

Photography



5.1 O.J. Simpson



“Monkey Business”



Trouble in Abu Ghraib prison.

*A former football star is publicly convicted of lying in his testimony about his wife’s murder when photographs of him wearing Italian designer shoes are revealed.

*Photographs of a married presidential candidate on a pleasure boat with another woman force the man to end his campaign.

*The world is shocked by photographs of US soldiers taunting and torturing Iraqi prisoners near Baghdad (5.1).

We so often equate the photograph with reality that photographs are offered as evidence-- as “proof”--in the public forum of the mass media. This is by no means a recent phenomenon. Only a few decades after the first photographic process had been patented in 1839, photographs of the Paris Communards (the socialist revolutionaries who seized the city in 1871) were used by the government when it regained control to identify individuals to be executed. Since then, photographs have been integral in establishing veracity of both popular opinion and legal courts.

However, as communication theorists Marita Struken and Lisa Cartwright assert, “the notion of *photographic truth* hinges on the idea that the camera is an objective device for the

capturing of reality [yet] photographic images are highly subjective cultural and social artifacts that are influenced by the range of human belief, bias, and expression.”¹

There are profound and significant differences between direct physical experience (that is, what we call reality) and photography. This can be demonstrated by comparing a photograph with the imagined recreation of the experience it purports to record. We will use an example from the work of **Diane Arbus** (1923-1971) to illustrate this point.

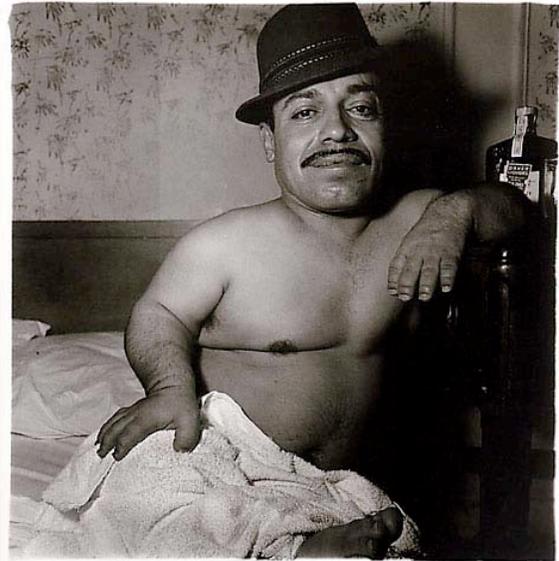
Arbus was born to wealthy parents in New York City. Her father was in the fur business, so Arbus grew up surrounded by the “beautiful” people of high fashion. As an adult, she became a successful photographer for *Vogue* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines. Eventually, she began to think about the fashion models and other beautiful people as freaks...which led her to thinking about the people that our culture usually calls freaks. What does it mean to be someone the dominant culture considers “outside the norm”? To be someone the dominant culture positions as “Other”? As critic Susan Sontag notes, “Who could have better appreciated the truth of freaks than someone like Arbus, who was by profession a fashion photographer—a fabricator of the cosmetic lie that masks the intractable inequalities of birth and class and physical appearance.”²

Arbus spent a lot of time getting to know, and photographing, Edie Carmel a genetic giant and his “normal-sized” parents (**5.2**). She also photographed transvestites and people in nudist colonies. Many of her last portraits were of mentally handicapped children.

One of her most compelling images is the portrait of a dwarf, Lauro Morales, in his New York hotel room (**5.3**). Morales is posed on the hotel room bed, naked except for his hat and a white towel draped across his genitals. His left arm rests on a bedside table, near a pint bottle of whiskey. He gazes directly at the viewer, adamantly refusing to look away.



5.2 Diane Arbus, *A Jewish giant at home with his parents in the Bronx, 1970.*



5.3 Diane Arbus, *Mexican dwarf in his hotel room in N.Y.C., 1970.*

Arbus has composed the image in a very deliberate and controlled fashion. If we enter the image from upper left and scan towards lower right (again: we “read” images in the same way we read the page of a book), the first thing we encounter is Morales’ face. His face is framed by the gray hat and dark shadow to the right; the framing devices “capture” our gaze and make us contemplate his face in a manner we might not if we looked rapidly or superficially at a person. The wall he leans against presses up close behind him, allowing no visual “escape.” We must look Morales *in the face*, so to speak.

As our eye continues to scan the image, it may either continue right and pause at the liquor bottle, or it may drop to the bright white shape of the towel. In either case, we are forced to consider Morales’ as a complex individual. We must consider him as someone who drinks, perhaps drinks too much. And we must consider him as a sexual being. For many viewers, seeing Arbus’s photograph is the first time they have looked at the naked body of a dwarf. It may also be the first time they have looked at the naked—and thereby sexualized—body of any person

who is Other. In our mass media, we are inundated with images of ideal bodies. Rarely do we see the body of someone who falls far outside the “norm.”

Arbus’s composition forces us to consider and accept Morales’ humanity. He is full and complex human being; the image will not allow us to dismiss him as simply a “freak.”

How is seeing this photograph not the same as the “real” experience of seeing Lauro Morales? What are the differences between looking at the image and looking at the person directly? First, as the discussion of Arbus’s skillful composition has made clear, the artist chooses and frames the image. Every time you see a photographic image, it has been selected and composed by the photographer. If you were there, you would see something different. If you walked into Lauro Morales’s hotel room, you would not just see what Arbus has presented to you. You would be able to see the rest of the room. Many of us would be so embarrassed by encountering a stranger on his bed that we would turn away from the vision Arbus has presented and look anywhere else than at Morales’s naked body.

Second, whereas photography appears to stop time, reality constantly changes. A photograph is fixed image, but reality is in perpetual flux. Who knows what changes might occur immediately after we opened the door and saw Morales? Some of us would look away. Others might slam the door and leave in embarrassment.

In a photograph, only one of our senses--vision—is engaged, but in reality, we use all of our senses. If you walked into Morales’s room, you would hear things, touch things, and smell things.

There are many other differences between photographs and direct experience. Photographs are flat, two-dimensional, but reality operates in three-dimensional space. Of

course, we see colors in reality, and this photo is black and white. Translating the color of an image changes its content; it also changes our perceptions of its content.

Perhaps most important of all is the fact that looking at photographs is a one-way activity. We look at the image of Lauro Morales, but no matter his expression, no matter his apparent action, he—the object of the photographic gaze—cannot look back. He cannot respond to or control our act of looking. Made passive and fixed by the camera, he is presented to be captured and consumed by our gaze. Sontag reminds us that “photographs are a way of imprisoning reality, understood as recalcitrant, inaccessible; of making it stand still...One can’t possess reality, [but] one can possess (and be possessed by) images...”³

The imprisoning possession of photography is an act of aggression. According to Sontag, “[T]here is something predatory in the act of taking a picture. To photograph people is to violate them, by seeing them as they never see themselves, by having knowledge of them they can never have; it turns people into objects that can be symbolically possessed.”⁴ Sontag is critical of Arbus’s work, writing that the photographs “with all their acceptance of the appalling—suggest a naivete which is both coy and sinister, for it is based on distance, on privilege, on a feeling that what the viewer is asked to look at is really *other*.”⁵

As we survey the history of photographic images, we need to continue considering the relationships between photography and truth, photography and (aggressive) visual possession, and photography and the Other.

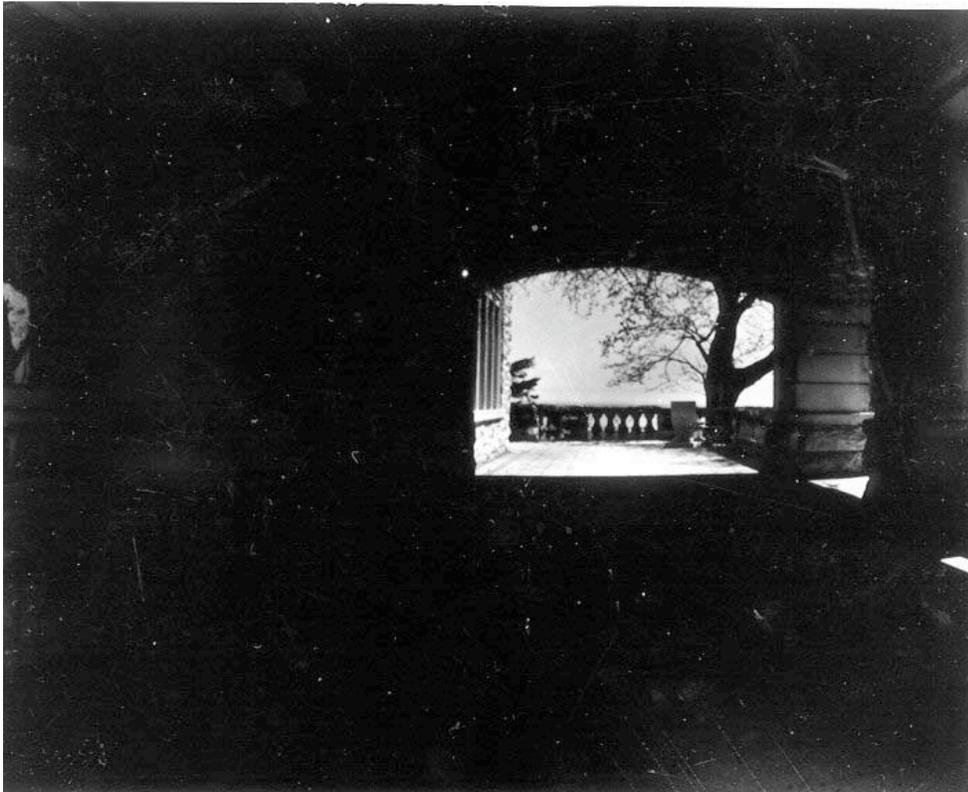
Before Photography: The Requisite Technology & Chemistry

The invention of photography involved the connection of three elements. The first element was the camera obscura which, as we have noted, was known and used by artists for centuries. We have already seen that Leonardo da Vinci wrote about the camera obscura in his

notebooks. He described a darkened room with a small hole to let in the sunlight, in essence a pinhole camera obscura. We don't know if da Vinci used the pinhole camera obscura as an aid in image-making in the sixteenth century but, as we saw in Chapter 4, art historians are certain that Jan Vermeer used one in the seventeenth century. And camera obscuras were popular artists' tools by the eighteenth century.

[SIDEBAR: Artists today continue to employ the pinhole camera as a tool for image-making. California photographer Cheryl Marie Dullabaun builds pinhole cameras from empty oatmeal boxes by piercing a hole in one end of the box and placing film inside the opposite end. Then she aims the box-camera at a subject, removes the cover from over the pinhole, and waits until the film is exposed. She then processes the film using traditional darkroom techniques

(5.4).]



5.4 Cheryl Marie Dullabaun.

The second element was the chemistry that allowed an image projected by light to be permanently fixed. The chemistry anticipated photography's invention by some time as well. In the early 1600s, Angelo Sala observed that powdered nitrate of silver blackened when exposed to the sun. At the same time, Robert Boyle noted that silver chloride turned dark when exposed (although he mistakenly thought it was exposure to air rather than light.) Then in 1727, Johann Heinrich Schulze reported that certain liquids change color when exposed to light. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Thomas Wedgwood, designer of the porcelains that bear his family name, was conducting experiments that allowed him to capture silhouette images—but he couldn't make them permanent.

The third element necessary for the invention of photography was the development of photographic vision. We have examined many steps that led to the development of this vision. Let us look at further examples, to expand the discussion.

Before Photography: Painting Helps Invent the Language of Photography

Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543) created an astonishingly optical image in his 1533 portrait of *Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve (The Ambassadors, 5.5)*. The painting appears so “real” that even details, enlarged several times over in printed reproductions, sustain close examination.

David Hockney notes that the lute in the center of the composition recalls the lute in Durer's illustration for his 1525 perspective book, *Man Drawing a Lute* (see **3.35**). Holbein could have used a device like Durer's to create the lute, but the globe and music book presented different visual problems. Hockney suggests Holbein may have used “a lens to project the image of the book and the other three-dimensional objects onto a flat surface and trace the now two-

dimensional, projected shapes.”⁶ The use of projective technology is most obvious when the distorted human skull in the bottom of the painting is considered.



5.5 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve (The Ambassadors)*, 1533.

Holbein painted the impressively realistic double portrait a century before Jan Vermeer used the camera obscura in Holland, but descriptions of the technology had been available for some time: Francis Bacon, it will be remembered, had written on optics as early as 1268.

Whatever tool(s) Holbein used—or didn't use—he created an image that appears, today, very much like a large color photograph.

In view of all this, and especially in view of Vermeer's achievement discussed earlier, it is surprising that photography was not discovered long before the nineteenth century. The camera obscura of Vermeer's day lacked only film to become a photographic camera. Scientists discovered early in the eighteenth century that silver nitrate darkened when exposed to sunlight, but applying this knowledge to the making of film for the camera obscura took more than a hundred years longer.

Peter Galassi, curator of photography at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, has put forth a convincing argument to explain this delay. Photography, according to Galassi, could not be invented until Western artists had already begun to paint in the language of photography. Only then could the precise kind of images produced by photography be considered meaningful and valuable.

What precisely was the language of photography referred to by Galassi? It was the initial (and, as Sontag has shown, very naïve) view that the photograph presented a visually uncomposed, accidental (untampered -with) view of reality. That is, the camera did not seem to (by itself) tamper with reality; it seemed to simply take a picture of what was already there.

Up until the late eighteenth century, even the most objective artists—like Holbein and Vermeer—composed or manipulated the elements of the view they were recording. Holbein added the distended skull. Vermeer not only moved furniture and placed figures into balanced compositions, he added visual data—like the “circles of confusion”—that were not really there. The purpose of art was precisely to improve upon nature. Art “humanized” nature; it did not

passively record it. The totally objective images produced by the photographic camera generally do not have this sense of composition that was considered to be an essential element of art.

Other Photographic Painters before 1839

Vermeer and Holbein were not the only artists to anticipate photographic vision. Galassi has collected a large number of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century paintings that are remarkable in their totally uncomposed and objective point of view: the point of view of photography. Thomas Jones's *A Wall in Naples* (c. 1782) is a tiny painting that has no hint of the traditional concern for composition (5.6). What it does have is a remarkable and almost photographic concern for detail, for example the stain left from water running down the wall from the porch. This painting carries an incredibly photographic quality. It is so much like a snapshot that is difficult for us to imagine how totally new it was in the 1780s.



5.6 Thomas Jones, *A Wall in Naples*, c.1782.



5.7 John Constable, *Study of Clouds and Trees*, 1821.

Other paintings at this time were producing similarly uncomposed images; another fitting example is John Constable's *Study of Clouds and Trees* (1821, 5.7). Brunelleschi had used silver foil above his painting of the Baptistry of Florence when he announced his invention of linear perspective. Constable's painting of clouds symbolizes not only the threshold of a new stage in

the mechanization of art but also the completion of a new objective mentality. The artist asserted, “I hope to show that our profession as painters is scientific as well as poetic...”⁷

One of the most important artist to see and paint in the language of photography was **J.A.D. Ingres** (1780-1867, **5.8**), star pupil of Jacques Louis David.

Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres: Academic Painting before Photography



5.8 J.A.D. Ingres, *Self-Portrait*.

Academy is reflected in the fact that, of the 410 artists represented in the Salon of 1808, fifty were women.

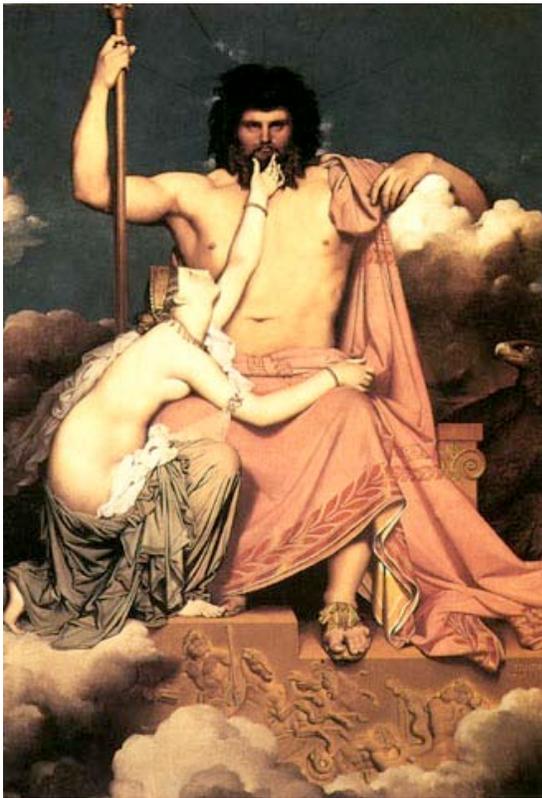
After Napoleon’s fall, Ingres took over as director of the Academy. Following the example of David under Napoleon, Ingres produced paintings that glorified the center of power in the new social order: the middle class (bourgeoisie). The Academy and its Salon system thus had had a long history as the main force in French art by the time photography became an artistic concern in 1839.

David had given the Academy a more democratic form during the French Revolution. He also opened up the Salons, so that the number of exhibited works during the Revolution swelled from several hundred to several thousand. David further revised the Academy and Salon system under Napoleon, continuing the progress toward openness initiated earlier. The relatively increased democratic tenor of the

The paintings of Ingres reveal how the photograph, when it publicly appeared in 1839, could fit right into the Academic style of painting and ultimately become its chief rival.

Ingres & Academic Painting: Classicizing the Middle Class

Academic painting in the early decades of the nineteenth century provides a particularly significant picture of how the bourgeoisie saw the world, and themselves. One of the most important needs of the politically dominant middle class was for validation of its new position of power. The newly arrived businessmen and industrialists wanted to appear as a direct extension of the traditional society they had overturned and replaced. Since scenes from classical mythology and history had been the main themes of traditional aristocratic painting, Ingres used similar themes to “classicize,” so to speak, the bourgeoisie. Academic paintings thus had the icon function of portraying the middle class as the heroic element maintaining the new social order.



5.9 Ingres, *Jupiter and Thetis*, 1811.

The use of classical and mythological themes by Ingres, however, lacked the political fervor—let alone the revolutionary impact and message—of David’s early historical and mythological works. David intended his paintings to electrify the public without enthusiasm for new political possibilities. The retellings of classical myths by Ingres functioned more like comfortable, dreamy props or set decorations for the stage now securely occupied by the middle class.

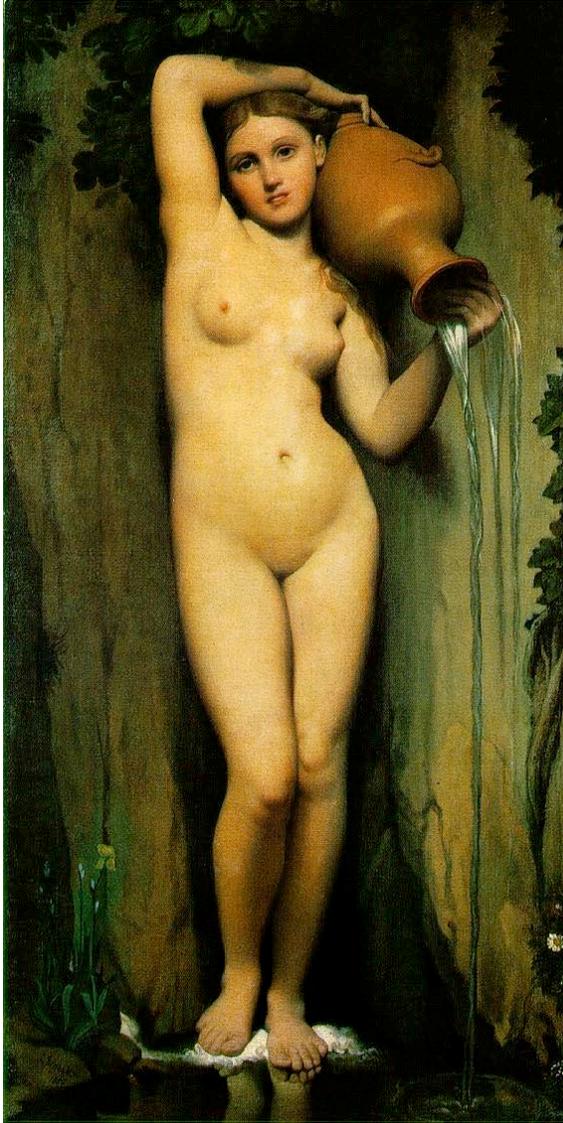
In a painting like Ingres' *Jupiter and Thetis* (1811, **5.9**), for instance, the refined technique failed to cover up the cardboard mythological decoration underneath. Only the photographically factual appearance and the polished, neat surface related to the unrelenting pragmatism that was the true strength of his middle-class sponsors.

The bourgeoisie was comforted by Ingres's rehearsal of traditional gender roles in the painting: Jupiter is large, central, and frontal, dominating the composition; Thetis is smaller, placed to the side, and much smaller in scale. She clings to Jupiter, as if needing his strength to sustain her, and reaches up to stroke his beard, as if needing his approval.

Ingres exhibited his paintings at the Academy Salons in Paris, where they were viewed by people from all over the Western world (**5.10**). People traveled from far and wide to attend; the Academy Salon was the big visual culture event of the year. There were so many paintings that artists had to compete for people's attention. Ingres solicited the attention of wealthy patrons using some of the same devices used by advertisers today. In an effort to make their ads to stand out in the tsunami of images that constantly flood over us, many advertisers deploy female beauty and sexuality in eroticized compositions.



5.10 Ingres, *Grand Odalisque*.



5.11 Ingres, *La Source*, 1856.

Ingres's *La Source* (5.11) portrays a young woman standing in a forest clearing with a large vase balanced on her shoulder. Ostensibly, she is a portrait of one of the classical Muses, the female embodiments of artistic inspiration who were linked with springs as their own sources. In reality, of course, Ingres's figure is a full frontal nude displayed for the consuming gaze of presumably heterosexual male viewers.

Young and lovely, her body is as flawless as any air-brushed or digitally manipulated image of a fashion model today. According to the standards of the Academy, such nude images were acceptable precisely because they were unreal; they were idealized,

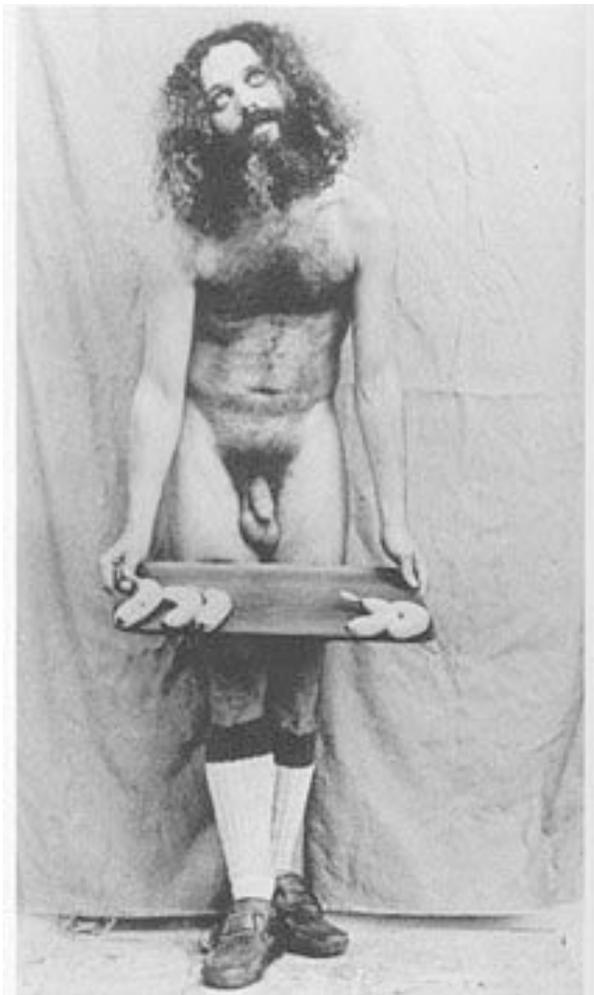
distanced by time and elevated as mythological figures.

Nineteenth century pornographic photographs were not acceptable for public viewing because they were too closely linked to the real, because they weren't idealized, distanced or mythologized. Nonetheless, such photographs were embedded in the same system that produced the art and thereby embodied many of the same cultural values. An anonymous nineteenth century photograph titled *Achetez des Pommes* (*Buy Some Apples*, 5.12) portrays a frontally nude woman whose body and facial expression seem to echo those of Ingres's *La Source*. Both the

painted and photographed women have body types favored by nineteenth century taste and blank, vacuous expressions that empty them of any subjectivity. That the photographed woman is intended to be “consumed” by the male gaze is confirmed by her pose: she carries a tray of apples at chest level so that her breasts are compared to the ripe fruit being offered as a commodity. To understand how such images are gender specific, all we have to do—as art historian Linda Nochlin so famously pointed out—is compare *Buy Some Apples* to a photograph of a nude male with part of his body similarly compared to fruits: *Buy Some Bananas* (5.13).



5.12 Anon., *Buy Some Apples*, no date.



5.13 Linda Nochlin, *Buy Some Bananas*, 1972.

Portraits by Ingres: The Faces of the Middle Class

The most impressive paintings by Ingres were not the classical “Salon machines” (paintings done for Salon competition) but his brilliant portraits of upper middle class society. (Indeed his salon paintings can be seen as demonstrations of his skills, as promotional pieces advertising his considerable pictorial abilities that served to secure commissions from his middle class audience.)

Ingres’s portrait of Madame Moitessier (1851, **5.14**) presents a person whose eminently self-satisfied expression was highly representative of the successful middle class and its values. The painter’s style brilliantly expresses the middle-class quest for propriety and order. His style is a study in the restraint prized by the middle class: every form had its clear outline; nothing is left to chance; emotion, when it appears, is sheltered below a surface as controlled and polished as a mirror. The factual clarity of his style also stresses the middle class love for fact, a love that was to find even more fulfillment in the photograph.



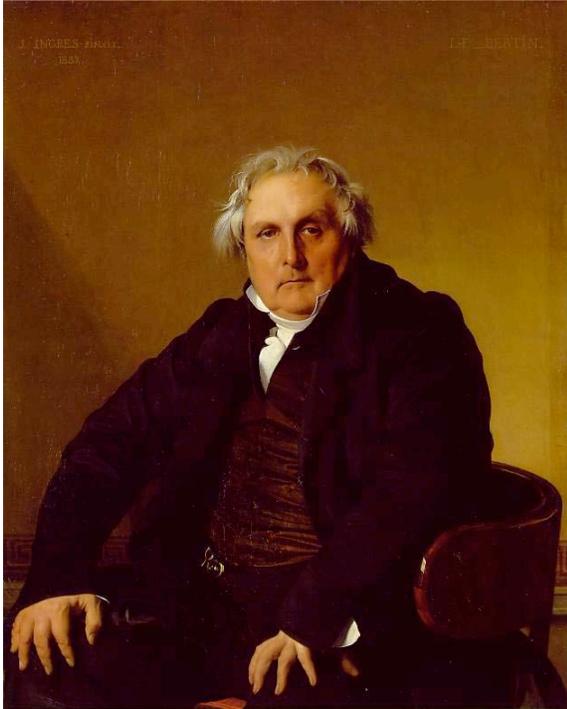
5.14 Ingres, *Madame Moitessier*, 1851.

The portrait of Madame Moitessier shows the painter’s skill at rendering an almost photographic likeness. Like an airbrushed yearbook photograph, however, the features gave little hint of personal character or feeling. Ingres framed the smoothed-out face and plump but dainty hands with a properly sober background and color scheme tastefully relieved by hints of wealth in the jewelry and the clothing.

The iconic experience of Ingres' paintings is seen in his portrait of Comtesse d'Haussonville (1845, **5.15**). One has no way of knowing that this beautiful lady was an aristocrat—in contrast to the middle-class Madame Moitessier—unless one reads the title of the painting. Academic painting illustrated and enforced the new social reality: the dethroned aristocracy imitated the fashionable dress of the upper middle class, the new aristocracy of industrial capitalism.



5.15 Ingres, *Comtesse d'Haussonville*, 1845.



5.16 Ingres, *Louis Francois Bertin*, 1832.

Ingres' brilliant depiction of the newspaper editor Louis Francois Bertin (1832, **5.16**) added a different dimension to his portrait of the middle class. Bertin was not shown enjoying the role and the rewards of the new culture: instead, he looks at us with a face and posture that expresses that restlessness to do, to accomplish, that is the mark of the technological mentality at the center of the middle class outlook on life. It

is easy to sense his impatience to get the sitting over with so he can move on to something more useful.

Thus Ingres presented a kind of double portrait of the middle class: the mythic paintings, heroic but sentimentalized, show their pretensions and aspirations; the portraits show their proudly practical, energetic side, the real strength of the new middle-class social order. It is important to note that Ingres continued rehearsing traditional gender roles in his portraits: while Bertin is portrayed as a dynamic man of action, the two women whose images we have discussed were portrayed as beautiful and frankly rather passive objects to be looked at.

Ingres & the Camera Lucida

Ingres's many portraits attest to how desperately middle class people wanted images of their faces, a privilege formerly available only to the aristocracy. As Hockney notes, Ingres was in the image-making business. He would have used any tool at hand to increase his productivity and enhance the realism that his middle class clients sought in their portraits.

One of the tools Ingres may have employed was the camera lucida (5.17). Invented around 1807, the camera lucida is simply a four-sided prism mounted on a flexible metal stem. When an artist looks through the prism at a subject, it appears that an image of the subject is projected on a piece of paper

placed below the prism. The image is virtual, not actual, but if the artist remains still so that the subject is viewed from exactly the same position, the image can be traced. Camera lucida-generated drawings are said to have “intense, almost photographic particularity.”⁸



5.17 The camera lucida in use.

In fact, it was his suspicions that many of Ingres’ lines were traced rather than eye-balled, that led Hockney into his investigation of artists’ use of projective technologies. When he compared a portrait drawing by Ingres (5.18) with Holbein’s drawing of Sir Thomas More’s son John (5.19), he realized the quality of the line was similar; perhaps Holbein used projective technology to generate this image as well.⁹

As Hockney notes, no matter what tools artists use, they still must employ their creative skills to develop compositions and execute images. “To suggest that artists used optical devices...is not to diminish their achievements...it makes them all the more astounding...optics do not make marks, they cannot make paintings. Paintings and drawings are made by hand.”¹⁰



5.18 Ingres, *The Violinist Baillet*.

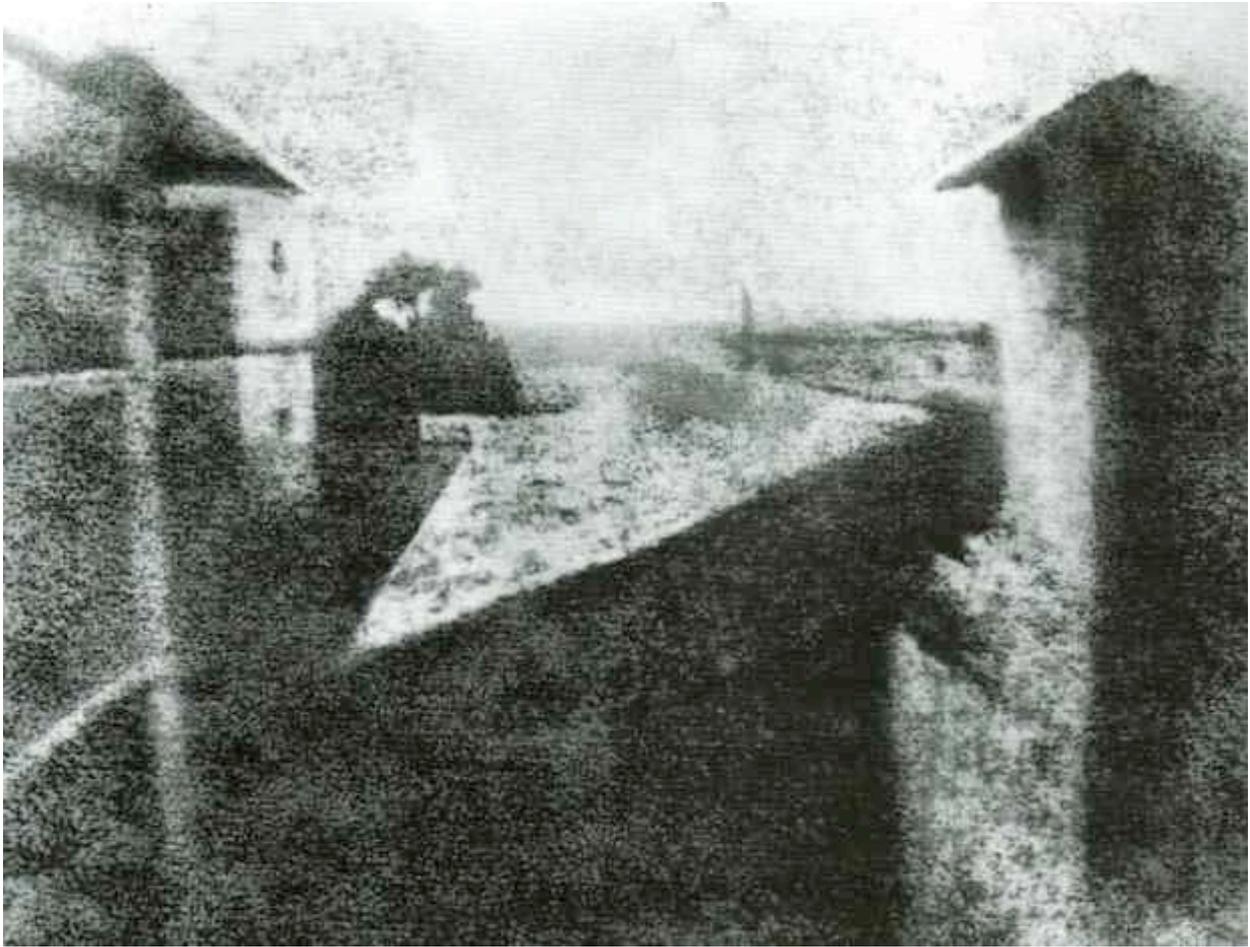


5.19 Holbein, *John More*.

Even as Ingres was creating impressive portraits based on his extraordinary skills in painting and drawing, other artists were beginning to experiment with processes that would allow natural light to “draw” images. Their experiments led to the invention of photography. In fact, the term photography--popularized by Sir John Herschel--combines the Greek words for light (*phos*) and writing (*graphein*) to indicate the process whereby the light of the sun was employed to write or draw an image.

The Invention of Photography: Niepce & Daguerre

Frenchman **Joseph Nicéphore Niepce** (1765-1833) may have created the first fixed photographic image in the summer of 1827. His fuzzy, awkward composition of village rooftops required an eight-hour exposure (5.20). Two years later, he met **Louis Daguerre** (1787-1851) and the two men formed a partnership.



5.20 Joseph Nicéphore Niépce.

Daguerre heard about Niépce through their mutual lens maker, who provided necessary equipment for both men's camera obscuras. Daguerre, a former stage designer, used the camera obscura to generate perspective images for his special effects theater in Paris.

In 1822, Daguerre built the theater, which he called a **diorama**, with Charles Marie Bouton, a former student of Jacques Louis David. The Diorama presented 30-minute shows involving various lighting effects projected over 45' by 71' canvases. Audiences of up to 350 sat in an auditorium that rotated from one immense scene to another. The Diorama was so popular that similar theaters were soon erected in other European cities: Berlin, Cologne, Dublin, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Stockholm, etc. Daguerre's original Diorama theater burned down and none of his huge diorama paintings survives, but we do have a contemporary

description of the spectacle that culminates: “The magic of this effect of light is indeed most extraordinary, and the illusion is complete and enchanting.”¹¹

Daguerre’s partnership with Niepce promised to help him develop tools to further the realism of his Diorama paintings. Little did he realize that he would transform the image-making possibilities of Western culture.

Although Niepce died in 1833, Daguerre continued experimenting and eventually reduced the exposure time to 30 minutes. In 1839, Daguerre announced his photographic process—a process he modestly called **daguerreotype**—to the French public. One of Daguerre’s early images was shot from his Paris studio window, looking down at the street below (5.21).

Because



5.21 Daguerre, *Parisian Boulevard*, 1839.

the exposure time for early daguerreotypes was so long, Daguerre did not capture the images of any of the people or carriages moving in the streets. The only human figure visible is the man standing on the corner, getting his shoes shined. Apparently, he stood and talked to the shoeshine boy just long enough to be one of the first people ever photographed. (The shoeshine boy moved around his client while working, so his image was not fixed.)

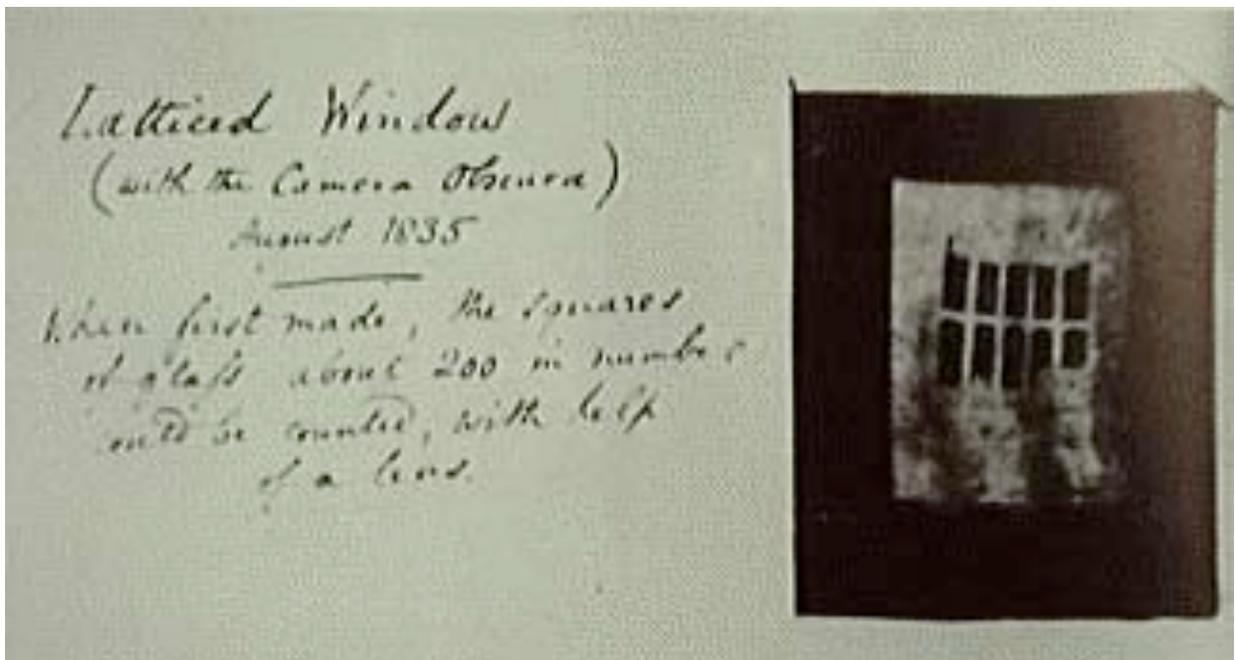
Daguerreotype images were shockingly real. Sometimes this very reality instilled fear. French novelist Honore de Balzac reportedly resisted being photographed because he was afraid of the camera's magical powers to somehow diminish its subjects. Paris photographer Nadar wrote that Balzac "concluded that every time someone had his photograph taken, one of the spectral layers was removed from the body and transferred to the photograph. Repeated exposures entailed the unavoidable loss of subsequently ghostly layers, that is, the very essence of life."¹²

Other viewers responded with embarrassment. As Carl Cauthendey, the first professional daguerreotypist in St. Petersburg, wrote, "People were afraid at first to look for any length of time at the pictures he produced. They were embarrassed by the clarity of these figures and believed that the little, tiny faces of the people in the pictures could see out at them, so amazing did the unaccustomed detail and the unaccustomed truth to nature of the first daguerreotypes appear to everyone."¹³

The daguerreotype technique had several drawbacks. It produced a one of a kind image, a positive image on a metal support, and it involved the use of highly toxic chemicals, including hot mercury.

The Invention of Photography: Talbot

It was Englishman **William Henry Fox Talbot** (1800-1877) who invented the positive/negative photographic process that allows multiple original images. Talbot had used the camera lucida, but been frustrated by his lack of drawing skills. “(In) October, 1833, I was amusing myself on the lovely shores of the Lake of Como in Italy, making sketches with a camera lucida, or rather, I should say, attempting to make them; but with the smallest possible amount of success...After various fruitless attempts I laid aside the instrument and came to the conclusion that its use required a previous knowledge of drawing which unfortunately I did not possess...I then thought of trying again a method which I had tried many years before. This method was to take a camera obscura and to throw the image of the objects on a piece of paper in its focus—fairy pictures, creations of a moment, and destined as rapidly to fade away...It was during these thoughts that the idea occurred to me...”¹⁴

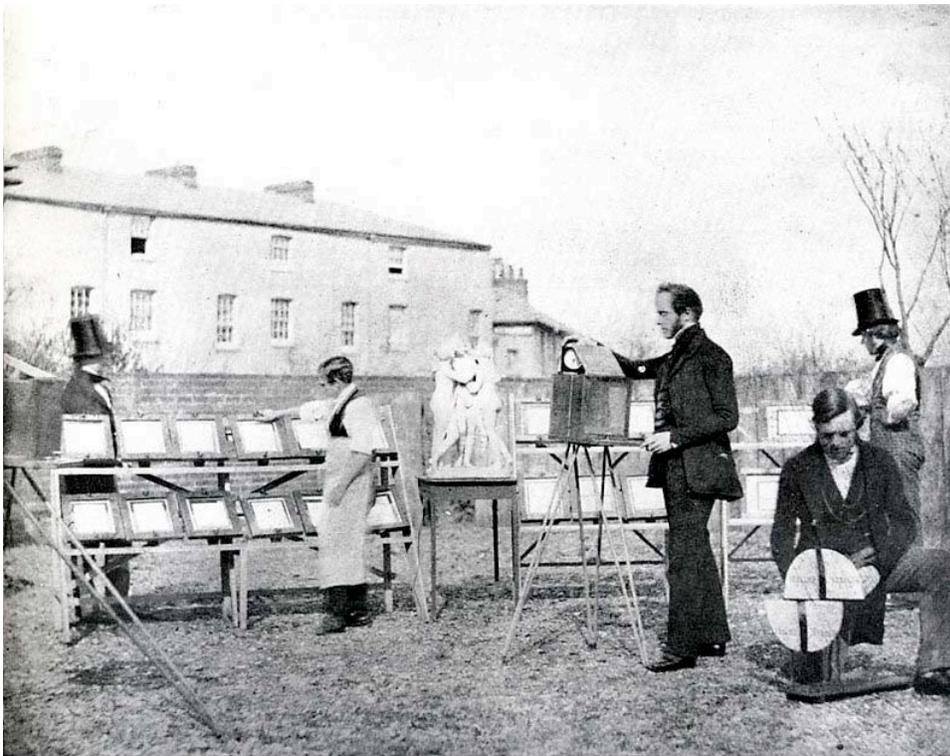


5.22 William Henry Fox Talbot, *Latticed Window*, 1835.

By 1835, Talbot had used the camera obscura to create a negative image of a window of his home at Lacock Abbey, in Wiltshire (5.22). He inserted the image in his journal and wrote,

beside it: “Latticed Window (with the camera obscura) August 1835. When first made, the squares of glass about 200 in number could be counted, with help of a lens.” Talbot realized he could create a positive image by essentially making a photograph of the negative. Only a few weeks after Daguerre’s announcement in France, William Henry Fox Talbot announced to the Royal Institution of London that he had discovered a method of “photogenic drawing.” He called his process the Calotype, from the Greek *kalos* for beautiful.

Five years later, Talbot published *The Pencil of Nature*, the first commercial book illustrated with actual photographs. In order to make all the prints for the book, he set up a photographic processing studio (5.23).



5.23 Talbot, photographic processing studio in Reading, England, ca. 1845.

Later in his life, Talbot assessed his contribution: “I do not profess to have perfected an art but to have commenced one, the limits of which it is not possible at present exactly to ascertain.”¹⁵ Even today we can’t ascertain the limits of photography.

As soon as Daguerre and Talbot published their photographic inventions, a host of others from all over the world—as far away as Brazil and Norway—claimed to have produced fixed images before 1839. The “most luckless pioneer” was Parisian clerk **Hippolyte Bayard**, who exhibited thirty of his photographs in July 1839. His technique produced one-of-a-kind direct positives based on the chemical reactions of silver chloride, potassium iodide and sunlight.

Overlooked by both the authorities and the public, Bayard protested the inequities of history in his 1840 image, *Self-Portrait of a Drowned Man* (5.24). On the back of the print he wrote: “The body you see is that of Monsieur Bayard...The Academy, the King, and all who have seen his pictured admired them, just as you do. Admiration brought him prestige, but not a sou. The Government, which gave M. Daguerre so much, said it could do nothing for M. Bayard, and the wretch drowned himself.”¹⁶ Since the man

who photographed and commented was obviously still alive, the image is a misrepresentation, one of the earliest proofs that photographs do not always “tell the truth.” As one photographer has commented, it is important to remember what an extraordinarily slippery liar the camera is.



5.24 Bayard, *Self-Portrait of a Drowned Man*, 1840

The photograph has developed such a complex history that it is difficult to appreciate that it arrived in perfect timing with the emergence of the machinelike social order of the Industrial Revolution. Like the new coal- and steam-powered machines of the day, the camera seemed to tap directly into the energies of the machine cosmos and produce a perspective image. This

image—as Daguerre said in his speech to the French Assembly upon receiving the patent for the daguerreotype process—“was produced by nature herself.”¹⁷

Photographs were images, in the disgruntled words of French art critic Charles Baudelaire, produced “as if the human being were not there.”¹⁸ To some, it seemed to make human artists obsolete.

Yet we know that photography did not make art or artists obsolete. The creative eye of the artist had helped devise both the machines and the perspective language that ultimately produced photography. The photograph, instead of definitively solving the problem of art by creating “nature’s own images,” instead provoked a profound crisis—a crisis of realism in art.

Relationship between Photography & Art

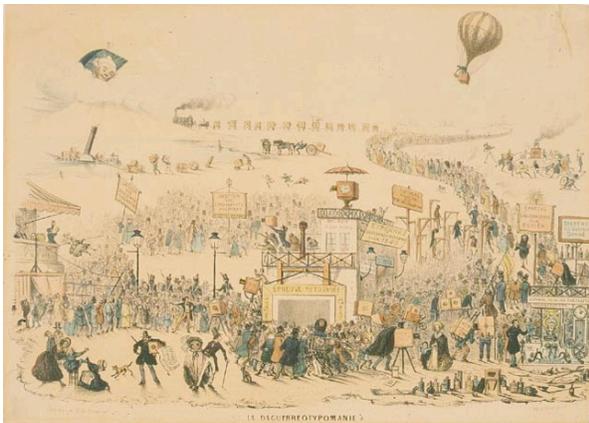
Baudelaire concluded, after reviewing the Salon in 1859 (which included a show of photographs), that the invention of photography had been a disaster. He saw photography as the perfect art form for the middle class, who approached technology and utility with an almost religious faith: “And now the faithful says to himself: ‘Since photography gives us every guarantee of exactitude that we could desire (they really believe that, the mad fools), then photography and art are the same thing.’ From that moment our squalid society rushed, Narcissus to a man, to gaze at its trivial image on a scrap of metal...

“Each day Art further diminishes its self-respect by bowing down before external reality; each day the painter becomes more and more given to painting not what he dreams but what he sees... Could you find an honest observer to declare that the invasion of photography and the great industrial madness of our times have not part at all in this deplorable result?”¹⁹

The photograph fulfills the dream, first implied by Brunelleschi’s painting of the Baptistry of Florence, of creating an optically exact picture of reality. It also echoes Roger

Bacon's medieval vision of pictures based on the "true geometry" of nature. Nevertheless, photography also presented a dilemma undreamed of by Brunelleschi: What is the role of art if a machine can produce such a realistic image? During the period between 1839 and 1905, Western artists struggled with this question, directly and indirectly. Their struggle generated two opposing kinds of response. One, that of Academic painting, used perspective to create an art that imitated the optical realism of photography. The other, avant-garde art, broke with the perspective tradition and began to create new artistic languages that ultimately opened up new views of reality as well as new forms of art.

Within a decade of its public patent, photography became a major enthusiasm—and business—in Paris. One contemporary cartoonist saw Paris swept away by "Daguerreotypomanie" as early as 1840 (5.25). By 1855 photography was included in the Paris World's Fair exhibition. By 1859 the Academy admitted photographs into the Salon, and by 1862 the French government officially declared, over the protests of the League of Artists Against Photography (led by Ingres), that photography was legally an art.



5.25 "Daguerreotypomanie," 1840.

Photography, the ultimate icon of fact, triumphed with remarkable speed. The challenge to artists was equally profound. Ingres, for instance, saw the arrival of the photograph as a threat to his fact-centered paintings and to the entire Academic

tradition he led. He called the new machine-produced images "faultographs."

Ingres and other Academic painters set a course of determined imitation of photographic illusion and detail. They never admitted that they used photographs as “sketches” of nature to aid them in their painting. In fact, the links between photography and Academic art were so ingrained that one photographic subject—the female nude—was labeled the *Academie* as early as 1841. Two years later, French photographer **N.M. P. Lerebours** wrote, “The first figures from the life that we took, two years ago, were so far successful, that the greater number are now in the hands of the most eminent artists. We intend soon to produce more.”²⁰

Academic painters still had three advantages over photography: color, size, and composition. By manipulating these elements, they kept their paintings “one step ahead” of the photograph throughout the nineteenth century.

The challenge of the photograph, however, came from more than its power of illusion and detail. The photograph produced a new experience of the world. The richness and complexity of the photographic experience, not just the technical perfection of photographic images, is what ultimately undermined the appeal of Academic art.

Academic Painting: Keeping a Step Ahead of the Photograph

The paintings of David and Ingres show the high level of optical realism achieved by Academic painting before the invention of photography. After 1839, Academic painters redoubled their determination to create detail in their paintings realistic enough to rival that of the small photographs of the mid-nineteenth century.

The attention to “photographic” detail in Academic painting after 1839 at times became obsessive. The Salon of 1861, for instance, exhibited a large number of battle scenes that provoked public criticism because of their close resemblance to photography. One editorial cartoon summed up the concern. Several elegantly framed battle scenes hung together on a wall.

Curling up from each canvas was a plume of smoke that floated out beyond the border of the frame (5.26).

One of the most popular battle scenes from that Salon was **Adolphe Yvon's** *The Battle of Solferino*. Paintings like this prompted the following comment from the contemporary art critic Theophile Gautier:

“One can guess from the crispness of the details, from the mathematically correct placing of the shadows, that he has taken the daguerreotype as a collaborator. The daguerreotype, which has not been named and which hasn't received any medal, has nonetheless done much work at the exhibition.”²¹



5.26 Adolphe Yvon, *The Battle of Solferino*, 1861.

Yvon's painting eventually took the art and photography controversy into the courtroom. The painter had used a photograph of Napoleon III on horseback as source for the central figure in the scene; the emperor had agreed to the photograph in order to avoid long hours of posing.

Yvon was infuriated, however, when the photographer began to sell copies of it and sued the photographer. Yvon claimed that the photograph was his alone because he had arranged for the sitting and had decided the pose. Yvon won the case.

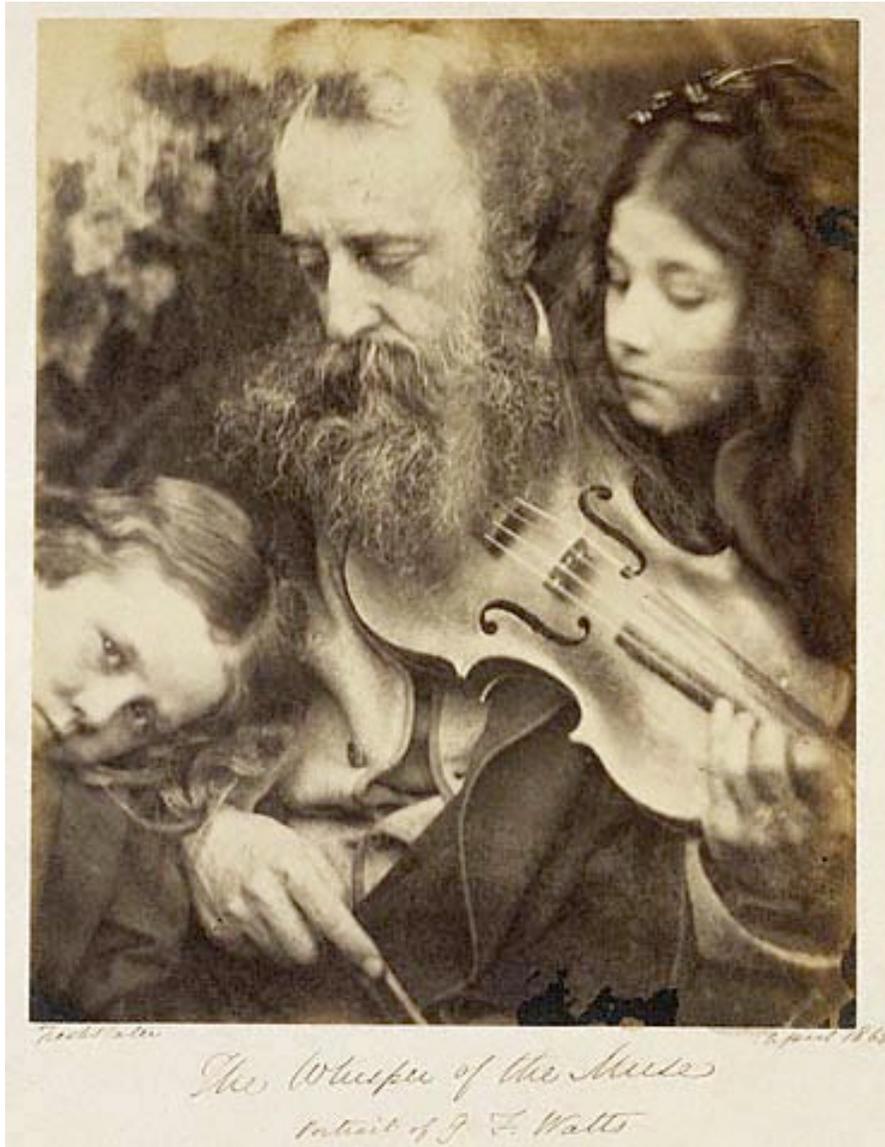
The Photography as Art Debate in the Nineteenth Century

Adophe Yvon's court case is only one instance in the still surviving debate over the relationship between art and photography. Although photography was developed in large part as a tool for artists—to help Daguerre with his perspective images, to assist Talbot who didn't have sophisticated drawing skills—the “Pencil of Nature” immediately challenged widely held assumptions about art making.

Some felt that photography should share the ambitions of Academic art. In 1861, British critic Jabez Hughes urged photographers to abandon the goal of simply recording the world as it was, and instead create images with the elevated goal of depicting beauty and moral good. Hughes wrote, “Hitherto photography has been principally content with representing Truth. Can its sphere not be enlarged? And may it not aspire to delineate Beauty, too? [Photographers need to produce pictures] whose aim is not merely to amuse, but to instruct, purify, and ennoble.”²² Hughes and many like him felt that photographic compositions had to be set up and photographic negatives aesthetically manipulated in order for the medium to enter the terrain of fine arts.

Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879) created elaborately staged and costumed pieces that “speak” the artistic idiom of British Academic painters of her day. She arranged friends and family members into *tableaux vivants* inspired by great works of literature, such as Alfred Lord Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. She also created scenes from religion and mythology with her nieces posed as angels and muses (5.27). Their poetic quality heightened by her use of soft focus, Cameron's photographs have a melancholy beauty that continues to appeal to modern viewers.

She wrote to her friend Sir John Herschel, “My aspirations are to ennoble Photography and to secure for it the character and uses of High Art by combining the real & ideal & sacrificing nothing of Truth by all possible devotion to Poetry & Beauty.”²³



5.27 Julia Margaret Cameron, *The Whisper of the Muse*, 1865.

Other practitioners felt that the artistically-trained eye could capture in “straight” photographs of the world as it existed in front of the lens. Among these was famed French photographer **Nadar** (1820-1910), who series of photographs published alongside invented the photo-essay in 1886 with a his interview with scientist Michel-Eugene

Chevreul on his 100th birthday (5.28).

(Although Nadar set up the shoot, his son Paul actually took the series of 21 photographs of Nadar conversing with the scientist.).



5.28 Paul Nadar, *Chevreul and Nadar*, 1886.

In 1857, in another trial that addressed the relationship between art and photography, Nadar argued that vision and technical control in themselves required artistic input. Never mind the manipulation. Nadar asserted: “The theory of photography can be taught in an hour; the first ideas of how to go about it in a day. What can’t be taught (so easily) ...is the feeling for light—the artistic appreciation of effects produced by different sources; it’s the understanding of this or that effect following the lines of the features which required your artistic perception...What is taught even less, is the immediate understanding of your subject—it’s this immediate contact which can put you in sympathy with the sitter, helps you to sum them up, follow their normal attitudes, their ideas, according to their personality, and enables you to make not just a chancy, dreary cardboard copy typical of the merest hack in the darkroom, but a likeness of the most intimate and happy kind...”²⁴

The Photograph: Icon of the Expanding World of Fact

Some of the complex experiences presented by the photograph became evident

in Nadar’s work and attitude. One of the earliest and most influential photographers

of the nineteenth century, Nadar was born Gaspard-Felix Tournachon and got his nickname from “*tourne a dard*” which refers to the “bitter sting” of the **caricatures** he had drawn before turning to photography in the 1840s.



5.29 Nadar, the first aerial photograph, 1858.

Nadar took to photography with the exuberance of a pioneer. After several failures, he succeeded in taking the first photographs of Paris from a balloon (1858, **5.29**). To a generation that witnessed live broadcasts of astronauts landing on the moon, or pictures of Jupiter beamed back to earth from a satellite, this might not seem terribly impressive. In the mid-nineteenth century, however, Nadar’s photograph epitomized the marvelous sense of freedom photography provided.

Since Nadar’s photograph enabled the ordinary person to gaze at Paris “from the sky” by merely looking at a photograph, why couldn’t the entire cosmos eventually yield equally informative and gratifying results? Nature was the Great Fact: the photograph made fact accessible to the human eye. All one need do was position the camera, focus the lens, and shoot.

Nadar’s aerial photograph of Paris showed how, through the photograph, the autonomous individual was now free to explore the universe where the camera might go.

Photography as Icon I: Enlarging Nature’s Self-Image

In many ways, however, the initial power of photography was easier to see in far simpler images than Nadar’s triumphant aerial view of Paris.



5.30 Anna Atkins, *Cyanotype*, 1853.

The plant image by **Anna Atkins** (1799-1871) projects the feeling of mystery in the idea of nature literally pressing its mark onto the photographic plate (5.30). In the 1840s and 1850s, Atkins used the cyanotype photographic process to make numerous images of botanical specimens. Atkins' images are quite simple, yet the delicately outlined networks of branches reveal detail unreachable by human art. For modern viewers, even after a century and a half of photography, each plant still seems

to have an almost miraculous presence in the photograph. It is somehow made visible, as Daguerre said, "by nature herself."

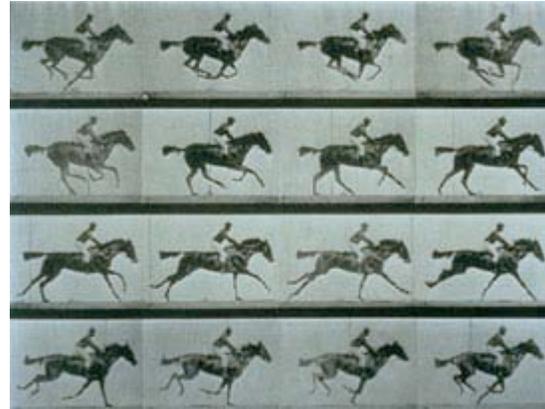
There is an inescapable poignancy in the equally early (anonymous) photograph of a human hand. This image, like similar images of the human hand traced onto the walls of prehistoric caves (see 2.1), shows the photograph continuing perhaps the oldest continual role of art in every form of culture: insistence of the presence and the importance of the human story within nature.

Photography not only yielded up enlargements of nature previously unseen by most human beings, it also presented enlargement of nature *unseeable* by the human eye. At first it presented close-ups of ordinary forms, like Anna Atkin's photographs of plants. Even

Leonardo's incredibly detailed drawings of natural forms seem vague by comparison. Later in the century,

Eadweard Muybridge photographed animals in motion (5.32), and beautiful photographs by Etienne-Jules Marey revealed the flight of birds in a single, fused sequence.

Photography began to provide not only a better, but an entirely new, vision of nature.



5.32 Eadweard Muybridge.

Photography as Icon II: The Experience of the Individual Human Face

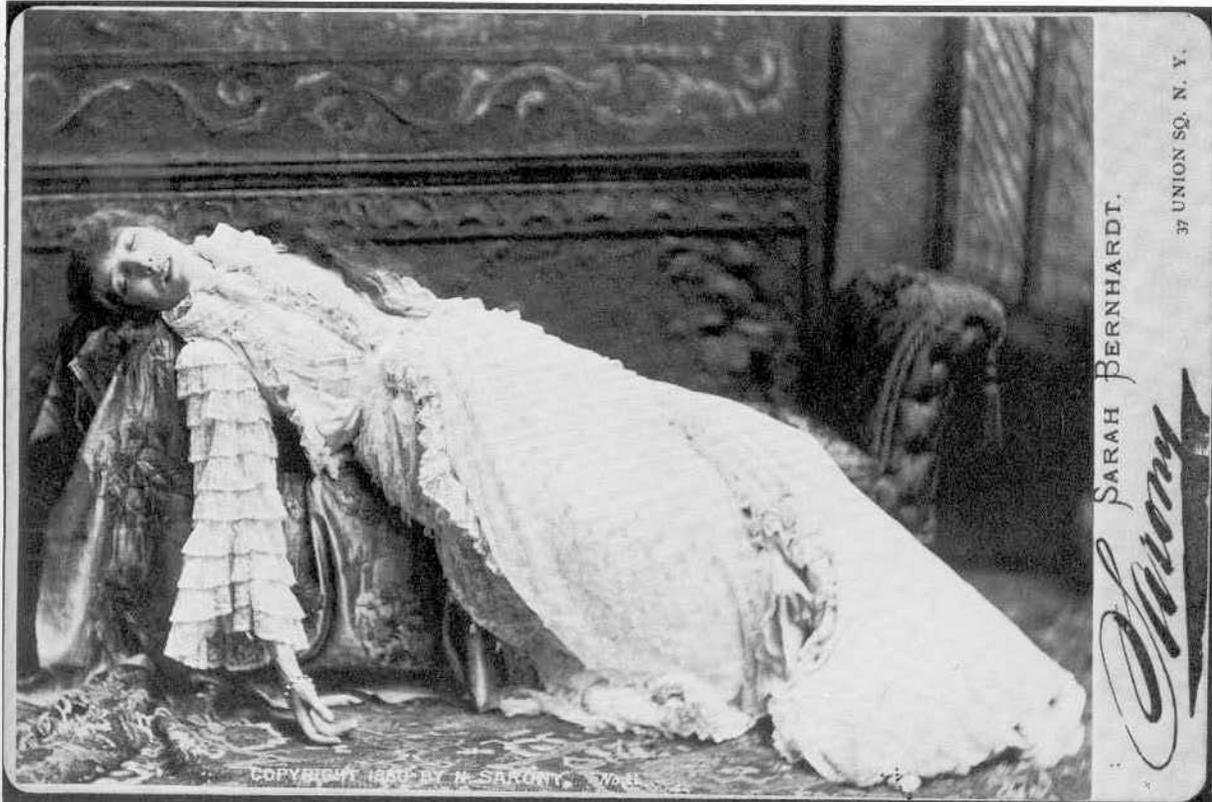
Nadar's adventuresome approach to photography made him the wealthiest and most sought-after portrait photographer of businessmen, industrialists, and politicians in Paris. It was his sensitive portraits of important figures in the Paris art world, however, that earned him a reputation as the century's first great photographer.



5.33 Nadar, *Portrait of*

Baudelaire.

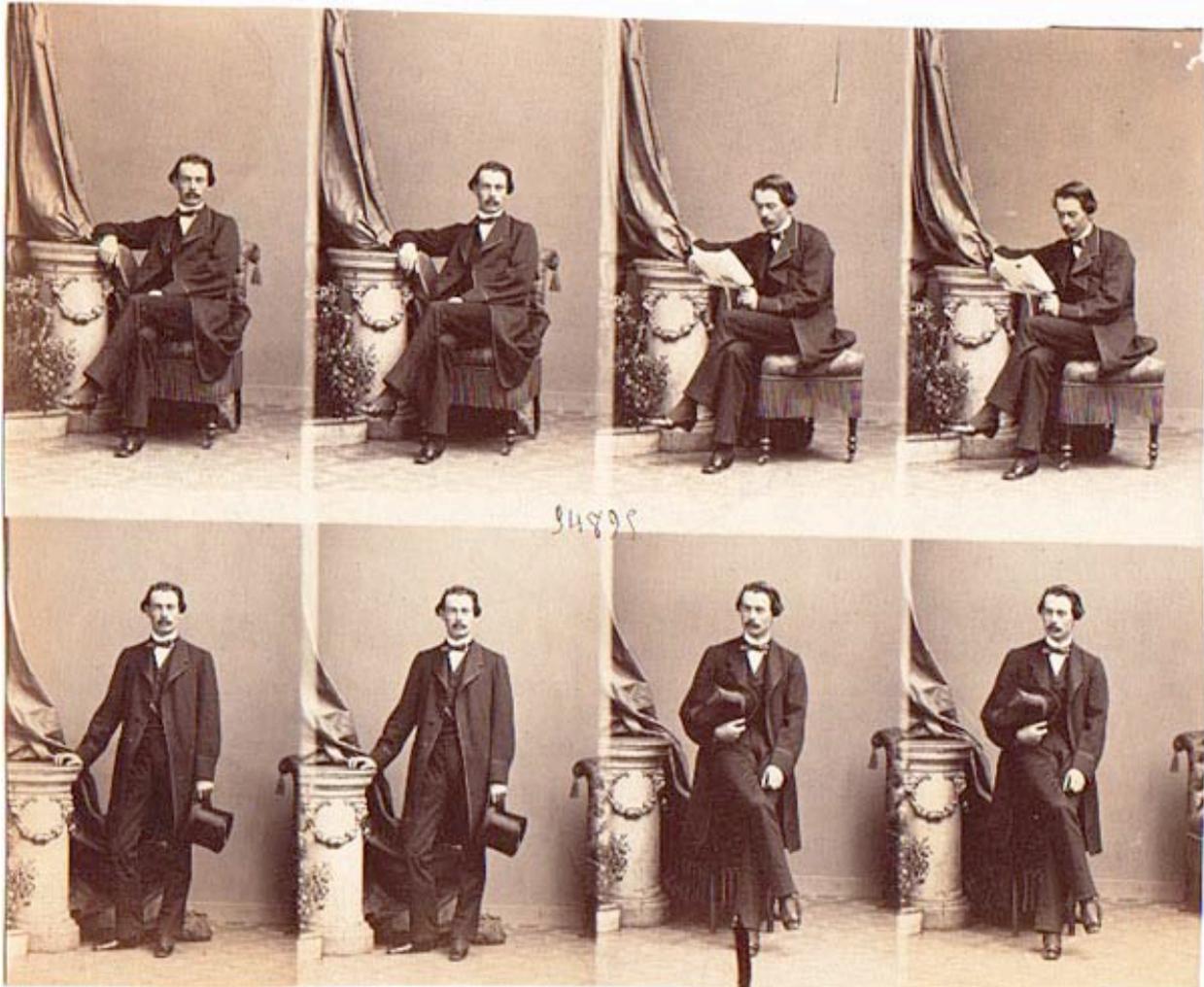
Nadar's portraits show an uncanny ability to suggest the sitter's unique qualities of personality. Among his portraits are photographs of Baudelaire (5.33) and Ingres. The great actress Sarah Bernhardt posed as Manon, a role in which she captivated Parisian audiences (5.34). The photograph captures the controlled and passionate intensity that made Bernhardt's private life as dramatic as the roles she played on stage.



5.34 Napoleon Sarony, *Sarah Bernhardt*, 1880.

The public responded enthusiastically to such portraits of famous people. In 1855, at Paris’s Great Industrial Exposition there were scores of such photographs of the rich and famous. Such a response is easily recognizable today: the photograph had created the “celebrity.” As photo historian Gisele Freund notes, “At the Exposition, the public gathered around the numerous photographs of important and famous people. Today it is hard to comprehend the impact of seeing for the first time, before one’s very eyes, the personalities one had only known and admired from afar.”²⁵

This experience quickly became more democratic. In the 1850s, the Paris photographer **Andre Disderi** (1819-ca. 1890) patented a process for producing small two-and-a-half-by-four-inch photographs (like passport photographs today), an inexpensive standardized format that enabled lower middle class people to have their pictures taken (5.35). This was perhaps the most important impact of photography: everyone got into the picture.



5.35 Andre Disderi, example of a carte-de-visite, ca. 1850s.

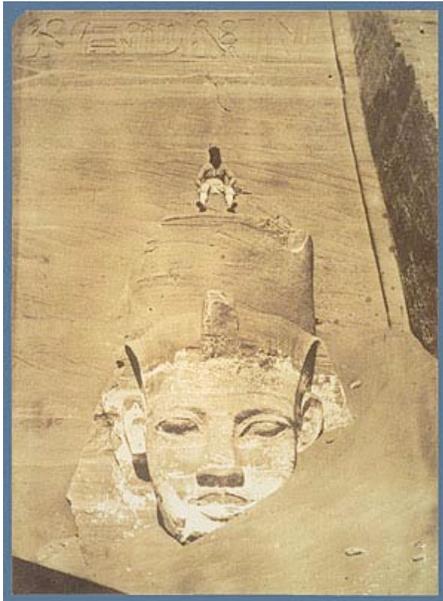
“Now, for a reasonable sum of money, a member of the economy-minded petite bourgeoisie could satisfy his desires both to emulate the rich and preserve his image for posterity.”²⁶

Photography not only put every man and woman (at least potentially) “into the picture,” it also gave the individual control over his or her presence in pictures for the first time. Presence in picture had always been a sacred, royal, or aristocratic privilege, or a privilege of the wealthy, that in each case implied (or asserted) a correspondingly important role in the social and/or cosmic hierarchy. With photography, everyone assumed a presence of potentially equal importance.

A photographic portrait inspired French philosopher Roland Barthes to write his last, and most popular book, *Camera Lucida*. Barthes was struck by a photograph of Napoleon’s youngest brother, and realized “I am looking at eyes that looked at the Emperor.”²⁷ His fascination with the image led Barthes to investigate the nature of photography. He concluded that the essence of the photographic image was what he termed the *That-has-been*. “[I]n Photography I can never deny that *the thing has been there*. There is a superimposition here: of reality and of the past...it is Reference, which is the founding order of Photography...what I see has been here...”²⁸

The past is captured in photography; the dead live again. Many of us are, like Barthes, fascinated by photographs of dead people. Although actually absent, they have a presence in the image.

Photography as Icon III: Pictures of the Enlarged Humanity of Culture



5.36 Maxime du Camp, *The Colossus of Abu-Simbel, Nubia, 1850*.

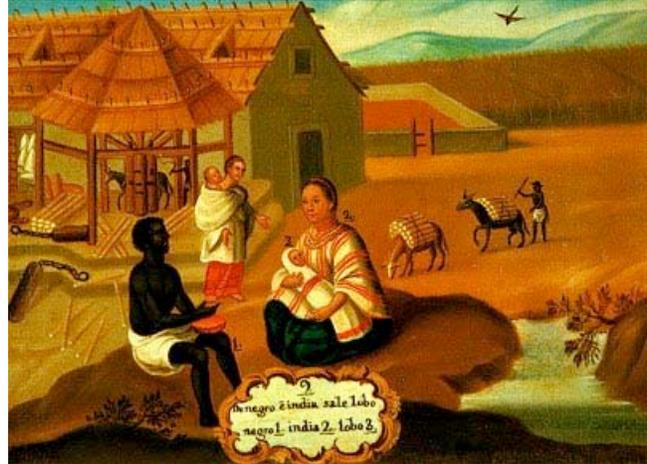
Photography moved on and increased its scope and its ability to record detail decade by decade throughout the nineteenth century. Everyone, through photographs, could see the Alps, the Nile (5.36), and the Amazon. Exotic glimpses of China, Africa, and the Near East both startled and amused European viewers. Wealthier individuals found themselves in a whole new kind of picture—the tourist snapshot—in which nature and history posed as the background for the proud individual featured as the central attraction.

But as American critic Craig Owens reminds us, “Representation, then, is not—nor can it be—neutral; it is an act—indeed the founding act—of power in our culture.”²⁹ When

nineteenth century Europeans traveled to other continents to photograph the people and places, they were not innocent of European beliefs and values. The nineteenth century was a time of European colonial control throughout Africa, Asia and the Americas. The colonializing impulse reflected in their image-making practices had a long history, as can be seen in Spanish *castas* paintings (5.37A-F).



A. "Of Spaniard and Mestiza, a Castiza."



B. "Of Black and Indian, a Lobo."



C. "Of Spaniard and Mulatta, a Morisca."



D. "Of Spaniard and Black, a Mulatto."



E. "Of Black and Mulatta, a Sambo."



F. "Of Indian and Mestiza, a Coyote."

When Spain conquered Mexico in the early sixteenth century, it established a colony that became increasingly racially mixed. The Native American peoples—already remarkably diverse in themselves—married and had children with Spaniards, with Africans who had been imported as slaves, and with immigrant Asians. In order to effect bureaucratic control of the *mestizo* (mixed) populace, the Spaniards developed a system of *castas* (castes or classes) ranked according to racial mix. The most highly ranked and privileged, of course, were the Spaniards themselves. The darkest, least European people had the least status and fewest rights in the society. Spanish artists codified this cultural hierarchy in *castas* paintings that configured the permutations of racial mix across a grid. Each possible pairing, say Indian man and African woman, was portrayed with their offspring in appropriate clothing for their class. Often they were shown performing what were considered appropriate tasks. *Castas* paintings were some of the first systematized depictions of racial categories. They reflected institutionalized prerogatives aligned according to racial stereotyping.

Although not as overtly systematized, nineteenth century photographs of the Other reflect continuing European beliefs in the essential differences between human beings according to their race and class identities. For example, when Julia Margaret Cameron traveled to India with her

husband, she portrayed the native people in a notably different manner than she had her upper class friends and family in England (**5.38A-B**). Anonymous and objectified, the East Indian people in Cameron's photographs are one-dimensional "types" rather than fully human individuals.



5.38A Cameron, "an Indian woman."



5.38B Cameron, "a close friend," (Sir Herschel).

Nineteenth century photographs of Africans are perhaps the most telling. As Nicholas Mirzoeff notes, "The creation of the imperial nations of the late nineteenth century involved forgetting the Africa of the Atlantic slavery period [when many Africans had adopted European ways] and reinventing it as an untouched wilderness."³⁰ During the nineteenth century, Africa became to "Dark Continent" and its "primitive" inhabitants became grist for the new mills of anthropology, the academic discipline that created "a visualized system of cultural difference."³¹ Not only cultural artifacts, but also Africans themselves were exhibited in Natural History Museums. Europeans enforced their feelings of cultural superiority with assertions of moral

superiority, testifying that the “savage” Africans were “given over to cannibalism, human sacrifice judgments by poison, fetishism, wars of plunder, slavery, polygamy, polyandry and deprived of all unity in government, science, writing, and medicine...”³² (Interestingly, the Spanish conquerors had accused the Aztecs of the very same “atrocities” in order to justify the ravages of colonial domination in the sixteenth century.)

Albert Lloyd’s 1899 photograph *Bishop Tucker and Pygmy Lady* portrays a British missionary in colonial attire, flanked by a Mbuti woman on his right. He has his left arm around a Mbuti boy who leans up against Tucker in what appears to be a familial embrace. As Mirzoeff notes, this “transgressive relationship” must be questioned. “Were Tucker and the Mbuti woman the father and mother of the child? Are they both his children? The facts of this case are now unknowable, but visually this is a family group, carefully posed in front of Tucker’s tent to suggest a curious version of Victorian domesticity.”³³ Such domesticity—if that is what is portrayed in Lloyd’s photograph—would have been limited to the “Dark Continent.” Victorian England would never have accepted Bishop Tucker with a Mbuti wife and child.

Depictions of relationships across racial lines were not the only troubling images brought home by the photograph. By the middle of the nineteenth century, photography was also being used to record historical events in ways that were unprecedented by the idealized manipulations of history painting.

Photography as Icon IV: New Pictures of History

The photograph documented the horrors of domestic and foreign wars. **Roger Fenton’s** photographs of the Crimean War (1855) brought home the enlarged and vacant image of death with none of the glory of the earlier portrayals of Napoleonic legend (**5.40**).



5.40 Fenton, *In the Valley of the Shadow of Death*, 1855.

Fenton may have been the first to use photography to document a war, but **Mathew Brady**'s documentation of the American Civil War (1861-1865) was much more extensive (5.41), and makes us realize the compelling horror of real, that is, un-idealized war images.



5.41 Matthew Brady, *Dead Soldiers, Antietam*.

Brady (1823-1896) studied with Samuel Morse (inventor of the telegraph) and met Daguerre in Paris in 1839. He returned to the US to set up what became a highly lucrative photographic portrait gallery on Broadway in New York City. He took numerous photographs of

Abraham Lincoln, who later declared, “Make no mistake, gentlemen, Brady made me President!”³⁴ Lincoln’s use of Brady’s images was the first use of mass media for a political campaign.

When the Civil War broke out, Brady bankrolled an army of photographers to follow and document the actions of the real army. When exhibited in New York galleries, the photographs were judged deeply disturbing. In October 1862, a journalist commented in the *New York Times*, “Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our door-yards and along the streets, he has done something very like it...These pictures have a terrible distinctness. By the aid off the magnifying glass, the very features of the slain may be distinguished. We would scarcely choose to be in the gallery, when one of the women bending over them should recognize a husband, son, or a brother in the still, lifeless lines of bodies, that lie ready for the gaping trenches.”³⁵

The horror of Brady’s images can be compared to the first video footage of the 9-11 attacks (5.42). The initial images of peoples leaping out of exploding skyscrapers were soon deemed unfit for broadcast and eliminated from the ongoing visual reportage of the nightmarish event. There are some things people simply don’t want to see.

Susan Sontag has written extensively on photographic images of war. She reiterates that a photograph is not “simply a transparency of something that happened. It is always the image that someone chose; to photograph is to frame and to frame is to exclude.”³⁶ And she notes that both Fenton and Brady constructed their compositions by posing figures and arranging weapons and detritus. She asserts that it was not until the Vietnam War that viewers could be certain “documentary” photographs were not set-up.



5.42 World Trade Center, September 11, 2001.

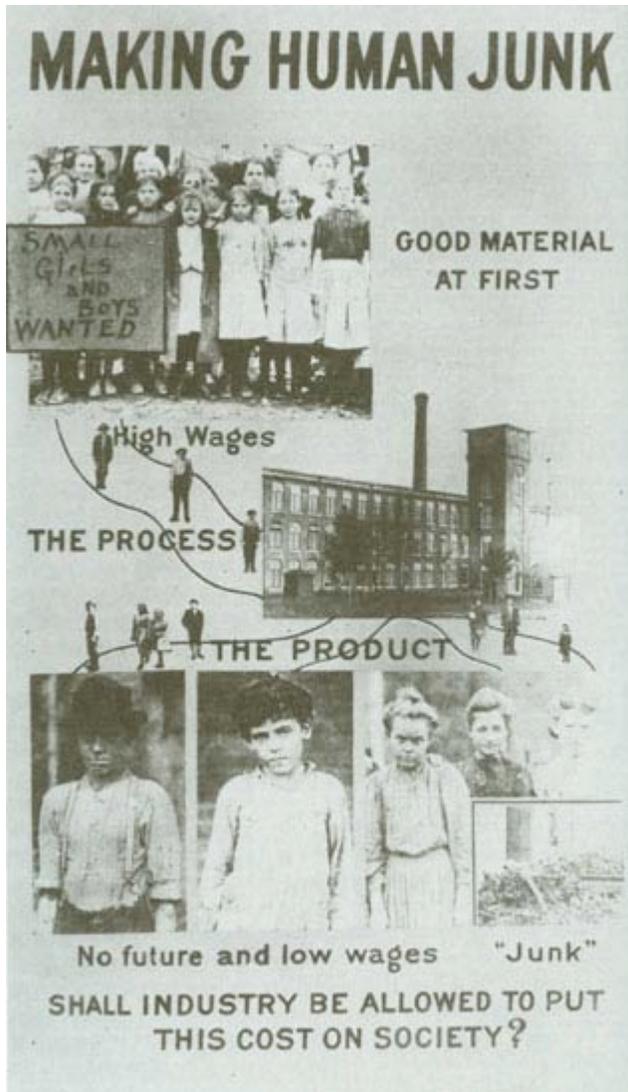
Sontag further notes that photographs of the devastation of war may arouse sympathy and compassion but rarely serve to advocate a position without the accompanying text. “During the

fighting between Serbs and Croats at the beginning of the recent Balkan wars, the same photographs of children killed in the shelling of a village were passed around at both Serb and Croat propaganda briefings. Alter the caption: alter the use of these deaths.”³⁷ She writes about Ernst Friedrich’s *War Against War!*, a book of over 180 photographs, ranging from little boys’ war toys through the devastation of World War I to the expanses of German military cemeteries. Sontag notes that the book was immensely popular and went through ten editions before Hitler rose to power and started the German war machine once again. Sontag laments that people remember photographs of war—only the photographs. “This remembering through photographs eclipses other forms of understanding—and remembering...Narratives can make us understand. Photographs do something else: they haunt.”³⁸

Photographic images of war and the inhumanity of wartime actions continue to haunt us. Surrealist photographer **Lee Miller’s** photographs of Nazi concentration camps shocked the world. (See Chapter 9.) Decades later, the horrific photographs of US soldiers torturing Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib disturbed millions of viewers.

Throughout the twentieth century, Americans were also haunted by photographs that documented human suffering, crime and poverty.

Lewis Wickes Hine (1874-1940) was trained as a sociologist and taught social reform at Columbia University in New York City. In 1904, he began taking photographs of immigrants arriving at Ellis Island and living in poor neighborhoods. Hine joined the National Child Labor Committee (NCLC) to reform child-labor laws in factories, mines, canneries and mills. Soon he was publishing what he called “photo stories” to support the NCLC goal of passing protective legislation against child labor (**5.43**). Along with his photographs, Hine collected and documented specific information about the children, convinced that knowing the names, ages,



5.43 Lewis Hine, *Making Human Junk*, 1915.

sweatshops, the dangerous working conditions, unemployment and pollution.”⁴⁰

New York photojournalist Arthur Felling (1899-1968) was so skilled in being “on the spot” at crimes and other news events that he was given the nickname **Weegee**, after the Ouija board game that ostensibly gave players psychic powers. He encouraged the supernatural implications of his nicknames, writing, “My camera [was] my life and my love...my Aladdin’s lamp.”⁴¹ Weegee photographed at night, using bright harsh flashes to illuminate everything from a group of drunks passed out in an alley to a pair of elderly sophisticates emerging from a theater (5.44). His photographs functioned as pictorial assault, wiping the veneer off the city and

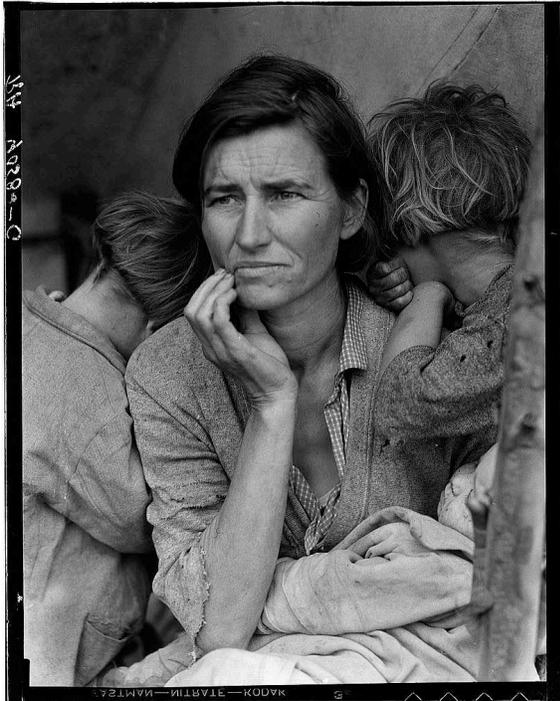
time on job, injuries on job, etc., made images more credible to readers. He wrote of his photo-essays and didactic collages: “With a picture thus sympathetically interpreted, what a lever we have for social uplift.”³⁹ Hine’s strategy worked: his images helped mobilize the public and the reform legislation passed. According to photo historian Robert Hirsch, “Hine exposed the myth that everyone could pull themselves up by their bootstraps and succeed in America...He laid open the fable of consumerism, in which people enjoyed mass-produced products without considering their negative repercussions—the

stripping people of their pretences. (Decades later, the popular television series “X Files” had a program on photographer whose character was inspired by Weegee’s life. The “X Files” character actually saw the future before he photographed it.)



5.44 Weegee, *The Critic*, 1943.

Dorothea Lange (1895-1965) had a quote from an English philosopher nailed to her San Francisco studio door: “The contemplation of things as they are, without substitution or imposture, without error or confusion, is in itself a nobler thing than a whole harvest of invention.”⁴² Her realist photographs can be seen as noble contemplations of things as they are, their very nobility demanding intense viewer consideration.



5.45 Dorothea Lange, *Migrant Mother*, Nipomo, California, 1936.

During the Great Depression (which started with the Stock Market Crash of 1929), Lange was employed by the Farm Security Administration (FSA) to visually document the unemployed and other “forgotten” people of the distressed times. The FSA hired numerous photographers, but the enduring icon of the FSA photographic project is Lange’s *Migrant Mother*, Nipomo, California (1936, 5.45). Known as the “Madonna of the Depression,” Lange’s photograph depicts Florence Thompson,

As well as migrant workers in rural areas, Lange also portrayed the urban poor. Her *White Angel Bread Line* (1932, 5.46) depicts a crowd of impoverished San Francisco men waiting for a charity-dispensed meal. Most of the men turn away, their dark slumped shoulders and crumpled hats reinforcing their anonymity. Only one turns towards the viewer, his hands clutched around a coffee cup. The brim of his hat shields his eyes. His

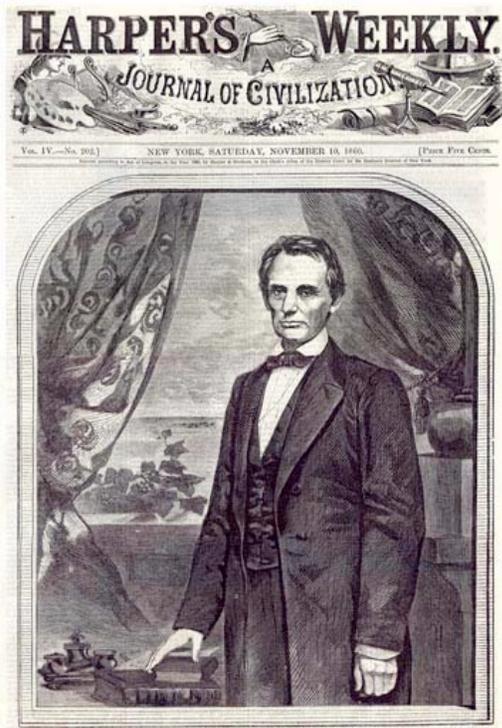


5.46 Lange, *White Angel Bread Line*, 1932.

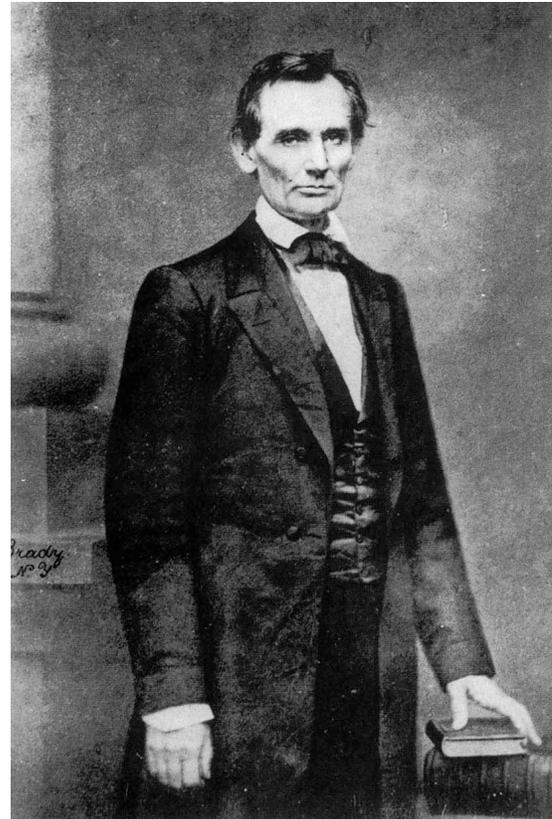
whiskered face, locked in solemn grimace, expresses his stoic resolve in the midst of the hopelessness of the Depression era.

The Halftone Dot: The Photograph Becomes a Mass Media Icon

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, photographs were not directly reproduced in mass media publications. Instead, wood block prints were made from photographs and the woodblocks were used to illustrate newspapers and magazines. Mathew Brady's famed portrait of Lincoln was translated into a woodcut to illustrate the cover of *Harper's Illustrated Weekly* (5.47). The woodcut artist reversed the image and elaborated the background. Such changes altered the visual information conveyed by the image: situating Lincoln in an upper class environment instead of the more modest photographer's studio no doubt enhanced the appeal of his portrait.



5.47 *Harper's Illustrated Weekly.*



Brady's Portrait of Abraham Lincoln, 1863.

Woodcut translations of photographs were not the only way such images were incorporated into the mass media. The halftone dot technique had been used to print limited numbers of photographs since the 1880s, but standardization of the halftone process meant that photographs could be printed in newspapers and magazines even more easily than the printed etchings and engravings of the nineteenth century. By 1905, major metropolitan newspapers were printing halftone dot photographs on a regular basis.

The halftone dot process broke down a photographic image on a metal plate into a series of dots. Since each dot carried ink, it was the size of the dots in each area of the image that determined the blackness of that area; this distribution of varying sizes of dots corresponded to the different shades of black and grey in the original photograph. The dots were still clearly

visible in newspaper photographs until the advent of digital photography and computer printing technologies changed the format in the late twentieth century.

When the dots appeared in 1905 they caused a technical and iconic revolution. When the photograph began to replace artists' hand-drawn woodcuts and other prints as the dominant mass media image, it created a change in public expectations as dramatic as the change brought about by the introduction of perspective woodcuts in the illustrated books of the fifteenth century.

The Mass Media Photograph: The Myth of the News



5.48 William Randolph Hearst.

The man who most clearly understood and applied the visual and the mythic possibilities of the modern newspaper illustrated by halftone photographs was **William Randolph Hearst**. (One of the most innovative and influential films in American movie history—Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* [1941, US]—bears a close resemblance to Hearst's career, 5.48.)

There is a significant difference in impact between a nineteenth-century newspaper illustrated with woodcuts and the front page of Hearst's *New York Daily Mirror* with its patchwork of photographs. Under Hearst, the halftone photograph began to compete in importance with the printed words themselves. Hearst began a process that would eventually end today with news meaning, for most people, *pictures* of the news—on television.

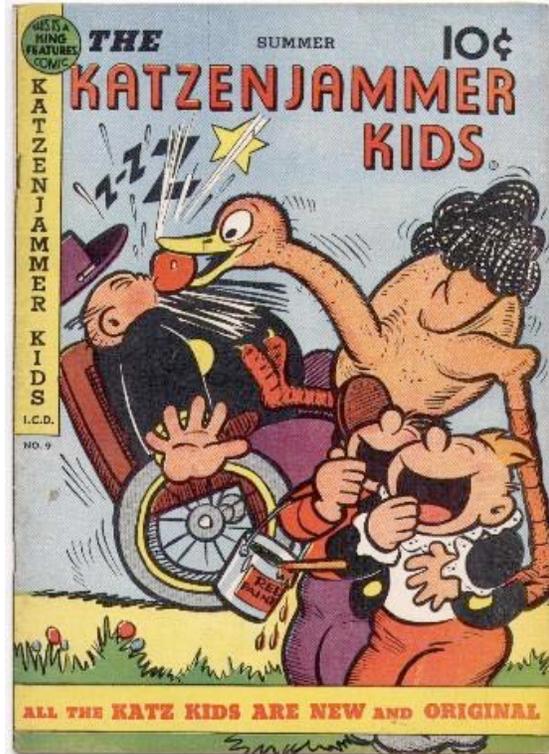
By 1905, Hearst's papers served the same audience that was flocking to the movies—the masses of urban workers and immigrants.

Comics & Cartoons

Like their nineteenth century predecessors, twentieth century newspapers

contained not only photographically-derived news images, but also political cartoons.

Soon, these cartoons expanded to include a new art form, the comics. Hearst printed comic strips like “The Yellow Kid” and the “Katzenjammer Kids” (5.49) which appealed to ethnic roots as well as portraying the conflicts between rich and poor and the exploding city.



5.49 The Katzenjammer Kids.

The comics drew upon visual techniques from a range of sources, from Hollywood movies to the art of the avant-garde. **Windsor McCay**'s fantasy drawings for the “Little Nemo in Slumberland” comic strip (begun in 1905) used perspective and fantasy to a degree that rivaled the artistic inventiveness of the avant-garde of the time. By the late 1920s, **Hal Foster**'s “Tarzan” comic-strip adventure featured a remarkably polished Academic drawing style.

These comic artists, along with **Alex Raymond**, who drew the “Flash Gordon” adventure series, added the popular realism of the Academic tradition to the “public easel” of the modern newspaper. All of these comic characters have subsequently been portrayed in Hollywood movies.

Making the News

For newspapers, however, the basic pictorial element was news. Hearst operated on the motto: If there's no news, make news! In his effort to get a conflict with Spain going over Cuba,

he wired the famous artist **Frederic Remington** in Havana. “You furnish the pictures and I’ll furnish the war!” He practically invented the headline (a kind of shout in print), his most famous one being “Remember the Maine!” which called people’s attention to the attack on an American ship. He was no stranger to the modern cult of celebrity and the public relations pseudo-event: Hearst went ashore in Cuba from a longboat. He waded through the surf, brandishing two six-shooters and then forced two half-drowned Spanish sailors to kneel and kiss the American flag—in front of a camera (**5.50**).

Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, and other big-city publishers soon made the halftone photograph the focus of the daily newspaper’s billboard of ads, sports, comics, and sensationalistic journalism. In this new context, the photograph had a powerful new iconic impact. Compared with the nineteenth-century newspaper illustrated with wood engravings and/or accompanying lithographs, the newspaper illustrated with photographs brought the world to the individual with a dramatic new sense of objectivity. Explorers at the North Pole, revolutionaries in Russia, or



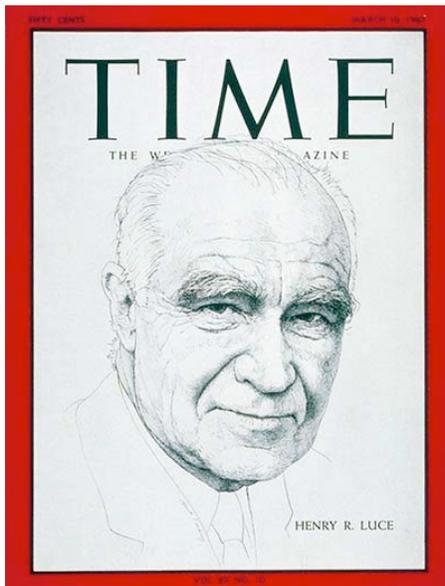
5.50 Hearst, New York Journal, April 25, 1898.

murders in the Bronx—all these events became a private, subjective spectacle for the individual reader.

But the icon effect of the newspaper photograph can also be manipulated, and it is this aspect of its impact in the early twentieth century that is described by Marshall McLuhan:

“By posing as a Jack-the-Giant-Killer, this sort of press can give the ordinary reader an heroic image of himself as capable of similar feats, while it tacitly assumes Barnum’s view of the public as a sucker.”⁴⁴

***Time* Magazine: Focusing on the Image of the News**



5.51 Henry Luce on *Time*.

A second means by which the photograph assumed new iconic power was within the format of the mass-circulation magazine.

Henry Luce decided in the early 1920s that the interested, educated person was too busy to take the time to sort things out from all the sensationalism of the newspapers, and in 1923 he founded *Time* magazine (5.51). *Time* sorted the news, written in a clear, concise style, into

“departments.” There was consistent emphasis on people—and, of course, photographs.

The following quotation is from the writing stylebook given to *Time* staff writers during its first year.

“The basis of good TIME writing is narrative, and the basis of a good narrative is to tell events: (1) in the order they occur; and (2) in the form an observer might have seen them, so the readers can imagine themselves in the scene.”⁴⁵

This writing style could be called “perspective news”—it is the verbal parallel of Brunelleschi’s painting in front of the Florence Baptistry. Its purpose, supported by the photograph, is to create the impression that the individual is the subjective center of an objective world.

Luce’s pioneering work on *Time* enabled him to found later a magazine in which photographs were more important than copy. In his next magazine, *Life*, photographs were the news.

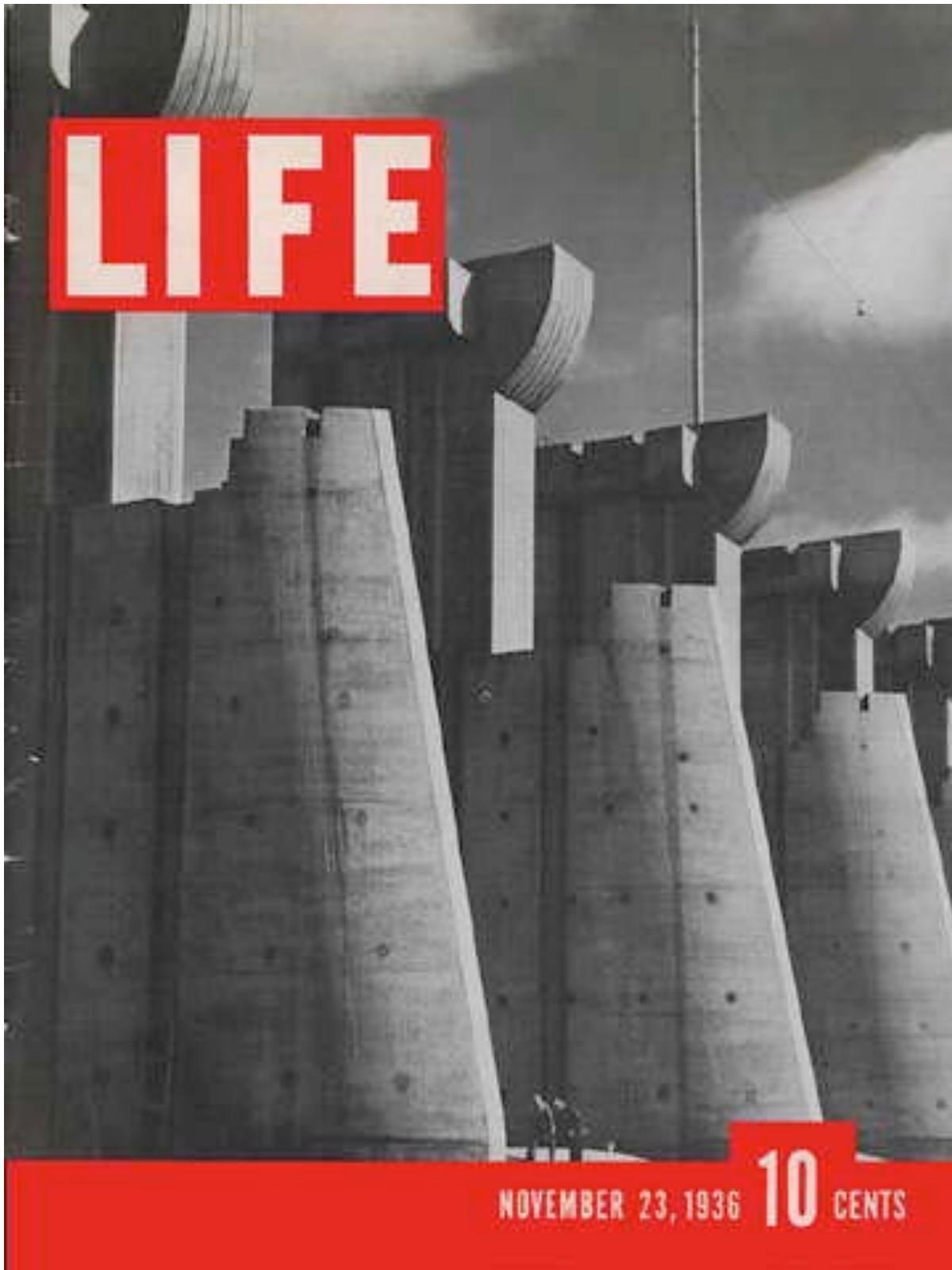
***Life* Magazine: Photographing the World**

Life was based on the public familiarity with film as much as it grew out of *Time* and the photo newspapers. *Life* was thematic like film—and almost as visual. Luce’s *Life* had uplift. Despite its photographs of global disaster, suffering, and war, the context was ultimately consoling: American optimism, know-how, and ingenuity somehow overshadowed any limitations implied by the devastating impact of the news photographs.

Photographic features on art, celebrities, and entertainment implied a world better than the sordid, out-of-control documentary world so often covered by journalism. *Life* projected a photographic world that was nearly as much purely aesthetic as journalistic. A good photograph, in other words, would automatically find space in *Life*.

Life introduced some of the greatest photographers of the twentieth century to a mass audience: **Edward Weston, Jr., Margaret Bourke-White (5.52), Paul Strand, Ansel Adams,** and others.

Life’s photographs ranged from the grotesque, to the wonderful (the first cover of *Life* showed a baby being born), to the newest miracles of science. It provided views of exotic peoples around the world, important sporting events, and life in mythic middle America.



5.52 Margaret Bourke-White, Life Magazine cover, "Fort Peck dam, Montana."

Life mixed its cover photographs of famous men with the beautiful faces of America's celluloid sweethearts: movie stars, hometown cheerleaders, bathing beauty contestants—*Life* integrated the “cheesecake” photograph into its visual model of the world. Luce was quite explicit about such photographs:

“Pretty girls are as much a part of today's life as the irrational bloodiness of war, the unrealities of some contemporary art, and the devious channels of international politics.”⁴⁶

There's no denying the devious channels of international politics, although Luce's reference to the “unrealities of some contemporary art” showed that the mass media had not only taken over an iconic function similar to that of Academic painting but also continued in the Academy's tradition of opposition and distrust of avant-garde art.

Life, like Academic painting, used the powerful appearance of objectivity provided by photography to make credible its presentation of a world glamorized by celebrity lives, important events, progress, opportunity, and advertisements.

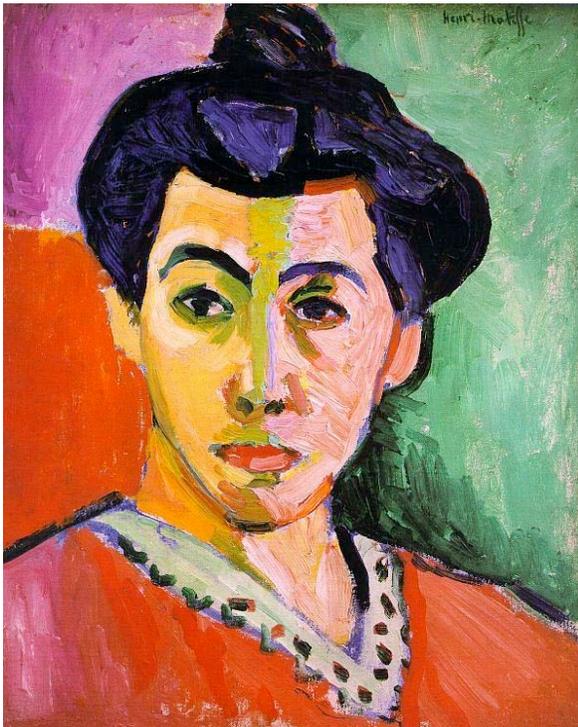
Advertising images reached a new level of graphic power in *Life*. The gleaming smiles of the men and women in the ads made the pages of *Life* brim with good cheer along with technical marvels. In the gloom of the Depression, such sumptuous images added up to a spectacle as meaningful as that on the ceiling of a Baroque church, with its vision of heaven and its revelation of glory-bound heroes, angels, an oceans of light. The advertising in *Life* was the culmination of a class of images that was causing a revolution in America—the revolution of consumer capitalism.

In the twentieth century, the photographically-based mass media replaced Academic painting as the standard of visual realism. Movies presented historical epic and romantic melodrama. Newspaper and magazine photographs pictured the world as an arena of factual

drama. Advertising, which reached a new level of prominence through the mass media, pictured consumer goods and commodities in a way that invited the working class to participate in the “circle of civilization” centered on the autonomous individual. Such images assuaged the social conflicts of the nineteenth century by enticing the working class with the promises of consumer capitalism.

The mass media was so powerful in its own right, so environmental in its presence, that its photographic realism could be called a “new Academy.” As we shall see, many of the early twentieth century avant-gardists turned to abstraction in order to reject such imagery. They sought to demonstrate that human sight and creativity extended beyond the limits of photographic realism.

Reproductions of Art



5.53 Matisse, *Madame Matisse (The Green Line)*, 1905.

By 1905, the mass media was also having a powerful effect on art. The painting *Madame Matisse (The Green Line)* by **Henri Matisse (5.53)** was one of several Matisse paintings that caused a sensation at the Salon d’Automne in 1905. The full impact of Matisse’s images came from something new for paintings: some of them appeared as photographs in the Paris newspaper *L’Illustration*. In 1905 the halftone photograph gave alternative artworks the

kind of public arena that had preciously belonged only to the works in Academic exhibitions.

Before the appearance of the halftone photograph, non-realistic images like *Madame Matisse* would have looked like a crude woodcut without the most intense and laborious efforts of a master craftsman. With the arrival of inexpensive mass media photography, the public—even if they disliked paintings outside the academic realist tradition—at least began to see them reasonably accurately. Today, most people see most of the art they “know” in the photographic reproductions of newspapers, magazines and books. Only a very small portion of the populace sees original artworks on a regular basis.

As early as the 1930s, German critic Walter Benjamin began to consider how viewing art in reproduction changes the nature of the viewing experience. Benjamin (discussed briefly in the Preface) noted that traditional art, experienced directly and often as part of a ritual, had a certain “aura” of authenticity. Art in the age of mechanical reproduction, argued Benjamin, loses its aura. He saw photography as pivotal in the transition from art with aura to art without it, suggesting that early nineteenth century photographic portraits were the “last refuge for the cult value of the picture.” A Jew who was speaking against the rise of Fascism, Benjamin was understandably concerned: “the instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice—politics.”⁴⁷ If Benjamin was correct, then the nineteenth century invention of photography initiated a sea change in the history of Western image-making—a change from images whose aura is inherent in their ritual context to images created primarily to convince and persuade.

Since Benjamin, art criticism has been largely divided between critics who believe that all art is political and those who focus on disinterested aesthetic issues, bemoaning any political

agenda on the part of artists. The same divide can be seen among image-makers: while many twentieth century artists used photography in overtly political works, others produced works that deny any political affiliation.

This contrast can be explored in the work of two artists who, as it happens, were also lovers: Tina Modotti and Edward Weston.

Political vs. Formalist Photography: Modotti & Weston

Italian born **Tina Modotti** (1896-1942) worked in Los Angeles as an actress and model before she traveled to Mexico City at the height of the Mexican Revolution. She lived and worked with modernist photographer Edward Weston (see below), but she rejected his strictly formal approach to create photographs that are laden with content. Like Hine and Lange, Modotti used photography as an effective tool to support her social reform agenda (5.54). Her elegant, sympathetic portrayals of urban laborers and the rural poor “can be seen as part of an embryonic new type of ethnic/social consciousness that would change not only how photographs looked but who was making them.”⁴⁸ Modotti became a member of the Mexican Communist Party and abandoned photography later in life to become a full-time political activist.



5.54 Modotti, *Men Reading El Machete*.



5.55 Weston, *Nautilus Shells*.

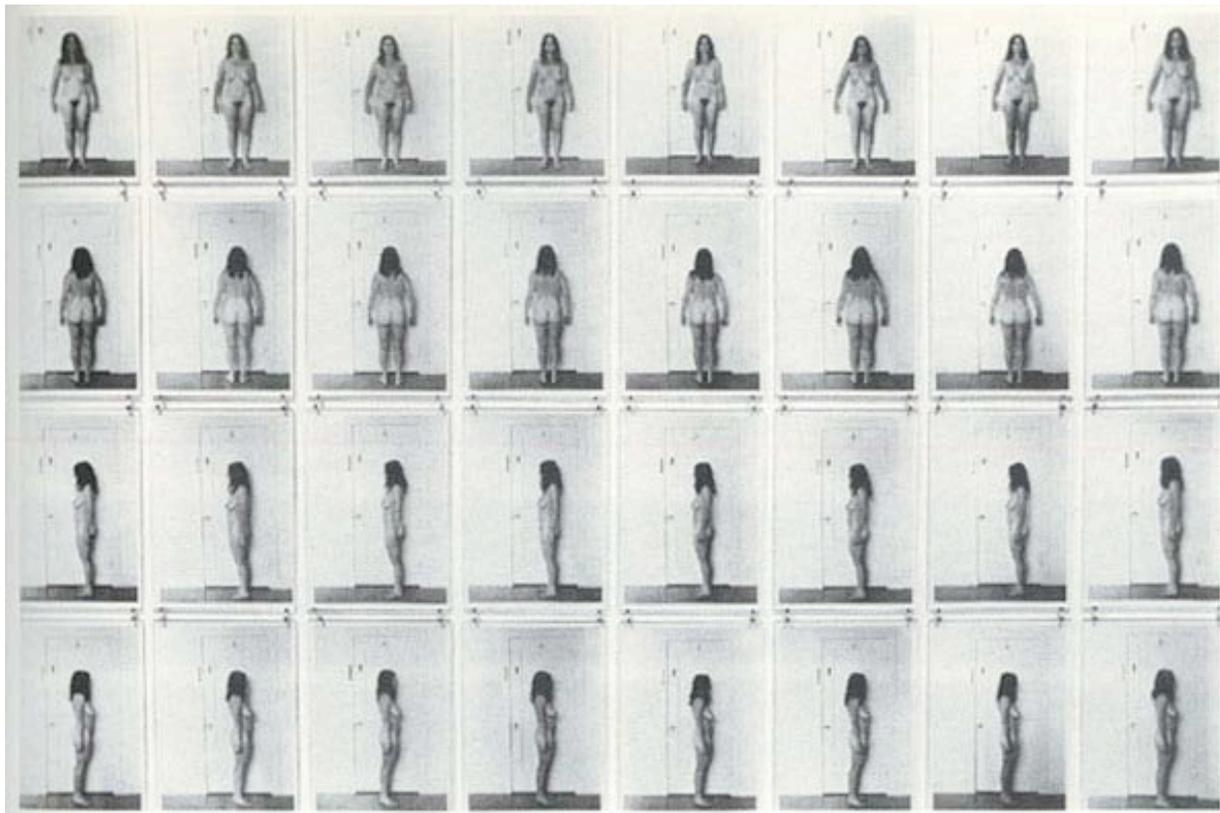
Edward Weston (1886-1958) began his career with soft-focus images related to the nineteenth century “art photography” of practitioners like Julia Margaret Cameron. In the 1920s, he set up a portrait studio in Southern California, where—inspired by modernist abstract paintings by his friend Henrietta Shore—he began a remarkable series of photographs of nautilus shells (**5.55**). Weston made extraordinarily long exposures of the shells, creating lush velvety black backgrounds and luminescent surfaces on the shells. His later close-ups of vegetables, like bell peppers and artichokes, are sensuous explorations of sensual shape in radiant light. Weston photographed sand dunes and his lovers’ bodies with the same formalist skill. He described his work as purist, writing in his journal: “The camera should be used for a recording of life, for rendering the very substance and quintessence of the *thing itself*, whether it be polished steel or palpitating flesh... I feel definite in my belief that the approach to photography is though realism.”⁴⁹ Weston sought the aura affect Walter Benjamin found missing in the art of mechanical reproduction. In doing so, he was oblivious to the political implications of treating his lovers’ bodies exactly as he treated “polished steel.”

New Directions in Photography

Since Modotti and Weston, artists have continued to use photography to expand the formal qualities of the medium and to present challenging, often politically charged content. They have also used photography to question the nature of visual representation itself. In doing so, they have looked at the body and concepts of beauty, at stereotypical images of sexuality and racial identity, and at the uses of photographic imagery in global struggles for power.

Decades after Weston presented women’s bodies as sculpted objects, **Eleanor Antin** (b. 1935) did a series of photographs that very deliberately treated her own body like an object. Antin’s *Carving: A Traditional Sculpture* (1972) is comprised of 72 self-portraits documenting

the artist's weight loss over a period of several months (5.56). In a pose that strangely echoes photographs taken for criminal identification, the artist stands nude, in a harshly lit room, pressing her back against a closed white door. The changes in Antin's shape that took place gradually over time are presented together, telescoping a lengthy occurrence into one of immediate visual perception. Antin's images force the viewer to consider the various ways women alter their physiognomies: not just dieting and exercise, but also plastic surgery which, according to Anne Balsamo, "transforms the material body into a visual medium [and] into a sign of culture."⁵⁰



5.56 Antin, *Carving: A Traditional Sculpture*, 1972.

A wry comment on the objectification of the female body, which has been used as subject matter by so many male artists, Antin's *Carving* employs photography for conceptual, rather than purely formal, goals.

Douglas Huebler (1924-1997) made his conceptual premises an explicit part of his photographic presentations. For his *Variable Piece 1A, the Netherlands, United States, Italy, France, and Germany, January 1971*, Huebler paired his photographs of eight people with the typed statement: “Eight people were photographed at the instant exactly after each had been told: ‘you have a beautiful face’ ...the eight photographs join with this statement to constitute the form of this piece”⁵¹ (5.57). For Huebler’s *Variable Piece #101, West Germany, March 1973*, he told German artist Bernard Becher to “‘look like’ a priest, a criminal, a lover, an old man, a policeman, an artist, ‘Bernard Becher,’ a philosopher, a spy and a nice guy...in that order.”⁵² Huebler waited two months, then sent the photographs to Becher and asked him to arrange them according to the various identity-expressions he had made while posing. The resulting conceptual photography piece is composed of the ten images of Becher’s remarkably expressive face, a textual description of the process and the statement: “Ten photographs and this statement join together to constitute the final form of this piece.” Foregrounding the conceptual basis for his work in such statements, Huebler reminds viewers that the relationship between image and text is culturally constructed; it is no more “natural” than the relationship between a word (signifier) and the concept (signified) it addresses.



5.57 Douglas Huebler, *Variable Piece #44*, 1970.

Carrie Mae Weems (b. 1953) also joins photographic image and text. Her series of images form constructed narratives that reveal cultural mythologies about identity and relationships. As Robert Hirsch asserts, “Her methodology has a persistent political resonance without being didactic.”⁵³ In one work, Weems uses three photographs of a young African American man to interrogate stereotypes of Blacks as socially powerless and invisible. Mocking the old adage “See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil,” the man covers his eyes, then his ears, then his mouth (5.58). The artist herself explains, “I want to make things that are beautiful, seductive, formally challenging and culturally meaningful. I’m also committed to radical social change...Any form of human injustice moves me deeply...the battle against all forms of oppression keeps me going and keeps me focused.”⁵⁴



5.58 Carrie Mae Weems, *See No Evils*, 1995.

In the early 1990s, **Susan Silton** (b. 1956) combined the nineteenth century double photographic format of the stereo card with images that challenged received stereotypes about lesbians. Silton both reconfigured old stereo photographs and created new ones, then set them atop wooden tables, in front of stereoscopes. Viewers saw the double images of the stereo cards, then leaned over to look through the stereoscopes. The images they saw paired the historic perception devices with antiquated perceptions of lesbians as aberrations or mutations. When

viewers looked through the stereoscope of *Mutation #2 (BIG YORL)* (1994), they saw a cow's body that appeared to have a goat's head. (BIG YORL is an anagram that combines the words boy and girl.) In *Mutation #6 (Somewhere in the Middle)* (1994), two historic images on a stereo card—one of men and a similar one of women—are merged to create a figure with characteristics of both genders. Silton used a historic stereo photograph of a person looking at a large hippopotamus in a zoo for *Mutation #5 (In the Eye of the Beholder)* (1994) to call viewers' attention to the fact that perceptions of people as the Other can be as objectifying and alienating as the practice capturing wild animals and enclosing them in small cages.

The **Starn Twins** (Doug and Mike Starn, b. 1961) began their shared careers by addressing the nature of photography and of photographic reproduction. Starting in 1985, they made art that, as they wrote, intended to “confront the fragility of the photographic print, and to acknowledge their material existence rather than treating photography as a sacrosanct two-dimensional image.”⁵⁵ Hirsch describes their works, like the *Triple Christ (5.60)* which stacks three photographic reproductions of a Renaissance painting of the dead Christ: “A pseudo-antique patina of cracked emulsions, creases, and torn edges gives their images a sense of time and decay, making their often familiar content seem like a retelling of Western history.”⁵⁶ From 1990-1992, the Starn Twins worked on their monumental *Sphere of Influence*, a 13' diameter sculptural sphere composed of steel, Plexiglass, pipe clamps and numerous photographs printed on transparent film. The photographs are images of the colonial era globe: depictions of conquest, *castas*, and constructions of the Other by European imperialists.

**Triple Christ****Mike and Doug Starn**

5.60 Starn Brothers, *Triple Christ*, 1987.

Shirin Neshat's photographs explore the role of women in Islam. Born in Iran in 1948, Neshat immigrated to the US as a teenager. After a 1990 trip back to her home country, she was compelled to begin a series of photographic images expressing her contradictory feelings about her exile. She began by photographing her face, hands, and feet—the parts of the female body exposed when Islamic women wear the chador—then writing over the flesh in Farsi. In a later series, she posed her figures carrying guns (5.61).



5.61 Neshat, *Rebellious Silence*, 1994.

Neshat's work resonates formally and politically. The stark black and white contrasts of calligraphic writing over pale skin are enhanced by the contrasts of seductive faces flanked by threatening weapons. It is precisely the tension between seduction and threat that forestalls easy containment of meaning in the images. Do these photographs convey the artist's opposition to Islamic fundamentalism—or not? As curator Eugenie Tsai writes, the power of Neshat's work “stems from her ability, as someone who is bicultural, to see one culture through the eyes of another, and acknowledge the ambiguity of perspectives.”⁵⁷

Contemporary Hollywood filmmaker Jonathan Demme recognized the potent impact of Neshat's photographs. He quoted her images several times for pivotal dream sequences in the 2004 remake of *The Manchurian Candidate*. Other filmic treatments of the medium of photography are discussed in Chapter 7.

¹ Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking, An Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) 280.

² Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Dell, 1973) 44.

³ Sontag 163.

⁴ Sontag 14.

⁵ Sontag 34.

⁶ Hockney 57.

⁷ Horst de la Croix and Richard G. Tansey, eds. *Gardner's Art through the Ages*, 7ed (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980) 750.

⁸ Stafford and Terpak 97.

⁹ Hockney 132-33.

¹⁰ Hockney 14, 17.

¹¹ Stafford and Terpak 327.

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- ¹² Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999) 143.
- ¹³ Robert Leggat <<http://www.rleggat.com/photohistory/history/beginnin.html>>
- ¹⁴ Leggat.
- ¹⁵ Leggat.
- ¹⁶ Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (New York: Museum of Modern Art & Bulfinch Press, 1982) 25.
- ¹⁷ LouisJacques Mande Daguerre, “Daguerreotypie” *Classic Essays in Photography*, ed. Alan Trachtenberg (New Haven: Leete’s Island Books, 1980) 13.
- ¹⁸ John Constable, quoted in de la Croix and Tansey 590
- ¹⁹ Charles Baudelaire, “The Salon of 1859” *The Mirror of Art: Critical Studies by Baudelaire*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday Anchor, 1956) 242.
- ²⁰ Newhall 31.
- ²¹ Theophile Gautier, quoted in Aaron Sharf, *Art and Photography* (London: Penguin Press, 1968) 111..
- ²² Newhall 73.
- ²³ Newhall 78.
- ²⁴ Leggat.
- ²⁵ Gisele Freund, *Photography and Society* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980) 58.
- ²⁶ Freund 57.
- ²⁷ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida, Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981) 3.
- ²⁸ Barthes, *Camera Lucida* 76-77.
- ²⁹ Quoted in Douglas Fogle, *The Last Picture Show: Artists Using Photography, 1960-1982*. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 2003, p. 259.
- ³⁰ Mirzoeff 134.
- ³¹ Mirzoeff 130.
- ³² Quoted in Mirzoeff 135.
- ³³ Mirzoeff 182.
- ³⁴ Leggat.
- ³⁵ Leggat.
- ³⁶ Susan Sontag, “Looking at War, Photography’s view of devastation and death.” *The New Yorker*, December 9, 2002, 90.
- ³⁷ Sontag on War 86.
- ³⁸ Sontag on War 94.
- ³⁹ Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the Light, A History of Photography* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000) 270.
- ⁴⁰ Hirsch 270.
- ⁴¹ Quoted in Hirsch 328.
- ⁴² Hirsch 286.
- ⁴³ Frances K. Pohl, *Framing America, A Social History of American Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002) 377.
- ⁴⁴ Marshall McLuhan, *The Mechanical Bride* (New York: Vanguard, 1951) 5.
- ⁴⁵ Britton Hadden, quoted in James Playsted Wood, *Magazines in the United States* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1971) 210.
- ⁴⁶ Henry R. Luce, quoted in Wood 218.

⁴⁷ Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (London: Fontana/Collins, 1973) 224.

⁴⁸ Hirsch 277.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Newhall 188-92.

⁵⁰ Anne Balsamo, "On the Cutting Edge: Cosmetic Surgery and the Technological Production of the Gendered Body," *Camera Obscura*, 28, January 1992. Quoted in Mirzoeff 173.

⁵¹ Fogle 29.

⁵² Fogle 147,

⁵³ Hirsch 466.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Hirsch 466.

⁵⁵ <<http://www.starnstudio.com/narrative.htm>>

⁵⁶ Hirsch 455-56.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Leslie Camhi, "Lifting the Veil, Shirin Neshat uses video and photographs to explore the status of women in Islam." *ARTnews*, February 2000, 149.