indian prince with mustache (possibly the Raja of Datia)*, 1890s  
see p. 22 painted albumen photograph  
40.7 x 31.8 cm (image)  
16 x 12.5 in  
no. 98.83.0191
- [4] Makers unknown, *Maharana Fateh Singh of Udaipur, seated at a table with two vases of flowers*, 1890s  
see p. 21 painted albumen photograph  
30.3 x 25.2 cm (image)  
11.9 x 9.9 in  
no. 98.60.0064
- [5] Photographer unknown; painter, Pannalal Parasram Gaud, *Maharana Fateh Singh of Udaipur*, 1890s  
painted albumen print  
28.2 x 21.7 cm (image)  
11 x 8.5 in  
no. 98.60.0062
- [6] Makers unknown (Indian), *Portrait of a man in a blue shirt and turban with a leafy landscape behind*, 1900s  
painted gelatin silver print  
14.3 x 9.9 cm (image)  
5.6 x 8.8 in  
no. 98.60.0268
- [7] Makers unknown (Indian), *Portrait of a woman in a green sari and blue choli*, late 19th century  
painted albumen print  
37.1 x 29.5 cm (image)  
14.6 x 11.6 in  
no. 98.83.0194

## George Eastman House, Rochester, New York

- [8]  
see p. 10
- Photographer unknown, *Mr. George James Webb, Mrs. Webb, Mary Isabella Webb, Caroline Elizabeth Webb*, c. 1845  
full plate daguerreotype  
16.6 x 21.6 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in  
no. 1979:3297:0001
- [9]  
see p. 15
- Photographer unknown, *Portrait of a woman holding a daguerreotype of a couple*, c. 1850  
1/6 plate daguerreotype  
6.5 x 5.4 cm  
2.5 x 2.1 in  
no. 1979:3273:0015
- [10]  
see p. 99
- Photographer unknown, *Woman seated, holding daguerreotype*, c. 1850  
1/6 plate daguerreotype  
8.0 x 6.8 cm  
3.1 x 2.6 in  
Gift of Ueda L. Burkner  
no. 1979:3300:0001
- [11]  
see p. 96
- Photographer unknown (French), *Portrait of unidentified French couple*, c. 1854  
1/2 plate daguerreotype  
13.5 x 10.0 cm  
5.3 x 3.9 in  
no. 1969:0201:0044
- [12]  
see p. 3
- Photographer unknown, *Unidentified couple, woman holding a daguerreotype*, c. 1850  
1/4 plate daguerreotype  
8.2 x 10.8 cm  
3.2 x 4.2 in  
Extended loan from Alfred M. Ricciuti, Buffalo, New York  
no. L1978:0005:0001
- [13]  
see p. 11
- J. Baum (American), *Unidentified woman seated, holding a daguerreotype*, c. 1845  
1/6 plate daguerreotype with applied color  
8.1 x 6.9 cm  
3.1 x 2.7 in  
no. 1973:0062:0005
- [14]  
see p. 98
- Photographer unknown, *Portrait of two boys, one holding a daguerreotype*, c. 1855  
1/6 plate daguerreotype  
7.0 x 5.6 cm  
2.7 x 2.2 in  
Gift of Donald Weber  
no. 1995:1245:0002

- [15]  
see p. 11 E.C. Dana (American), *Portrait of a woman looking at a photographic portrait of a woman*, c. 1880  
albumen photograph on cardboard  
16.0 x 10.3 cm  
6.2 x 4.0 in  
no. 1982:0756:0002
- [16]  
see p. 11 Reeves (Canadian?), *Portrait of a woman holding photograph of a man*, c. 1880  
albumen photograph on cardboard  
16.3 x 10.5 cm  
6.4 x 4.1 in  
no. 1971:0133:0003
- [17]  
see p. 48 Edouard Clement (French), *Portrait of woman displaying image of a child and holding a pansy*,  
1854  
salted paper photograph  
13.4 x 12 cm  
5.2 x 4.7 in  
Gift of Eastman Kodak Company: ex-collection Gabriel Cromer  
no. 1972:0079:0023
- [18]  
Abraham Bogardus (American), *Seven individual family portraits on one plate (father, mother and five children)*, c. 1846  
1/2 plate daguerreotype  
14 x 10.5 cm  
5.5 x 4.1 in  
Gift of Howell Barnes  
no. 1979:3110:0001
- [19]  
see p. 26 Richard B. Appleby (American), *University of Rochester, Class of 1857*, 1857  
21 tintypes, wood frame  
36.6 x 64.5 cm (image); 53.9 x 81.5 cm (frame)  
14.4 x 25.3 in (image); 21.2 x 32.0 in (frame)  
Gift of Miriam Rogachefsky  
no. 1975:0026:0003
- [20]  
see p. 27 Makers unknown (American), *Framed group of ambrotype and tintype portraits of young adults (18 girls and 6 boys)*, c. 1863  
24 one-ninth plate ambrotypes and tintypes  
31.0 x 36.0 cm (overall); 6.0 x 5.0 cm (each image)  
12.2 x 14.1 in (overall); 2.36 x 1.9 in (each image)  
no. 1969:0218:0000

- [21]  
see p. 27
- Makers unknown, *Twelve unidentified male and female portraits, each framed in an embroidered 8-pointed star and connected by satin ribbons*, c. 1875  
albumen photographs, wicker, satin, wood frame  
49.6 x 65.1 cm (object)  
19.5 x 25.6 in (object)  
Gift of Donald Weber  
no. 2000:0634:0001-12
- [22]  
see p. 30
- Photographer unknown, *Pillow made up of 30 cyanotype images on cloth sewn together*, c. 1910  
cyanotypes on cloth  
47.5 x 49.0 x 12.5 cm  
18.7 x 19.2 x 4.9 in  
Gift of Mrs. Dorothy Tirrell Clagett  
no. 1989:0164:0001
- [23]  
see p. 72
- Makers unknown (American), *Wood box with three cased images set into inside of lid*, c. 1857  
wood, daguerreotypes, ambrotype, human hair  
25.0 x 20.5 x 10.5 cm  
9.8 x 8.0 x 4.1 in  
no. 1974:0183:0000
- [24]  
see p. 34
- Makers unknown, *Oval pendant with portrait of mother and two children*, c. 1855  
1/9 plate daguerreotype, human hair, locket  
5.5 x 4.4 cm  
2.1 x 1.7 in  
Gift of the 3M Company: ex-collection Louis Walton Siple  
no. 1977:0243:0005
- [25]  
see p. 70
- Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of unidentified man in hair bracelet*, c. 1850  
daguerreotype, human hair  
1.5 x 1.3 cm  
0.6 x 0.5 in  
no. 1969:0214:0010
- [26]  
see p. 70
- Makers unknown, *Portrait of young woman ("Lizzie") in hair bracelet*, c. 1850  
daguerreotype, human hair  
1.5 x 1.3 cm  
0.6 x 0.5 in  
no. 1969:0214:0011
- [27]
- Photographer unknown (American), *Portrait of a man*, c. 1850  
1/16 plate daguerreotype pendant  
4.0 x 3.0 cm oval  
1.5 x 1.1 in oval  
Gift of Howard Dearstyne  
no. 1981:1841:0001

[28]  
see p. 35 Makers unknown (American), *Pendant with portraits of a man and a woman*, c. 1850s  
daguerreotype pendant  
2.5 x 2.0 cm oval  
0.9 x 0.7 in oval  
no. 1981:1846:0001

[29] Frank I. Stofflet (American), *Certificate of Marriage between George M. Siple and Evelyn B. Walton*, 1892  
albumen photographs, wood frame, printed paper certificate  
43.7 x 35.7 cm  
17.2 x 14.0 in  
Gift of 3M Company: ex-collection Louis Walton Siple  
no. 1977:0648:0001

[30]  
see p. 63 Makers unknown (Mexican), *Family of three*, c. 1950  
fotoescultura (painted gelatin silver photograph on wood, glass, wood frame)  
32.0 x 30.8 x 6.2 cm  
12.5 x 12.1 x 2.4 in  
no. 1997:1824:0001

#### Haus der Fotografie, Dr. Robert Gerlich-Museum, Burghausen

[31]  
see p. 91 Photographer: W. Stölzl (Vilshofen, Germany), *Portrait of a woman surrounded by woven hair*, c. 1890  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite), woven human hair, dried flowers, wood frame with glass  
36.5 x 30.2 cm  
14.3 x 11.8 in  
no. B 13 a

[32] Photographer: W. Stölzl (Vilshofen, Germany), *Portrait of a man surrounded by woven hair*, c. 1890  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite), woven human hair, dried flowers, wood frame with glass  
36.5 x 30.2 cm  
14.3 x 11.8 in  
no. B 13

[33]  
see p. 90 Makers unknown (German), *Portrait of a woman ("M.R.") surrounded by woven hair*, c. 1890  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite), woven human hair, dried flowers, elliptical wood frame with glass  
35.0 x 31.0 cm  
13.7 x 12.2 in  
no. B 576

**Maison de Victor Hugo, Paris**

- [34]  
see p. 9
- Julia Margaret Cameron (English), *Memory (Marie Spartali)*, 1868  
albumen photograph  
30.5 x 23.4 cm (image); 38.1 x 29.2 cm (mount)  
12.0 x 9.2 in (image); 15.0 x 11.4 in (mount)  
no. Ph. 2607

**Münchener Stadtmuseum, Fotomuseum, Munich**

- [35]  
see p. 44
- Makers unknown (German), *Erinnerung an meine Dienstzeit: Reserve 1907*, 1907  
gelatin silver photograph (carte-de-visite), plastic, wood frame with glass  
48.5 x 38.5 cm  
19.0 x 15.1 in  
no. 2001/352

- [36]  
see p. 44
- Makers unknown (German), *Erinnerung an meine Dienstzeit: Stolz kann ich sagen, dies Zeichen  
darft ich tragen 1904-1906*, 1906  
hand-colored albumen photograph (carte-de-visite), wood frame with glass  
52.5 x 42.0 cm  
20.6 x 16.5 in  
no. 1982/59

**Museo Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá**

- [37]  
see p. 86
- Makers unknown (Colombian), *Portrait of General José Antonio Páez*, c. 1873  
albumen photograph, cloth wreath, wood frame with glass  
56.0 x 48.0 cm  
22.0 x 18.8 in  
no. 565

**National Museum of Photography, Film & Television, Bradford**

- [38]
- Makers unknown (British), *Nine photographic pendant designs in blue velvet case*, c. 1870-80  
albumen photographs in silver pendants, blue velvet case  
15.0 x 24.0 cm (open)  
5.9 x 9.4 in (open)  
Collection of Royal Photographic Society
- [39]
- Makers unknown (British), *Seven cartes-de-visite in a wood frame*, c. 1870s  
albumen photographs on card (cartes-de-visite), wood frame  
88.0 x 46.0 cm  
34.6 x 18.1 in

- [40] Makers unknown (British?), *Hair bracelet with portrait*, c. 1860  
see p. 71 hair, collodion positive photograph  
9.5 x 12.0 cm  
3.7 x 4.7 in  
no. 1990-5036/7298
- [41] Makers unknown (British), *Daguerreotype pendant of a middle-aged woman*, c. 1850  
painted daguerreotype, silver pendant  
4.5 x 4.0 cm  
1.8 x 1.6 in  
no. 1990-5036/2373
- [42] Makers unknown (British), *Memorial brooch with photograph*, c. 1860s  
photograph, metal brooch  
5.0 x 4.0 cm  
2.0 x 1.6 in  
no. 1990-5036/2083
- [43] Makers unknown (British), *Locket with two photographs*, c. 1860s  
see p. 33 metal locket, albumen photographs  
4.5 x 4.3 cm (open)  
1.8 x 1.7 in (open)  
no. 1990-5036/2130
- [44] Makers unknown (British), *Gilt brass brooch with four albumen prints*, c. 1860s  
see p. 33 brass brooch, albumen photographs  
7.5 x 6.0 cm  
3.0 x 2.4 in  
no. 1990-5036/4976
- [45] Makers unknown (British), *Daguerreotype brooch*, c. 1850  
daguerreotype, metal brooch  
6.0 x 5.2 cm  
3.0 x 2.0 in  
no. 1990-5036/7295

**Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts**

- [46] Makers unknown (American), *Anna Cora Mowatt*, c. 1855  
see p. 72 1/6 plate daguerreotype in leather case, with lock of hair and sprig of rosemary  
8.3 x 7.0 cm  
3.2 x 2.7 in  
no. A/M93-9-IZ (SL-44)

**Studie en Documentatie Centrum voor Fotografie, Prentenkabinet, Universiteit Leiden**

- [47] François Carlebur (Dordrecht, The Netherlands), *Young woman holding a photograph*, 1847  
daguerreotype  
12.0 x 9.0 cm  
4.7 x 3.5 in  
no. G 4141
- [48] Photographer unknown (Dutch?), *Man with a daguerreotype in his hand*, c. 1850  
daguerreotype  
7.5 x 6.5 cm  
2.9 x 2.5 in  
no. G 4134
- [49] Willem Ganter (Rotterdam) & Albert Greiner (Amsterdam), *Portrait of a woman*  
(*"In Memoriam"*), c. 1885  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
13.9 x 9.8 cm  
5.4 x 3.8 in  
no. G 2569
- [50] Makers unknown (Dutch), *Portrait of a man in mat decorated with angel: "In Memoriam,"* c. 1870-80  
albumen photograph in decorated mat, wood frame with glass  
20.0 x 15.0 cm  
7.9 x 5.9 in  
no. 79.16
- [51] Makers unknown (German), *Portrait of couple in metal frame*, c. 1902  
gelatin silver photograph, metal frame, printed text: "Erinnerung an Wiesbaden-Neroberg"  
16.0 x 12.5 cm  
6.2 x 4.9 in  
no. G 4276
- [52] Makers unknown (Dutch), *Herinnering aan een overledene*, c. 1870  
albumen photograph with pressed flowers  
19.0 x 12.0 cm  
7.5 x 4.7 in  
no. MM 202
- [53] Makers unknown (Dutch), *Wedding certificate for Mr A.N. van Diepen and Mevr. M.P.H. van Diepen-van der Voort*, c. 1864  
*see p.37*  
two albumen photographs, lithograph, wood frame with glass  
17.5 x 11.5 cm  
6.8 x 4.5 in  
no. G 538

- [54] Makers unknown (Dutch), *Herinnering aan een huwelijk*, c. 1895  
two albumen photographs with embroidered text  
37.7 x 29.7 cm  
14.8 x 11.7 in  
no. PKL 0362

**Collection of Jason Hoyt**

- [55]  
see p.61 Makers unknown (American), *Jason Hoyt baby altar*, c. 1975  
color photograph in plastic frame, bronzed booties  
28.0 x 27.0 x 12.8 cm  
11.0 x 10.6 x 5.0 in

**Collection of Arif Khan, Albuquerque, New Mexico**

- [56]  
see p.83 Makers unknown (American); photographer: P.E. Lynne (Crookston, Minnesota), *Memorial to a young man*, c. 1910  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card), "At Rest" inscribed in brown fabric, "There Rest He In Sweet Heaven" inscribed in purple pipe cleaners, two white stuffed doves with ears of wheat in their bills, green fabric leaves, waxed paper rosettes, gilt frame with glass  
85.0 x 77.0 x 21.0 cm  
33.4 x 30.3 x 8.2 in

**Hans P. Kraus, Jr., New York**

- [57]  
see p.51, 52 M.H.E. Cator and unknown photographers, *Cator family album*, 1860s  
the majority albumen photographs collaged on painted album leaves, decorative watercolor illustrations on borders; carved decorative wood cover with brass clasp, leather spine with stamped and gilt decoration  
27.7 x 43.5 x 4.5 cm (open)  
10.9 x 17.1 x 1.7 in  
no. 30 0051

**John and Olivia Parker**

- [58] Makers unknown (American), *Child seated on a floridly painted chair with one leg extended*, c. 1860s  
full-plate etched and painted tintype, gilt-edged arched window, vertical wood frame with glass  
16.6 x 21.8 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in
- [59] Makers unknown (American), *Standing child wearing a tall bonnet on her head and with one hand on the back of a photographer's chair*, c. 1870s  
full-plate etched and painted tintype, wood mat, incised Eastlake frame with glass  
16.6 x 21.8 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in

- [60] Makers unknown (American), *Standing man with his hand on his heart, before a painted outdoor scene with tents and a flying American flag*, c. 1865  
full-plate etched and painted tintype, wood frame with glass  
25.6 x 20.5 cm  
10.0 x 8.0 in
- [61] Makers unknown (American), *Seated child with head leaning right*, c. 1860s  
full-plate etched and painted tintype, dimpled mat with gilt-edged arched window, vertical wood frame with glass  
16.6 x 21.8 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in
- [62] Makers unknown (American), *Four couple in horizontal arched window*, c. 1870s  
see p. 16 full-plate etched and painted tintype, dimpled mat with gilt-edged arched window, horizontal wood frame with glass  
25.6 x 20.5 cm  
10.0 x 8.0 in
- [63] Makers unknown (American), *Child in a blue-plaid dress seated with crossed legs in a chair*, c. 1870s  
full-plate etched and painted tintype, arched gold mat, vertical wood frame with glass  
16.6 x 21.8 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in
- [64] Makers unknown (American), *Bust of a woman in a striped cap*, c. 1880  
full-plate etched and painted tintype, gold mat, plain gilt wood frame with glass  
16.6 x 21.8 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in
- [65] Makers unknown (American), *Seated child in a white smock with one foot showing and a gold necklace*, c. 1870s  
full-plate etched and painted tintype, gilt-edged elliptical window, vertical ornate gilt wood frame with peak and elaborated corners, and glass  
16.6 x 21.8 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in
- [66] Makers unknown (American), *Young boy with one foot showing seated in an upholstered chair*, c. 1860s  
full-plate etched and painted tintype, gilt-edged mat, vertical wood frame with glass  
16.6 x 21.8 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in
- [67] Makers unknown (American), *Seated girl in a plaid dress*, c. 1860s  
see p. 17 full-plate etched and painted tintype, arched gilt-edged mat, vertical wood frame with glass  
16.6 x 21.8 cm  
6.5 x 8.5 in

**Collection of Catherine Whalen**

- [68]  
see p. 58-59, 60  
Mary von Rosen, *Photograph album*, c. 1920-27  
gelatin silver photographs, white ink, feather, cigarette, cigarette papers, ribbon, wooden paddle  
on paper  
17.5 x 49.5 x 3.5 cm (open)  
6.8 x 19.4 x 1.3 in (open)

**Collection of Dan Younger, Mount Vernon, Ohio**

- [69]  
see p. 49  
Martha B. Meacham (Utica, New York, Class of 1862), "*Remembrance*" album, 1862  
album containing vignette albumen photographs with salutations, one unmounted carte-de-visite,  
gem-size tintypes, as well as a page of penned trompe-l'oeil visiting card arrangement  
20.0 x 13.5 x 2.0 cm  
7.8 x 5.3 x 0.7 in

**Private collection**

- [70]  
see p. 13  
Photographer unknown (American), *Young girl and young boy; she is holding a daguerreotype case*,  
c. 1855  
daguerreotype in embossed leather case with red silk pad  
9.1 x 16.3 cm (open)  
3.5 x 6.4 in (open)
- [71]  
see p. 13  
Photographer unknown (American), *Woman holding a daguerreotype case*, c. 1850  
daguerreotype in embossed leather case  
9.0 x 16.2 cm (open)  
3.5 x 6.3 in (open)
- [72]  
see p. 11  
Disdéri studio (Paris), *Princess Anna Murat examining a photograph*, c. 1865  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite)  
10.5 x 6.0 cm  
4.1 x 2.3 in
- [73]  
see p. 12  
L.F. Cramer (Cherryvale, Kansas), *Portrait of a woman in a white dress unveiling a framed  
photograph*, c. 1880s  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.5 x 10.7 cm  
6.4 x 4.2 in
- [74]  
A.W. Adams (Waterloo, Iowa), *Two children holding up a framed photograph of a woman*, c. 1880s  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.8 x 11.2 cm  
6.6 x 4.4 in

- [75] Photographer unknown (American), *Young girl holding a photograph of herself as a baby*, c. 1900  
gelatin silver photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.5 x 10.8 cm  
6.4 x 4.2 in
- [76] Patteson (Paris, Texas), *Two men and two women with fans looking at a photograph*, c. 1880s  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.5 x 10.8 cm  
6.4 x 4.2 in
- [77] Donner Bros. (Wisconsin), *Husband and wife with album and two framed photographs*, c. 1890  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.4 x 11.2 cm  
6.4 x 4.4 in
- [78] W.H. Van Dyke & Son (Edinboro, Pennsylvania), *Seated woman holding an album on her knee*, c. 1880s  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.5 x 10.8 cm  
6.4 x 4.2 in
- [79] W.H. Van Dyke & Son (Edinboro, Pennsylvania), *Seated couple with three albums*, c. 1880s  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.5 x 10.8 cm  
6.4 x 4.2 in
- [80] Lauder Bros. studio (Dublin), *Portrait of a woman holding an album*, c. 1860s  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite)  
10.5 x 6.3 cm  
4.1 x 2.4 in
- [81] Ness City Gallery (Kansas), *Husband and wife with album*, c. 1880s  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.4 x 10.7 cm  
6.4 x 4.2 in
- [82] Photographer unknown (American), *Standing woman with an open photograph album and handbag*,  
*see p. 16*  
c. 1890  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.3 x 10.6 cm  
6.4 x 4.1 in
- [83] A.W. Phipps (New Castle, Pennsylvania), *Three children, one holding a book and another a photograph*, c. 1870s  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite)  
9.9 x 6.3 cm  
3.8 x 2.4 in

- [84] J. Bourens (Metz, France), *Marie Merey Gelbrin with an open photograph album*, c. 1860s  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite)  
10.5 x 6.3 cm  
4.1 x 2.4 in
- [85] L. Borewitz (Zehsis/Cesis or Wenden, Russia, now Latvia), *Two sisters in identical clothes with an open photograph album*, c. 1890s  
*see p. 11*  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite)  
10.5 x 6.3 cm  
4.1 x 2.4 in
- [86] L. Borewitz (Zehsis/Cesis or Wenden, Russia, now Latvia), *Girl and boy with an open photograph album*, January 1901  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite)  
11.0 x 6.2 cm  
4.3 x 2.4 in
- [87] G.W. Baker (Greene, New York), *Seated man holding a daguerreotype case*, c. 1863  
albumen photograph on card (carte-de-visite)  
10.0 x 6.0 cm  
3.9 x 2.3 in
- [88] A.A. Fergis (Mitau/Jelgava, Russia, now Latvia), *Two women with an open photograph album*, c. 1890  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card)  
16.8 x 11.0 cm  
6.6 x 4.3 in
- [89] Photographer unknown (American), *Collage of cabinet cards with ribbon, tambourine and tennis racquet*, c. 1900  
gelatin silver photograph on card  
13.3 x 11.2 cm  
5.2 x 4.4 in
- [90] Photographer unknown (American), *Portrait of two young women*, c. 1920s  
tintype in cardboard mat with printed text  
11.4 x 7.6 cm  
4.4 x 2.9 in
- [91] Photographer unknown (American), *Woman holding an open tintype album*, c. 1860s  
tintype in paper mat  
9.8 x 6.2 cm  
3.8 x 2.4 in

- [92] Photographer unknown (American), *Man standing by a table on which rests a cabinet card of a woman*, c. 1880s  
tintype  
11.0 x 6.5 cm  
4.3 x 2.5 in
- [93] Photographer unknown (American), *Two women, with one holding a large photograph album*, c. 1860s  
tintype in paper mat  
9.0 x 6.2 cm  
3.5 x 2.4 in
- [94] Photographer unknown (American), *Young girl touching a framed photograph of her parents*, December 1945  
gelatin silver photograph  
12.8 x 10.0 cm  
5.0 x 3.9 in
- [95] Photographer unknown (American), *Child ("Barton") on swing holding a photograph*, c. 1950  
gelatin silver photograph  
11.5 x 6.9 cm  
4.5 x 2.7 in
- [96] Makers unknown (American), *Portraits of six people*, c. 1850s  
*see p. 32*  
four daguerreotypes in silver locket  
4.0 cm diameter  
1.5 in diameter
- [97] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of a family of nine*, c. 1860-1880  
nine tintypes, paper mat, wood frame with glass  
52.0 x 44.3 x 3.0 cm  
20.4 x 17.4 x 1.1 in
- [98] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of a woman*, c. 1860-1880  
*see p. 17*  
etched and painted tintype, cloth mat, gilt wood frame with glass  
45.0 x 37.2 x 6.5 cm  
17.7 x 14.6 x 2.5 in
- [99] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of a mother and daughter*, c. 1860-1880  
etched and painted tintype, painted paper mat, wood frame with glass  
40.5 x 35.7 x 7.0 cm  
15.9 x 14.0 x 2.75 in

- [100]  
see p. 19 Makers unknown (American), *Portrait bust of a woman*, c. 1870  
etched and painted tintype, gilt and painted mat, wood frame with glass  
27.0 x 22.2 x 2.0 cm  
10.6 x 8.7 x 0.7 in
- [101] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of a standing woman*, c. 1860-1880  
etched and painted tintype, red velvet mat, wood frame with glass  
35.6 x 29.5 cm  
14.0 x 11.6 in
- [102]  
see p. 18 Makers unknown (American), *Traveling mirror with portrait of a man wearing a hat*, c. 1860s  
etched and painted tintype, glass, wood, embossed leather  
28.7 x 69.0 x 1.5 cm  
11.2 x 27.1 x 0.6 in
- [103] Photographer unknown (American), *Woman wearing a daguerreotype brooch*, c. 1860  
ambrotype in metal mat  
6.3 x 5.1 cm  
2.4 x 2.0 in
- [104] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait bust of a young man*, c. 1880s  
albumen photograph in circular metal pendant  
2.5 cm diameter  
0.9 in diameter
- [105] Makers unknown (Spanish), *Portrait bust of Gallito, matador*, c. 1900  
albumen photograph in circular tie pin  
1.9 x 3.0 cm  
0.7 x 1.1 in
- [106] Makers unknown (American), *Portraits of a man and a woman*, c. 1860s  
two tintypes in circular metal pendant  
2.2 cm diameter  
0.8 in diameter
- [107] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait bust of a man*, c. 1900  
cellulose gelatin silver photograph on stick pin  
1.8 cm diameter (photograph); 5.0 cm (pin)  
0.7 in diameter (photograph); 1.9 in (pin)
- [108] Makers unknown (Dutch), *Portrait of three men*, c. 1870s  
circular tintype in metal brooch  
2.6 cm diameter  
1.0 in diameter

- [109] Makers unknown (Dutch), *Portrait of three men*, c. 1870s  
circular tintype in metal brooch  
2.6 cm diameter  
1.0 in diameter
- [110] Makers unknown (American), *Portraits of husband and wife*, c. 1890s  
gelatin silver photographs on celluloid in pendant  
4.0 x 3.0 cm  
1.5 x 1.1 in
- [111] Makers unknown (American), *Portraits of a man and a woman in wedding clothes*, c. 1900  
*see p.36*  
two albumen photographs in metal brooch  
1.9 x 4.0 cm  
0.7 x 1.5 in
- [112] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait bust of a young man*, c. 1890  
cellulose albumen photograph in circular button brooch  
3.2 cm diameter  
1.2 in diameter
- [113] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait bust of a female child*, c. 1890  
cellulose albumen photograph in elliptical button brooch  
3.2 cm diameter  
1.2 in diameter
- [114] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of a man and a woman*, c. 1910  
cellulose gelatin silver photograph in circular pendant with mirror in verso  
5.5 cm diameter  
2.1 in diameter
- [115] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of a girl*, c. 1910  
albumen photograph behind glass on a circular watch case  
5.0 cm diameter  
1.9 in diameter
- [116] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of an elderly man*, c. 1850  
*see p.65*  
daguerreotype in leather case with affixed sample of blond hair  
9.3 x 8.0 cm  
3.6 x 3.1 in
- [117] Makers unknown (American), *Portrait bust of a young woman*, c. 1860s  
*see p.68*  
tintype in elliptical metal pendant on chain, with two samples of human hair  
3.4 x 2.5 cm (pendant)  
1.3 x 0.9 in (pendant)

- [118]  
see p.66 Makers unknown (American), *Silver locket containing tintype portrait of man and human hair*, c. 1855  
tintype, human hair behind glass in engraved silver locket  
4.0 cm diameter  
1.5 in diameter
- [119]  
see p.71 Makers unknown (American), *Portrait bust of a man*, c. 1870  
tintype behind glass in metal brooch; on verso: woven human hair behind glass  
6.0 x 5.0 x 1.0 cm  
2.3 x 1.9 x 0.3 in
- [120]  
see p.69 Makers unknown (American), *Portrait bust of a young woman*, c. 1860s  
tintype in metal brooch, verso: two samples of human hair, one woven and one natural  
3.2 x 2.7 cm  
1.2 x 1.0 in
- [121]  
see p.75 Makers unknown (American), *Trophy lamp with deer forelegs as base*, c. 1970  
photographic transparencies, four deer forelegs, electric lamp with globe  
57.5 x 30.0 x 30.0 cm  
22.6 x 11.8 x 11.8 in
- [122]  
Lithographer: A. Hoen & Co., photographers unknown (American), *Wedding certificate for William Jackee and Casey Snyder*, 1875  
lithograph with added ink text, two tintypes, albumen carte-de-visite photograph, silver gilt wood frame with glass  
62.0 x 52.0 x 5.5 cm  
24.4 x 20.4 x 2.1 in
- [123]  
Publisher: A.H. Eilers Co., photographers unknown (American), *Wedding certificate for Linville Rhode and Arabella Wheeless*, 1882  
lithograph with added ink text, two albumen cartes-de-visite photographs, wood frame with glass  
51.5 x 44.0 x 5.0 cm  
20.2 x 17.3 x 1.9 in
- [124]  
see p.46 Photographer unknown (American), *Portrait of Catherine Christ*, c. 1859  
daguerreotype in embossed leather case, with text in blue ink on paper beneath image  
9.0 x 16.0 cm (open)  
3.5 x 6.2 in (open)
- [125]  
see p.46 Makers unknown (American), *Kate*, c. 1859  
leather daguerreotype case with handwritten inscription and lock of hair  
7.0 x 12.0 x 0.8 cm (open)  
2.7 x 4.7 x 0.3 in (open)

- [126]  
see p. 42 F.C. Gould & Son (Gravesend, United Kingdom), *Photograph of R.M.S. Orsova*, 1910  
gelatin silver photograph covered with ink signatures, in wood frame with glass  
34.0 x 46.5 cm  
13.3 x 18.3 in
- [127]  
see p. 42 Makers unknown (Brazilian?), *U.S.S. Wainright Shake Down Cruise*, c. 1950  
gelatin silver photograph, paint, butterfly wings, inlaid wood frame with glass  
30.0 x 40.2 cm  
11.8 x 15.8 in
- [128]  
see p. 45 Makers unknown (Japanese?), *Portrait of a young American sailor on board his ship*, c. 1910  
gelatin silver photograph, embroidered silk, black velvet mat, wood frame with glass  
80.0 x 64.5 cm  
31.4 x 25.3 in
- [129]  
see p. 41 Makers unknown (Houston, Texas?), *Solid Trainload (32 Box Cars)*, January 8, 1937  
ink on panoramic gelatin silver photograph, wood frame with glass  
29.2 x 90.5 cm  
11.4 x 35.6 in
- [130]  
see p. 28, 29 Makers unknown (American), *Collage*, c. 1910  
cigar labels, fourteen gelatin silver photographs on board  
50.0 x 35.0 cm  
19.6 x 13.7 in
- [131]  
see p. 56 Edward F. Henne (Saline, Michigan), *Photograph album for "Tanglefoot" (George Edward Martin)*,  
December 1916  
album with silver gelatin photographs and white ink text  
14.0 x 37.5 cm (closed)  
5.5 x 14.7 in (closed)
- [132]  
see p. 54-55 Makers unknown ("Dudley," Liberal, Kansas), *Photograph album*, c. 1939-1950  
gelatin silver photographs on black paper, with ink text  
25.0 x 33.0 x 5.0 cm (closed)  
9.8 x 12.9 x 1.9 in (closed)
- [133]  
see p. 57 Makers unknown (American), *Pa made himself a bike*, c. 1950  
gelatin silver photograph, ink on paper, wood frame with glass  
32.2 x 27.2 cm  
12.6 x 10.7 in
- [134]  
Makers unknown (Mexican), *Portrait of a woman in a blue dress*, c. 1950  
fotoescultura (painted gelatin silver photograph on wood, glass, wood frame)  
30.0 x 23.5 x 8.0 cm  
11.8 x 9.2 x 3.1 in

- [135]  
see p. 62 Makers unknown (Mexican), *Portrait of a man wearing a tie*, c. 1950  
fotoescultura (painted gelatin silver photograph on wood, glass, wood frame)  
34.5 x 30.0 x 7.0 cm  
13.5 x 11.8 x 2.7 in
- [136]  
see p. 40 Makers unknown (American), *Portraits of a man in uniform and a woman (Norma Lee)*, c. 1942  
two gelatin silver photographs with ink text on verso, silver tape, bullet shell frame  
14.5 x 27.0 x 3.5 cm  
5.7 x 10.6 x 1.3 in
- [137]  
see p. 38, 39 Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of husband and wife on their wedding day*, c. 1890  
albumen photograph on card (cabinet card), rosette, veil, wooden frame with glass  
40.0 x 31.5 x 7.5 cm  
15.7 x 12.4 x 2.9 in
- [138]  
see p. 86 Makers unknown (American), *Memorial with a portrait of a man and his child*, c. 1860-1880  
tintype, metal edging, embroidery, elliptical wood frame with glass  
32.5 x 26.7 x 2.5 cm  
12.7 x 10.5 x 0.9 in
- [139]  
see p. 84, 85 Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of man in uniform*, c. 1915  
gelatin silver photograph, string, butterfly wings, flowers and leaves on paper, wood frame  
with glass  
40.0 x 29.6 cm  
15.7 x 11.6 in
- [140]  
see p. 88, 89 Candida de la Peña (Spanish), *Memento Mori to her daughter Pilar Garcia, Madrid, 2 January  
1927, 1927*  
gelatin silver photographs, printed images, pencil and ink on paper, wood frame with glass  
40.0 x 33.0 cm  
15.7 x 12.9 in
- [141]  
see p. 78, 79 Makers unknown (American), *Portrait of a young woman with wax flower wreath*, c. 1890  
albumen photograph, copper plate with impressed words "At Rest", wax flowers and butterflies,  
woven human hair, wooden frame with glass  
87.2 x 82.0 x 19.0 cm  
34.3 x 32.2 x 7.4 in

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*Geoffrey Batchen*  
New York

## ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Cathy Carver: 55, 70, 71, 72, 73, 82, 85, 104, 106, 108, 110, 119, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149.

Marcell Hackbardt: 68, 143

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