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The World on a Plate: The Impact of Photography on Travel Imagery and its Dissemination in Britain, 1839-1888

Charlotte Mullins, Ph.D., Art History

University of Sussex, September 2012

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted, either in the same or different form, to this or any other university for a degree

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University of Sussex

Charlotte Mullins, Ph.D., Art History

**The World on a Plate: The Impact of Photography on Travel Imagery and its
Dissemination in Britain, 1839-1888**

Summary

This thesis explores how early photography contributed to the visual understanding of the world in the nineteenth century. It draws extensively on the collection of nineteenth-century photographic albums at the National Maritime Museum, London. These albums, compiled or purchased by officers in the Royal Navy, offer an extensive view of how the world was perceived by both the officers who collected photographs during overseas service and the photographers who competed to supply them. Chapter 1 considers two personal photographic albums compiled by naval officers Frederick North and Tynte F. Hammill. Through these it reveals the agency of the collector as a curator of their own world picture, and introduces wider currents visible across the archive. Chapter 2 explores the impact of photography on the visual representation of the Crimean War and the competitive market for travel imagery in Britain. Chapters 3 and 4 explore the work of photographer Felice Beato, the studio albums he created in Japan and Korea, and the role of the British navy and military in Asia – a significant early market for overseas photography. Chapter 3 looks at Beato's Views and Costumes albums (c. 1868) and problematizes previous readings, arguing for a more nuanced and cross-cultural approach. This chapter also offers evidence to support a realignment (caused by previous misbinding) of the V&A Views album. Chapter 4 employs Beato's Korean album (1871) as a case study and reveals pictorial slippage across albums previously believed to be homogenous. Chapter 5 explores the secondary use of overseas photographs as engravings in the British press and publications. The thesis concludes that nineteenth-century photographic albums compiled by naval officers while on overseas service offer visual evidence that vision underwent a profound shift during this time and that looking at the world became subjective, fragmentary and contingent.

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Key to albums

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NMM Album 991	Appendix B
National Archives (USA) Album	Appendix B
Getty Museum Album	Appendix B
Bennett Album 1	Appendix B
Bennett Album 2	Appendix B
NMM Album 29 (North)	Appendix C
NMM Album 144	Appendix C
NMM Album 282 (Hammill)	Appendix C
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V&A Costumes Album X537	Appendix C
Hood Museum Album	Appendix C
Smith College Album	Appendix C
All other albums	Appendix C

Key to abbreviations and glossary of Japanese terms

Key to abbreviations

HMS	Her Majesty's Ship [British naval vessel]
ILN	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
NAM	National Army Museum, London
NMM	National Maritime Museum, London
NMeM	National Media Museum, Bradford
RA	Royal Artillery
RE	Royal Engineers
RN	Royal Navy
USS	United States' Ship [USA naval vessel]

Glossary of Japanese terms

betto	tattooed groom
geta	platform thong shoe
koto	thirteen-string floor-based instrument
mino	rice-straw cloak, designed as a rain coat
obi	sash around the waist of a kimono
samisen	box-like stringed instrument
tatami	woven floor mat
ukiyo-e	hand-coloured print
wagasa	paper umbrella
zôri	flat thong shoe

Geographical spellings

I will be using modern spellings of places in my text but variant spellings in quoted text. However, I will adhere to the names of places as they were known during the second half of the nineteenth century, for example Istanbul will be referred to as Constantinople throughout.

All geographical names are given as they most commonly appeared during the period 1839-1888.

Constantinople	Now Istanbul
Edo	Also known as Yeddo, Yedo, Tokio; now Tokyo
Fusiyama	Also known as Fusijama, Fusi-yama, Mount Fuji
Peking	Now Beijing

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Introduction. The world on a plate

This thesis considers the impact of photography on travel imagery and its dissemination in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century. It draws extensively on the collection of nineteenth-century photographic albums compiled or purchased by naval officers in the National Maritime Museum, London (NMM). Through case studies that look at specific album examples – compiled by officers and the studio of photographer Felice Beato – this thesis asks how photographs of the world beyond Europe were created and who purchased them. It considers all aspects of the photograph's journey from the camera to the consumer, as well as secondary uses of the image. It identifies the previously overlooked proto-tourist market that comprised naval and military officers as hugely significant for overseas photographers such as Beato, and considers this market's impact on the visual economy of overseas imagery.¹ It also looks at how photographs were disseminated in Britain and considers how the various uses of photographs – from being pasted into private drawing-room albums to reaching large audiences in newspapers and books – altered their original context.

Regarding the impact of photography on travel imagery, this thesis asks what conclusions can be drawn from a detailed consideration of naval photographic albums. Evidence of cross-cultural relationships, multiple viewpoints and photographic slippage across the albums raises questions as to how officers saw and experienced the modern world. The albums attest to the increased agency of the album compiler, and this thesis considers the role of the officer-compiler in the photography complex.² Jonathan Crary has argued that vision in the nineteenth-century underwent a profound shift and looking at the world became subjective and fragmentary.³ Could the albums be seen to support this shift? As vision changed, did photography come to be seen as the most suitable medium for proto-tourists to record their own overseas experiences? Did photography itself enable this modern way of looking at and seeing the world to be articulated, or did photography succeed in the field of travel imagery because it best approximated the modernization of vision that had occurred at a societal level in Britain, allowing proto-tourists to 'curate' their own subjective world views in albums rather than purchasing

¹ See Poole 1997: 9-13 on visual economy with regard to photography

² See Hevia 2009: 79-119, 'The Photography Complex'

³ Crary 1992

fixed views sold in print portfolios? What did photography offer consumers of travel imagery that was different, and why did officers on overseas service turn to it in increasing numbers?

‘Captain’s Cabin’

To introduce the areas of focus within this thesis I wish to consider two photographs. The first, captioned ‘Captain’s Cabin’ (Figure 1), appears in a photographic album compiled by Tynte F. Hammill. The album covers his naval career from his cadetship on HMS Britannia in 1865 to his death aged 42 at the rank of Captain in 1894. The photograph shows a corner of Hammill’s cabin. The leather and mahogany interior has the feel of a private study with a desk and chair prominent in the composition, the chair pulled out as if Hammill has just stepped away. His naval summer cap is on the desk and his two telescopes – signifiers of his command – are mounted on the back wall. This corner of his cabin has a plethora of photographic portraits displayed in a range of card and velvet frames as well as hung on the wall, displayed on the desk and arranged, unmounted, in a wall organizer. The amount of photographs present in this one image suggest that they were a significant part of Hammill’s life on board ship. The framed desk photographs – his wife Anne? Their child? – have been turned towards the camera and the folding mounts and screens have been extended, suggesting Hammill was keen to include as many of his own collection of photographs as possible in this picture.

In all Hammill included 666 photographs in his album. The album was subsequently acquired by the National Maritime Museum (NMM), part of a collection of 1,500 photographic albums that span the history of photography. The archival value of albums such as Hammill’s to the NMM was, until recently, perceived to be in the number of ships’ portraits and topographic views they included. The visual, social and geopolitical history offered by a photograph such as Figure 1, and an album such as Hammill’s (Album 282), was overlooked. Elizabeth Edwards noted a similar archival partisanship at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, where a collection of twelve negatives taken in 1883 by Captain W. Acland RN are held. The museum chose to print only six of the twelve negatives, deciding that the harbour views – the ones the NMM would have focused on – to be of no anthropological interest and therefore of no value as prints.⁴ This illustrates

⁴ Edwards 1995: 55

the subjectivity of each archive that holds nineteenth-century photography. Edwards cites Greg Denning's argument that history is textured through the contexts of its preservation.⁵ Michel Foucault noted in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* that the archive was not a fixed, unchanging storage system but one that was formed and transformed by the material held within it.⁶ The archive needs to be active for its contents to be textured as history. A central aim of this thesis therefore is to activate the NMM archive of nineteenth-century photographic albums.

Seventy-three albums in the NMM collection feature photographs taken in the first fifty years of the medium. The albums include many photographs taken beyond European borders. These albums are unique individual archives of visual material and nineteenth-century perception. Collectively they offer a comprehensive archive of how the world was perceived, not only by the professional photographers who took the photographs but also by the officers who collected and displayed the photographs in their albums. This thesis attempts to broaden the current understanding of the photographic albums in the NMM collection and draw them into current discursive practices regarding nineteenth-century photography and photographic albums.

During an initial consultation period in which I studied all the nineteenth-century albums in the NMM collection (see Appendix C), the work of one photographer appeared repeatedly. Photographs by peripatetic photographer Felice Beato occur in several NMM albums, including the personal photographic album of paymaster Frederick North, a studio album documenting the American-Korean altercation of 1871, and an 1864 album bought from Beato's studio in Japan and most probably compiled at the behest of the purchaser.⁷ The significance of Beato's photographs and studio for the British naval market will therefore be considered in this thesis. The various methods by which his photographs could be presented, as indicated by these three discrete examples, is also central to my assessment of the impact of photography on travel imagery and its dissemination.

⁵ Denning 1988: 26 in Edwards 2001a: 107

⁶ Foucault 2002: 142-148 (p. 146)

⁷ NMM ALB29, ALB991 and ALB144

‘Guns of the Naval Brigade’

The second introductory image I wish to consider is the earliest known photograph attributed to Beato. I discovered this example when I consulted a Crimean War album compiled by artist William Simpson, now in the V&A collection.⁸ Simpson purchased dozens of James Robertson’s photographs taken in the Crimea and pasted them into his own album titled *Sketches made during the campaign in 1854-55 In the Crimea, Circassia and Constantinople*. Beato was Robertson’s photographic assistant during the Crimean War and accompanied him to the British camps at Balaklava and the front line at Sevastopol. It was here that Beato first encountered naval officers and men (a biographical summary of Beato’s professional life can be found in Appendix D). Beato is described by several sources as Robertson’s pupil, but in Chapter 2 I argue that several photographs credited to Robertson were most probably taken by Beato. This is based on visual analysis and contemporary accounts. In Simpson’s album there is also tangible evidence that Beato was taking his own photographs. One of the photographs in Simpson’s album is captioned by the artist: ‘Guns of the Naval Brigade on the extreme of the right attack, before Sebastopol, 1855. Photo. By Beatto.’, Figure 2.

Beato’s photograph of naval troops is compositionally distinct from the panoramic and picturesque Crimean views by Robertson as seen in Figure 3. Beato chose a low viewpoint for his composition, the foreground filled with the earthwork wall of a naval battery. The men are turned towards the camera and most stand still and pose for Beato. The battery’s naval gun can be seen to the right, and the battery’s sandbagged walls and wicker gabions are also visible. A few men stand in front of a mound of shot; a sailor in the foreground can be seen to be wearing a hat with the number thirty-four on it. This is a group portrait of naval men serving in the Crimean war, an indexical reminder of this particular fraternity and a wider portrait of the geography of war and the men who served there.⁹ This is not a panoramic view, an imperial or colonizing perspective as articulated by Mary Louise Pratt for example, and the camera does not take the viewpoint of what Leonard Bell has referred to as the ‘omniscient eye’.¹⁰ Instead Beato

⁸ V&A 93.H.1

⁹ On photography and the index see Krauss 1976: 196-209 and Krauss 1977: 210-219

¹⁰ Pratt 2008: 17; Bell 1998: 122

offers a viewpoint that suggests a bodily experience, the eye-level camera lens standing in for the eye of the photographer and, by extension, the viewer.

Figures 1 and 2 both appear to illustrate what Stephen Bann has described as a significant shift in the nineteenth century towards a new transparent historiography, a desire to show ‘what actually happened’ rather than a construction of history, a view which photography is so often used to support.¹¹ The photograph of Hammill’s cabin asserts itself as a genuine view of his own cabin, a portrait despite his absence. The naval men in Beato’s photograph are indexically linked to the Crimean landscape in which they served, visualizing what Christopher Pinney calls an ‘autoptic practice of “being there”’.¹² And yet, as this thesis will assert, the authentic or transparent view apparently offered by these two examples was as much a construct as the system of representation it was perceived to overthrow.

Realism and ‘truth’

Photography appeared well-suited to deliver views that reflected a growing desire to see the real world, to view the world beyond Europe as if it were an autoptic experience. The public in Britain wanted to experience the world as if they had seen it for themselves, to read evocative accounts and see photographs that, as many reviews noted, appeared to tell the truth and offer a new level of accuracy, a ‘palpable reality’.¹³ ‘We cannot doubt the evidence of the lens,’ wrote a reviewer of Roger Fenton’s Crimean photographs, for example.¹⁴

‘Truth’ was a lodestone in Victorian publishing. W. M. Thackeray parodied the British public’s thirst for ‘truth’ in his *Punch* reports in which he posed as a fierce Bashi-Bozouk (a member of the Ottoman militia) writing from the Crimean War: ‘What the nation wants is TRUTH. Truth pure, Truth unadulterated, Truth gushing from the original tap, such as perhaps no other man in Europe but myself is in a condition to supply.’¹⁵ The British critic John Ruskin called for painters to: ‘go to Nature in all singleness of heart, and walk with her laboriously and trustingly [...] rejecting nothing,

¹¹ Bann 1984: 8. See also Quilley 2006: 131

¹² Pinney 2003: 204

¹³ *The Art-Journal*, 1 October 1855: 285, cited in Green-Lewis 1996: 109

¹⁴ *The Art-Journal*, 1 October 1855: 285, cited in Green-Lewis 1996: 109

¹⁵ ‘Important from the Seat of War! Letters from the East, by our own Bashi-Bozouk’, *Punch*, 24 June 1854, cited in Pearson 2000: 168

selecting nothing, and scorning nothing; believing all things to be right and good, and rejoicing always in the truth.’¹⁶ The search for reality and truth in the mid-nineteenth century extended to fiction, visible in Emile Zola’s *Les Rougon-Macquart* cycle of novels, for example, and the Sebastopol stories of Leo Tolstoy. Tolstoy, an artillery officer in the Russian Army, published three short stories based on his experiences serving on the front line in the Crimean war. At the end of ‘Sevastopol in May’ (1855), he declared: ‘The hero of my tale – whom I love with all the power of my soul, whom I have tried to portray in all its beauty, who has been, is, and always will be beautiful – is Truth.’¹⁷ As with literature, the rise of the individual travel narrative and memoir spoke of the increased public interest in reading about authentic and personal experiences as they journeyed beyond Europe.

It is in this cultural and political climate of veracity, of an insatiable craving for ‘truth’ and an alignment of photography with its provision, that the photographs and albums considered in this thesis should be considered. As James R. Ryan has noted, ‘the authority conferred on photography to capture truthfully scenes of nature gave it a power greater than that of engravings or paintings to confirm and naturalize the landscape aesthetic.’¹⁸ And yet, as this thesis will emphasize, photography was as fabricated and subjective a version of reality as Zola’s novels or the paintings of Ruskin’s acolytes.

It was photography’s indexicality that supported its visual claim to show the world just as it had been observed, with the camera a substitute for the viewer’s own body, the lens a substitute for the viewer’s own eye. But as John Tagg wrote in *The Burden of Representation*: ‘The indexical nature of the photograph – the causative link between the pre-photographic referent and the sign – is [...] highly complex, irreversible, and can guarantee nothing at the level of meaning.’¹⁹ If we return to the two introductory photographs, it is clear that Figure 1 has been staged to convey certain things about Hammill. Certain elements – the displaced clock, the rotated photographs – reveal slippage between how the cabin was used by Hammill and the photographic representation of it in his own album. Beato’s photograph, Figure 2, likewise frames the

¹⁶ Ruskin 1906, vol. 1: 448

¹⁷ Tolstoy 1855b: 45

¹⁸ Ryan 1997: 50. See also Schwartz and Ryan 2003: 3

¹⁹ Tagg 1988: 3

Crimean battery as a stage set, the men posed for the camera, the camera positioned to enhance an autoptic reading. Neither image offers a 'palpable reality' any more than Fenton's Crimean photographs did, despite the perceived indexical relationship between the photographic plate and the world captured upon it.

Subjective and contingent vision

This thesis explores how photography entered the field of travel imagery, at first following the format of print portfolios but subsequently offering new ways in which images of the world could be purchased and displayed. The role of photography in reflecting (and influencing) the perceptual changes of the nineteenth century, what Jonathan Crary has described as a 'modernization of vision', is analyzed.²⁰ Crary has written extensively on the cultural and scientific recognition of the subjective, fragmentary and conditional nature of human vision that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century.²¹ Vision, he argues, went from being an external, fixed and ahistoric way of looking at the world to something internal and dependent on the individual subject, the person looking. This made vision unpredictable and contingent. The visual climate in which overseas photographs began to be collected is key to understanding how and why photographic albums developed as a popular form of travel image accumulation. Photography became a competitive medium for the creation of travel imagery at a time when eighteenth-century aristocratic fixed signs were replaced by more mutable and contingent nineteenth-century images that Crary states signified the modernity of the age.²² The personal photographic albums in the NMM collection are an extension of this, the contemporary photographs arranged subjectively according to each compiler's own instincts and experiences.

One of the earliest examples of the camera being used to compile a series of travel views is N. P. Lerebours' *Excursions Daguerriennes: vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (1841-42). Lerebours' daguerreotypes of national views, ordered alphabetically, were translated into engravings in order to be reproduced. His publication included views of Nubia, Palestine and Syria and preceded a photographic fascination with the Middle East that, following the invention of the wet-plate process,

²⁰ Crary 1992: 5

²¹ Crary 2008: 59. See also Crary 1992 and Crary 2001

²² Crary 1992: 17

led to series such as Maxime du Camp's ambitious *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* (1852). Both series offered a photographic (and competitive) response to David Roberts' multi-volume lithographic edition of his watercolours of the Holy Land and Egypt, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia* (1842-49).

The early photographic album, with its prescribed order of views, grew out of the market for picturesque travel prints such as Roberts' that was firmly established by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Prints could offer increased distribution for artists such as Roberts. They also made painted views affordable for the growing middle class. Lithography was invented at the turn of the nineteenth-century and colour lithographs were able to replicate watercolours more quickly, economically and accurately than ever before.²³ In terms of reproducibility and affordability photography was closest to printmaking, and early photographic portfolios were carefully aligned to replicate the traditional methods of presenting travel prints for sale. Crary has stated that in the nineteenth century, however, 'new modes of circulation, communication, production, consumption, and rationalization all demanded and shaped a new kind of observer-consumer.'²⁴ This new observer-consumer, typified by the naval officer on overseas service, asserted his own subjectivity, buying photographs from a range of studios and sources around the world. On the officer's return to Britain he could use these images to compile a personal travel album rather than having to rely on ready-made folios of prints or photographs. This thesis will show that the subjective compiler of the personal photographic album exploited the instability of photographic signifiers, their arrangements of individual images often conditioned by different values to those of the original photographer.²⁵ The photograph's meaning could be and was altered through alternative displays.

Crary's argument for the modernization of vision has parallels with that of Peter Galassi as seen in *Before Photography: Painting and the Invention of Photography* (1981). Galassi claims that photography had its roots in fifteenth-century linear perspective and developed out of pictorial changes witnessed in painting in the early nineteenth

²³ See Lister 1984: 15-20

²⁴ Crary 1992: 14

²⁵ For the instability of meaning see Edwards 2011: 177

century.²⁶ Crary, on the other hand, claims photography developed from a total rupture with the classical model of vision (and observer), arguing: ‘To understand the “photography effect” in the nineteenth century, one must see it as a crucial component of a new cultural economy of value and exchange, not as part of a continuous history of visual representation.’²⁷ Despite their differing approaches – and both have merit – their views are broadly similar in that photography not only visually represented the change in how the world was observed but that its intrinsic nature made it highly suitable for the role. Galassi discusses the impact of photography on painting and concludes that its influence was largely because: ‘the new medium was born to an artistic environment that increasingly valued the mundane, the fragmentary, the seemingly uncomposed – that found in the contingent qualities of perception a standard of artistic, and moral, authenticity.’²⁸ He saw photography developing out of the preference for the landscape sketch, the experiential response to nature as seen in the cloud studies of John Constable for example, rather than the idealized landscape typified by Claude Lorrain. Landscape sketches, he explained:

Present a new and fundamentally modern pictorial syntax of immediate, synoptic perceptions and discontinuous, unexpected forms. It is the syntax of an art devoted to the singular and contingent rather than the universal and stable. It is also the syntax of photography.²⁹

Crary’s approach is scientific rather than art historical, exploring as it does the physiology of the viewer and how vision came to be seen to be located within each observer, ‘thus rendering vision faulty, undependable, and, it was sometimes argued, arbitrary.’³⁰

Crary’s continuing research into nineteenth-century perception greatly informs this thesis, both with regards to photography and photographic compositions as well as the nineteenth-century naval observer and the albums such officers compiled. Galassi’s influence on this thesis is more limited, as his insistence on the inability of the photographer to compose a view stands at odds with the photographic compositions considered at length in this thesis.³¹ But both Galassi and Crary investigate how the

²⁶ Galassi 1981: 16-17

²⁷ Crary 1992: 13

²⁸ Galassi 1981: 28

²⁹ Galassi 1981: 25

³⁰ Crary 2008: 60

³¹ Galassi 1981: 17

perception of the world changed in the first half of the nineteenth century, from an external and ahistoric idealized view to a personal, subjective and internal position within each observer. Galassi's argument, rooted in painting, explores this shift through the differences between paintings by Paolo Uccello (c.1397-1475) and Edgar Degas (1834-1917). The viewer, he argues, 'has no place in Uccello's picture, but he is a virtual participant in Degas's.'³² This virtual participation can also be seen in the war images of Beato, for example Figure 2, the low positioning of the camera and eye-level perspective offering the viewer the sensation of witnessing the scene for themselves from the edge of the battery.

Felice Beato, the Royal Navy and Japan

This thesis sets out to reveal how an analysis of the visual acuity and collecting habits of naval officers and the photographic practice of leading photographer Felice Beato can aid our understanding of how the nineteenth-century world was viewed following the invention of photography. Japan, a closed country until 1859 and therefore of great curiosity to the British public in the 1860s and 1870s, offers a geographic confluence of both naval collecting habits and the marketing strategies of Beato. Beato's albums produced in Japan for a naval market therefore form case studies within this thesis. The use of case studies reflects current academic approaches to similar archives, what Edwards has referred to as 'vertical samplings'.³³ These case studies allow for an in-depth exploration of particular images, pages and albums, a vertical core sampling through a bedrock of material, that can then be used to indicate broader themes and connect the archive to wider discourses.

Felice Beato followed the military and navy from the Crimea to India in 1858, where they had been deployed to quell the Sepoy Mutiny. He subsequently accompanied the British military commander Sir James H. Grant to China and photographed the Second Opium War. In 1863 he travelled to Japan and established a studio in Yokohama with the ILN special artist Charles Wirgman, whom he had previously worked alongside in China. In Yokohama, where Beato was to live and work for twenty-one years, he built up a successful photographic business whose initial market, this thesis attests, was naval and military.

³² Galassi 1981: 18

³³ Edwards 2001a: 4. See also Ryan 1997: 26; Barringer, Quilley and Fordham 2007: 11

Japan was a country closed to British trade and tourism until 1859, when five treaty ports were opened, the most important of which was Yokohama.³⁴ Foreigners were restricted to travelling no further than twenty-five miles from treaty ports and there was much anti-foreigner sentiment that resulted in the deaths of several British officers in the 1860s.³⁵ The limitations the Japanese government placed on foreign exploration of their country ensured that most naval officers visiting Yokohama had a similar visual experience. There were only a few places that they could legitimately visit, such as the Kamakura temple complex and the giant bronze Buddha Daibouts. Western tourists did not arrive in Japan in significant numbers until the establishment of the monthly steamer route from San Francisco to Yokohama in 1867, and the expansion of the tourist route from Europe beyond India in the 1870s and 1880s.³⁶ The travel specialist Thomas Cook didn't organize his first world tour until 1872-73, and influential British publisher John Murray didn't publish his first Japan guidebook for Western tourists until 1884.³⁷ However, hundreds of British naval ships and other British and Western vessels moored in Yokohama's harbour each year throughout the 1860s. Permanent military camps, set up on the Bluff behind Yokohama to protect the town from anti-foreigner attacks, further added to this proto-tourist market that Beato and other commercial photographers were keen to attract.

When considering the following description of Beato's practice by Allen Hockley it is important to note that, as with many other texts that consider Beato's time in Japan, the military and naval market Beato initially catered for is overlooked:

The viability of a studio was especially contingent on the photographer's capacity to assess the desires, needs, and expectations of his clientele who, for the most part, were foreign tourists and residents of Japan's treaty ports [...] Photographers certainly created the actual images, but as with any commercial product, the potential sale and, by extension, the intended consumer projected a powerful presence during production.³⁸

³⁴ Sawatari 2006: 83

³⁵ Satow 1921: 27, 134-140

³⁶ See Hockley 2004: 69

³⁷ Hamilton 2005; Satow and Hawes 1884. My thanks to Amy Miller, curator of the 2015 'Travelling East' exhibition at the NMM, for this information

³⁸ Hockley 2004: 67

Eleanor M. Hight likewise talks of ‘foreign photograph collectors’ being diplomats, merchants or tourists, and doesn’t mention the European military presence in Japan.³⁹ Yet as William E. Griffis noted in his 1876 world memoir, Yokohama was dominated by the English, ‘their ever-present soldiers and navy’ contributing to the prevalence of English thought and manners in the treaty port.⁴⁰ Unlike the ‘globe trotter’, who spent significant amounts of time and money propelling him or herself around the world at speed, the naval officer experienced new lands as part of his professional life.⁴¹ As Major W. H. Poyntz recollected in his memoir:

If in a happy ship, a marine officer’s life is very pleasant, considering the opportunities of seeing foreign countries are abundant. Private individuals often spend thousands of pounds for that object without the same social position and advantages which attach to connection with the Royal Navy.⁴²

Photographic studios established in ports frequented by the Royal Navy in the 1860s catered for this audience. Consequently, the relatively unexplored naval market for photography and the naval officers’ subsequent interpretation and display of photographs in their albums forms a significant component of this thesis.

The naval market was a significant one. The navy’s purpose had shifted significantly following the Napoleonic wars. By the 1850s its role was, according to Michael Lewis, ‘no longer that of *warrior*, fighting Britain’s enemies for her, but that of *policeman*, keeping order in a new world which its prowess had created.’⁴³ By the 1860s, the Royal Navy operated a global fleet fitted with new steam engines and the latest technological advancements in weaponry. Naval stations with coaling depots were established around the world from which British ships policed ports, coastlines and open water to ensure safe routes for British vessels to and from the its trading empire.⁴⁴ Steam allowed them to travel against the prevailing winds and the few remaining closed countries, such as Japan and Korea, were repeatedly pressured to open their borders through a show of Western diplomacy and military force. The personal photographic albums of naval officers record the journeys they made as part of this naval police force. They appear as

³⁹ Hight 2002: 128

⁴⁰ Griffis 1883 (first published 1876): 341-342

⁴¹ For the etymology of ‘globe trotter’ see Guth 2004: xi-xii

⁴² Poyntz 1892: 51-52

⁴³ Lewis 1965: 10

⁴⁴ A map, published by T. B. Johnston in 1886, showed steamboat routes and RN stations across the globe. Cited in Ryan 1997: 20-21. A similar example from *The Graphic* is illustrated in Ryan 1997: 20

visual equivalents of memoirs, accounts of their travels authenticated by the seeming indexicality of the photographs they included.

Before naval officers started their overseas service they may have seen individual examples of photographic views and costumes from abroad belonging to fellow officers. They also experienced the secondary presentation of such material through a variety of media including books and the illustrated press. The popularity of performative methods of viewing the world in the 1850s would also have had an impact on their expectations. Dioramas, panoramas and stereoscopic displays all allowed views of the world to unfold over time or in apparent three dimensions. Even though the observer was largely static when looking at dioramas and through stereoscopic viewers, the images were brought to life with lighting effects, noises or – in the case of the stereoscope – the replication of binocular vision to create three-dimensional scenes. They could not be experienced in a single instant, but had to be absorbed over time. Stereoscopic images for use with stereoscopes at home were sold in series, not unlike the views sold by the dozen by overseas photographers such as Beato.⁴⁵ The user of the stereoscope had control over the order he or she viewed the images they purchased, rather like the owner of a dozen views of Japan. The stereoscope was wildly popular, the London Stereoscopic Company selling half a million stereoscopes by 1857, and offering 100,000 views for sale.⁴⁶ However, this thesis concentrates on an examination of overseas photographs in albums, where the choice of image display was fixed at the point of compilation and can now be studied. Consequently the stereoscopic view is beyond its remit.

The nineteenth-century world: Ways of seeing

This thesis looks at both individual photographs and the albums they appeared in. It considers several individual photographs as case studies and examines the layers of construction and history inherent in each one. Roland Barthes, Victor Burgin, Galassi, Edwards, and others have all proposed that there are three or four layers present in any one image that must be analysed.⁴⁷ Drawing on their research I assess the layers of composition and slippage present at several moments in the construction and

⁴⁵ For example, *Franklin Relics: stereoscopic prints* (1859), NMM 1402. See Appendix C

⁴⁶ This information is cited in Krauss 1982: 139

⁴⁷ See Barthes 1961: 15; Galassi 1981: 16; Burgin 1977: 148; Edwards 1995: 54

consumption of individual photographs. The location of the original photograph and the agency of those involved in its composition are considered, as is the photographer's own aims in the production of a particular view or costume. The marketing of the photograph and how it is purchased and displayed also informs my argument, as does the secondary usage of the image.

In *Camera Lucida* Barthes noted that the photograph constantly operates in the present, animating the viewer, but he argued that the photograph itself remained passive, inanimate.⁴⁸ Unlike Barthes, who argued for the denotative inscription of meaning within a photograph, Allan Sekula argued that photographs are incomplete messages, and that 'the meaning of any photographic message is necessarily context-determined.'⁴⁹ Edwards has activated Barthes' inanimate photograph and built on Sekula's context-determined image to add a chronological perspective and suggest that, 'both photographic object and content change meaning as they move through time, through different discursive spaces or entanglements.'⁵⁰ The case studies considered in this thesis provide concrete examples of such entanglements and pictorial slippage. They also look at the wider context for individual photographs, for as Edwards and Hart have stated:

An object cannot be fully understood at any single point in its existence but should be understood as belonging in a continuing process of production, exchange, usage and meaning. As such, objects are enmeshed in, and active in, social relations, not merely passive entities in these processes.⁵¹

Edwards has cited Deborah Poole's model of a visual economy as appropriate for a consideration of nineteenth-century photography and photographic albums: 'One must consider the whole pattern of their production, circulation, consumption, possession, and preservation, encompassing both the broad modes of production and the microlevels of individual usage.'⁵² This thesis considers both individual photographs and complete albums as part of this spectrum. While it adheres to Edwards' position that a photograph's subsequent entanglements and differing contexts potentially alter its meaning, this thesis does not support Tagg's assertion that photography has no inherent

⁴⁸ Barthes 1984: 20

⁴⁹ Barthes 1961: 20; Sekula 1982: 85

⁵⁰ Edwards 1995: 50

⁵¹ Edwards and Hart 2004: 4

⁵² Poole 1997: 9-13 in Edwards 2011: 176

identity of its own, that its identity is entirely context- and consumption-driven.⁵³ Tagg denies the agency of the practitioner in constructing the original image and this is not a position I maintain.

Cultural fusion: Felice Beato and ukiyo-e

This thesis considers the role of cultural fusion and how the assimilation of local traditions could influence a photographer's output by examining several of Beato's photographs. This assimilation suggests recognition of another way of visualizing the world (expounded by ukiyo-e), a fragmentation of the traditional fixed Western perspective in line with the modernization of vision in nineteenth-century Europe that prioritized subjectivity and multiple viewpoints.

Past research on Beato has often prioritized biography over context and aesthetics. Beato's biography was extensively documented in the 1980s and 1990s by John Clark, John Fraser and Colin Osman.⁵⁴ Terry Bennett has also contributed to an understanding of the photographer's movements and circumstances.⁵⁵ More recently scholars have approached Beato's oeuvre through individual discourses. Hight for example considered Beato's photographs of Japanese women through the problematized Orientalist discourse.⁵⁶

Edward Said's hugely influential research into the relationship between West and East, rooted as it was in Foucault, has been subsequently problematized by Homi K. Bhabha, John MacKenzie and others.⁵⁷ Julie F. Codell and Dianne S. Macleod, in *Orientalism Transposed*, critiqued Said's unilateral approach to the 'other', suggesting photographs were instead the sites of complex and cross-cultural exchanges.⁵⁸ Said's *Orientalism* (1978) led to the germination of postcolonial studies that have since explored and increasingly critiqued Said's position. Said's uni-directional approach, from the West to the East, simplified a complex and cross-cultural period of world history. Bhabha, in

⁵³ Tagg 1988: 63

⁵⁴ See Clark 1989; Clark 2001; Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001. See also Osman 1987; Osman 1988; Osman 1990; Osman 1992; Osman 1994; Clark 1991

⁵⁵ Bennett 1996; Bennett 1997; Bennett 2003; Bennett 2006a; Bennett 2006b; Bennett 2006c

⁵⁶ Hight 2002: 126-158

⁵⁷ Said 2003; Bhabha 1994; MacKenzie 1995. See also Hight and Sampson 2002: 1-19 (p. 7)

⁵⁸ Codell and Macleod 1998: 1-10 (p. 3)

The Location of Culture, noted that colonial discourse following the Saidean model depended on:

The concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness. Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical model of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition.⁵⁹

As the examples given in Chapters 1 and 3 suggest, it is slippage rather than fixity that is present within nineteenth-century photographic albums.

Bhabha suggests it is at the interstices of cultures, 'the overlap and displacement of domains of difference', where 'the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated.'⁶⁰ In the introduction to the volume in which Hight's essay on Beato is published, Hight and Gary D. Sampson noted: 'cultural exchanges, which were informed by fine shades of political ideology and policies of authority, were more complex and varied than the Foucauldian theorizing of the colonialist/colonized relationship would allow.'⁶¹ Following such developments, this thesis considers the cross-cultural fusion visible in Beato's photographs of Japan and in the personal albums of naval officers.

One example of cross-cultural fusion explored in this thesis is the relationship between Beato and the Japanese print tradition of ukiyo-e. In 1979 Clark Worswick made connections between ukiyo-e and Beato's work, noting Beato's use of groupings and props seen in the popular Japanese prints of the period. He also suggested that the Japanese approach to landscape, 'more lyrical and abstract than the European', may have impacted on his work.⁶² But since Worswick's comparative analysis between ukiyo-e and Beato's photographs, few scholars have considered this area of study. Philipp March and Claudia Delank, in their introduction to *The Adventures of Japanese Photography 1860-1890*, included a two-page section entitled 'The Ukiyo-e as the art historical predecessor of Yokohama Photography'. This featured a summary of broad compositional parallels between ukiyo-e and Western photography of Japan, which included 'the selection of particular details or fragments, the diagonal composition and

⁵⁹ Bhabha 1994: 94

⁶⁰ Bhabha 1994: 2

⁶¹ Hight and Sampson 2002: 7

⁶² Worswick 1979: 133

the cutting off of objects in the foreground'.⁶³ However they did not develop this further, and their text chiefly connects the two art forms through a continuation of ukiyo-e themes that were duplicated in early photographs of Japan, such as views of famous places and beautiful women.⁶⁴ Bennett, in *Early Japanese Images*, restricted his comparative analysis to a single sentence.⁶⁵

In her 2002 essay on Beato's photographs of Japanese women, Hight stated: 'These photographers adopted imagery from contemporary Japanese ukiyo-e prints to create sexual fantasies of Japanese women.'⁶⁶ She touched on the role of ukiyo-e in Beato's work but her analysis was restricted to shared subject matter rather than any aesthetic comparison. She returned to ukiyo-e as source material for Beato, writing that Beato constructed settings for his costume views, 'mimicking the everyday subjects he found in the Japanese ukiyo-e prints'.⁶⁷ She concluded that ukiyo-e provided Beato and his Western clients with an 'inventory of subjects'.⁶⁸ Even when Hight considered Beato's hand-colouring of his prints she did not discuss them in relation to the influence of ukiyo-e but stated that by hand-colouring them they became competitive with Japanese prints, as well as with coloured Western travel prints.⁶⁹

None of the references cited consider in any depth the role of Japanese aesthetics in the construction of Beato's photographs for a Western audience. And yet ukiyo-e clearly contributed to the composition of Beato's work as examples in this thesis attest. My investigation into the influence of ukiyo-e on Beato – a European photographer already skilled in the use of the Western picturesque – reveals the cultural fusion that occurred in Yokohama at this time. It suggests new avenues of thinking as to the impact such photographs had back in Britain, translated into ILN engravings and book illustrations in a country in the grip of the fashionable craze of Japonisme. It also reveals how secondary image translators such as wood engravers in the illustrated press altered

⁶³ March and Delank 2002: 18-20

⁶⁴ March and Delank 2002: 20

⁶⁵ Bennett 1996: 39

⁶⁶ Other photographers included Baron Raimund von Stillfried and Kimbei Kusakabe, both of whom originally studied with Beato. Hight 2002: 128

⁶⁷ Hight 2002: 148

⁶⁸ Hight 2002: 151

⁶⁹ Hight 2002: 151

photographs, reascribing them with picturesque elements to aid the perceived comfort of Western viewers when contemplating foreign views.

Imperialism, the Royal Navy and Felice Beato

Empire and imperialism inform much recent literature on nineteenth-century overseas photography, as seen in the work of Jeffrey Auerbach, Julie F. Codell and Dianne S. Macleod.⁷⁰ Significant new research on Beato and imperialism has been undertaken most recently by Luke Gartlan and Sebastian Dobson. Dobson's 2004 essay on Beato's time in Japan offers a detailed appraisal, from an imperial perspective, of the influence of Japan on Beato.⁷¹ Beato made a prolonged and comprehensive contribution to nineteenth-century imperial photography, and his photographs of wars are most often studied through the lens of imperialism. In *Picturing Empire*, Ryan's influential book on photography and imperialism, he stated:

Photographic images do not simply 'speak for themselves' or show us the world through an innocent historical eye. Rather, they are invested with meanings framed by and produced within specific cultural conditions and historical circumstances. I thus argue that photographs – composed, reproduced, circulated and arranged for consumption within particular social circles in Britain – reveal as much about the imaginative landscapes of imperial culture as they do about the physical spaces of people pictured within their frame. In this respect they are themselves expressions of the knowledge and power that shaped the reality of Empire.⁷²

For naval officers serving overseas, patriotism and a sense of imperial authority was reinforced on a daily basis. Officers travelled the globe on British ships, lived under British rules and regulations and fraternized with other Britons at the coaling and supply stations established around the world. R. W. Leyland recounted a dinner on board HMS Audacious and a young midshipman's view of the Russian vessel moored nearby:

The supreme contempt with which he treated the idea of anything that the Russian fleet might consider itself able to do when in the neighbourhood of the 'Audacious' was pleasing to national vanity, and prompted the reflection that as long as our sailors hold fast to such views there is not much chance of England losing her prestige at sea.⁷³

⁷⁰ Auerbach 2004; Codell and Macleod 1998; Codell 2003

⁷¹ See Dobson 2004: 30-39

⁷² Ryan 1997: 19-20

⁷³ Leyland 1880: 195

Naval officers lived in a world of British pursuits despite being in Hong Kong or Cape Town or Yokohama. Horse-racing, sailing competitions, champagne dinners, balls, services on deck and Christmas dinner were all regular fixtures.⁷⁴ Beato was also a familiar face for officers in the navy and military, whether they were involved in overseas incursions or stationed in Yokohama. He was well-known from his time photographing the British at war in the Crimea, India and China. Captain S. H. Jones-Parry recounted how he met Beato:

I had first made his acquaintance whilst engaged in photography under the walls of Sebastopol; I next accosted him amidst the blood and carnage at Lucknow [during the Sepoy rebellion]; and now finally we met in the streets of Yokohama. Could anyone have chosen three more distant places, or more varied circumstances, to meet under?⁷⁵

Although Jones-Parry considered the places Beato and himself had met to be varied, they were not. Beato all but ensured the repeat meetings by following the British naval and military forces from the Crimea to India and on to China, and subsequently photographing incursions in Japan, Korea, Sudan and Burma.

Jones-Parry was a military officer in the 102nd Royal Madras Fusiliers. When the nineteenth-century military market for photographs is considered, it is most often presented as one that is resolutely imperial in outlook, the photographs underpinned by ‘an ideology of empire’ and representing a ‘collective colonial memory’.⁷⁶ David Harris and Isobel Crombie both follow Ryan’s methodology in their approach to Beato’s photographs of wars in India and China. They contextualize Beato as a photographer working for an imperial market, providing views, Harris suggests, ‘to reveal aspects of the inner mechanics of imperialism’.⁷⁷ Harris’s focus on Beato’s imperial lens is at the cost of any formal analysis of his photographs of China and India, and he barely suggests that Beato composed his views in an aesthetic sense.⁷⁸ Beato’s specific framing of views, at times picturesque as in ‘Chutter Manzil Palace’ (Figure 4), at times autoptic

⁷⁴ Poyntz 1892: 80 (service), 87 (champagne dinner), 99 (Christmas day). See also NMM Albums, for example ALB175 (horse racing), ALB282 (sailing), ALB153 (balls on deck)

⁷⁵ Jones-Parry 1881, vol. 2: 25

⁷⁶ Harris 1999:19, 27; Ryan 1997: 12

⁷⁷ Harris 2000: 126

⁷⁸ There is no mention of an aesthetic approach until the final page and even then it is in parenthesis, Harris 2000: 122

and ‘real’ as in ‘Interior of the Secundra Bagh’ (Figure 5), is not explored as something Beato was consciously in control of.⁷⁹

Harris’s concentration on the imperial nature of Beato’s photographs is at the expense of any art historical consideration. Ryan and Joel Snyder also consider the formal analysis of nineteenth-century photographs by Beato and others to be less significant than their preferred geopolitical approach.⁸⁰ Ryan stated that the indexical nature of photography meant the photographer could never completely control the view made by the camera. And yet, as several case studies in this thesis make clear, the photograph’s aesthetic composition and the photographer’s ability to control the view could give the photograph a unique identity of its own prior to its investiture in subsequent discourses by those who purchased and displayed it. Such a formal aesthetic assessment does not have to be at the cost of other approaches and I do not mean to deny the validity of considering photographs as political currency, consumer goods or material objects. But an art historical perspective on such material can offer further valuable insights into the working practices of overseas artists as well as contribute to the expanded discourse of visual economy.

Bell has referred to Ryan’s approach as ‘a fairly blunt instrument’.⁸¹ Likewise, Gartlan has argued that the imperial approach pioneered by Ryan is at the expense of a more nuanced cross-cultural experience. ‘Nineteenth-century Japan presents a compelling counter-argument,’ he wrote, ‘which often witnessed the camera’s social use as a means of cultural exchange and mutual interest rather than dominance and control.’⁸² Gartlan’s argument is founded on a consideration of the number of Japanese photographers who established studios in Yokohama and Nagasaki in the early years of the 1860s but it can also be extended to Beato, who was working in Japan and assimilating aspects of Japanese culture that subsequently informed his work for a Western market.

Recent developments in postcolonial studies have led to the increasing consideration of agency within travel photography and Bell and Edwards have produced important work

⁷⁹ See for example Harris 2000: 127-128. Harris acknowledges the horror of the image ‘lies in the strangeness of its composition’ but offers an ineffectual analysis as to how and why the image was created

⁸⁰ Snyder 1994: 175-201 (pp. 197-198)

⁸¹ Bell 2005: 173

⁸² Gartlan 2009a: 146

in this field. Bell, in his writings on the painter Augustus Earle (1793-1838), has suggested that even within the oeuvre of a single artist there may be contradictions and conflicting viewpoints: ‘These various selves/eyes, and the construction of the various stories they allow, may problematize the ways of seeing and the certainties of proponents of all-powerful “imperial eyes”.’⁸³ Such contradictions and complexities may be seen in the individual photographic albums considered in this thesis as well as in the studio albums of Beato.

Chapter summaries

This thesis considers the impact of photography on travel imagery and its dissemination in Britain during the first fifty years of photography. The creation of individual narratives in personal photographic albums is considered in Chapter 1. Chapter 1 analyzes personal photographic albums compiled by naval officers in the NMM collection. This chapter argues that such personal and subjective albums, ‘curated’ by middle-class officers, only became prevalent after the advent of photography and the opening of overseas photographic studios. This chapter compares the arrangement of photographs purchased in Japan by naval officers Tynte F. Hammill and Frederick North and how they were used to narrate different experiences of the country. The chapter also considers the role of the ship and its significance in individual album displays. It presents three examples of cultural fusion at odds with Saidean Orientalism, and argues for a more nuanced reading of such albums. It concludes with an assessment of the functions of the photographic travel album, and the officers increased agency in controlling their personalized world view.

Chapter 2 considers the role of photography in visualizing the Crimean War. The Crimean War was the first to be competitively recorded by photographers and locates photography within a complex marketplace for travel imagery. The chapter investigates how the naval and military network provided Western photographers such as Beato with a significant early market beyond Europe. The chapter considers Beato’s role as Robertson’s pupil and frames Beato as a young photographer working in Robertson’s name. Photographers working in the Crimea were able to supply images directly to

⁸³ Bell 1998: 123

those involved in the Allied campaign as well as compete for sales in Britain and this chapter delineates the market for images.

Chapter 3 focuses on Beato's studio albums of Japanese views and costumes that were compiled in the 1860s. The chapter considers multiple readings of Beato's compositions based on cultural fusion, Beato's assimilation of Japanese aesthetics and representations of modernizing Japan. It challenges the assumption that such studio albums were fixed entities, instead suggesting that elements of slippage point to a fluid and contingent method of production that suggests that the subjectivity of each purchaser influenced their composition. This chapter considers the visual economy of how individual photographs and the albums themselves were marketed and disseminated.

Beato's Korean albums of 1871 are presented as a war album case study in Chapter 4. Through an analysis of five albums held in archives in Britain and America it can be seen that studio albums from this period were more varied and subjective than previous research suggests.⁸⁴ This claim is supported by examples of notable differences across the extant albums. Korea is a pertinent case study because it was a closed country prior to the invention of photography (like Japan), only subsequently opening up in the 1880s. Beato's Korean albums represent the first significant body of work to visualize the country and as such they were hugely influential. This chapter reveals how an event such as the American incursion in Korea in 1871 was shaped back home by this single visual source. It explores how Beato constructed his Korean compositions and to what end, and how the album was carefully planned to appeal to as many who had taken part in the incursion as possible.

The varied use of Beato's Korean photographs in American and British media is considered in Chapter 5. Chapter 5 offers an overview of how images of Japan and Korea were translated into wood engravings for use in the illustrated press and publications in Britain, particularly in the *ILN* and published travel memoirs. It considers the media's role in the wider dissemination of photography and notes how editors and engravers sought to manipulate photographic views for their own purposes.

⁸⁴ See for example Hockley 2006a: 127

The chapter presents several examples in which a single image appears in a number of published guises, with different agendas at play in each instance.

Chapter 1. The whole imagined world: The photographic albums of naval officers Frederick North and Tynte F. Hammill

This chapter considers personal photographic albums compiled by British naval officers through two case studies of albums by Captain Tynte F. Hammill and paymaster Frederick North. Catalogue details for these albums can be found in Appendix C. Both the albums include photographs of Japan from the late 1860s and 1870s and this material allows for a comparative analysis of how Japan was presented within personal albums. This chapter asks how albums compiled by male naval officers in this period present the world they experienced. Created before the tourist albums of the later nineteenth century, such as those of William Vaughn Tupper (1891-95), and geographically more extensive than the domestic albums of Victorian women created in British drawing rooms, for example Mary A. Burnip's album (1870s; National Media Museum, Bradford), what do these albums tell us about the world their compilers experienced, how they experienced it and how they recorded their experiences?⁸⁵ And how does this differ from or mirror other types of album display from this period?

By the time Hammill and North journeyed to Japan, photographic albums were present in most Victorian drawing rooms. Albums with pre-cut sleeves were used to display fashionable cartes-de-visite and cabinet photographs, and photographs of family and friends were often pasted into blank albums, sometimes in decorative displays.⁸⁶ Martha Langford, in her comprehensive analysis of nineteenth and twentieth-century Canadian family photographic albums, noted that 'Victorian intellectual pastimes could be transposed onto photography: sketching, collecting, and preserving specimens; mounting theatrical productions; storytelling and conversation.'⁸⁷ As with earlier albums of personal sketches or collections of autographs or prints, the method of compilation was unique to the compiler. As Langford notes: 'Personal albums reflect the predilections and experiences of the compilers whose collections, memoirs, travelogues, or family histories they are.'⁸⁸ Through their own album arrangements the naval officers considered in this chapter offered their personal accounts of the world they experienced on overseas service.

⁸⁵ For Tupper albums see Nordström 2004: 81-95

⁸⁶ For example see Batchen 2005: 72, Haworth-Booth 2010: 8 and McCauley 1985

⁸⁷ Langford 2001: 24

⁸⁸ Langford 2001: 6

This chapter examines the role the compiler played in the ‘entanglements’ of the photographs they collected.⁸⁹ Jonathan Crary argues that in the nineteenth century vision was recognized as originating within the body and that it was no longer seen as fixed, unchanging and external.⁹⁰ Vision became contingent and subjective. Following Crary, and through a consideration of Hammill and North’s albums, the individual physiological and psychological makeup of the naval compiler can be seen to have actively directed photographic selection and display. Instead of the album’s order and subject matter being dictated by the artist or photographer responsible for the image’s inception – as seen in print portfolios or early photographic studio albums – the photographic collector himself became the active, controlling agent, the ‘curator’ of his own world view. These albums by North and Hammill, I argue, go beyond the selection possibilities for studio albums that are considered in Chapters 3 and 4 and place the collector at the centre of image accumulation and presentation.

This chapter also considers the gendering implicit in the naval albums of North and Hammill. Patrizia Di Bello, in *Women’s Albums and Photography in Victorian England*, discusses the compilation of domestic photographic albums as something largely undertaken by women in Victorian society.⁹¹ An example of a page from a woman’s album can be seen in Figure 6, where Mary A. Burnip displayed nine photographs in a complex arrangement as part of a fan motif. Di Bello notes that men did compile albums, ‘but these were usually associated with specific professional endeavours.’⁹² The naval albums compiled by North and Hammill, and the majority of albums in the NMM collection, were compiled by men at home on leave. At times they did focus on their naval profession, as seen in the group portrait in Figure 7, and the arrangement of carte-sized portraits of officers in Figure 8. But they also utilized collage techniques more commonly associated with female album compilers, as can be seen in North’s own fan motif in Figure 9. Other examples, however, show a gendered display of material that is not present in Victorian domestic albums compiled by women, for example Figure 10. This new territory of male album compilation is explored in this chapter.

⁸⁹ Edwards 1995: 55 and Langford 2001: 19

⁹⁰ Crary 2008: 60

⁹¹ Di Bello 2007: 1-2; 31

⁹² Di Bello 2007: 31

Both North and Hammill's albums include multiple portraits of naval vessels, and this chapter considers the use and significance of the ship – their equivalent of the domestic space of the home seen in female albums – in their displays. It also expands the geographical framework to consider further groupings of photographs in Hammill and North's albums and argues that, despite the albums being compiled by officers serving overseas on naval vessels that were often seen as the locus of Britishness and imperialism, their compilation at times shows evidence of complex cultural fusion.

Naval officers and the market for photography: Photographs of Asia

From an examination of the NMM nineteenth-century photographic albums it can be ascertained that photographs were significant to many naval officers. Hammill surrounded himself with portraits of friends and family in his cabin, as seen in Figure 1. Officers in Yokohama visited the studios of Beato and Baron Raimund von Stillfried, and acquired photographs in other ways. Officers exchanged photographs with people they stayed with – Captain S. H. Jones-Parry recollected his Japanese attendant giving him a portrait of himself, and his landlady gave him a photograph of her tea house that he kept in his 'collection'.⁹³ Men posed for group photographs on the decks of their ships, indicating photographers regularly visited vessels in the bay. Officers visited portrait studios, as recounted by the French writer and naval lieutenant Louis-Marie-Julien Viaud, writing as Pierre Loti in *Madame Chrysanthème*. He sent his protagonist, moos'mie and naval friend to: 'the best photographer in Nagasaki, to be taken in a group together. We shall send the photograph to France. Yves already smiles as he thinks of his wife's astonishment when she sees Chrysanthème's little face between us two.'⁹⁴

Japanese merchants sold photographs to officers from junks brought alongside naval vessels, and photographers tried to entice hotel guests to make purchases from their photographic series.⁹⁵ Longfellow received curio dealers in his hotel room in Moroiku, and it is possible that photographers also visited hotels in this way, perhaps leaving sample books like NMeM Album 107 for potential clients to look at (This album is

⁹³ Jones-Parry 1881, vol. 2: 90, 93

⁹⁴ Loti 1889: 249

⁹⁵ See Loti 1889: 17; Leyland 1880: 152

discussed in Chapter 3).⁹⁶ Photographs sold in this way, in hotel rooms and from junks, were offered as souvenirs like the curios they were competing with for the officer's or tourist's attention. Susan Stewart has written of the souvenir as a stand-in for an event that cannot be repeated.⁹⁷ It becomes the material stand-in for the event, a tangible prop in the narrating of memories connected with the event.⁹⁸ Poyntz clipped sprigs from the weeping willow over Napoleon's tomb and Hammill did the same, including a sprig in his album captioned: 'Picked from the willow tree planted by Napoleon I at St Helena and growing close to the park[?] by T. F. H., Feby 1870'.⁹⁹ North pressed ferns and leaves between the pages of a later album.¹⁰⁰ These were real fragments of the world, an authentic trace of the world they had experienced. Photographs were often talked about in a similar way, repeatedly praised in magazines and newspapers for 'telling the truth' with forensic exactitude.¹⁰¹

When photographs from abroad reached home, either via the mail ships or at the end of service, they were displayed in various ways. Longfellow regularly sent photographs home to his sisters in America, including Beato's photographs of the 1871 Korean skirmish (This altercation and Beato's subsequent album is discussed in Chapter 4). His sisters showed his photographs of Korea and Japan to their circle of friends, fuelling interest in both these countries.¹⁰² Hight states that albums containing Japanese photographs were 'parlour entertainment', and continues:

By showing them to other people, the collector could validate his or her cultural sophistication, either as having travelled to Japan – a modern, colonialist [sic] extension of the Grand Tour – or, if purchased by an armchair traveller, at least as having an interest in Japanese culture.¹⁰³

Lieut.-Col. Gother F. Mann posted Beato's photographs of the Second Opium War to his wife at home in England. In her return letters, Margaret Mann discussed the safe arrival of the photographs, describing them as 'very perfect and interesting'. She loaned them to his parents for their musical party as 'it was supposed these pictures of the

⁹⁶ Longfellow's experience is recounted in Hight 2004: 106-107

⁹⁷ Stewart 1993: 135

⁹⁸ Houston 2001: 369-370

⁹⁹ Poyntz 1892: 81; Hammill's album, NMM ALB282/321 verso (unnumbered)

¹⁰⁰ Pressed leaves appear throughout North's later album NMM ALB30

¹⁰¹ 'Some of the Modern Appliances of Photography', *Photographic Times*, 1.3 (1871): 34 in Green-Lewis 1996: 3

¹⁰² Guth 2004: 59

¹⁰³ Hight 2004: 119

scene of war would prove extremely interesting.’ She discussed his photographs as a set and made suggestions as to areas of his collection to which he could add, suggesting they ‘have a book [album] to themselves’.¹⁰⁴

Samuel Bourne, who photographed India in the 1860s, discouraged the pasting in of his photographs into albums, writing: ‘One good large picture that can be framed and hung up in a room is worth a hundred little bits pasted in a scrap book.’¹⁰⁵ He was perhaps echoing a reviewer from the previous year who wrote of his work: ‘These are pictures not to be doubled up in a coarse scrap-book, but framed for the adornment of the drawing-room.’¹⁰⁶ Certainly large-format photographs were regularly pasted in to albums such as Mann’s, and North included full-page views of Japan and China by Beato and Thomson in Album 29, as seen in Figure 11.

Representations of Japan

(i) Tynte F. Hammill’s album

Hammill’s photographic album includes 666 photographs in total, as well as other material such as paper cut-outs and pressed leaves. It opens with pages of family portraits and photographs of naval colleagues. Hammill included celebrities such as Charles Dickens in his pages of carte-de-visite portraits and a small photograph of Queen Victoria forms the centre of an unfinished display.¹⁰⁷ There are almost three hundred portrait photographs pasted in to the front section of Hammill’s album, many carte-de-visite size and mounted ten to a page.

Hammill joined the Royal Navy on 15 September 1865 as a cadet, assigned to the training vessel HMS Britannia. He was thirteen years old. He turned fifteen on 6 December 1866 and two weeks later he graduated with a first-class certificate and joined HMS Rodney as a midshipman.¹⁰⁸ HMS Rodney sailed from Sheerness, England for the China station at the beginning of 1867. It was the flagship of Vice-Admiral Sir

¹⁰⁴ Margaret Mann’s correspondence is in the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Cited in Harris 1999: 33-34

¹⁰⁵ Samuel Bourne, writing in the *British Journal of Photography*, 18 March 1870: 28-29, in Hambourg 1993: 90

¹⁰⁶ Review, *British Journal of Photography*, 16 (1869): 571 in Ryan 1997: 48

¹⁰⁷ NMM ALB282/97, ALB282/107-114

¹⁰⁸ Service Record Tynte F. Hammill: Officers’ Service Records (Series III), Naval Cadets to Admirals (1854-1919), ADM/196/18, The National Archives (UK) <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk> [accessed 17.11.10]

Henry Keppel and remained the flagship of the China station until it was ordered home in 1869. In April 1870 HMS Rodney was back in Portsmouth and on 27 April Hammill's first overseas service ended. His time on HMS Rodney represented his first overseas posting where he would have shared a tiny cabin on the lower gundeck with the other midshipmen, next to the sailors' quarters.¹⁰⁹ During his time as a midshipman Hammill would have earned approximately £31 per annum.¹¹⁰ He was away from England for nearly three-and-a-half years.

Beyond the introductory pages of portraits Hammill's album follows a roughly chronological order, from his first overseas voyage in 1867 to his final position as a captain in the Channel Squadron in 1894. Towards the front of this section a large-format photograph of a ship at anchor is captioned 'H.M.S. Rodney, Hong Kong, 1869'.¹¹¹ It appears in the album within a hand-drawn border, a device that replicated the borders of folio prints and book engravings. Above the photograph an additional note reads: 'Flagship of Sir Admiral Henry Keppel K.C.B. on the China Station 1867-1868-1869'. This prefaces Hammill's photographs of his time serving as a midshipman on Keppel's flagship in China, Japan and Hong Kong. On the verso of this album leaf Hammill appears in a large-format group portrait captioned 'Officers of H.M.S. Rodney Yokohama July 23rd 1869', Figure 7. This photograph is again bordered by a black line similar to the framing device seen in print folios, framing it as if it were an artwork. Felice Beato took group portraits of naval officers and the composition is not dissimilar to his American officer portraits of 1871 as seen in Chapter 3, so there is a possibility this was taken by Beato, although the photograph is not signed.¹¹²

Several pages later a small-format photograph of HMS Rodney is moored at the centre of a display with eighteen further images by unknown photographers arranged around it, Figure 12. The ship anchors the other photographs and reminds the viewer that Hammill initially experienced Asia from the deck of a British flagship. There are four views of Nagasaki, a photograph of the Daibouts Buddha near Yokohama, anonymous portraits of Japanese men and women, and an incongruous view of a palm-lined avenue in Rio de Janeiro. Hammill also included a cartoon of Japanese women riding bicycles, which he

¹⁰⁹ Massie 2004: 384

¹¹⁰ 'Table of the Full Pay of the Royal Navy', *Navy List*, April 1865: 264-280

¹¹¹ NMM ALB282/284

¹¹² Beato also photographed the officers of HMS Conqueror in October 1864, Poyntz 1892: 219-220

captioned 'Japanese ladies of the future'. Bicycles were not introduced into Japan until 1880 according to the *Japan Gazette*, when the Anglo-Australian merchant Samuel Cocking imported them.¹¹³ Hammill also includes a four-plate reproduction of the poem 'Topside Gallah' along the bottom of the page. It is in pidgin-English, the language used for communication between Chinese and British merchants that was described as infantile and underdeveloped by nineteenth-century British writers (despite only being used because English merchants and diplomats did not bother to learn Mandarin or Cantonese).¹¹⁴ Hammill was aware 'Topside Gallah' was a pidgin version of Longfellow's poem 'Excelsior', as he has written 'Excelsior' between the poem plates. In 1871 Nehemiah Adams published his memoir *A Voyage Around the World* and included this pidgin poem alongside Longfellow's original.¹¹⁵ He also included a further parody, this time by American satirist Bret Harte, who had previously written the popular poem 'The Heathen Chinee'. It appears 'Topside Gallah' was well-known like 'The Heathen Chinee', given its inclusion in both Adams' book and Hammill's album, and Hammill was keen to reveal the inspiration for the parody by including the title 'Excelsior' underneath.

Taken as a whole this selection of images could be read as suggesting that the young Hammill was influenced by the prevailing British imperialist culture. The selection supports a reading of implied or presumed British superiority over others: technologically (the ship and the bicycles), aesthetically (the Western chair in the studio portraits), linguistically (the poem) and collectively (the ship's company as represented by the ship). However care must be taken in overlaying any one dominant reading on an album page such as this. Our twenty-first century archival perspective does not allow us to replicate Hammill's own feelings towards these images, or to understand the motives for the Japanese men and women who posed for the portraits for example. Past readings of nineteenth century photographic albums have often adhered to one dominant reading, whether imperial (James R. Ryan) or scopophilic (Eleanor M. Hight).¹¹⁶ But this single page from Hammill's album suggests that such a monocular vision is not sustainable. His selection of studio portraits for example could be seen to support an imperial reading, the Japanese men and women wishing to seem more Western as they stand by a

¹¹³ *Japan Gazette*, 18 December 1880, in Gartlan 2009a: 148

¹¹⁴ Adams 1871: 99; Jespersen 1922: 221-222; Poyntz 1892: 93

¹¹⁵ Adams 1871: 102-107

¹¹⁶ Ryan 1997; Hight 2002

Western chair. But alternatively, as I will argue shortly, the exotic allure of the West with its material objects and fashions was of equal interest to the modernizing Japanese as all things ‘Japonisme’ were to the British public at this time.

(ii) Frederick North’s album

Frederick North was stationed in China on two occasions: for six months in 1870 on HMS Barrosa, and from July 1876 to July 1877 on HMS Nassau.¹¹⁷ During one of these periods he purchased thirty-two views and costumes by Beato, mostly of Japan, now included in Album 29.¹¹⁸ North had a keen interest in photography. His earliest album held by the NMM is Album 29 and it features 329 photographs, many purchased from the best European photographers working beyond Europe including Beato, John Thomson and Hippolyte Arnoux. It features topographic views and costume photographs from around the world, including Australia, New Zealand, South America, South Africa, Burma, China, Hong Kong and Japan. While in Japan North chose to purchase views of three principal towns including the treaty ports of Nagasaki and Yokohama and the emperor’s capital Edo (Tokyo). He also purchased large-format views of Mayonashi, Buddhist temple complexes and burial grounds as well as small-format hand-tinted costumes showing Japanese men and women in a range of traditional outfits and uniforms.

North joined the Royal Navy in 1854, aged fifteen, as a clerk’s assistant. During his forty-one year career he rose to paymaster-in-chief, the position he held when he retired from active service in 1895.¹¹⁹ The paymaster was responsible for the payment of the ship’s company, and was the on-board accountant. His career as a naval paymaster was largely spent overseas. North was promoted to paymaster from assistant paymaster on 9 August 1870, a promotion that represented a significant rise in his yearly income.¹²⁰ In 1865 the *Navy List* reported that an Assistant Paymaster’s starting salary was £91 per annum, while a Paymaster started at £249 per annum and could earn up to £600 per

¹¹⁷ *Navy List*, 1870-1877

¹¹⁸ ALB29/266-295, ALB298, ALB300

¹¹⁹ Service Record Frederick North: Officers’ Service Records (Series III), Accountant, Medical and Navigating Branches’ officers: G-O. (1855-1875), ADM/196/78, and Officers’ Service Records (Series III), Paymasters. Indexed (1801-1902), ADM/196/11, The National Archives (UK) <www.nationalarchives.gov.uk> [accessed 22.11.10]

¹²⁰ Service Record Frederick North

annum.¹²¹ Beato's large-format photographs were \$2 each (approximately 9 shillings).¹²² A dozen carte-de-visite costumes were priced at \$12 (approximately £3) on Beato's 1864 price-list, Figure 13, with views priced at \$15 per dozen (just under £4) for the same size. Hand-coloured versions of these images would have been more than double this amount as they could take up to four hours each to paint. The price-list doesn't mention hand-coloured photographs by Beato, suggesting he had not started to colour them by this date. However, photographs of Charles Wirgman's 'Sketches of Ye Periode' were available hand-coloured at this time, presumably by Wirgman himself. The cost of colouration more than doubled the cost of his photographically reproduced sketches, from \$2 to \$5 each. Beato went on to employ four Japanese painters as photographic colourists and the extant hand-coloured photographs in albums such as North's suggest there was a strong market for them despite their inflated cost. North purchased over a dozen hand-coloured carte-de-visite Japanese costumes, a significant financial outlay of over \$60 (£15) if we take Wirgman's prices as a guide.

On one page in North's album, Figure 14, six photographs of Japanese women by Beato have been arranged around one photograph of a group of samurai. The photograph of two women captioned 'The Original "Grecian Bend"' in Beato's studio albums is at top left, followed clockwise by portraits of a young woman holding a dark posy of flowers, two women with a lantern, a white-faced Geisha having her hair dressed, a woman with a fan and a seated woman holding a single flower. North created a further two pages of symmetrically arranged Beato photographs of Japan. With two exceptions they feature costumes of the kind seen in Beato's studio albums of Japan. Figure 15 shows four small-format uncoloured photographs arranged in a diamond pattern that overlap the edges of a hand-coloured small-format image of a woman with a pipe. This image is the most striking of the five, largely due to the detailed colouration of the kneeling woman and the vase of flowers behind her. The two images above her feature views – a temple and a street scene – while the two below feature women posed in the studio, one with a wagasa (parasol) and one with a statue of a dog on a table. None are captioned. A further album page, Figure 16, features five small-format images, all hand-coloured,

¹²¹ *Navy List*, 1865

¹²² These currency conversions are based on contemporary accounts from 1868-69 that converted ichiboos (the local currency for foreigners in Japan) into US dollars and UK pounds. 40 ichiboos = 60 shillings, Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 28; 7 ichiboos = \$2.30, Smith College Album 1982:38-2 (49) (facing album note). Therefore £1 = \$4.27. Another account, Poyntz 1892: 217, provides prices in US dollars and UK pounds that offers a comparable conversion rate of \$4 = £1 at this time

and showing a range of Japanese male professions. Top left are 'Japanese Priests', followed clockwise by 'Rain Costume', 'Tattooed Grooms' and 'Executioner, Kanagawa'. In the centre is 'A Japanese Lady in Kangho'. Preceding North's pages of photographs by Beato is a single album page featuring three carte-sized uncoloured studio photographs of samurai and a Japanese woman.¹²³

North's photographs of Japan occupy far more album pages than Hammill's. Large-format landscapes by Beato occupy individual leaves, such as 'Mississippi Bay, near Yokohama', Figure 11. Pages such as these replicate those found in Beato's studio albums, for example Figure 17, suggesting North may have browsed similar volumes in Beato's studio before making his own selection. North bought large-format views and carte-de-visite size hand-coloured costumes. Beato's price-list states these were sold by the dozen. North's arrangement of his costumes did not reflect Beato's own costume albums, and he chose to display the small-format images in symmetrically arranged gender-specific clusters.

The album pages that feature Japan in Hammill and North's albums reflect the age and interests of each compiler. Hammill, a teenage midshipman on his first overseas posting, bought cartoons, satirical verse, and photographs of himself, as well as small uncoloured portraits of Japanese men and women. By contrast paymaster North bought from the most artistic photographers of the time.¹²⁴ He was in his thirties, earning significantly more money than Hammill and was developing a keen amateur interest in photography. In Japan he patronized Beato, and during his time on the China station he purchased large-format views of China by Thomson. He subsequently arranged his Japanese images, many of which were hand-coloured, into decorative displays, for example Figure 16. By contrast, Hammill's small-format photographs of Japan are crammed on to one album page as seen in Figure 12. Despite this, Hammill has still taken care to create a symmetrical layout and each photograph has been framed and captioned.

¹²³ NMM ALB29/267-269

¹²⁴ North subsequently took his own photographs on overseas postings: NMM ALB167 and ALB30. See Appendix C

We see both Hammill and North pasting in different types of photographs purchased in Japan to represent or ‘curate’ their own experiences of the country. This method of presentation of travel imagery is more usually associated with the wealthy tourist, such as William Vaughn Tupper, towards the end of the nineteenth century.¹²⁵ For the late-nineteenth-century world tourist, desire is often cited as the underlying motivation for travel.¹²⁶ However the officers who are the subject of this chapter did not choose to travel. It was often seen as a privilege of the job that they were able to circumnavigate the globe, but they were not propelled to travel by their own desires. These men were employed by the Royal Navy, and their lives were lived in accordance with its rules.

Naval life and the centrality of the ship

There are many single portraits of Hammill in his own album, from the time he entered the Royal Navy as a small yet confident cadet in 1865 to the year he died, aged 42, in 1894.¹²⁷ Figure 18 shows him surrounded by four fellow cadets, aged fourteen. He is the scrawniest of the five but also the most self-assured, standing in the middle of the group with his hands firmly on his hips, chest pushed out. He appears in many photographs in his album, as a confident midshipman, lieutenant, and captain.¹²⁸ North features regularly in his own album as well. In Album 29 North can be seen standing in a life-buoy during experiments in Sheerness dockyard (1867) and posing in his St James’s Levee dress uniform (1873).¹²⁹ He appears pasted into his own album underneath a ship portrait, Figure 19, and again in a display of male portraits around a reproduction of a print of a young woman reading, Figure 10.

The inclusion of so many portraits of each album compiler, both in these two examples and throughout the NMM collection, emphasizes the personal aspect of each album’s compilation. It also indicates the centrality of the personal lived experience in the compilation of the album, what Crary identified as the subjective nature of vision that was recognized as informing perception in the nineteenth century.¹³⁰ Likewise, the centrality of the ship in Hammill and North’s album displays demonstrates the

¹²⁵ For example William V. Tupper’s travel albums of 1891-95. See Nordström 2004: 81-95

¹²⁶ See for example Porter 1991; Hight 2002

¹²⁷ NMM ALB282/661

¹²⁸ For example, midshipman: NMM ALB282/293; lieutenant: ALB282/242; captain: ALB282/641

¹²⁹ NMM ALB29/73, ALB29/119

¹³⁰ Crary 1992: 74-81

important role British vessels played in each officer's perception of foreign lands and people.

Given the difference in age and rank it is unlikely Hammill and North met while serving in Japan, but in 1887-88 they did serve together on HMS Nelson, when Hammill was captain and North the fleet paymaster. Life on board HMS Nelson can be glimpsed from interior views and deck shots in North's later album, NMM Album 30, and Hammill's album shows the upper deck of the Nelson covered with a tarpaulin for an afternoon dance, Figure 20.¹³¹ Central to North and Hammill's albums are the ships on which they served, such as HMS Nelson. In their albums they controlled the photographs and visual material they purchased overseas and emphasized their personal circumstances and interests by placing the ships at the centre of many of their page displays. Alison Nordström has applied Elizabeth Edwards' materialist approach to photography to photographic travel albums from the 1890s. She states that the value of the photographs included in such albums should be seen in terms of revealing how images were once used and understood.¹³² By extension, the repeated presence of the ship and its crew indicates the centrality of the vessel and life on board to these naval compilers.

Christine M. E. Guth has written extensively on Charley Longfellow's photographic albums that record the years the American lived in Japan, 1871-73. She notes that while Longfellow's albums feature Japanese scenes, through their arrangement they are bound up with Longfellow's own American values of property ownership, male friendships and female relationships.¹³³ In a similar way the naval albums in the NMM collection are equally bound up with British, and specifically naval, values of imperialism, discipline and the singular body of the British ship that operated as a surrogate for Britain itself during overseas service. North repeatedly placed photographs of ships, and photographs of paintings and prints of ships, at the centre of his album displays, for example Figure 19.¹³⁴ He often surrounded the ship with a circular or semi-circular display comprising portraits of officers associated with the ship, and at times he linked the vessel and portraits using the ship's name such as HMS Hercules in Figure 21.

¹³¹ Views of HMS Nelson in North's later album: NMM ALB30/115, ALB30/116, ALB30/121, ALB30/122

¹³² Nordström 2004: 81

¹³³ Guth 2004: 74

¹³⁴ Other examples include NMM ALB29/49-54, ALB29/89-94, and ALB29/173-179

Hammill used a similar technique in his display of his Japanese photographs. A large photograph of HMS Rodney on its own album page precedes his display of images bought in Japan. At the centre of Figure 12 HMS Rodney appears again. The ship's inclusion at the centre of the page of photographs of Japan reiterates how each new location around the world was experienced. With its British rules, regulations and traditions, the ship was the surrogate home from which Hammill experienced Japan and consequently has been centralized in his display of the photographs he bought there.

Felix Driver and David Gilbert have argued that place is defined by its relationship to other places; for naval officers their place of existence was always on board a British ship.¹³⁵ W. H. Poyntz, an adjutant in the Royal Marines when he visited Japan in 1864, referred to his ship as his 'floating barrack'.¹³⁶ Officers lived and worked in a British-built ship run with British discipline. They followed British traditions both at sea and in ports around the world. In one sense they never left British territory, representing the ship even on land, at times wearing straw hats with named bands around the crown that identified them by their ship.¹³⁷ Edwards has described the ships of the Royal Navy as 'deeply cultured space', a space that had intense national and imperial connotations.¹³⁸ The white ensign flew from the stern, marking it as a locus of Britishness. The ship and the flag both represented Britain overseas, their Britishness visible through the flag when moored in the harbour of a non-British port.

In non-naval photographic albums of this period, a view of the town or city in which the purchaser first entered a foreign country was often the first image.¹³⁹ Travel had topographic destinations, a country or a city imagined throughout the journey. Beato's studio albums often start with a panoramic view of Yokohama for example, the place where tourists first encountered Japan.¹⁴⁰ The repeated use of the naval compiler's own ship to preface their series of photographs, to face photographic views from the station they were posted to or as the central image in a photographic display, suggests that their

¹³⁵ Driver and Gilbert 1999: 4

¹³⁶ Poyntz 1892: 224

¹³⁷ This can be seen in NMM ALB144/p.7, where a man leaning against a gun carriage wears a white hat with a ribbon that identifies him as from the French ship *Sémiramis*

¹³⁸ Edwards 1995: 54

¹³⁹ Hockley 2004: 73

¹⁴⁰ For example V&A X536-240-1918

ship stood in for any first experience of a foreign country and defined their experience of it.¹⁴¹ When exploring foreign cities, instead of being thousands of miles from Britain they were just a short boat-ride away across the harbour from their floating British home. Leonard Bell wrote that Robert Louis Stevenson's home in Samoa in the 1890s was very European: 'It was constructed with imported materials, furnished with the Stevensons' belongings from Europe and America, stocked with their art collection.'¹⁴² The navy's fleet, with its British interiors and traditions, could be seen to be similarly 'European', as can be seen in the photograph of Hammill's cabin in HMS Orlando, Figure 1.

The ship was each officer's home, but it was also potentially their grave. As well as the death dates under a number of portraits in Hammill's album, as can be seen in Figure 22, North and Hammill's albums feature a range of photographs of naval memorials, military gravestones and shipwrecked vessels.¹⁴³ The sea was a dangerous place. In the Crimean war a hurricane sank more than twenty British ships moored outside Balaklava harbour, killing all on board.¹⁴⁴ Beyond the vicissitudes of the weather, men died from drowning, fevers, fire and even apparently cannibalism.¹⁴⁵

The men and officers were aware of the dangers they faced. Hammill included a reproduction of a painting of HMS Bombay on fire in the Rio de la Plata, Uruguay in December 1864 in his album, Figure 23. Two further albums in the NMM collection also feature the same image.¹⁴⁶ In a newspaper report pasted into Lieutenant Henry J. Carr's album (NMM Album 193), Captain Campbell praised the bravery of the men on HMS Bombay despite the fear that the ship's magazine was about to explode. He described how the men in the launches helped those clinging to the ship to get aboard as they couldn't swim. Despite the loss of the ship, 525 of the 619 crew were saved,

¹⁴¹ Cdr H. Knapman repeatedly paired topographic views with ship portraits, for example: 'China views' and 'China Squadron', 1891, ALB214/p.14v-15. Also see Cdr Bayly Jones, 'H.M.S. Cossack off Corfu', ALB151/132; Captain Gravener, 'Rear Admiral Hornby and Captains of Flying Squadron 1870', ALB338/n. pag. Many other albums feature full-page photographs of the ships the compiler sailed on, for example: Adml Frederick Bedford, 'H.M.S. Serapis', 1875-76, ALB22/1-4; unknown compiler, 'H.M.S. Iris, Malta', 1884, ALB170/p.8v

¹⁴² Bell 2007: 317

¹⁴³ For example, the Nelson memorial features in NMM ALB30/109-110 and ALB282/624; ALB29/76 is a photograph of a sketch of two graves in Africa of 'two old messmates' of North

¹⁴⁴ Figs 2010: 278-279

¹⁴⁵ For examples of reported cannibalism see 'Cannibalism', *New York Times*, 12 July 1871: 2, and Louis-Marie-Julien Viaud cited in Belloc 1895, vol. 2: 225-226

¹⁴⁶ NMM ALB193/100-101, NMM ALB373/137

perhaps the reason this became a popular print among naval officers, including those like Carr who had been serving on HMS Bombay at the time of the fire. However, ninety-four men still lost their lives.

There are a significant number of photographs and reproductions in the NMM albums that depict ships foundering and sinking, as well as photographs of the aftermath of tidal waves and cyclones.¹⁴⁷ North centred a display of six studio portraits of gentlemen and officers in uniform, including his own portrait, around a small reproduction of a ship foundering in heavy seas.¹⁴⁸ North also included a reproduction of a painting of HMS Conqueror foundering in a storm off the coast of Ireland in 1861.¹⁴⁹ The ship was all that protected these officers from the sea surrounding them and, as these reproductions made clear, the ship was not infallible. It can be seen from these examples that the ship was central to each officer's existence and informed their experience of foreign locations.

‘Cultural Crossings’: problematizing the ‘other’ in naval albums

This thesis has discussed naval officers as living in British ships, sailing around the world akin to the ‘collective moving eye’ of nineteenth-century narratives critiqued by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes*. This suggests that the eye/I was separate from the world it observed, a passive gaze ‘on which sights/sites register; as agents the presence is very reduced’.¹⁵⁰ However this section problematises such a reading, suggesting Pratt’s ‘contact zone’ was more complex and nuanced than her description of the meeting of two cultures – ‘usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict’ – suggests.¹⁵¹ Mary Roberts’ approach to cultural exchange in her essay ‘Cultural Crossings’ offers a more nuanced position from which to consider the complex personal albums of North and Hammill.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁷ See for example NMM ALB151 (tidal wave, 1868); ALB310 (HMS Sultan wrecked in the Comino Channel); ALB193 (HMS Trafalgar foundering); ALB314 (HMS Victoria sinking off Syria). Detached album pages showing the Calcutta cyclone of 1864 can be found in NMM Historic Photographs and Ship Plans: Box 80.1.74

¹⁴⁸ NMM ALB29/89-94

¹⁴⁹ NMM ALB29/77

¹⁵⁰ Pratt 2008: 59

¹⁵¹ Pratt 2008: 8

¹⁵² Roberts 2005: 70-94

Following Crary and Bell, this section looks to draw attention to the external ‘eye’ as stemming from an internal ‘I’, from a bodily and therefore psychological and complex experience of the world.¹⁵³ The self, the ‘I’, is at the heart of the men’s albums. It is in their photographs of themselves, the ships they served on and the portraits of their family and friends. But the self is simultaneously present through the ‘eye’ that has selected and presented their (subjective) photographic accumulation of world views and cultures. These images have been chosen to represent their experiential world view, both through the ‘eye’ and the ‘I’. Theirs is not an objective, once-removed eye/I, but an eye/I at the centre of Pratt’s discursive field, not the periphery. Even if they selected photographs taken for an imperial market, with an embedded imperial perspective, the photographs became more complex when they entered the album and contributed to the construction of each individual officer’s personal history.

This section follows a similar strategy to Homi K. Bhabha’s ‘yes-but’ approach, articulated in his preface to Robert J. C. Young’s postcolonial study *White Mythologies*.¹⁵⁴ The section acknowledges the European prejudices that men such as Hammill and North held, but using three examples from Hammill’s album it also points to small but significant ruptures that are present. These suggest a greater complexity to Hammill’s understanding of and position in the world than has previously been suggested of such album compilers. The bringing together of photographic images by officers such as North and Hammill allows a glimpse of their complex personalities: yes, they sailed on imperial ships with expectations of otherness and difference, *but* they were modern, curious and visually literate. The men experienced the world from their ship, a locus of Britishness, but their own subjectivity, as indicated by Crary, and cross-cultural slippage, as presented in the following examples, indicate a more nuanced reading of ‘imperial’ photographic material than that presented in current literature, for example James R. Ryan’s *Picturing Empire* (1997).

(i) Wang-Kim-Shoon

Figure 22 illustrates a page from Hammill’s album that features ten carte-de-visite portraits, pasted into the album within a hand-drawn grid that frames each image. The page is captioned ‘H.M.S. Bellerophon 1878’. 1878 was the year Hammill returned to

¹⁵³ Crary 1992; Bell 1998: 117-139

¹⁵⁴ Bhabha 2004: ix-x

Portsmouth, England to continue his training as a gunnery officer. Each photograph is labelled with the sitter's name and the date the photographs were taken (1877). It can be presumed, given the caption, that these were all men with whom Hammill served in some capacity on HMS Bellerophon. Two of the captions below individual photographs have additions to the name, giving the year of each man's death. We find that W. H. Montgomerie, who wears a frogged military jacket, died in 1878, and S. J. Paulby died in 1880. To the left of Paulby and below Montgomerie is a photograph captioned 'Wang-Kim-Shoon', Figure 24. This studio portrait is presented in the same fashion as all the others. The man sits on a fringed velvet chair of the kind often seen in Western studio portraits, but he is not European. He appears in a quilted brocade jacket tightly buttoned at the neck and a close-fitting dark silk hat, suggesting he is of Chinese origin.

How did Hammill know Wang-Kim-Shoon? He is presented in the album as an equal to the men who surround him, his portrait appearing in a sequence of pages of portraits of Western men, women and children. He appears in contrast to Hammill's subsequent presentation of anonymous Japanese men and women seen in Figure 12. This suggests a complexity that is often overlooked when albums of this nature are considered from an imperial perspective. Here Wang-Kim-Shoon is presented as a colleague or friend in a display of portraits of people Hammill knew well enough to caption by name. Perhaps he was an interpreter on board HMS Bellerophon; there are visual affinities with an anonymous photograph of an interpreter for an 1870s Austro-Hungarian Legation reproduced in Maria M. Hambourg et al's *The Waking Dream*.¹⁵⁵ Hammill's inclusion of this image in this way seems to stand in contradistinction to the imperial descriptions of the Chinese by such nineteenth-century observers as British photographer Thomson and American satirist Bret F. Harte.¹⁵⁶ Wang-Kim-Shoon's portrait is significant in that it reminds the twenty-first century viewer of photographic albums to be observant for cultural encounters that suggest an exchange of ideas, a negotiation of what Bhabha has called the interstices of cultures, rather than an oppositional us/them approach following the outmoded tenets of Saidean Orientalism.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Hambourg, Apraxine and others 1993: plate 86

¹⁵⁶ Thomson, for example, wrote in the introduction [n. pag.] to *Illustrations of China and its People* (1873) of the 'deeply-rooted superstitions' of the Chinese. Bret Harte's patronizing and xenophobic 'The Heathen Chinee' was a popular success in America, Harte 1870

¹⁵⁷ Bhabha 1994: 2

(ii) Mr Cook and Mahomed/Muhamed

A pair of photographs pasted together on a single page towards the back of Hammill's album, Figure 25, pose further questions as to agency and collaboration in the cross-cultural construction of images. The photograph on the right is a group portrait of the Cook family. Men, women and children in resolutely European clothes sit, stand and lie in a well-choreographed arrangement against a backdrop of mature palm trees. This appears to be the family of John M. Cook, son of Thomas Cook, who managed the family travel business Thomas Cook & Son from Cairo following Thomas Cook's retirement in 1878.¹⁵⁸

Several of Cook's family clutch fly whisks as well as bone-handled parasols. Hammill himself is present, fourth from the right of the standing men at the back, dressed in civilian clothes and a distinctive white pith helmet. The setting may be Cairo, where Thomas Cook & Son had an office and John M. Cook lived, or Alexandria, the destination of the firm's London-Egypt tourist ticket.¹⁵⁹ Hammill served as commander on HMS Monarch during the Bombardment of Alexandria in 1882 and subsequently took part in the Nile Flotilla to Khartoum in 1884-85, for which he was promoted to Captain.¹⁶⁰ Hammill's presence in Egypt would date the photographs to 1882-1885, and Cook's employment by the British Government to provide all the equipment for the Nile relief expedition in 1884 suggests this may be when the photograph was taken.¹⁶¹

Three non-European men, each dressed in a jacket, tie and fez, are also present in this photograph, as is a man in a white turban standing behind the main group. The man in the fez on the far right appears to be wearing a long tunic, nearly touching the floor, under his buttoned-up jacket. The two men on the far right of the photograph also appear in the photograph on the left. They are captioned 'John Cook' and 'Mohamed' in the image on the right, and 'Mr. John Cook and Mahomed' on the left. They are clearly the same men in both photographs, although Mohamed/Mahomed is wearing different clothes. The use of Mohamed's first name only (and Hammill's uncertainty as to how to spell it) may suggest he was a member of Cook's staff. The two other men in fez are

¹⁵⁸ Hunter 2004: 30

¹⁵⁹ Hunter 2004: 31-32

¹⁶⁰ Service Record Tynte F. Hammill; *Navy List*

¹⁶¹ Hunter 2004: 39

also captioned by their first name only in contrast to Cook's family members for whom Hammill has used prefixes and surnames.

Taken on its own, the family portrait may be seen as a traditional photograph of a British family resident in a foreign land. Despite the hot climate they maintain their British dress, with corsets, cameos and bonnets for the women and waistcoats, jackets and ties for the men. It appears they have part-Westernized their staff's clothing. The staff maintain their traditional dress of long tunic and fez but have also had to adapt to wearing a jacket and tie in Cook's employ. However, the photograph on the left complicates the reading of this family photograph.

The photograph on the left, Figure 26, features Mohamed and Cook standing facing each other. Mohamed no longer wears his jacket and tie but stands in profile wearing a long tunic and matching cap. He is barefoot, and holds a shield in his left hand and a long spear in his right. Cook appears in an outfit of white pith helmet, jacket and trousers, similar to that in which he appears in the family portrait. He is also in profile, his left hand clutching the spear below the blade and his right hand holding a revolver that is pointed at Mohamed's head. They stand in full sunlight on a bare patch of earth with palm trees on the left and an open-weave gazebo covered in a climbing plant on the right. Mohamed stands in front of the vegetation; Cook stands in front of the man-made gazebo. The plain foreground appears rather like a stage, the palms and gazebo form a backdrop, and the bright sunlight casts sharp shadows behind them in the manner of gas stage-lighting.

This photograph could be read as having been staged to offer a clear imperial reading of power and superiority. Mohamed wears what appears to be traditional dress and holds traditional weapons. He stands in front of a natural backdrop and is barefoot. His pose appears submissive, his body bent slightly backwards and his arm holding the spear up rather than thrusting it forwards. By contrast Cook, the older man, appears dominant, his left leg improbably far back as if emphasizing his body's forward movement into the other man's personal space. The stance he has adopted suggests he is in control. He grips Mohamed's spear while pointing a revolver into his face. He wears Western military-style warm-climate attire and stands in front of the man-made structure. In this way, the photograph could be seen to present the Western gentleman versus the

Egyptian 'other', civilization versus the uncivilized, nature (the palm-tree backdrop) versus culture (a man-made taming of nature in the shape of the gazebo). And yet when presented next to the group portrait, Figure 25, in which both men appear side by side, the staging and artifice of this photograph becomes evident.

In the group portrait on the right we see Mohamed wearing a Western jacket and tie but under this he wears a traditional tunic. In the photograph on the left, are the clothes he wears any more his own? What about the spear and shield? Are these his, or part of the costume of the stereotype he is enacting? Instead of (or as well as) appearing in Hammill's album as a photographic manifestation of British imperial domination and technological proselytizing could this photograph also be seen to represent the interstice of two stereotyped cultures? While from a Western perspective we read the revolver outranking the spear and shield in terms of deadly efficiency, the position of Mohamed's shield underneath Cook's wrist suggests the gun could be deflected upwards before Cook had time to pull the trigger.

Do the photograph's complexities indicate the position Cook occupied in Egypt? He was head of the British firm Thomas Cook & Son offering tours to a country under temporary British military rule (1869-1882) but in which he also operated with diplomacy and success, receiving official Egyptian contracts to run steamers and local hotels as well as British government commissions.¹⁶² While the family portrait could suggest Cook dominates Mohamed through employing him and altering his mode of dress (the Western jacket over the long tunic), the collaborative nature of the photograph on the left and the position of the pair standing next to each other in the group portrait insist that this photograph cannot be read as a straightforward colonial image. Is the photograph on the left in fact a satirical game staged by Cook and Mahomed for the benefit of the camera? Mohamed appears as a member of staff and spear-wielding 'warrior'. Cook is a patriarch and simultaneously an armed colonial aggressor. The inclusion of Hammill in the group portrait and the subsequent presentation of the images in his album suggests that the party were complicit in the staging of the photograph of Cook and Mohamed. The stereotypical battle between colonizer and colonized may have been a satirical parody staged for the camera.

¹⁶² Hunter 2004: 38

(iii) Japan and the adoption of Western dress

Hammill's Japanese costume photographs, seen in Figure 12, could be seen to suggest an imperial reading. Hammill has mostly chosen photographs of Japanese men and women posing with a European chair, as if they wanted to be photographed in the European studio style. In the top row of photographs a Japanese woman stands next to the chair, her right hand resting on the back in a manner akin to Western photographic portraits as seen in Figure 27. To the right of this photograph a man sits on the same chair, his legs spread wide. Although his clothes are Japanese he is presented seated on a European chair rather than on the floor in the traditional Japanese manner.

Figure 28 is a detail from the top row of photographs from this page, and is a carte-de-visite sized portrait of a samurai. The photograph is captioned by Hammill 'Japanese', but this man's rank may be ascertained by the two swords he wears on his left side. He poses with the same distinctive studio chair. However, he does not pose for the camera in traditional Japanese dress, but rather in Western-style waistcoat, jacket and trousers. His feet are clad in shoes, not thonged geta or zôri, and he leans his left hand on a furled cloth umbrella (not a wagasa, a Japanese paper parasol). Is this a portrait of a man who wishes to appear modern to his peers? A double portrait of samurai in Beato's studio album held by the V&A similarly shows samurai adopting Western dress and wearing long coats, waistcoats and trousers, as seen in Figure 29. In this photograph one samurai wears Western shoes while the other wears dark socks and white-thonged zôri. The pencil caption reads 'Modern officers'. Was the man in Figure 28 similarly a member of the rapidly modernizing Japanese military?

Figure 28 is a difficult image to decipher. The man appears in Hammill's album as an anonymous Japanese figure. His eyes do not look out at the viewer and his stance is stiff, his shoulders tense, perhaps a little nervous. And yet he represents the rapid Japanese assimilation of Western dress and industry that is also visually recorded in ukiyo-e and travel narratives of the day. Robert Brown, author of *The Countries of the World* (1876-81), noted that a report on Japan in Cassell's *Family Magazine* (1879) stated that the emperor's staff wore Western frock coats 'decorated with gold lace'.¹⁶³ In

¹⁶³ Brown 1876-81, vol. 4: 311

1872, only four years after the Meiji restoration, the emperor was photographed by Uchida Kyûichi in both traditional and Western dress, as if to comply with both Western and Eastern expectations of the attire of a national leader.¹⁶⁴

Photographic portraits using a chair as a prop were not uncommon. Studio portraits featuring a chair can be seen in both North and Hammill's albums, for example Figure 8, as well as in other albums in the NMM collection, for example Figure 30.¹⁶⁵ As such the pose adopted by the Japanese man would have been a familiar one to Hammill and his peers. This may suggest that the photograph was taken by a Western photographer working in Japan. Other photographs of samurai also on this page (Figure 12) have a neoclassical balustrade stretching behind them. This was also a commonplace device in British studio portraits. It appears in Figure 30 and Hammill himself was photographed posing with a similar example as were his peers, seen in Figure 8.¹⁶⁶ Did these Japanese samurai choose to be photographed in a Western studio, surrounded by Western props, one of them in Western dress? Did the photographer ask them to pose or were these originally portraits, photographs for the individuals involved that were then sold on by a commercially minded photographer who knew there was a market for photographs of samurai? Were these images taken for a Japanese market and later marketed to a Western audience?

As Allen Hockley has noted when considering photographs of samurai from the 1860s, 'The wide variety of consumer constituencies and viewing contexts for early Japanese photographs suggests that the meaning of any single image was polyvalent.'¹⁶⁷ The samurai class was being radically restructured at the time Hammill visited Japan. As such they represented 'Old Japan' in terms of their historic significance as the warrior class. However, the erosion of their privileges points to the rapid modernization of Japan's class system and their adoption of Western dress may be an indicator of their own attempt to modernize to survive. Western dress was also swiftly adopted by the Emperor's army as the Emperor looked to modernize Japan in order to compete with the West.

¹⁶⁴ Keene 1999: 17-30, cited in Guth 2004: 56-58

¹⁶⁵ North's album examples: NMM ALB29/43-48

¹⁶⁶ Hammill sitting on a studio balustrade: NMM ALB282/259

¹⁶⁷ Hockley 2006a: 117

The agency of the Japanese men and women themselves should not be overlooked when considering portraits such as these. The group photographs of samurai seated on studio chairs have much in common in terms of composition with group portraits of naval officers. They do not act out 'Old Japan' genre scenes as seen in Beato's samurai photograph at the centre of North's album page, Figure 14. These men stand and sit in a variety of poses and look towards the camera. In the group portrait pasted to the left of the ship in Figure 12, the man on the right affects a 'relaxed' pose with his legs crossed and his hand tucked under his chin. The man next to him crosses his arms and the man second from the left leans back slightly, also with his arms crossed, his head on one side as if bored by the procedure of posing for the camera.

There are two single portraits of Japanese women on this album page. Hammill captions both women simply 'Japanese', but they are distinctly different photographs. One shows a Japanese woman kneeling behind a smoking box, a slender pipe in her right hand. We see her face in three-quarter profile but her eyes are cast down and she does not meet our gaze. The other photograph shows a Japanese woman posing with the studio chair and looking directly at the camera. She poses with the same chair in a similar way to the standing Japanese man in the same row and perhaps she posed on the same day. While the man holds a Western umbrella she holds a Japanese wagasa. The woman wears a kimono and obi, with zôri on her bare feet. She is shorter than the man and has to reach up to hold the back of the chair, which she holds using a cloth as if it might be dirty. Her head is also in three-quarter profile but she has turned to stare directly at the camera, appearing confident and relaxed.

Were the photographs of the man and woman designed as a pendant pair for tourists? She appears resolutely Japanese in her costume, not even wanting to touch the studio (Western) chair. He, on the other hand, is dressed in Western costume, only his hair still tied in a Japanese top knot. We can infer from the chair and floor pattern that these photographs came from the same studio, as did at least two other photographs on this page, suggesting Hammill purchased them in a group.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ NMM ALB282/307, ALB282/314

These three examples serve to show that, far from reflecting the unwavering imperial discourse proposed by Ryan, photographic images of the ‘other’, when seen in the wider context of a personal album, could in fact be used to suggest or mark cross-cultural dialogue and relationships.¹⁶⁹ The examples also support Crary and Bell’s position that the ‘eye’ develops from a subjective ‘I’, rather than the remote and passive ‘eye/I’ as articulated by Mary Louise Pratt, and that the selection of images for personal albums was contingent on the experiences and psychology of the compiler.¹⁷⁰

Naval officers and the market for photography: Photographs of artworks

Officers not only bought photographs of foreign views and costumes for their albums, but also photographs of reproductions of works of art. The young woman at the centre of North’s album page in Figure 10 is a photographic reproduction of an engraving. Many reproductions of artworks by leading contemporary artists, Old Masters and Victorian genre painters appear in the officers’ albums. Hammill’s album features multiple reproductions of well-known paintings arranged as if on a gallery wall, for example J. M. W. Turner’s *The Fighting Temeraire*, seen in Figure 31.

North’s album features several maritime paintings of foundering ships and multiple portraits of attractive young women. North repeatedly used images of women and naval vessels to form the centre of his album page displays, revealing their importance to him.¹⁷¹ Ships have always been referred to using feminine pronouns, as if the vessel were the protective womb carrying men around the world. North also included reproductions of artworks featuring nude or semi-nude women, including two large format reproductions of neo-Grecian paintings by Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904). These he captioned ‘Phryné devant la Tribunal’, Figure 32, and ‘Alcibiade chez Aspasia’.¹⁷² In each instance these are pasted verso opposite a large-format photograph. They appear within a mixed selection of photographs that cover his service on HMS Rattlesnake 1862-66 on the West coast of Africa and life-buoy experiments in Sheerness docks in 1868.

¹⁶⁹ For example see Ryan 1997: 19-20

¹⁷⁰ Crary 1992; Bell 1998: 117-139, Pratt 2008: 59

¹⁷¹ Ship examples: NMM ALB29/89-94, ALB29/49-54, ALB29/173-179; Young women examples: ALB29/102-106, ALB29/108-116, ALB29/217-223

¹⁷² ‘Alcibiade chez Aspasia’ [*Socrates seeking Alcibiades in the House of Aspasia* (1861)]: NMM ALB29/71

At the time North bought these reproductions, Gérôme was enjoying official success as a painter in Paris. In 1859 he had formed an alliance with the art dealer and publisher Adolphe Goupil (1806-1893), following the lead of his former teacher Paul Delaroche (1787-1856).¹⁷³ Goupil was responsible for the mass-reproduction of Delaroche and Gérôme's paintings using photography through his publishing house Goupil & Cie. Goupil's contracts with artists included exclusive reproduction rights and he reproduced Gérôme's paintings in a variety of photographic formats and sold them through branches of his company around the world.¹⁷⁴ Naval officers could buy Goupil's photographic prints of paintings by Gérôme and other Western artists in ports including Alexandria, Melbourne, Athens, New York and Johannesburg, where Goupil had established outlets.¹⁷⁵

Stephen Bann has written on the relationship between Goupil and Delaroche, stating: 'One could say that his publisher and dealer [Goupil] made it possible for him [Delaroche] to be a new kind of artist, working always with a view to *reproducibility*.'¹⁷⁶ This was also the case for Gérôme, as Emile Zola disparagingly remarked: 'Clearly Monsieur Gérôme works for the House of Goupil. He makes a painting so that it can be reproduced through photographs and engravings and sold in thousands of copies.'¹⁷⁷ North's purchase of two large-format photographs of Gérôme's paintings points to the extent Gérôme's work could be disseminated through photographic prints. North and Hammill's use of reproductions of paintings in their albums, alongside photographs and material objects, attests to Crary's observation that:

The circulation and reception of all visual imagery is so closely interrelated by the middle of the [nineteenth] century that any single medium or form of visual representation no longer has a significant autonomous identity. The meanings and effects of any single image are always adjacent to this overloaded and plural sensory environment and to the observer who inhabited it.¹⁷⁸

Reproductions of artworks were jostled together with many other images in albums, rather than studied individually as facsimile works of art. In this way, the nature of the artwork's original existence and purpose was altered. Reproductions in the naval

¹⁷³ Goupil was also Gérôme's father-in-law

¹⁷⁴ Allan 2010: 1-6. See also MacKenzie 1995: 43-70

¹⁷⁵ See 'Art and Enterprise at the Dahesh Museum of Art', 2001

¹⁷⁶ Bann 2001: 39

¹⁷⁷ Allan 2010: 2 (fn 2)

¹⁷⁸ Crary 1992: 23

albums appear unauthored, not to scale, often without titles, and in black and white. They had been removed from the context in which they were first produced and consumed and now existed as flat two-dimensional images. They operated in a visually homogenous arena of display, alongside other black-and-white photographs of church interiors, portraits and costumes, views of British coasts and New Zealand mountains, Japanese waterfalls and Niagara, groups of officers and ship portraits. Rosalind Krauss has described this homogeneity as a ‘rather specious unity imposed by the photographic reproduction’.¹⁷⁹

Krauss, discussing reproductions in art books and developing her argument out of André Malraux’s 1947 essay ‘Le musée imaginaire’, argues that the camera allowed for an ‘unmooring from their original scale, every work whether tiny or colossal now to be magically equalized through the democratizing effects of camera and press.’¹⁸⁰ This ‘unmooring’ could be seen to have its roots in eighteenth-century grangerized albums, where engravings and other prints were cut out from various sources and pasted into the margins or interleaved on blank sheets to form a new extra-illustrated book. This can be seen in a grangerized copy of the Earl of Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion* (1702–04), a page of which is reproduced as Figure 33. Edwards has stated that the collecting and exchange of photographic images could be seen to be an extension of the eighteenth-century connoisseur’s portfolio of engravings.¹⁸¹ Gentlemen of leisure also clipped engravings from books and folios to paste into expanded volumes, a pursuit popularized by the Reverend James Granger whose extra-illustrated *A Biographical History of England from Egbert the Great to the Revolution* (1769) included 14,000 portraits accumulated in this way.¹⁸²

Another precursor to the personal photographic album was the fashion for carte-de-visite portraits that followed Louis A. E. Disdéri’s patent of the carte-de-visite format in 1854.¹⁸³ Photographic albums were created to hold an individual’s personal collection of cards (cartes), as can be seen in examples from the NMM collection, for example Figures 30 and 27. Cartes could be slotted into pre-cut leaves in any arrangement,

¹⁷⁹ Krauss 1982: 142

¹⁸⁰ Krauss 1986: 243

¹⁸¹ Edwards 2001a: 31

¹⁸² For a history of grangerization see Pointon 1993: 53–78 and Broadley 1903

¹⁸³ See McCauley 1985. Also Batchen 2005: 63–74, Haworth-Booth 2010: 8, 34

giving agency to the compiler who could control how the various portraits (and views) were ordered and seen.¹⁸⁴ As such they allowed contemporary photographic portraits to be retained and ordered in a similar way to Granger's pasted-in printed portraits. North and Hammill's albums are also both prefaced by a comprehensive bank of portraits of family and friends, although their displays have been created on blank album pages.

A closer relationship between the grangerized album and naval photographic albums such as North and Hammill's can be seen in the use of reproductions of not-to-scale artworks at the will of the compiler. The grangerized book was strictly an illustrated book, but in its use of reproductions of works of art for purposes devised by the compiler (rather than the original artist or engraver) it stands as an early precursor to the personal photographic album and the activation of the naval officer as curator of his own world view.

The personal photographic album presented the world, its people and its commodities homogenized by scale and uprooted, devoid of the history and context in which they were first produced and consumed. In Hammill's album for example, Turner's *The Fighting Temeraire* (1839) is dwarfed by a reproduction of T. Lane's 1850 genre painting *The Enthusiast* and two photographic copies of sentimental prints Hammill has titled 'Joy' and 'Grief', as seen in Figure 31. *The Fighting Temeraire* also shares the page with photographs of English grottoes. For Hammill, Turner's painting is no longer a unique entity, a painting in a museum or in a private picture gallery, but a photograph of a painting that has become mobile, uprooted. The reading of the image, through its photographic reproduction and caption, is now being directed by Hammill, the album's compiler, and no longer by the artist. This is also the case with his pages of travel photographs, for example Figure 12, where views of Nagasaki, Japan and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil exist on a single spread without explanation or qualification.

The officers' cutting and pasting, irrespective of subject matter, original scale, medium or location offered the viewer an approximation of the seemingly random agglomeration of images that Charles Baudelaire and later Walter Benjamin stated so typified modern life. Baudelaire's painter of modern life, Constantin Guys, was a 'man of the world',

¹⁸⁴ For example NMM Albums 57, 75, 143, 207 and 280. See Appendix C

overloaded with imagery and experiences: 'His interest is the whole world,' Baudelaire wrote, 'he wants to know, understand and appreciate everything that happens on the surface of our globe.'¹⁸⁵ Walter Benjamin wrote at length of the nineteenth-century urban man as a flâneur, a man strolling the streets and sampling all the different types of imagery and visions that assailed his eyes. He was, as Crary has succinctly stated, 'a mobile consumer of a ceaseless succession of illusory commodity-like images.'¹⁸⁶

The photographic reproduction of works of art such as Gérôme's *Phyrné before the Areopagus* or Turner's *The Fighting Temeraire* turned the individual masterpiece into a mass-produced image for consumption within a middle-class photographic album. And yet in their captions the officers never mention the names of the artists or photographers whose work they feature. The authorship of the individual photograph is not presented as significant in their displays, and work by different photographers working in different genres (and countries) appear on the same page. Before the Eastman Kodak was launched in 1888 few officers took their own photographs. But by not acknowledging the photographers of the images they bought and pasting them into their own personal albums they appropriated these images as their own.

The officer as curator

While the ship functioned as home from home while overseas, Lt Commander Winfield S. Schley recounted the elation an officer felt when returning to his homeland following overseas service:

The feeling of joy at such times in the sailor's life, after three years of absence from home and country, can only be known by those who have experienced this species of exile from all that is near and dear in life [...] The thrill of 'Land, ho!' as cried from the masthead by the lookout aloft, has a meaning of joyful delight that rings through the ship in an instant, sending all hands on deck, with hearts palpitating with pleasure at the one sight they have dreamed of and longed for so many, many weary months and years.¹⁸⁷

Schley's ship, the USS Benicia, had left Yokohama on 4 July 1872 (Independence Day), dressed in flags with the band playing 'Home Sweet Home'. British officers felt much the same way as Schley regarding returning home. H. Knapman, in his

¹⁸⁵ Baudelaire 1863: 6-7

¹⁸⁶ Crary 1992: 21

¹⁸⁷ Schley 1904: 104

photographic album, pithily wrote underneath the reproduction of a painting of St Margaret's Bay, Dover: 'This view Looks best after 3 ½ years Foreign Service.'¹⁸⁸

Once home the men could be on leave for several months. Poyntz recalled a four-month leave following an overseas posting that had lasted three-and-a-half years.¹⁸⁹ The service records of North and Hammill show similar periods between postings.¹⁹⁰ Compiling photographic albums from material purchased overseas may have helped them fill these drawing-room months and relive their experiences.

The photographic album began life as a large book of white or cream pages bound together. In this way it resembled the ground of a traditional print series, such as David Roberts' six volume folio *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt and Nubia* (1842-49). But unlike the print folio the pages were initially blank. It was on these blank pages that the compiler of the personal photographic album worked without a supporting text. This was in contrast to those who grangerized volumes, who worked to illustrate a text. It also contrasted with the use of decorated carte-de-visite albums with their pre-cut mounts for display. In personal photographic albums the compiler had to select their own photographs, trim and arrange them and paste them in by hand. They also had to add any decorative features they chose to use, and their own captions.¹⁹¹

North chose complex decorative schemes through which to display his photographs, at times cutting portraits into ovals and inserting them in a fan motif, as can be seen in Figure 9, and arranging others into complex geometric designs. The construction of such complex album displays has formerly been seen as the preserve of women, as with the fan motif in Mary A. Burnip's family album, Figure 6.¹⁹² But this example from North's album reveals that male officers also designed and executed similar designs. One elaborate page in North's album comprises cut topographic and portrait photographs that form a collage in the shape of an anchor, Figure 34. Edwards and Janice Hart have noted: 'Sometimes material forms reflect the content of the images through reference to other kinds of objects. In this they extend the sense of vision and

¹⁸⁸ NMM ALB214/p.34v

¹⁸⁹ Poyntz 1892: 197-198

¹⁹⁰ Service Record Frederick North; Service Record Tynte F. Hammill

¹⁹¹ See Siegel 2010b, particularly Di Bello, 'Photocollage, Fun and Flirtations', pp. 49-62

¹⁹² See Di Bello 2007: 31

the indexicality of the photograph itself in a mutually reinforcing sign system.’¹⁹³ While North’s fan display featured nine portraits of mostly civilian men framed within a domestic drawing-room object, his anchor collage featured a lighthouse, a ship and four ranking naval officers. North’s choice of anchor motif in this instance intensifies the nautical reading of the images he has used to construct it.

Hammill also utilized the anchor motif on the cover of his album. The cover is embossed with gold anchors on each corner, with his name printed in the centre as can be seen in Figure 35. Hammill’s choice of anchor tooling for the cover of his album, the first thing an album viewer would see, establishes the tone for the entire album. Edwards and Hart have described this material decoration as being used to ‘delineate the space in which the reading of the photographs might operate’.¹⁹⁴ The Japanese and Chinese lacquer album covers seen in Western collections including the Hood Museum of Art, the NMeM and the National Archives (USA), for example Figure 36, speak of the country represented in the ensuing photographs before the album is even opened.¹⁹⁵

The album cover was often perceived to be integral to the material displayed within it. Margaret Mann, writing to her husband during the Second Opium War in China, asked him to obtain a Chinese album for his Beato photographs:

Certainly your collection of photographs is now most valuable. I suppose a few more of Pekin will be required to complete the set? And thus form a record of your eventful career in China [...] They must (including their predecessors) – have a book to themselves and I would suggest your bringing one from China for the purpose as it would be more in character than any English album.¹⁹⁶

Despite her assertion, most of the albums compiled by naval officers before 1890 and now in the NMM collection appear to have been bought at home on their return. They are made from leather or cloth in sober brown, olive or navy, often with gold tooling and sometimes with the officer’s name on the cover, as with Hammill’s album. This album speaks of the man and his profession through the use of his name, the initials ‘R.N.’ for Royal Navy and the anchor motif in each corner of the cover.

¹⁹³ Edwards and Hart 2004: 11

¹⁹⁴ Edwards and Hart 2004: 11

¹⁹⁵ Hood Museum Album PH.2004.51; NMeM Japan album with lacquered cover, c. 1890s, 1990-5037-J3.C14/S8; NMeM Japanese album from the Ricketts collection with a lacquered cover, c. 1880-90s, J6.C14/S8

¹⁹⁶ Harris 1999: 33

Some officers would frame each image within a single or double inked line as Hammill chose to do, replicating print portfolios. Hammill's outlines and North's occasional use of the hand-drawn inked line served to 'frame' their photographs like paintings on a densely packed wall of a Royal Academy exhibition. Victor Burgin has discussed the agency of the frame, through which 'the world is organized into a coherence which it actually lacks, into a parade of tableaux.'¹⁹⁷ And yet more often than not the officer-compilers did not frame their reproductions of art in their albums. They relied solely on the photographic 'frame', the cropped edges of the paper print where the image stopped.

In the albums, the pictorial hierarchy as seen in public exhibitions at the Royal Academy and the Salon disappeared. Religious painting was no longer valued above all else, with landscape and genre painting low down on the aesthetic scale. In the albums, landscape photographs occupied full pages, as in North's album, while in Hammill's album sixteen religious paintings captioned 'Little Gems from Great Masters' are reproduced as one photographic image, squashed in between photographs of a print of the Royal family, English church exteriors and a microphotographed cover of *The Times*.¹⁹⁸ These albums were necessarily designed to be viewed in a private domestic setting and cannot therefore be directly compared to the hierarchical displays of the public Salon or the Royal Academy. However it is interesting to note that the combination of imagery on just one page in Hammill's album for example – a copy of a newspaper front page, reproductions of paintings and prints, photographs of churches and their interiors – reveals the extent to which the compiler felt confident 'curating' the images into personal displays rather than feeling beholden to the aura of the original artwork and its place in the hierarchy in which it was first publicly displayed.

With what Crary has described as the unilateral breakdown of the Albertian single-point perspective in the nineteenth century, and the relocation of the site of looking as internal and subjective, the officers' presentation of their accumulated images of the world can be seen to have developed from this modernization of the world view, how the world was experienced and seen. Through selecting and presenting photographs of the world in their albums, naval officers revealed the modernity of their own way of looking and

¹⁹⁷ Burgin 1977: 146

¹⁹⁸ NMM ALB282/322-333

experiencing the world, visual evidence at odds with the historiographical conservatism often apportioned to the Victorian Royal Navy.

European modernity, according to Martin Heidegger in his 1935 essay 'The Age of the World Picture', cleft man in two from the world.¹⁹⁹ Christopher Pinney developed this idea and concluded that man, by looking at the world as picture, remained outside of it.²⁰⁰ Naval officers, through their peripatetic mobile home on board a British ship (necessarily outside, looking in or 'at' a country) and through their accumulation of photographic views of countries they visited, could be seen to have experienced the world in a similar way, at once seeing it but not being part of it, buying photographs of views not experienced or people not seen. However, examples of cultural fusion and image slippage outlined in this chapter show that naval officers also interacted with the world they experienced far more than was once thought. Consequently the outdated model of the officer as an imperial observer, removed from the environment he was observing, needs to be rethought.

Performative albums

The above examples explore how complex and at times contradictory any reading of an individual album can be. The officers' albums were compiled subjectively, purposefully, and were designed to be looked at, whether as a solitary pursuit, offered around a drawing room to a private family audience or displayed at parties, both with and without a supplementary verbal narrative. While the majority of illustrations in each album were mass-produced photographs, each officer and their choices in compilation transformed the reproduced views into a unique experience, the world seen through their eyes, localized through their own bodily experience.

In 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936) Benjamin wrote that a photographic negative was infinitely reproducible and therefore, 'to ask for the "authentic" print makes no sense.'²⁰¹ And yet the unique nature of each album gives them a material 'aura' despite Benjamin's assertion that individual photographs lost their aura once they were reproduced. Through usage the photographs became

¹⁹⁹ Martin Heidegger, 'The Age of the World Picture' (1935) in Pinney 2003: 207

²⁰⁰ Pinney 2003: 209

²⁰¹ Benjamin 1936: 218

fragments of a larger personal narrative. The album became a theatrical, even proto-cinematic experience, the world seen through the eyes of the officer-compiler and unveiled over time. It functioned in a performative way, literally through the turning of the pages over time and in terms of the selection of the images, the focused looking they solicited and the questions they provoked. The viewer of an album could not be a passive observer but had to engage actively with the album. Benjamin described this as a central tenet of modernity – the kinetic nature of perception and the activation of the viewer.²⁰²

The progression through an album necessarily involved time. The time needed to turn the leaves supported the narrative journey that unfolded within the album. David MacDougall has examined nineteenth-century literature and photography and argued that they were precursors to the cinematic experience, encapsulating time within their narratives and using the juxtaposition of discrete images not, in fact, to suggest fragmentation but what MacDougall terms a ‘whole imagined world’.²⁰³ MacDougall describes this as Hitchcockian, the use of juxtapositions creating:

An impression of smooth continuity from one shot to another, even though the shots might be taken from different positions and bridge major gaps in time and space. The objective was to create from a set of fragments a seemingly whole imagined world.²⁰⁴

North and Hammill’s albums present fragmentary images as a personal narrative in a similar way. MacDougall describes cinema as sequencing views in a way so that you are unaware of the editing process and see the various juxtapositions as a coherent event. Through the recurrent use of photographs of the ships on which they sailed, supplemented by maps and views from around the world, North and Hammill both conveyed a world narrative without including photographs showing the long sea voyages they endured. As Nordström has noted in her examination of William V. Tupper’s travel scrapbooks from the 1890s, personal photographic albums resonate:

With the authority and structure of the book, they present a personal journey as something true, certain and complete, and one that is formed by its linear structure as a sequential narrative with an air of inevitability, yet [...] this material structure re-engages with the spatial and temporal ambiguities of photographs to cast them

²⁰² Benjamin cited in Crary 1992: 20

²⁰³ MacDougall 2009: 55-56

²⁰⁴ MacDougall 2009: 55-56

in a specific narrative that is both personal and creative.²⁰⁵

In North and Hammill's albums sea journeys are rarely represented in the photographic narrative despite their length and significance for a naval officer. Yet the narratives presented in the albums do not feel unbalanced by this omission. We only notice what is present, not that which is absent.

Performance was central to the multi-layered construction of the album. Edwards has noted that the photographer's original framing of the view dictated 'what is performed as history and what is not'.²⁰⁶ She has stated: 'we can see images as active through their performativity, as the past is projected actively into the present by the nature of the photograph itself and the act of looking at a photograph.'²⁰⁷ Photographs in albums are complex palimpsests of knowledge, framing and performance. They include the photographer's original composition and the agency of those photographed, the purchaser's personal reasons for image selection and the compiler's curatorial positioning of these images. These are then further influenced by the histories of those looking at the photographs in the albums, at times perhaps directed by the compiler narrating an account over their shoulder or operating independently in the compiler's absence. They are indexical yet essentially fragmentary emanations of past events and yet are constantly being reactivated in the present by those who look at them.²⁰⁸ With each viewer in each present a new narrative potentially forms around each image, redefining it, shaping it. The image can never belong wholly to the past as it is always active in the present. This constant slippage between past, present and future (the next 'present') was what Henri Bergson called *durée*. He stated that the present was always in the process of becoming the past, that duration ensures the present was not a credible moment of time.²⁰⁹ The camera therefore creates an artificial moment, a 'present' moment frozen in time.

Bergson's philosophical treatise *Matter and Memory* (1896) explored the brain's reliance on memory to articulate present experiences. He wrote, 'Our perceptions are

²⁰⁵ Nordström 2004: 82

²⁰⁶ Edwards 2001b: 21

²⁰⁷ Edwards 2001b: 18

²⁰⁸ Barthes 1984: 20

²⁰⁹ Bergson 1991: 202-218

undoubtedly interlaced with memories, and, inversely, a memory [...] only becomes actual by borrowing the body of some perception into which it slips.’²¹⁰ For Bergson past memories were constantly being drawn upon to articulate the present. For naval and military officers who experienced world events for themselves, the photographs initially supported their memories and allowed the visualization of elements of their experiences to occur in the present, after their return from overseas service.

Naval officers compiled their albums back in Britain, reliving past events in the present through memories both aural and visual. Photographs were tied to the past and even to death, as witnessed in Hammill’s album, where captions under portraits of fellow officers featured death dates alongside their names, as seen in Figure 22. And yet, as Roland Barthes noted, the paradox of the ‘there-then’ aspect of the photograph, the historical moment frozen in time, simultaneously operates as a living material object in the ‘here-now’.²¹¹ The original historical moment of the photograph was reactivated when the officer pasted it into his album for his own purpose, adding another layer that would be further interpreted by the album’s repeated audiences and ‘entanglements’.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown the way naval officers came into contact with photographs while on overseas service, how and what they purchased and how they chose to display these images in photographic albums on their return to Britain. The array of imagery visible in the albums of Hammill and North, the personal nature of each album’s compilation and the subjective strategies they employed, support Crary’s argument that vision itself was modernized in the nineteenth century.²¹² The fixed aristocratic signage that led to the popularity of the Claude glass and the homogenization of foreign landscapes, as typified by the picturesque portfolios of David Roberts, was replaced in the nineteenth century by a more contingent and subjective relationship to the world and its imaging. Naval officers bought from photographers established in ports around the world, and chose to ‘curate’ these images into unique album displays, mixing photographs of foreign views and costumes with those of works of art, *cartes-de-visite*

²¹⁰ Bergson 1991: 67

²¹¹ Barthes 1964: 44

²¹² Crary 1992: 5, Crary 2008: 59

of family and colleagues and ship portraits of the vessels they served on or came into contact with.

Photography from this period, associated with naval and military officers, is often studied from within one discourse, for example that of imperialism. In this chapter I have provided case studies to show how a consideration of individual photographs within the context of their album arrangement can offer new, more complex and nuanced readings, both of the images themselves and of the men who purchased them and placed them in albums in particular configurations. As Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart have argued, the materiality of albums gives them a performative quality, and within this 'theatre' of consumption images can perform differently dependent on context.²¹³ These case studies also show that the albums reflect personal journeys and encounters, that images were selected because they often represented a personal connection between the subject of the photograph and the compiler. Photographs may have been easily reproduced, at times mass-produced, but their selection for presentation in an officer's album was personal and subjective.

The albums considered in this chapter also offer a distinct and new perspective on album compilation and photo-collage in the 1860s and 1870 in Britain, reported to be largely the preserve of women in this period. Albums compiled by middle-class women have been discussed in detail in the writings of Patrizia Di Bello, Martha Langford and Elizabeth Siegel, and are exemplified by the Burnip album, Figure 6.²¹⁴ While there are areas of confluence between the naval albums and those compiled by women, such as North's own decorative fan motif, Figure 9, there are also many areas of divergence. This chapter has shown that naval officers placed the ship at the centre of many of their own displays, and used the anchor motif to visually articulate their own careers. The centrality of women as objects of desire in album page displays such as those compiled by North is an area only touched upon in this chapter but one that would benefit from future research.

Through a study of the albums of Hammill and North it can be seen that there was a significant early market for photographs at ports around the world, before the advent of

²¹³ Edwards and Hart 2004: 5

²¹⁴ See for example Di Bello 2007, Langford 2001, Siegel 2010, Siegel 2010b

the world tourist in the later nineteenth century. In subsequent chapters it will be shown how photographers such as Felice Beato identified this potential naval market and how they catered to the tastes of the market. Photographers followed the British navy and military across the world, documenting the wars they were involved in and establishing studios in ports such as Yokohama in Japan that saw a significant number of British ships moor in its harbour each year, and to cater to their needs. It will also be shown how photographers such as Beato were themselves subject to cross-cultural relationships and how this in turn came to influence their own working practice.

Chapter 2: The Crimean War: Photography becomes competitive

My investigation into the impact of photography on travel imagery has its origins in the Crimean War (1854-56). Following the invention of the wet-plate collodion process in 1851, photographers were able to expose glass negatives in a matter of seconds and reproduce them as detailed prints. This allowed them to compete with painters, print artists and newspaper ‘specials’ who all sent their images back to Britain from the Crimea for further dissemination in albums, exhibitions and in the illustrated press (translated into wood engravings). The Victorian viewer experiencing the Crimean war in Britain had access to an unprecedented range of visual imagery: illustrated newspapers, theatrical panoramas, single prints and portfolios, personal sketchbooks and albums, book illustrations and exhibition paintings, as well as photographs and photographic exhibitions. This chapter therefore establishes the market for travel imagery in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century and assesses what impact, if any, photography had on the market as a whole.

This chapter summarizes the photographers present in the Crimea before concentrating on the work of James Robertson and his pupil Felice Beato in order to consider how such photographers competed for sales and audiences both in Britain and increasingly in the field, as they started to supply images directly to those involved in the Allied campaign. It builds on recent research on Robertson and Beato in the Crimea by Luke Gartlan, as well as earlier research by B. A. and H. K. Henisch and Colin Osman.²¹⁵ It also acknowledges the work of Ulrich Keller and Matthew Paul Lalumia, both of whom have contributed significant volumes on the visual history of the Crimean War to the extant literature.²¹⁶ Much of the research into Robertson and Beato in the Crimea has a biographical focus, and the wider visual histories do not consider photography and its market in any great depth. The aim of this chapter is therefore to substantiate the position of the navy and military as a nascent market for photography, both in the field and back in Britain, the better to understand the position of photography at this time in relation to existing modes of creating and marketing topical travel imagery.

²¹⁵ See Gartlan 2005, Henisch 2002a, Henisch 2002b, Henisch 1990, Osman 1992, Osman 1987

²¹⁶ Keller 2001, Lalumia 1984

Jonathan Crary research on the modernization of vision that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century has been informative regarding my initial interrogation of photographs by James Robertson in this chapter. In his influential book *Techniques of the Observer* Crary argues that the fixed pictorial signs of the eighteenth century – the picturesque landscape, for example – were replaced by images that appeared more subjective and transitory. Peter Galassi has also noted that there was a move towards images that appeared more authentic, more mundane.²¹⁷ In some of the photographs sold as Robertson's in the Crimea a distinct change of style has occurred, with Robertson's picturesque composition replaced by a framing that places the camera at eye level 'inside' the scene, as if the observer of the photograph was viewing the scene for him or herself.²¹⁸ Christopher Pinney has called this practice 'autoptic', as if the viewer was seeing something with his or her own eyes.²¹⁹ The camera was widely perceived to be able to provide an indexical, 'truthful' image at the time of the Crimean War. Some photographers, such as Robertson, still framed landscape views in a picturesque manner, replicating the popular compositional structure seen in nineteenth-century travel prints and paintings.²²⁰ His pupil Beato, by contrast, started to take the camera from its elevated position overlooking the scene and place the tripod on the earth floors of allied batteries and captured fortifications. This autoptic approach more closely aligns with Crary's observations on the modernization of vision, and Galassi's analysis of changing visual priorities in the nineteenth century, towards the 'seemingly uncomposed', as if Beato were responding to the desires of a modernizing market for imagery.²²¹ Using visual analysis the two approaches of Robertson and Beato are considered in this chapter to provide the foundations for Beato's mature practice, which is explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

Beato's autoptic visual framing and proximity to the men he featured, seen illustrated in Figure 2, may have been one of the reasons he was able to start to sell his own photographs in the Crimea while working for Robertson. Although Figure 2 is the only known example of Beato's work in the Crimea attributed to him (the rest were produced under Robertson's name), this chapter explores how photographers like Beato were able

²¹⁷ Galassi 1981: 28

²¹⁸ Crary 1992: 5

²¹⁹ Pinney 2003: 204

²²⁰ On 'truth' and photography see Green-Lewis 1996: 109, Ryan 1997: 50 and Schwartz and Ryan 2003: 3

²²¹ Galassi 1981: 28

to start to sell work directly to the men who featured in their photographs, something Beato continued to do as he subsequently followed the navy and military to India and China. This chapter considers how Robertson and Beato's presence in the field contributed to sales in the Crimea and what conclusions can be drawn from this, as well as considering the subsequent dissemination of their photographs back in Britain.

Photographers in the Crimea

Britain and France declared war on Russia on 28 March 1854. The decisive action took place on the Crimean peninsular in 1854-1855, and allied troops left the Crimea in July 1856.²²² At least twelve Western photographers – professional, military and amateur – took photographs in the Crimea during the war. Several were commissioned by the British government including the amateur Gilbert Elliot, who sailed with the English fleet to the Baltic and photographed Russian sea defences in April 1854.²²³ Commercial photographer Richard Nicklin travelled to Varna with Lord Raglan in June 1854, accompanied by army sappers John Pendered and John Hammond. Nicklin was the first to go to the front line of the land offensive, but on 14 November 1854 a hurricane in Balaklava harbour sank the ship Nicklin and his assistants were on and the men and photographs were lost. Two ensigns Brandon and Dawson were then quickly trained by American photographer John J. E. Mayall and sent to the Crimea. They took photographs there in early spring 1855 but their work was never published and the war office destroyed their allegedly faded prints in 1869.²²⁴

Photography had played a role in wars prior to the Crimea. Daguerrotypist Charles J. Betts accompanied the US army in the Mexican War 1846-48, there are extant photographs of the Texas war of 1845-48 and English army surgeon John MacCosh photographed the Second Sikh War in 1848-49 and the Second Burma War in 1852-53.²²⁵ But it was in the Crimea that photography became a competitive visual medium, largely due to the interest among the British middle classes in all aspects of this war and improvements in photographic technology.

²²² For a history of the Crimean War see Figes 2010

²²³ Lalumia 1984: 116

²²⁴ Hannavy 1974: 8, 11; Lalumia 1984: 116

²²⁵ Wanaverbecq 2005: 25; Harris 1999: 15; Singer 1993: 8

The collodion process was invented by Frederick Scott Archer and displayed in action at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851. This process allowed photographers to capture the photographic image using a collodion emulsion on a glass plate that could subsequently be printed and reproduced. Prior to this early photographers had been forced to choose between two photographic processes, both launched in public in 1839, by Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre and William Henry Fox Talbot.²²⁶ The daguerreotype was a unique photographic imprint, a reversed positive image on a silvered metal plate. Early exposure times of between three and thirty minutes were needed to obtain a detailed image, the resulting print could be damaged or smudged and it could not be reproduced.²²⁷ Talbot's calotype process, patented in 1841, printed the positive image from a negative and required a much shorter exposure time.²²⁸ The negative meant multiple images could be produced but the quality was not as sharp as the daguerreotype. With Archer's collodion process photographers could subsequently achieve the clarity of the daguerreotype but with the reproductive capabilities of the paper-negative calotype method and consequently photography became a competitive medium for travel imagery.²²⁹

The collodion (wet-plate) process was not without problems. Each plate had to be coated with collodion, a syrupy mixture of flammable gun cotton in ether and alcohol, and then exposed and developed while still wet. This was something that was particularly difficult in the heat of the Crimea where the top of the glass plate could dry before the bottom of the plate had even been coated.²³⁰ But collodion was more reactive to light than other contemporary coatings such as albumen and therefore exposure times were significantly reduced to a matter of seconds.²³¹

The two most significant series of photographs taken in the Crimea and disseminated in Britain were by English photographer Roger Fenton and engraver and photographer

²²⁶ Daguerre's process was reported in the *Gazette de France* on 6 January 1839. Talbot's process was announced by Michael Faraday at the Royal Institution, London on 25 January 1839. See Haworth-Booth 1997: 1-31

²²⁷ Lemagny and Rouillé 1987: 20-23

²²⁸ Haworth-Booth 1997: 18-21

²²⁹ Haworth-Booth 1997: 29-31

²³⁰ Fenton 1856: 289

²³¹ Lemagny and Rouillé 1987: 30

James Robertson²³² with his pupil Felice Beato both using the wet-plate process.²³³

Fenton was the founder and secretary of the London Photographic Society, established in 1853, and the British Museum's official photographer.²³⁴ He was approached by Manchester print dealer Thomas Agnew, on behalf of the British government, and asked to create a body of quasi-official photographs of the Crimean War. The government was disconcerted by the influence of William Russell's Crimean reports in *The Times*, which stated troops were overworked and under-equipped for Crimean conditions. For example, in November 1854 Russell wrote:

Our men are worn out with fatigue; the daily service exhausts them, and the artillerymen cannot have more than five hours' rest in the 24. They are relieved every eight hours, but it takes them three hours to get down to their work and return from it to the camp.²³⁵

Consequently the government was keen to obtain photographs that would offer a visual riposte to Russell's accusations.²³⁶

Fenton arrived in Balaklava harbour on 8 March 1855, but he did not sleep on naval vessels or set up camp with the British troops, as Robertson and Beato were to do. Instead he carried letters of introduction with him from Prince Albert and remained in the Crimea for three months as a guest of General Sir John Campbell of the 4th Division and Lord Raglan, commander of the British forces. His photographic prints were sent to Britain in Lord Raglan's mailbag.²³⁷ He chose to witness the war from the perspective of the ageing and aristocratic British generals such as Raglan, enjoying their hospitality and photographing them at leisure.²³⁸ The groups of men in his photographs are dressed in various regimental uniforms and appear posed as if creating military *tableaux vivants*

²³² I will refer to Robertson as the sole photographer of work marketed under his name throughout this chapter, with the exception of the section that examines the relationship between Robertson and Beato. This section argues that some of Robertson's photographs were taken by Beato. However, as the Crimean photographs were all sold under Robertson's name I have gone with this singular nomenclature for clarity elsewhere.

²³³ There is scant material available regarding Beato's early biography. The French painter Jean-Charles Langlois referred to Beato as Robertson's pupil in his letters (for example, see Henisch 2002b: 27). Given Beato's promotion to partner at the end of the Crimean War it seems more likely he was Robertson's assistant, but I have described him as his pupil based on the evidence of Langlois' letters. See also Gartlan 2005: 74, who translates pupil as 'student'. A biographical summary of Felice Beato can be found in Appendix D.

²³⁴ Lloyd 1984: 70-71

²³⁵ Russell 1854: 7

²³⁶ See Green-Lewis 1996: 100, and Lloyd 1988

²³⁷ Lalumia 1984: 69

²³⁸ Lalumia 1984: 117-118

rather than as troop leaders on the front line of an ongoing war. In 'Group at Head Quarters' (1855), Figure 37, six commanding officers in full dress uniform appear with Raglan, including Marshal Pélissier to Raglan's left. Other photographs show officers relaxing and socializing. In 'Brigadier Garrett and Officers of the 46th', for example, a man in a white apron carrying a cup on a small tray appears to be serving four officers, who cluster around a table covered in bottles of wine.²³⁹

Fenton produced 337 photographs during his time in the Crimea.²⁴⁰ In return for his letters of introduction to Raglan from Prince Albert and the government, and access to Raglan's headquarters, he did not bring home any visual evidence that could support Russell's dystopic newspaper reports regarding Crimean conditions for troops.²⁴¹ And yet when his photographs were reviewed in British magazines they were often praised for being 'valuable for their extreme and minute accuracy.'²⁴² As James R. Ryan has noted, 'despite the claims of accuracy made for photography, in this case it hardly showed warfare more realistically than other media and indeed was a powerful means of displaying the official "truth" of a campaign.'²⁴³

British-born Robertson had been employed as an engraver and designer at the Imperial Mint in Constantinople for a decade when the Crimean War began. He became interested in photography in the early 1850s and published his first photographic series in 1853, *Photographic Views of Constantinople*.²⁴⁴ He was also commissioned to create a body of work in the Crimea by a print dealer, the London firm Paul & Dominic Colnaghi and Co. However his commission appears to have been a commercial one without the government's perspectival handcuffs.

Robertson first arrived in the Crimea before 18 June 1855 and witnessed the fall of Sevastopol on the 8 September and the destruction of the Sevastopol docks on 17-18 November the same year.²⁴⁵ He was accompanied by Felice Beato. Beato had become

²³⁹ NAM 1964-12-151-6-11. See Appendix C

²⁴⁰ Houston 2001: 363-364

²⁴¹ Houston 2001: 363

²⁴² *Athenaeum*, 1457, 29 September 1855: 1118, in Houston 2001: 365

²⁴³ Ryan 1997: 76

²⁴⁴ Robertson 1853

²⁴⁵ Robertson photographed Colonel Yea in the Crimea, and Yea was killed in the failed attack on Sevastopol on 18 June 1855. This photograph was used by the ILN, 28 July 1855: 112. See Henisch 1990: 26

his brother-in-law earlier that year following Robertson's marriage to Beato's sister Leonilda on 19 April 1855.²⁴⁶ Where Fenton had socialized with Raglan and Campbell and stayed at their headquarters, Robertson and Beato established closer allegiances with middle-class officers in the British and French camps. Robertson's tents were erected in the British camp in 1856 when he and Beato returned to the Crimea.²⁴⁷ Among the letters and memoirs of men who served in the Crimea, references to Robertson and his photographs appear more frequently than references to Fenton, suggesting Robertson was more active in selling individual prints to officers and making connections. It is the

James Robertson and Felice Beato: A stylistic divergence

Robertson's 'Interior of the Redan' (1855), Figure 38, did not glorify death or conflate historic moments in battle as traditional battle paintings had done. It likewise did not portray generals comfortably stationed behind the front line enjoying a glass of wine or posing for the camera, as Fenton's Crimean photographs had done. 'Interior of the Redan' shows the detritus-strewn floor of one of the key Russian earthwork defences following its capture on 8 September 1855. It presents one fragment of one site from a two-day assault that saw the town of Sevastopol fall to the Allied forces. It does not attempt to visualize the entire assault, but shows an eye-level viewpoint of the interior of the enemy's defences, to convey what *The Art-Journal* claimed photography was best placed to show, a 'palpable reality'.²⁴⁸ The Russian and allied dead have been cleared away, but the destruction wrought on the fort is visible through the destroyed wicker gabions, the timbers strewn over the floor, fallen barrels, spent cannon balls and disabled guns. Without a single person present – alive or dead – this photograph still conveys the brutality and destructive force of modern warfare. It is also, arguably, not a photograph taken by Robertson.

(i) James Robertson and the picturesque

Robertson's early photographic series of 1853 and 1854 had been of views of Constantinople and Greece, often picturesquely composed with local staffage positioned in the foreground. Robertson's extended use of the picturesque in some of his Crimean

²⁴⁶ Henisch 2002a: 261

²⁴⁷ Henisch 2002b: 27

²⁴⁸ *The Art-Journal*, 1 October 1855: 285, cited in Green-Lewis 1996: 109

compositions similarly allowed his audience to feel familiarity towards the landscape view. His audience was itself familiar with the picturesque through its pictorial domination of landscape painting for nearly eighty years. The picturesque, as described by William Gilpin in 1792, was a fusion of the beautiful and the sublime. People were used as foreground staffage and irregular winding paths or rivers drew the viewer's eye deep into the picture plane.²⁴⁹ Ryan describes the application of the picturesque to war terrain as 'familiarizing and domesticating a potentially hostile landscape.'²⁵⁰ As W. J. T. Mitchell has noted, the picturesque device protected the viewer:

The picturesque structure [...] is simply a foregrounding of the scene of 'natural representation' itself, 'framing' or putting it on a stage [...] the frame is always there as the guarantee that it is only a picture, only picturesque, and the observer is safe in another place – outside the frame.²⁵¹

By applying picturesque conventions to his Crimean views Robertson could cater for a British audience to whom their familiarity with the picturesque could counterbalance the subject of the unfamiliar landscape. Robertson's Crimean views feature naval batteries, supply roads and camps, but his camera's position suggests he was often looking for a picturesque angle. In his photograph 'The bridge over the Tchernaya at Trakhir[?]' (c. 1855), Figure 3, a low stone bridge occupies the central midground with three cone tents beyond. A path snakes from bottom-right to top-left, into the distant hills. The Tchernaya was a boundary of Russian army territory throughout 1855, but in this photograph it has been transformed into a picturesque scene.

Other artists, both professional and amateur, similarly applied the conventions of the picturesque to their views of the Crimea during the war. Italian painter C. Bussoli's *Views of the Crimea*, published as coloured lithographs by Day & Son in 1855-56, illustrate the widespread use of picturesque tropes in composing travel scenes and controlling the landscape in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁵² His Crimean views repeatedly feature local foreground staffage, strategically placed ruins and rocky outcrops and serpentine rivers and bays to lead the eye through the scene. The majority of his views present the Crimea as a timeless, ordered place. Local men and woman

²⁴⁹ Gilpin 1792: 1-21

²⁵⁰ Ryan 1997: 51

²⁵¹ Mitchell 2002: 16

²⁵² Examples consulted at the National Maritime Museum, London include: NMM Box 0013: 'View of Fort St Nicholas' PAD1780, also PAD1782, PAD1779; Box 0987: 'Balaclava, seen from the shore' PAH2551, 'Sebastopol from the Northern Forts' PAH2546, also PAH2547

swim naked in ‘Sebastopol from the Northern Forts’; cypresses and classical buildings line the shore in ‘Balaclava, seen from the shore’, Figure 39. The ruins he featured were not contemporary buildings destroyed by the allied bombardment but centuries-old ruins used as foreground detail, as with the ruined fort dating from the Genoese conquest in the fourteenth century shown in ‘General View of Balaclava, from Genoese Forts’ and ‘Balaclava, seen from the shore’. Bussoli’s views combine an attempt to capitalize on the topical interest in the region with the representation of timeless and benign picturesque landscapes that offered a broader and longer-lasting appeal. The ruins of the Genoese fort both allude to the Crimea as a place of conflict and also invoke the familiar iconography of ruins as signifiers of the transience of life. Robertson’s ‘Interior of the Redan’, by contrast, is not a picturesque image.

(ii) Felice Beato and the autoptic view

Robertson spent more time in the Crimea than Fenton, making multiple visits in 1855 and 1856, and the breadth of his work is greater. But there is also a stylistic shift between Robertson’s 1855 picturesque landscapes of the Balaklava area, as seen in Figure 3, and the close-range and highly detailed photographs of the captured Russian batteries and forts photographed soon after Sevastopol had fallen, such as Figure 38.²⁵³ This, I argue, can be explained by the presence of Beato.

Matthew P. Lalumia describes Robertson’s photographs of the captured Russian fortifications that had defended Sevastopol such as ‘Interior of the Redan’ and ‘Interior of the barrack battery’ as his best-known Crimean work, and yet they stand at odds with photographs he produced before this date.²⁵⁴ In ‘Interior of the barrack battery’ (1855), Figure 40, there is no sense of distance, no pathway for the eye into the midground or landscape beyond. This photograph offers a close-up experience of the Russian military battery as if the viewer were standing there. The viewpoint is no longer elevated. The sky and landscape beyond the wall have been masked out. There is little depth of field and nothing to distract the eye from the interior details: the cannon balls lying around on the floor, the rubble, the broken wicker gabions, the wooden stool with a broken leg that would no longer support anyone’s weight. This is the level of detail seen in the accounts

²⁵³ See also ‘Sebastopol from the Malakoff’, NAM1980-11-27-12; ‘Sebastopol after the siege’, NAM1980-11-27-13

²⁵⁴ Lalumia 1984: 123

of Sevastopol life published by Leo Tolstoy and Russell's reports in *The Times*. Russell's reports described the challenging conditions the British troops were experiencing, contradicting government assurances that they were well provided for. Tolstoy, a Russian artillery officer in the Crimea in 1854-55, used his experiences to inform his Sevastopol stories, published in 1855.²⁵⁵ Despite Tolstoy's privileged background his accounts of the Crimean war were written as if offering an eyewitness account of the everyday brutality and futility of war. 'Interior of the barrack battery' similarly places you inside the fort, looking at the destruction. It does not correspond to the picturesque views of Bussoli or Robertson's 'The bridge over the Tehernaya at Trakhir[?]', for example.

'Interior of the Redan' (1855), Figure 38, features a detailed foreground similar to 'Interior of the barrack battery' and also displays evidence of masking-out of the background in the top right section. Photographs such as these stand apart from the rest of Robertson's oeuvre. Prints of 'Interior of the barrack battery', as seen in Figures 40 and 41, display identical damage to the collodion emulsion on the bottom-left of the plate, something that is not evident in earlier Robertson photographs. One plausible explanation for this damage is that it was caused by the inexperienced Beato exposing and developing this plate himself, something a more experienced photographer would have avoided.²⁵⁶ Similarly two small patches of missing emulsion can be seen in the top right corner of prints of 'Interior of the Redan'.²⁵⁷

It is known that in 1856 Robertson trusted Beato to return to the Crimea without him and take and sell photographs under the Robertson studio name. In June 1856 *The Times* reported that: 'Mr Robertson, the Superintendent of the Imperial Mint at Constantinople, has sent up an intelligent photographer to the Crimea, and he is now engaged in fixing, as far as possible, every remarkable spot on paper.'²⁵⁸ Consequently Beato must have proved himself as a photographer prior to this date to effect such a rapid promotion from pupil to Robertson's substitute. The caption on William Simpson's copy of 'Guns of the Naval Brigade', Figure 2, reveals that Beato was

²⁵⁵ Tolstoy 1855a; Tolstoy 1855b

²⁵⁶ A further print of 'Interior of the barrack battery' also shows the same emulsion damage translated as black patches on the bottom-left of each print, blurring on the bottom left-right edges and what look like water marks along the right edge: George Eastman House 79:0001:0045

²⁵⁷ Figure 7 and NAM 1980-11-27-8

²⁵⁸ *The Times*, 18 June 1856, in Henisch 1990: 28

already taking his own photographs by 1855. Robertson may have been present occasionally in 1856, as the French military painter Jean-Charles Langlois's suggests in his letter home, dated 3 May 1856: 'M. Robertson came to lunch at the marshal's quarters. I should mention his brother-in-law, M. Beati or Beato Corfioti working in his place and position; he was on my side of the table.'²⁵⁹ Langlois wrote of Beato in a letter prior to this, suggesting Beato was responsible for some of the views marketed as Robertson's: 'One could even add that the latter [Beato] was the author of the photographs made in the Crimea under the name of his boss [Robertson]'.²⁶⁰

It is not known if Beato helped Robertson with the two photographic series he produced prior to the Crimean war, but he would have learnt the collodion wet-plate process from Robertson and studied Robertson's picturesque compositions and technique.²⁶¹ Whether because of Robertson's work at the Imperial Mint, family commitments (his first child, Catherine, was born in January 1856) or because Beato had proved himself with his Sevastopol photographs in autumn 1855, it seems Robertson sent Beato to the Crimea in his stead in 1856.²⁶² Beato photographed further sites including the newly abandoned Russian forts Constantine and Michael. Beato must have impressed Robertson during the Crimean war because by the end of the war Robertson started to sell photographs signed 'Robertson & Beato', suggesting they had established a studio together as equal partners. An unbound album held by the National Army Museum, London (NAM) that features nineteen Crimean photographs also includes a view of Malta signed 'Robertson & Beato'.²⁶³ A further collection of twenty-two loose Robertson and Fenton Crimean photographs held by the NAM also features two views of Malta, including a harbour view signed 'Robertson & Beato'.²⁶⁴

Robertson signed all Crimean photographs as his own so it is not possible to separate the ones taken by Beato. Luke Gartlan has argued for Beato as the photographer of one group portrait as he believes the figures are clumsily arranged and Beato is the weaker

²⁵⁹ Langlois, letter to his wife, 3 May 1856, in Gartlan 2005: 74

²⁶⁰ Langlois, letter to his wife, 30 April 1856, in Gartlan 2005: 74. Gartlan states this letter is dated 30 May, but his footnote dates it to 30 April. The letter appears before the next reference dated 3 May which Gartlan says is from a week later, suggesting the footnote date is correct

²⁶¹ Robertson 1853 and Robertson 1854

²⁶² Catherine's birth was registered in Constantinople on 21 January 1856. See Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 90. See also Crombie 1987: 26; Henisch 2002a: 262

²⁶³ NAM 1980-11-27-19

²⁶⁴ NAM 1968-10-73-14

photographer at this stage, citing Langlois's description of Beato as 'no artist' as evidence.²⁶⁵ However I would argue that in terms of photographing war, despite the limitations of the camera and his relative inexperience, it was Beato who produced photographs that more closely aligned with the modernization of vision his market was experiencing, as articulated by Crary and Galassi.²⁶⁶ The Crimean War was also Robertson's first war and he did not choose to photograph further wars. For Beato, however, his Crimean experience laid the foundations for a long career as a photographer of naval and military action. In Beato's later photographs of captured Chinese and Korean forts, for example 'Interior of English Entrance – Taku' (1860), Figure 42, and 'Interior of Fort McKee' (1871) Figure 43, clear comparisons can be drawn with 'Interior of the Redan', Figure 38 (These photographs are discussed in Chapter 4). They all are taken from low rather than elevated viewpoints, the camera tripod standing on the earth floor of the fort with the camera directed towards the walls, picking up all the foreground detail of destruction. It could be argued that Beato learnt the style from Robertson in the Crimea and replicated it when photographing the Taku forts and Fort McKee, but Robertson's photographic style both before and after the Crimean war does not support this reading. Beato's repeated use of a similar perspective indicates he was pleased with the results of his Crimean photographs and replicated this in later years.

This analysis of Robertson and Beato's differing compositional preferences has been included to establish the early development of Beato's autoptic style, something that will be discussed further in subsequent chapters. It also indicates Beato's maturity as a 'pupil' of Robertson and the level of responsibility Robertson soon placed on him, sending him to the Crimea in his stead to take photographs to be sold under Robertson's name. Beato's photographs of the Crimea appear to have been popular with naval and military officers as the 'Interior of the Redan' appears in many collections from the period.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Gartlan 2005: 77

²⁶⁶ Crary 1992, Galassi 1981

²⁶⁷ For example, William Simpson's album now in the V&A, Album 93.H.1 and loose collections in the National Army Museum, for example disbound Album 1980-11-27

Photographic Sales

(i) Photographic sales in the Crimea

During Robertson's 1855 stay in the Crimea he had taken orders for photographs from British and French officers including Colin Frederick Campbell of 46th Regiment, who wrote in a letter home:

Since Mr Fenton was here a man of the name of Robertson, who has an establishment in Constantinople, has taken a great many views, superior, I think, to Fenton's. He went to Constantinople about a month ago to have them printed off, and promised to let me have five pounds' worth, but I have heard no more of them. He had the great advantage of being able to take the interior of the Malakoff, Redan, and other places, almost immediately after their capture.²⁶⁸

Officers serving in the seat of war brought their own experiences to the Crimean photographs they purchased and it appears that Robertson's photographs were popular with the military. In 'Guns of the Naval Brigade' (1855) by Beato, Figure 2, a group of sailors pose for the camera. The number of examples of naval group portraits that exist across the NMM collection from the 1860s and 1870s indicates that the group portrait became a successful commercial venture. 'Guns of the Naval Brigade' sees Beato experimenting with a format he would continue to employ throughout his career (for example, Figure 44 and Figure 45, discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).

Officers bought work from Robertson and Beato as they packed up to go home. Ryan has argued that photography provided a way of a landscape being possessed without artillery.²⁶⁹ Applying this imperial discourse, ownership of Robertson's photographic 'capture' of Russian batteries and forts following the Russian retreat could be interpreted as a reminder of the 'conquest' of the land. Campbell's eagerness to receive Robertson's views for example, taken 'almost immediately' after key military sites had been captured, could be seen to link the photographic possession of the landscape and its geographical conquest in the minds of military men who served there when viewed through Ryan's imperial lens.

As Beato's later work indicates, commercial photographers necessarily had a strong awareness of the subjects of interest to their potential market. Beato was sent back to

²⁶⁸ Letter dated November 1855, in Henisch 2002a: 262

²⁶⁹ Ryan 1997: 97

the Crimea by Robertson in 1856 to take additional views to supplement those already being sold under the Robertson studio name, such as Lord Raglan's Crimean headquarters.²⁷⁰ Alexis Soyer, the chef responsible for the improvement in the culinary conditions for feeding the British troops in the Crimea, wrote of Lord Raglan's headquarters: 'The well-known spot was first taken as the English headquarters, and then retaken by drawing, daguerreotyping, engraving, photographing, lithographing, etc'.²⁷¹ Robertson/Beato's photograph of this would have been taken with a view to maximizing sales to the military and naval market in the field and to the wider public back in Britain.

At the end of the war Robertson, now producing photographs signed 'Robertson & Beato', travelled to England in the company of Soyer. Beato travelled only as far as Malta where he established a temporary studio selling Robertson's Crimean photographs as well as new views of Malta and older views of Constantinople and Greece.²⁷² This was presumably to capitalize on the potential market of the allied troops returning to Britain and France, for whom Malta was a customary stopover while their ships took on coal and supplies.

A set of disbound album pages in the NAM collection include seventeen Crimean photographs by Robertson as well as two Robertson & Beato views of Malta.²⁷³ This may constitute one of the earliest examples of a studio album compiled by Beato. The inclusion of the two views of Malta suggests that the album's original owner had served in the Crimea and stopped off in Malta, where they purchased Crimean photographs and added two views of Malta's harbour and defences at the end of the sequence. This disbound album also shows how photographs could be purchased as a substitution for an officer's own sketches. Naval officers such as surgeon Edward H. Cree produced topographic sketches to illustrate his Crimean diary, but it seems that for other officers the photograph offered an affordable and speedy substitute for their own sketches.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Crombie 1987: 26; Henisch 2002a: 262

²⁷¹ Soyer 1857: 202

²⁷² Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 90

²⁷³ NAM 1980-11-27

²⁷⁴ Cree, E. H. c. 1856. 'Private Journal 1855-6', unpublished, on loan to the National Maritime Museum, Royal Museums Greenwich, London, CRJ/18. See Appendix C

Artists also bought Crimean photographs from Robertson. Langlois, a former Colonel in the French army, was an established military panorama painter. He travelled to the Crimea in November 1855 and remained there until 13 May 1856, sketching and sourcing material for a state-sponsored panorama of the fall of Sevastopol.²⁷⁵

Panoramas were no longer as popular as in their Georgian heyday of 1800-1830 but they still operated in Paris and London and were enjoying a revival.²⁷⁶ Langlois had been commissioned by the French Minister of War to create a new panorama of the fall of Sevastopol and arrived two months after the event in November 1855.²⁷⁷ He took with him a young photographer, Léon-Eugène Méhédin, expecting to use Méhédin's camera as a sketchbook, with the photographs taken in lieu of detailed pencil sketches.²⁷⁸ However Langlois wrote of Méhédin's weaknesses as a photographer in his letters to his wife and during his time in the Crimea he purchased photographs by Robertson.

British artist William Simpson also bought a significant number of photographs from Robertson and Beato. In 1880, twenty-five years after the end of the Crimean war, he compiled a personal album titled *Sketches made during the campaign of 1854-55 in the Crimea, Circassia and Constantinople*, now in the V&A collection.²⁷⁹ Alongside his sketches and several watercolours and prints Simpson included forty-nine photographs, mostly by Robertson and Beato. Their inclusion at the centre of the album suggests they were of importance to him as source material. Lalumia has suggested Simpson used Robertson's photographs to complete his watercolours back in England, and there are definite comparisons to be drawn between Robertson's photographs and Simpson's published lithographs.²⁸⁰

Photographs were bought as mementoes of the Crimean war by serving officers, but they were also acquired by artists such as Langlois and Simpson, and by writers such as Russell, in lieu of making their own detailed sketches (visual and textual) for their

²⁷⁵ Henisch 2002b: 27

²⁷⁶ Hyde 1988: 170. Other panorama painters such as Adolphe Yvon visited the Crimea during the war, and Robert Burford opened his panorama of the fall of Sevastopol in his Leicester Square venue in February 1856. See Gartlan 2005: 74; Henisch 2002a: 265; Altick 1978

²⁷⁷ Henisch 2002b: 26

²⁷⁸ Gartlan 2005: 73

²⁷⁹ Lalumia 1984: 74. Lalumia's research directed me to the Simpson album at the V&A, from which all further comparisons are drawn. V&A 93.H.1-1900. See Appendix C

²⁸⁰ Lalumia 1984: 74

work.²⁸¹ The agency of the photographer in selecting the view and composing the image was overlooked as the photographs were relied upon to conjure the ‘palpable reality’ of the war some time after the events depicted.²⁸² This substitution of the photograph in lieu of detailed field sketches extended to the officers’ own personal record of the war – naval surgeon Edward H. Cree painted his own watercolour views of the Crimea and his experiences but other officers preferred to buy photographs. Certainly there was enough interest to persuade Robertson and Beato to establish a temporary studio in Malta, a coaling stop, to capitalize on further sales to officers as they returned home. Officers who purchased images in Malta selected autoptic images of captured fortifications and the town of Sevastopol to support their personal narrative that they had experienced the Crimean war themselves, first hand.

(ii) Photographic sales in Britain

Photographs sold in the field were bought by those who, in some capacity, had experienced conditions and warfare for themselves. However Robertson, Fenton and other artists working in the Crimea had been commissioned by English firms expectant of buoyant sales back at home for as long as the war lasted. Both Robertson and Fenton were commissioned to take photographs in the Crimea by established print dealers, respectively Colnaghi’s and Agnew’s, and their work was distributed via international networks of similar print dealers. This followed the tradition of joint or associated publication of print folios as seen in the publication of William Simpson’s print series *The Seat of War in the East* (1855-56).²⁸³ In this the publisher’s byline – ‘Colnaghi’s authentic series’ – ran underneath each individual print’s title. Below this, ‘Goupil and Co. of Paris’ and ‘Otto Weigel in Leipzig’ are listed as secondary distributors.²⁸⁴

Photographs were marketed and sold in a similar way. Fenton’s portfolios were published by Thomas Agnew in association with Paul & Dominic Colnaghi and Co. (Robertson and Simpson’s London dealer), Williams of New York and Moulin of Paris.²⁸⁵ It has been suggested by John Hannavy that Fenton’s photographs were more

²⁸¹ Note Russell owned eighty-one of Robertson’s Crimean photographs, Henisch 2002a: 262

²⁸² Review of Fenton’s Crimean photographs in *The Art-Journal*, 1 October 1855: 285, cited in Green-Lewis 1996: 109

²⁸³ Simpson 1855-56

²⁸⁴ See for example ‘Balaklava shewing the state of the quays & the shipping in May 1855’, published 26 September 1855, NMM PAH2550

²⁸⁵ Hannavy 1974: 18

lavishly presented for sale than Robertson's, bound in four red-leather albums while Robertson's were sold loose. Certainly the price of Fenton's photographs suggests this: individually they were between 10s 6d and a guinea, and the entire set of portfolios cost 60 guineas.²⁸⁶ There is no comparable price-list for Robertson's Crimea series, but when Beato's China and India views were offered for sale in London in 1860 they were significantly cheaper at seven shillings each, with 'portraits of the celebrities' available for six shillings each.²⁸⁷ Robertson's earlier photographic album, *Views of Constantinople* (1853), featured twenty prints and cost £6 16s 6d, the equivalent of just under seven shillings a photograph.²⁸⁸ Consequently it can be posited that his Crimean views were sold for a similar price. However the disbound Crimean album in the NAM collection suggests that, contrary to Hannavy's supposition, Robertson's photographs were available in album format as well as sold individually. The inclusion of two Malta views in the NAM album suggests the beginnings of a level of agency for the purchaser of a photographic album, a flexibility of content that was not possible with Fenton's red leather volumes. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, this self-selection of images may have more closely mirrored the middle-class desire for the autoptic experience and visualization of the personal narrative.

Fenton and Robertson's work, like Simpson's, was exhibited repeatedly, in London and across Britain.²⁸⁹ Fenton had left the Crimea three months before the fall of Sevastopol on the 8 September 1855. Robertson and Beato had witnessed the fall and photographed the major Russian batteries and forts as well as the remains of the bombarded town. When Robertson's London exhibition opened in December 1855 an advert in the ILN made clear that it featured these photographs from *after* the town's capture:

Exhibition of Crimean Photographs, taken after the Fall of Sebastopol by Robertson of Constantinople, is now open from Ten till Five, daily, at Mr. Kilburn's, Photographer to the Queen, 222, Regent-street. Admittance (with Catalogue) One Shilling.²⁹⁰

While sales of prints were significant to both Robertson and his dealer Colnaghi, perhaps exhibitions such as these were a secondary revenue stream. They may also have

²⁸⁶ Hannavy 1974: 20

²⁸⁷ Hering 1860

²⁸⁸ Henisch 1990: 23-24

²⁸⁹ For details of photographic exhibitions, dates and venues 1839-65 see Taylor 2002

²⁹⁰ ILN, 22 December 1855: 727

been a way of promoting the photographic series and a method of capitalizing on the public fascination for the Crimea. Dedicated exhibitions of photography would still have been relatively novel at this time as the first such exhibition had only been staged in London three years previously.²⁹¹ It is possible that Robertson's exhibition, held at William Kilburn's studio in 222 Regent Street from 22 December to February 1856, ran alongside Fenton's, whose 'Exhibition of the photographic Pictures taken in The Crimea, by Roger Fenton, Esq' was also held at Kilburn's Regent Street studio from December 1855.²⁹² Prince Albert noted in his diary that he had seen Robertson's photographs 'of the Crimea and Constantinople at Mr. Kilburn's'.²⁹³ Victoria and Albert were keen supporters of photography and purchased work by both Robertson and Fenton, as well as prints by Simpson.²⁹⁴ In this way photography, alongside more established forms of visual media, could be seen to inform opinion at the highest levels of society.

Photographic exhibitions were competing with other popular forms of travel imagery such as the spectacular diorama. In the same column of advertisements as Robertson's exhibition notice was an entry stating that 'new pictures – Sebastopol after the Bombardment' had been added to the Diorama at the Royal Gallery of Illustration, with twice-daily performances priced at between one to three shillings. Robertson's exhibition, at one shilling, was keenly priced by comparison. Further advertisements on the same page referred to Albert Smith's 'Mont Blanc, Holland, Up the Rhine, and Paris' that was open every night at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, and Gordon Cumming 'The Lion-Slayer' who presented a daily illustrated talk on South Africa at home, and which benefitted from the addition of two new paintings.²⁹⁵ Photographic exhibitions of the Crimean war had to compete with modern dioramas, traditional panoramas and individual performances, which all utilized first-hand experiential

²⁹¹ 'Recent Specimens of Photography', Society of Arts, London, opened in December 1852. See Haworth-Booth 1997: 31

²⁹² Taylor 2002 states Fenton's Crimea exhibition was at Kilburn's from [18] December 1855. Lalumia 1984: 123 suggests Fenton and Robertson exhibited together at 162 Piccadilly, London in 1856

²⁹³ Royal Collection catalogue entry for RCIN 2500688 <www.royalcollection.org.uk> [accessed 2 February 2012]

²⁹⁴ Examples in the Royal Collection include: Roger Fenton, 'Cossack Bay, Balaklava', 1855, RCIN 2500498; James Robertson, 'Tower of the Malakoff, Sebastopol', 1855, RCIN 2500688; William Simpson, 'The Fall of Sebastopol', 1857, RCIN 7702271

²⁹⁵ ILN, 22 December 1855: 727

accounts and offered the viewer a range of visual experiences through which they perceived (representations of) a world that unfolded over time.

Crary has stated that the diorama was ‘based on the incorporation of an *immobile* observer into a mechanical apparatus and a subjection to a predesigned temporal unfolding of optical experience.’²⁹⁶ He extended this to include the circular or semi-circular panorama painting, and concluded that this adaptation of the eye to movement from a fixed point of view (from within the subject’s own body) was inherent in the modernization of the observer. The whole could never be absorbed in one instant but must be pieced together from visual fragments. Photographers’ early experimentation with multi-plate panoramas and photographic series as presented in exhibitions could be seen to be an extension of this modernization of viewing. Contemporary audiences were already familiar with having to be active participants in extracting the whole view from a series of fragmentary elements stitched together over time to form a coherent whole, but in a reversal of the diorama experience, with photographic panoramas it was the viewer him or herself who had to actively move in front of the static image to see it in its entirety.²⁹⁷

Both Fenton and Robertson took multi-plate panoramas of Sevastopol that were included in their exhibitions. Robertson’s three-plate panorama of Sevastopol, a detail of which can be seen in Figure 46, reveals the extent to which photographers were conscious of the military market for their work and the imperial sensibility of the audience back home. Langlois, in the Crimea at the behest of the French Minister of War, evidently felt Robertson’s views would be useful for his own panoramic commission as he purchased them. Timothy Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham have noted that images of this period were not innocent of the imperialism long-perceived as rife in contemporary texts, and that these images now can be seen ‘as a site of ideological intervention and, on occasion, as active agents of social and political change.’²⁹⁸ With high vantage points from which to scrutinize the visually conquered landscape, Fenton and Robertson’s panoramic views could be seen to have influenced the understanding of the Crimea in British minds and sustain an imperialist

²⁹⁶ Crary 1992: 112-113

²⁹⁷ Crary 1992: 112-113

²⁹⁸ Barringer, Quilley and Fordham 2007: 6-7

sense of British superiority despite the complex machinations of the war and the failings of Lord Raglan's leadership. Isobel Crombie notes that panoramas also functioned as propaganda tools, stating that they offered 'an imposing, almost theatrical statement of the allied presence'.²⁹⁹ They also presented the photographer with the opportunity to work on a larger scale than the size of the individual glass-plate negative. While this still didn't see photographers being able to approach the scale of history painting or an immersive theatrical diorama, it did expand the possibilities for them in terms of composition and size.

As the Crimean war came to an end the British market for Crimean war imagery declined rapidly, perhaps a victim of what Crary defines as a growing attention deficit in the Victorian viewer that was accompanied by – or driven by – a fascination with newness and change.³⁰⁰ British troops occupied the Crimea until July 1856, but by December of that year an auction of large numbers of Fenton and Robertson's photographs and Simpson's prints were sold by Messrs Southgate and Barrett at their Fleet Street auction house.³⁰¹ Thomas Agnew claimed he made only £120 profit from Fenton's photographs and didn't sell out the first edition of 200 prints of each view.³⁰² Simpson alleged in his autobiography that his print series made £12,000 but numerous volumes of his Crimean prints were also included in the 1856 sale.³⁰³

This auction suggests that the public saw photographs (and prints) as current images, akin to those in the illustrated press, as modern images rather than on a par with the oil paintings that hung in the Royal Academy. Although ten of Robertson's Crimean photographs were included in the hugely popular 'Exhibition of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom' in Manchester in 1857, this appears to have been an exception for Crimean photography in terms of any public visual longevity.³⁰⁴ Crimean paintings by contrast were popular long after the war had ended as the war shifted into the collective historical imagination. Lady Butler's *The Roll Call (Calling the Roll after an Engagement, Crimea)* (1874) was exhibited at the Royal Academy annual exhibition

²⁹⁹ Crombie 1987: 30

³⁰⁰ See 'Modernity and the Problem of Attention', Crary 2001: 11-80

³⁰¹ Harris 1999: 36

³⁰² Hannavy 1974: 21; Lalumia 1984: 122

³⁰³ Lalumia 1984: 69

³⁰⁴ Taylor 2002

eighteen years after the end of the war with a policeman stationed alongside to control the crowds who wanted to view it.³⁰⁵

What can be concluded from this study of the various channels open to the display of visual imagery of the Crimean war is that photography entered a highly competitive market. While it could not compete with the scale and drama of the dioramas and panoramas, through exhibitions and photographic panoramas photographers were able to display their work publicly, and the number of exhibitions both in London and across the country suggest that these were a successful venture. Photographic sales in London and Manchester by the dealers who commissioned Fenton and Robertson may appear disappointing, based on the final auction of a significant amount of stock in 1856, and it is interesting to note that Beato chose to develop field sales from 1858 onwards, as will be seen in Chapters 3 and 4. Beato's contacts in the navy and military, established during the Crimea, were built upon as he followed the British navy and military to India and China. An exhibition of his work was not seen in London until 1860, when one was mounted by Henry Hering, a photographer and publisher who had bought prints of his India and China series and reproduced them for sale for a British audience.³⁰⁶ It seems Beato found it more lucrative to follow the navy and military and develop this into a discrete overseas market, travelling with them until Japan opened up to foreign commerce and Yokohama became a significant port of call for British ships while based on the China station. His photographs were reproduced in the Illustrated London News (ILN) however, and this arena for the dissemination of overseas photography will be explored in Chapter 5.

Conclusion

In this chapter I set out to delineate the extent of the established market for travel imagery in mid-nineteenth century Britain and to establish the impact, if any, of photography on this market. The Crimean war was the first major altercation outside Europe at which photography could begin to compete, thanks to the development of the wet-plate collodion process. The photographers considered in this chapter, James Robertson and Felice Beato, travelled from Robertson's studio in Constantinople on

³⁰⁵ Wood 1976: 229

³⁰⁶ See the exhibition catalogue, Hering 1860

several occasions to photograph the war, and the resulting images were presented to potential buyers both in the field and in Britain.

This chapter has shown that photography did begin to compete in terms of public attention and sales in Britain, and that in the field of battle it quickly became a dominant option for the acquisition of detailed scenes of places officers had themselves visited or heard about. Back in London photography faced more competition for sales and attention. Artists such as William Simpson published print portfolios and the publishers of photographic series copied the print folio format to try and compete for sales. The auction of a significant amount of unsold photographic stock suggests this was not a wholly successful venture (although it must be noted that Simpson's stock was included in the same sale).

Photography had to compete with other forms of visual engagement in the form of dioramas, panoramas, illustrated talks and print exhibitions, but the number of photographic exhibitions on the Crimea, the interest they garnered and the inclusion of Robertson's Crimean photographs in the 1857 'Exhibition of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom' in Manchester suggest Crimean photographs did make a significant impact on the British public. Photographs were also supplied to the illustrated press and, when translated into wood engravings, they enjoyed a broader dissemination. The role of the illustrated press in the dissemination of photography is considered in Chapter 5.

This chapter also served to illustrate the compositional strategies of Beato, the young pupil of Robertson. Robertson often utilized picturesque compositions traditionally found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel imagery. Beato's autoptic framing of the Redan, by contrast, appeared more in tune with the modernization of vision that had recently occurred and that was beginning to be seen in certain areas of the visual arts, as outlined by Galassi.³⁰⁷ Beato chose to frame a fragment of the contested fortification from the floor of the Redan where the fighting had occurred, rather than offer an overview, a view that would perhaps have equated with the distance the elderly generals maintained from the battlefield itself. It seems his compositions struck a chord with the

³⁰⁷ Galassi 1981: 25

officers in the camps as many officers who were later to recount meeting him in China or Japan made a point of remarking that they had first met him in the Crimea.³⁰⁸

Albums such as the disbound NAM album cited in this chapter suggest an origin for Beato's studio albums made later in Japan. As later chapters will show, albums constructed in studios were often not prescriptive, but could be self-selected by the purchaser and bound at the studio prior to departure. The NAM album includes two views of Malta following seventeen views of the Crimea by Robertson and Beato, suggesting these views were all selected after the purchaser had left the Crimea and placed in an album for the purchaser when they stopped off in Malta.³⁰⁹

Beato must have considered field sales and his new contacts with the British (and French) navy and military to have been significant, because within eighteen months of the war ending he was in India working for himself, following the tail end of the Sepoy Mutiny and selling photographs to British officers on overseas service. The naval and military market, first encountered by Beato in the Crimea, and the albums he created for this market are considered in Chapters 3 and 4.

³⁰⁸ For example Captain S. H. Jones-Parry who recounted his meeting in his memoir. Jones-Parry 1881: 25

³⁰⁹ NAM 1980-11-27

Chapter 3. ‘A realized fairyland’: the Western photographic construction of Japan

This chapter considers the studio albums of Japan by Felice Beato, made during the 1860s. Beato moved to Yokohama in 1863 and lived and worked there for twenty-one years. This chapter utilizes his 1864, 1868 and 1869 albums to consider several areas of photographic practice and consumption. It considers the naval presence in Yokohama as an overlooked yet significant market for Beato’s photographic views and costumes, prior to the establishment of regular steamer services that provided transport for early ‘globe-trotter’ tourists.³¹⁰

Much has been written on Beato’s time in Japan. Sebastian Dobson and Luke Gartlan have conducted significant new research into Beato’s time there, expanding on biographical details and problematizing imperial readings of the work of photographers in Japan. Eleanor M. Hight has studied Beato’s photographs of Japanese women using a problematized Orientalist discourse, and Allen Hockley has considered Beato’s albums in terms of the nascent tourist market.³¹¹ Both Hight and Hockley list the categories of traveller who comprised the tourist market, citing diplomats, merchants, Western residents of the treaty ports and foreign photograph collectors.³¹² The British navy and military, billeted in the town and moored in the harbour throughout the 1860s, are not cited as a category, yet arguably naval and military officers provided the single biggest market for photographers working out of Yokohama at this time. This chapter seeks to address this exclusion of the significant naval and military market and to consider how photographers such as Beato catered for their needs.

Japan was a newly opened country, and in Britain there was a fascination for all things Japanese. This extended to the British officers who were stationed there, and Beato’s studio albums considered in this chapter were produced with this in mind. This chapter seeks to explore how these albums were produced, and what can be concluded from an analysis of multiple examples. Were there fixed examples of Beato’s studio albums of

³¹⁰ Guth 2004: xi-xii

³¹¹ Hockley 2006: 114-132, Hight 2002: 126-158

³¹² Hockley 2004: 67, Hight 2002: 128

Japan available for sale, or did they exist in a variety of formats and with changeable content?

This chapter also considers the extent to which Beato's extended residence in Japan contributed to the shaping of the photographic record of the country. Leonard Bell, in 'Fractured families: John Davis's photo-portraits of Robert Louis Stevenson and "family" in Samoa', considered the staging of Pacific photographs as well as their subsequent entanglements, something Elizabeth Edwards, Nicholas Thomas, Felix Driver and Luciana Martins have also written about extensively.³¹³ In this chapter, following a similar model to this body of Pacific-centred research, I look at how image-making in Japan was controlled by the photographer and consider if there is any evidence of cross-cultural relationships that could have influenced the photographer's framing of the country. The presence in his photographs of Western picturesque strategies, learnt while a pupil of Robertson, and Japanese aesthetics and iconography, experienced through the work of Japanese artists he encountered with his business partner Charles Wirgman, will be analysed. I also consider the further entanglements of the photographs as they were presented for sale in studio albums and ask if textual additions to Beato's most expensive albums should be relied upon as documentary support, as current literature suggests.³¹⁴

Felice Beato and his Yokohama studio: The market for overseas photography

In the same week as Britain entered the Crimean War, the American commodore Matthew C. Perry signed an agreement with Japan that opened two ports to American ships for coaling and supplies.³¹⁵ Perry's historic agreement signaled the end of Japan's closed-door policy towards the West. Following the Crimean war, Lord Elgin subsequently sailed for Japan to negotiate a similar treaty for Britain. He entered Edo Bay in August 1858 on HMS Furious and gave the Japanese Shogun a steam yacht from Queen Victoria as a gift to help broker the deal.³¹⁶ On 26 August the Treaty of Edo was

³¹³ See Bell 2007: 309-326. See also Bell 2005: 156-174, Edwards 1995: 49-58, Edwards 2001b: 15-29, Edwards 2009: 167-194, Driver and Martins 2005: 3-20 and Thomas 2010

³¹⁴ Hockley has written extensively on Beato's annotated albums, using the text panels as documentary evidence. See Hockley 2006b

³¹⁵ Hight 2002: 130

³¹⁶ Sato and Watanabe 1991: 14. See also Oliphant 1859: viii

signed, which allowed Britain to trade in three Japanese ports.³¹⁷ Japan signed further treaties with America, France, Russia and Holland in the same year.³¹⁸

In 1859 the first British residents arrived in Japan and settled in Yokohama, which became the main foreign settlement.³¹⁹ The Japanese government chose Yokohama as a treaty port because it could be isolated through a newly installed canal system, enabling the Japanese to control access in and out of the village. It was more remote than their initial choice of Kanagawa and therefore, they hoped, less likely to rouse anti-foreigner sentiment in Japan.³²⁰ Contemporary Western accounts noted that Yokohama was also better adapted for landing and shipping purposes.³²¹

In the 1860s over twenty photographers, both Japanese and Western, established studios in Yokohama.³²² Beato was not the first Western photographer to work in Japan. William Saunders and Charles Parker both recorded views of Yokohama in 1862-1863, and amateur photographer Abel A. J. Gower took views of Japan in 1861. The Japanese photographer Shimooka Renjô established his studio in Yokohama in 1862 and an early photographic expedition from Prussia also predates Beato's arrival in Yokohama.³²³ But in the 1860s no-one integrated themselves more with the foreign community and particularly the military and navy than Beato, nor (among Western photographers) stayed as long. Beato was the most significant Western photographer based in Yokohama, a photographer who had covered several wars involving the British and who had strong contacts in the navy and military. He ran a studio with artist and ILN 'special' Charles Wirgman from 1864-67 and during this time they repeatedly advertised their business in English-language local papers and magazines as well as circulating their sample books and price-lists.

Beato and Wirgman's price-list, Figure 13, is pasted into the front of National Media

³¹⁷ These were Kanagawa (later changed to Yokohama), Nagasaki and Hakodate. They opened to foreign trade on 15 February 1859. See Dobson 2009: 112

³¹⁸ Sato and Watanabe 1991: 14

³¹⁹ Sawatari 2006: 84

³²⁰ Sato and Watanabe 1991: 55

³²¹ For example see V&A Views Album X536: X536-240-1918 (facing album note). See Appendix A

³²² For all known photographers working in Yokohama in the 1860s see Bennett 2006a: 14-104

³²³ Saunders spent ten weeks in Japan in 1862, Bennett 2006a: 98-99. Parker advertised his 'pop-up' Yokohama studio in the *Japan Herald*, 18 July 1863, offering views and characters of Japan as well as a portrait service, Bennett 2006a: 102. The Prussian expedition (1860-61) is presented in detail in Dobson 2009: 112-131

Museum (NMeM) Album 107. This album appears to be a studio sample album from 1864. It includes a selection of photographs of Japan and a comprehensive range of views by Beato and Wirgman from the two-day Allied attack on Shimonoseki in September 1864. Beato and Wirgman's price-list appears as a preface to the photographs that follow. The price-list, drawn by Wirgman and photographed (reproduced) by Beato, shows the two men with the tools of their trade surrounded by clamorous clients. Beato stands on top of his camera with four Japanese men surrounding it (his colourists, one presumes) while artist and cartoonist Wirgman sticks his head through his easel, a caricature of Beato tacked up on the wall behind him. The price-list features both men's work, with prices for single views and costumes by Beato as well as for work sold by the dozen, in different formats or in albums. 'Japan Albums complete \$200' and 'Japan Half Albums \$100' are listed at the top of the page.

American dollars were the standard currency among the foreign community alongside the local Ichiboo. Based on contemporary accounts one British pound was roughly equivalent to four dollars at this time, so the list price for a complete Japan album was in the region of £50.³²⁴ A naval captain could make between £400-£850 per year depending on the class of his vessel, with further command money that could run into hundreds of pounds. A lieutenant made upwards of £200 a year, with additional command money potentially doubling his annual wage.³²⁵ W. H. Poyntz, an adjutant in the Royal Marines, made 23s 6d a day when he arrived in Japan in 1864.³²⁶ One 'complete' album would have cost him six weeks' wages. For a first-class naval captain a 'complete' album would still have cost roughly two weeks' wages, according to the price-list. However, a caricature of Beato in *Japan Punch*, a satirical magazine published by Wirgman, suggests the pricing of the albums was flexible. The illustration is titled 'Album Thermometer of Ct Collodion's affection for his friends being the 2nd Course of study to which his partners attention is directed'.³²⁷ Count Collodion was Wirgman's nickname for Beato. In the illustration Beato appears with two albums balanced on his head, upon which sits a thermometer. Down the left side of the thermometer is a sliding scale, written to parody Italian-born Beato's broken English

³²⁴ 40 ichiboos = c. 60 shillings in 1866, Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 28; 7 ichiboos = \$2.30 in c. 1868, Smith College Album 1982:38-2 [49] (facing album note); \$2 = 9s 3d in 1864, Poyntz 1892: 217

³²⁵ 'Table of the Full Pay of the Royal Navy', *Navy List*, April 1865: 264-280

³²⁶ Poyntz 1892: 217

³²⁷ *Japan Punch*, June 1869, reproduced in Bennett 2006a: 88

and revealing a price range from \$500, paid by ‘The more sublime fellows I never seen’ to \$0 for ‘A Maffs like that devil Vorkmans [Wirgman]’.³²⁸ At the price of \$200 the customer is described as ‘Very clever mans’, with positive descriptions down to the price of \$15, when the description reads: ‘Necessary, I been civels’. The entries for \$50 and \$25 suggest loss-leader tactics to secure larger future sales: ‘Very good fellows he got rich fathers in New York’ (\$50) and ‘I been to ask him to dinner’ (\$25).

Beato and Wirgman clearly understood that every potential purchaser had a different budget and a different set of experiences and that offering a broad range of views and prices would maximize sales. On their joint price-list Beato advertises his photographs of China and India as well as those of Japan. Such views would appeal to military and naval men who had fought in the Second Opium War and the Sepoy Mutiny and later found themselves stationed in Japan. Photographs of Wirgman’s ‘Sketches of ye Period’ were also offered, alongside Wirgman’s watercolours and oil paintings in different sizes and quantities. The price range included on the list – from \$2 for a reproduction of a Wirgman sketch to \$100 for a large painting – also suggests an understanding of the different budgets of those coming through the studio door or contemplating the studio sample album.

The Second Opium War in China had drawn to a close in 1860. The British China Station remained of central importance to the Royal Navy as they continued to police global waters and monitor Chinese activity. Following the opening of Japan, early anti-foreigner sentiment coupled with the growing foreign merchant population in treaty ports ensured that Yokohama’s harbour soon became home to dozens of British ships. British and French military camps also appeared on the hills around the town. By 1862 the English-language newspaper *Japan Herald* noted Yokohama had a new suburb known as ‘The Bluff’, home to foreign residencies, as well as a new English church, a Catholic chapel, a temporary horse-racing track and a club house alongside its ‘native settlements’ and shops.³²⁹ In 1870, 318 British vessels were recorded as entering Yokohama harbour.³³⁰ Midshipman Marcus McCausland, who returned to Japan in 1869-70 on board HMS Liffey, noted in his diary that Yokohama ‘has greatly altered

³²⁸ Hockley 2006b suggests that Vorkmans is a phonetic approximation of Wirgman

³²⁹ *Japan Herald*, 26 October 1862, in Bennett 2006b: 57-59

³³⁰ Yokoyama 1987: 114

since I was here in 63. Where there used to be half a dozen ships there are now some two or three hundred.’³³¹ William E. Griffis described the types of vessel to be found in Yokohama’s harbour when he arrived on 29 December 1870:

We count the craft that lie anchored in the harbor. From thirty to fifty are usually in port [...] the regular mail steamers from Marseilles and Southampton, lie at their buoys. Here are wooden warships and iron-clads, from which fly the British, French, Japanese, German or American flags. A tremendous amount of useless and costly saluting is done by these men-of-war.³³²

The naval market was of huge significance to Yokohama’s photographers. Beato’s connections with officers from his time in the Crimea, India and China ensured he often had regular contact with them when they arrived in Japan. These contacts no doubt helped him secure a place on HMS Euryalus, the British flagship, when it sailed for Shimonseki in 1864 to confront the Chôshû clan (this altercation is considered in Chapter 5). Wirgman, in his role as an ILN ‘special’, also accompanied the fleet to Shimonoseki. When Beato and Wirgman left Yokohama, Charles Parker’s photographic studio advertised that, ‘in consequence of the departure of the fleet, it is their intention to leave Yokohama for an artistic excursion.’³³³ This suggests that with the fleet departed Parker’s studio was less busy and he was able to travel to take new views to supplement his stock. As Beato was travelling with the fleet, Parker may have realized that the majority of officers and men serving with the allied fleet would turn to buy their Japanese photographs from someone who had also witnessed the action and could provide tangible visual evidence of the incursion. Albums from this time, such as NMM Album 144 and NMeM Album 107, show that while Beato and Wirgman realized that the uniqueness of their presence at Shimonoseki gave them a captive market in that only they could provide a visual record of the incursion, they also used the opportunity to sell further Japanese photographs and reproductions of sketches that had nothing to do with the Shimonoseki altercation.

Baron Raimund von Stillfried set up his own photographic studio at 61 Main Street, Yokohama when he moved to Japan from Austria in summer 1871.³³⁴ A notice in the

³³¹ McCausland 1869-70

³³² Griffis 1883: 330

³³³ *Japan Herald*, 10 September 1864, in Bennett 2006a: 103

³³⁴ Gartlan 2004: 43-44

Hiogo News stated: 'A new photographer has started in Yokohama, Baron STILLFRIED was once a pupil of Mr Beato and is now trying to undersell him.' Gartlan has noted that Stillfried derived much of the content for his 'Views & Costumes of Japan' albums from Beato.³³⁵ Beato's regular advertisements attest to the need to constantly market his studio to compete with those run by other photographers, and the breadth of material advertised – views and costumes as well as portraits taken and his Korean and Chinese series – show how he was trying to attract visitors with different areas of interest.

Beato quickly became an integral part of foreign life in Yokohama. The British diplomat Ernest M. Satow, whom Wirgman introduced to Beato, noted in his memoir that Beato was a 'well-known photographer' whose 'social qualities had gained him many friends.'³³⁶ Beato was a Freemason of the Yokohama lodge, he part-owned the foreign club and was an initial investor in the Grand Hotel (built in 1873), all destinations for officers and tourists.³³⁷ Until settling in Japan in 1863 Beato had moved countries almost as often as naval and military officers were expected to do, tracking wars and the people who served in them (both his subject and his market). Consequently officers who visited Japan for the first time may well have met Beato during a previous posting or campaign, or may have heard of his reputation or seen his photographs in the albums of their peers or in London exhibitions. They may also have seen his photographs translated into engravings in the *ILN* and travel memoirs such as *Our Life in Japan* (1869).³³⁸ Henry F. Woods RN, acting second master on HMS *Kestrel* who visited Yokohama in 1865, described Beato in his memoirs as a photographer: 'who had attained a high reputation for the excellence of his work in respect of both portraiture views and landscapes.'³³⁹ S. H. Jones-Parry, formerly of the 102nd Royal Madras Fusiliers, spent his days in Yokohama browsing photographic studios and visiting tea houses. At night he ate with an international crowd at the club at which Beato had registered him as an honorary member.³⁴⁰

³³⁵ Gartlan 2004: 42-44, 51

³³⁶ Satow 1921: 102

³³⁷ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 98, 103; Jones-Parry 1881, vol. 2: 26

³³⁸ This volume features twenty-one engravings, ten of which are based on Beato's photographs, Jephson and Elmhirst 1869

³³⁹ Woods 1924, in Bennett 1996: 39-40

³⁴⁰ Jones-Parry 1881, vol. 2: 24-26

Most officers would have arrived in Yokohama with a pre-formed idea of what Japan was like. R. Mounteney Jephson and Edward P. Elmhirst, in the preface to their memoir *Our Life in Japan*, apologized for writing it, stating:

A country of which so much has been written and so much has been talked for the last ten years, that to obtain a reader of one single more work on it is expecting a great deal from a generous and enlightened public.³⁴¹

This is indicative of how many volumes on Japan had been published by 1869. Mudie's Select Library, the leading lending service in London by which subscribers could obtain the latest books, had between six and eleven titles available on Japan throughout the 1860s.³⁴² Such books, including Jephson and Elmhirst's, were often illustrated with engravings based on images by Western photographers. Satow, who spent much of his life in Japan, wrote that his early interest in Japan had been inspired by the verbal and visual account given in Laurence Oliphant's book *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's mission to China and Japan in the years 1857, '58, '59*, which his brother had borrowed from Mudie's Select Library:

The book having fallen to me in turn, inflamed my imagination with pictures verbal and coloured of a country where the sky was always blue, where the sun shone perpetually, and where the whole duty of man seemed to consist in lying on a matted floor with the windows open to the ground towards a miniature rockwork garden, in the company of rosy-lipped black-eyed and attentive damsels – in short, a realized fairyland.³⁴³

The ILN was also influential in conditioning readers as to what life was like in Japan. Reports from special correspondents such as Wirgman, illustrated by engravings based on his sketches and Beato's photographs, were cited by Jones-Parry as the reason he was so keen to see Japan.³⁴⁴ A fascination with Japan began to take hold in Britain following the presentation of Sir Rutherford Alcock's large collection of Japanese art and artefacts at the 1862 International Exhibition in London.³⁴⁵ In 1878, David Wedderburn wrote in *The Fortnightly Review*: 'A traveller returning home from a tour

³⁴¹ Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 1

³⁴² Mudie's Select Library catalogues: 1857, 1861, 1865, 1869, 1871

³⁴³ Satow 1921: 17

³⁴⁴ Jones-Parry 1881, vol. 2: 26-27

³⁴⁵ The word 'Japonisme' was not coined until 1872, when French author and collector Philippe Burty used it to designate a new field of artistic borrowing from Japanese arts. However prior to this, in the 1850s and 1860s, artists and writers had already begun collecting and discussing 'Japoneries' and 'Japonaiserie', and Alcock's collection at the 1862 International Exhibition was the first time such a large collection of material from Japan had been exhibited publicly in Britain. See Lambourne 2005: 6-7, Ono 2003: 1-3

of circumnavigation will [...] be asked more questions about Japan than about any other foreign land, and will hear the strongest expressions of a desire to visit that country.’³⁴⁶

By the time officers arrived in Japan, the people, buildings, sites of worship and customs had all become images or ‘sights’ in the men’s minds.³⁴⁷ Beato catered in part to these expectations. As Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart have noted, ‘Photographs [...] are made for a reason for a specific audience, to embody specific messages and moral values.’³⁴⁸ Beato knew many naval and military officers, and such men were present in significant numbers in Yokohama in the 1860s. They represented a specific audience, and one he would have been keen to attract with views he selected to appeal directly to them.

What both authors and photographers wanted to convey was the authenticity of their Japanese accounts, something previously witnessed in accounts of the Crimean War. Sir Rutherford Alcock, the first British minister to Japan, saw this authenticity as a photographic trait when he called for a new type of realism in writing about Japan in 1861: ‘Some such true impressions of photographic accuracy are becoming more than ever needful in the plethora of new compilations, and the dearth of new authentic matter to fill them.’³⁴⁹ Authenticity had long been a trope of travel writing. Books predating the opening of Japan to Western trade used variations of ‘authentic’ in their titles to try and convince the reader of their reliability as guides.³⁵⁰ Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe noted that when British designer Christopher Dresser bought Japanese goods for his Alexandra Palace Company in the 1880s he only imported goods that ‘bore a stamp of authenticity’.³⁵¹ Beato wanted his 1868 album (the V&A Views album) to appear credible, claiming on the title page that the accompanying notes were ‘compiled from authentic sources’ and from ‘personal observation’.³⁵² The language of the frontispiece repeatedly attempted to convince the viewer of the reliability of both word and image as presented in the album.

³⁴⁶ Wedderburn, *The Fortnightly Review*, 22: 417, in Yokoyama 1987: 115

³⁴⁷ Mitchell 2002: x

³⁴⁸ Edwards and Hart 2004: 10

³⁴⁹ Rutherford Alcock, ‘Japan and the Japanese’, *The Edinburgh Review*, 1861, 113: 37-73 (p. 45), in Yokoyama 1987: 67

³⁵⁰ For example, Watts 1852: *Japan and the Japanese: From the Most Authenticated and Reliable Sources*

³⁵¹ Sato and Watanabe 1991: 37

³⁵² V&A X536 frontispiece. See Appendix A

Beato occupied premises on Main Street and had a studio at 17 The Bund in order to attract those looking for ‘authentic’ visual manifestations of their own experiences, or views they were conditioned to believe represented Japan. The streets he chose for his studios were the two most significant streets in Yokohama.³⁵³ Griffis described The Bund as ‘a fine, wide, well-paved street [...] with a stout wall of stone masonry on the water-side. Private dwellings, gardens, and hotels adorn it, facing the water.’³⁵⁴ Main Street he described as:

The showiest of all – the Broadway of the ‘New York of Japan.’ The magnificent show-windows and abundance of plate-glass suggests handsome variety and sold wealth within [...] Photographic establishments tempt our eyes and purse with tasteful albums of Japanese costume and scenery.³⁵⁵

While Main Street was the commercial centre of the town, The Bund with its riverside position as a space for promenading and disembarking had a particular significance for the naval market whose vessels were moored in Yokohama’s bay. It offered the architectural veneer of Europe with buildings constructed in colonial and neoclassical styles and, as well as asserting colonial presence, welcomed foreigners through its familiar architecture in much the same way as the aesthetic principles of the picturesque tamed and familiarized foreign landscapes. The view beyond was different and exotic, the conical Fusi-yama rising behind densely wooded hills, and yet the foreground was reassuringly familiar with the French colonial architecture of the Grand Hotel and The Bund’s stone pavements.

R. W. Leyland stayed at Beato’s Grand Hotel in 1878 and used it as a base from which he journeyed to see the local sights of Kamakura, Fusi-yama and Daibouts. On his return he visited Yokohama’s curio shops. He recounted:

As it was now growing dark, we returned to the hotel for dinner; after which a small army of photographers, silk merchants, and curio vendors of all sorts, took possession of the dining-room, all intent upon doing business, and so determined were they, that after purchasing what we required, we took refuge in flight to the streets to see how they looked by night, leaving the merchants to the tender mercies of the landlord, and to pack up at leisure.³⁵⁶

³⁵³ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 99

³⁵⁴ Griffis 1883: 330

³⁵⁵ Griffis 1883: 334

³⁵⁶ Leyland 1880: 152

Beato's sample book may have been left with visitors such as Leyland at the Grand Hotel, or with officers in the military camps or moored in the bay. Beato created sample albums such as NMeM Album 107 that were available to be consulted at his own studio or elsewhere, and he left copies of complete albums with other photographers in other cities to attract sales. In 1871, for example, he advertised that a copy of his Korean album was available for viewing at Kelly and Co.'s in Shanghai when he was preparing to leave the city for Yokohama.³⁵⁷

Following the end of his partnership with Wirgman in 1867 and the establishment of his own studio, F. Beato and Co., Beato repeatedly advertised his business in the pages of the English-language Asian press, such as the *London and China Telegraph* and the *Japan Weekly Mail*.³⁵⁸ Beato addressed one advertisement to 'the Public of Yokohama' and then 'Travellers visiting the East generally', emphasizing he had lived in Japan for six years and had photographed all the sights of interest.³⁵⁹ Other photographers such as Parker directly targeted the military and navy in their advertisements: 'Charles Parker, photographer, begs to inform the officers of the Army and Navy and the Residents of Yokohama that his gallery is now finished and ready for the reception of visitors [...] Albums made expressly for their reception.'³⁶⁰ Parker's 1865 advertisement shows that he was also selling his Japanese views and costumes as albums, and selling them specifically to military clients. Could the advertisement's prioritization of the Army and Navy have been a competitive position to counter Beato's long-standing military and naval connections?

Beato's market for his Japanese photographs was Western, but he did not choose to market these images in Britain or France, unlike his earlier series. By contrast, John Thomson, who lived in China for ten years from 1862, chose to publish two hundred of his photographs in London in 1873, calling his four-volume work *Illustrations of China and its People*. He featured reproductions of his photographs alongside letterpress descriptions of each photograph. In his introduction he wrote:

It is a novel experiment to attempt to illustrate a book of travels with photographs,

³⁵⁷ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 101

³⁵⁸ For example, *Japan Weekly Mail*, 24 February 1870, in Bennett 2006a: 95; *London and China Telegraph*, 8 February 1869, in Clark, Fraser and Osman 1989: 104

³⁵⁹ *Japan Weekly Mail*, 24 February 1870, in Bennett 2006a: 95

³⁶⁰ Charles Parker studio advertisement in the *Japan Herald*, 21 October 1865, in Bennett 2006a: 103-104

a few years back so perishable, and so difficult to reproduce. But the art is now so advanced, that we can multiply the copies with the same facility, and print them with the same materials as in the case of woodcuts or engravings.³⁶¹

This suggests Thomson was competing with more traditional methods of printmaking and publishing for an audience, rather than with deluxe studio albums such as those produced in Yokohama by Beato. Thomson had sold his photographs in China during his years there and naval officers such as paymaster Frederick North had acquired them. But *Illustrations of China and its people* was an illustrated book with a fixed order for its text and images and was designed to compete in a different market. Beato's Japan views were designed to be bought as souvenirs and return to Britain in the luggage of Western officers and travellers or be posted home. Photographs bought loose from Beato appeared in personal photographic albums compiled back in Britain such as paymaster North's, NMM Album 29. But there is no evidence to suggest that his deluxe or 'complete' studio albums could be bought anywhere except Japan, and specifically in Yokohama.

In this section, through the use of a range of primary sources, I have established the extent of the naval and military market in Yokohama for photographs of Japan. In so doing it has been possible to show how photographers such as Beato and Parker promoted their studios, albums and photographs with this significant market in mind. The next section outlines Beato's albums of Japan produced in the 1860s. It considers his inclusion of particular images and asks what conclusions can be drawn from the specific framing and presentation of these views and costumes.

Studio albums of Japan

Most Western visitors to Japan entered the country through Yokohama.³⁶² For the majority of Western arrivals, including British officers, Yokohama could only be reached by sea. Only those accompanying official British legations were able to use the inland roads and even then it was 600 miles from Nagasaki, the other significant treaty port. A special passport was required to travel further than twenty-five miles beyond

³⁶¹ Thomson 1873, vol. 1: [n. pag.; second page of introduction]

³⁶² Hockley 2004: 73

Yokohama.³⁶³ Consequently, naval and military officers and other visitors tended to travel to those sights that could be reached within the permitted area. The temple complex of Kamakura, with the large statue of Buddha known as Daibutsu, was a popular choice. Kamakura could be reached using the Tokaido Road, the Eastern highway that connected the Emperor's residence in Kyoto with Edo, where the Shogun and the feudal administration were based until 1868. From 1868 Edo, renamed Tokyo, became the new imperial residence of the restored Meiji emperor.³⁶⁴

In the year the Meiji era began, Beato produced a two-volume photographic album entitled 'Views of Japan'. The most comprehensive 'complete' copy extant is held by the V&A and includes two hundred photographs. Gartlan has described this copy as, 'a lavish two-volume set of photographs [...] [that] has often been cited as the summa of his professional accomplishment in Japan.'³⁶⁵ The photographs face lengthy letterpress album notes written by James W. Murray, Assistant Commissary General in Japan. The album notes were pasted opposite many of the same images in other versions of Beato's studio albums, such as the Smith College Museum of Art album (Smith College album) and the Hood Museum of Art album (Hood Museum album).³⁶⁶ These two albums each feature fifty photographs; Beato's price-list referred to such albums as 'Half Albums' as they were half the size and cost of his 'Japan Albums Complete'.

(i) Felice Beato's Views albums

The first volume of the V&A album includes 101 Japanese photographs taken by Beato and mounted recto with Murray's album notes pasted verso opposite corresponding images. The V&A Views album has been rebound since it was acquired by the museum in 1918 and several of the album leaves now appear out of sequence. (See Appendix A for my evidence regarding this matter and the original studio order. My analysis in this chapter is based on the original studio order.)

The V&A Views album opens as if the viewer were starting out on a journey from Yokohama, with an elevated view of the town and Western ships moored in the bay. A

³⁶³ Satow states the distance was 25 miles, Satow 1921: 27. Hockley gives it as between 18-20 miles, Hockley 2006b: para. 21

³⁶⁴ See Gulik 2006: 51

³⁶⁵ Gartlan 2006: 239

³⁶⁶ Details of all albums consulted are in Appendix C

photograph of the other significant treaty port Nagasaki follows, then five views of the Tokaido Road that unfold over five album leaves. The Tokaido Road was the major eastern road which linked Kyoto with Edo [Tokyo] and it ran close to Yokohama. Three of the Tokaido photographs are accompanied by Murray's notes on the Tokaido Road, which describe the history and significance of 'the principal highway' and conclude that, 'portions of the road are strikingly picturesque, and some beautiful views are obtained.'³⁶⁷ Murray, employed by Beato, made regular use of the term 'picturesque' in describing views and locations. A photograph of the 'Valley of Mayonashi' is included after the Tokaido Road photographs, Figure 47. Murray's note informs the viewer that Mayonashi is 'a picturesque retreat among the hills'.³⁶⁸ Many publications on Japan from this time used the terminology of the picturesque as a means of familiarizing exotic terrain. Poyntz for example described the countryside between Yokohama and Edo as 'picturesque, undulating, and fertile' and the houses as 'the neatest and most picturesque native cottages'.³⁶⁹ Charles Baudelaire alluded to the picturesque technique of making all landscapes seem familiar in 1859 when he reviewed M. Hildebrandt's European watercolour album, stating, 'it always seems to me that I am seeing again, that I am recognizing what in fact I have never seen.'³⁷⁰ It could be said that making the view appear familiar in this way was endemic in paintings and prints of foreign lands at this time.

(i) a: 'View on the New Road – Mississippi Bay'

Beato's 'View on the New Road – Mississippi Bay', Figure 17, could be seen in some ways to conform to several elements of the established Western picturesque tradition. In 1866 the Japanese government completed a six-mile link road that connected Yokohama with the Tokaido Road. The New Road, as it was known, was photographed by Beato shortly after it opened and can be seen cutting through the hillside above Yokohama in Figure 17. Beato photographed the road from the bank beyond the wooden fence marking the road's edge. The hillside descends sharply to fields, with houses lining the water's edge of Mississippi Bay. Several Japanese people can be seen on the road but they appear small and anonymous. An indistinct Japanese man leans

³⁶⁷ 'View on the Tokaido', V&A X536-242-1918 (facing album note); 'The Tokaido. Between Yokohama and Fujisawa', V&A X536-244-1918 (facing album note)

³⁶⁸ 'Valley of Mayonashi' V&A X536-247-1918 (facing album note)

³⁶⁹ Poyntz 1892: 215, 229

³⁷⁰ Baudelaire 1859: 202

over the new fence looking at the view, inviting the viewer to follow his gaze and supplant him in the view. The road snakes down the hillside and the bay curves away in the distance. Wong Hong Suen has noted that Beato's use of staffage in his photographs conformed to imperial picturesque conventions, and David Harris has likewise argued that Beato was responsible for the more successful positioning of staffage in James Robertson's rephotographed views of Constantinople in 1857.³⁷¹

Robertson, Beato's mentor, had employed the picturesque to formulate his 1853 album *Photographic Views of Constantinople*. Examples from this album were exhibited in London at the Photographic Institution (1854) and the Photographic Society (1855) and in Paris at the Exposition Universelle (1855). They included his photograph of the fort tower of Galata, Figure 48, with its winding path leading to the tower and foreground staffage.³⁷² When Beato and Robertson journeyed to Jerusalem together in 1857, shortly before their partnership dissolved, the body of work they produced demonstrated their continued adherence to the picturesque tradition. Examples from *Jerusalem: Album Photographique de Robertson & Beato* (1857) reveal how the partnership framed views using walls and vegetation to guide the eye towards distant views, focused on serpentine paths for the eye to follow, ruins for the eye to focus on and included local staffage.³⁷³ Beato's foundation in the picturesque was comprehensive and his photographic compositions prior to his arrival in Japan demonstrate this. However once he arrived in Japan it seems as if Japanese conventions of composition such as asymmetry and dominant diagonals began to compete with Beato's picturesque training. The resulting 'cultural fusion' that can be seen in Beato's Japanese photographs often means that elements of both the Western picturesque and Japanese ukiyo-e can be seen.

Ukiyo-e were popular prints whose name translates as 'pictures of the fleeting transitory world'.³⁷⁴ In 'View on the New Road', Figure 17, Beato responded to the dynamic diagonal compositions seen in Japanese ukiyo-e.³⁷⁵ The angle of the road in the photograph is a zig-zag diagonal that recedes and is visually extended by the cliff-face

³⁷¹ Suen 2008: 21; Harris 1999: 21

³⁷² Henisch 1990: 23-25; Öztuncay 1992: 25

³⁷³ British Library, London: Maps 17.e.18

³⁷⁴ The term ukiyo-e translates as 'pictures of the floating world', where 'floating' means something transitory and ephemeral. March and Delank translate ukiyo-e as 'pictures of the fleeting transitory world' to emphasise this meaning. March and Delank 2002: 18

³⁷⁵ See Gulik 2006: 52 for stylistic analysis of Japanese prints

beyond the bay. The potentially serpentine line of the New Road is replaced with a viewpoint that accentuates the strong diagonal that runs from the bottom-left corner across the composition. Beato regularly composed his Japanese views in this way, the diagonal of a road or building beginning from the bottom right or left corner of the image.³⁷⁶ Robertson had employed diagonals in his views of Constantinople but as a compositional element to frame a road or square with carefully placed staffage, as seen in Figure 49.³⁷⁷ In Figure 17 it is the asymmetry and strong diagonals of ukiyo-e landscapes, as seen in the work of contemporary Japanese artists such as Utagawa Hiroshige, that can be detected.

Hiroshige's series *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido* (1833-34) documented the stations or rest-places on the Tokaido Road such as Kanagawa, Figure 50. In much the same way Beato's Views album used a series of views to create a similar sense of journeying. Beato photographed such places that would be of interest to his Western clientele, but his repeated framing of Tokaido views also allowed him to create a body of work that entered into a dialogue with Hiroshige's various series based on the Tokaido Road. The asymmetric viewpoint of Beato's 'View on the New Road', with the strong diagonal receding through the picture plane, bears comparison with many of Hiroshige's prints of the Tokaido Road such as Figure 50. It supports Phillip March and Claudia Delank's observation that nineteenth-century Western photographers experimented with the diagonal composition associated with ukiyo-e.³⁷⁸

Landscape views rose to prominence within ukiyo-e in the 1830s, with the Tokaido Road a popular subject, as seen in Katsushika Hokusai's *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (1828) and Hiroshige's *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido* (1833-34).³⁷⁹ The Tokaido Road in Hiroshige's Hoeido edition of *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido* unfolds over fifty-five prints, each print representing a point along the road that a traveller, undertaking a similar route, would encounter. The temporal aspect of travel is bound up in the print series, as Hight has noted with regard to Hokusai's travel ukiyo-e, which she describes as recreating the travel experience, 'the movement through time as well as

³⁷⁶ See for example V&AX536-272-1918 and V&AX536-284-1918

³⁷⁷ See also further views of Constantinople by Robertson that adhere to this schema in William Simpson's album, for example V&A 93.H.1-578-1900 and 93.H.1-582-1900

³⁷⁸ March and Delank 2002: 20

³⁷⁹ For *Thirty-six views of Mount Fuji* see Forty 2004: 84-90. For *Fifty-Three stations of the Tokaido* see Narazaki 1969

space, in a sequence of images'.³⁸⁰ Beato replicated this temporal aspect of Japanese print series by collating his views into albums that the viewer had to actively explore over time to experience fully.

In several of Hiroshige's views from *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido* (Hoeido edition) the road runs diagonally across a corner of the print, offering an asymmetric view of the coast. In 'Kanagawa', Figure 50, the road runs across the bottom-right corner of the print, with Yedo Bay on the left. In the same edition, 'Shinagawa' also features a road running diagonally across the bottom-right corner with the sea on the left.³⁸¹ Both Kanagawa and Shinagawa overlooked Yedo Bay, close to the location of Beato's 'View of the New Road'. Other representations of these stations from different series also depicted them along a diagonal that stretched either across the left or right corners of the print with the sea beyond. By choosing to style his photograph of the New Road in a similar way, Beato makes a visual connection between the New Road and the ukiyo-e tradition of representing the Tokaido Road, the highway that the New Road had been built to join.

It is not unreasonable to assert that Beato would have had ample access to Japanese prints. Ukiyo-e were relatively cheap and mass-produced.³⁸² They were the dominant form of visual communication in Japan, and were produced using sophisticated printmaking techniques with many layers of colours printed by hand over each black-and-white image. Wirgman was in regular contact with many Japanese artists and Beato would have seen their work first-hand in their studios and exhibitions.³⁸³ Wirgman produced his satirical monthly journal *Japan Punch* using the same woodcut techniques employed in the production of ukiyo-e, and before the first edition was produced in May 1862 he contacted Japanese printmakers to source block-cutters to turn his texts and drawings into printed pages.³⁸⁴ Wirgman married a Japanese woman, Kane, with whom he had a son Ichiro, and instructed Japanese artists in Western oil techniques.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁰ Hight 2004: 110

³⁸¹ See Narazaki 1969: 30

³⁸² The 'Kuniyoshi' exhibition at the Royal Academy, London (2009) estimated the price of one print as the equivalent to a double helping of soba (buckwheat) noodles. The catalogue states that ukiyo-e were chiefly purchased by Japanese artisans and merchants, who comprised the lower classes, Clark 2009: 19-20

³⁸³ Clark 1991: 59

³⁸⁴ Clark 1991: 57-63

³⁸⁵ Sawatari 2006: 87-89

Wirgman was embedded in Japanese culture and lifestyle, wore Japanese dress and spoke fluent Japanese.³⁸⁶ It is also known that Beato introduced Japanese artists to Wirgman, suggesting he was also in direct contact with Japanese culture.³⁸⁷

The Western stylistic influence on artists such as Katsushika Hokusai has long been acknowledged,³⁸⁸ as well as the influence of Japanese arts and crafts on artists working in London in the 1860s such as James McNeill Whistler and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and those working in Paris such as James Tissot and Edouard Manet.³⁸⁹ The cultural dialogue between East and West is often framed as a form of distance learning, with European artists responding to imported ukiyo-e and artefacts, and Japanese artists responding to prints of Western paintings.³⁹⁰ Yet photographers such as Beato, working in the East and influenced by Eastern aesthetics with access to a far wider range of material, have not been studied using any comparable framework.³⁹¹

The Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre described this form of cross-cultural referencing as ‘cultural fusion’. Driver and Martins, in their book *Views and Visions of the Tropical World* (2005), develop a nuanced approach to non-Western visual material centred around cultural encounter and exchange.³⁹² They suggest Freyre’s terminology has been displaced in recent years by Mary Louise Pratt’s notion of ‘transculturation’.³⁹³ However ‘transculturation’ refers to a complex strategy of absorption and reuse by subjugated peoples of visual and cultural ideas introduced by colonizers or dominant parties.³⁹⁴ I would argue that this term is distinct from Freyre’s ‘cultural fusion’, a term which comes closer to describing the complex transmission of aesthetic ideas between Japanese and Western artists in Yokohama in the 1860s and 1870s. Their aesthetic exchange was based not on a relationship of colonized to colonizer but one of cultural

³⁸⁶ Clark 1991: 54-55

³⁸⁷ For example, on 3 August 1866 Beato met the Japanese oil painter Yûichi Takahashi in Yokohama and introduced him to Wirgman. See Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 98

³⁸⁸ See for example Sato and Watanabe 1991

³⁸⁹ For the influence of Japanese art on Western artists see Dufwa 1981; Berger 1992; Ono 2003; Lambourne 2005

³⁹⁰ On this East-West discourse see Yokoyama 1987; Wichmann 1999; Rappard-Boon, Gulik and van Bremen-Ito 2006; Dufwa 1981

³⁹¹ Sawatari and Clark have both considered the influence of Wirgman on Japanese artists. See Sawatari 2006: 87-89; Clark 1991: 54-63

³⁹² Driver and Martins 2005: 4

³⁹³ Pratt devised the term in her 1992 book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. See Pratt 2008 (2nd edn)

³⁹⁴ Pratt 2008: 7

encounter. Thomas similarly frames his discourse on eighteenth-century encounters between Pacific islanders and Western mariners as cross-cultural encounters and this approach can similarly be applied to Wirgman and Beato's relationships with Japanese artists, artisans and models.³⁹⁵

Beato may have included formal elements taken from ukiyo-e to appeal to his Western audience's newly acquired taste for Japanese imagery, and certainly his views and costumes were clearly created with his Western audience in mind. Suen suggests Beato was in London in 1862 to sell his China and India views through Henry Hering. It is possible that he visited the 1862 International Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in which 623 pieces of Japanese arts and crafts were exhibited, chiefly drawn from Alcock's collection.³⁹⁶ Alcock had been the first British Consul-General in Japan, or 'Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary', as he wrote on the frontispiece to his two-volume memoir published the following year.³⁹⁷ This public presentation of his material was the largest of its kind in Europe at that time, and the first major showing of Japanese art in England.

Not yet termed 'Japonisme', Beato may still have been aware of the interest in all things Japanese in Britain that contributed to the wide-spread 'Japonisme' craze in the West in the 1870s.³⁹⁸ March and Delank have suggested that by introducing elements of ukiyo-e into his photographs Beato capitalized on the European fascination with Japan, 'commercialising the Western Japanese-inspired fashion in Japan itself'.³⁹⁹ But Beato also responded to the conceptually different presentation of pictorial space seen in Japanese art that Whistler started to respond to in his etchings of the Thames in the early 1860s.⁴⁰⁰ In Beato's V&A Views album the compositional influence of ukiyo-e can be seen clearly, as in 'View on the New Road'. Beato's experimentation with compositional formats seen in ukiyo-e is an early forerunner to the work of Western

³⁹⁵ Thomas 2010: 1-30

³⁹⁶ Suen 2008: 5; Sato and Watanabe 1991: 19

³⁹⁷ Alcock 1863: frontispiece

³⁹⁸ Philippe Burty coined the term 'Japonisme' in an article in *La Renaissance littéraire et artistique*, May 1872. The article was published in English in 1875. See Sato & Watanabe 1991: 14; Ono 2003: 1; Lambourne 2005: 6

³⁹⁹ March and Delank 2002: 12

⁴⁰⁰ Sato and Watanabe 1991: 19. They cite Whistler's etchings of the Thames, 1861, as showing a 'clear response' to the composition of Japanese prints. However I would argue it is only with the Nocturnes from the 1870s, and his interpretation of the work of Hiroshige, that Whistler fully realized his exploration of Japanese aesthetics

artists in the 1870s and 1880s who saw in Japanese prints a new way of looking at the world. Ukiyo-e enabled artists such as Paul Gauguin and Whistler to rethink pictorial composition and the representation of pictorial space. The influence of ukiyo-e on Beato's compositions is concurrent with or even predates this artistic practice in London and Paris.

(i) b: 'The Temple of Hatchiman – Kamakura'

Beato's view of the Kamakura temple complex further reveals the influence of Japanese landscape composition on his work. In 'The Temple of Hatchiman – Kamakura', included in both the V&A and the Hood Museum albums, Beato has included both Japanese and Western figures, as seen in Figure 51.⁴⁰¹ The photograph shows a temple on the left, highlighted by sunlight, that directs the eye to the long diagonal flight of stairs leading to the Hatchiman temple. Five Japanese men stand stiffly posed with their backs to the viewer, while a further Japanese man stands near the top of the steps leading to the temple. Another Japanese man sits at the corner of the temple on the left, and a further man squats on the right. Two Western men recline mid-way up the steps.

In this view Beato has chosen to frame the steps asymmetrically, photographing them so they occupy the left side of the image, creating a strong diagonal through the composition. The temple in the foreground on the left is also cropped in a manner reminiscent of ukiyo-e. A comparison can be drawn between this image and Hiroshige's 'Totsuka: Fork in the Road at Motomachi', from *Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido* (Hoeido edition), as seen in Figures 52 and 53. Figure 52 shows the corner of a tea house on the left and the diagonal rise of a stepped bridge on the right. In the centre of the print a milestone directs the traveller to the Kamakura temple complex, five miles away.⁴⁰² Could Beato have known this print and used compositional elements from it to create his own view of the Kamakura complex mentioned on the milestone? Beato's cropping of the temple on the left of his photograph echoes the shuttered teahouse found in some versions of Hiroshige's print, seen in Figure 53.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ See also Hood Museum Album PH.2004.51 [18]

⁴⁰² Narazaki 1969: 33

⁴⁰³ Both versions of this print appear in Calza 2005: 223

Ukiyo-e were often printed in different colours throughout their long print runs, and sometimes, as with Hiroshige's 'Totsuka', different versions existed.⁴⁰⁴ While the tea house and the bridge remain in the same positions in Hiroshige's print, in one version the man descends from his horse on to a platform by the open-fronted tea-house and in the other he mounts his horse with the shuttered tea-house behind him. A similar temporal parallel exists with regard to Beato's photograph of the Kamakura temple complex. The view in the V&A and Hood Museum albums was not the first example of its kind Beato had taken. Some time in or before 1864 Beato photographed the complex from a similar viewpoint. This image, Figure 54, present in NMM Album 144, has been cropped on the right side but offers a very similar view of the lower temple, steps and Hatchiman temple above. It includes a solitary blurred Japanese figure on the steps. The stone lantern at the corner of the lower temple on the left is positioned on the far edge of the surrounding wooden platform, in contrast to Figure 51 where it appears closer to the temple wall.

Subsequent to Figure 54 being produced and sold, on 26 November 1866 a fire destroyed much of Yokohama, including one third of the foreign settlement. The later rephotographing of the Kamakura complex from a similar viewpoint to that seen in Figure 54 suggests Beato was pleased with the composition when he first took it and, after he lost some of his negatives in the 1866 Yokohama fire, he chose to recreate it for his subsequent albums.

It is stated in existing literature that Beato lost both his premises and his stock of negatives in the 1866 fire.⁴⁰⁵ However, an account from the *Japan Times Overland Mail* of 1 December, reprinted in the *Preston Guardian* on 2 February 1867, noted that Captain Cardew and his detachment of men 'saved a great deal of Mr Beato's property.'⁴⁰⁶ Gartlan stated that Beato suffered a 'disastrous setback with the destruction of his studio and glass negatives' in the 1866 fire, and yet also noted that he was able to send the Bengal Photographic Society in Calcutta an album of Japanese views and costumes four months later.⁴⁰⁷ From a comparison between the V&A and Hood

⁴⁰⁴ For example a publisher of Utagawa Kuniyoshi's ukiyo-e allegedly printed 408,000 impressions of one series within eight months. See Clark 2009: 28

⁴⁰⁵ For example Hockley 2006b; Gartlan 2006: 244

⁴⁰⁶ 'Dreadful Conflagration at Yokohama', *Preston Chronicle*, 2 February 1867

⁴⁰⁷ Gartlan 2006: 244

Museum albums, created post-fire, and NMM Album 144, completed in 1864, it can be seen that Beato did not lose all his negatives. The Kamakura photograph in Album 144 is different to that in the V&A and Hood Museum albums, suggesting the 1864 view may have been lost or damaged in the fire and that Beato subsequently recreated it, presumably due to its popularity. However the photograph of Daibouts in Album 144, Figure 55, is identical to that used in the V&A album, Figure 56, suggesting Beato reused the earlier negative for this later album. The Shimonseki temple in Album 144 also reappears as a print from the same negative in the V&A album, and the same ‘View from the French Bluff’ appears in both albums.⁴⁰⁸

Many scholars, from Clark Worswick (1979) to Sebastian Dobson (2004) and Gartlan (2006), have suggested that following the 1866 fire Beato rephotographed his entire portfolio of Japanese views and costumes and that this led to the production of his 1868 albums.⁴⁰⁹ However, while the frontispiece for the V&A album is dated 1868, Beato had been producing similar photographic albums since at least 1864. An advertisement in February 1870 noted Beato’s ‘handsome collection of Albums of various sizes, containing views &c., of Japan’ as being ‘just completed’, suggesting new albums were added to his studio stock every year.⁴¹⁰ The V&A examples are ‘complete’ versions of Beato’s albums and do feature an expanded range of imagery when compared to examples such as NMM Album 144, but the duplicate images attest to Beato’s 1868 albums not being entirely created out of photographs taken following the 1866 fire.

Kamakura and the temple complex is twelve miles from Yokohama and was a popular day-trip for officers and foreigners stationed in the treaty port.⁴¹¹ The Buddhist temples and Daibouts statue were considered such tourist attractions that locals sold pamphlets mapping their positions and the dimensions of the giant Buddha. In 1869, Jephson and Elmhirst visited Kamakura:

The next step to take, if you wish to do Kamakura thoroughly, is to buy at the inner gate, from an old woman who is rather empressée in her efforts to effect a sale, a map or plan of the place, on which all the temples, shrines, and other

⁴⁰⁸ NMM ALB144/p.9 and V&A X536-303-1918; NMM ALB144/p.12 and V&A X536-316-1918

⁴⁰⁹ Worswick 1979: 133; Dobson 2004: 36; Gartlan 2006: 244

⁴¹⁰ *Japan Weekly Mail*, 12 February 1870, in Bennett 2006b: 226

⁴¹¹ For example, see Satow 1921: 135

objects of interest are marked, if not with accuracy, still with sufficient correctness to serve as a tolerable guide.⁴¹²

Murray's text accompanying Beato's view of Daibouts in the V&A Views album notes the dimensions he provides of the Buddha came from a description 'sold by the priest on the spot'.⁴¹³

In 'The Temple of Hatchiman – Kamakura' two Western men in hats and coats recline on the stairs. These two men are Charles Wirgman and Felice Beato.⁴¹⁴ They have elevated themselves above the Japanese in the courtyard, and lay back on the steps in informal poses. When Beato's Japan views are considered in the wider context of nineteenth-century photography of the Pacific, parallels can be drawn between other photographic representations. Leonard Bell, when considering photographs of late nineteenth-century Samoa, concluded that:

What these photographs bring into visibility is a sense of the simultaneity of diverse and conflicting views in, and of, tropical Samoa; and they suggest that specific and local encounters shaped differing picturings, even in the work of the one photographer.⁴¹⁵

Beato's commercial sensibility and understanding of his military market led him to construct many views using familiar Western pictorial tropes such as the picturesque and the costume study, inserting Western figures into views such as Figure 51 to make the foreign view familiar and visually 'possessed' by the West. Simultaneously, however, the artistic culture of ukiyo-e in which Beato found himself immersed also precipitated an aesthetic response. Despite Beato continuing to make use of elements from the Western pictorial tradition, these were often intercut with aesthetic solutions found in Japanese representations of landscape.

W. J. T. Mitchell has stated that: 'Landscape painting is best understood [...] not as the uniquely central medium that gives us access to ways of seeing landscape, but as a representation of something that is already a representation in its own right.'⁴¹⁶ Mitchell asserts that the view represented is already a conditioned view. By extension, Western artists looking at a particular landscape see the same topographic details differently to

⁴¹² Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 85

⁴¹³ 'The Bronze Statue of Dai-Bouts', V&AX536-256-1918 (facing album note)

⁴¹⁴ Hockley 2006b

⁴¹⁵ Bell 2005: 174

⁴¹⁶ Mitchell 2002: 14

their Eastern peers, viewing the landscape in part through their sociopolitical and cultural conditioning. Ukiyo-e artists such as Hiroshige constructed a way of navigating the Japanese landscape that built on aesthetic traditions of the dominant diagonal and asymmetric composition, adding a temporal aspect through their production of the landscape in series. This manipulation of the landscape in ukiyo-e influenced the depiction of the landscape in photographs, seen not only in the work of Japanese photographers such as Renjō but also, as has been shown, in the work of Western photographers such as Beato. When these photographs entered British collections they affected how Japan was perceived by the West. Consequently it is significant to consider the full range of influences on photographers who produced travel imagery, such as Beato. The conditioning of Beato's own viewpoint in turn conditioned the expectations of the British public, who viewed his photographs in albums such as those considered in this section as well as translated into engravings in books and newspapers. His translated images will be considered in Chapter 5.

(ii) Felice Beato's Costumes albums

The companion album to the V&A's Views album is a costume album that features ninety-nine costumes displayed on the recto leaves of the album.⁴¹⁷ Previous scholars have referred to this album as showing and being titled 'Native Types', but Gartlan has recently shown that Beato did not consider his costumed views as anthropological 'types' but referred to them as 'costumes', as can be seen on his price-list, Figure 13.⁴¹⁸ Despite much Beato research to date referring to the photographs as 'types', I support Gartlan's research and refer to them as costumes throughout. As Gartlan has asserted, the two terms are not synonymous, 'but are inflected by nineteenth-century discourses of tourism (the costume) and ethnography (the type).'⁴¹⁹

The V&A Costumes album does not feature printed notes, but small and short typed captions have been pasted below some of the ninety-nine photographs. The Smith College album features fifty costume photographs by Beato, and includes printed album notes.⁴²⁰ The photographs in these albums are of Japanese people and have been

⁴¹⁷ V&A X537. See Appendix C

⁴¹⁸ Worswick 1979: 133 first described the two V&A Beato albums as 'Views of Japan' and 'Native Types'. See Gartlan 2006: 239-264

⁴¹⁹ Gartlan 2006: 239

⁴²⁰ Smith College Album 1982:38-2. See Appendix C

delicately hand-coloured. It is often stated that Beato introduced the hand-colouring of photographs to Japan in collaboration with his business partner Wirgman.⁴²¹ Ukiyo-e had been hand-coloured using complex printing techniques since *c.* 1765, with up to forty colours applied to a single print.⁴²² It is therefore likely that Beato adapted this technique to suit his own purposes. Certainly by 1868, when Beato produced his *V&A Views and Costumes* albums, he was employing Japanese artists to hand-colour his costume photographs, with prints taking up to four hours each to finish.⁴²³ One of his Japanese artists appears to feature in the Smith College album alongside the note titled 'Our Painter'. This shows the artist (or a model posed as an artist) with a brush in his right hand and a carte-sized photograph in his left. A large album is propped up behind him as if to authenticate his position in the production of Beato's albums.⁴²⁴ By the 1870s Beato was employing eight Japanese assistants, four of whom were employed solely to hand-colour his prints.⁴²⁵

There were also Western precedents for hand-coloured photographs, including costumes by Beato's former mentor Robertson who hand-coloured his photographs of people in Constantinople in the 1850s.⁴²⁶ Hight states that there was a market for hand-coloured engravings made from daguerreotypes of Italian cities that Beato may also have been aware of.⁴²⁷ Hight also notes that a manual on hand-colouring photographs by Alfred H. Wall was published in London in 1861, the year Beato travelled to London from China.⁴²⁸

Some of the photographs in Beato's costumes albums have been composed in his studio using the same Japanese props and purport to display a range of professions and classes of people. Men were included to represent professions such as high court official,

⁴²¹ Hight 2002: 149-150 says Wirgman probably coloured the first photographs for Beato, although she supplies no documentation to support this claim. March and Delank 2002: 15 state that Beato and Wirgman introduced 'finely shaded hand colouring' to commercial photography in Japan, and that 'it developed there into an art form which clearly surpassed the colouring of Western photographs, since it stood in the tradition of the printing technique of Japanese woodblock prints'. Worswick 1979: 133 states Wirgman influenced Beato in his employment of Japanese artists to colour his prints

⁴²² Michener 1959: 89; Gulik 2006: 48

⁴²³ March and Delank 2002: 15

⁴²⁴ Smith College Album 1982:38-2 (45)

⁴²⁵ Hight 2002: 138, 151

⁴²⁶ Öztuncay 1992: 27

⁴²⁷ Hight 2002: 149

⁴²⁸ Wall 1861

officer and firemen as well as a carpenter, porter and cook, as seen in Figure 57.⁴²⁹

Women were presented performing a range of everyday tasks such as dressing their hair, travelling in a palanquin, and sitting smoking and making tea as in 'Native mode of sitting', Figure 58.⁴³⁰ They were posed to represent particular trades or pastimes, one person standing in for an entire occupation, what Rosalind C. Morris has described as emblematic rather than documentary.⁴³¹

(ii) a: 'The Original "Grecian Bend"'

An image entitled 'The Original "Grecian Bend"', Figure 59, appears in Beato's Smith College album (c. 1869) as the seventh photograph. Similar versions of this photograph were available in different formats including carte-de-visite.⁴³² The photograph shows two women posing outside by a whitewashed wall. They appear to be walking, their bodies bent forward at the waist and their arms and hands extended in an artificial manner. Both wear kimonos tied with an obi (sash) and geta (thonged shoes). The woman in front has bare feet and her face is not whitened. The woman behind has a silk kimono and more complex obi. She wears socks, carries a wagasa and has a whitened face. Figure 59 has been delicately painted using a range of colours including turquoise, purple, yellow and red.

In the Smith College album the photograph is accompanied by the note 'The Original "Grecian Bend"', pasted verso opposite the photograph. It described the Parisian adoption of the 'Grecian Bend' as displayed by young Japanese women known as moos'mies who affected the position as they served in the Japanese tea house at the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelle. The note recounts:

Our artist has caught it exactly; and connoisseurs in the poetry of posture will easily trace the graceful wave named by Hogarth the 'line of beauty.' The difference between the Japanese Moos'mie and her Parisian sister, is, that what the latter attains by much study and practice, the former grows into naturally, from politeness inculcated from the earliest childhood.⁴³³

⁴²⁹ V&A X537: 'Japanese high official in court attire' (375), 'Officer in armour' (377/399), 'Fireman' (405), 'Cook' (391), 'Carpenter' (374) 'Cooley in rain dress' (401)

⁴³⁰ V&A X537: 'Japanese mode of hair dressing' (421), 'An ordinary Japanese "Kangho" chair' (351)

⁴³¹ Morris 2009: 3

⁴³² See Frederick North's album, NMM ALB29/283

⁴³³ Smith College Album 1982:38-2 (7) (facing album note)

The album note repeatedly attempts to link the Japanese women to European style and thought. It is titled the ‘Grecian’ bend, it talks of the pose being adopted by the ‘fashionable world of Paris’ and it draws on Western aesthetics by citing Hogarth’s ‘line of beauty’, a serpentine line Hogarth extolled as central to the depiction of grace in Western art in his 1753 treatise *The Analysis of Beauty*.⁴³⁴ Klaus Berger has stated that the Japanese pavilion drew more attention than any other attraction at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, and sparked a popular two-decade fascination with Japan in France.⁴³⁵ The album note directly links Beato’s photograph to this recent fashionable sensation.

A similar photograph of the two women appears in paymaster North’s album, NMM Album 29. It was purchased as an unmounted carte-de-visite size print and pasted by North alongside other Beato costumes in his personal album, as seen in Figure 14. In North’s photograph the same women pose in the same clothes. However there are differences between the two images. The hands and feet of the women have moved slightly, and the head of the woman on the left is no longer in profile. Beato may have worked from two different negatives to allow him to reproduce the photograph more frequently. The two negatives allowed him to reproduce the work on a different scale and orientation and allowed him to offer potential buyers a range of sizes (and therefore prices). Both are hand-coloured in a similar way suggesting Beato stipulated a pre-conceived pattern of colouration that was then replicated across the various formats.

When the accompanying album note is not present, as in North’s album, the fashionable connection between the West and Japanese style is no longer explicit. As Gartlan has noted when discussing other contemporary uses of studio-bought costume photographs: ‘Regardless of the original pictorial objectives of the photographer, such photographs could be made to fulfill the aims of the customer.’⁴³⁶ No explanation is given for the women’s pose in North’s album; the photograph is pasted in with five other carte-sized depictions of women, arranged around a staged central image of a samurai and his retinue.

⁴³⁴ Hogarth 1753: 491-501

⁴³⁵ Berger 1992: 7-12

⁴³⁶ Gartlan 2006: 251

However, the album notes themselves could also be misleading. ‘The Original “Grecian Bend”’ text suggests a level of cross-cultural exchange between the women in the photograph and the Paris tea-house display that is not visually sustained. The women are not shown within a tea house or working in any capacity. The album note attempts to connect the women’s poses to Hogarth’s discourse on the line of beauty, but the photograph itself appears to owe more to ukiyo-e than to Western aesthetics.

Beato’s debt to ukiyo-e in relation to his costume photographs has been more fully developed in existing literature than with his views images. Several academics including March, Delank and Lionel Lambourne have drawn parallels between Beato’s photographs of Japanese women and ukiyo-e, although the comparisons chiefly relate to subject matter rather than aesthetic concerns.⁴³⁷ March and Delank have drawn parallels between the late-eighteenth century ukiyo-e of Eishosai Choki and images of Japanese women by Beato and Japanese photographer Kusakabe Kinbei.⁴³⁸ I believe there are further parallels to be drawn between the ukiyo-e of Utagawa Kuniyoshi and the photographs of Beato.⁴³⁹ The beautiful Japanese woman going about her daily life was a popular genre of ukiyo-e, but in 1842 the shogunate issued new publishing regulations and effectively banned all images of courtesans and geisha.⁴⁴⁰ Prior to this it had been a lucrative genre for publishers so they were quick to find ways round the new regulations. Within the year Kuniyoshi had published *Biographies of Wise Women and Virtuous Wives*, purportedly a series of women from history but dressed in the latest fashions. In 1843 he published *Thirty-six Immortals of Poetry*, again featuring women in contemporary dress, and *Illustrations of Moral Conduct compared with the Chapters of Genji*.

The woman on the left in ‘The Original “Grecian Bend”’ appears to be based on Kuniyoshi’s ‘Ukifune’ from *Illustrations of Moral Conduct compared with the Chapters of Genji*, Figure 60. The ukiyo-e woman is bent from the waist under her wagasa while holding her right hand in an exacting position. This is echoed in the pose and hand of the woman on the left in Beato’s photograph. Both hold a yellow wagasa in their left hand. They both wear a blue kimono edged in a darker fabric with a red

⁴³⁷ March and Delank 2002: 12, 19; Lambourne 2005: 155

⁴³⁸ March and Delank 2002: 16

⁴³⁹ For biographical information on Utagawa Kuniyoshi see Clark 2009

⁴⁴⁰ Clark 2009: 20, 132

interior trim visible at the edges of their sleeves. Both have been painted with red hair accessories. With the exception of the footwear – the woman in the photograph wears socks under her geta; the woman in the print is barefoot – this could be interpreted as a photographic homage to Kuniyoshi's print. Beato's direct engagement with ukiyo-e is an example of the level of cultural fusion existing in Yokohama in the 1860s as well as Beato's prescient interest in Japanese aesthetics. It also indicates an awareness of the growing popularity of all things Japanese in the West and therefore among his naval and military market, as ukiyo-e were a central component of what came to be known as 'Japonisme'.⁴⁴¹ This influence of ukiyo-e composition on Beato also allowed him to emphasize the 'Japanese-ness' of the women. In this photograph the two models become emblematic of Japanese moos'mies; this is not a portrait of these particular women.⁴⁴²

Beato used shallow stage-like settings for many of his costumes such as the white wall and road of Figure 59. The relative flatness and simplicity of the composition serves to focus attention on the figure. These shallow spaces placed the Japanese figures front and centre of the composition. Beato's mentor Robertson had photographed some of his own costumes in a similar way, either against a plain white background in the studio or against a wall or architectural feature outdoors that likewise created a shallow picture plane.⁴⁴³ These have affinities with the tradition of costume studies dating from the beginning of the nineteenth century when figures were drawn on a white ground for publications such as George H. Mason's *The Costume of China, Illustrated with Sixty Engravings: with Explanations in English and French* (1800).⁴⁴⁴ (It should be noted that early photographers of anthropological 'types' similarly chose uncluttered shallow backgrounds to direct the eye to the physiognomy of the figure, although they often included measurement devices within the frame.) Several of Wirgman's costume sketches reproduced in Alcock's 1863 *The Capital of the Tycoon*, such as 'Japanese Physician', also present the figure without superfluous background details.⁴⁴⁵ Beato may have been influenced by Robertson and Wirgman's compositions as well as ukiyo-e by Kuniyoshi and Hokusai. Henry D. Smith has described Hokusai's figure series as

⁴⁴¹ See for example Galantière 1937: 265; Dufwa 1981: 28; Ono 2003: 15

⁴⁴² See Morris 2009: 1-4 on emblematic photography

⁴⁴³ For example V&A 93.H.1-571-1900 and V&A 93.H.1-572-1900

⁴⁴⁴ Plate 43 illustrated in Gartlan 2006: 241

⁴⁴⁵ Alcock 1863, vol. 2: 291 (facing)

showing a ‘workaday world of human labour’ and Beato may have been aware of these while compiling his costumes albums, which features examples of various ranks of Japanese men from samurai to street sellers. March has noted that this interest in chronicling everyday life and business replicates a genre thread popular in ukiyo-e.⁴⁴⁶

(ii) b: ‘A pic-nic group’ and ‘The Executioner’

There were exceptions to Beato’s preference for plain backdrops behind his costume photographs. The Fusiya backdrop Beato included in several photographs such as ‘A pic-nic group’, Figure 61, and ‘The Executioner’, Figure 62, shows the snow-covered conical outline of Japan’s most famous volcano Fusiya, known in Britain as Mount Fuji. Fusiya is flanked by feathery pine trees in the foreground and painted with some regard for Western perspective and the picturesque. The style of the trees and receding landscape are distinct from the ukiyo-e examples that feature Fusiya, for example Hiroshige’s ‘Fuji at left from the Tokaido’, from *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji* (1858), Figure 63. This print depicts the same snow-capped Fusiya foregrounded by pine trees and fields, but the view is far more stylized. The trees feature tight clusters of leaves and the mountain lacks shadow and depth. In ‘A pic-nic group’ and ‘The Executioner’ the Fusiya backdrop was used to allude to a perspectival view, as if the figures in the photographs were outside, in the landscape. Leaves and dirt were scattered on the floor to suggest an outdoor setting.

Although the bottom edge of the backdrop is clearly visible on the right of the ‘The Executioner’, the accompanying Smith College album note states: ‘the view represents the execution ground, about a couple of miles from Yokohama’.⁴⁴⁷ In ‘A pic-nic group’ the backdrop provides a rural setting for the ladies’ purported picnic. A small gravestone can be seen on the left of the backdrop in this image (just visible on the left edge of ‘The Executioner’) but there is no further indication that the picnic’s setting was the site of the execution ground. This generic background instead employs Fusiya as shorthand for the Japanese landscape and has been used by Beato to create two very different scenes for a Western market.

Beato’s photographs in the V&A Costumes album often featured the same props and

⁴⁴⁶ March and Delank 2002: 18-19

⁴⁴⁷ Smith College Album 1982:38-2 (49) (facing album note)

models. Beato's studio compositions are simple. They feature tatami on the floor, a simple backdrop, a selection of Japanese objects such as a tea kettle and stove, pipe and mirror, a range of instruments including a box-like stringed samisen and the floor-based thirteen-string koto. 'Native mode of sitting', Figure 58, includes a teapot and cup on a portable stove, a long pipe and a koto. 'Girl playing the Koto', Figure 64, shows the same woman from 'Native mode of sitting' now turned to face the koto with her back to the same tea kettle, stove and cup. A Japanese screen embellished with dark and pale chrysanthemums, a tree and a golden pheasant appears four times in the album, present in studio shots that depicted genre scenes including 'Japanese singing girls', Figure 65.⁴⁴⁸

The repeated use of the screen and other Japanese objects serves as a visual device to authenticate the photographs as being set in Japan, much as the reproduction furniture and neoclassical architecture in Western studio portraits were included to suggest an upper-class British interior or location, as seen in Figure 30. It could therefore be seen as surprising that Beato turned to a Western studio tradition of the painted backdrop in his Japanese photographs of the picnic and executioner. One explanation could be that he was attempting to make the viewer believe that the view behind the executioner and the picnic group was a real view, the backdrop functioning as it did in portrait photographs from Western studios. Suen, in her discussion of Beato's Burmese costume photographs of the late 1880s and 1890s, considers Beato's use of a 'picturesque' backdrop for his studio portraits. She notes,

Beato [...] depicted these type-studies in the representational mode of the picturesque, in the form of studio photographs with locals dressed in elaborate costumes posing against backdrops painted in the pastoral landscape tradition, thus evoking the vision of a romantic and idyllic 'Orient'.⁴⁴⁹

Suen argues that by using a Western and therefore recognizable style of backdrop, a generic landscape of trees and bushes, the photograph becomes a form of 'recognizable exotica'.⁴⁵⁰ Mitchell draws a similar conclusion in *Landscape and Power*, defining 'pictorial colonization' as the conflation of exotic 'natives' and the Claudean

⁴⁴⁸ Other examples are: 'A Japanese girl and mode of Shampooing', V&A X537-345-1918; 'Japanese Supper', V&A X537-358-1918; 'A group of Japanese playing at cards', V&A X537-431-1918. The screen appears in the Smith College album in three instances: 1982:38-2 (3); 1982:38-2 (9); 1982:38-2 (17)

⁴⁴⁹ Suen 2008: 11-12

⁴⁵⁰ Suen 2008: 13

picturesque.⁴⁵¹ Both suggest that the use of a familiar style of backdrop or setting balances the ‘exotic’ nature of the figures included, whether they are Burmese women smoking cheroots or semi-naked Maori attending a council of war.⁴⁵² Beato’s use of Fusi-yama for his backdrop, a specific Japanese icon, problematizes the imperial and somewhat outdated perspective of Suen and Mitchell.

Fusi-yama was an iconic motif for Japan in the West and within Japan itself. It appeared in engravings that circulated in early Western travel books such as Alcock’s 1863 memoir, as seen in Figure 66.⁴⁵³ Fusi-yama was significant for Western visitors for several reasons. Its conical symmetry was visible on the sea approach to Yokohama and visitors waited to see it to know they were approaching Japan. As Griffis wrote:

Perhaps no view is so perfect, so impressive for a life-time, so well fitted to inspire that intense appreciation of nature’s masterpieces, whose glory and freshness we can feel intensely but once, as is the view of Fuji [Fusi-yama] from an incoming steamer.⁴⁵⁴

Also of significance to a Western audience was the mountain’s visual dominance in Japanese prints, fast gaining status in England and France. Leyland, in his travelogue of 1880, wrote: ‘Fusi-yama is *the* mountain of Japan [...] and it may not be uninteresting here to note that Japanese sketches usually have a view of Fusi-yama in the background.’⁴⁵⁵ Hockley has noted that Beato ‘sensed the growing fascination for Mount Fuji among Westerners,’ and included various examples in his studio albums.⁴⁵⁶ Fusi-yama featured in a number of Beato’s photographic views, centrally placed as the main subject or faintly visible beyond the fields.⁴⁵⁷ In Figure 67, from NMM Album 144, Beato used Japanese workers as picturesque staffage to enhance his composition centred on a distant Fusi-yama, a cultural fusion of Western aesthetics and Eastern iconography. On his price-list, Figure 13, a photograph of Fusi-yama displaying its symmetrical shape is identifiable on the wall behind Beato’s right hand. It was surely a combination of his interest in ukiyo-e and his understanding of the rise of Japonisme in

⁴⁵¹ Mitchell 2002: 22

⁴⁵² Mitchell 2002: 23 uses J. A. Gilfillan, *A Native Council of War*, 1853 (Hocken Library, Dunedin, New Zealand) as his example of pictorial colonization

⁴⁵³ Alcock 1863, vol. 1: 422 (facing). Fusi-yama also faces the frontispiece in Jephson and Elmhirst 1869

⁴⁵⁴ Griffis 1883: 330

⁴⁵⁵ Leyland 1880: 182

⁴⁵⁶ Hockley 2004: 75-76

⁴⁵⁷ For example centrally placed in V&A X537-259-1918; faintly visible in V&A X537-260-1918

Europe that led to Beato's repeated use of the mountain – both real and painted on a studio backdrop – as an icon of the Japanese landscape. Beato's use of Fusi-yama offers another example of the inter-cultural exchange visible in Beato's photographs.

Beato's use of Japan's iconic mountain in his costumes and views is one example of cultural fusion that this section has identified. The Japanese printmaking tradition of ukiyo-e significantly influenced his photographic compositions, as seen in 'The Original "Grecian Bend"' and 'The Temple of Hatchiman – Kamakura'. Other photographic case studies in this section have shown a fusion between Western and Eastern aesthetics, as in 'View on the New Road – Mississippi Bay'. These examples serve to illustrate the importance of considering all possible influences on photographers such as Beato. Beato's visual response to ukiyo-e, seen in these examples, in turn informed the opinion of the officers and tourists who purchased his albums and experienced his photographs disseminated through book engravings and the illustrated press. Similarly, his use of detailed text panels and compositional strategies in his costumes that shared affinities with ethnographic 'types' photography – utilized to support his claim that these were authentic representations of Japan and its people – was designed to influence and shape the opinions of all who came into contact with his images.

Problematizing Felice Beato's Japan albums

(i) Modern Japan: Signs of fracture in the visualization of 'Old Japan'

Beato's photographic albums of Japan are often framed as being produced for foreign tourists who wished to consume views of 'Old Japan' or pre-Meiji era traditions and costumes.⁴⁵⁸ Hight, for example, writes:

The photographs sold to foreigners rarely documented this historical moment early in the Meiji Period when Japan began to change from a feudal society to an industrialized nation. Rather, through these photographs the collectors attempted to capture, or even to reconstruct, an 'Old Japan.'⁴⁵⁹

Beato's presentation of Japan's modernizing society is as overlooked as the naval and military market he catered for. This section asserts that the naval and military presence in Yokohama provided Beato with a market for views that reflected technology and

⁴⁵⁸ A. B. Mitford's 1871 book *Tales of Old Japan* typifies this British interest in pre-1868 Japan. See also Hockley 2004: 67

⁴⁵⁹ Hight 2004: 119. See also Hockley 2006a: 114

newness in Japan, as well as the more traditional costumes and tourist views, and that Beato's albums are more complex than Hight's reading of photography during this period suggests.

Beato was not adverse to photographing contemporary events. He photographed the New Road above Yokohama shortly after it opened in 1866. In 'View on the New Road – Mississippi Bay', Figure 17, the fence timbers appear pale, not stained with exposure to the elements, and little vegetation has had time to grow on the newly exposed hillside, suggesting Beato took this photograph shortly after the road opened. This road was built by the Japanese government to facilitate access from the Tokaido Road to the rapidly developing treaty port.⁴⁶⁰ Beato's inclusion of this photograph in his views albums may relate to the use foreigners made of this road in accessing the Tokaido Road. A racetrack was built next to the New Road in 1867, and the British Legation occupied new buildings along the road.⁴⁶¹ In the same year the Japanese allowed foreigners to buy plots of land on the Bluff behind Yokohama, also home to the French and British military camps. While today we may read this photograph as representing a view of Yokohama from a hillside road, to those stationed in Yokohama in the late 1860s the newness of the road and its proximity to the nearby racetrack and the expanding town's suburbs would have been part of its appeal. Beato also photographed the opening of the first Japanese railway and the new Tokyo-Yokohama road in 1872, presumably expecting these views to be popular with foreign visitors to his studio.⁴⁶²

Beato's views and costumes may have been used by memoir and travel writers such as Aimé Humbert to perpetuate the idea of 'Old Japan', but an examination of Beato's own studio albums reveal more complex visualizations of the country. The V&A Views album opens with a photograph of Yokohama in which Western men-of-war and frigates appear silhouetted in the bay beyond the town.⁴⁶³ The New Road appears later in the album, as does a photograph of the tourist destination Daibouts in which Western men – Beato and Wirgman – are visitors, Figure 56. And a half-constructed factory or warehouse can be seen on the river bank in 'Fusiyama from the Bluff', Figure 68.

⁴⁶⁰ Sawatari 2006: 83

⁴⁶¹ V&A X536-249-1918 (facing album note)

⁴⁶² Bennett 2006a: 97; Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 103

⁴⁶³ V&A X536-240-1918

In Figure 68 a large timber building, scaffolded at one end, lies along the bank of a river with Fusi-yama rising behind it. Closely-packed buildings lie on the nearside bank and a wide road runs alongside the river. Although no letterpress album note exists for this image in the V&A Views album, a pencil caption written underneath the image suggests it was perceived to offer a view of 'Fusi-yama from the Bluff'. This factory or warehouse development, whether Western or Japanese, shows the expansion of the town, particularly when compared to a similar view of Fusi-yama taken by Beato in 1864, Figure 67.

Figure 67 features a photograph of a distant Fusi-yama taken from almost the same position on the Bluff. The same bend in the river can be observed, as well as the low mountain range flanking Fusi-yama. In this image the left bank of the river is given over to paddy fields. Houses of the type seen in Beato's photographs of Japanese villages dot the right bank. These houses can still be seen in Figure 68 but they are dwarfed by the new development. The photographs, taken approximately four years apart, show the rapid modernization of this area. Beato's 1864 photograph uses the scenery of the Bluff and local staffage to create a picturesque composition, the posed workers leading the eye to the river, the river with cottages on its banks wending its way into the distance, drawing the eye towards a hazy Fusi-yama. By contrast the 1868 image offers a modern scene of commercial expansion.

In April 1868 the Meiji emperor officially regained control of Japan after overthrowing the Tokugawa shogunate, and rapidly installed a programme of modernization that included utilizing Western technology such as the steam engine.⁴⁶⁴ The emperor moved from Kyoto to Edo in October 1868, taking imperial residency at Edo castle and making Edo, which he renamed Tokyo, the capital city of Japan.⁴⁶⁵ The Meiji restoration implemented an aggressive programme of modernization, a desire to emulate Western architecture, technological achievement and fashions in order to be able to negotiate on equal terms with Western countries.⁴⁶⁶ New Western-style institutions including banks and universities were built to Neoclassical models, railways were constructed and

⁴⁶⁴ See Lambourne 2005: 7; Gartlan 2009b: 109-110

⁴⁶⁵ The Hood Museum album includes a reference to this move in an album note facing Beato's photograph of the castle, PH.2004.51 [37]

⁴⁶⁶ Cortazzi 1991: 56

Japanese men and women dressed in the latest Paris and London fashions.⁴⁶⁷ Japanese streets were lit by gaslight from 1874 and frequented by Western-style carriages.⁴⁶⁸ The new Japanese navy was trained by the British and the army trained using French methods.⁴⁶⁹ Ukiyo-e of the period feature elements of Japan's rapid modernization, for example Utagawa Hiroshige III's 'The Prosperity of Merchant Houses in Yokohama', 1871, where Japanese men and women parade in Western dress next to a horse and carriage.⁴⁷⁰ Beato's photographs can likewise be seen to engage with Meiji modernity.

The British military and navy were active participants in Japan's modernization, a process that would have been familiar to them from their service across the imperial world from the Pacific to Egypt. In his naval memoir Poyntz recounted the rapid modernization that Japan underwent since it opened its ports to Western trade:

How different it all is now within only a period of twenty-five years – a representative Parliament at Yeddo [Tokyo]; a real standing army, well drilled, armed, and clothed, amounting to 160,000 men; an efficient system of reserves; an iron-clad navy, with ships of war visiting all parts of the world; native arsenals, dockyards, foreign titles of viscounts, marquises, &c., and last, but not least, the adoption of European clothing.⁴⁷¹

The V&A Costumes album reveals the changes to Japan's military clothing alongside traditional attire. US naval officer Winfield S. Schley noted in his memoir that at the time he visited Japan, in 1870-71, 'the change in the national costume, so picturesque and becoming, was setting in.'⁴⁷² In one of Beato's photographs in the V&A Costumes album, Figure 69, a tall man stands towards the right of a group of samurai. His face is partially in shadow but – given his height, pale hair colouring and unshaved crown – he does not appear to be Japanese. He is wearing a buttoned waistcoat under a dark jacket but he holds a samurai sword in his left hand. To his left, a smaller Japanese man wears an oversized white shirt and waistcoat under his jacket. No caption or album note exists for this photograph, but a pencil caption in the same hand as that of the V&A Views album states that these men are the 'Guard'. This photograph appears to show the

⁴⁶⁷ Sato and Watanabe 1991: 32-33. The Yokohama-Tokyo railway opened in 1872, Hockley 2004: 69; the Kobe-Kyoto railway opened in 1876, Cortazzi 1991: 58

⁴⁶⁸ See Griffis 1883: 333-334; Cortazzi 1991: 54-55

⁴⁶⁹ Yokoyama 1987: 111

⁴⁷⁰ See Cortazzi 1991: 54

⁴⁷¹ Poyntz 1892: 242

⁴⁷² Schley 1904: 76

transitional nature of Japanese officers' uniform in the same year as the Meiji restoration occurred.

A further example of Western dress worn by Japanese men can be seen in 'Modern Officers', Figure 29. Two men in black trousers and thigh-length coats stand on a checked tatami in a studio setting. They wear waistcoats that are buttoned up to the neck showing a small amount of white collar above. The man on the right of the picture has a Western-style leather military strap across his chest and a single Japanese sword at his left hip. He wears white gloves and Western shoes. The man on the left wears his two swords samurai-style, which awkwardly lifts his coat on the left side. His hands are behind his back. He wears Japanese geta over dark socks.

Despite an acknowledgment among military and naval observers that Japan was rapidly modernizing, men such as Poyntz still wanted to seek out the more traditional experiences. Poyntz continued his account of Japan by lamenting the rapid loss of traditional Japanese 'costumes', claiming that 'in their native purity, [they were] so very plain and becoming'.⁴⁷³ Many visitors wanted to see the old traditions of A. B. Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan* (1871) or the customs described in Thomas C. Westfield and George Smith's early travel memoirs.⁴⁷⁴ Mitford wrote in his preface that the feudal systems of 'Old Japan' had 'passed away like a dissolving view before the eyes of those who have lived in Japan during the last few years.'⁴⁷⁵ But he implored his readers to believe that everything in his book, 'however strange it may appear to Europeans,' really had taken place.⁴⁷⁶

A desire to preserve Japanese traditions through written accounts and imagery permeates the travelogues of Poyntz and Mitford. This 'salvage paradigm', what Pratt calls a form of 'archaeology', was employed, as Hight and Sampson have argued, to render non-European peoples 'in a kind of preserved state for scrutiny and/or delectation by the Western beholder/reader.'⁴⁷⁷ Beato's photographs can be seen in part to adhere to this notion of 'salvage', and his two albums include many images of

⁴⁷³ Poyntz 1892: 242

⁴⁷⁴ Mitford 1871; Westfield 1862; Smith 1861

⁴⁷⁵ Mitford 1871, vol. 1: vi-vii

⁴⁷⁶ Mitford 1871, vol. 1: vi-vii

⁴⁷⁷ On the salvage paradigm see for example Pinney 1997: 45-56. Hight and Sampson 2002: 10-11; Pratt 2008: 135. See also Edwards and Morton 2009

Japanese men and women in traditional Japanese clothes and of views of ancient temples and rural thoroughfares. Working in Yokohama for a Western market, Beato supported the historicizing gaze of Western writers on Japan, producing photographs of views and people that Westerners were already conditioned to expect. Many of the views and costumes included in his albums do appear to substantiate Hight's claim that collectors wanted photographs of the 'traditional' feudal Japan, despite acknowledging it was already disappearing. Beato would also have been aware of the growing craze for all things Japanese in the West that was tied to the pre-industrial crafts and traditions of Japan and not the modernizing Meiji period, as evinced by the goods and ukiyo-e exported.⁴⁷⁸ However, when several of Beato's album photographs are considered, it becomes necessary to reconsider this monocular 'Old Japan' reading.

An advertisement from January 1877, placed by Beato on the back cover of the *Far East* magazine, suggests that his interest in photographing the changes prevalent in Japanese society of this time continued to develop. In his advertisement he describes F. Beato & Co as 'the oldest established and best known photographers in the Far East', asserting the company's longevity. He then states that the company has 'a variety of views of Japan and Japanese both of the present and former times, of abounding interest.'⁴⁷⁹ This advertisement reveals Beato's understanding of his market and its sustained interest in views of 'former' times; his firm's position in the advertisement as the 'oldest' in the region suggests it is well placed to provide these views of 'Old Japan'. But it also indicates that he took photographs of a modernizing Japan and that there was a potential market for these works. 'Modern' had its place, as his advertisement concludes: 'Portraiture on the most modern principles, speciality.'

Beato's inclusion of modernizing aspects of Japan in albums dated 1868, the year of the Meiji restoration, reveals the speed with which Beato responded to changes he witnessed in the country. It also suggests that photographers and their audiences were not adverse to Japan's modernization. In Beato's albums, alongside traditional views of Geisha and Fusi-yama, half-built factories and officers in Western uniforms can be seen. Photographers were well-placed to capture these changes to the landscape and costume of Japan, and those who bought their work in turn revealed a more complex picture of

⁴⁷⁸ Lehmann 1984: 762

⁴⁷⁹ *Far East*, January 1877, in Clark, Fraser and Osman 1989: 108

Japan to drawing room audiences back in Britain than has previously been acknowledged by Hight and others.

(ii) Album slippage: Anomalies between subject, image and text

The previous section suggested albums such as Beato's 1868 V&A albums require further scrutiny regarding their complexity. This section argues that through a rigorous analysis of the archive itself a new understanding of such albums can be drawn. These albums were not fixed entities as has previously been suggested, and even within similar extant examples considerable slippage in the presentation of images and historical information can be uncovered.

To date a comparative analysis of the corresponding album notes featured in Beato's Japan albums and their placement has not been undertaken. The album notes written by Murray that feature in the V&A Views album and Hood Museum album have been used by many Beato scholars to provide information as to the content of Beato's corresponding photographs. Hockley, who refers to the notes as captions (and as being written by Wirgman; see Appendix A), has stated: 'The importance of the captions cannot be overstated. As examples from the Hood Museum album demonstrate, they inflect the way the photographs were viewed and understood.'⁴⁸⁰ The Hood Museum of Art Collection Catalogue lists each photograph within the album by the title in the corresponding album note.⁴⁸¹ However, as this section demonstrates, the varying placement of the notes across multiple albums reveals that the notes are unfixed in their relation to the images and are therefore an unreliable source for pictorial analysis or support. The studio (mis)placement of album notes has led to the subsequent misrepresentation of certain sites and people as the albums have become part of the historical archive.

Hockley noted a disparity in the Hood Museum album regarding the order of album notes discussing Kamakura's significant historical past. He concluded, 'It seems that the visual order of the photographs took precedence over the chronological sequence

⁴⁸⁰ Hockley 2006b

⁴⁸¹ The Hood Museum of Art collections catalogue, <<http://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/collections/search.html>> [accessed 4 July 2012]

suggested by the captions.’⁴⁸² In the Hood Museum album, the Kamakura album notes first cover the fall of the city in 1333 (note facing photograph 18) and then, opposite photograph 20, its history spanning the eighth to twelfth centuries. Hockley then states that the note facing photograph 21 is exactly the same as that facing photograph 20: ‘This suggests that Beato had a limited supply of captions for each locale he photographed.’⁴⁸³ In the Hood Museum album, Hockley notes that the same album note, ‘Burial Ground of the Taikuns’, is used six times alongside the six photographs of the Tokugawa mausoleums at Shiba.⁴⁸⁴ The V&A Views album has only one repeat album note, an entry on Kamakura that appears twice, facing two different photographs.⁴⁸⁵ Both photographs show the temple complex at Kamakura. Unlike the Hood Museum album, which features an album note facing every photograph, the V&A Views album does not. Of the verso pages, fifty-six are blank and forty-five feature album notes. This supports Hockley’s supposition that Beato had a limited supply of printed notes to accompany his photographs.

Following an analysis of the Hood Museum and V&A Views albums, it can be seen that the album notes were not inherently tied to being used with particular views but at times were used generically with various photographs of each area. Hockley has written of the Hood Museum album photograph facing album note ‘Yedo Bay’, Figure 70, ‘[it] functions as the visual entry into the capital. The caption emphasizes this reading of the photograph, then entices the viewer to enter the city and explore its wonders.’⁴⁸⁶ The same album note appears in the V&A Views album, accompanied by a different view, Figure 71. This photograph shows the curve of the bay with houses lining the coastline. The Hood Museum photograph doesn’t show the bay at all, but rather is an elevated view of Edo’s roofs with a reservoir in the foreground. This view does not show Edo’s position described by the ‘Yedo Bay’ album note as a city that, ‘lies encircling the head of a sickle shaped bay [...] so shallow that large vessels cannot approach within three or four miles.’⁴⁸⁷ Beato’s photograph in the V&A Views album, with its bay devoid of ships, does appear to assert the authenticity of the album note. The close comparison in

⁴⁸² Hockley 2006b

⁴⁸³ Hockley 2006b

⁴⁸⁴ Hood Museum Album PH.2004.5 [30-35]

⁴⁸⁵ V&A X536-274-1918, V&A X536-293-1918. Please note these caption positions are based on the original numbering of the album. See Appendix A

⁴⁸⁶ Hockley 2006b

⁴⁸⁷ Hockley 2006b

this instance between text and image suggests that some album notes were written to illustrate particular views, as in this example. But the use of the same album note to illustrate two different views of Edo, and the same album note appearing alongside multiple views of the ‘Burial Ground of the Taikuns’ and ‘Kamakura’, also reveals that album notes were used more generally as well.

Hockley has considered the album pairings of photographs and notes in the Hood Museum album and used the information presented in the notes to interpret the corresponding photographs, much as a nineteenth-century reader would have done. While an analysis of how a nineteenth-century reader would read the image using or even ‘through’ the album note is appropriate, it must be noted that mis-pairings between album note and photographs occur in both the V&A and Hood Museum albums, and by extension most probably in other examples also. This can clearly be seen in the following example of the misrepresentation of murder sites.

In the Hood Museum album, the album note opposite Figure 72 is titled ‘View near Kamakura where Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird were murdered.’ This same album note appears in the V&A Views album opposite Figure 73. It is a comprehensive text, giving the date and details of the attack on two British officers by samurai opposed to foreigners in Japan in November 1864. Beato is mentioned in the note as having breakfasted with Baldwin and Bird on the day of their murders, asserting his first-hand knowledge of the attack. Beato was a witness at the inquest into the double murder, and his testimony was published in the *Japan Herald* three days after the attack.⁴⁸⁸ The note describes the photograph ‘opposite’ as ‘a spot which has obtained a melancholy celebrity to Foreigners, from its having been the scene of the murder of two English officers.’ The note describes the location and nature of the attack: ‘while crossing the little stone bridge shewn in the picture opposite, they were attacked from behind, and cut down before they had an opportunity of defending themselves.’ As the album note states, the site quickly became famous as the scene of the attack and travel memoirs often include accounts of their authors pausing to look at the place Baldwin and Bird were murdered.⁴⁸⁹ However, when the two album photographs used opposite this album note are considered problems arise, for the albums include two different photographs.

⁴⁸⁸ Bennett 2006a: 94

⁴⁸⁹ For example, Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 61, 86-88; Satow 1921: 135

The Hood Museum example, Figure 72, features a landscape dominated by an old tree. Two rural dwellings flank a straight road that recedes into the distance. A Japanese man stands at the side of the dirt road some way behind a street-seller's load, presumably his. The scene is presented as an oval vignette. The V&A Views example, Figure 73, is also an oval vignette, but shows a different scene of more substantial buildings at a paved crossroads. A tea-house or station on the left has several Japanese people seated outside, while a further Japanese man stands with a long walking stick at the crux of the crossroads. Both the photographs could be interpreted as illustrating elements of the accompanying album note. The Hood Museum example could be interpreted as showing the 'long avenue [...] which runs in a straight line from the sea to the gate of the Temple of Hatchiman [...] having been the scene of the murder of two English officers.' It also could be seen to show the 'small shed' where the officers' bodies had been covered with mats following the attack. The V&A Views example could likewise be thought to show this 'small shed', and also features a road, although not a 'long avenue'. However neither view features the 'little stone bridge' that the album note specifically mentions as 'shewn in the picture opposite'. Both contrasting photographs are presented in the albums as showing the site where the murder took place. But what if neither photograph shows the murder site? Certainly neither appears to be the original photograph showing the 'little stone bridge'.

The V&A Views album also appears to feature another site of a British death. Figure 74 faces the album note, 'View on the Tokaido, The Spot Where Mr. Richardson was Murdered.' Richardson, a British merchant, was murdered by Satsuma clan samurai in September 1862 and his death provoked an attack by the British fleet on the Satsuma capital Kagoshima the following year.⁴⁹⁰ The photograph, Figure 74, is the same view that appears in the Hood Museum album next to the album note, 'View near Kamakura where Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird were murdered', Figure 72. (The album note regarding Mr Richardson's murder does not appear in the Hood Museum album.) In the Hood Museum album the V&A's Baldwin and Bird note appears conflated with the V&A's Richardson murder photograph. It could be argued that the Hood Museum example must be correct, and that the studio mixed up the album notes on the two

⁴⁹⁰ See Dobson 2004: 37

murders and pasted them in opposite the wrong photographs in the V&A views album. But neither conclusion explains the lack of the little stone bridge that the album note regarding the Baldwin and Bird murder refers to, and this casts doubt on the veracity of either album.

Hockley has stated that the album notes ‘imposed control over the photographs with narrative that made it difficult to view them in a manner other than that which he [the author] stipulated.’⁴⁹¹ And yet following this example of contrasting photographs allegedly representing the same murder site it can be seen that the relationship between the album note and paired image is more complex than previously believed. The number of discrepancies outlined above suggests that texts were pasted in fairly casually by studio assistants, and resulted in many errors. These errors altered how individual photographs were read within each album. So despite the title page’s expression of authenticity these mis-placements of album texts, some of which had been designed to correspond to specific images, altered the perceived content of corresponding images. James L. Hevia encountered similar geographic and historical discrepancies when researching the archive of Chinese Boxer material from 1900-01, suggesting errors in tethering images to texts and captions was endemic.⁴⁹² Errors of placement at the point of production misinformed all subsequent viewers of the album as to the content of the photograph pasted alongside.

Conclusion

Beato’s albums produced in 1860s Japan provide a prism through which to consider how photographs were created and marketed overseas, to whom they were sold and how. This chapter identifies the importance of the naval and military market to Western photographers based in Yokohama such as Beato, and how these photographers presented their material to appeal to this specific market. It problematized certain areas of the current literature on photography in Japan during this period, for example Hight’s position that photographers predominantly produced views of ‘Old Japan’, despite Japan’s rapid modernization from 1868 onwards.⁴⁹³ This chapter has shown examples of modernization present in Beato’s albums to support the argument that, while

⁴⁹¹ Hockley 2004: 73

⁴⁹² Hevia 2009: 111

⁴⁹³ Hight 2004: 119

photographers such as Beato did cater to the desires of their market to see ‘Old Japan’ and pre-restoration costumes and views, they concurrently produced photographs of the modernizing society. By the inclusion of these photographs of new Japanese factories and infrastructure and the Westernization of Japanese military uniform in Beato’s albums, it can be established that there was a sustained interest in and a market for these photographs.

This chapter has also indicated that discrepancies between Beato’s studio albums suggest that there was not one studio example of which all pre-made albums were copies but that his albums were always changing to accommodate new trends and events. Album notes were reused, at times erroneously, and new photographs and notes were introduced. For example, the Smith College album (c. 1869) features ‘The Original “Grecian Bend”’, Figure 59, the note referencing the 1867 Exposition Universelle. In the Hood Museum album (1869), the note accompanying Beato’s photograph of ‘Castle of Yedo, – Inner Moat’ states that it was now the imperial residence of the emperor, a move that only occurred in October 1868.⁴⁹⁴

Several case studies in this chapter focus on individual photographs by Beato in order to establish clear connections between Beato’s compositional strategies and those found in ukiyo-e. Beato moved to Japan in 1863 and the influence of ukiyo-e on his photography can be seen from 1864 onwards. The relationship between Beato’s work and ukiyo-e had not been properly examined to date, and consequently this chapter presents several examples of how Beato drew on ukiyo-e both for subject matter, as with ‘The Original “Grecian Bend”’, and compositionally, as in ‘The Temple of Hatchiman – Kamakura’. These examples of cultural fusion include both Western and Eastern pictorial techniques within single photographs. This fusion of two distinct methods of depicting the world supports a reading of Beato’s photographs in line with Crary’s theory of the modernization of vision. Crary’s argument, that modern vision prioritized fragmentary viewpoints and subjectivity, is supported in these images by Beato’s amalgamation of two distinct aesthetic compositional structures. These photographs are also significant because they were collected in studio and personal albums, as well as translated into book and newspaper engravings, and therefore shaped how the British public

⁴⁹⁴ Hood Museum Album PH.2004.51 [37] (facing album note)

experienced Japan. The British public's growing interest in Japan since it opened to British trade in 1859 was acknowledged by Beato through his inclusion of the iconic mountain Fusi-yama in many of his photographs, his use of Japanese props and backdrops in his costume photographs and his own aesthetic response to the distinctly different tradition of landscape seen in ukiyo-e as opposed to the Western picturesque. It appears Beato's response to the Japanese aesthetic may have been considered too avant-garde by some British editors and illustrators, as several engraved examples indicate how picturesque elements were introduced into his photographs as they were prepared for publication.

Chapter 4. ‘Under the flag’: Photographing war and the studio album

This chapter analyses five extant copies of Felice Beato’s Korean album, which records the 1871 US expedition to Korea, in order to provide a case study as to how a photographic record of a closed country by a Western photographer was produced and consumed. By using one discrete example in this way, the various elements of the photography complex – as articulated by James L. Hevia – can be studied, to assess how Beato’s photographs influenced the American navy, military and public’s understanding of Korean society at this time.⁴⁹⁵ The presentation of the same Korean men posed both as official representatives and captured prisoners underscores Hevia’s statement that ‘there was more to the event of producing a photograph than a simple reflection – that the purported mirror effect of the reproducible image was itself an ideological construct that hid as much as it exposed.’⁴⁹⁶ This chapter seeks to analyse how Beato constructed several of his Korean images, and what we can conclude his motives were for controlling the subject in this way.

The chapter opens with a section considering why photographers were chosen to accompany the navy and military on overseas expeditions. The ability of the camera to record formerly hidden topographies and cultures made it a popular tool to be taken on expeditions, military and otherwise, and much research has been conducted in this area by Joan M. Schwartz, James R. Ryan, Felix Driver, David R. Odo and Hevia.⁴⁹⁷

Beato had significant experience photographing wars and altercations between Western forces and indigenous Asian combatants, and his photographs were always produced with a Western market in mind. Through a consideration of the visual economy of these images – their production, consumption and dissemination – this chapter looks at why particular views and groupings of Koreans and US officers were photographed, how these were articulated as a narrative in Beato’s studio album and how the albums and

⁴⁹⁵ Hevia 2009: 79-119

⁴⁹⁶ Hevia 2009: 80

⁴⁹⁷ See Schwartz and Ryan 2003, Ryan 1997, Driver 1999, Driver 2001, Odo 2009: 185-208, Hevia 2009: 79-119

individual prints were marketed and sold.⁴⁹⁸ (Their wider dissemination in the illustrated press will be considered in Chapter 5.)

Five copies of the Korean album have been consulted and this has revealed marked slippage in the presentation of Beato's photographs in the extant volumes. Appendix B lists the contents of each album using the original studio numbers, and indicates where anomalies between the albums exist. These anomalies point to a level of agency for the purchaser, who appears to have been able to select from different examples of similar photographs in the creation of the final studio album. Examples of these anomalies, showing the interior of Kwangsungbo (Fort McKee), the display of the Korean flag on a US ship and the staging of the Council of War photographs, reveal the extent to which photographs of a closed country such as Korea were constructed. They also reveal the extent of the image's manipulation by Beato, variously for imperial and aesthetic reasons. As Hevia noted about photographs of the Boxer rebellion in 1901: 'In staging and fixing an ideologically charged scene, the photography complex participates in and structures the punishment of China for transgressions against "civilization."' ⁴⁹⁹ Beato's role as orchestrator of such views in Korea, as the sole photographer on the expedition, would significantly influence how the country was viewed in the West for decades to come.

Beato's participation in the aestheticization of war is considered in this chapter, as is his knowledge of his imperial market.⁵⁰⁰ *Picturing Place*, Schwartz and Ryan's 2003 book on photography and the geographical imagination has informed my thinking in this chapter, particularly the essay on Pacific naval photography by Elizabeth Edwards.⁵⁰¹ Edwards writes about the resonant space of a naval ship's deck in photographs by Captain W. A. D. Acland RN from 1883-84 as a 'deeply cultured and instrumental space, displaying an intensified fragment of the culture of colonial power.'⁵⁰² Beato similarly uses an American vessel as a stage for several of his tableaux, the solid ship a manifestation of US power and might. What were the reasons Beato chose to depict the

⁴⁹⁸ Poole 1997: 9-13

⁴⁹⁹ Hevia 2009: 86

⁵⁰⁰ The writings of Jay Prosser, Griselda Pollock, Julian Stallabrass, Susan Sontag and Paul Virilio have all informed my thinking in this area. See Prosser 2012: 7-13, Pollock 2012: 65-78, Stallabrass 2008, Sontag 2004 and Virilio 2003

⁵⁰¹ Edwards 2003: 261-279

⁵⁰² Edwards 2003: 276

US-Korean altercation in this way? What did he intend the viewer to deduce about the country and its people from a consideration of his Korean album? How do Beato's near-duplications of particular images contribute to our understanding of the modernization of vision and photography's role in this? These are some of the questions this chapter seeks to address.

The 1871 US expedition to Korea

Following the end of his partnership with Charles Wirgman in 1867, Felice Beato successfully established his own photographic practice, F. Beato & Co. He employed eight Japanese assistants as well as a studio manager. In 1870 the Hong Kong publication *Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, the Philippines* listed Beato's manager as 'J. Goddard (absent)'.⁵⁰³ The 1871 entry listed multiple photographers working under Beato's name: 'Beato & Co., F., photographers. – [...] Felix Beato, J. Goddard, Woolett'.⁵⁰⁴ Woolett was American. American tourists had started to arrive in Japan in larger numbers following the establishment of a monthly steamer route from San Francisco to Yokohama in 1867.⁵⁰⁵ Woolett may have helped attract such men as Charley Longfellow to the studio of F. Beato & Co.. Longfellow, the son of American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, embarked for Japan on 1 June 1871 and stayed nearly two years, purchasing ninety-six Beato photographs during his time there.⁵⁰⁶ Beato perhaps also recruited Woolett for his American connections in order to facilitate his becoming the official photographer when the US fleet sailed for Korea (a closed country) in May 1871.

The American market may have become increasingly important to Beato at this time. In 1869 the social reforms of British Prime Minister William E. Gladstone necessitated a financial reduction in overseas activity and the Admiralty was forced to recall ships home as the number of men serving on foreign stations was reduced from 17,000 to 11,000.⁵⁰⁷ At this time however, following the American Civil War (1861-65), the US fleet was increasingly visible in the Far East. American officer Winfield S. Schley arrived in Shanghai on 23 August 1870 but wintered in Japan, travelling north to

⁵⁰³ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 100

⁵⁰⁴ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 102

⁵⁰⁵ Hight 2002: 138; Guth 2004: xi

⁵⁰⁶ Guth 2004: 59

⁵⁰⁷ McCausland 1869-70: preface [para. 2]

Hakodati on the USS Benicia, ‘merely to show herself as a new power on the station.’⁵⁰⁸ Coupled with the increase in American visitors on the monthly mail steamers, Woolett’s arrival at Beato’s studio seems timely. The nascent American market, the increased competition from Western photographers such as Baron Raimund von Stillfried, Beato’s experience as a war photographer and the arrival of Woolett may have precipitated his decision to accompany the American fleet to Korea.

The American fleet, under the command of Rear-Admiral John Rodgers, left Nagasaki on 16 May 1871. The purpose of the expedition was complex. Ostensibly it was an attempt to sign a treaty with Korea to open the country up to trade with America. Western governments were looking to unexploited territories to establish lucrative trading posts under the guise of ‘civilization’, and many people speculated as to Korea’s possible mineral wealth.⁵⁰⁹ But another reason was to negotiate with the Koreans regarding the safety of Americans shipwrecked in Korean waters following the massacre of the crew of the US merchant vessel General Sherman there in 1866. Frederick F. Low, the American minister to China and a former congressman, had been appointed by President U. S. Grant to negotiate on both fronts.⁵¹⁰ It also seems likely that mounting anti-foreigner sentiment in China precipitated America deciding that they needed to appear strong in the eyes of the Chinese with regard to Asian insurrection and this influenced their decision to investigate the murder of the General Sherman’s crew.⁵¹¹

Beato and Woolett were the only photographers on board when the US fleet left Nagasaki. The *Far East* magazine suggested it was Beato’s decision to accompany the Americans: ‘We feel proud that of all the Photographers in the Far East, Yokohama alone furnished those [Beato and Woolett] who took any trouble to obtain permission to accompany the expedition.’⁵¹² Woolett’s nationality may have helped persuade Rodgers to allow Beato on the expedition, although it appears that Beato was first proposed by

⁵⁰⁸ Schley 1904: 78

⁵⁰⁹ Schley wrote: ‘scores of people on shore pretended to be fully convinced that it [Korea] abounded in wealth’, Schley 1904: 82. See also Chang 2003: para. 34

⁵¹⁰ Hamilton Fish letter to Frederick F. Low, 20 April 1870, No. 9, in *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Transmitted to Congress with the Annual Message of the President* (Washington: GPO, 1870): 334, cited in Tyson 1966: 1

⁵¹¹ Rodgers 1871a. See also Chang 2003

⁵¹² *Far East*, 1 August 1871, in Bennett 2006b: 91

C. E. DeLong, the newly appointed American minister to Japan. DeLong wrote to Rodgers in April suggesting that Beato's camera: 'would result in a work of very great interest to the world as well as of exceeding usefulness to you'.⁵¹³ Four photographs by Beato were subsequently translated into wood engravings in *Harper's Weekly*, an illustrated American paper similar to the British ILN (these images are discussed in Chapter 5). In the accompanying article *Harper's Weekly* describe Beato as their special correspondent, and it is possible he also received a commission from them before sailing with the fleet.

Beato's appointment is indicative of how important Rodgers and Low hoped the expedition would be in opening up Korea to foreign trade, with Beato there to record events. In this way Rodgers and Low were attempting to emulate Commodore Matthew C. Perry, the American who is credited with opening up Japan in 1853-54. Rodgers knew Perry professionally and was related to him by marriage, and Rodgers appears to have taken Perry's forceful yet successful negotiations with Japan as his template for the Korean expedition.⁵¹⁴ Perry had also taken a photographer with him, Eliphalet Brown. Brown's daguerreotypes were subsequently destroyed in a fire in the US but his images survived translated into lithographs in Francis L. Hawks' narrative, *Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan* (1856).⁵¹⁵ It is not known if Beato had seen a copy of this book, but its existence as an official publication may have been another incentive for him to join the expedition.

There are early photographic examples of Korean immigrants in Russia and several photographs and sketches from a failed French expedition to Korea in 1866, which may have been known to Beato.⁵¹⁶ A photograph of an 1866 sketch of the unsuccessful French attack on Korea appears in James W. Murray's photographic album, alongside Beato's views of Japan. Beato may even have been the photographer to duplicate this sketch, given his experience copying Wirgman's drawings. However, Beato's series of

⁵¹³ C. E. DeLong letter to Rear-Admiral Rodgers, 26 April 1871, in Chang 2003: para. 20

⁵¹⁴ Chang 2003: para. 21

⁵¹⁵ Hawks 1856, See Bennett 1996: 32

⁵¹⁶ A photograph of a sketch showing the unsuccessful French attack on Korea, 1866 appears in James W. Murray's album, NMeM ALB-B-1 (17672-17719) Shelf 21/A (also known as the 'Showler' album). Album 25, The Terry Bennett Collection of Photographs of Korea, includes several photographs taken in 1866 showing the French expedition flagship in Nagasaki harbour, as well as three portraits of Koreans. His collection also includes portraits of Koreans in Russia pre-1870. See Appendix C

Korean photographs was seen as the first significant attempt by a Western photographer to record the country and its people, and the uniqueness of any resulting photographs was surely a major reason for Beato wishing to accompany the American fleet to Korea. For Beato, the opportunity to photograph a closed country at the moment it was prised open by Western gunboat diplomacy would have been remarkably tempting, both in terms of photographing a new land and people but also for the commercial opportunities that could ensue. Beato's experience as a war photographer also suggests he may have anticipated or at least been prepared for the two-day conflict that subsequently developed in Korea during the American expedition. Certainly the Korean album he compiled is heavily weighted towards featuring the American ships, crews and two-day attack rather than offering views and costumes of Korea, although this would in part be due to restricted land access during the hostilities. However, the album's orientation suggests Beato was well aware of the content that would most appeal to American naval officers, as well as to a domestic audience back in America.

Beato and Woolett sailed on the gunboat USS Monocacy.⁵¹⁷ There was a further gunboat, the USS Palos, and two corvettes, USS Benicia and USS Alaska. Rodgers was on the flagship USS Colorado. The fleet arrived in Korean waters on 19 May but was hampered by thick fog and unreliable French charts.⁵¹⁸ By 30 May the five vessels were anchored near Kanghoa [Kanghwa] Island near the mouth of the Yomha river that led to the Han river (named by the French the Salée, or Salt, river) on which the Korean capital Seoul stood fifty miles upstream. Early offshore surveying parties were not fired upon but on 1 June, when the Palos and Monocacy and four steam launches ventured upstream to take soundings, Korean forts protecting the mouth of the Han river opened fire. Beato was on board the Monocacy at the time, according to the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*.⁵¹⁹ Contemporary reports by Rodgers and Captain McLane Tilton expressed indignation and retaliatory sentiments at this attack and ten days later the Americans landed on Korean soil with the express purpose of capturing Korean territory and avenging the 'insult to the flag'.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁷ An article by Captain Boswell, originally published in the *Shanghai News Letter*, places Beato on HMS Monocacy, Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 100-101

⁵¹⁸ Chang 2003: para 21

⁵¹⁹ 'The Fight with the Coreans', 17 July 1871: n. pag.

⁵²⁰ Schley 1904: 95. Rodgers' report, 3 June 1871 describes the attack as 'sudden and treacherous', Rodgers 1871a. Tilton's letter to his wife, 4 June 1871 said the Koreans fired 'without giving any

Beato followed the action closely, coming under fire on the Monocacy and disembarking with the American landing party. According to Rodgers' report, the landing was difficult, with deep mud gullies to be negotiated before firm land was found.⁵²¹ Men sank up to their knees in mud and lost shoes and gaiters, while the guns were very difficult to manoeuvre. Beato and Woollett had to ensure the wooden camera, tripod, chemicals and glass plates made it through undamaged, then follow the marines and infantry up to the Korean forts. Beato took several photographs of the captured Marine Redoubt on the first day.

Felice Beato's Korean albums

While Beato did sell individual prints of his Korean photographs, it is clear he envisioned his Korean images as becoming a discrete album. The *North China Daily News* reported on the fleet's departure from Nagasaki that Beato, the 'celebrated photographer', was planning to make 'a large album of the anticipated blank views.'⁵²² Rather like the print series of Japanese artists such as Hiroshige, Beato's Korean photographs could be purchased singly but collectively they narrated a journey that was both geographical and temporal.

The examples of Beato's Korean album consulted for this chapter are held by the NMM, National Archives (USA), J. Paul Getty Museum and the collector Terry Bennett. These albums are catalogued in Appendix B. Beato structured his Korean album to suggest a chronological format, and the albums consulted share the same original numbering system with 48 photographs in the album series. However, despite a studio numbering system for the Korean albums, none of the albums consulted are identical. This suggests that the order for the photographs and captions was only loosely adhered to in the compilation of each album, and that the album format could be flexible if the purchaser required it to be.

Beato selected his album of photographs from an unknown quantity of glass-plate negatives he took during his time on the Monocacy, and he used his own captions to

warning' and that now the men were 'all as hearty as bucks, and full of having a bang at the Koreans before very long.' Tilton's letter is reproduced in Tyson 1966: 9-10

⁵²¹ Rodgers 1871b

⁵²² *North China Daily News* (Shanghai), 29 May 1871, in Clark, Fraser and Osman 1989: 105

coalesce the images into a narrative sequence. The sequence begins with a photograph of American sailors exploring the entrance to the Han (Salt) river on the shoreline of the Korean coast, and ends with an uncaptioned photograph of seven Korean men seated on rolled-up mats on the deck of a small boat, Figure 75. The series featured photographs of Koreans on board the USS Colorado and US sailors exploring the Korean coastline. Photographs of the two-day retaliatory incursion precede images of Korean captives and photographs of the fleet's officers and men.

Single sentence captions have been hand-written into the album at Beato's studio and condition the viewer to read the suggested narrative in a prescribed way. Through captioning, Beato extended his influence over the reading of his photographs. The captions, written in multiple albums in the same hand and with the same phrasing, became an integral part of the experience of looking at the finished album. While they do not gain the equal weight of, say, the album notes in his Japan albums, they are still responsible for conditioning the observer to read each photograph through imperial eyes. The album establishes a visual narrative that is designed to convey the order of events from arrival in Korea and early negotiations to the American war council, the land incursion and the taking of prisoners. A staged grouping of US officers is called a 'Council of War', various Korean fortifications are labelled as being photographed 'immediately after capture' and 'after capture by the Marines', Figures 76 and 77, and posed photograph of Korean men is captioned 'Group of Captives', Figure 78.

The final three photographs in the series summarized America's objectives in the country's approach to Korea. The first image is a photograph of a Korean junk that appears with the caption 'The first Corean Junk bringing despatches on board the U.S.S. "Colorado" immediately on her casting anchor'. The next image, Figure 79, shows a captured Korean flag hoisted in the rigging of the Colorado with the caption, 'The flag of the Commander in Chief of the Corean Forces captured in Fort McKee by two marines under Captain Tilton'. The captured flag, strung up on the American flagship, signifies the negative outcome of negotiations with Korea (as will be discussed in a subsequent section). The final uncaptioned image, Figure 75, replicates early deck shots of Koreans that were captioned 'Corean wounded prisoners' and 'Group of Captives'. The men in these images may not be prisoners but the previous captions of similar images set up this photograph to be read in this way.

This micronarrative, and the narrative of the entire album, operates on a temporal level, time separating the images both at the moment of exposure and as the viewer of the album turns the pages. Anthony Easthope has noted that ‘human perception of the world is *itself* constructed, not simply given.’⁵²³ His argument concerning film can also be applied to the temporal aspect of looking at a photographic album: ‘what we watch on the screen, no matter how firmly it relies on the iconic and indexical methods, is never the real itself but always a reproduction or *re-presentation* of the real.’⁵²⁴ Beato’s narrative sequence at the end of the Korean albums appears to offer a simplified imperial narrative of the American incursion that, it transpires, is not supported by a close analysis of the images across the albums.

(i) ‘The Council of War’

In Beato’s Korean albums, many of the photographs occupying the same position in each album have been printed from the same negative. However, in a small number of instances, variation occurs. This is significant because it visualizes the choices made when the albums were compiled both by Beato and the album’s purchaser. One such instance is the pair of photographs numbered (12) or (12A) and captioned ‘Council of War on board the U.S. Flag Ship after the treacherous attack of the Coreans on 1 June 1871’. (See Appendix B for further information as to which album houses which version of the photograph.) Given the same setting, props and people present and the areas of sunlight and shadow, it appears the two photographs, Figure 80 (12) and Figure 81 (12A), were taken within a short time of each other.

When Figures 80 and 81 are observed singly, the artificiality of the poses the men are maintaining is less evident than when the photographs are seen together. Most albums consulted feature one or the other. After all, the differences between the two photographs are minor and the event recreated for the camera remains the same, so there was no apparent reason to select both versions. However, both examples of the photograph do appear in NMM Album 991.⁵²⁵ When the pair is viewed in this album many levels of staging can be observed. The camera was not yet able to freeze-frame

⁵²³ Easthope 1993: 7

⁵²⁴ Easthope 1993: 7

⁵²⁵ ALB991/p.5v also appears in the National Archives (USA) album and both Terry Bennett Collection albums; ALB991/p.2 appears in the Getty Museum album. See Appendix B

motion, so ‘action’ views, even pointing and gesturing, had to be posed and held for at least four seconds.⁵²⁶ Was this the reason the young Sub-Lieutenant Pillsbury has his ankles clearly tied together in Figure 81? Was it to stop him moving? Or was it a practical joke? In the other photograph, Figure 80, he stands on top of the coil of rope. None of the officers appear to find Pillsbury’s leg-binding amusing, although the two men standing nearest to him, Captain Kimberly of the *Benicia* and Captain McCrea of the *Monocacy*, appear to be looking at him with annoyance and Pillsbury himself appears pretty glum about it.⁵²⁷

Beato clearly did not want to pose the men in formal or informal rows or groupings as he was to do for other deck shots taken in Korea, but wanted to make it seem as if the men were listening to Rear-Admiral Rodgers, who appears leaning over the chart table, his right knee on a chair. In one image he looks down at the chart, and in the other he glances up and looks off into the distance, away from his men, as if surveying the enemy territory. Several officers appear to be gazing in a similar direction, although they are not looking at any one common point. Beato presents the officers and government officials as if at work, posed as close to ‘real’ action as he could, something Annie-Laure Wanaverbecq concluded was also his aim with his 1860 group portraits from the Second Opium War.⁵²⁸ And yet the ‘Council of War’ officers are not at work; they are clearly posing for a photograph. They awkwardly hold the tools of their trade – dividers, telescope – and concentrate on standing still. Beato has chosen to include a tarpaulin in the frame that has been hoisted up and runs the extent of the picture plane from left to right. This divides the poop deck above and the space on the quarterdeck in front of the cabins below (a shady spot out of the wind). He also includes the edge of an oak bitt (post) with ropes in the foreground on the far left. The photograph where Rodgers looks at the chart has been taken from slightly further back and also includes the edge of a ladder up to the poop deck on the extreme right and a more pronounced sunlit section of the quarterdeck in the foreground. All these additional elements operate in two ways. By including elements of the vessel, Beato suggests the viewer has

⁵²⁶ The *British Journal of Photography* published a summary of Beato’s talk held in London at the London and Provincial Photographic Society on 18 February 1886. It said he claimed his ‘new method of development reduced the exposure for landscapes to four seconds when the light was at its strongest.’ *British Journal of Photography*, 26 February 1886, reproduced in Osman 1987: 1217-1219

⁵²⁷ These men are identified using the names given underneath the photograph NMM ALB991/5v, Figure 57

⁵²⁸ Wanaverbecq 2005: 27

happened upon these men at work, implying that the viewer, like the camera, is standing partially hidden behind the bitt, looking on as they plot their attack on Korea. But these elements simultaneously create a set for the men, as if highlighting the staging of the tableau vivant. The tarpaulin, bitt and ladder form a rudimentary proscenium arch, the recessed space of the quarterdeck becoming a stage. Leonard Bell has written of photographs of Robert Louis Stevenson and his family as being highly staged, with the verandah on which they were posed operating as a stage:

This silent and motionless group of people have been arranged as if they constitute a scene, a narrative moment, for which there is a 'before' and 'after'; a moment and encounter, which, as in any narrative picture, the viewers are invited to interpret, to try to make sense of.⁵²⁹

But what is the subject of Beato's photograph, beyond its presence as a naval group portrait? The specific narrative becomes dependent on the accompanying caption and the viewer's expectations. Figure 81 is numbered (12A) in NMM Album 991 and captioned 'Council of War on board the U. S. Flag Ship after the treacherous attack of the Koreans on 1 June 1871.' The caption places the photograph firmly within the time period 1-9 June, when preparations for retaliation would have been made while Rodgers waited for an apology from the Koreans. The swords mounted on the quarterdeck wall to the right of the image take on an added significance when accompanied by this caption. Gordon H. Chang describes this caption as Beato's own description of the image, and it was captioned as showing the Council of War when it was reproduced in *Harper's Weekly* on 9 September 1871.⁵³⁰

Roland Barthes wrote of the relationship of image to text in 'The Photographic Message':

What is the relationship of these signifieds of connotation to the image? To all appearances, it is one of making explicit, of providing a stress; the text most often simply amplifying a set of connotations already given in the photograph. Sometimes, however, the text produces (invents) an entirely new signified which is retroactively projected into the image, so much so as to appear denoted there.⁵³¹

⁵²⁹ Bell 2007: 318

⁵³⁰ 'Our last illustration shows the council of war held on board the flag-ship Colorado before the attack of June 10. The names of the officers present are printed beneath the picture, and no further explanation is required.' 'The Korean War', 9 September 1871: 842

⁵³¹ Barthes 1961: 26-27

Barthes is referring to the later addition of captions or explanatory texts and their recoding of the photograph. But Beato appears to have purposefully staged both this group portrait and applied a title to it that specifically relates it to a certain event in the preparations for ‘war’ on board the USS Colorado. We read the image as a Council of War because the caption informs us that is what we are looking at. However, the two exposures of this scene confirm the staged nature of the grouping, and the placement of the group portrait within Beato’s studio albums does suggest a degree of flexibility as to its place in the album’s chronological narrative (See Appendix B).

This photographic pairing serves to illustrate how the photographer could take different views of the same scene, tweaking the composition to emphasize different readings of the situation. Whereas travel artists worked through varying viewpoints in their sketches, their finished work prioritized one version over another. The photographer, however, could offer multiple viewpoints of a scene, allowing the consumer a level of agency in the compilation of their album that the traditional print artist or painter did not offer. This increased level of choice chimed with developments in the modern visual condition in which the ahistoric and unchanging world view became fragmented into a subjective and contingent one.⁵³² Instead of one tableau of the Council of War, consumers had a choice of tableaux: Officers considering maps on the chart table, Figure 80, or Pillsbury with his feet tied together, Figure 81. Pillsbury’s bound/unbound legs reveal a fissure in the staged image: The Council of War exists in two versions that must have been taken at different times. By offering a choice, Beato not only allowed for the subjectivity of the consumer to guide personal image selection, but he revealed the fragmentary and therefore incomplete nature of a single photograph. He no longer offered one view, a fixed image – what Crary would say was akin to an image taken by a camera obscura – but he offered choice and variance. ‘Modernity ... coincides with the collapse of classical models of vision and their stable space of representations,’ Crary states; modern vision moved to become located inside the observer’s body.⁵³³ Vision became something subjective, transient and fragmentary, changing as the body moved through space and time. This is reflected in Beato’s Council of War photographs – the temporal/physical movement captured in the two images – and through the increased choice Beato’s versions offered to the modern consumer.

⁵³² Crary 2001: 1-10

⁵³³ Crary 1992: 24, 36

(ii) 'The flag of the Commander in Chief of the Corean Forces captured in Fort McKee by two Marines under Capt Tilton'

A further example can be seen when comparing two versions of the photograph numbered (46) by Beato's studio, 'The flag of the Commander in Chief of the Corean Forces captured in Fort McKee by two Marines under Capt Tilton'. On 27 June Tilton wrote home to his wife Nannie from on board the Colorado, and enclosed a thick lock of Korean hair, 'which I got in a village all done up for wear'.⁵³⁴ Accompanying the same letter he sent a photograph of himself and Private Little, taken at his request, he writes, while in Korea:

I had a picture taken which they all here call the 'long and the short' of the Marine Guard. The large one is Private Little, and the other is me. I want you to put it on the mantle piece at home as a curiosity from Corea.⁵³⁵

Tilton also included in his letter a piece of the Korean general's flag that he helped pull down at Fort McKee. Tilton explained the significance of the flag in his letter, and noted: 'The Photographer [Beato] took a picture of the flag with Private Purvis, Corporal Brown & me in front of it, who composed the party that hauled the flag down.'⁵³⁶ A copy of this photograph currently appears framed alongside Private Hugh Purvis's Medal of Honor in the Annapolis Naval Academy Museum, Figure 82, displayed alongside a Korean fan taken during the attack.⁵³⁷

There are at least two versions of photograph (46) that show the captured Korean flag. The one featuring Tilton, Purvis and Brown, mentioned by Tilton in his letter and reproduced in the Annapolis Naval Academy, shows the three men standing in front of the large Korean flag that has been part-hoisted behind them on deck. Brown stands to attention left of picture, with Purvis in the centre and Tilton on the right. This version also appears in the Getty Museum album. The same Korean flag appears in (46A) in the National Archives (USA) album and in Terry Bennett's Album 2, but the composition of the photograph is different. It appears that Beato took both photographs on the same day as the flag is hoisted in the same position on deck. However, in the National

⁵³⁴ Tilton letter, 27 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-15 (p. 14)

⁵³⁵ Tilton letter, 27 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-15 (p. 14)

⁵³⁶ Tilton letter, 27 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-15 (p. 14)

⁵³⁷ The fan has a list of men present during the US attack on Korea in June 1871 written on it, and states it was taken 'from a Corean house [...] Captured Sunday June 12th 1871'

Archives (USA) version, Figure 79, the flag has been tucked under the wheel of a gun carriage to pull it taut. The gun carriage occupies the foreground in front of the flag in Figure 82. In Figure 79, Purvis and Brown now stand closer to the flag, Brown standing in profile on the right and Purvis next to him facing the camera. However Tilton is not present. A further man has now been included on the left holding what appears to be a blurred American flag on a pole.⁵³⁸

According to Tilton's letters, several of Beato's photographs were the result of an order from Rodgers for Beato to record certain events. Tilton recounts the photographic 'shooting' of the captured Korean general's flag:

Today the Admiral ordered our photograph to be taken with the flag spread between us, (the Corpl. Private and me), so you will no doubt feel glad that your old man gets a little credit without a hole through his skin.⁵³⁹

The flag symbolized the country it represented and its capture signified the physical territorial victory gained by those who had captured it. It was a potent signifier in any war photograph or painting. The captured Korean flag in both versions of (46) is suspended behind the men involved in its capture as a backdrop. It is significant that the deck and rigging of the American ship is visible behind, emphasizing the flag's capture and territorial dislocation. Edwards, discussing two photographs of Samoans taken on board HMS Miranda in 1883, wrote that the Western naval ship 'is a deeply cultured space, displaying an intensified fragment of the culture of colonial power; the ship becomes the space of containment.'⁵⁴⁰ In Figures 79 and 82 Beato deploys the ship as a loaded space of containment for the captured flag, the flag now displayed in front of the cage-like ropes of the rigging that confines it.

According to Rodgers' report dated 5 July 1871, fifty Korean flags were captured in total.⁵⁴¹ At a time of war the national flag was perceived by Western officers as embodying the country *in toto*. Its capture or destruction was symbolic of the capture or

⁵³⁸ This man is believed to be the carpenter Cyrus Hayden from the Colorado, who planted the US flag in the Korean fort renamed Fort McKee. This information accompanies a copy of the National Archives (USA) version of (46) on Wikipedia <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyrus_Hayden> [accessed 12 December 2011]. This identification has yet to be corroborated

⁵³⁹ Tilton letter to his wife, 21 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 11

⁵⁴⁰ Edwards 1995: 54

⁵⁴¹ Rodgers 1871b

destruction of the country itself. William Russell, reporting on the Crimean War in *The Times*, wrote of the heroics of Captain Peel:

When the Union Jack in the sailors' battery was shot away he seized the broken staff, and leaping up on the earthworks waved the old bit of bunting again and again in a storm of shot, which fortunately left him untouched.⁵⁴²

This account shows the importance of the flag as symbolic of a country's strength in battle. The flag as a symbol or code had long been used in visual narratives by this time, and the public would have understood its deployment and significance. In Horace Vernet's painting of the Crimean War, *Prise de la Tour de Malakoff, 8 Septembre 1855* (1857), for example, the tricolore is planted at the centre of the composition, indicating the French capture of the Malakoff. William Simpson, in *The Attack on the Malakoff* (1855), likewise focused his composition on the flag held aloft from the highest position, as seen in Figure 83. Both replicated the centrality and height of the tricolore seen in Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* (1830), the flag flying high above the heads of those around it, dominating the composition.

The illustrated press likewise used the flag to rouse patriotism in their readers. The ILN enlarged the flag in Beato's photograph of a captured Shimonseki battery when they engraved it for the cover of the Christmas edition in 1864, Figure 84. *Harper's Weekly* went further and inserted a large American flag when they reproduced Beato's Korean photograph 'Fort Monocacy'. Beato had photographed the men standing side by side on the walls of the fort, a logistically difficult staging that can be seen in Figure 77. *Harper's Weekly* chose to reduce the number of men on the walls and instead include a man holding a flagpole on which flies a large American flag, as seen in Figure 85. Whatever the reason for *Harper's Weekly's* amendment of the image, the flag certainly symbolized the American victory more emphatically than just the display of men on the walls of the Korean fort. (Both these images are discussed further in Chapter 5.)

As Victor Burgin has noted, the signifying system employed by photographers was that of painting. The image 'at once depicts a scene *and the gaze of the spectator*, an object *and a viewing subject*.'⁵⁴³ The spectator's knowledge of the significance and signifying

⁵⁴² Russell 1854: 7

⁵⁴³ Burgin 1977: 146

power of the flag was utilized to maximum effect. Photographers such as Beato understood the patriotic symbolism of the flag and constructed war photographs with the nation's flag raised on enemy soil, as in Figure 44 (considered in Chapter 5), or with enemy flags displayed as spoils of war as on the deck of the Colorado, seen in Figures 79 and 82. Contemporary accounts of the American incursion in Korea in 1871 often use the American flag as a metaphoric stand-in for their homeland. Schley's 1904 memoir was titled *Forty-Five Years Under the Flag*. He described the American attack on the Korean forts as 'suitable reparation for the insult to the flag.'⁵⁴⁴ His account is driven by patriotism of which the flag is representative: 'The officers and men composing our battalion fought as Americans always have fought whenever and wherever they are required to fight for the flag.'⁵⁴⁵ Rodgers' report of 5 July 1871 likewise used the flag as a metaphor for America: 'Thus was a treacherous attack upon our people and an insult to our flag redressed.'⁵⁴⁶

This example from Beato's Korean album reveals a shared iconography between painting and photography regarding the flag and its presentation as a signifier of Korean defeat, a symbolic manifestation of Korea itself. The framed copy of Beato's photograph that accompanies Private Purvis's medal, Figure 82, reveals the extent to which Beato's photographs visualized the experiences of the officers who participated and the importance of the flag; Purvis was awarded his medal for bravery associated with the flag's capture. This example of different versions offered for sale also serves to indicate the increased level of agency consumers of Beato's albums were afforded, as noted at the end of the previous section.

Problematizing Felice Beato's Korean albums

(i) Pictorial slippage within Felice Beato's 'Interior of Fort McKee'

In the J. Paul Getty Museum disbound Korean album (Getty Museum album) there are four interior views of Fort McKee, followed by one exterior view.⁵⁴⁷ Fort McKee was renamed by the Americans following the death of Lieutenant Hugh W. McKee. McKee had been killed as he stormed the fort the Americans had previously dubbed the Citadel,

⁵⁴⁴ Schley 1904: 85

⁵⁴⁵ Schley 1904: 95

⁵⁴⁶ Rodgers 1871b

⁵⁴⁷ Getty Museum Album 2007.26.199 (22-26)

known in Korea as Kwangsungbo.⁵⁴⁸ The four interior views all feature dead Korean soldiers lying on the earth floor of the fort. Smoke fills the air in two of the photographs (24) and (25), and tattered fabric fragments are strewn over the damaged fort walls. Stylistically these photographs have much in common with Beato's 1860 Chinese fort interiors, for example Figure 42, and show Beato was drawing on past war experience when he composed them. The exterior view shows the steep ascent to the fort, with two further dead Korean soldiers lying on the stony path. 'Exterior of Fort McKee' (26) concludes the sequence of photographs of Fort McKee. All five of these photographs also appear in the National Archives (USA) album and Bennett Album 1 in the same order. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that this is the order in which Beato decided these photographs should be viewed. At least one other photograph of the interior of the fort is known to have been taken by Beato and so it is also possible to conclude that Beato exercised choice over which images to include in the album.

Two of the interior shots, including Figure 76, have smoke hanging in the air as if the battle had just concluded. Figure 76 is captioned 'Interior of Fort McKee immediately after capture'. Schley recounted seeing smoke on entering Fort McKee: 'In the rifts of smoke a moment later, he [McKee] was seen lying upon his back in the fort, with two spearsmen apparently in the act of despatching him.'⁵⁴⁹ However, Beato chose to use the highly controlled composition of 'Interior of Fort McKee', Figure 43 (studio number 22), to introduce his sequence of fort interiors, despite an apparently clear visual statement that this photograph was in fact taken after the others, when the smoke of battle had dispersed. Given the placement of this view it can be argued that Beato saw this as a fitting way to introduce what the Americans saw as their main territorial objective, the capture of the enemy's stronghold Fort McKee.⁵⁵⁰

'Interior of Fort McKee', Figure 43, appears as both a gruesome record of American brutality inflicted on Korean troops and an aesthetic composition. The fort was taken

⁵⁴⁸ Rodgers 1871b. The Korean name 'Kwangsungbo' is given on <<http://www.shinmiyangyo.org>> [accessed 4 July 2012]. The Korean name does not appear on any primary US documents. I have referred to the fort as Fort McKee throughout as this is the name most frequently used in contemporary US albums and letters

⁵⁴⁹ Stephen White and Terry Bennett both describe these photographs as showing the dust of battle hanging in the air. White 1982: 81; Bennett 1997: 4. Schley's account suggests this was smoke, Schley 1904: 94

⁵⁵⁰ See Rodgers 1871b

during a two-day altercation that allegedly left 243 Koreans dead with only three American fatalities, a point emphasized by Rodgers in his naval report that was subsequently published in the *New York Times*.⁵⁵¹ In the photograph ten or more dead Koreans lay on the floor of the fort. A low earth wall creates a visual barrier, restricting the viewer to a contemplation of the foreground scene, a framing device Beato had previously employed when photographing the Taku forts in China, Figure 42, and the courtyard of the Secundra Bagh in Lucknow, India, Figure 5. The curve of the fort wall causes the eye to rotate through the photograph, taking in all the bodies as it moves.

‘Interior of Fort McKee’ shows Beato’s maturing vision. His style of war photography developed from the detailed realism of his fort interiors in the Crimea that he successfully built upon in India and China, to one that, while comparable in brutality, is simultaneously balanced and harmonious. The angle at which Beato has chosen to display the top of the fort wall at – roughly eye-level – divides the photograph into approximately two-thirds fort and one-third sky and misty hills, corresponding to both the ratio of the Golden Section found in Western art and a similar ratio found in Chinese and Japanese art that was thought to imbue art with a sense of balance and harmony. As has been seen in previous chapters Beato was influenced by both Western and Eastern aesthetics and this composition appears aesthetically considered. Beato consciously composed his views, even when photographing the enemy dead on foreign soil. As Jay Prosser notes in *Picturing Atrocity*, ‘Aesthetics are part of picturing atrocity. Style and form and the idea of the beautiful and what appeals to our eye are not add-ons. In the image they are a way of understanding and conveying atrocity.’⁵⁵² The composition aids visual familiarity with the scene, despite its shocking subject matter.

A reading of ‘Interior of Fort McKee’ becomes more complex when it is noted that two versions of (22) exist. The second version, Figure 86, is similar but not identical to the first, and offers an insight into Beato’s shaping of views. It is captioned ‘After capture of 2nd Fort Corea – view of dead Coreans. Lt[?] McKee of Kentucky mortally wounded near this spot’, and shows a similar view of the fort interior. Dead Koreans lie on the fort floor and it does not appear that the tripod was moved between photographs. The dead men’s hats occupy the same positions, as does the tattered banner that lies over the

⁵⁵¹ Rodgers’ report, 29 June 1871, reproduced in ‘The Corean Affair’, 17 July 1871: 8

⁵⁵² Prosser 2012: 12

fort walls. However, several alterations have been made to the interior between exposures. The man in the midground on the left, previously on his side, has been rolled flat on his back, his arm flung out wide and the dark covering that was over his body removed, exposing his white garments. Between him and the two hats that lie in the midground, two books or slim boxes have appeared. A dead body at the back of the fort on the far right appears to have been repositioned. The most noticeable change between the photographs is the inclusion of three US marines entering the fort from the rear. One appears to be in the process of scaling the wall, another stands just inside the fort, a rifle over his right shoulder, and a third leans on the wall. While they appear near-silhouetted against the grey sky they are clearly delineated, indicating that they posed for the photograph and didn't move during the exposure. A further blurred figure appears on the far left of the image, his body leaning into the composition as if he moved to try and be included in the photograph.

The photograph with the marines posed in the entrance, Figure 86, was taken after the interior without them, Figure 43. In 'Interior of Fort McKee immediately after capture', Figure 76, three of the dead Koreans visible in both versions of (22) can also be seen despite the different angle. The smoke in the air and the caption suggest 'Interior of Fort McKee immediately after capture' was taken before 'Interior of Fort McKee'. In 'Interior of Fort McKee immediately after capture', the body on its side in 'Interior of Fort McKee' can also be seen on its side. This suggests that it was only rolled onto its back after Figure 43 was taken, but prior to Figure 86. It also shows evidence that Beato positioned the body spreadeagled in Figure 43 prior to taking the photograph, for in 'Interior of Fort McKee immediately after capture' the body's feet can be seen behind the head of the figure that appears in the immediate foreground in Figure 43. By the time Figure 43 was taken, there were no feet behind the foreground figure, and the body appears to have been rotated by at least ninety degrees.

The Terry Bennett Collection includes two albums that have the second version of (22) in them, and the J. Paul Getty Museum holds a loose version of this photograph, as seen in Figure 86.⁵⁵³ Lieutenant McKee was killed upon entering the fort, allegedly by both

⁵⁵³ The Terry Bennett Collection of Photographs of Korea, Albums 1 and 2, consulted 22 July 2010 in London. See Appendix B

bullet and spear.⁵⁵⁴ He was quickly held up to be a hero by the Americans. Rodgers referred to him as ‘gallant’ in his 29 June report and ‘renamed’ the Citadel in his honour.⁵⁵⁵ The J. Paul Getty Museum caption, ‘After capture of 2nd Fort Corea – view of dead Koreans. Lt[?] McKee of Kentucky mortally wounded near this spot’, prompts a reading of this photograph as conveying a patriotic and specific message concerning Lt McKee, reinforced by the presence of US Marines ‘entering’ the enemy fort where McKee had been killed. The three marines – clearly unwounded – stand over the slaughtered enemy, the caption reminding the viewer of the price McKee paid for the victory. Their vertical and elevated position, at the entrance to the fort, is contrasted with the horizontal inert bodies on the fort floor. There are fewer Americans in the photograph than Koreans, suggesting superiority in battle and a clear victor.

If this photograph does show the site McKee was killed, he does not feature in the scene. No dead Americans were photographed by Beato despite there being several casualties. This image represents not only the perceived victory of the Americans over the Koreans, but also the punitive victory of the three living marines over the dead Koreans, a retaliatory attack spurred on by the killing of McKee that also reinforces the retaliatory nature of the expedition itself. Hevia noted a similar staging in the photographic archive of the Boxer Uprising in China in 1900-01.⁵⁵⁶ He writes, ‘In staging and fixing an ideologically charged scene, the photography complex participates in and structure the punishment of China for transgressions against “civilization”’.⁵⁵⁷ Beato similarly uses the camera to record America’s punishment of Korea for their attack on the US fleet. As with ‘Interior of Marine Redoubt’, Figure 45, the healthy American troops are contrasted with the dead enemy. These images direct the viewer to look at the healthy Americans. Korea as a nation, represented by the dead Koreans in the photographs, is subjugated by the health and visual dominance of the American troops pictured, and – by extension – America itself.

Why did Beato choose to create two versions of this photograph? Did these three men ask Beato to take their photograph as if they were entering the fort? Or did Rodgers ask for the photograph to be taken? Did they enter alongside McKee during the battle?

⁵⁵⁴ Rodgers report, 29 June 1871, reproduced in ‘The Korean Affair’, 17 July 1871: 8

⁵⁵⁵ Rodgers report, 29 June 1871, reproduced in ‘The Korean Affair’, 17 July 1871: 8

⁵⁵⁶ Hevia 2009: 79-119

⁵⁵⁷ Hevia 2009: 86

Schley, in his memoir, claimed to have killed one of the soldiers who ‘despatched’ McKee, suggesting he was close behind him as he entered the fort. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that one of the men in the photograph could be Schley.⁵⁵⁸ This comparative example reveals the extent to which Beato manipulated his compositions and how he composed multiple views of similar subjects to appeal to his perceived market, in this case the naval troops who had stormed the fort and the wider American audience at home.

(ii) Staging death: Felice Beato and the manipulation of corpses

Beato’s Korean fort interiors can be seen as an extension and development of his photographs taken inside forts in China (1860) and India (1858). They all reveal his desire to frame the most successful view even if this required physical manipulation of the scene. From the beginning of his career Beato developed new approaches to representing scenes of war. He positioned the camera on the floor of each captured fort he photographed, as witnessed in his contribution to Robertson’s Crimean War photographs, for example Figure 38, discussed in Chapter 2. He presented the interior not from an elevated position of a third party or a distant commander but from the ground, the viewpoint of the officers and men who fought to capture the territory. In this way the view became more immediate, the viewer immersed, the experience autoptic. In both the Fort McKee interiors and the earlier Chinese Taku Fort interiors he similarly positioned his tripod to give an eye-level viewpoint of each interior. But in these photographs he chose to include the bodies of enemy soldiers killed in action.

During the Crimean war death was ever-present. William Russell wrote of soldiers’ corpses being washed ashore as far away as Varna, 294 miles away from Balaklava, ‘all buoyant, bolt upright, and hideous, in the sun.’⁵⁵⁹ Leo Tolstoy wrote through the eyes of his protagonist Kalugin of a temporary truce between Russian and Allied forces to allow both sides to collect their dead, the air ‘filled with the smell of decaying flesh.’⁵⁶⁰ The camera, when operated by a photographer such as Beato, could be seen to offer a similar perspective to Kalugin’s. Views were taken at eye-level and focused on fragments of the topography of battle that an officer would have experienced, rather

⁵⁵⁸ Schley 1904: 94

⁵⁵⁹ Russell 1855: 144, in Green-Lewis 1996: 105-106. Distance from Varna to Balaklava given in Peterson 2008

⁵⁶⁰ Tolstoy 1855b: 42

than the elevated and distant panorama representative of the commander's position and viewpoint. And yet, in contrast to Tolstoy's stories and Russell's reports, no images survive by any Crimean photographer that feature corpses.

Major Henry H. Crealock of the 90th regiment travelled with photographer Roger Fenton to trace the course of the Light Brigade's 1854 charge in Balaklava valley on 2 June 1855.⁵⁶¹ By this date Tennyson's popular poem 'Charge of the Light Brigade' was well-known among those serving in the Crimea. It had been published in *The Examiner* on 9 December 1854, and a chaplain in the Crimea requested copies be sent to the front because: 'It is the greatest favourite of the soldiers half are singing it & all want to have on black & white – so as to read – what has so taken them.'⁵⁶² Crealock later turned his sketches of the remains he witnessed in the valley into a pen and watercolour study, Figure 87. He titled it 'All That Was Left of Them, Left of Six Hundred', a line from the penultimate verse of Tennyson's poem. Fenton described the scene he and Crealock witnessed there in a letter:

We came upon many skeletons half buried, one was lying as if he had raised himself upon his elbow, the bare skull sticking up with still enough flesh left in the muscles to prevent it falling from the shoulders; another man's feet and hands were out of the ground, the shoes on his feet, and the flesh gone.⁵⁶³

Crealock's circular drawing showed the remains of a horse and rider, whose skeletal remains are partially hidden by long grass that has grown over the corpses, a posthumous echo of Tennyson's lines: 'Storm'd at with shot and shell, / While horse and hero fell'.⁵⁶⁴ While the skulls of the man and horse are clearly visible, the man's legs are still clothed in uniform. A sword is buried nearly to the hilt just to the left of the man's skeletal hand that appears to still be held upright, off the ground. The soldier cannot be identified and therefore becomes representative of every man who was killed in action during the Light Brigade's ill-fated charge towards the Russian cannon. But there is no comparable photograph by Fenton, James Robertson or Beato.

The reason photographers may have been reticent to photograph death in the Crimea was because of the widespread belief in the 'truth' of photographs, the indexicality of

⁵⁶¹ Lalumia 1984: 120

⁵⁶² Tennyson wrote the chaplain's words in a letter to John Forster, 6 August 1855, in Houston 2001: 357

⁵⁶³ Fenton letter, 2 June 1855, in Gernsheim 1954: 70

⁵⁶⁴ Alfred Lord Tennyson, 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', in Willmott [n. d.]: 422-424

their prints and subjects. With the ILN engravings, the subject was twice-removed from the index of the original body. The 'special' artist working for the ILN in the Crimea (considered further in Chapter 5) would necessarily have left out many small details visible on the corpse, even if it was sketched from a real example. The body was further standardized by engravers who were perpetually on a deadline to finish each illustration and make it to press as quickly as possible. The camera, with its indexical absorption of what was in front of it, appeared to allow the body to be seen as if through a window, transparently and without the artist's hand.

While Robertson and Fenton did not choose to photograph death, within two years of the Crimean War ending Beato started to approach this subject. Beato travelled to India in February 1858 when the Sepoy Mutiny was drawing to its conclusion. He proceeded to photograph the locations where military action had occurred. In 1858, as seen in Figure 88, he photographed two Sepoy corpses hanging from a rudimentary scaffold, distinct against a white background created by masking out the sky and background details on the original exposed plate.

Beato's photograph of the Secundra Bagh in Lucknow, India, also from 1858, Figure 5, shows a two-storey garden pavilion as a wrecked façade that stretches across the midground of the picture plane, not allowing the viewer any visual escape from the scene. Four men and a horse occupy the edge of the courtyard, in front of whom are scattered endless human bones. Ribcages, skulls and femurs are clearly visible, extending beyond the photographic frame and suggesting the deaths that occurred were so numerous they couldn't be contained within a single image. It is a powerful, horrific photograph, the living men standing between the destroyed pavilion and the numerous skeletons only serving to heighten the photograph's impact. It is clear from the static positions of the men and horse that they were posed by Beato. What is less apparent is that the bones were also 'posed'.

Although the Secundra Bagh massacre in November 1857 had been brutal and extensive, most accounts agree that when the attack ended, over 1,800 dead sepoy

soldiers were buried in mass graves or entombed in rooms within the pavilion.⁵⁶⁵ The scattered remains visible in Beato's photograph however added a macabre human presence to the site and suggested – ironically, given they were skeletal remains – that the camera had been an eye-witness to the massacre that had taken place there. It is believed Beato had the bones excavated for the photograph, which was taken four months after the attack had taken place. Colonel Francis C. Maude bought a copy of this photograph from Beato and later pasted it into his own personal photographic album. Underneath the image he noted, 'A few of their [the Sepoys] bones and skulls &c are to be seen in the front of the picture, but when I saw them every one was being regularly buried, so I presume the dogs dug them up.'⁵⁶⁶ Beato's excavation of human bones is the first known example of him using corpses or skeletal remains for pictorial reasons.

While Robertson, Beato and Fenton had drawn a line at photographing corpses in the Crimea, two years later Beato chose to step over it. Harris has stated that Beato met Crealock in the Crimea, and Crealock went on to purchase Beato's photographs of the Sepoy Mutiny in India and the Second Opium War in China.⁵⁶⁷ Beato may have seen Crealock's pen and watercolour sketch during his time in the Crimea and perhaps this drawing contributed to his decision to include human remains in his photograph of the Secundra Bagh. Beato quickly became aware that there was an acceptability of the visualization of contemporary death in battle among military and naval officers and that there would be a market for photographs that included enemy corpses.

Beato sailed to China from Calcutta with General Sir Hope Grant, the British commander, on 26 February 1860. He was attached to the British troops during the Second Opium War alongside ILN 'special' Charles Wirgman. His China fort photographs represented a new departure as he photographed dead enemy combatants at the scene of battle. David F. Rennie, a British officer, recalled seeing Beato photographing the interior of one of the captured Taku forts on 21 August 1860:

I passed into the fort and a distressing scene of carnage disclosed itself; frightful mutilations and groups of dead and dying meeting the eye in every direction. I walked around the ramparts on the west side. They were thickly strewn with

⁵⁶⁵ Captain Francis C. Maude RA gave the number of dead as 1,860 but reports varied. Fraser 1981: 51-52

⁵⁶⁶ Francis C. Maude album, Royal Artillery Institution (now Firepower), Woolwich, London, Album 45, cited in Fraser 1981: 52

⁵⁶⁷ Harris 2000: 121; Harris 1999: 7; Crombie 1987: 28

dead – in the north-west angle thirteen were lying in one group around a gun. Signor Beato was here in great excitement, characterising the group as ‘beautiful’, and begging that it might not be interfered with until perpetuated by his photographic apparatus, which was done a few minutes afterwards.⁵⁶⁸

Beato printed three separate photographs showing the interior of the North Taku fort taken looking towards the ‘English Entrance’, Figures 42, 89 and 90.⁵⁶⁹ Figure 42 was taken facing the entrance. Beato took further photographs to the left of the main ramp, Figure 89, and to the right, Figure 90. Dead Chinese soldiers can be seen surrounded by the machinery of war. A gun pointing through the entrance, as if at the British attackers, implies the British troops were courageous to attack from this direction. Unused shot can be seen to the left of the entrance, and the ladders used by the British to scale the outer wall can be seen in two of the three photographs.

In these three photographs Beato’s manipulation of corpses to maximize the impact of his photographs can be seen. For example, in Figures 42 and 90, the figure on the right of the suspended walkway appears to have his face close to the shoulder of the nearby dead man. The back of his head is clearly visible. His left shoulder lies on the walkway and his right shoulder is twisted so he lies on his chest. In Figure 89 however, this figure appears to have been rolled on to his back. A fist can be seen between the two men now, and the man previously lying on his chest now lies on his back, his face fully visible to the camera. Taking the change in angle Beato adopted for this view into account, this man’s position still must have been artificially achieved.

Another example of manipulation can be seen in Figure 89. A young dead soldier is visible to the left of the figures on the walkway, two sticks over his body. These align with the walkway, and serve to heighten the drama of the young man’s position as one stick rests over his neck. His chest is bare and his face is streaked in blood. To his left, lying face down by the timber supports, is another dead body, his left leg curled around the support, his clothes rucked up to show his back. In Figure 42 however, no further bodies lie near the timber supports or under the two sticks. This would suggest that Beato had bodies moved from another part of the fort to intensify the carnage framed by his lens. He further tidied up the image by painting out elements on the glass-plate

⁵⁶⁸ Rennie 1864: 112, in Harris 1999: 29

⁵⁶⁹ The following sources have informed my analysis of Beato’s China photographs: Harris 1999; Crombie 1987

negative. A crossbow is visible on the roof in Figures 42 and 90, for example, but it has disappeared in Figure 89. In his Korean photographs it can be seen that Beato employed similar techniques to heighten the impact of his photographs.

When photographing war Beato needed to cater to the desires of his primary military and naval market, therefore his decision to take photographs of the dead Korean and Chinese soldiers would have been based on his belief that such images would not be considered inappropriate. Despite the significant step of including real corpses within the frame, the repeated presence of Beato's photographs of the Taku Forts and Fort McKee interiors in albums shows that these images were repeatedly selected and purchased. However, it is important to note that there are no British or Western dead to be found in any of Beato's photographs across his career. While the dead men in the photographs of the interior of Fort McKee could be seen to have existed in real life, not solely in a painter's imagination, the imperial perspective of the 'other' prevalent at this time meant that they were still seen generically, as evidence of the enemy rather than as individual subjects who had been killed. Beato's decision not to include dead Western soldiers ensured his photographs could still be read generically. It is as if Beato crossed over from observation to participation in these photographs. His camera became an imperial weapon directed at the country itself, recording allied domination and offering it as a framed view to be kept for posterity by anyone who wished to purchase it, presumably calculating that this approach would maximize sales by chiming with the views held by potential purchasers.

Beato's Korean fort interiors, with their rolled bodies and versions with and without marines shows a knowing control and manipulation of the view. This construction of the view, to the extent of repositioning bodies, was also practiced by Beato's contemporaries. Alexander Gardner's (1821-1882) photographs of an American Civil War sharpshooter (1863) are also considered fabricated images.⁵⁷⁰ The sharpshooter's body was moved and repositioned in two different locations, a gun – probably not his – strategically placed by his side.⁵⁷¹ However, Beato's 1860 China photographs predate Gardner's material, and Beato's later Korean photographs further reveal his repeated

⁵⁷⁰ See Ray 1961: 19, in Lester, 1991

⁵⁷¹ The images were published by Alexander Gardner in *Gardner's Photographic Sketch Book of the War*, 1866. Vol. 1 is held by George Eastman House, Rochester, NY
<http://www.geh.org/ar/sketchbook/sketchbook_sld00001.html> [accessed 5 July 2012]

photographic practice of manipulating dead bodies for pictorial effect. The systematic repositioning of bodies and remains by Beato and Gardner shows that early photographers were not adverse to composing their views to the best of their ability, even if this meant repositioning dead bodies.

During the early years of photography the aesthetic sensibility of a photographer developed chiefly through compositional devices observed in paintings, prints and illustration, such as the picturesque. In a similar way to traditional artists, photographers likewise composed and constructed their views prior to opening the shutter and exposing their plates. The dramatic repositioning of bodies followed the tradition of military and naval painting exemplified by Benjamin West. In his painting *The Death of Nelson* (1806) he visually repositioned Nelson's dying body on deck to dramatize the scene, as seen in Figure 91. As Geoffrey Quilley has noted, West's defence of his composition, 'was also designed to demonstrate, among other things, that "history" and "history painting" were by no means synonymous.'⁵⁷² What Beato's war photographs reveal is that photographic history was also constructed – physically and aesthetically – to maximize its impact for a military and naval market. The indexicality of the photograph to the view, fixed at the moment of creation, may have hid from sight any compositional strategies applied to the scene prior to the exposure of the plate but it did not mean they didn't exist.⁵⁷³

(iii) Staging photographs and the 'other': Korean officers and/or prisoners

There are nine portraits and group portraits of Koreans in the album series. All but one were taken on board the USS Colorado. They are arranged to suggest a chronological order, the captions dictating the timeline. In the Getty Museum album, Figure 92 is captioned 'The first Corèan Soldier on Board the Colorado After his Interview, Contemplating the Traces of Civilization'.⁵⁷⁴ In the photograph a Korean man stands smiling genially, his arms full of Western paraphernalia including empty Bass beer

⁵⁷² Quilley 2006: 122

⁵⁷³ On the index see Krauss 1976: 196-209 and Krauss 1977: 210-219

⁵⁷⁴ This photograph appears in the National Archives (USA) album mislabeled as (7): 'Chief of the village of Rosé Island'. Beato's studio may have written the album numbers and captions prior to pasting in the photographs, as this number and caption relate to the following image in the album, which is also captioned and numbered in this way. See Appendix B

bottles and an old copy of the Boston paper *Every Saturday*.⁵⁷⁵ The caption directed the viewer towards a patronizing reading of this image at the Korean's expense, contrasting his status of soldier with his cradling of American rubbish (empty bottles, an out-of-date newspaper) as if it were valuable cargo.

Additional photographs in the first cluster of Korean portraits are described as officers and soldiers bringing dispatches on board the *Colorado* (8-11; Figure 93). Following the 'Council of War' photograph and all the action on land, three further photographs of Koreans are included. The first is captioned 'Corean Prisoners' (28), the second 'Group of Captives' (36; Figure 78) and the final group portrait is not captioned (48; Figure 75). The credibility of these portraits of prisoners and soldiers with dispatches is undermined when a comparison is made between 'Corean officer and soldiers with despatches on board the "Colorado"', Figure 93, and 'Group of Captives on board the "Colorado"', Figure 78. The 'soldier' seated on the floor (bottom-left) in Figure 93 appears as a 'captive' (bottom-right) in Figure 78. Likewise, the 'soldier' standing second from the left in Figure 93 appears again as a 'captive' in Figure 78, standing second from the right.⁵⁷⁶

Beato's Korean series suggests he knew what would appeal to his potential market, and that he staged some images as he went along. This may have been because he had limited quantities of glass negatives with him, or that he didn't know which images he would need to complete his album until late in his time in Korea. However, there is a patronizing collectivism to this switching of identities in the photographs, from officer and soldiers to prisoners. This replicates the contemporary treatment of Koreans by the US navy as reported in *Harper's Weekly*, who related an episode in which Korean sailors were rescued from a sinking junk and accompanied the American fleet to Korea, being 'dressed up by the sailors in navy suits, and christened "Tar-pot", "Main Tack," "Tom Bowline," "Fore Tack," and "Jib Sheet."' ⁵⁷⁷ These comical names made use of Western sailing terminology spliced to a syllabic approximation of Chinese names,

⁵⁷⁵ Bennett 1997: 4; Terry Bennett Collection A-2-13. Other prints of this photograph I have consulted have less definition and the name on the newspaper is no longer visible

⁵⁷⁶ This analysis was prompted by Chang 2003: para. 44. In his essay Chang makes a general point regarding the duality of caption identities for Korean officials and prisoners in Beato's Korean photographs

⁵⁷⁷ 'Corea', 8 July 1871: 624

supplanting the Koreans' own identity for comic effect. (Dressing them in sailor suits was perhaps undertaken for the same result.)

In the Korean albums, Beato's photographs oscillate between including groups of American officers or men and groups or single portraits of Koreans. There are no deck shots of interaction between the Americans and Koreans. The only photographs to include men from both nations were composed to deliver the message that the Americans were superior and victorious in the altercation, with a group of unharmed American troops surrounding a dead Korean and posing for the (Western) camera in Figure 45 and the three marines posing at the entrance to Fort McKee in Figure 86.

Victor Burgin has described a two-fold approach to a photographic image:

The primary suturing instance of the discourse of still photography takes the form of an identification of the subject with the camera position. As already observed, the look from this position will shift between the poles of voyeurism and narcissism: in the former instance subjecting the other-as-object to an inquisitive and controlling surveillance in which seeing is dissociated from being-seen; and in the latter effect a dual identification with both the camera *and* the individual depicted.⁵⁷⁸

In Figures 86 and 45 the American military or naval viewer could both identify with the American troops included in these photographs, described by Burgin as a narcissistic position of observation, while also voyeuristically observing the 'other-as-object'. This dual platform from which to observe a single photograph is most evident in Beato's war imagery. In his Japanese photographs there is evidence of cultural exchange, suggesting he had a respectful and integrated relationship with the Japanese. However, in his war photographs such as those taken in Korea Beato offers a heavily-biased Western perspective of both the altercation and the Korean people. His isolation of the Korean people in his compositions allowed his photographs to function voyeuristically, reflecting Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson's observation that such photographs could become 'a fetish of the imagined stereotype.'⁵⁷⁹ Beato's studio captions further directed the viewer to read his images in this way, describing staged group portraits as featuring prisoners, and patronizing the Korean man with his arms full of American waste products.

⁵⁷⁸ Burgin 1980: 189

⁵⁷⁹ Hight and Sampson 2002: 7

In *Orientalism*, Edward W. Said wrote:

It is Europe that articulates the Orient; this articulation is the prerogative, not of a puppet master, but of a genuine creator, whose life-giving power represents, animates, constitutes the otherwise silent and dangerous space beyond familiar boundaries.⁵⁸⁰

While Said's one-sided account of the West ('us'), orientalizing the East ('them') has been progressively problematized by postcolonial scholars, his argument of a Western visualization of the East is consistent with the circulation and after-life of Beato's photographs of Koreans. For those who approached Korea as part of the American fleet in 1871, the 'us' was the fleet's crew and the American nation, as represented by the American flag. The 'them' was the unknown Korean people. Members of the expedition, officers and sailors alike, speculated on what they could expect when they arrived in a country few Westerners had seen. Schley wrote in his memoir:

Little was known of the country, less of its people and absolutely nothing of its form of government; but as has always occurred in the history of progress imagination peopled it with warlike tribes of formidable stature and ferocious instincts.⁵⁸¹

Korea shares a border with China and at the time of the American incursion it paid tribute to the Chinese Emperor. The Chinese were well-known to Americans due to Pacific immigration and trade. Consequently, it seems, the Americans based their opinion of the Koreans on their understanding of the Chinese. The San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* titled their report on the American incursion: 'Important from Corea – Fight between Foreign Fleet and Chinese'.⁵⁸² In a further article they described Korea as being 'on the northeastern coast of China', which suggests that the country was believed to be something akin to a Chinese state.⁵⁸³

Increasing immigration of Chinese labourers to America was creating tension in states such as California where Chinese men were being attacked and killed by mobs who were angry at losing their jobs to foreigners.⁵⁸⁴ A full-page illustration by *Harper's Weekly* cartoonist Thomas Nash on 18 February 1871 depicts a crouched Chinese man

⁵⁸⁰ Said 2003: 57

⁵⁸¹ Schley 1904: 80

⁵⁸² 'Important from Corea – Fight between Foreign Fleet and Chinese', 16 June 1871: n. pag.

⁵⁸³ 'A War Speck in Corea', 16 June 1871: n. pag.

⁵⁸⁴ See for example, 'Transatlantic Clippings', *The Graphic*, 1 July 1871: 15. It reported a Chinese man was stoned to death by a 'gang of ruffians in the presence of a crowd of persons, who made no effort to help him.'

surrounded by angry Americans. The Americans hold guns and placards with slogans such as ‘If our ballot will not stop them coming to our country the bullet must’.⁵⁸⁵ The related article was titled ‘The Heathen Chinee’, named after F. Bret Harte’s hugely popular 1870 poem of the same name.⁵⁸⁶

Harte’s poem directly refers to Chinese immigration in California through the description of a card game between a cheating Chinese man called ‘Ah Sin’ – a name no doubt conjured to amuse Western readers – and two Americans. ‘Heathen Chinee’ quickly became a derogatory slang term for Chinese people throughout the Western world and its colonies. Rear-Admiral Rodgers enjoyed relaying to his wife in a letter dated 11 April 1871 that a Shanghai racehorse had recently been called Heathen Chinee, while the British illustrated newspaper *The Graphic* liberally used the term in its ‘Transatlantic Clippings’ column of 1 July 1871, including: ‘New York is crying out about some dried willow leaves, half a million pounds of which some “Heathen Chinee” of Shanghai managed to palm off upon the ’cute New Yorkers as prime Hyson [green tea].’⁵⁸⁷ This portrayal of the Chinese ‘heathen’ in the Western media as child-like or uncivilized but equally cunning and untrustworthy was the cultural climate in which the Americans perceived the Koreans. This was the climate in which photographs such as ‘The first Corèan Soldier on Board the Colorado ...’, Figure 92, were viewed and considered. This photograph was probably included in the selection sent to *Harper’s Weekly*, for while their report on the American incursion in Korea doesn’t illustrate it, it included the following description:

The crew of the junk were soon dispersed about the Colorado, and in every nook and corner could be seen some Korean loading himself up with jars, empty bottles, hard-tack, *Harper’s Weekly*, and other wonders to the uncivilized.⁵⁸⁸

It is interesting to note that the Boston paper *Every Saturday* has been replaced by *Harper’s Weekly* in this specious account. Many of Beato’s photographs appeared to confirm the expectations of the Americans who believed the Koreans to be barbarians or

⁵⁸⁵ ‘The Chinese Question (see page 147) – Columbia – “Hands Off, Gentlemen! America means Fair Play for All Men.”’, 18 February 1871: 149. The caption refers the reader to p. 147, on which page is the article titled ‘The Heathen Chinee’

⁵⁸⁶ ‘The Heathen Chinee’ was first published as ‘Plain Language from Truthful James’ in the *Overland Monthly Magazine*, September 1870, but quickly reprinted under the title ‘The Heathen Chinee’ across the USA. For example: Harte 1870; Harte 1871a; Harte 1872. It was also published in London, see Harte 1871b. I first came across a reference to this poem in Chang 2003: para. 15

⁵⁸⁷ ‘Transatlantic Clippings’, 1 July 1871: 15

⁵⁸⁸ ‘The Corean War’, 9 September 1871: 842

savages, neighbouring 'heathens' to 'The Heathen Chinees'. The perceived indexicality of each photograph and the subject (such as the 'prisoners') affirmed by Beato's studio captions conformed to pre-held beliefs and the imperial expectations of the Americans.

However, while the general view among the American fleet was that the Koreans were 'uncivilized', some of Beato's photographs of Koreans taken on the expedition seem closer in tenor to his Japanese costumes, particularly 'Chief of the Village at Rosé Island', Figure 94, and 'A Corean official bearing the first despatches on board the "Colorado"', Figure 95. These figures are framed centrally, offering just enough background detail to place them on deck or on land. They stand frontally and look directly at the camera, squinting into the sun but otherwise relaxed in front of the camera whether on the American ship or their own soil. They do not appear posed artificially, unlike the five men in Figure 93 for example. These images within the album appear to offer a glimpse into the closed world of Korean society. While Beato did include these photographs in his album that did not conform to the stereotypical expectation of the 'Heathen' Korean, they were subsequently overlooked by media outlets such as *Harper's Weekly* who were keen to use Beato's photographs to confirm already-held views. The use of Beato's Korean images in the illustrated press will be considered in Chapter 5.

Through a sustained analysis of five extant examples of Beato's Korean album this section has shown that certain images included in individual albums were not duplications but rather represented alternative realities, multiple possibilities for the same view. Fort interiors could exist with or without US marines alongside dead Koreans; enemy flags hoisted on the ship's deck were visually claimed by different clusters of marines with different stories to tell. The photographs entered albums and collections and offered different narrative accounts of events. In Beato's 'Council of War' photographs the staging became emphatic because of the duplication of the image in NMM Album 991. Within the frame the men appear as if posing on a stage, framed by elements of the ship as if by a proscenium arch in a theatre. Bell noted a similar framing and staging in the photographs of John Davis, who photographed Robert Louis Stevenson and family in Samoa in 1892, and Bell suggested that these features pointed to the artificiality of the image itself: 'That it is a picture to be looked at, one that is constitutive, generating or performing meanings in its own right, rather than simply

reflecting or recording a natural, or unmanipulated, bit of the world as it was.’⁵⁸⁹ It is this staging of individual photographs – later arranged into albums and presented as the sole visual account of the expedition and altercation – that this section has sought to reveal. The manipulation of the view also occurs in Beato’s photographs of enemy corpses, and this section has shown how Beato started to photograph enemy dead for his naval and military market from 1858, and increasingly strove to create aesthetically pleasing images of atrocities for a market keen to have autoptic (yet imperial) images of battlegrounds in their albums.⁵⁹⁰

Felice Beato’s Korean albums in the marketplace

In ‘Interior of Marine Redout’, Figure 45, American troops stand, lean and sit inside Marine Redout, one of the five Korean forts captured. The poses of the men in the foreground are relaxed yet assertive. The young man standing at the bottom of the earth bank has his right hand firmly clasped around his gun despite his open, relaxed pose. The lieutenant in the white legionnaires’ hat stands on the top of the bank and similarly uses his weapon, this time a sword, as a prop. They epitomize Bell’s robust ‘military personnel’, with their signs of action – a sword, a gun – in their hands.⁵⁹¹ The lieutenant is the most senior officer visible in the photograph and his stance, with one hand on his hip and one pushing his sword into enemy ground, suggests he is confident that he has secured the territory, as clearly as if he were planting a flag. His pose offers a clear example of what Hevia calls an ‘imperial’ stance, one that ‘suggests that those punished for defying British imperial authority were not unlike trophies of war.’⁵⁹²

Further details allude to American occupation of the fort. A small Korean gun can be seen dismounted in the foreground with an American sailor seated, legs splayed, directly behind it. The sailor looks directly into the camera’s lens, smiling. Behind him, a man stands with a foot resting on the shoulder of a dead Korean soldier. These men appear to have been carefully positioned, perhaps suggesting particular involvement in taking the fortification and in killing the Korean who lies dead at their feet. The dead Korean soldier appears to be wearing thick protective clothing on his head and body. With the exception of the seated sailor, the rest of the company stand, asserting their

⁵⁸⁹ Bell 2007: 312

⁵⁹⁰ On picturing atrocity, see Prosser 2012

⁵⁹¹ Bell 2007: 321

⁵⁹² Hevia 2009: 111

lack of injury and ability to fight in contrast to the dead Korean. For this reason it would appear that Beato placed the seated man in order to draw the eye downwards towards the captured gun and dead Korean, the American spoils of war. As Elizabeth Edwards has noted:

Photographs suggest meaning through the way in which they are structured, for representational form makes an image accessible and comprehensive to the mind, informing and informed by a whole hidden corpus of knowledge that is called on through the signifiers of the image.⁵⁹³

The captured gun and dead Korean were included to signify the American victory and Korean subjugation for a contemporary American audience.

When compared to Beato's posed photograph of allied forces at Simonoseki in 1864, Figure 44 (discussed in Chapter 5), the two photographs can be seen to have offered the potential consumer a similar experience. They both show enemy guns surrounded by the men responsible for their capture. The photographs became visual records of an event in which every man present in the photograph could therefore claim his participation. The photograph acts as evidence, recording an event in time to show what Roland Barthes called 'evidential force', to 'ratify what it represents'.⁵⁹⁴ But in fact the photograph is the outcome of a carefully constructed framing procedure by Beato.

From his early experiences in the Crimean War and Second Opium War in China, Beato realized that the addition of troops to his photographs of captured forts, redouts and batteries had a two-fold benefit, for he followed a similar photographic pattern in Korea. He photographed the sites of battle, the spoils of war and the Western forces who participated in it. Including troops in views served to contemporize the scene and helped make the battleground seem current even though, due to technological limitations, the camera was only able to take photographs after all action had subsided. The inclusion of officers, soldiers, marines and sailors who had seen action also provided Beato with a market keen to see themselves immortalized by the camera at the scene of a battle they had participated in and survived.

⁵⁹³ Edwards 1992: 8

⁵⁹⁴ Barthes 1984: 89, 85

While the *North China Daily News* repeatedly referred to Beato's Korean views as 'mementoes' for those involved, the images also functioned as a telescopic view on a society that still remained closed to the West. Beato's Korean album and associated photographs represented the first significant collection of visual material featuring the country by a professional Western photographer. James R. Ryan has written of the photographic archive as a 'form of collective colonial memory'.⁵⁹⁵ Beato was the first professional Western photographer to see and record Korea and, with his assistant Woolett, the only image-maker on the US expedition of 1871. He was in large part responsible for shaping public perception of the land and its people in the West until it subsequently opened up to Western trade in 1882 following the Korean-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce.⁵⁹⁶

Beato planned from the outset to compile an album of Korean views and scenes. Tilton's letters note that Beato was often seen taking photographs, and that he discussed with officers how to obtain his work and where it would be published.⁵⁹⁷ While Beato doesn't appear to have had the same level of friendship with the American officers that he had enjoyed with the British during previous altercations – Tilton never refers to Beato by name for example, just simply calls him 'a photographer' – Beato clearly understood the interests of both the men on the expedition and the visual expectations of those back home in America.⁵⁹⁸ He produced not only expensive albums but also single unmounted prints of Korean views, and sold them in Shanghai, the location of the US Asiatic station, and Yokohama, where three of the five US gunships travelled after the incursion. He also sent his Korean series to various newspapers in Britain and America, with a view to publication.⁵⁹⁹ The *North China Daily News*, which reviewed Beato's Korean photographs shortly after they were offered for sale at Kelly & Co's in Shanghai, noted that 'those who desire characteristic mementoes of the expedition, to go to Mr. Kelly's and select a few pictures.'⁶⁰⁰ This shows that Beato's Korean photographs were available as individual prints, and potentially any man on board could purchase views of his own ship and crewmates.

⁵⁹⁵ Ryan 1997: 12

⁵⁹⁶ Chang 2003: para. 59. Japan negotiated the first trade agreement with Korea in 1876

⁵⁹⁷ Tilton's letters to his wife, May-July 1871, in Tyson 1966: 5-16

⁵⁹⁸ Tilton letter, 27 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-15 (p. 14)

⁵⁹⁹ Tilton letter, 27 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-15 (p. 14)

⁶⁰⁰ *North China Daily News*, 1 July 1871, cited in Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 101

Beato's initial market for his Korean portfolio was the officers and men who had been directly involved in the incursion. Beato's conscious inclusion of a portrait of each vessel in the fleet, and various clusters of officers and a group shot of the entire crew of the *Monocacy* would have appealed to this audience. Beato had not included so many group and ship portraits in his albums before. From the late 1860s such portraits of ships and men occur with increasing frequency in personal photographic albums, examples of which were considered in Chapter 1. However I have yet to come across an album that predates Beato's Korean example in its systematic photographic catalogue of vessels, officers and crew.

Beato had experience of printing up photographs while on location with troops in the Crimea and China. Lieut-Col G. F. Mann, serving in China in 1860, wrote to his wife: 'The [photographic] views Beato told me are the first he has given although he has very numerous applicants and will probably sell some thousands between Off[ice]rs of the force and Hong Kong people.'⁶⁰¹ It appears Beato similarly produced copies from his negatives while the American fleet was still active in Korea. Tilton, in a letter to his wife dated 27 June, wrote that the photographer's views were 'worth seeing, and give quite a good idea of what is to be seen on the coast of this strange country.'⁶⁰² By this date Beato had left the fleet, taking passage on US supply ship the *Millet*, but he didn't arrive in Shanghai until the following day. This suggests Tilton saw the photographs in Korea, which implies Beato must have been able to print his photographs on board the *USS Monocacy*.

Beato arrived in Shanghai on 28 June 1871 and his arrival was reported in the *Shanghai News Letter* (a daily news sheet) of the same day:

Mr. Felix Beato, the well-known Japan Photographer arrived here by the *Millet*, and from him we have gathered the above particulars. Mr. Beato, who was in the Crimea with the British Army, says that the fighting on both sides was admirable.⁶⁰³

This suggests Beato provided one of the earliest, if not the first, verbal accounts of the incursion. Two days after these accounts were published Beato advertised his

⁶⁰¹ Lieut-Col Gother F. Mann posted Beato's Second Opium War photographs home on 9 September 1860. See Harris 1999: 26-27

⁶⁰² Tilton letter, 27 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-15 (p. 14)

⁶⁰³ *Shanghai News Letter*, 28 June 1871, quoted in the *China Mail*, 7 July 1871, in Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 101

photographs for sale in the same news sheet: 'Corean Expedition!!! Photographic Views by F. Beato, Artist to the US Asiatic Squadron. Sample Book to be seen at Kelly and Co's, Canton Road Shanghai.'⁶⁰⁴ It seems it was imperative for Beato to capitalize on the interest in the war as it had been a brief affair and was already over. His memory of the auction of Robertson and Fenton's Crimean War stock and negatives less than a year after the war ended may have been in his mind.

Beato's early account of the battle, which he claimed included 'admirable' fighting and patriotic displays by the Koreans 'while being cut to pieces', would have established an appetite for his photographs.⁶⁰⁵ Despite many of his Korean views being photographs of the ships and crews that took part in the incursion, his eye-witness account cited in the newspapers centred on the fighting, and his scenes of the interior of Fort McKee offered a visual counterpart to his statement of how the Koreans were 'cut to pieces'. Beato may also have been interested in attracting the attention of those on board the remaining American fleet who did not journey to Korea, as well as other American and Western residents in the city. He ran advertisements in the *Shanghai News Letter* before the Korean expedition had returned, catering to this secondary market that was hungry for news of the fleet's punitive action. The *North China Daily News* reviewed Beato's album of Korean photographs on 1 July. They claimed the landscape views 'have not much intrinsic beauty', but praised the group shots of officers 'in council' and the fort interiors, 'with the bodies and broken guns of the Coreans lying about.'⁶⁰⁶

The American fleet left Korea on 3 July and the *Monocacy* and *Palos*, both in need of repair, returned to Shanghai as Beato left. The three remaining vessels travelled north to Chefoo (Yantai), from where Rodgers sent his naval report dated 5 July to the Secretary of the Navy in Washington. Tilton, in a letter to his wife on 27 June 1871, wrote of Rodgers' plans to journey to Yokohama via Chefoo, and later wrote from Chefoo to say that they had arrived on 5 July and were expected to stay a week to ten days before heading to Yokohama.⁶⁰⁷ Beato left Shanghai for Yokohama on the 5 July, accompanied by Woolett on board the *Ariel*. They reached Yokohama on the 13 July. Beato must

⁶⁰⁴ *Shanghai News Letter*, 30 June 1871 (and repeated 3 to 13 July), in Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 101

⁶⁰⁵ *North China Daily News* (Shanghai), 28 June 1871, in Bennett 2006a: 95-96

⁶⁰⁶ *North China Daily News*, 1 July 1871, in Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 101

⁶⁰⁷ Tilton letters, 27 June 1871 and 5 July 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-16

have paid in advance for advertisements for his Korean album as they continued to run in the *Shanghai News Letter* until 13 July. This ensured the men returning from Korea would also have seen the advertisement and could make their way to Kelly's to place orders.

Beato returned to Yokohama several days before the USS Colorado, Benicia and Alaska arrived, giving him time to print copies of photographs for display and sale in expectation of the US fleet's arrival. His technique in securing American sales had previously been satirized by Wirgman in *Japan Punch*. Written in broken English, as if penned by Beato, Wirgman's article offered advice to a young photographer:

What is the photography? The photography comprising itself in two parts. The pictures the chemicals and the glass make it on[e] part. The second part making sherry, brandy, soda-water bitters and a few dozens Bourbon Whiskey for our American peoples. Supposing you wanting sell photographs very important you keep plenty liquour, being very hearty welcome any peoples coming.⁶⁰⁸

Beato's new Korean material was also marketed to American tourists such as Charley Longfellow. Longfellow had arrived in Yokohama in June 1871. Christine M. E. Guth recounts how Longfellow sent his sisters Alice and Annie Beato's views of Korea on 20 July 1871. In their letter to him acknowledging receipt of the photographs Annie wrote that they had: 'set us girls to reading up in the papers all about the expedition which we knew nothing about before.'⁶⁰⁹ Guth noted:

Reading aloud excerpts from his journals and letters and viewing the photographs that Charley sent home were semi-public rituals that fueled a growing interest in Japan and its culture among the Longfellows and their New England friends.⁶¹⁰

Beato's views of Korea entered the American domestic sphere in this way and propagated interest in the short-lived altercation, in this instance propelling Longfellow's sisters to consult the newspapers to read about it. A Korean album in Terry Bennett's collection formerly belonged to Lieutenant George M. Totten, a commanding officer during the 1871 altercation. This suggests the albums were also present in the middle-class drawing rooms of the American military.⁶¹¹ Beato also sent his Korean photographs to British and American newspapers for possible reproduction

⁶⁰⁸ *Japan Punch*, June 1869, in Bennett 2006a: 88

⁶⁰⁹ Longfellow letter, 20 July 1871, cited in Guth 2004: 59

⁶¹⁰ Guth 2004: 59

⁶¹¹ The Terry Bennett Collection of Photographs of Korea, Album 2. See Appendix B

as wood engravings. Subsequently his images were available to a far broader audience than their receipt in middle-class drawing rooms would allow, as will be discussed in Chapter 5. They were also reviewed in the American press, and offered for sale.

It is not known where Rodgers purchased his deluxe presentation album of Beato's Korean photographs, Figure 36, but it is believed it was Rodgers who gave this album now in the National Archives (USA) to the incumbent president Ulysses. S. Grant, a former Civil War general. Beato's photographs of Korea therefore informed opinion from the highest office down. Rodgers must have perceived Beato's account of the altercation to be favourable to his leadership and the expedition as a whole, given he purchased such a deluxe lacquered album version of the series and presented it to the President of the United States.

Photographs, portable and quickly produced, were often shown to royalty and dignitaries as a means of keeping them abreast of current affairs. Fenton showed his Crimean views to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert for example.⁶¹² As soon as Beato had produced his series of views in response to the Sepoy Mutiny in India, Colonel Maude sent a complete set to his father in London, 'who showed them to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. That lady was graciously pleased to express her interest in them.'⁶¹³ Through such audiences as with the Queen of England and the President of the United States, Beato's photographs shaped how altercations and wars involving Western forces were perceived to have unfolded. President Grant's third 'Annual Message' of 4 December 1871 for example included several paragraphs on recent events in Korea. His language, while echoing that of Rodgers' report, spoke of the 1871 surveying party being 'treacherously attacked'. He praised the American troops for conducting a 'gallant assault' and for punishing the 'criminals' for the 'outrages' they had committed.⁶¹⁴ Beato's photographs to a large extent visualized the reports of Rodgers and therefore the expectations of the American President.

⁶¹² Fenton's account of meeting Queen Victoria is recounted in Lalumia 1984: 121-122

⁶¹³ Maude 1894, vol. 2: 354-357

⁶¹⁴ Extract from President U. S. Grant's address, 4 December 1871, in Disposition 1, RG273 (III-NAV-50) / U.S. Grant Collection (Korea Punitive), National Archives, MD (Still Pictures Division). See Appendix C

But how far did Beato's photographs influence the public perception of Korea and Koreans, and how far did Beato create images that fitted the stereotypes that were already held about the country? William E. Griffis, in his memoir *The Mikado's Empire*, wrote that 'The Korean war project had, in 1872, become popular in the [US] Cabinet. It was the absorbing theme of the army and navy.'⁶¹⁵ As can be seen by the ownership of the albums mentioned above, Beato's photographs would have provided both these audiences with the visual narrative of the altercation. Chang stated that, 'the dominant American attitude, as expressed in official as well as personal records, was that the Koreans were mendacious, backward and simply barbaric.'⁶¹⁶ This view was held in part because Korea refused to negotiate diplomatically or trade with the West, something incomprehensible to Americans and Europeans and seen as an indication of the country being uncivilized.⁶¹⁷ Beato's photographs could be seen to offer a heavily biased perspective on the country from the position of its attackers. The media enhanced the jingoistic sentiment that could be found in some of the images, as will be seen in Chapter 5.

Interestingly, Griffis's 1883 memoir describes the American incursion in Korea as a failure.⁶¹⁸ Robert Brown, in his serialized *The Countries of the World* (1876-81), described the Korean episode as rather ineffectual, noting that 'beyond the fact that he [Rodgers] expended much gunpowder, and forced the Koreans to do the same, the Admiral returned as he had arrived.'⁶¹⁹ And yet the narrative that unfolds in Beato's album, with its photographs of healthy American troops occupying Korean positions, suggests an incursion peppered with conquests. The inclusion of photographs of every vessel in the fleet and several group portraits even gives the album a celebratory commemorative feel.

Conclusion

This chapter considered five extant Korean albums compiled by Beato. Several images from the Stanford version of this album illustrated Gordon H. Chang's account of the 1871 US-Korean altercation but the photographs were not considered directly or in

⁶¹⁵ Griffis 1883: 571

⁶¹⁶ Chang 2003: para. 9

⁶¹⁷ Chang 2003: para. 24

⁶¹⁸ Griffis 1883: 571

⁶¹⁹ Brown 1876-81, vol. 5: 66

depth. This chapter, by presenting research drawn from five extant albums and by focusing directly on the photographs and albums themselves, significantly contributes to the understanding of the visual record of the first American exposure to Korea.

Beato was the only image-maker present on the American expedition and this chapter considers what he hoped to gain from making the journey to Korea. It positions Beato's Korean album as a significant component in the Western perception of the insular country in 1871 and throughout the 1870s. Hevia, in his consideration of albums compiled in Boxer-era China (1900-1901), states that the photography complex was far more than an indexical record, and that the camera was 'an apparatus of action and intervention that helped to shape the reception of events in the aftermath of the war.'⁶²⁰ Similarly Beato's considered compositions and choices – visible through album slippage and perceived stagings as outlined above – shaped the reception of the war and the perception of the country and its people in the West.

The inclusion of dead Korean soldiers and the manipulation of bodies in Beato's photographs of Korean forts and their subsequent inclusion in multiple albums reveals there was a market for such photographs and that Beato was at pains to create the most striking and powerful images he could, through camera position, subject choice and manipulation. Taking the imperial stance of his naval and military market, he produced images that emphasized the American narrative of avenging the 'insult to the flag' and transformed Korean soldiers into prisoners of war or dead trophies.⁶²¹ He photographed the destroyed stronghold of Kwangsunbo (Fort McKee) as if it symbolized the nation as a whole, its defences overcome and its occupants slaughtered. Beato had used a similar strategy during the Second Opium War of 1860 and his work informed subsequent generations of overseas photographers, evident in the visual coverage of the Boxer rebellion in China reproduced in Hevia.⁶²²

Beato's images of Korea, and the albums they inhabited, were clearly designed to appeal to the American military and naval market and to display the imperial might of the US force over subjugated Korean soldiers both alive and dead. They represent the

⁶²⁰ Hevia 2009: 77-119

⁶²¹ Schley 1904: 95

⁶²² See Hevia 2009: 88-89

work of a photographer who clearly knew the interests of the market he was hoping to attract both through album sales and through the wider dissemination of his images in the international media. By studying the photographs Beato took and the albums he compiled for sale it has been possible to form a picture of his perceived market and to analyse why certain images were included in his Korean albums. This chapter has revealed the visual economy for such images, and has outlined areas of slippage and staging present in both the photographs and the albums. This slippage – where multiple versions of one image exist – connects these albums to Jonathan Crary’s analysis of nineteenth-century perception and its increasing subjectivity and fragmentation. Purchasers of Beato’s photographs could select images that best represented their own experience of the altercation, choosing who stood in front of a captured Korean flag, or whether they wanted the interior of Kwangsunbo (Fort McKee) to include their US colleagues or not. Crary has written, ‘as observation is increasingly tied to the body in the early nineteenth century, temporality and vision become inseparable. The shifting processes of one’s own subjectivity experienced in time became synonymous with the act of seeing, dissolving the Cartesian ideal of an observer completely focused on an object.’⁶²³ In Beato’s albums different realities exist for the fort interior and the captured flag, suggesting there was an element of subjective choice in the compilation of each album. Crary defines this as a modernization of vision, an increased understanding of the subjectivity of perception that manifested itself in the popularity of photography as it increasingly offered the consumer greater and greater choice. As Crary states, ‘The body that had been a neutral or invisible term in vision was now the thickness from which knowledge of the observer was obtained.’⁶²⁴ The five albums examined in this chapter allow for a partial reconstruction of the subjectivity of modern vision through the selection of images within each album and an analysis of how the choices made in album compilation and image dissemination informed home audiences. This was part of the photography complex that Hevia states, ‘could bring events from distant places to bear on the political and social dynamics of imperial metropolises.’⁶²⁵ The final chapter continues this investigation and allows for a consideration of how Beato’s photographs were further disseminated in the popular press, and how an analysis of the press

⁶²³ Crary 1992: 98

⁶²⁴ Crary 1992: 150

⁶²⁵ Hevia 2009: 109

coverage of the Korean altercation in both America and Britain reveals further instances of subjectivity.

Chapter 5. Japan and Korea translated: The dissemination of the photographic world view through books and the media

This thesis has taken Western photographic representations of Japan and Korea and the market for such images as its central focus to reveal the extent to which foreign views were constructed and consumed. It has considered how such views were further interpreted and displayed in what Deborah Poole refers to as the visual economy.⁶²⁶ It has considered the placement of photographs in personal albums in Chapter 1, and the arrangement of photographs in studio albums in Chapters 3 and 4. All the albums considered in these chapters were transported back to or compiled in Britain and America for private consumption in middle-class drawing rooms. Marta Weiss refers to such albums as social props.⁶²⁷ By including people from a particular class and environment – military and naval officers who had taken part in overseas service – the albums were symbolic of social networks in a similar way to contemporaneous domestic photocollage albums compiled by women, which often featured family and friends. Di Bello has described such albums as ‘tools to define and consolidate networks of like-minded people’.⁶²⁸ The albums in Chapter 1, compiled by naval officers on leave, directly relate to the albums of their female contemporaries, both often featuring photocollaged pages and portrait galleries of friends and family. As Di Bello notes, ‘It would seem that, in general terms, to be inscribed in an album was a sign of belonging to or participating in a community of fellows, defined by intellectual, religious or geographical connections.’⁶²⁹

This chapter looks at what happened to photographs when they were dislocated from the album context and reproduced as engravings in newspapers and books. It considers how photographs of Japan, Korea and the Crimea were seen and experienced by wider, broader audiences through their translation into wood engravings in newspapers, memoirs and travel volumes. The chapter considers how the subsequent presentation of such photographs altered the context in which they were experienced. Elizabeth Edwards has noted that:

⁶²⁶ Poole 1997: 9-13

⁶²⁷ Weiss 2010: 46. See also Di Bello 2007

⁶²⁸ Di Bello 2010: 50

⁶²⁹ Di Bello 2007: 31

Context is the stage on which is played out the drama of the images' creation and their various subsequent performances (entanglements) as objects of and for interpretation. As such, context is creative, suggestive and provocative rather than containing in terms of historical meaning.⁶³⁰

This chapter builds on Edwards' assertion that context is fluid and changeable, and through the representation of Japan in memoirs and travel volumes it gives examples of this.⁶³¹ Nineteenth-century photographs of Japan were subsequently reinterpreted and manipulated as they were translated into illustrations for publications and newspapers. While Eleanor M. Hight has considered the translation of Beato's photographs of Japanese women into wood engravings in travel books, the relationship between Beato's images of naval altercations in Japan and how these images were used and modified in the British press and in memoirs is less well documented.⁶³²

James R. Ryan considered the photographic shaping of conflict in his analysis of the Royal Engineers' album documenting the 1867-68 Abyssinia Campaign in *Picturing Empire*, but this was limited to the album context and did not extend to secondary usage.⁶³³ By extending my analysis of Beato's Korean albums to include their subsequent translation into the popular press in Britain and America, this chapter is able to investigate how such reproductions directed newspaper audiences to reach conclusions that could differ from the photographer's original intentions. As the photographs were translated into wood engravings to illustrate 'hot news' they were often manipulated by the newspaper's illustrators, presumably at the request of editors.⁶³⁴ Single engravings were created from multiple photographic views, with sections emphasized or ignored to suit the needs of the newspaper's agenda.⁶³⁵ This chapter also consider the differing ways the US newspaper *Harper's Weekly* and the British ILN and *The Graphic* chose to reproduce the Korean altercation and asks what conclusions can be drawn from the lack of visual representation of the short-lived war in British newspapers.

⁶³⁰ Edwards 1995: 49

⁶³¹ See also Thomas 1991

⁶³² Hight 2002: 126-158

⁶³³ Ryan 1997: 73-98, Chapter 3, 'The Art of Campaigning'. A version of the Abyssinia album is held by the National Maritime Museum, Album 134, 'Napier's Campaign in Abyssinia'.

⁶³⁴ De Vries 1973

⁶³⁵ Hevia 2009: 108

The camera as copier

Before considering the translation of photographs into newspaper engravings and book illustrations, it must be noted that the camera itself offered a form of translation for sketch artists such as Charles Wirgman. Beato's camera was used as a duplicating tool during his time with the British forces in China in 1860 when Sir Hope Grant, the British commander, asked him to photograph a Russian map of China for distribution on 16 September, prior to the siege of Peking.⁶³⁶ It appears Beato may have also copied Wirgman's sketches at this time, as the *China Mail* reported:

Both the artists who accompanied the expedition [Beato and Wirgman] have returned to Hong Kong, and are willing, we understand, to furnish copies of some of their photographs and drawings recording the recent events in the north.⁶³⁷

Since the Royal Engineers began to be systematically trained in photography from 1855 the camera had been used as a copying machine, chiefly to reproduce maps during campaigns.⁶³⁸ The Royal Engineers (RE) also reproduced sketches, as can be seen in the official album documenting the Abyssinian campaign of 1867-68, a copy of which is held by the NMM.⁶³⁹ A photograph of a sketch showing Emperor Theodore's severed head by R. R. Holmes, the expedition's archaeologist, features alongside Sergeant John Harrold RE's own topographic and costume photographs.⁶⁴⁰

Beato photographed Wirgman's sketches in a similar way, allowing them to be reproduced and included in albums such as NMM Album 144. The tack securing a sketch so it could be photographed can be seen in Figure 96, and a row of three tacks can be seen along the bottom edge of Beato and Wirgman's hand-drawn then photographed price-list, Figure 13. Beato's ability to reproduce Wirgman's sketches, effectively turning them into prints for sale, must have been very appealing to Wirgman. They were advertised on his price-list and appear in albums such as NMM Album 144, suggesting there was a market for them. The translation issues of coloured sketches

⁶³⁶ Harris 1999: 25

⁶³⁷ 'News from the North of China', *China Mail*, 20 December 1860, reprinted in the *Morning Chronicle*, 16 February 1861: 2

⁶³⁸ Howe 1997: 30

⁶³⁹ NMM ALB134

⁶⁴⁰ NMM ALB134/66

being reproduced in black and white was addressed by Wirgman hand-colouring some copies, as can be seen on his 1864 price-list.

Photographers also reproduced their own images by re-photographing them instead of printing from the negative, possibly to allow for more copies of popular images to be produced in a given time or if the original negative had been damaged. John Thomson's photograph captioned 'Chinese Family' in Frederick North's album appears to have been re-photographed as a tack is visible in the bottom-right corner.⁶⁴¹ These examples serve to indicate that the dissemination of both sketches and photographs through photographic reproduction was widely practiced during the 1860s by Western photographers.

Photographs and their dissemination in the media

(i) The *Illustrated London News*

While Beato provided Wirgman with a method for reproducing his sketches in Yokohama, Wirgman provided a conduit for Beato to have his photographs seen by a much larger audience in Britain through their reproduction in the *Illustrated London News* (ILN). The ILN had been founded in 1842, the first illustrated weekly paper to reproduce wood-engravings alongside its news stories and essays. Unlike the lengthy procedure associated with steel engraving that could hold back the publication of illustrated books for years, wood engravings could be completed from sketches or photographs in a matter of days.

By the end of the Crimean War the ILN's readership had reached 200,000, and editions marking events such as the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1863 saw circulation reach 300,000.⁶⁴² As such, its content was influential in shaping the opinions of the rising middle classes.⁶⁴³ For example, in his memoir Captain S. H. Jones-Parry recounted his conversation at a dinner he attended in Yokohama in the late 1870s. He wrote:

I made the acquaintance at this dinner of Mr. Wirgmann, an artist well known in Europe; and strange to say his drawings in the *Illustrated London News* had attracted my attention and whetted the already too strong desire to visit this

⁶⁴¹ NMM ALB29/315

⁶⁴² Bennett 2003: para 4

⁶⁴³ Hogarth 1986: 23

strange land.⁶⁴⁴

Ironically, as Jones-Parry was a guest of Beato's at the dinner, it may well have been Beato's photographs translated into engravings that had whetted Jones-Parry's appetite. The ILN rarely credited Beato's contributions directly, despite using his photographs throughout the 1860s and 1870s. At times the ILN even miscredited engravings based on his photographs, claiming they were based on 'a sketch by our special artist' (Wirgman) despite clear evidence to the contrary.⁶⁴⁵

Until the introduction of half-tone engraving in the 1880s, photographs reproduced in the illustrated press had to be translated into wood engravings. This translation subjected the photograph to a layer of editorial control not otherwise associated with the medium. In much the same way as prints derived from drawings and watercolours were influenced by the hand of the engraver, photographs such as Beato's could also be manipulated.

(i) a: Representations of the Crimean War in the ILN

While *The Times* had a circulation of 70,000 the ILN reached a far larger audience, and the paper's choice of illustrations was significant in shaping public opinion of the Crimean war. The aristocratic generals of the British army rarely featured in the ILN. For example, a portrait of the British commander Lord Raglan only appeared when he died of cholera in June 1855.⁶⁴⁶ Instead, sketches by artists working alongside troops presented a different, human side to war. As Matthew P. Lalumia has written in his detailed analysis of Crimean imagery, the special artists of the illustrated press 'broke with the imagery evoking strategic competence and personal sacrifice that the fine arts previously had accorded to martial leaders.'⁶⁴⁷ While Lalumia is correct to note the change in approach to scenic depictions of war by the 'specials' employed by the illustrated press, the significance of image choice by the editors of papers such as the ILN must not be overlooked. It was their choice from the sketches and photographs submitted that shaped the visual awareness of the Crimea and the war.

⁶⁴⁴ Jones-Parry 1881, vol. 2: 26-27

⁶⁴⁵ For example, ILN, 24 December 1871: front cover. This is considered further in (ii) b: Representations of Japan in the ILN (Chapter 5)

⁶⁴⁶ Lalumia 1984: 67

⁶⁴⁷ Lalumia 1984: 68

Lalumia has drawn attention to the importance of the Crimean specials, stating that specials such as Joseph A. Crowe and Edward A. Goodall introduced the idea of modern siege warfare to the ILN's audience.⁶⁴⁸ They witnessed all the major battles and it was the first time commissioned war artists had been embedded with the British army and navy during a war.⁶⁴⁹ Beato went on to replicate this position during the Second China War in 1860 when he was accommodated by the British military, as was ILN special Wirgman. Beato may have worked alongside specials such as Goodall in the Crimea. Goodall was attached to the naval brigade batteries near Sevastopol and Beato is known to have photographed the batteries, as seen in 'Guns of the Naval Brigade', Figure 2.

Constantin Guys was also a special in the Crimea for the duration of the war.⁶⁵⁰ Guys, a former French cavalry officer and latterly an art tutor in England, was one of several ILN specials in the Crimea to send sketches and notes back to London for publication.⁶⁵¹ The ILN had previously used local artists for overseas views and the Crimean War was the first instance in which they employed specials to provide both visual and textual accounts of events as they unfolded, translating their sketches, for example Figure 97, into woodcut engravings as seen in Figure 98.⁶⁵²

Guys sketched both the French and British forces, facilitated by his French heritage (his father was the chief commissioner of the French Navy) as well as his employment with the British ILN.⁶⁵³ Like other artists working in the Crimea, Guys made drawings in situ, completing them using watercolour and pen at a later date. Clifford Hall described Guys' working method thus:

Many of his war sketches were improvised on the spot. Sometimes he commenced his drawing from nature, adding to it and working it up afterwards. Like the majority of great draughtsmen, he relied to a large extent on memory.⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁸ Lalumia 1984: 58

⁶⁴⁹ Lalumia 1984: 53-58

⁶⁵⁰ Smith 1978: 9

⁶⁵¹ Hall 1945: 6-7; Smith 1978: 9

⁶⁵² Hogarth 1986: 30

⁶⁵³ Hall 1945: 6-7

⁶⁵⁴ Hall 1945: 12

According to Charles Baudelaire, Guys' critical champion, his sketches were collected towards evening by a messenger. These thin paper sketches were then posted back to the ILN in London.⁶⁵⁵ And yet, as Hall recalled, often the engraved translation of the original sketch did not match up to the original:

Engravings, after C. Guys, can be found in the file of the *Illustrated London News*, and, in a few cases, the original sketch from which the wood block was cut is still in existence. A comparison of the two shows that the engraver had made certain alterations and additions to Guys's design, not always with happy results. The unique calligraphic style of the original is inevitably lost.⁶⁵⁶

With the archive of the ILN no longer extant it is no longer possible to investigate whether these alterations, sometimes significant, were at the behest of the editor or were the engraver's own amendments.⁶⁵⁷

The ILN and *Illustrated Times* in England and titles such as *L'Illustration* in France supplemented the sketches supplied by their special artists in the field with other suitable imagery, notably photographs. Prior to the Crimean war James Robertson had supplied the occasional costumed sketch to the ILN.⁶⁵⁸ With the advent of war Robertson, who worked in Constantinople and could easily access the Black Sea and the British camp at Scutari, began supplying the ILN with Crimean War photographs rather than sketches. These were subsequently translated into wood-engravings for use in the paper and at least ten instances are known to have been reproduced, including the photograph seen in Figure 40, reproduced in the paper on 15 March 1856 as 'Interior of the Redan', Figure 99.⁶⁵⁹

The engraving of 'Interior of the Redan' is a detailed copy of Robertson's photograph, faithfully reproducing as closely as possible the gun port defences, the toppled gabions, the broken stool and the crumbled masonry visible in the original image.⁶⁶⁰ The level of detail visible in the photograph was replicated in the engraving. By contrast, Guys' sketch of the Light Cavalry charge, Figure 97, offered atmosphere and approximation in

⁶⁵⁵ Baudelaire 1863: 20

⁶⁵⁶ Hall 1945: 9-10

⁶⁵⁷ The ILN archive was destroyed by fire during the Second World War

⁶⁵⁸ For example: 'Bashi-Bozouk', ILN, 3 June 1854; 'Turkish Dervishes', ILN, 29 July 1854

⁶⁵⁹ ILN, 15 March 1856: front cover. Other examples of ILN engravings from Robertson's Crimean photographs appeared in 1854 (1 July, 15 July, 29 July, 30 September, 16 December), 1855 (17 February, 24 April, 28 July) and 1856 (15 March, 5 April). See Henisch 2002a: 259-260, 265; Henisch 1990: 24-26, 28

⁶⁶⁰ Note: In Chapter 2 I argue that this photograph was taken by Beato

place of Robertson's forensic detail. Guys' men and horses are formed from cursory lines, the rows of cavalry represented by quick brushstrokes rather than identifiable as individuals. Further sketches and notes appear around the edges. The source material offered by specials such as Guys relied more heavily on the artistic and interpretive skill of the engraver. In the subsequent engraving, Figure 98, the foreground horses and officers have been rearranged and fleshed out, puffs of smoke from cannon fire now appear across the composition and the Russian army has doubled in size. There is a fluidity and sense of action to the engraving as the engraver has turned Guys' rapid sketch into an emotive newspaper illustration. In the Robertson example, far greater detail could be copied directly from the photograph by the engraver. Both engravings, as news images, were produced relatively rapidly but the photograph offered an unprecedented level of detail and, even when translated, a greater autoptic experience. Newspaper editors presumably saw the benefits of their engravers working from photographs such as Robertson's for they were used as supplemental source material for engravings from the Crimean War onwards.

(i) b: Representations of Japan in the ILN

On the 5-6 September 1864 an allied Western fleet attacked the Japanese feudal lord Chôshû's fort and batteries at Shimonoseki, at the mouth of the inland sea in Japan. Chôshû had declared the channel closed to foreign vessels and the British, French, Dutch and American fleet sought to negotiate for its reopening through force. Beato's photograph, Figure 44, dates from this time. According to the diplomat and translator Ernest M. Satow, Beato was the only civilian (beyond the translators) to be given passage on HMS Euryalus, the British flagship.⁶⁶¹ Wirgman, as the ILN special, was also on board one of the allied ships.⁶⁶² Between them and the ILN they shaped the British visual record of the 'brisk affair' at Shimonoseki.⁶⁶³

Wirgman had been based in Japan since 25 April 1861 and regularly sent reports on events in the country to his employer, the ILN. He was well-established within the small foreign community in Yokohama by the time Beato arrived two years later. Wirgman entertained newcomers, such as the British diplomat and translator Satow, and

⁶⁶¹ Satow 1921: 102

⁶⁶² The ILN stated that Wirgman was 'present on board one of the ships in the allied squadron', 19 November 1864: 503

⁶⁶³ 'The Late Action at Simonosaki, Japan', 24 December 1864: 622

accompanied the British Legation on diplomatic missions. Journals and memoirs of the period by military visitors to Japan recount Wirgman as a dominant character within the foreign community. As Jones-Parry quipped in his travel memoir, ‘Yokohama without Wirgmann would be Rome without the Pope.’⁶⁶⁴

By the end of 1863 Beato’s friendship with Wirgman had led to the founding of their joint business, ‘Beato and Wirgman, Artists and Photographers’. The date for the founding of the business has been posited as 1864 or 1865, but I would suggest that as early as December 1863 the partnership could have been in place.⁶⁶⁵ On 17 December 1863 the ILN printed an article by Wirgman accompanied by an engraving of Vice-Admiral Kuper, Figure 100. This was based on a photograph by Beato, the first time the ILN had used his images since he had moved to Japan. Wirgman may have sent Beato’s portrait to save himself time, as he therefore did not have to supply a life-like sketch of Kuper himself. Subsequent portraits by Beato of Lieutenant Colonel St John Neale, the British Charge d’Affaires, and Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British Minister to Japan, appeared in the ILN on 27 February 1864 and 23 July 1864. As the ILN’s special artist in Japan at this time Wirgman appears to have functioned as a conduit for Beato, sending his photographs to London along with his own reports and sketches.⁶⁶⁶ In this way he facilitated Beato’s Japan photographs reaching a wider audience in Britain when they were translated into ILN engravings.

The portraits of Kuper, Neale and Alcock were credited to Beato in the ILN, but Beato was often not credited, or miscredited, by the newspaper. Figure 44 was credited as ‘from a sketch by our special artist’.⁶⁶⁷ A need to maintain the special artist as the perceived chief communicator from a foreign land may explain why engravings based on photographs were at times credited to Wirgman (it occurs too frequently for it to be a simple mistake each time). The ILN continued to run engravings based on Beato’s photographs until at least 1890.⁶⁶⁸ Paperwork and prints regarding copyright of Beato’s Sudan photographs from 1884-85 have recently come to light in the National Archives

⁶⁶⁴ Jones-Parry 1881, vol. 2: 28

⁶⁶⁵ Clark, Fraser and Osman 1989: 103 give the partnership dates as 1864-1867. Worswick suggests 1865-1869, Worswick 1979: 132

⁶⁶⁶ ‘The last mail has brought us a number of sketches by Mr. Wirgman, and photographs by Signor Beato of Yokohama’, in ‘The Late Action at Simonosaki, Japan’, ILN, 24 December 1864: 622

⁶⁶⁷ ILN, 24 December 1864: front cover

⁶⁶⁸ ILN, 26 April 1890, engraving based on Beato’s blind masseuse, identified in Hockley 2006a: 118

(UK).⁶⁶⁹ It can now be seen that Beato copyrighted his Sudanese photographs when he returned to London, registering them at the Stationers' Hall on 25 September 1885, as seen in Figure 101. This may have been in response to his frustration at not receiving proper credit, financial or textual, regarding the reproduction of earlier photographs by publishers and the ILN.

Beato, working in Japan for a Western market and a close associate of Wirgman's, would have had an understanding of the types of images the ILN were printing to illustrate Wirgman's reports. These included his own photographs, those of other photographers such as William Saunders, amateur artists from the naval officer core stationed in Yokohama or the military camp such as F. L. Bedwell RN, as well as sketches and watercolours by Wirgman himself.⁶⁷⁰ The engravings printed in the illustrated press shaped the expectations of the middle-class readership, some of whom later visited Japan for themselves. As such the engravings were influential, both in terms of shaping the expectations of future Western visitors to Japan as well as promoting individual artists such as Beato to a far wider audience than they could reach through their studio sales. Consequently, photographs that Beato sold in Japan, in albums and individually, were also sent to the ILN for possible use. Figure 44 is an example of this.

Figure 44 shows the capture of a Shimonoseki battery by allied forces. The guns are still intact and mounted on their carriages. These guns are visual trophies of war, captured by Beato's lens before they were dismounted and destroyed. Satow, Captain Alexander's translator, wrote in his memoir of the British small-arms company led by Alexander who disabled a similar defence post by destroying the guns: 'We upset them all, broke up the carriages, threw the shot and shell into the sea, burned the powder, and even dragged a couple of guns down on to the beach.'⁶⁷¹

The men in Beato's photograph have clearly been asked to stand still and pose for the camera. Some sit or lean against the guns as if literally claiming possession of them.

⁶⁶⁹ National Archives (UK): COPY 1/373, folders 366-415

⁶⁷⁰ Bedwell is referred to variously as R. Bedwell (Clark 1989), F. L. Bedwell (ILN, 12 November 1864; Bennett 2006c) and F. C. B. Bedwell (Oliphant 1859). Three engravings based on sketches by Bedwell appeared in the ILN on 12 November 1864

⁶⁷¹ Satow 1921: 110

Others self-consciously stand to attention and look directly into the lens. At one level, the men and officers amassed in this photograph appear to have been posed to signify British superiority over those who stand against it. This reading is supported, even encouraged, by the prominent positioning of the Union flag on the battery wall alongside the guns. A small group of men including Captain Alexander of HMS Euryalus stand next to the flag. The Union flag flies as if marking British territory. The photograph acts as a record of the scale and might of the Japanese battery and the implied strength of the allied forces in having conquered it, the flag emphatic in the conquering.

An unauthored report in the ILN, most probably by Wirgman, concurs with Satow's account that it was the French who took the battery in Beato's photograph, claiming: 'It is occupied by the French from the Sémiramis [...] In the background we see a few of the English officers looking on.'⁶⁷² Despite the battery being captured by the French, the photograph's Union flag was faithfully reproduced when it was translated into an engraving in the Swiss minister Aimé Humbert's book *Le Japon Illustré* (1870), as seen in Figure 102. Should the initial reading of this photograph be amended therefore, the British flag seen not as a signifier of British territorial conquest but as a wider signifier of the collective might of the Allied forces of France, Holland, Britain and America? Was it perceived in this way at the time?

The guns in the original photograph, Figure 44, create a recessive diagonal that stretches back into the picture plane, emphasized by the low battery wall. Perpendicular to this diagonal the guns all point to the earth bank on which stand more men. The diagonal of the receding guns draws the eye into the picture then the barrels direct it towards the flag, which waves in the breeze above everything else in the midground. The wooded hills beyond extend above the flag but the haze deflects attention from them. It is the smoke rising in the distance, possibly from a burning house or village, that draws the eye next, another element on the diagonal that follows the base of the hill from right to left.⁶⁷³ The guns and smoke offer cause and effect; the flag and the clusters of Western men occupying the Japanese battery appear to make it clear who the victor of this battle

⁶⁷² 'The Late Action at Simonosaki, Japan', ILN, 24 December 1864: 622

⁶⁷³ Dobson claims that smoke from a burning village can be seen in the background of this photograph, Dobson 2004: 32. While there is clearly smoke from a significant fire rising in the distance, it is not clear where this smoke comes from. This, in fact, adds to the tension of the image

was. Despite the lack of Japanese dead included in this or in any of Beato's Shimonoseki photographs, there is no doubt who Beato is showing to be the overall victor. The allied forces are presented as relaxed and in control, sitting on disabled enemy guns with time to pose for a photograph.

Victor Burgin suggests a viewer looking at an image experiences the contents of the photograph as if witnessing it for themselves, their eye associating with the scope of the camera's lens.⁶⁷⁴ The original nineteenth-century viewers of this photograph were themselves being catered for by Beato through the photograph's considered composition. The composition greatly contributed to its successful translation into a patriotic engraving, and it was used as the cover of the ILN on Christmas Eve 1864, as seen in Figure 84. By this date the ILN had decided that the 'brisk affair in the Strait of Simonosaki' was old news, and accordingly stated that it was only reproducing two engravings based on a larger body of sketches and photographs they had recently received from Wirgman and Beato.⁶⁷⁵ However, the engraving of Beato's photograph was deemed important enough to be placed on the Christmas cover.

Despite the engraver altering the poses of many of the men in the foreground, presumably to stop it looking like a posed photograph, this engraving, Figure 84, is clearly based on Beato's image. The subsequent translation of Beato's Shimonoseki photograph into an engraving illustrates how this particular image was transformed by exchange and usage. In the ILN translation, the Union flag has become more dominant. Both Beato and the editor of the ILN would have understood the visual impact of including the Union flag in such an image. I do not believe it is a coincidence that it was this photograph by Beato that made it on to the cover of the emotive Christmas issue, despite the ILN declaring itself tired of covering this event. The smoke from the distant village or house has likewise been made more prominent and it billows above the flag, an enhanced indicator of British might and its retributive power. The guns themselves appear larger, the carriages rising above the men's heads.

⁶⁷⁴ Burgin 1980: 188

⁶⁷⁵ The other engraving is based on Wirgman's sketch of troops disembarking (seen in ALB144/p.4), 'The Late Action at Simonosaki, Japan', ILN, 24 December 1864: 622

In *Picturing Atrocity*, Jay Prosser questioned ‘Why does *that* photograph come to represent *that* atrocity in its entirety?’⁶⁷⁶ While Beato’s photograph was not as explicit as other photographs of wars, such as the interiors of the Chinese Taku fort and Kwangsunbo (Fort McKee) in Korea, subsequent reproductions of this image emphasized its war footing, highlighting the smoke and guns. The size of the captured guns and the patriotic inclusion of the large Union flag no doubt were significant to this image’s sustained popularity as a wood-engraving in both the ILN and print titles. Satow included this photograph as an engraving in his memoir *A Diplomat in Japan* (1921), using it to illustrate a later event when Captain Alexander was shot in the ankle.⁶⁷⁷ Humbert’s engraved translation of this image in *Le Japon Illustré* (1870) will be considered shortly. Beato’s photograph, reproduced as an engraving, became the iconic image of the brief altercation at Shimonoseki.

(ii) Beato’s Korean photographs

(ii) a: The 1871 Korean altercation in *Harper’s Weekly*

On 9 September 1871 a number of Beato’s photographs were reproduced as engravings in *Harper’s Weekly*.⁶⁷⁸ *Harper’s Weekly*, an illustrated American newspaper published every Saturday, had been founded in 1857 and was similar in style and content to the ILN. By September 1871 *Harper’s Weekly* had a readership of over 100,000.⁶⁷⁹ On its masthead it stated it was ‘A Journal of Civilization’. At ten cents it was an affordable compilation of home news, serialized novels by the likes of Wilkie Collins and overseas reports, with wood engravings as illustrations.

Harper’s Weekly called Beato the Korean expedition’s ‘official photographer’ when they published engravings of his Korean photographs. They also referred to him as their own ‘special artist’.⁶⁸⁰ It seems that no other civilian reporter accompanied the expedition, as newspapers such as the *Daily Evening Bulletin* in San Francisco relied on the arrival of English-language newspapers from China and Japan for their reports.⁶⁸¹ It

⁶⁷⁶ Prosser 2012: 8

⁶⁷⁷ Satow 1921: 111

⁶⁷⁸ ‘The Korean War’, 9 September 1871: 840

⁶⁷⁹ Editorial, *Harper’s Weekly*, 22 July 1871: 666. The paper claimed to have a circulation double that of its competitors, and to have a third more reading matter and more illustrations than any other illustrated paper

⁶⁸⁰ ‘The Korean War’, 9 September 1871: 840

⁶⁸¹ For example, ‘The Fight with the Koreans’, 17 July 1871: n. pag., report based on accounts from ‘leading China and Japan papers’

is known that the special correspondent for the *New York Herald* was refused a place on the expedition because Rear-Admiral John Rodgers, the expedition's commander, thought he might give a negative account, and it appears that Beato was the only civilian to make a visual record of Korea at this time.⁶⁸²

As a publication *Harper's Weekly* was aware that their readers were 'already in possession of the main facts of Admiral Rodgers's short but decisive campaign,' when they featured Beato's Korean photographs.⁶⁸³ The San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* had noted that 'the expedition is now heard from by telegraph,' following the completion of the Hong Kong-Singapore cable in June 1871, which allowed news to be transmitted as far as San Francisco.⁶⁸⁴ Captain McLane Tilton confidently wrote from Japan to his wife: 'The expedition [to Korea] is known all over the world to be in the topics, and you will doubtless get full accounts by telegraph from California some days before you hear from me.'⁶⁸⁵

Tilton's letter was dated 16 May 1871 but wasn't sent until 4 June, when the fleet gunboat Palos travelled to Chefoo, China with the ship's mail and to pick up their mail from home that had been forwarded from Yokohama.⁶⁸⁶ From Chefoo his letter took about six weeks to reach America.⁶⁸⁷ Before telegraph cables were laid, news travelled at the same speed as Tilton's letter; visual material, longer reports and foreign newspapers continued to do so. Often press reports from China and Japan would begin with the news that a steamship had just arrived carrying foreign newspapers or dispatches, such as in the *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco) on 15 July: 'The steamer America, from HongKong, June 12th, and Yokohama, June 23rd, was arriving

⁶⁸² Tilton letter, 16 May 1871, in Tyson 1966: 6-9 (p. 6). See also Chang 2003: fn 23

⁶⁸³ 'The Corean War', 9 September 1871: 840

⁶⁸⁴ 'Important from Corea – Fight between Foreign Fleet and Chinese', 16 June 1871, n. pag.; 'China and Japan', *New York Times*, 25 July 1871: 1 reported the final splice of the China submarine cable made on 11 June 1871, connecting Hong Kong with Singapore and 'other parts of the telegraphic world as far as San Francisco'

⁶⁸⁵ Tilton letter, 16 May 1871, in Tyson 1966: 6-9 (p. 7)

⁶⁸⁶ Tilton, letters dated 16 May 1871 and 4 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 6-9

⁶⁸⁷ This calculation is based on newspaper reports as to the journey times of Pacific Mail steamships. For example, the *Daily Evening Bulletin* reported that the steamship China left San Francisco on 1 April 1871 for Yokohama and returned 'this morning' (12 June), a round-trip of two months and eleven days, 'Japan and China', 12 June 1871: n. pag. From Chefoo mail would have to be sent to Shanghai or Hong Kong to connect with the Pacific Mail steamship

into port as we went to press. Only a few China papers reached us in time for this issue.’⁶⁸⁸

As with the ILN’s publication of Beato’s Shimonoseki photograph on 24 December 1864, three months after the altercation had taken place, *Harper’s Weekly* explained to their readers that as the war had ended some time ago only a brief summary would be given to explain the illustrations, ‘engraved from photographs taken on the spot by our special artist, Sr. F. Beatto, who accompanied the expedition as the official photographer.’⁶⁸⁹ In a letter home dated 27 June Tilton implied Beato had already sent photographs to the ILN as well as ‘the illustrated American and European papers’ and asked his wife to: ‘ask the newsman to save copies should he get the papers containing the pictures, they are worth seeing and give quite a good idea of what is to be seen on the coast of this strange country.’⁶⁹⁰ This was probably how *Harper’s Weekly* obtained the photographs, and suggests from the outset that Beato ensured he photographed views and scenes of possible interest to the Western newspaper industry as well as the military and naval market. Woolett, Beato’s assistant, was American and may have been able to provide introductions to the American press, or at least an understanding of the best titles to approach regarding the reproduction and review of images.

On 9 September 1871, *Harper’s Weekly* reproduced six engravings of the American incursion. One image is a small portrait of Lieutenant McKee, not from Beato’s Korean series. A further illustration is a simplified version of the map featured in Beato’s Korean album (studio number 29) that described topographic locations using American nomenclature. The remaining four engravings were taken from Beato’s photographs. These were captioned ‘Interior of Fort McKee’, ‘Fort Monocacy’, ‘Corean Junk, bearing dispatches to the fleet’, and ‘Council of War on board the flag-ship “Colorado”’.⁶⁹¹ They were reproduced over three pages alongside the article ‘The Corean War’. The first page can be seen in Figure 85. The accompanying article does not make it clear how many photographs Beato sent to *Harper’s Weekly* for

⁶⁸⁸ ‘China and Japan’, 15 July 1871: n. pag.; A further reference to the steamship America is in ‘The Corean Affair’, *New York Times*, 17 July 1871: 8, ‘The following is a special account of the Corean fight, received by the steam-ship America at Shanghai’

⁶⁸⁹ ‘The Corean War’, 9 September 1871: 840

⁶⁹⁰ Tilton letter, 27 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-15 (p. 14)

⁶⁹¹ These correspond to photographs in Beato’s Korea album as follows: ‘Interior of Fort McKee’ (22) and (24); ‘Fort Monocacy’ (20); ‘Corean Junk’ (45) and ‘Council of War’ (12)

consideration but, as I will discuss shortly, it is clear he sent more than four. Given the inclusion of the map it may be that Beato sent the paper a complete set of images from which they made their selection. In this way their subsequent selection can be seen to have further shaped their audience's visual experience of the incursion.

Rear-Admiral Rodgers called the American troops a 'gallant band' in his report.

Rodgers' report was quoted at length by *Harper's Weekly*:

The gallant band which encountered and overcame the perils of the navigation, which fought its way, against vastly superior numbers, through mud and marsh, over precipitous hills and across difficult ravines, and finally stormed and captured the enemy's stronghold, is worthy of all praise.⁶⁹²

After much patriotic hyperbole, the article describes the first illustration: 'Our artist has portrayed a vivid view of the interior of the fort immediately after capture, the bodies of the dead lying in ghastly heaps at the point where the assault was made.'⁶⁹³

The *Harper's Weekly* 'view' of the interior of Fort McKee, as seen in the top engraving in Figure 85, was not entirely of Beato's making. It was formed by the splicing together of two separate Beato photographs (22) and (24), Figures 43 and 76. The spread-eagled man in white comes from Figure 43; the plank crossing the ditch and the posts sticking up above the fort wall in the foreground on the left are taken from Figure 76. The figure on his side by the fort wall on the left comes from Figure 43 but the engraver has enlarged the body. The engraving combines the smoke hanging in the air with the foregrounded bodies. The engraver has added hills behind the earth fort walls as if to give a sense of Korea's topography and to conform to the picturesque trope seen in much travel imagery that was reproduced in the weekly papers in America and Britain.

'Interior of Fort M'Kee' appeared above 'Fort Monocacy' on the same page of *Harper's Weekly*, with four short columns of text dividing them. The reworking of the image 'Fort Monocacy', the lower engraving in Figure 85, also deviated from Beato's corresponding photograph, Figure 77. In this example the engraving is based on a single image by Beato and the topographic details are comparable: the position of the fort to the water, the vertiginous path, the foliage and tree just left of centre. But while Beato had photographed marines standing side by side on the walls of the fort, clearly posed

⁶⁹² 'The Corean War', 9 September 1871: 841

⁶⁹³ 'The Corean War', 9 September 1871: 842

en masse, the engraver depicts only a few of them, one of whom has been engraved holding a staff on which flies a large American flag.

It appears *Harper's Weekly* manipulated original views to further support the accompanying article and the beliefs of the paper. As Stuart Hall has stated in his essay, 'The Determinations of News Photographs':

In setting out, each day, to signify the world in terms of its most problematic events, then, newspapers must always *infer what is already known*, as a present or absent structure. 'What is already known' is not a set of neutral facts. It is a set of common-sense constructions and ideological interpretations *about* the world, which holds the society together at the level of everyday beliefs.⁶⁹⁴

In America the flag was shorthand for perceived national values, a sense of patriotism and a belief in US domination over the Korean domain considered 'uncivilized' by everyone from Rear-Admiral Rodgers to *Harper's Weekly* (the 'Journal of Civilization').⁶⁹⁵ Although Hall was discussing the biased reporting of foreign news stories in the British press, his analysis fits equally well when considering the world view of the editor and engravers of *Harper's Weekly*. Patriotism was at the heart of the magazine. In 1865 the *North American Review* described the influence of *Harper's Weekly* thus:

It has been read in city parlors, in the log hut of the pioneer, by every camp-fire of our armies, in the wards of our hospitals, in the trenches before St Petersburg, and in the ruins of Charleston; and wherever it has gone, it has kindled the warmer glow of patriotism.'⁶⁹⁶

The article that accompanied the engravings of Beato's photographs was coloured by the language of Rodgers' report and the jingoistic sentiment popular in much of the American press of the time. The editor of *Harper's Weekly* saw the world with American eyes and knew American values and interests would sell the most papers. The engravers exaggerated and added to Beato's photographs as they translated them for reproduction in the paper to ensure they supported the paper's patriotic values.

The images of Korea that were reproduced in the illustrated press, and in memoirs such

⁶⁹⁴ Hall 1972: 183 [Hall's emphasis]

⁶⁹⁵ Chang 2003: para 50, gives examples of further coverage in America that extended a similar view of the Koreans, including headlines such as 'Speedy and Effective Punishment of the Barbarians' (*New York Times*) and 'Our Little War with the Heathen' (*New York Herald*)

⁶⁹⁶ *North American Review*, April 1865, cited by publishing house Alexander Street Press <www.alexanderstreet.com/products/harp.htm> [accessed 18 July 2012]

as Winfield S. Schley's, were those that accorded most closely with the contemporary view that America, a civilized nation, had every right to avenge the 'insult to the flag' and to teach Korea a lesson with a short, sharp show of force.⁶⁹⁷ The American press appeared to approve of the incursion. As the *New York Times* reported, 'Although it is not known whether this Government anticipated hostilities [in Korea], it seems certain that the conduct of Admiral Rodgers under the circumstances is approved.'⁶⁹⁸ Hevia's account of the reproduction of photographs of the Boxer rebellionCKCK in 'The Photography Complex' similarly notes that through the editing process a new account of the altercation in question could be produced, based on a combination of photographs, texts and maps that could be brought together to form a new homogenous representation of events. As Hevia notes in relation to the Boxer rebellion, 'editors and craftsmen created a new China, one that was no different from any other place where natives had transgressed against a white world of "civilization" and "civilizing missions".'⁶⁹⁹ The editors of *Harper's Weekly* similarly shaped how the Korean altercation was perceived, emphasizing patriotic elements and combining photographs into single engravings to support their imperial account of the short-lived war.

(ii) b: The 1871 Korean altercation in the ILN and *The Graphic*

Beato had a long-standing professional relationship with the ILN and it appears he sent his Korean photographs to them. Tilton noted in his letters that Beato was supplying photographs to several newspapers, 'especially the London Illustrated News [ILN].'⁷⁰⁰ Tilton's statement suggests Beato had either mentioned his past history with the ILN to those on board or that Beato's connection to the newspaper was well known, as Tilton singles out that paper specifically. However, Beato's photographs were not reproduced in the ILN. It would appear they were not reproduced as news engravings in England at all.

In 1871 France was occupied with fighting Prussia and then embroiled in the two-month Paris Commune that was finally overthrown by the former government on 28 May 1871. The British public turned its eyes to its neighbour's war, reading about the Franco-Prussian War and the subsequent Paris Commune in the newspapers and

⁶⁹⁷ Schley 1904: 95

⁶⁹⁸ 'General News by Telegraph. The Corea', 1 July 1871: 1

⁶⁹⁹ Hevia 2009: 108

⁷⁰⁰ Tilton letter, 27 June 1871, in Tyson 1966: 12-15 (p. 14)

illustrated press. The Vendôme column, surmounted by a statue of Napoleon, and seen by Gustave Courbet as representing ‘les idées de guerre et de conquête qui étaient dans la dynastie impériale’ [the ideas of war and conquest of the past imperial dynasty] was toppled by the Communards on 16 May 1871, the day the American fleet set sail for Korea on their own imperial mission.⁷⁰¹

The ILN reported the American incursion in Korea on 24 June 1871, less than two weeks after the action itself took place and before the American fleet had left Korean waters. To do this it must have utilized reports transmitted by telegraph. *The Graphic* also reported the battle on the 24 June, stating: ‘The Americans have gone to war with the Koreans in Japan. The Koreans fired upon a reconnoitring party and the Americans revenged themselves by shelling and capturing a fort.’⁷⁰² A week later the ILN reported in its ‘Foreign and Colonial News’ column:

By a telegram received at the Foreign Office we learn that the American expedition against Corea has been successful. After a desperate defence by the Koreans, the United States forces completely defeated them, capturing their stronghold in King-How Island, and killing 500 of the Koreans. The American loss was but slight.⁷⁰³

The Graphic mentioned the war briefly in the next two issues. This was the extent of the coverage of the Korean war in these two newspapers – three short paragraphs and a couple of sentences in the ILN’s ‘Foreign and Colonial News’ columns. The initial coverage did not even headline the American section of ‘Foreign News’ in *The Graphic*.⁷⁰⁴ While several articles in the American press erroneously reported the rumours of British involvement or assistance in the Korean incursion, this was not mentioned in either the ILN or *The Graphic*.⁷⁰⁵

It is likely that Beato sent a selection of photographs of the American action in Korea to the ILN as soon as he was able, either using a mail vessel sailing between the American fleet and Chefoo (as the Palos had done on 4 June) or when he landed in Shanghai on 28 June. For the 24 June edition of the ILN, when the Korean battle was reduced to a single

⁷⁰¹ Courbet 1870. See also Nochlin 2007: 84-94 (p. 88)

⁷⁰² ‘Foreign News’, 24 June 1871: 590

⁷⁰³ ‘Foreign and Colonial News’, 1 July 1871: 630

⁷⁰⁴ ‘Foreign News’, 24 June 1871: 590

⁷⁰⁵ For example, ‘The British Fleet to Co-Operate with the Americans’, *New York Times*, 17 July 1871: 8; ‘Important from Corea – Fight between Foreign Fleet and Chinese’, *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 16 June 1871, n. pag.

paragraph inside the paper, the cover has a full-page engraving depicting a photographer with his camera and tripod set up to record the ongoing French struggle amid the ruins of Paris, Figure 103.⁷⁰⁶ This cover suggests that the photographer was perceived to be at the centre of war reportage by this time. But in England, the US punitive expedition to Korea with its ready-made album of images by Europe's most seasoned war photographer slipped by almost unnoticed, with Beato appearing to play no part in its documentation. America, not Britain, was attempting to capitalize on a new trading market through a show of force and, as Korea wasn't part of Britain's imperial expansion programme, it seems the newspaper editors believed it was of little interest.

Susan Sontag articulated the impact of a war seen through the camera lens as follows:

Awareness of the suffering that accumulates in a select number of wars happening elsewhere is something constructed. Principally in the form that is registered by cameras, it flares up, is shared by many people, and fades from view. In contrast to a written account – which, depending on its complexity of thought, reference, and vocabulary, is pitched at a larger or smaller readership – a photograph has only one language and is destined potentially for all.⁷⁰⁷

Sontag's astute comment on the construction of interest in wars is played out in the ILN's decision not to illustrate the US-Korea incident. There is every indication that Beato sent them a set of photographs but they decided not to prioritize a war in which Britain had not been involved and that had occurred, briefly, on the other side of the world. They followed the stories they felt their audience would be interested in, and British newspapers were still closely tracking events in neighbouring France.

In the past, Beato's presence on the front line had led to illustrated coverage of each incursion in the ILN. For example, the 1864 battle at Shimonoseki, Japan – an incursion that also lasted two days, but with far fewer casualties – made the front page of the ILN. The Korean battle, however, wasn't even illustrated. The lack of British involvement rather than its distance from Britain or the speed of its conclusion appears to be the most significant reason for the reduced level of coverage. While British newspapers appeared to cover world news they made conscious choices as to what stories demanded the attention of their readers. The continued coverage of the French Commune necessarily meant there was less space for other foreign news stories. As Hall noted

⁷⁰⁶ 'Foreign and Colonial News', 24 June 1871: 606

⁷⁰⁷ Sontag 2004: 17

with regard to mid-twentieth century British newspapers: 'If we knew nothing about Britain's historical connections throughout the world, or the preferred map of power relations, it would be difficult to account for the highly skewed structure to the profile of foreign news in British newspapers.'⁷⁰⁸ The different levels of reporting on the 1871 Korean altercation in the American and British press, as shown through the examples of coverage in the ILN, *The Graphic* and *Harper's Weekly*, indicate that Hall's skewed structure was also present in nineteenth-century newspapers.

Images of Japan in memoirs and travel volumes

Japan has been a geographic focus for this thesis, and in this section the representation of Japan in memoirs and travel volumes is considered. The new publishing contexts in which photographs by Beato and illustrations by Wirgman and others were experienced could influence the reading of the original material. At times the original context of the image was subjugated and the image utilized to illustrate episodes the writer chose to focus upon.

Books on Japan in the 1860s and 1870s derived their illustrations from a variety of sources. Alcock's *The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of A Three Years' Residence in Japan* (1863) featured chromo-lithographs based on drawings by Wirgman, Alcock himself and J. G. Gower, as well as woodcuts and maps. George Smith and Thomas C. Westfield both used Negretti and Zambra's stereoviews, first published in 1861, to illustrate their travel volumes on Japan.⁷⁰⁹ Smith used five images translated into full-page engravings, and Westfield's volume – unusually, for this time – featured small-format copies of the photographs pasted in. This labour-intensive and expensive form of publishing books with photographs was a precursor to the development of half-tone and autotype printing processes, which allowed photographs to be printed in books without having to be translated into a wood or steel engraving first. An early example of this was R. W. Leyland's *Round the World in 124 Days* (1880), which used autotyping to reproduce photographs. Despite the various methods by which photographs were reproduced in these volumes, all the images of Japan were included to visualize Japan for a Western audience.

⁷⁰⁸ Hall 1972: 183

⁷⁰⁹ Smith 1861; Westfield 1862

Alcock quoted an ‘old play’ as the introduction to the second volume of his memoir: ‘Look ye! master Traveller; unless ye note something worth the seeing, / and come home wiser than ye went, I wouldn’t give a stag’s horn for all your travels.’⁷¹⁰ This quote is revealing in that it fixes the travel experience firmly on the visual sense. Alcock’s book reproduces chromo-lithographic views of Fusiyama, the Lake at Hakoni and sights such as sulphur baths, for example ‘View of Fusiyama from Yosiwara’, Figure 66.⁷¹¹ Alcock claimed to want his book to be authentic and have a ‘photographic accuracy’, but these reproductions are variations on the travel picturesque seen since the eighteenth century in the work of artists such as William Hodges and David Roberts and in publications such as Robert Brown’s *The Countries of the World* (1876-81). Brown’s publication similarly illustrates the picturesque method of composing a view that was brought to bear on a wide variety of geographically diverse landscapes. In Brown’s serialized publication the engraved views of places as distinct as British Columbia, Vancouver, Burma and Panama all have a visual similarity, with foreground details on the left and right to direct the eye into the scene and a serpentine path or river creating perspectival distance. This can be seen in ‘View in the Drakensberg Mountains, Orange Free State’, Figure 104, and ‘View on the River Irrawaddy, Burmah’, Figure 105. Crocodiles and carriages add foreground scale; rivers and roads snake into the distance, flanked by rocky or verdant banks.⁷¹² Similarly, the picturesque compositions in Alcock’s memoir obfuscate the Japanese landscape to a certain extent. In ‘View of Fusiyama from Yosiwara’, tree-stumps and an ‘exotic’ palm tree have been assiduously included to frame the conical volcano of Fusiyama in a picturesque manner. They provide the viewer with a familiar foreground through which to observe the ‘exotic’ scene. Similar vegetation appears framing the view in ‘View on the River Irrawaddy, Burmah’ (Figure 105) despite being views of geographically diverse locations.

Even before Japan opened its treaty ports to the West in 1859, early accounts of the country were available to the middle-class subscribers of Mudie’s Select Library in London. Charles E. Mudie had established his library in 1842 and it became Britain’s leading lending library, offering varying annual rates for London and regional

⁷¹⁰ Alcock 1863, vol. 2: frontispiece

⁷¹¹ Lake at Hakoni: Alcock 1863, vol. 1: 416 (facing); Sulphur baths: Alcock 1863, vol. 2: 73 (facing)

⁷¹² Other picturesque examples in Brown 1876-81 include: ‘On the road to the Cariboo mines, British Columbia’, vol. 1: 244; ‘View of Sooke Lake, Vancouver Island’, vol. 2: 36 (facing); ‘View on the River Irrawaddy, Burmah’, vol. 5: 113; ‘View of the City of Panama’, vol. 3: 33

subscribers based on the number of volumes delivered to them at any one time.⁷¹³ The library stocked thousands of copies of the leading travel and adventure titles suggesting they were very popular, and by 1860 Mudie's travel and adventure section represented thirteen per cent of his stock, over 50,000 volumes.⁷¹⁴

The 1857 Mudie's Select Library catalogue lists six titles under Japan including Commodore Perry's *Expedition to Japan*, his account of negotiations with the Japanese in 1853.⁷¹⁵ Perry's volume continued to be listed by Mudie throughout the 1860s and 1870s but other early titles were replaced by later accounts based on post-treaty visits and residences. By 1865, eleven titles were listed. R. Mounteney Jephson and Edward P. Elmhirst's book *Our Life in Japan* appears in the 1869 catalogue (as 'Life in Japan'), and throughout the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s between nine and thirteen titles were always available to the subscriber browsing Mudie's Select Library catalogue under 'Japan'. Laurence Oliphant's book, *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's mission to China and Japan in the years 1857, '58, '59*, the book which inspired the teenage Satow to travel to Japan after his brother borrowed it from Mudie's, appeared in the catalogue throughout the 1860s and 1870s (but only under 'China').⁷¹⁶

The Mudie's Select Library catalogue listing for Japan throughout the 1860s was approximately half that of Russia, China and India. All these three countries had been involved in major wars with Britain within the last decade and many of the books listed were British accounts of military or naval interventions overseas. The number of titles offered on 'Abyssinia', for example, reveals the importance of overseas military and naval action in garnering public interest in non-European locations. The catalogue listing for books on Abyssinia increased from two titles in 1865 to fourteen titles by 1872, following the British incursion in Abyssinia in 1867-68.⁷¹⁷ Likewise, 'The Soudan' is not listed as a category in Mudie's until 1889 when seven titles appear, four of which directly related to the British rescue attempt of General Gordon in Khartoum in 1884-85.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹³ For a history of Mudie's Select Library see Griest 1970: 1-57

⁷¹⁴ Griest 1970: 38

⁷¹⁵ Mudie's Select Library catalogue: 1857

⁷¹⁶ Satow 1921: 17; Mudie's Select Library catalogue: 1865

⁷¹⁷ Mudie's Select Library catalogues: 1865 and 1872

⁷¹⁸ Mudie's Select Library catalogue: 1889

The public fascination with overseas wars appears to have influenced Mudie in his purchasing strategies for the library. However, the short two-day battle in Shimonoseki, Japan in 1864 did not spawn military or naval accounts that Mudie considered of interest to his subscribers. Commodore Perry's account of his negotiations with Japan was the closest to a military or naval incursion in Japan that Mudie's catalogue could muster. Oliphant's account of Lord Elgin's work in China and Japan was only catalogued under 'China', the country in which Elgin negotiated a peace treaty at the end of the Second Opium War. Consequently, despite the fascination with Japonisme in Britain in the 1860s, the number of titles offered by Mudie's did not vary significantly as the decade progressed.

(i) Aimé Humbert, *Le Japon Illustré* (1870)

In 1870 Humbert, Swiss minister to Japan, published his two-volume first-hand account of the country, *Le Japon Illustré*. It was richly illustrated and included 476 views, costumes and monuments based on a range of sources including Beato's photographs and Wirgman's sketches. The book was published in English four years later as *Japan and the Japanese: Illustrated* and consequently enjoyed even wider dissemination. It is known that Humbert was entertained by Wirgman in the summer of 1863.⁷¹⁹ He subsequently went on to use Wirgman's sketches as the basis for several engravings to illustrate his book. Humbert also knew Beato through Wirgman and recounted an anecdote in his book concerning Beato's tenacity in photographing forbidden places.⁷²⁰ Beato's photographs were translated into engravings for Humbert's book, but Beato's work was not credited. There is no evidence to suggest whether Beato received a fee when his photographs were reused in this way, or whether his permission was even requested.

Humbert reproduced several of Beato's photographs of the 1864 battle of Shimonseki as well as Japanese views and costumes as both half-page and full-page engravings. Several of the views of Japan he included were based on photographs that can also be seen in NMM Album 144, such as Figure 106, reproduced by Humbert as 'Statues de chiens mythologiques, a l'entrée du temple de Kami-Hamayou, a Simonoséki', Figure

⁷¹⁹ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 96

⁷²⁰ Humbert 1870, vol. 1: 329

107.⁷²¹ Picturesque discrepancies can be seen in this comparison between the original photograph and subsequent engraving. In the photograph Beato included the figure of a monk on the far sea wall in front of a two-storey building, the monk barely visible in his dark robes. The diagonal of the long stair ascending from the temple gateway is met by a further perpendicular diagonal stretching into the image from the shadow on the water thrown by the wood-pile, along the base of the sea wall as it recedes and out to the distant peninsula. A further diagonal runs along the balustrade on the top of the sea wall towards the same vanishing point at the peninsula. This line is emphasized by the gateway, which marks the perpendicular crossing point of the stair diagonal and the two subsequent recessive lines. This photograph has a formal picturesque beauty through Beato's choice of viewpoint as well as the strong diagonal composition associated with ukiyo-e. Humbert's engraver either didn't appreciate this or was under orders to modify it as he included people, a sampan and boats, possibly in an attempt to render the scene both more picturesque and simultaneously more exotic.

Humbert also reproduced Beato's most widely disseminated photograph of the two-day battle in Shimonoseki as 'Une batterie du Prince de Nagato, a Simonoséki', Figure 102. In Figure 102 the engraver has significantly altered the composition of Beato's photograph on which this work is based, Figure 44. The engraver has reversed the image and reframed it as a portrait format with a tight crop that focuses attention squarely on the guns, flag and smoke. Some men have been left out of the engraving completely, while others have expressions not visible in the original photograph. Captain Alexander, standing next to the Union flag, now has a sword hanging by his side and a telescope pressed against his thigh, both visual indicators of battle and his commanding naval rank. The men on the bank now stand more assertively with their legs further apart. James R. Ryan has described this stance as traditionally seen in portraits of male hunters and landowners where ownership is asserted by the man's position and accompanying signifiers.⁷²² In Figure 102 the men are accompanied by the Union flag, the prominent weapons of the Allied forces and the captured guns. Leonard Bell expanded Ryan's classification of men for whom this stance was considered appropriate in visual imagery to include military personnel. Bell stated that such men:

⁷²¹ See also NMM ALB144/p.16 and 'Le Daïboudhs, statue colossale du Bouddha a Kamakoura', Humbert 1870, vol. 1: 241

⁷²² Ryan notes the conventional iconography of the hunter/landowner pose when discussing photographs of Lord Curzon following a tiger hunt (1902), Ryan 1997: 102-103

‘were typically imaged in terms of a forthright and confident manliness and physical robustness, with signs of their dominating activities or heroic action, and their superiority over non-Europeans [...] clearly marked.’⁷²³ The engraver has altered the men’s initial standing positions to conform to this accepted stereotype. Other elements of the photograph have also been altered. The thin thread of smoke from the nearby burning house or village in the original photograph has turned into a raging fire behind the Union flag. The flag has been significantly enlarged and the crop and reversal of the photograph emphasizes the guns that now appear to stretch unending across the foreground.

Humbert also reproduced sketches depicting the Shimonoseki altercation by Alfred Roussin, as seen in ‘Expédition des Escadres Alliées contre le Prince de Nagato, a Simonoséki’, Figure 108. In 1864 Beato photographed Roussin’s sketches as he did Wirgman’s, turning them into print reproductions. The sketch used by Humbert appears in photographic form in NMM Album 144, Figure 109. The engraving in Humbert is a full-page image clearly based on Roussin’s sketch of troops disembarking.

Roussin was an aide-commissaire in the French navy on board the *Sémiramis* during the Shimonoseki battle. In the photographic reproduction of Roussin’s sketch, six officers stand on a hill in the foreground, telescopes in hand to survey the captured shore battery below and allied disembarkation. The allied forces’ strength is suggested by the number of men disembarked, the oversized flags flying on the beach, and the three-masted steamers crossing the inland sea behind. Allied military dominance is also suggested by the burning building and the silenced guns. The six officers in the foreground, despite the sketchy nature of their composition, appear in control of the situation through their actions of pointing and looking. There is a perspectival naivety to the almost aerial viewpoint of the burning building and troops in contrast to the picturesque depiction of the inland sea and far shore. Roussin’s elevated viewpoint may suggest a familiarity with military paintings such as Horace Vernet’s *The Battle of Montmirail* (1814), where the raised vantage point allows the battle or scene to unfold in the midground below. However, Roussin’s sketch has perspectival inaccuracies that confirm it is the work of

⁷²³ Bell 2007: 321 uses the same photograph of Lord Curzon cited by Ryan 1997: 102-103 to make this point

an amateur artist, a sketch that has been designed to tell a story through its subject matter rather than any coherent compositional structure.

As in the sketch, the French tricolore in the engraving (Figure 108) is the dominant flag on the beach even though it is the furthest away. Despite the six officers on the hill being in the foreground in the engraving, the engraver has not been able to add more than cursory details as very little exists in the original sketch. The visual information available to the engraver from every part of a photographic image allowed for a much crisper and detailed final engraving, as seen in the ILN Crimean example earlier in this chapter (Figures 40 and 99).

In all, six of the twenty-two images in NMM Album 144 were used by Humbert in illustrating *Le Japon Illustré*.⁷²⁴ This figure is not included to suggest that the album was compiled or owned by Humbert, but to offer an insight into how photographs were collected and subsequently used. It is clear Humbert used his own collection of photographs, sketches, prints and paintings, perhaps accumulated in a similar way to Album 144, as the basis for illustrations for his two-volume work. This appears to have been standard publishing practice at this time. Jephson and Elmhirst cited 'illustrations from photographs by Lord Walter Kerr, Signor Beato, and native Japanese drawings' as the basis for their engravings.⁷²⁵ This volume will now be considered.

(ii) R. Mounteney Jephson and Edward P. Elmhirst, *Our Life in Japan* (1869)

Jephson and Elmhirst credit Beato photographs as source material for ten of their twenty-one illustrations. These include their engravings 'Bettoes or Native Grooms' and a 'Japanese Lady and Attendant, with Pipe and Tinder Box', Figure 110.⁷²⁶ Jephson and Elmhirst refer to their engravings of the Japanese people when they write, 'The illustrations given will go farther than any description of ours to render an idea of their personal appearance.'⁷²⁷ This reliance on the illustrations that were based on photographs occurs throughout the book. When describing the bettoes and their tattooed skin they write, 'The accompanying photograph shows exactly what we have

⁷²⁴ These are ALB144/p.9 and Humbert 1870, vol. 1: 133; ALB144/p.17 and Humbert 1870, vol. 1: 235; ALB144/p.16 and Humbert 1870, vol. 1: 241; ALB144/p.14 and Humbert 1870, vol. 2: 53; ALB144/p.5 and Humbert 1870, vol. 2: 385; ALB144/p.8 and Humbert 1870, vol. 2: 395

⁷²⁵ Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: frontispiece

⁷²⁶ 'Bettoes or Native Grooms': Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 46 (facing)

⁷²⁷ Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 377

attempted to describe.⁷²⁸ While describing the reclusive Einos from the northern island of Japan, they note: ‘The photograph taken at the time by Mr Sutton, of HMS Serpent, shows their characteristics exactly. The presence of the Japanese in the picture will also enable the reader to compare the two.’⁷²⁹ In these examples the authors rely on the indexical nature of the photograph to illustrate the differences and attributes that they are at pains to articulate in the narrative. They invite the reader to compare the Japanese in the ‘photograph’ with the Einos to highlight ethnographic difference.

Jephson and Elmhirst discuss their illustrations based on photographs as if they were photographs, but in reality they were engraved translations. This translation problematizes their argument that their illustrations show characteristics ‘exactly’. For example, in ‘Japanese Lady and Attendant, with Pipe and Tinder Box’, Figure 110, the ladies’ faces have been altered to make them appear more Western. A version of Beato’s photograph this was based on appears in the Smith College album, Figure 111. There are differences between the poses of the women in the photograph and the engraving, such as the hand the seated woman holds the pipe in and the samisen on the floor that is missing in the photograph. However, as can be seen from other costume examples by Beato already cited in Chapter 3, such as the ‘Grecian Bend’ photographs Figures 59 and 14, Beato was known to take several versions of posed costume studies such as this one. It is reasonable to assert that this engraving was based on a photograph from the same studio session as the Smith College example. The seated lady wears a patterned kimono in both the engraving and the photograph and sits on a Western chair in a studio setting in a similar pose. However, both the faces of the Japanese women appear significantly altered in the engraving. Was this because the engraver inadvertently altered them, conforming to his own training in Western life drawing, or was it to make the women seem more familiar despite their exotic costume? This illustration comes one page after Jephson and Elmhirst’s statement that their illustrations go further than they possibly can in words in conveying the physiognomy of the Japanese. And yet in this example the seated lady’s face conforms more to a Western ideal of beauty as seen in Greek sculpture, with her straight nose, full lips, oval eyes and curved eyebrows. A similar transformation occurred in another Jephson and

⁷²⁸ Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 47

⁷²⁹ Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 282

Elmhirst engraving, 'Japanese Lady in her Boudoir'.⁷³⁰ The lady's face has become fuller and her neck thickened, her bottom lip has been plumped out and her eyes have become almond-shaped under near-arched eyebrows.

Beato's photographs become further transformed when Jephson and Elmhirst reproduce images that were created in the studio using a painted backdrop, such as 'A Picnic Group', Figure 112, and 'Executioner and Criminal', Figure 113. The original picnic group photograph on which the engraving is based appears in Beato's V&A Costumes album as 'A pic-nic group', Figure 61. The executioner appears in the Smith College album as 'The Executioner', Figure 62. The same painted backdrop featuring a snow-covered Fusi-yama with pine trees in the foreground can be seen behind the two posed groups. In the photograph of the executioner, the bottom edge of the backdrop can clearly be seen behind the 'criminal' who kneels on the studio floor. In the picnic photograph the floor has been strewn with leaves, soil and pebbles but the checked tatami is still visible beneath the female group.

When the photograph of 'The Executioner' was included in the Smith College album as the penultimate image it was accompanied by an album note that stated: 'The view represents the execution ground, about a couple of miles from Yokohama.'⁷³¹ The word 'represents' is crucial here, an ambiguous word that doesn't claim the photograph 'is' of the execution ground, but that it 'represents' it. The backdrop is clearly painted and is an indicator of a view rather than the view itself. Similar views often appeared in Western carte-de-visite portraits, with neoclassical architectural fragments such as a stone balustrade positioned to elevate the sitter's social and financial status, as can be seen in Figure 30.⁷³² Yet simultaneously, through the use of isolated architectonic fragments and theatrical backdrops, the viewer could note (should they wish to) that the view was a representation and not the real thing. However, when the executioner and picnic group photographs were translated into engravings in Jephson and Elmhirst's book, the studio devices became absorbed into the scene and the various elements of the image appear homogenous, as if the illustrations do show the 'real' execution ground, or an 'outdoor' picnic site. Should this blurring matter? The translation alters the message

⁷³⁰ 'Japanese Lady in her Boudoir': Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 133 (facing)

⁷³¹ Smith College Album 1982:38-2 (49) (facing album note)

⁷³² Batchen 2005: 65. See also McCauley 1985

of the original photograph and this in turn conditions or determines the viewer's response to the images. It changes the context of the figures posing for the camera in a significant way, appearing to take them out of the studio where they posed as models and inserting them into the Japanese landscape. In 'Executioner and Criminal' Figure 113, the photograph of a staged event, performed in the studio, becomes an outdoor scene of what appears to be a real execution.

The content of the executioner photograph was manipulated further through its particular inclusion in Jephson and Elmhirst's book. The Smith College album note for 'The Executioner' states that the view, 'represents the execution ground, about a couple of miles from Yokohama, where the murderer of Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird – the notorious Shimidzu Seiji – was executed in December 1864'.⁷³³ Through the album note the photograph is linked to the infamous murder of two British officers. The note personalizes the executioner. He 'is a well known old practitioner' whom James W. Murray, the author of the album note, has interviewed. It infers that it was this executioner who was responsible for Shimidzu Seiji's beheading. Through the pairing of note and image in the studio album Beato presents 'The Executioner' as connected to a specific, brutal attack on Western officers. It is the penultimate image in the Smith College album, coming before 'Execution', a grisly photograph that shows decapitated heads arranged on wooden frames with a crucified prisoner behind.

A new narrative has been composed in Jephson and Elmhirst's book from this photograph and two other images, one by Beato and one from a Japanese painting on silk. The first in the sequence is captioned 'Criminal led to execution' and is based on a Japanese painting. It faces page 25, accompanying the beginning of Jephson and Elmhirst's account of witnessing a man being beheaded for breaking and entering with malicious intent. Beato's executioner is next, Figure 113. It faces page 30, as the detailed narrative drives onwards towards the witnessed beheading. The account concludes with an account of the decapitated head being positioned on a clay base on a gallows for six days. At this point the text makes reference to the second Beato photograph, captioned in the book 'Head of Matsudaira, one of the Kamakura Assassins'. This second photograph is connected by the writers to the Baldwin and Bird

⁷³³ Smith College Album 1982:38-2 (49) (facing album note)

murder case: ‘The accompanying engraving is from a photograph, taken by Signore Beato, of the head of Matsudaira, one of the murderers of the ill-fated Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird, 20th Regt., which was exposed in the same manner and place.’⁷³⁴ This connects their disparate experience to the killing of the infamous murderer of Baldwin and Bird, therefore legitimizing their narrative with the visible evidence of another more famous beheading. Beato’s executioner photograph was also connected to the Baldwin and Bird murder in Beato’s album through the album notes, but in Jephson and Elmhirst’s book the image is appropriated to illustrate a different death. Beato’s photograph of an executioner remains unconnected to the Baldwin and Bird case and, as Hockley has noted, the image is used generically to illustrate their wholly unconnected experience.⁷³⁵ The writers do not describe their own visit to the site of Baldwin and Bird’s murder until page 86, and when they do they make no connection between ‘The Executioner’ and the murders of the two British officers.

Jephson and Elmhirst’s version of ‘The Executioner’ is a variant of the version in the Smith College album. Their engraving appears to have been based on the Beato version seen as a smaller hand-coloured print pasted into naval paymaster Frederick North’s own personal photographic album, as seen in Figure 114. The different formats and poses suggest Beato used two cameras for this studio session, posing the men in various ways to best convey his subject. In North’s carte-size version of the photograph the kneeling man’s jacket no longer exposes his pale undergarment at the back, and the executioner now holds his sword near his right leg rather than in front of his left. North himself similarly distanced the photograph from the meaning ascribed to it in Beato’s album note by reducing it to a generic ‘costume’ reproduction. North uses the executioner image as one of five small-format hand-coloured images on the same album page, as seen in Figure 16. The executioner appears alongside bettoes, a porter in a mino (a rice-straw rain cloak) and two priests in highly-coloured outfits. A woman in a palanquin has been placed in the centre of the display. There is no attempt by North to connect the photograph of the executioner to the murder of Baldwin and Bird, despite their murders being retold in most Western travel volumes on Japan well into the twentieth century.⁷³⁶ North’s decorative interest in page display overrides any

⁷³⁴ Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 31-32

⁷³⁵ Hockley 2006a: 123-124

⁷³⁶ For example Jephson and Elmhirst 1869: 86; Satow 1921: 135-140

explanation he could have supplied for the executioner. Instead he uses it as a hand-coloured costume, an example of a Japanese (male) profession, captioned simply 'Executioner, Kanagawa'. The image's original use in Beato's studio album has been superseded in North's album by its value as an example of Japanese employment.

Conclusion

As Hevia has noted, photography offered mediated constructions of reality that were subsequently put to work in a wide variety of places, from personal photographic albums to the popular press.⁷³⁷ Photographs were relatively cheap to produce and could be mailed to Britain and America both by consumers and the photographers themselves. This chapter extended the analysis of images beyond the individual photograph and the photographic album, and considered what happened to photographs when they were translated into engravings in the popular press and in books and how this impacted on how the world was seen and understood. Packages of images were sent to national newspapers by photographers and artists such as Beato and Charles Wirgman on a regular basis. Editors could select from a range of similar views, at times choosing one image to stand in for an entire altercation and manipulating its content, as in the case of the Simonoseki conflict in the ILN, or combining a selection of views to form single hybrid engravings to illustrate written reports (often themselves drawn together from a variety of sources), as in the case of Beato's Korean photographs in *Harper's Weekly*. This new reality, what Hevia called a 'seamless blending of photographic image with textual knowledge', created a singular version of a specific event from a range of fragmentary sources. It is indicative of the nineteenth-century modernization of vision, what Crary has referred to as an exchangeability and mobility of images, typified by photographs and their dissemination.⁷³⁸

This chapter has used several case studies to illustrate the discourse of changeable context as established by Edwards, and to consider the way images were manipulated as explored by Hevia in 'The Photography Complex'.⁷³⁹ It has considered the dissemination of representations of Japan in Britain through secondary sources including the ILN, *The Graphic*, memoirs, travel volumes, and titles stocked by

⁷³⁷ Hevia 2009: 79-80

⁷³⁸ Crary 1992: 10, 39

⁷³⁹ Edwards 1995: 49; Hevia 108

Mudie's Select Library. Using the US-Korean altercation of 1871 as covered by American newspaper *Harper's Weekly* as a foil, this chapter has considered the subjective nature of war reporting in the British press. Drawing on Hall's analysis of news photographs it has shown that visual imagery was employed to strengthen news stories, and that photographs were liable to be modified during their translation into newspaper illustrations for this purpose. A further ILN example of Beato's iconic Shimonoseki photograph also reveals the extent to which photographs were manipulated prior to publication.

This chapter also considered the use of imagery of Japan in books, and the examples given show how various images were Westernized to make them appear more familiar to a British audience. It also considered how the separation of the photograph from its indexical subject as it was translated into book engravings altered the context in which subjects were experienced and put to use, at times significantly changing the original meaning of an image, as with the example of Beato's executioner. These images, divorced from their original photographic context, were nevertheless used by authors to legitimate and authenticate personal experiences, largely through a reliance on the perceived nature of the camera as an 'exact' witness, or a 'mirror with a memory'.⁷⁴⁰

⁷⁴⁰ Oliver Wendell Holmes, 1859, cited in Hevia 2009: 78

Conclusion. The world in an album

This thesis has considered the impact of early photography on travel imagery and how it was disseminated in Britain. Using a previously overlooked archive of nineteenth-century photographic albums at the National Maritime Museum (NMM), London, supplemented by research at additional collections across Britain and America, this thesis questioned in what ways photography contributed to or influenced the way the world was imaged from 1839 to 1888.

Deborah Poole's model of a visual economy for photography has been central to my approach. The concept of visual economy informed Elizabeth Edwards when she insisted that nineteenth-century photography must be considered in terms of how it was produced, circulated, consumed and disseminated, and not just through an analysis of images in isolation.⁷⁴¹ James L. Hevia similarly insisted that photographs be considered as part of a far greater system of imaging, what he termed the 'photography complex', in which 'the printed image is merely a part of the production process'.⁷⁴² This approach dominates current research in nineteenth-century photographic albums and builds on the work of Roland Barthes and Victor Burgin, who suggested that the invisible layers of a photograph's production be analyzed.⁷⁴³ Allan Sekula argued that, beyond the individual image, the context for an image's reception must also be considered as this was instrumental in conditioning the viewer to how the work was to be read.⁷⁴⁴ Edwards expanded this field of photography still further to include the extended life of photographs, the ongoing 'entanglements' they are subject to as they move through time.⁷⁴⁵ Edwards has written extensively on the materiality and performative nature of historic albums, and her research has informed Martha Langford's work on nineteenth-century domestic albums as well as current literature on photocollage albums by Patrizia Di Bello, Marta Weiss and Elizabeth Siegel. Edwards has noted, 'the material forms in which photographs are arranged, how they are printed and viewed, as albums, lantern slides, or mounted prints, is integral to their phenomenological engagement,

⁷⁴¹ Edwards 2001a: 15, citing Poole 1997: 9-13

⁷⁴² Hevia 2009: 79-119 (79-80)

⁷⁴³ Barthes 1961: 15, Burgin 1977: 148

⁷⁴⁴ Sekula 1982: 85

⁷⁴⁵ Edwards 1995: 50

structuring visual knowledge as well as those related human actions in modes of viewing.⁷⁴⁶

The NMM albums considered in this thesis have been examined using such an expanded framework. Pre-production choices made by the photographer have been studied, as have the conditions each photographer faced in the studio or in the field. How photographs were acquired by naval officers and the methods officer-compilers chose to display their collections have also been considered. Through close analysis of individual photographs present in multiple albums and publications, such as Felice Beato's 'Executioner' (Figure 62) considered in Chapters 3 and 5, the subsequent entanglements of the original studio image can be observed.

Choosing an expanded approach to the albums and photographs considered has been essential in order to follow the trajectories of images from the studio to various display arenas – both public and private – in Britain, and to reveal the extent of the impact of photography on travel imagery. Since the Crimean War (1854-56), this thesis attests, photographs taken by Western photographers beyond Europe were competitively disseminated in Britain. Public displays included temporary exhibitions and touring shows, and the ILN and various travel memoirs translated photographs into wood engravings. Photographs also influenced print artists such as William Simpson and painters such as the French panorama painter Jean-Charles Langlois, as seen in Chapter 2. Photographs were influential in shaping the public understanding of wars, topographies and cultures beyond Europe, not only through displays of the photographs themselves but through their use by artists as memory tools and by newspaper illustrators who replicated the framing and subject choices of the photographers who supplied them.

Western photographers quickly established themselves across the world, largely in ports with a strong British naval and military presence. Officers serving overseas could also buy photographs on the battlefield from photographers camped alongside them, or in temporary studios established along supply routes. The same photographs were available for sale in Britain and could be purchased individually or collectively through

⁷⁴⁶ Edwards 2001a: 16

print dealers such as Colnaghi and Agnew's and photographic studios such as those operated by William Kilburn and Henry Hering.

While the concept of the visual economy of photography has greatly informed this thesis, its material approach can at times be in danger of diverting too much attention away from a consideration of the image itself. Hevia has noted that the photograph is, 'neither reflection nor representation of the real, but a kind of metonymic sign of the photography complex.'⁷⁴⁷ While Hevia advocates the extended reading of photography, this statement nevertheless also highlights the fulcrum position of the photographic image within the photography complex, and this thesis has reinstated the value of looking at the image itself alongside that of the broader material approach.

The image captured on the glass plate is the locus of photography, and the study of individual images in this thesis has supported my investigation as to the impact of photography on travel imagery. For example, the influence of ukiyo-e on the compositional arrangement of Beato's photographs, seen in 'View on the New Road' (Figure 17) and 'Temple of Kamiyama, Shimonoseki' (Figure 106), can be seen to be indicative of what Jonathan Crary calls the 'modernization of vision', the fracturing of fixed models of viewing that occurred in the nineteenth century.⁷⁴⁸ As seen in Chapters 3 and 5, the fusion of Western and Eastern aesthetic devices in these examples suggests an acknowledgement by Beato that the dominant Western model of viewing the landscape (the picturesque) could be questioned and blended with other alternative ways of seeing, such as the flattened asymmetrical landscapes of Japanese ukiyo-e. The widespread presence of both these examples in studio albums and private compilations suggests consumers were not put off by his hybrid pictorial strategy. However, when these images were translated into print as seen in Chapter 5, editors and illustrators did at times shy away from reproducing such modern world views, preferring to emphasize or add picturesque elements such as staffage, as in the book illustration of 'Temple of Kamiyama, Shimonoseki' (Figure 107). This example indicates the complexity of the influence of photography on travel imagery and the visualization of the world beyond Europe. In this example, the photograph was simultaneously the subject of reproduction

⁷⁴⁷ Hevia 2009: 81

⁷⁴⁸ Crary 1992: 5

and yet strategically altered to make it seem picturesque and therefore more ‘familiar’ to a Western audience.⁷⁴⁹

Through examples such as ‘View on the New Road’ this thesis has shown that the development of photographic composition correlated with the nineteenth-century modernization of vision. Early photographic albums by Beato’s mentor James Robertson, among others, adhered to picturesque strategies in terms of composition, as well as aping the folio presentation of fixed groups of images released as a series.⁷⁵⁰ Robertson’s photographs of Constantinople, Greece and Jerusalem regularly featured picturesque devices, including staffage and foreground banking to frame the view. Beato’s photographs – including his earliest authored work (Figure 2) – often moved away from this approach. Instead of framing the view from afar, Beato positioned his camera as if it was part of the scene, photographing fort interiors and batteries from within the walls. The viewer could look out on the scene as if they were there, what Christopher Pinney has referred to as an ‘autoptic’ experience.⁷⁵¹ Instead of offering a single overview of a scene in the manner of a picturesque travel artist such as David Roberts, Beato chose to take photographic fragments of the battleground: a close-up of a Crimean fort interior showing broken wicker gabions (Figure 40) for example, discussed in Chapter 1, or the dead bodies in Kwangsunbo, Korea (Figure 43), considered in Chapter 4. It was as if the viewer was experiencing the battle scene as the officers themselves had, in real time, a singular view that could be supplemented by subsequent views from different angles taken by Beato on the same day in the same fort. Photographers could offer more viewpoints of a scene than painters or even ‘special’ sketch artists, and they exploited this in studio displays and albums. In this way, photography chimed with the modernization of vision, which itself called for, as Crary says, ‘new modes of circulation, communication, production, consumption, and rationalization.’⁷⁵² Crary states that this new way of experiencing and absorbing the world led to the shaping of a new kind of observer-consumer. This observer-consumer was typified by the naval officer on overseas service, a man who bought photographs from a variety of studios and multiple views of specific locations, asserting his own

⁷⁴⁹ See also Brown 1876-81 for the picturesque homogeneity of the world view, discussed in Chapter 5 and illustrated in Figures 104 and 105

⁷⁵⁰ See for example James Robertson, *Photographic Views of Constantinople* (1853) and Maxime du Camp, *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* (1852)

⁷⁵¹ Pinney 2003: 204

⁷⁵² Crary 1992: 14

subjectivity as he did so, and compiling his own account of his travels on his return to Britain, as discussed in Chapter 1.

The early naval and military market for Western studio photography in Asia has been largely overlooked by scholars. Allan Hockley left officers out of his roll-call of studio clientele in Japan, and Eleanor M. Hight did not include them in her analysis of foreign photography collectors.⁷⁵³ This thesis asserts the importance of this market and argues this is why Western photographers such as Beato established studios in key naval ports before the travel routes for ‘globe-trotters’ were established. Using the albums compiled by officers in the NMM collection, a comprehensive view of the nineteenth-century world through naval eyes can be mapped out. These men were trained in observation and topographical drawing and yet photography and photographic albums quickly supplemented then supplanted their own sketchbooks. The subjectivity evident across the albums, explored in Chapter 1 through the case studies of paymaster North and Captain Hammill’s albums, is indicative of the extent to which personal albums allowed for the agency of the compiler. These men used photography to ‘curate’ their own world view, juxtaposing a wide variety of imagery on the pages of their albums, revealing the modernity of their own way of looking at and experiencing the world.

This thesis has also identified that albums compiled in photographic studios such as Beato’s were similarly contingent and subjective. Albums such as Album 144 (Chapter 3) reveal that officers visited studios and selected images of altercations they had been directly involved in – the 1864 forcing of the straits of Simonoseki in this example – as well as views and costumes from the country they were visiting. Chapters 3 and 4 argue that even albums considered fixed in the current literature – such as the V&A Views of Japan album by Beato, and his Korean albums – show signs of slippage and diversity, indicative of a greater fluidity of composition and arrangement than has been previously understood. This suggests photographers were keen to display as much flexibility as possible, creating a wide range of up-to-date albums to appeal to the modern naval and military market and allowing the observer-consumer a greater degree of agency in determining the contents of studio albums. This flexibility could even allow for autoptic

⁷⁵³ Hockley 2004: 67, Hight 2002: 128

compilation, the photographer supplementing stock studio images with portraits of the compiler or the ship they served on.

The albums considered in this thesis suggest that this ability for naval officers to shape their own narrative – either in the photographer's studio or at home on leave in Britain – significantly contributed to the success of overseas photography and its lasting influence as a method to record a personal, fragmentary, modern world view.

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V&A Album X536: Discrepancies between the current position and the original studio position of photographs and album notes within the album

This appendix lays out the discrepancies between the current position of photographs and album notes in V&A Album X536 and the original studio order. Following an examination of Album X536 I discovered that subsequent to the album being acquired by the V&A in 1918 it had been rebound, and several pages had been reinserted out of sequence. As the album note for each photograph is pasted on the verso of the preceding album leaf, any change in the order of the leaves necessarily changes the order of the album notes and disrupts the original album note/photograph relationship. The museum was unaware that the rebinding had altered the original album order and to date the album has been studied as if this were the order in which the photographs, with facing album notes, were positioned by Felice Beato's studio. As can be seen from my discussion of this album in Chapter 3, the rebinding of this album significantly alters the reading of several photographs within it.

This appendix re-orders the album according to the original museum catalogue numbers, visible on every page below the bottom-right corner of each photograph. This appendix presents the captions as they would have appeared facing the 1918 order of the photographs. Because this album entered the V&A collection as a bound album from a private family collection it can be presumed that this order reflects the original order when the album was compiled in Beato's studio. Spreadsheet Appendix A (i) shows the current position of photographs and album notes in Album X536. Appendix A (ii) compares the original studio position with the current position of photographs and album notes, and highlights discrepancies in the current album note/photograph relationships. All discrepancies between the original album note/photograph relationship and the current album are marked in bold. The spreadsheets are preceded by a brief description of all the photographs in Album X536.

V&A Album X536: catalogue information

Felice Beato, 'Photographic Views of Japan: With historical and descriptive notes, compiled from authentic sources, and from personal observation during a residence of several years. By James William Murray, Esq, Assistant Commissary General', 1868, printed at the Japan Gazette office, Yokohama, 101 albumen photographs in blue board archival album (rebound, order currently not original sequence)

V&A Museum, London

V&A X536 [nos 240-1918 to 340-1918]

Presented to the V&A in 1918 with album X537 by Mrs James Wheatley. Formerly in the collection of the Wheatley family.

Royal blue board covers, landscape album 365 (h) x 470 (w) mm. Each photograph has been printed from a 10 x 12" glass negative. There are 101 views of places, buildings and tourist sights. Views of Yokohama, Nagasaki, Fusiyama, Harra, Hakoni, Omia, Yedo, Pappenberg, Inosima, Kawasaki, Kanasawa, Homoco, Jiu-Ni-So, and Eiyama are included.

The album comprises photographs on the recto of each album leaf, with corresponding album notes (when included) on the verso of the preceding leaf to form double-page spreads of text panel and image. Forty-five photographs are not accompanied by album notes.

Album notes

The album notes are frequently referred to as captions by other scholars. However the frontispiece to Album X536 describes the accompanying text as 'notes' and I believe this is a less confusing nomenclature than captions. Consequently I have referred to the accompanying text panels as album notes in the thesis and this appendix.

Author of the album notes

The frontispiece for X536 states the photographer to be Beato and the author of the 'historical and descriptive notes' to be James William Murray Esq, Assistant Commissary General. Several scholars state that the album notes are by Charles Wirgman. Wong Hong Suen discusses them as being by Wirgman, citing Allen Hockley (2004) as her

reference.⁷⁵⁴ Christine M. E. Guth (2004) also asserts the album notes are by Wirgman.⁷⁵⁵ However I can find no evidence to support this and I maintain that they are written by James W. Murray. The NMeM ‘Showler’ album was compiled by James W. Murray.⁷⁵⁶ The ink inscription on the frontispiece reads: ‘James W. Murray, Notes and Photographs. China. Japan. India. 1863 to 1868.’ Underneath this inscription, in pencil, Murray has added: ‘The printed descriptions were written by me for Beato the photographer’. His album includes views and album notes also present in V&A Album X536. This seems to offer further proof that the captions were authored by Murray and not Wirgman.

Contribution to V&A Research

The material in this appendix has been shared with Martin Barnes, senior curator of photography at the V&A Museum, London.

⁷⁵⁴ Suen 2008: 5; Hockley 2004: 69

⁷⁵⁵ Guth 2004: 53

⁷⁵⁶ NMeM ALB-B-1 (17672-17719) Shelf 21/A (also known as the ‘Showler’ album). See Appendix C

A brief description of the photographs in V&A Album X536

Note: The numbers correspond to the V&A catalogue numbers for X536.

- 240 Elevated view of a coastal town, three-masted ships moored in the distance
- 241 Elevated view of a town, water on left and mountains behind
- 242 Road on left with people and buildings, three tree trunks right midground
- 243 Road (centre) with tall trees on banks left and right
- 244 Serpentine road (centre) with bank of vegetation left, and leaning tree right
- 245 Road (centre) with tall trees, tea house/inn and guests on left
- 246 Road to right with dwellings and wooded hill behind, tall tree left foreground
- 247 Shallow river view with wooded banks, man crouching on right bank
- 248 Bridge across river, edge of building right foreground, man in bathtub on left
- 249 Road cut through hillside on left, coastal town below, cliffs in distance
- 250 Village street (centre) with wooded hills behind. Tall pine centre midground
- 251 Temple complex with long flight of steps left midground
- 252 Two temple buildings with ladders propped against roofs
- 253 Shallow river with houses on right bank and bridge in distance
- 254 Shallow river with houses on left and right banks, bullock in water
- 255 Giant bronze Buddha, centre foreground
- 256 Giant bronze Buddha, steps in front and trees behind
- 257 Road (centre) with buildings, porter's load in left foreground, three tree trunks right midground (alternative view to 242)
- 258 Temple building, men on steps in foreground
- 259 View of Fusiyama (centre distance), partial cloud cover
- 260 Field with four workers, Fusiyama in centre distance
- 261 Japanese men and women posing in formal garden
- 262 Village street (centre) with porters carrying a load
- 263 Japanese men and women seated by a river bank
- 264 View of coastal village and wooded hills, water in distance
- 265 Town street with central ditch and tall ladder centre midground
- 266 Buddhist shrine (centre foreground) with body of water behind
- 267 Japanese man in formal garden with waterfall

- 268 Man and woman seated in room open to garden
- 269 Elevated view of houses and body of water with hills behind
- 270 Elevated view of bay with ships moored in front of a town, hills
- 271 Bridge (centre midground) over shallow river, houses on banks
- 272 Road (centre) with long wall of building on right, men in road
- 273 Building with men in foreground, steep steps behind, oval format
- 274 Temple with ladder to roof, long flight of steps behind on right
- 275 Shallow river with stepping stones midground, buildings behind
- 276 Elevated view of body of water and hills, low clouds
- 277 Body of water and wooded banks
- 278 Beach and wooded island in centre distance
- 279 Large bell within ornate roofed structure
- 280 Body of water in foreground with man-made banks and distant buildings
- 281 Body of water with man-made banks topped with spiked walls
- 282 Waterfall in centre midground, trees left and right
- 283 Village street in centre with men and a porter
- 284 Road (centre) with long wall of building on right, wall left, men in road
- 285 Boats on water in foreground with dwellings behind
- 286 Street with steps (centre distance) and steep hillside behind
- 287 Hillside cemetery
- 288 Boats and junk on river, dwellings behind
- 289 Wooded hillside foreground, water and buildings in distance
- 290 Body of water in foreground with buildings on bank beyond
- 291 Pagoda-style temple building on right, bent tree centre midground
- 292 Shrine gateway with long flight of steps centre midground
- 293 Large temple building centre midground
- 294 Crossroads with dwellings and men with walking sticks, oval format
- 295 Temples on left with ladders, tall stone urns centre midground
- 296 Wooded path in centre with flanking trees leaning to left
- 297 View of coastal town and bay, fence right foreground
- 298 Wooded avenue leading to long flight of steps and shrine gateway
- 299 River with two-storey buildings on right bank, man fishing left bank
- 300 Elevated view of river (centre) with town on left bank
- 301 Wooded shrine gateway with men sitting/standing nearby

- 302 Rocky outcrops (centre foreground and left) with body of water behind
- 303 Waterside shrine gateway with long flight of steps on left, water on right
- 304 Shrine gatepost framing view, avenue of trees behind
- 305 Bridge (right foreground) with village dwellings beyond
- 306 Shallow river (centre) with buildings above leafy banks left and right
- 307 Temple structure right foreground with tall pine trees centre
- 308 Cemetery with view of large town and surrounding hills beyond
- 309 Shallow river in foreground with leafy left bank and dwellings
- 310 Elevated view of large town with leaning pine tree left foreground
- 311 Stream (centre) with stilt buildings and leaning pine on right bank
- 312 Worker in field with dwellings behind
- 313 Wooden bridge over shallow river, dwelling on left bank
- 314 Wooden bridge over shallow river, wooded hills behind
- 315 Shallow river with bridge left, dwellings right, wooded hills beyond
- 316 Formal park with figure-of-eight path and tall pine trees, town/coast beyond
- 317 Field foreground, riverbank and factory below, Fusiyama in centre distance
- 318 Stone bridge over dry riverbed in foreground, fields and hillsides beyond
- 319 Body of water with houses (left) above man-made stone banks
- 320 Wide view of body of water with man-made stone banks, bridge in distance
- 321 Empty town street (centre), tree left midground
- 322 Curved road and bridge with inn/tea house left midground and leaning tree-trunk
right foreground
- 323 Body of water with man-made bank on right and low bank on left
- 324 Wooded foreground, trees on right hillside, town and water in distance
- 325 Wooded hill with steep steps and building on top in midground
- 326 Wooden bridge with men crossing in centre, trees and village behind
- 327 Canal with stilt houses on right bank
- 328 Elevated view of thatched building, winter tree in foreground, oval format
- 329 Wide street (centre) with buildings either side, men crossing
- 330 Street (centre) with shrine gateway and flight of steps beyond
- 331 Two Buddhist statues with hedge/trees beyond
- 332 Hillside cemetery with wooded hillside beyond
- 333 Shallow river with houses on left and right banks, leaning pine trees
- 334 Boat on dry river bed, two-storey house beyond

- 335 Waterside dwellings, short jetty centre midground, oval format
- 336 Tended banks of serpentine water with bridge centre midground
- 337 Giant bronze Buddha (centre distance) visible down path between bushes
- 338 Man on jetty (centre midground) with body of water beyond, oval format
- 339 Road (centre) leading to temple gateway, temple beyond
- 340 Street (centre) with dwellings, temple beyond with short flight of steps

Felice Beato's 1871 Korean albums: Comparative catalogue information

This appendix includes comparative catalogue information from five versions of Felice Beato's 1871 Korean album. The appendix has been compiled to situate NMM Album 991 within the Beato discourse, to illustrate the partial losses this album has incurred since it was compiled and to draw attention to anomalies across the albums. These anomalies indicate that even when studio albums were prepared and sold as if containing a fixed number and range of views, slippage between the albums reveals the agency of both the photographer and the purchaser.

Most of the photographs across the albums that share the same studio number are duplicates of each other. However, there are exceptions:

(12/12A) 'Council of War', two variations of the same scene exist

(22) 'Interior of Fort McKee', two variations of the same scene exist

(46/46A) 'The flag of the Commander in Chief of the Korean Forces [...]', two distinct photographs exist

Albums consulted: Catalogue information

NMM Album 991

Felice Beato, Korean Campaign, 1871, 19 albumen photographs rebound in an archival album

National Maritime Museum, Royal Museums Greenwich, London

NMM Album 991

National Archives (USA) album

Felice Beato, Korean Punitive Expedition, 1871, 44 albumen photographs in a lacquered album

National Archives Maryland (Still Pictures Division), College Park, MD

NA 200 S-KWG

Note: Correspondence relating to Album NA 200 S-KWG was also consulted. MSS Disposition 1, RG 273 (III-NAV-50), U. S. Grant Collection (Korean Punitive), National Archives (Still Pictures Division)

Getty Museum album

Felice Beato, Military Campaign in Korea, 1871, 48 albumen photographs from a disbound album

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA, partial gift from the Wilson Centre for Photography

2007.26.199 [nos 1-48]

Note: 2007.26.109 is a loose photograph variant of 2007.26.199.22. They both show the interior of Fort McKee. 2007.26.109 includes three US Marines at the fort perimeter; 2007.26.199.22 does not. A further example of this image (without marines) is also in the Getty Museum collection, 2007.26.108. Further details for these photographs are below, in 'Further material consulted'.

Bennett Album 1

Felice Beato, an album of 42 views taken in Korea during the US Naval expedition to Kanghwado, 1871, 42 albumen photographs in a brown cloth album

The Terry Bennett Collection of Photographs of Korea 1866 – c. 1910 (Private Collection)

A-1 [nos 1-42]

Bennett Album 2

Felice Beato, an album of 33 views taken in Korea during the US Naval expedition to Kanghwado, 1871, 33 albumen photographs in a green cloth album

The Terry Bennett Collection of Photographs of Korea 1866 – c. 1910 (Private Collection)

A-2 [nos 1-33]

Albums consulted: Further notes

NMM Album 991

NMM Album 991 comprises eighteen original leaves featuring nineteen photographs of the Korean expedition by Beato. The leaves have been conserved in individual plastic wallets and rebound in a fawn hessian conservation album. It is not clear when the album was disbound but the original numbering on the extant leaves runs to 45, suggesting the original album featured more leaves and photographs. The current album order does not follow the original numbering system. Album 991 is missing the first eleven topographic and costume views seen in the National Archives (USA) album, as well as all of the Fort McKee interiors and many of the views of Korean fortifications. It includes all the ship and officer portraits but only one photograph of Koreans on board the USS Monocacy. The album follows Beato's convention of using large format albumen prints trimmed to various sizes and mounted recto on each album page, with hand-written numbers and captions in the same hand as seen in other albums.⁷⁵⁷

National Archives (USA) album

The album in the National Archives (USA) is intact and in its original binding. The album has a lacquered cover featuring storks and grasses. Allen Hockley has stated that Beato's albums from this period were typically cloth or leather bound in the Western style, so this represents an early example of the subsequent use of Chinese and Japanese lacquered albums by Western photographers.⁷⁵⁸ This is a deluxe edition of the album that was acquired by Rear-Admiral Rodgers and given to President Ulysses S. Grant.⁷⁵⁹ For conservation reasons a facsimile version of this album exists for research purposes, and it was this I was able to photograph. However I was able to see the original album, and confirm that the photographs in the facsimile were presented in the same order and to scale.

The album features forty-four of Beato's Korean photographs. The archive numbering system follows Beato's original studio numbers. Consequently when images have not been included in the original album there are gaps in the archival numbers.

⁷⁵⁷ This is also noted in Chang 2003: fn 67

⁷⁵⁸ Hockley 2004: 73

⁷⁵⁹ Letters relating to this are held by the National Archives (USA): MSS Disposition 1, RG 273 (III-NAV-50), U. S. Grant Collection (Korean Punitive), National Archives (Still Pictures Division), College Park, MD

Inconsistencies across the albums regarding captions and numbers suggests the album leaves may have been captioned before the photographs were pasted in, perhaps to speed up the process. For example, a photograph captioned in the Getty Museum album ‘The first Corèan Soldier on Board the Colorado After his Interview, Contemplating the Traces of Civilization’ (6) has the number and caption ‘Chief of the village of Rosé Island’ (7) in the National Archives (USA) album. This caption and number are duplicated on the next page, which features a different photograph of an old Korean man standing in a rocky landscape, suggesting the leaves were captioned in advance of the photographs being inserted.

In this album, initial topographic views from the Korean shoreline make way for Korean portraits of an officer and village chief. The ‘Council of War’ photograph marks the beginning of the incursion with fifteen photographs following the action from the taking of Marine Redout to the capture of Fort McKee. A single photograph showing two Korean ‘prisoners’ awaiting the surgeon is followed by a map of the river and forts, then six views of individual vessels. Another group photograph of Korean men is followed by group portraits of American officers and crew from the various vessels.

This album was donated to the US National Archives in 1953 by Major General U. S. Grant 3rd, the grandson of President Ulysses S. Grant. In his letter offering the album to the National Archives he wrote:

In going over some of our family archives, I ran across an album of photographs, which manifestly illustrated the American punitive expedition to Korea in 1871. While I have no written record of it – at least, I have found nothing so far – the very fine Japanese lacquer binding and the photographs themselves make it safe to assume that they were gathered by Admiral Rogers, who commanded the expedition, and were presented by him to my Grandfather, who was then President.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁶⁰ Letter sent to Hon. Wayne C. Grover, Archivist of the United States, from Major General U. S. Grant 3rd (Ret.), 8 August 1953, RG 273 (III-NAV-50), U. S. Grant Collection (Korean Punitive), National Archives (Still Pictures Division), College Park, MD

Getty Museum album

The most complete set of photographs from Beato's 1871 Korean album that I have consulted is held by the J. Paul Getty Museum. The photographs were acquired in 2007 as a partial gift from the Wilson Centre for Photography, London. They are a set of 48 photographs disbound from one original album. Anne Lacoste, Assistant Curator, Department of Photographs, states the material: 'was acquired as a collection of 48 albumen prints but they were probably disbound from the same original album (same mountboard, same presentation and writing)'.⁷⁶¹ The Getty hold no provenance for the album, beyond it being a partial gift from the Wilson Centre for Photography, and they do not have the original binding or album covers.

The studio numbering system replicates that found in the National Archives (USA) album and the NMM album, with several additional images. These are:

- (1) Five men standing on the Korean shore
- (38) Five officers on deck
- (44) Boatswains and Quartermasters
- (47) Map of the river approach to Seoul

These numbers are missing from the catalogue sequence in the National Archives (USA) album.

In this disbound album, (24) is captioned 'Interior of 2nd Fort captured Marine Redout'. In the National Archives (USA) album the same photograph is captioned 'Interior of Fort McKee immediately after capture'. Given the visual similarity to the other Fort McKee photographs, its placement in the album among other Fort McKee photographs (not Marine Redout photographs) and other examples of miscaptioning/numbering throughout the albums I have consulted, I conclude that the Getty copy of (24) was erroneously captioned by Beato, and does in fact show the interior of Fort McKee.

Bennett Album 1

Terry Bennett has a comprehensive private collection of early Korean photography. Album 1 features forty-two photographs.⁷⁶² It follows a similar narrative path to the

⁷⁶¹ Email correspondence between Charlotte Mullins and Anne Lacoste, Assistant Curator, Department of Photographs, J. Paul Getty Museum, 1-2 July 2010, regarding disbound album 2007.26.199

⁷⁶² At the time of consultation of the album, 10 July 2010, one photograph was missing, A-1-42

Getty Museum album and the National Archives (USA) album, but the first three photographs from the studio sequence have been included later in the album.

This album is missing:

(35) Portrait of USS Palos

(36) Group of eleven Koreans on deck

(37) Group portrait of civilians and interpreters on the USS Colorado

(46-48) Last three images in the photographic sequence

Bennett Album 2

Album 2 bears the signature 'H. M. Pollen, Lieut. U.S.N.', which Bennett believes to be the signature of Lieutenant George M. Totten, the commanding officer of Company C during the American expedition.⁷⁶³ This album features thirty-three photographs arranged with the ship portraits first. The order of images is distinct from the Getty Museum and National Archives (USA) albums and does not follow Beato's own numerical studio sequence.

Further material consulted

Beato is known to have sold additional views and single copies of his Korean photographs.⁷⁶⁴ Terry Bennett holds loose photographs by Beato taken in Korea in 1871 that do not feature in the albums. Given their unbound status they have not been considered for this appendix, although they did inform Chapter 4.

Loose material from Stanford University was also considered for Chapter 4.⁷⁶⁵

The J. Paul Getty Museum holds ten further photographs from Beato's Korean series.⁷⁶⁶ These include an alternative view of the interior of Fort McKee with three marines posed in the entrance (2007.26.109), discussed in Chapter 4.

⁷⁶³ Terry Bennett, 10 July 2010, in conversation at the time the album was consulted

⁷⁶⁴ *North China Daily News*, 1 July 1871, cited in Clark 2001: 101, confirms it was possible to buy 'a few pictures' from 'a wide choice'

⁷⁶⁵ RBCDS915.P4f, Special Collections and University Archives of Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA. This material features in Chang 2003

⁷⁶⁶ 2007.26.101-2007.26.110, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA, partial gift from the Wilson Centre for Photography

A brief description of the photographs in Beato's Korean albums

Note: The numbers are Beato's original studio numbers. A caption example is given, where possible from the National Archives (USA) album [NA]. Any variations between album photographs are marked in bold.

- 1 American marines standing on the Korean shoreline
[No caption in albums consulted]
- 2 American marines on the shoreline, island behind
NA caption: 'Rose Island entrance to Salt River'
- 3 Rocky shoreline in foreground, American marines on rocks
NA caption: 'Village on the Island of Kanghoa showing the entrance to the Salt River leading to Sèoul.'
- 4 Rocky shoreline and trees right midground, men on rocks
NA caption: 'The Island of Boisée, The anchorage of the U. S. Asiatic Fleet.'
- 5 Low-lying tree-covered island
NA caption: 'The Island of Boisée.'
- 6 Korean man on the deck of a US ship, holding bottles and newspapers
Getty Museum album caption: 'The first Corèan Soldier on Board the Colorado After his Interview, Contemplating the Traces of Civilization.'
- 7 Old Korean man in a rocky landscape, holding a long cane
NA caption: 'Chief of the village of Rosé Island.'
- 8 Three Korean men in hats on the deck of a US ship
NA caption: 'Corean officials on an interview on board the U. S. S. "Colorado".'

- 9 Five Korean men on the deck of a US ship
NA caption: 'Corean officer & soldiers with despatches on board the "Colorado".'
- 10 Two Korean men on the deck of a US ship
NA caption: 'A Corean official bearing the first despatches on board the "Colorado".'
- 11 One Korean man on the deck of a US ship
NA caption: 'A Corean official bearing the second despatch on board the "Colorado".'
- 12 US officers gathered around a chart table on the quarterdeck**
NA caption: 'Council of War on board the U. S. Flag Ship after the treacherous attack of the Coreans on 1 June 1871.'
[Note: this version is captioned 12A in the National Archives (USA) album; see following spreadsheet]
- 12A US officers around a chart table, man on left has his legs tied with rope (variant of 12)**
NMM album caption: 'Council of War on board the U. S. Flag Ship after the treacherous attack of the Coreans on 1st June 1871.'
- 13 Korean landscape with trees left foreground and building right midground
NA caption: 'Exterior of Marine Redout, The first fort captured – 10 June 1871.'
- 14 Group of American troops with a dead Korean (centre foreground) and dismounted gun
NA caption: 'Interior of Marine Redout.'
- 15 View of fort interior with low wall on left and hut on right
NA caption: 'Interior of Second Fort captured – Marine Redout.'

- 16 Diagonal path with buildings to left visible beyond trees
NA caption: 'A Corean Camp near Marine Redout.'
- 17 Group of American troops in front of Korean building, tree left foreground
leaning diagonally through the photograph
NA caption: 'Corean Magazine in Marine Redout.'
- 18 View across mudflats to a wide river with US ships left and right
NA album caption: "'Monocacy' & 'Palos' covering the army on their advance
to Marine Redout.'
- 19 Straw roofs in foreground with mudflats and river beyond
NA caption: 'View from Marine Redout showing the line of march of U. S.
Troops to Fort McKee.'
- 20 Fort viewed across wooded valley with US troops standing on walls
NA caption: 'Fort Monocacy after capture by the marines 11 June 1871.'
- 21 Building and vegetation in foreground with river beyond
NA caption: 'View from Fort Monocacy with fort McKee in the distance.'
- 22 Interior of fort showing Korean dead**
NA caption: 'Interior of Fort McKee.'
- 22[A] Interior of fort showing Korean dead, three US marines in entrance
(variant of 22)**
[No original captions in albums consulted]
- 23 Interior of fort, canopy in centre-left midground
NA caption: 'Interior of fort McKee showing the head quarters of the Corean
Commander in Chief.'
- 24 Interior of fort, planks across ditch left foreground, smoke in air
NA caption: 'Interior of Fort McKee immediately after capture.'

- 25 Interior of fort, canopy left midground, planks across ditch on right
NA caption: 'Interior of Fort McKee.'
- 26 Exterior of fort showing canopy poles above foreground walls
NA caption: 'Exterior of Fort McKee.'
- 27 Elevated view of fort on outcrop and wide river beyond
NA caption: 'Elbow Fort, the first to open fire on the Surveying Expedition of the U. S. Squadron 1 June 1871.'
- 28 Two Korean men seated on US ship
NA caption: 'Two Korean wounded prisoners waiting a visit from the Surgeon on board the U. S. S. "Monocacy".'
- 29 Map of Korean river and positions of US attack
NA caption [on map]: 'Corea. Forts and Batteries Engaged by the Land and Water Forces Of The U.S. Asiatic Fleet June 1871'
- 30 US steam vessel (two masts) in centre distance towing boats
NA caption: 'The "Palos" towing the Boats with storming party on 10 June 1871.'
- 31 US steam vessel (two masts) towing boats towards left
NA caption: 'The "Monocacy" towing the Boats on their return to the Fleet with trophies of victory.'
- 32 Three-masted US ship at anchor, surrounded by small boats
NA caption: 'U. S. S. "Colorado".'
- 33 Three-masted US ship in centre midground with low hills beyond
NA caption: 'U. S. S. "Alaska".'

- 34 Three-masted US ship in centre distance with low hills beyond
NA caption: 'U. S. S. "Benicia".'
- 35 US steam vessel (two masts) centre midground with hills beyond
NA caption: 'U. S. S. "Palos".'
- 36 Group of Koreans on deck of US ship, three seated, nine standing
NA caption: 'Group of Captives on board the "Colorado".'
- 37 Two American men at a chart table with two Chinese interpreters**
Getty Museum album caption: 'Chinese interpreters with Secretary Drew and
Minister Low in Cabin of the U.S. Flag Ship "Colorado".'
- 37[A] Two American men at a chart table (variant of 37)**
[No original captions in albums consulted]
- 38 Five American officers around a gun on the deck of a US ship
[No original captions in albums consulted]
- 39 Five American officers at a chart table on the quarterdeck
NA caption: 'Watch officers of U. S. S. "Colorado".'
- 40 Group of officers on the deck of a US ship
NA caption: 'Officers of U. S. S. "Colorado".'
- 41 Group of officers around a gun (centre) on the deck of a US ship
NA caption: 'Officers of U. S. S. "Monocacy".'
[Note: this photograph appears after 42 in the NA album]
- 42 Group of men and officers on the deck of a US ship
NA caption: 'Officers and crew of U. S. S. "Monocacy".'
- 43 Group of officers around a gun (left) on the deck of a US ship
NA caption: 'Officers of U. S. S. "Alaska".'

- 44 Group of sailors sitting and standing on the deck of a US ship
NMM caption: 'A Group of Boatswains Mates and Quartermasters.'
- 45 Korean vessel (two masted) in river with low hills in far distance
NA caption: 'The first Corean Junk bringing despatches on board the U. S. S. "Colorado" immediately on her casting anchor.'
- 46 Captured Korean flag hoisted on US ship, three US men in front**
Getty Museum album caption: 'The Flag of the Commander in Chief of the Corean Forces'
- 46A Captured flag hoisted on US ship, one corner tucked under wheel of foreground gun, three US men in front (variant of 46; one man different)**
NA caption: 'The flag of the Commander in Chief of the Corean Forces captured in Fort McKee by two Marines under Capt. Tilton.'
- 47 Map of the river 'Seoul'
[No original captions in albums consulted]
- 48 Seven Korean men sitting on the deck of a ship
[No original captions in albums consulted]

Albums consulted for this thesis

The collection of nineteenth-century photographic albums in the National Maritime Museum, London (NMM), housed within the Historic Photographs and Ship Plans Section, has been instrumental in the development of this thesis. The first section of this appendix catalogues the four NMM albums that operate as thesis case studies, Albums 29, 144, 282 and 991. All other NMM albums consulted appear in the spreadsheet following this information. The second section catalogues albums from additional British and US collections that have been consulted in the course of my research.

Catalogue of NMM albums cited in thesis

Album 29

Album compiled by paymaster Frederick North RN, *c.* 1864-90s

280 (h) x 358 (w) mm

Presented to the NMM in July 1964 by Lena H. Young

Album 29 is a brown cloth-covered landscape-format album with worn leather corners and spine. The inside front cover is stamped 'Reed, Stationer, 57, Oxford St' suggesting Frederick North purchased the album in London and compiled it in England using photographs he had acquired during his career overseas.

The album contains 329 photographs. It features topographic views and costume photographs from Australia, New Zealand, South America, South Africa, Burma, China, Hong Kong and Japan. It also includes many ship portraits, particularly those North himself served on.

The lack of a rigorous chronological approach to his arrangement of photographs suggests the album was compiled some time after the first photographs were purchased. For example, album page ALB29/173-179 features a small photograph of HMS Royal Albert, dated 1860, in the centre of an elaborate page that also features a portrait of

North dated 1871. Album page ALB29/206v features HMS Hydra on which North served for several months in 1878, yet a subsequent photograph, ALB29/243, is of HMS Barrosa on which North served in 1869-70.

The album is dated *c.* 1864-78 by the NMM, with the acknowledgement of one later portrait of North dated 1893. The inclusion of photographs of South America including Montevideo and Rio, first visited by North on board HMS Alert in 1878-82, suggest this album may have been completed on his return from the Pacific survey in 1882, or at an even later date.⁷⁶⁷

Album 144

Felice Beato and Charles Wirgman, studio album, 1864

355 (h) x 460 (w) mm

Purchased from Bruce Kent in 1958

Album 144 is an olive-brown woven paper album bound with green thread, with cream leaves and gold leaf squares enmeshed in the cream endpapers.

At least nine of the twenty-two images in Album 144 are concerned with the Allied incursion in the straits of Shimonoseki, Japan, in 1864. The images relating to Shimonoseki have been placed in loosely chronological order. There are three group portraits of allied officers, three photographic reproductions of sketches by Charles Wirgman showing the allied bombardment and subsequent disembarkation, and two photographs by Beato of men gathered around captured Japanese guns. A further two reproductions of sketches of the incursion, one by Wirgman and one by Alfred Roussin, a French naval officer, are followed by Beato's view of a quayside entrance to a temple near Shimonoseki.

The remaining images that follow the Shimonoseki material are photographs by Beato of Japanese views and genre scenes, and photographic reproductions of three cartoons by Wirgman. The photographs include views of formal French gardens on the Bluff above Yokohama, a distant view of Fusiyama, Daibouts and the Kamakura temple

⁷⁶⁷ Biographical information taken from Service Record Frederick North (see Bibliography) and the *Navy List*

complex. There is also a photograph of Japanese women playing traditional instruments. A photograph of Japanese women spinning, which features on the second page of the album, appears to have been pasted in at a later date. Glue spots left by a larger photograph beyond the edges of the current image can be observed. The cartoons by Wirgman poke fun at the resident allied troops and their ineffectual displays of force as well as the clamour for a good exchange rate between the caricatured allied officers and smirking Japanese officials. One of the Wirgman cartoons, ALB144/p.19, is dated '1864' by Wirgman. Given the date of the Shimonoseki battle and Wirgman's cartoon it is reasonable to suggest that this album was compiled in Beato and Wirgman's studio in autumn or winter 1864.

Given the inclusion of the Roussin image, the group portraits that feature French Vice-Admiral Jaurés in a dominant position and the French garden on the Bluff above Yokohama, Album 144 may have been selected in Beato's studio by a French officer. The album has no typed or handwritten captions (the pencil captions in the album appear to be archivist additions) and therefore it can offer no clues as to the nationality of the album's original purchaser. But the emphasis on the battle of Shimonoseki, with nine of the twenty-two images specifically connected to it, suggests a purchaser who had been involved in or was very interested in the battle from the allied perspective.

Note: A pencil note on the inside front cover of Album 144 reads 'Taku Forts 1864', and this was how the contents of the album were referred to in correspondence by the owner, Bruce Kent, who sold the album to the NMM for 30 shillings in 1958.⁷⁶⁸ While the date for this album was correct, the Taku Forts were photographed by Beato in 1860 as part of his coverage of the Second Opium War in China. The Shimonoseki incursion in Japan occurred in 1864.

⁷⁶⁸ Acquisition file for ALB144: NMM 8/1972 [XBA5190]

Album 282

Album compiled by Captain Tynte F. Hammill RN, 1865-1894

325 (h) x 525 (w) mm

Provenance unknown

Tynte F. Hammill's large-format leather album holds 666 images. The cover is embossed with Hammill's name, the letters 'R.N.' (Royal Navy), and '1870', presumably the date the blank album was purchased.

Hammill's album opens with forty pages of mostly carte-de-visite size portraits of family, friends and colleagues. Following this Hammill chose to feature the ships he sailed on and the countries he visited, topographic views, costumes and reproductions of works of art. Hammill's photographs of Japan are captioned 1868 and 1869. It is likely that he bought the album in England after he returned from his first overseas posting on HMS Rodney in April 1870, in order to have some way of displaying the photographs he purchased during his time away.

The album covers his entire career and the final photographs are dated the year of his death, 1894. He died in active service as a captain aged 42.⁷⁶⁹ HMS Invincible, on which he served as a lieutenant in 1872-1873 in the Mediterranean, prefaces photographs of Gibraltar, Spain, Italy, Malta, Constantinople and Smyrna. HMS Bellerophon, on which he served as a lieutenant in 1876-1878 in North America and the West Indies prefaces photographs of Bermuda, Quebec, Montreal, Niagara Falls, Barbados, Venezuela and Jamaica. HMS Monarch, on which he served as a commander in 1882-1884, prefaces photographs of Alexandria and the city post-bombardment. There are also views of Cairo, Port Said, the Suez Canal and further European views. HMS Nelson, the first ship on which he served as captain in 1887-1888, prefaces Hammill's views of Australia and New Zealand, and HMS Orlando, his second command in Australia during 1888-1889 also features.

The loosely chronological album ends with two 1894 group portraits of the admirals and captains of the Channel Squadron, of which he was one of the captains. There are

⁷⁶⁹ Biographical information taken from Service Record Tynte F. Hammill (see Bibliography) and the *Navy List*

also four views of HMS Howe, which was stranded at Ferrol, Spain in 1892 and on which Hammill gave evidence at a subsequent naval enquiry. A photograph of a Capucin monk sitting in Palermo's catacombs has been pasted on the back page after a section of blank pages. The catacombs photograph, with its stacked rows of coffins and exposed skeletal remains, appears as a timely reminder of the brevity of life. The placement of this image by Hammill, on the back page of the album after a section of blank album pages he would have expected to fill with his chronological photographic record, suggests Hammill used this image intentionally as an end point.

Album 991

See Appendix B

Key for catalogue abbreviations in spreadsheet

Adml	Admiral, Royal Navy
Cdr	Commander, Royal Navy
Cpt	Captain, Royal Navy
Lt	Lieutenant, Royal Navy
(ph)	Photographer, studio album (not naval compiler)
R-A	Rear-Admiral, Royal Navy
RE	Royal Engineers
RN	Royal Navy
Sgt	Sergeant

Additional albums consulted: England

NMM, London (additional non-photographic albums)

E. H. Cree, 'Private Journal 1855-6', c. 1856, album featuring typed pages (verso) and watercolour sketches (recto)

CRJ/18, on loan to the NMM

James H. Butt, 'Sketches in China and Japan 1866 to 1870', c. 1870, one photograph and fifty watercolours in a tan cloth album with gold and black tooling

PAJ2050-2101

V&A, London

Felice Beato, 'Photographic Views of Japan: With historical and descriptive notes, compiled from authentic sources, and from personal observation during a residence of several years. By James William Murray, Esq, Assistant Commissary General', 1868, printed at the Japan Gazette office, Yokohama, 101 albumen photographs in blue board archival album (rebound, order currently not original sequence; See Appendix A)

X536 [nos 240-1918 to 340-1918]

Felice Beato, Costume views of Japan, c. 1868, 99 albumen photographs in blue board archival album

X537 [nos 341-1918 to 439-1918]

Felice Beato, F. Beato Ltd Burma curios catalogue, c. 1900, marbled board album with cover note 'No. 1978. Please return to F. Beato Limited, C[?]. Road, Mandalay, Upper Burma'

X770 [388-1965]

William Simpson, *Sketches made during the campaign of 1854-55. In the Crimea, Circassia and Constantinople*, 1880, sketch and photographic album with a selection of James Robertson's photographs of the Crimean War

93.H.1

National Army Museum, London

Roger Fenton, Crimean War photographs, 1856, 52 photographs in an album
1964-12-151-6

James Robertson and Felice Beato, Crimean War and Malta, 1855-56, 19 loose album leaves
1980-11-27

James Robertson and Felice Beato, Crimean War and Malta, 1854-56,
22 loose photographs
1968-10-73

James Robertson and Roger Fenton, Crimean War, c. 1855-56, 28 loose photographs
1968-06-348

British Library, London

Felice Beato, Miscellaneous views in India, 1858, 22 photographs
Photo 27 [Beato material: 1-22]

Note: This box of views of India from 1858 includes work by other photographers

Surgeon-General Sir J. H. Thornton (compiler), Views in China, Suakin and India,
1860s, photographic album
Photo 353

Robertson & Beato, 'Jerusalem, Album Photographique de Robertson & Beato', 1857,
photographic album
Maps 17.e.18

The National Archives (UK), Kew, Surrey

Felice Beato, photographs taken in the Sudan, 1885, albumen photographs and
copyright forms received at Stationers' Hall, London, 26 September 1885
COPY 1/373 [351-415]

National Media Museum, Bradford

Felice Beato and James Robertson, box of loose photographs by Beato and Robertson,
1855-58
1939-180 (RPS reference: C13 S9)

James W. Murray (compiler), 'Notes and Photographs. China. Japan. India',
1863-68, photographic album
17672-17719 (RPS reference: ALB-B-1, shelf 21/A)
Note: also known as the 'Showler' album

Felice Beato and Charles Wirgman, 'Photographic Views in Japan', 1864, photographic
album featuring Beato and Wirgman's price-list
Album 107, 2003-5001-2-23391, 22.901

Mary A. Burnip (compiler), c. 1870s, highly decorated family album
RPS reference: shelf 21/B

Everton Cleeve (compiler), personal naval photographic album, 1874
Album 136 (RPS reference: C2, Shelf 21/E)

Anonymous, Views of Japan, c. 1890s, lacquered photographic album
1990-5037 J3 (RPS reference: C14 S8)

Col Wood, Family album, 1850s-60s, photographic album
2003-5001-2-22398 (RPS reference: Album 9B, 19/F)

The Terry Bennett Collection of Photographs of Korea 1866 – c. 1910
(Private Collection)

Felice Beato, an album of 42 views taken in Korea during the US Naval expedition to Kanghwado, 1871, 42 albumen photographs in a brown cloth album
A-1 [nos 1-42]

Felice Beato, an album of 33 views taken in Korea during the US Naval expedition to Kanghwado, 1871, 33 albumen photographs in a green cloth album
A-2 [nos 1-33]

Additional albums consulted: America

National Archives Maryland (Still Pictures Division), College Park, MD

Felice Beato, Korean Punitive Expedition, 1871, 44 albumen photographs in a lacquered album
200 S-KWG

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA

Felice Beato, Military Campaign in Korea, 1871, 48 albumen photographs from a disbound album
2007.26.199 [nos 1-48]
Partial gift from the Wilson Centre for Photography

Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH

Felice Beato, 'Photographic Views of Japan with Historical and Descriptive Notes, Compiled from Authentic Sources, and Personal Observation During a Residence of Several Years', 1869, 50 albumen photographs in a lacquered album
PH.2004.51 [nos 1-50]

Note: Digital facsimile available through MIT Visualizing Cultures,
<http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/beato_places/imgal_home.html>
[accessed 25 May 2012]

Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton MA

Felice Beato, Costume views of Japan, c. 1869, 50 albumen photographs in a green board album with leather corners and spine
1982:38-2 [nos (1)-(50)]

Note: Digital resource available through MIT Visualizing Cultures,
<http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/beato_people/fb2_visnav01.html>
[accessed 25 May 2012]. One image is duplicated by mistake on the MIT website.
1982:38-2 (18) appears twice, in the correct location (album note: 'Sleeping Beauties') and erroneously replacing a photograph of two Japanese barbers attending two seated men (album note: 'Barbers'; 1982:38-2 (28))

Felice Beato: A biographical summary

This appendix provides a brief biography for European photographer Felice Beato. For a comprehensive examination of biographical information relating to Beato see:

Clark, John, John Fraser and Colin Osman. 2001. 'A revised chronology of Felice (Felix) Beato', in *Japanese Exchanges in Art 1850s to 1930s with Britain, continental Europe, and the USA: Papers and Research Materials*, ed. by John Clark (Sydney: Power Publications), pp. 89-120

Felice Beato

Beato is believed to have been born in Venice in 1832, but he spent his early years in Corfu, a British protectorate.⁷⁷⁰ This may explain his life-long affiliation with the British military, as well as the name that sometimes is used when referring to him in contemporary letters, 'Beato Corfioti'.⁷⁷¹ He is thought to have moved to Constantinople in 1844.⁷⁷² This was the year after James Robertson, a British artist and engraver employed by the Imperial Mint, relocated to the European quarter of the city, Pera (now Beyoglu).

Beato is known to have visited Paris with Robertson in 1851, when Beato was seventeen and Robertson was thirty-eight, but it is not known how they first met. Beato bought his first camera lens in Paris that year, the year that the wet-plate collodion process was invented.⁷⁷³ By 1855 Robertson and Beato's families were linked by marriage and Robertson had become Beato's mentor, taking him to the Crimea with him

⁷⁷⁰ His death certificate has recently been discovered and states he was born in Venice to Alessandro and Virginia Beato. Terry Bennett 2010 correspondence: copy of the death certificate from the John Hillelson Collection. The *British Journal of Photography*, 26 February 1886, described Beato as Venetian by birth, Osman 1987: 1217. However Osman also notes that conflicting accounts suggest Beato was born in Corfu, and Dobson cites an Indian travel permit issued to Beato in 1858 that states his birth place as Corfu, Dobson 2004: 31. Corfu was a former Venetian territory but was acquired by Britain in 1814 as part of the Ionian islands. It was ceded to Greece in 1864

⁷⁷¹ For example Jean-Charles Langlois refers to him as this in a letter to his wife, 3 May 1856, in Gartlan 2005: 73-74

⁷⁷² Beato's father David Beato registered Felice and his older brother Sebastiano [Antonio?] with the British Consulate-General in Constantinople in 1844. See Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 89

⁷⁷³ Osman 1987: 1219; Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 90. See also Henisch 1990: 23-32; Osman 1992: 72-73

as his photographic pupil to photograph the Crimean War.⁷⁷⁴ By the end of the Crimean war Beato and Robertson were partners, photographing Malta and Jerusalem together in 1856-57.⁷⁷⁵ Their work was exhibited in London at the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society, and reviewed in the British photographic press.⁷⁷⁶ However, the reviews focused on Robertson, and Beato's contribution was eclipsed. Their Crimean photographs were included in the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures exhibition, exhibited solely under Robertson's name.⁷⁷⁷ Perhaps this contributed to Beato's early departure from the photographic partnership in 1858.

In 1858 Beato followed the British military out to India to photograph the final stages of the Sepoy Mutiny under his own name.⁷⁷⁸ He arrived in Calcutta on SS Candia from Suez on 20 January and photographed the sites of previous battles.⁷⁷⁹ He photographed Lucknow following the recapture of the town by British troops on 21 March 1858.⁷⁸⁰ Beato's brother Antonio arrived in Calcutta on 5 July 1858 and opened a studio at 37 Cossitollah Street, where Beato showed his India photographs in August.⁷⁸¹ These photographs were also sent to England and included in a photographic exhibition at the British Association, Leeds in October.⁷⁸²

Beato spent 1859 photographing sites across India.⁷⁸³ His brother Antonio moved to Egypt in 1862 where he continued to work as a photographer in Luxor until 1905.⁷⁸⁴ On 26 February 1860 Beato travelled with the British commander Sir James H. Grant to China in 1860 and camped with British troops during the Second Opium War, which began on 8 April 1860.⁷⁸⁵ In China Beato would have met Lieutenant-General Henry H. Crealock, military secretary to Lord Elgin's embassy in China. Crealock had served in the Crimean War and visited the site of the Light Brigade defeat with Roger Fenton in

⁷⁷⁴ Robertson married Leonilda Maria Matilde Beato in late 1854 or early 1855. See Osman 1992: 72. Their first daughter, Catherine Grace Robertson, was born on 21 January 1856, Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 90. See also Gartlan 2005: 72-80

⁷⁷⁵ Gartlan 2005: 78

⁷⁷⁶ See for example Henisch 1990: 28; Wanaverbecq 2005: 21, Gartlan 2005: 78

⁷⁷⁷ Wanaverbecq 2005: 21, Henisch 1990: 28

⁷⁷⁸ Chappell 1958: 36-40; Masselos and Gupta 2000: 1-11

⁷⁷⁹ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 91

⁷⁸⁰ Harris 2000: 124

⁷⁸¹ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 91

⁷⁸² Henisch 1990: 31

⁷⁸³ Harris 1999: 23; Harris 2000: 122; Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 91-92; Masselos 2000: 9

⁷⁸⁴ Osman 1990: 101-111. Several photographs by Antonio Beato appear in NMM ALB170/pp.19-20

⁷⁸⁵ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 92; Harris 1999: 17

1855, and Beato may have first encountered him in the Crimea. Crealock also served in the British army during the Sepoy Mutiny. In China Crealock bought sixty-two photographs by Beato of the Second Opium War.⁷⁸⁶ Beato followed the allied forces with Charles Wirgman, special artist for the ILN.⁷⁸⁷ Beato photographed dead Chinese soldiers following the capture of the Taku forts on 21 August 1860.⁷⁸⁸ Several of his China photographs were subsequently reproduced in the ILN.⁷⁸⁹

After the conclusion of the Second Opium War, Beato travelled to London and Wirgman travelled to Japan.⁷⁹⁰ Beato's arrival in London in 1861 was reported in the November issue of the *Photographic News*, which noted he had brought a 'large stock of pictures' with him.⁷⁹¹ The commercial portrait photographer Henry Hering obtained Beato's copyright to his India and China views and duplicated them, offering them for sale in series and as individual prints as well as exhibiting them at his portrait gallery at 137 Regent Street.⁷⁹² Wirgman was recalled to London in November 1862 by the ILN and may have met up with Beato. By spring 1863 Wirgman was on his way back to Japan, probably accompanied by Beato. They arrived in Hong Kong together from Bombay on 20 May 1863, and continued on to Yokohama. On 13 July 1863 Wirgman wrote in his Japan report for the ILN: 'My house is inundated with Japanese officers, who come to see my sketches and my companion Signor B---'s photographs.'⁷⁹³

Beato lived in Yokohama, Japan until 1884. He witnessed anti-foreigner murders by Japanese samurai, British and allied retaliatory incursions, an American attack on Korea, and the great Yokohama fire of 1866 in which he lost some of his negatives and prints, but not his entire stock as is often stated.⁷⁹⁴ He formed an early partnership with Wirgman that lasted from 1864 to 1867. Their price-list from 1864 includes caricatures of the two men and prices for their various prints and series, Figure 13.⁷⁹⁵ Following the

⁷⁸⁶ Crombie 1987: 28

⁷⁸⁷ ILN, 21 July 1860: 58

⁷⁸⁸ Crombie 1987: 31; Wanaverbecq 2005: 71, 76-77

⁷⁸⁹ ILN: 12 April 1861, 27 April 1861, 4 May 1861. See Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 94-95

⁷⁹⁰ The ILN, 10 August 1861, reported Wirgman arrived in Japan on 25 April. See Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 95

⁷⁹¹ *Photographic News*, 5: 155 (1861): 526, cited in Harris 1999: 35-36. See also Bennett 1996: 41

⁷⁹² Hering 1860. See Falconer and Hide 2009: 144; Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 95; Suen 2008: 5

⁷⁹³ ILN, 13 July 1863, in Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 96

⁷⁹⁴ For details of 'a great deal' of Beato's material being saved see 'Dreadful Conflagration at Yokohama', *Preston Guardian*, 2 February 1867

⁷⁹⁵ Philipp, Siegert and Wick 1991: 15

demise of his business with Wirgman for reasons unknown Beato set up F. Beato & Co, a successful photographic studio. His photographs appeared translated into engravings in the ILN, *Harper's Weekly* in America, and various books including Aimé Humbert's *Le Japon Illustre* in 1870. In the 1870s Beato also worked as a merchant, financial speculator and property developer, and was co-owner of the Grand Hotel on the Yokohama Bund, which opened in August 1873.⁷⁹⁶ On 23 January 1877 an advert in the *Far East* magazine announced he had sold his stock and the goodwill of his studio to Baron Raimund von Stillfried and Hermann Andersen, following a fire that had destroyed their premises nine days earlier.⁷⁹⁷

In 1881 Robertson retired from the Imperial Mint and sailed with his family to Japan, arriving early in 1882.⁷⁹⁸ The following year Beato, no longer working as a photographer, lost everything speculating on silver and in 1884 he left Japan, never to return. He sailed from Hong Kong for Port Said via the Suez Canal. From here he began to revive his photographic career, photographing British troops engaged in the attempted rescue of General Gordon from Khartoum. He met Lord Garnet Wolseley on 30 April as he sailed from Suez to Suakim, and Wolseley recounted in his campaign journal that he knew Beato from the Crimea, India and China.⁷⁹⁹

On 7 October 1885 the *Daily News* reported that Beato had returned to England from the Sudan 'with a series of photographic views of places' and noted how much support he had in military circles.⁸⁰⁰ These photographs have only recently come to light in the National Archives (UK), see Figure 101.⁸⁰¹ In February 1886 Beato gave a lecture at the London and Provincial Photographic Society where he may have displayed his Sudan photographs, but they do not seem to have been sold in album format or reproduced in the ILN and therefore do not appear to have been seen by a wider audience.⁸⁰²

⁷⁹⁶ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 103

⁷⁹⁷ Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 97; Suen 1998: 5-6; Worswick 1979: 132; Hight 2002: 138

⁷⁹⁸ Osman 1992: 72

⁷⁹⁹ Osman 1988: 513; Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 111-112; Harris 1999: 19-20; Suen 2008: 6

⁸⁰⁰ 'The Campaign in the Soudan', *Daily News* (London), 7 October 1885: [n. pag.]

⁸⁰¹ Photographs and copyright forms for Beato's Sudan series dated September 1885, National Archives (UK), COPY 1/373 [351-415]. This material was mentioned briefly in Suen 2008: 6

⁸⁰² Osman 1987: 1217; Singer 1998: 98

In 1887 Beato left England again, sailing from Liverpool for Burma at a time when the British press were reporting the Third Anglo-Burmese War and ongoing unrest in the country.⁸⁰³ Beato photographed the British forces as well as Burmese topography and architecture. He established studios in Mandalay and Rangoon and appeared listed in the Indian Directory as a landscape photographer, and as running 'The Photographic Studio'.⁸⁰⁴ He also sold Burmese furniture and curios, trading as F. Beato and Company from a large three-storey building in Mandalay and a columned building with a portico in Rangoon. He operated an export business in which his stock could be ordered from an album-style catalogue in which photographs of furniture, screens and photograph frames had been included.⁸⁰⁵

Beato sold his curios business around the turn of the century, but only ceased trading as 'The Photographic Studio' in 1904. His brother died in Luxor in 1906. Robertson died in Japan in 1888 and Wirgman died in Yokohama in 1891.⁸⁰⁶ Until recently it was believed Beato had died in Burma around 1908, but in 2010 his death certificate was discovered, which suggests he died in Florence at 2, Corsia Regina Elena on 29 January 1909. He was stated to be seventy-seven years of age, a bachelor and an English subject.⁸⁰⁷

⁸⁰³ Singer 1998: 98; Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 112

⁸⁰⁴ Osman 1988: 513; Singer 1998: 96; Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 114

⁸⁰⁵ Beato's mail order album no. 1078: V&A X770 388-1965. See Osman 1988: 513; Singer 1993: 8; Singer 1998: 96-107

⁸⁰⁶ Antonio Beato: Clark, Fraser and Osman 2001: 115. Robertson: Osman 1992: 72. Wirgman: Clark, Fraser and Osman 1989: 110

⁸⁰⁷ Beato's death certificate is in the John Hillelson Collection, copy provided by Terry Bennett in 2010

Appendix A (i)

V and A album X536: Current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies between original studio position and current position in bold; see Appendix A (ii)

<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>
1	Yokohama	240/1918
2	View of the Harbour, Nagasaki	241/1918
3	View of the Tokaido	242/1918
4	The Tokaido	243/1918
5	The Tokaido. Between Yokohama and Fujisawa	244/1918
6	[pencil caption only: Tocaido Road]	245/1918
7	[pencil caption only: Tocaido Road]	246/1918
8	Valley of Mayonashi	247/1918
9	Mayonashi	248/1918
10	View on the New Road – Mississippi Bay	249/1918
11	Main Street of Kanagawa	250/1918
12	The Temple of Hatchiman – Kamakura	251/1918
13	Kamakura	252/1918
14	View on the Stream – Nagasaki	253/1918
15	[blank]	255/1918
16	The bronze statue of Dai-Bouts	256/1918
17	View on the Tokaido, The Spot Where Mr. Richardson was Murdered	254/1918
18	Bronze Statue of Dai-Bouts, near Kamakura	258/1918
19	Fusi-Yama, from Moori-Yama	259/1918
20	Fusi-Yama, from the New Road	260/1918
21	Garden at Harra	261/1918

Appendix A (i)

V and A album X536: Current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies between original studio position and current position in bold; see Appendix A (ii)

22	View of Hakoni Village	262/1918
23	Garden and House of the High Priest of Fusi-Yama at Omia	263/1918
24	Hakoni Lake	264/1918
25	[blank]	265/1918
26	Bronze Statue of Jeso Sama – Hakoni Lake	266/1918
27	Garden at Hatta – between Odowara and Hakoni	267/1918
28	[pencil caption only: Tycoon halting place on the Tocaïdo H[?]]	268/1918
29	Desima	269/1918
30	General View of Nagasaki	270/1918
31	Bridge between Desima and Nagasaki	271/1918
32	Satsuma's palace – Yedo	257/1918
33	[blank]	273/1918
34	Kamakura	274/1918
35	View in the Native Town – Nagasaki	275/1918
36	[pencil caption only: Hakoni Lake]	276/1918
37	Pappenberg	277/1918
38	Inosima	278/1918
39	Great Bell at the Temple of Kobo-Daishi near Kawasaki	279/1918
40	Moats round the Tycoon's Palace – Yedo	280/1918
41	[pencil caption only: Moats round the Tycoon's Palace – Yedo]	281/1918
42	Cascade at Jiu-Ni-So	282/1918
43	[pencil caption only: Haramacida]	283/1918

Appendix A (i)

V and A album X536: Current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies between original studio position and current position in bold; see Appendix A (ii)

44	Palace of Arima Sama – Yedo	284/1918
45	Japanese Cottage	285/1918
46	Temple Street, Native Town, Nagasaki	286/1918
47	[pencil caption only: Aristocratic Cemetery [sic]]	287/1918
48	[pencil caption only: a Japanese Junk and Boats]	288/1918
49	[pencil caption only: View to Kanasawa]	289/1918
50	Kanasawa	290/1918
51	Temple of Asaxa, Yedo	291/1918
52	Atango Yama, Yedo	292/1918
53	Kamakura	272/1918
54	Time Bell at Yedo	293/1918
55	View near Kamakura where Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird were murdered	294/1918
56	Kamakura – Temple of Hatchiman	295/1918
57	Avenue near Homoco	296/1918
58	Yedo Bay	297/1918
59	Avenue at Hakoni	298/1918
60	Tea Houses at Ogee – Yedo	299/1918
61	[pencil caption only: View from the Tycoon's[?] Palace, Yedo]	300/1918
62	[pencil caption only: Temple Homolo[?]]	301/1918
63	[pencil caption only: View in the Inland Sea, Himosima]	302/1918
64	[pencil caption only: Temple of God of War, Simonoseki]	303/1918

Appendix A (i)

V and A album X536: Current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies between original studio position and current position in bold; see Appendix A (ii)

65	Gateway and Temple of Jiu-Ni-So	304/1918
66	View at Eiyama	305/1918
67	View on the Stream – Nagasaki	306/1918
68	Belfry of a Temple	307/1918
69	[pencil caption only: Nagasaki from the Battery Hill]	308/1918
70	[pencil caption only: bridge on the Tocaïdo road]	309/1918
71	[pencil caption only: Yokohama from the bluff]	310/1918
72	[pencil caption only: view in the valley[?] Nagasaki]	311/1918
73	[pencil caption only: Yasi[?] Migi on the road to Hachagi[?]]	312/1918
74	[pencil caption only: The Bridge of Meyangashi[?]]	313/1918
75	[pencil caption only: Meyangashi[?]]	314/1918
76	[pencil caption only: Meyangashi[?]]	315/1918
77	View from the French Bluff	316/1918
78	[pencil caption only: Fusiyama from the Bluff]	317/1918
79	[pencil caption only: View of the Valley]	318/1918
80	[pencil caption only: Kiyen[?] Palace, Yedo]	319/1918
81	[pencil caption only: Bridge of the Tycoon's Palace, Yedo]	320/1918
82	[pencil caption only: Kanagawa]	321/1918
83	[pencil caption only: Tea house at Oyama[?]]	322/1918

Appendix A (i)

V and A album X536: Current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies between original studio position and current position in bold; see Appendix A (ii)

84	[pencil caption only: Moats at the Tycoon's Palace – Yedo]	323/1918
85	[pencil caption only: Yokohama from the New Road]	324/1918
86	[pencil caption only: Gateway to the Tycoon's palace – Yedo]	325/1918
87	[pencil caption only: The Bridge at the entrance to the town of Omia]	326/1918
88	[pencil caption only: Japanese tea house in Yokohama, The resort of travellers from Yedo to see the foreign settlement]	327/1918
89	[pencil caption only: cottage of a silk merchant in the Haohagi[?] road]	328/1918
90	[pencil caption only: The town of Hasamacida]	329/1918
91	Sintoo Mia, Mississippi Bay	330/1918
92	[pencil caption only: male and female icons at the Temple of Attayayama[?], Yedo]	331/1918
93	The Oldest Cemetery in Nagasaki, Cremation	332/1918
94	[pencil caption only: Nagasaki Native town]	333/1918
95	[pencil caption only: A Japanese cottage]	334/1918
96	The Tycoon's Summer Gardens at Yedo	335/1918
97	[pencil caption only: The Tycoon's Summer Palace Yedo]	336/1918
98	[pencil caption only: Daibouts at Kamakura]	337/1918
99	[pencil caption only: Tycoon's Summer Palace Yedo]	338/1918

Appendix A (i)

V and A album X536: Current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies between original studio position and current position in bold; see Appendix A (ii)

100	[pencil caption only: Entrance to the British Legation, Yedo]	339/1918
101	[pencil caption only: American Legation Yedo]	340/1918

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
1	Yokohama	240/1918	1	Yokohama
2	View of the Harbour, Nagasaki	241/1918	2	View of the Harbour, Nagasaki
3	View of the Tokaido	242/1918	3	View of the Tokaido
4	The Tokaido	243/1918	4	The Tokaido
5	The Tokaido. Between Yokohama and Fujisawa	244/1918	5	The Tokaido. Between Yokohama and Fujisawa
6	[pencil caption only: Tocaido Road]	245/1918	6	[pencil caption only: Tocaido Road]
7	[pencil caption only: Tocaido Road]	246/1918	7	[pencil caption only: Tocaido Road]
8	Valley of Mayonashi	247/1918	8	Valley of Mayonashi
9	Mayonashi	248/1918	9	Mayonashi
10	View on the New Road – Mississippi Bay	249/1918	10	View on the New Road – Mississippi Bay
11	Main Street of Kanagawa	250/1918	11	Main Street of Kanagawa
12	The Temple of Hatchiman – Kamakura	251/1918	12	The Temple of Hatchiman – Kamakura
13	Kamakura	252/1918	13	Kamakura

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
14	View on the Stream – Nagasaki	253/1918	14	View on the Stream – Nagasaki
15	[blank]	254/1918	17	View on the Tokaido, The Spot Where Mr. Richardson was Murdered
16	Bronze Statue of Dai-Bouts, near Kamakura	255/1918	15	[blank]
17	The bronze statue of Dai-Bouts	256/1918	16	The bronze statue of Dai-Bouts
18	View on the Tokaido, The Spot Where Mr. Richardson was Murdered	257/1918	32	Satsuma's palace – Yedo
19	[blank]	258/1918	18	Bronze Statue of Dai-Bouts, near Kamakura
20	Fusi-Yama, from Moori-Yama	259/1918	19	Fusi-Yama, from Moori-Yama
21	Fusi-Yama, from the New Road	260/1918	20	Fusi-Yama, from the New Road
22	Garden at Harra	261/1918	21	Garden at Harra
23	View of Hakoni Village	262/1918	22	View of Hakoni Village
24	Garden and House of the High Priest of Fusi-Yama at Omia	263/1918	23	Garden and House of the High Priest of Fusi-Yama at Omia
25	Hakoni Lake	264/1918	24	Hakoni Lake

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
26	[blank]	265/1918	25	[blank]
27	Bronze Statue of Jeso Sama – Hakoni Lake	266/1918	26	Bronze Statue of Jeso Sama – Hakoni Lake
28	Garden at Hatta – between Odowara and Hakoni	267/1918	27	Garden at Hatta – between Odowara and Hakoni
29	[pencil caption only: Tycoon halting place on the Tocaïdo H[?]]	268/1918	28	[pencil caption only: Tycoon halting place on the Tocaïdo H[?]]
30	Desima	269/1918	29	Desima
31	General View of Nagasaki	270/1918	30	General View of Nagasaki
32	Bridge between Desima and Nagasaki	271/1918	31	Bridge between Desima and Nagasaki
33	Satsuma's palace – Yedo	272/1918	53	Kamakura
34	Time Bell at Yedo	273/1918	33	[blank]
35	Kamakura	274/1918	34	Kamakura
36	View in the Native Town – Nagasaki	275/1918	35	View in the Native Town – Nagasaki
37	[pencil caption only: Hakoni Lake]	276/1918	36	[pencil caption only: Hakoni Lake]
38	Pappenberg	277/1918	37	Pappenberg

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
39	Inosima	278/1918	38	Inosima
40	Great Bell at the Temple of Kobo-Daishi near Kawasaki	279/1918	39	Great Bell at the Temple of Kobo-Daishi near Kawasaki
41	Moats round the Tycoon's Palace – Yedo	280/1918	40	Moats round the Tycoon's Palace – Yedo
42	[pencil caption only: Moats round the Tycoon's Palace - Yedo]	281/1918	41	[pencil caption only: Moats round the Tycoon's Palace - Yedo]
43	Cascade at Jiu-Ni-So	282/1918	42	Cascade at Jiu-Ni-So
44	[pencil caption only: Haramacida]	283/1918	43	[pencil caption only: Haramacida]
45	Palace of Arima Sama – Yedo	284/1918	44	Palace of Arima Sama – Yedo
46	Japanese Cottage	285/1918	45	Japanese Cottage
47	Temple Street, Native Town, Nagasaki	286/1918	46	Temple Street, Native Town, Nagasaki
48	[pencil caption only: Aristocratic Cemetery]	287/1918	47	[pencil caption only: Aristocratic Cemetery]
49	[pencil caption only: a Japanese Junk and Boats]	288/1918	48	[pencil caption only: a Japanese Junk and Boats]
50	[pencil caption only: View to Kanasawa]	289/1918	49	[pencil caption only: View to Kanasawa]

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
51	Kanasawa	290/1918	50	Kanasawa
52	Temple of Asaxa, Yedo	291/1918	51	Temple of Asaxa, Yedo
53	Atango Yama, Yedo	292/1918	52	Atango Yama, Yedo
54	Kamakura	293/1918	54	Time Bell at Yedo
55	View near Kamakura where Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird were murdered	294/1918	55	View near Kamakura where Major Baldwin and Lieut. Bird were murdered
56	Kamakura – Temple of Hatchiman	295/1918	56	Kamakura – Temple of Hatchiman
57	Avenue near Homoco	296/1918	57	Avenue near Homoco
58	Yedo Bay	297/1918	58	Yedo Bay
59	Avenue at Hakoni	298/1918	59	Avenue at Hakoni
60	Tea Houses at Ogee – Yedo	299/1918	60	Tea Houses at Ogee – Yedo
61	[pencil caption only: View from the Tycoon's[?] Palace, Yedo]	300/1918	61	[pencil caption only: View from the Tycoon's[?] Palace, Yedo]
62	[pencil caption only: Temple Homolo[?]]	301/1918	62	[pencil caption only: Temple Homolo[?]]
63	[pencil caption only: View in the Inland Sea, Himosima]	302/1918	63	[pencil caption only: View in the Inland Sea, Himosima]

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
64	[pencil caption only: Temple of God of War, Simonoseki]	303/1918	64	[pencil caption only: Temple of God of War, Simonoseki]
65	Gateway and Temple of Jiu-Ni-So	304/1918	65	Gateway and Temple of Jiu-Ni-So
66	View at Eiyama	305/1918	66	View at Eiyama
67	View on the Stream – Nagasaki	306/1918	67	View on the Stream – Nagasaki
68	Belfry of a Temple	307/1918	68	Belfry of a Temple
69	[pencil caption only: Nagasaki from the Battery Hill]	308/1918	69	[pencil caption only: Nagasaki from the Battery Hill]
70	[pencil caption only: bridge on the Tocaïdo road]	309/1918	70	[pencil caption only: bridge on the Tocaïdo road]
71	[pencil caption only: Yokohama from the bluff]	310/1918	71	[pencil caption only: Yokohama from the bluff]
72	[pencil caption only: view in the valley[?] Nagasaki]	311/1918	72	[pencil caption only: view in the valley[?] Nagasaki]
73	[pencil caption only: Yasi[?] Migi on the road to Hachagi[?]]	312/1918	73	[pencil caption only: Yasi[?] Migi on the road to Hachagi[?]]

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
74	[pencil caption only: The Bridge of Meyangashi[?]]	313/1918	74	[pencil caption only: The Bridge of Meyangashi[?]]
75	[pencil caption only: Meyangashi[?]]	314/1918	75	[pencil caption only: Meyangashi[?]]
76	[pencil caption only: Meyangashi[?]]	315/1918	76	[pencil caption only: Meyangashi[?]]
77	View from the French Bluff	316/1918	77	View from the French Bluff
78	[pencil caption only: Fusiyama from the Bluff]	317/1918	78	[pencil caption only: Fusiyama from the Bluff]
79	[pencil caption only: View of the Valley]	318/1918	79	[pencil caption only: View of the Valley]
80	[pencil caption only: Kiyen[?] Palace, Yedo]	319/1918	80	[pencil caption only: Kiyen[?] Palace, Yedo]
81	[pencil caption only: Bridge of the Tycoon's Palace, Yedo]	320/1918	81	[pencil caption only: Bridge of the Tycoon's Palace, Yedo]
82	[pencil caption only: Kanagawa]	321/1918	82	[pencil caption only: Kanagawa]
83	[pencil caption only: Tea house at Oyama[?]]	322/1918	83	[pencil caption only: Tea house at Oyama[?]]
84	[pencil caption only: Moats at the Tycoon's Palace – Yedo]	323/1918	84	[pencil caption only: Moats at the Tycoon's Palace – Yedo]

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
85	[pencil caption only: Yokohama from the New Road]	324/1918	85	[pencil caption only: Yokohama from the New Road]
86	[pencil caption only: Gateway to the Tycoon's palace – Yedo]	325/1918	86	[pencil caption only: Gateway to the Tycoon's palace – Yedo]
87	[pencil caption only: The Bridge at the entrance to the town of Omia]	326/1918	87	[pencil caption only: The Bridge at the entrance to the town of Omia]
88	[pencil caption only: Japanese tea house in Yokohama, The resort of travellers from Yedo to see the foreign settlement]	327/1918	88	[pencil caption only: Japanese tea house in Yokohama, The resort of travellers from Yedo to see the foreign settlement]
89	[pencil caption only: cottage of a silk merchant in the Haohagi[?] road]	328/1918	89	[pencil caption only: cottage of a silk merchant in the Haohagi[?] road]
90	[pencil caption only: The town of Hasamacida]	329/1918	90	[pencil caption only: The town of Hasamacida]
91	Sintoo Mia, Mississippi Bay	330/1918	91	Sintoo Mia, Mississippi Bay
92	[pencil caption only: male and female icons at the Temple of Attayayama[?], Yedo]	331/1918	92	[pencil caption only: male and female icons at the Temple of Attayayama[?], Yedo]
93	The Oldest Cemetery in Nagasaki, Cremation	332/1918	93	The Oldest Cemetery in Nagasaki, Cremation

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

<u>Studio position</u>	<u>Studio facing album note</u>	<u>V&A cat. No.</u>	<u>Current position</u>	<u>Current facing caption</u>
94	[pencil caption only: Nagasaki Native town]	333/1918	94	[pencil caption only: Nagasaki Native town]
95	[pencil caption only: A Japanese cottage]	334/1918	95	[pencil caption only: A Japanese cottage]
96	The Tycoon's Summer Gardens at Yedo	335/1918	96	The Tycoon's Summer Gardens at Yedo
97	[pencil caption only: The Tycoon's Summer Palace Yedo]	336/1918	97	[pencil caption only: The Tycoon's Summer Palace Yedo]
98	[pencil caption only: Daibouts at Kamakura]	337/1918	98	[pencil caption only: Daibouts at Kamakura]
99	[pencil caption only: Tycoon's Summer Palace Yedo]	338/1918	99	[pencil caption only: Tycoon's Summer Palace Yedo]
100	[pencil caption only: Entrance to the British Legation, Yedo]	339/1918	100	[pencil caption only: Entrance to the British Legation, Yedo]
101	[pencil caption only: American Legation Yedo]	340/1918	101	[pencil caption only: American Legation Yedo]

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

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Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

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Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

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V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

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V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

Appendix A (ii)

V and A album X536: Original studio position and current position of photographs and album notes. Discrepancies in bold

Appendix B

Five examples of Beato's 1871 Korean studio albums, showing the variation in material included and album order

* indicates photograph not in album. Any variations between album photographs are marked in bold

<u>Original studio number</u>	<u>NMM Album 991</u>	<u>National Archives (USA) album</u>	<u>Getty Museum album</u>	<u>Bennett Album 1</u>	<u>Bennett Album 2</u>
1	*	*	2007.26.199.1	A-1-39	*
2	*	200 S-KWG-2	2007.26.199.2	A-1-40	*
3	*	200 S-KWG-3	2007.26.199.3	A-1-24	A-2-6
4	*	200 S-KWG-4	2007.26.199.4	A-1-1	*
5	*	200 S-KWG-5	2007.26.199.5	A-1-2	*
6	*	200 S-KWG-[7] [this was miscaptioned in Beato's studio; it is photograph 6]	2007.26.199.6	A-1-3	A-2-13
7	*	200 S-KWG-7	2007.26.199.7	A-1-4	A-2-22
8	*	200 S-KWG-8	2007.26.199.8	A-1-5	*
9	*	200 S-KWG-9	2007.26.199.9	A-1-6	A-2-16
10	*	200 S-KWG-10	2007.26.199.10	A-1-7	*
11	*	200 S-KWG-11	2007.26.199.11	A-1-8	A-2-11
12	p.5 verso	200 S-KWG-12 [this has studio no. 12A, but duplicates NMM 12]	*	A-1-9	A-2-15
12A	p.2	*	2007.26.199.12 [this is (12) in Getty Museum album, (12A) in NMM	*	*

Appendix B

Five examples of Beato's 1871 Korean studio albums, showing the variation in material included and album order

* indicates photograph not in album. Any variations between album photographs are marked in bold

<u>Original studio number</u>	<u>NMM Album 991</u>	<u>National Archives (USA) album</u>	<u>Getty Museum album</u>	<u>Bennett Album 1</u>	<u>Bennett Album 2</u>
13	*	200 S-KWG-13	2007.26.199.13	A-1-10	A-2-18
14	p.3	200 S-KWG-14	2007.26.199.14	A-1-11	A-2-19
15	*	200 S-KWG-15	2007.26.199.15	A-1-12	A-2-21
16	*	200 S-KWG-16	2007.26.199.16	A-1-13	*
17	p.4	200 S-KWG-17	2007.26.199.17	A-1-14	A-2-20
18	*	200 S-KWG-18	2007.26.199.18	A-1-15	A-2-12
19	*	200 S-KWG-19	2007.26.199.19	A-1-16	A-2-25
20	*	200 S-KWG-20	2007.26.199.20	A-1-36	A-2-23
21	*	200 S-KWG-21	2007.26.199.21	A-1-17	A-2-24
22	*	200 S-KWG-22	2007.26.199.22	*	*
22[A]	*	*	*	A-1-18	A-2-28
23	*	200 S-KWG-23	2007.26.199.23	A-1-19	*
24	*	200 S-KWG-24	2007.26.199.24	A-1-20	A-2-29
25	*	200 S-KWG-25	2007.26.199.25	A-1-21	*
26	*	200 S-KWG-26	2007.26.199.26	A-1-22	A-2-27
27	*	200 S-KWG-27	2007.26.199.27	A-1-23	A-2-26

Appendix B

Five examples of Beato's 1871 Korean studio albums, showing the variation in material included and album order

* indicates photograph not in album. Any variations between album photographs are marked in bold

<u>Original studio number</u>	<u>NMM Album 991</u>	<u>National Archives (USA) album</u>	<u>Getty Museum album</u>	<u>Bennett Album 1</u>	<u>Bennett Album 2</u>
28	p.5	200 S-KWG-28	2007.26.199.28	A-1-25	A-2-30
29	*	200 S-KWG-29	2007.26.199.29	A-1-26	A-2-33
30	p.6	200 S-KWG-30	2007.26.199.30	A-1-27	A-2-17
31	p.7	200 S-KWG-31	2007.26.199.31	A-1-28	A-2-5
32	p.8	200 S-KWG-32	2007.26.199.32	A-1-29	A-2-1
33	p.9 [this has studio no. 32 but it duplicates NA and Getty Museum 33]	200 S-KWG-33	2007.26.199.33	A-1-30	A-2-2
34	p.10	200 S-KWG-34	2007.26.199.34	A-1-31	A-2-3
35	p.11	200 S-KWG-35	2007.26.199.35	*	A-2-4
36	*	200 S-KWG-36	2007.26.199.36	*	*
37	*	200 S-KWG-37	2007.26.199.37	*	A-2-8
37[A]	*	*	*	A-1-32	*
38	p.12	*	2007.26.199.38	A-1-33	A-2-7
39	p.13	200 S-KWG-39	2007.26.199.39	A-1-34	A-2-9
40	p.1	200 S-KWG-40	2007.26.199.40	A-1-35	*
41	p.14	200 S-KWG-41	2007.26.199.41	A-1-41	*

Appendix B

Five examples of Beato's 1871 Korean studio albums, showing the variation in material included and album order

* indicates photograph not in album. Any variations between album photographs are marked in bold

<u>Original studio number</u>	<u>NMM Album 991</u>	<u>National Archives (USA) album</u>	<u>Getty Museum album</u>	<u>Bennett Album 1</u>	<u>Bennett Album 2</u>
42	p.15	200 S-KWG-42	2007.26.199.42	A-1-42 [missing at time album was viewed] *	
43	p.16	200 S-KWG-43	2007.26.199.43	A-1-37	*
44	p.17	*	2007.26.199.44	*	A-2-10
45	p.18	200 S-KWG-45	2007.26.199.45	A-1-38	A-2-14
46	*	*	2007.26.199.46	*	*
46A	*	200 S-KWG-46A	*	*	A-2-31
47	*	*	2007.26.199.47	*	A-2-32
48	*	200 S-KWG-48	2007.26.199.48	*	*

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
1	Not known	India: Calcutta and Delhi	1870s
3	C. R. E. Leslie	Scrapbook of naval career <i>Europe, Suez, Egypt</i>	c. 1870-85
4	Cdr L. Loraine	Relating to career of Loraine <i>USA, Canada, West Indies</i>	1867-74
5	G. A. Ballard	Relating to career of Ballard	1880-85
8	W. M. P. Hornby	Family album <i>Europe, Egypt</i>	1870s-80s
13	Not known	Glimpses of the World <i>India, Europe, Suez, West Indies</i>	1870s-80s
19	(Given to) A. S. Herschel	Presentation album <i>Europe, Britain</i>	1887
20	(Published by) W. Brewer	Shanghai panoramas <i>Shanghai Bund</i>	c. 1890
22	Adml F. G. D. Bedford	India and back with HRH the Prince of Wales, HMS Serapis <i>India, Ceylon and route (Malta, Athens, Alexandria etc)</i>	1875-76
23	Adml F. G. D. Bedford	HMS Shah, Pacific Station <i>South America, USA, Canada, Pacific</i>	1876-78

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
24	Adml F. G. D. Bedford	HMS Shah and HMS Triumph	1878-79
25	Adml F. G. D. Bedford	HMS Triumph <i>South America, USA, Canada, Pacific</i>	1879
26	Adml F. G. D. Bedford	Illustrated journal <i>South Africa</i>	1893-94
27	Adml F. G. D. Bedford	Illustrated journal <i>Africa</i>	1892-94
28	Adml F. G. D. Bedford	HMS St George <i>South Africa station</i>	1894-95
29	Paymaster F. North	Relating to career of North <i>Australasia, Africa, Asia, Suez</i>	c. 1864-78
30	Paymaster F. North	Relating to career of North <i>Australasia, Pacific</i>	c. 1884-93
56	Not known	Photographs taken on board HMS Macquarie	c. 1890s
57	A. S. J. Duckworth	Carte-de-visite album of Duckworth family	c. 1870
61	E. A. Dingley	The Yachtsman album <i>Photogravures (yachts) and Suez, Jamaica</i>	c. 1890s

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
70	A. Gray	Relating to career of Gray <i>Europe, Suez, Egypt</i>	1887
75	Not known	Carte-de-visite album, training vessel <i>HMS Indefatigable: GB</i>	c. 1880
106	Not known	Egyptian War, photographs of press engravings [NB this album is identical to 106A]	1881-82
106A	Not known	HMS Inconstant, Egyptian War, photographs of press engravings	1881-82
111	Not known	Topographic album <i>Europe, Suez, Asia</i>	1860s-90s
122	Not known	Cruise on the Midnight Sun <i>Europe (Scandinavian Fjords)</i>	c. 1890s
123	Adml R. N. Allenby	Relating to career of Allenby <i>Europe, Asia, Australasia, Pacific</i>	1880s
125	Not known	Topographic album <i>Europe, GB</i>	c. 1880
133	Cpt T. F. Hammill	H.M.S. Royal Sovereign <i>GB</i>	1891-94
134	(Photographs by) Sgt John Harrold RE	S. R. Napier's campaign in Abyssinia <i>Africa</i>	1867-68

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
143	(Given to) R-A E. G. Hulton	Presentation album from Dr Emil Riebeck <i>Gulf of Aden</i>	1880s-90s
144	Not known	Forcing of the Straits of Shimonoseki, Japan	1864
151	Cpt C. J. J. A. Gravener	Relating to career of Gravener <i>Europe, South America, USA, Canada, Pacific</i>	1870s
152	Surgeon D. W. S. Lightfoot	Relating to the career of Lightfoot <i>Turkey-Russian war 1877-78, Europe</i>	1877-1900
153	Surgeon D. W. S. Lightfoot	Relating to the career of Lightfoot <i>South America, USA, Canada</i>	1888-90
167	Paymaster F. North	Survey expedition on HMS Alert <i>South America, Pacific, Australia</i>	1878-82
170	Not known	The Mediterranean <i>Europe, Egypt (Alexandria)</i>	1882-85
171	Not known	The Mediterranean	1887-89
172	Not known	The Mediterranean	1887-89
173	Not known	The Mediterranean <i>Europe, Constantinople</i>	1888

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
174	Lt J. Hynes	HMS Challenger Expedition of Scientific Discovery 1872-76 <i>Europe, Suez, Africa, USA, Canada, West Indies, South America</i>	1873
175	Lt J. Hynes	HMS Challenger Expedition of Scientific Discovery 1872-76 <i>Africa, Australasia, Antarctic, Pacific, Asia</i>	1873-75
176	Lt J. Hynes	HMS Challenger Expedition of Scientific Discovery 1872-76 <i>Asia, Pacific, South America</i>	1875-76
179	(Given to) Sir H. G. Calcroft	Progress photographs of the new Lighthouse Works [...] Ceylon, erected by Woodford Pilkington Resident Engineer	1890
183	Cpt A. C. Woods	Japan and Korea <i>Asia, South America</i>	c. 1885-98
186	C. Staples	Survey expedition on HMS Alert <i>South America, Pacific, Australia</i>	1878-82
193	R-A H. J. Carr	Relating to the career of Carr <i>GB, Europe, South America, Canada, Constantinople</i>	1861-1890s
207	Not known	Carte-de-visite album: Royal Naval Engineers Club	1850s-60s
214	Cdr (Eng) H. Knapman	Relating to the career of Knapman <i>Africa, Asia, Suez</i>	1884-1909
231	I. B. R. Mayer	Austrian warships and arsenal	c. 1873

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
258	Flag Lt C. R. Keppel	Relating to the career of Keppel <i>Europe, Africa</i>	1887-88
259	Lt H. Adair	Relating to the career of Adair <i>Asia, Turkey, Europe</i>	c. 1877-88
264	C. R. Hicks	Relating to the career of Hicks <i>Suez, Egypt, Asia, Africa</i>	1885-89
268	Adml H. G. Andoe	Relating to the career of Andoe <i>Egypt (Alexandria), Europe, Africa</i>	c. 1880-82
272	M. A. M. Jackson	European views <i>GB, Europe</i>	c. 1880s-90s
280	W. M. P. Hornby	Carte-de-visite family album	1860s
282	Cpt T. F. Hammill	Relating to the career of Hammill <i>Europe, Egypt, Australasia, Asia, Turkey, South America, Canada, West Indies, GB</i>	1865-94
290, 291, 295, 298	Not known	Irrawaddy Flotilla Co. Ltd <i>Burma</i>	n. d.
310	Capt S. F. Card	Relating to the career of Card <i>Egypt, Mediterranean, Middle East</i>	1882-92

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
314	Adml G. P. W. Hope	Relating to the career of Hope <i>GB, Mediterranean, Africa, Suez</i>	c. 1886-90
325	Capt C. Edgell	Relating to the career of Edgell <i>Australia, Suez, Europe, GB</i>	c. 1880
336	Hippolyte Arnoux (ph)	Souvenir of the Suez Canal	1879
338	Cdr F. W. B. Jones	Lieut. F. W. B. Jones. R. N. <i>GB, Mediterranean</i>	c. 1862-74
339	Paymaster M. B. Williams	Relating to the career of Williams <i>Caribbean, Asia, Europe</i>	c. 1860-97
344	W. G. Stretton (ph)	Calcutta, India	1870s-80s
352	L. Fiorillo (ph)	Ruins of Alexandria, Egypt	1882
373	Not known	Topographic album of New Zealand	1860s
374	Not known	Topographic album of Australia <i>Australia, Malta</i>	1880s-1900
381	Cdr G. Hodgkinson	Relating to the career of Hodgkinson <i>Mediterranean, Africa, Australasia, Asia</i>	1860s
432	Pay Capt C. S. Inglis	Relating to the career of Inglis <i>South America, Africa, Suez</i>	c. 1880s-1900

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
433	Engineer D. W. Wymer	Chinese Maritime Customs <i>Photographs of China by Wymer</i>	1888-94
500	Not known	Passenger accommodation on P&O ships <i>P&O interiors (Later albums: 501, 503)</i>	1881-88
509	Not known	Souvenir (P&O Exhibits) Royal Naval Exhibition 1891	1891
511	Not known	British India Steam Navigation Co.	c. 1880s-90s
550	Not known	Topographic album, chiefly Suez Canal <i>Suez, Ceylon, Malta</i>	1870s-80s
563	Admiral A. A. C. Parr	British Arctic Expedition, photographs by Thomas Mitchell RN and George White RN (<i>Parr was Lt on this expedition</i>) (<i>See also album 1093 and MSS MCL/58</i>)	1875-76
651	Cpt M. T. Daniel	Relating to the career of Daniel <i>Mediterranean, India, Asia (Albums post-1890: 652, 653, 654)</i>	1894-1902
808	John Bushell	Voyage of scientific discovery, HMS Alert <i>Straits of Magellan, South America, Pacific</i> (<i>See also albums 167, 186</i>)	1878-82
822	Cpt S. W. A. H. Gray	Relating to the career of Gray <i>North America, South America, Europe, Africa, Asia</i>	1866-71

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
823	Cpt S. W. A. H. Gray	Relating to the career of Gray <i>Asia, West Indies, Canada, Europe</i>	1872-81
824	Cpt S. W. A. H. Gray	Relating to the career of Gray <i>Middle East, Europe, Egypt, Suez, India, Asia</i>	1880-82
825	Cpt S. W. A. H. Gray	Relating to the career of Gray <i>Asia, South America, Russia</i>	1882-88
826	Cpt S. W. A. H. Gray	Relating to the career of Gray <i>South America, Pacific, Egypt (Albums post-1890: 827, 828, 829)</i>	1884-99
856	Rev H. F. Backwell	Relating to the career of Backwell <i>Asia</i>	1890s
859	Cpt T. H. Tizard	Voyage of HMS Challenger <i>Europe, Pacific, South America, Canada, Africa, Australasia, Asia</i>	1872-76
920	H. S. Hillyar	Carte-de-visite portrait album	1860s-80s
987	Cpt R. H. Hilliard	Relating to the career of Hilliard <i>Egypt, Mediterranean, South America</i>	1863-85

Appendix C
Catalogue of all NMM albums consulted

<u>NMM album ref</u>	<u>Compiler</u>	<u>Contents</u>	<u>Date</u>
988	Cpt R. H. Hilliard	Relating to the career of Hilliard <i>India, Asia, Africa (Albums post-1890: 948-986, 989-990)</i>	1885-94
991	Felice Beato (ph)	Korean campaign	1871
999	J. Thomson	Great Eastern as a cable ship: Atlantic Telegraph Cable Machinery	1865-66
1093	King Edward VIII	British Arctic Expedition, photographs by Thomas Mitchell RN and George White RN (<i>See also album 563 and MSS MCL/58</i>)	1875-76
1149	Not known	La Platense Flotilla: River Plate <i>South America</i>	c. 1890s
1218	R. W. E. Middleton	Relating to the career of Middleton <i>Egypt, Suez, Africa</i>	1875-78
1245	Adml E. Bradford	Relating to the career of Bradford <i>Europe, Australia, Pacific, Asia</i>	c. 1875-80
1386	Not known	Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea	1891
1395	Not known	Cartes-de-visite album: Royal Navy and Royal Marine Officers	c. 1858-68
1402	Not known	Stereoscopic photographs: Franklin Relics	1859