



PhotoHistorian

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Programme 2019-2020

Tuesday 10 to Thursday 12 September 2019: The Great French Inventions Expedition: Lyon – Musée Lumière; Chalon-sur-Saône – Nicéphore Niépce house, and Niépce Museum.

Tuesday October 1: RPS visit to York at the invitation of the York Philosophical Society; open air exhibition of reproductions of the Hill and Adamson photographs taken at the British Association meeting in York, 1844; evening Lecture by Anne Lyden, Chief Curator of Photography, National Galleries of Scotland.

Saturday 26 October 2.00 to 4.30: Light on the Avon- the Photographic Heritage of Stratford-upon-Avon, at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust archives. Saturday 16 November: Sheffield Research Day. The morning will be devoted to James Watt and Photography while the afternoon includes papers on a variety of topics. Please see our website for more information and details of confirmed speakers. Please support this important event. Research is at the heart of what we do.

Tuesday 19 November: Cardiff – visit to National Museum of Wales to see the David Hurn Collection, with a talk about the collection by the photographer.

Thursday 6 February 2020: Colin Ford Lecture at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, given by Professor Larry Schaaf.

Please note that booking is required via the website for all events.

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The Editorial Board of *The PhotoHistorian* welcomes contributions from members and non-members of the Society. Submission should normally be made by email to the Chair of the Editorial Board at: PhotoHistorian@rps.org.

A guidance sheet for prospective contributors is available on the website. It explains how text and images should be supplied and provides a basic style sheet and conventions to be used within *The PhotoHistorian*. Papers should be up to 3000 words but longer pieces may be acceptable after prior consultation with the Chair of the Editorial Board. All papers should be accompanied by illustrative material. The deadlines for submission are as follows:

- Spring 15 March (publication 30 April)
- Summer 15 July (publication 31 August)
- Winter 15 November (publication 31 December)



The Historical Group of The Royal Photographic Society

www.rps.org.uk/historical

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The Royal Photographic Society was founded in January 1853 to 'promote the art and science of photography'.

The Historical Group was formed in 1972. Membership of the Group is open to all Society members at an additional cost of £20 per annum. This includes The PhotoHistorian which is published three times a year. Articles from back issues are available in digital form from the Secretary.

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Front cover: Reproduced from a portfolio of Hurley's images maintained by Dr R M Callender.

Back cover: Canada, 1989. A taste of what the stamps of Canada have to offer the photohistorian.

Editorial

The early decades of the 20th century were an intensely active time for Frank Hurley. In addition to establishing himself as a commercial photographer he was appointed as official photographer to two Polar expeditions: the Australian Antarctic Expedition of 1911 and the Imperial Antarctic Expedition of 1914. The latter, led by Ernest Shackleton, was extraordinarily difficult but was superbly documented by Hurley's magnificent still and movingimage photography. But no sooner had he returned from this arduous, taxing and dangerous sojourn in late 1916 than he enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force and was appointed Official War Photographer on the Western Front in 1917. Here he spent three months taking some of the best photographs of his career and regularly placing himself in dangerous situations. His photographs are some of the most iconic, evocative and heart breaking works of the First World War. Ron Callender's article is indeed overdue recognition of an outstanding war photographer and his work.

It seems that hardly a week passes without some major celebration or remembrance, so it is particularly pleasant to celebrate the 150th anniversary of our sister royal society, the Royal Philatelic Society, in whose excellent premises we have been fortunate to hold several Society and Group events. It is reassuring to note not only that photography has been used in the production of stamps almost from their introduction, but also that photographic images have made a regular appearance on stamps celebrating aspects of photography and significant photographers. Again we are indebted to Geoff Blackwell for the energy, commitment and enthusiasm he has devoted to producing this interesting and informative article.

It is always reassuring to welcome returning authors. We are delighted, therefore, that Alexander Guano has contributed another article, which extends the reach of his earlier one (in PH 180) on travel photography in the Tyrol in the late 19th century, to consider commercial photography of the region, aimed at the budding tourist market. It is intriguing now to reflect on how the photography of tourist hotspots has developed over the intervening century and a half. The highly saturated glossy images of the present day, tempting us to seek that 'perfect vacation', are far removed from William England's more measured and considered photographs. Perhaps, however, it is the 19th century photographer's work that is more likely to survive the judgement of time.

Our final item is an information-piece from Dr Mike Hallett, Chair of the Society's Research distinctions panel, explaining the reasons for the change of name from REAP (Research, Education, and Application of Photography) to the non-specific title of 'Research'. The intention is to widen the remit of the distinctions and to make it clear that the Society supports research into all aspects of photography, not simply photohistory.

The PhotoHistorian, meanwhile, remains the journal of the Historical Group. In this age of the ephemeral digital, the production of the published, hard copy, permanent, printed record has never been more important, not least for posterity. This applies to the history of photography as much as in any other area, and the editors of The PhotoHistorian therefore warmly encourage and welcome articles that demonstrate the high standards of research for which the journal is known.

We hope that you will find the content, scope and breadth of these articles both informative and enjoyable.

Donald Stewart and Monica Thorp

Photography and Philately

150 years, again: and some other anniversaries!!

Geoff Blackwell

In 1989 there were numerous celebrations marking the sesquicentenary of the introduction of photography to the public. More specifically, there were celebrations of the announcements of Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre's process to the Académie des Sciences by François Arago and of William Henry Fox Talbot's photogenic drawings to the Royal Institution. Some of the celebrations took the form of an issue of commemorative postage stamps. Subsequently, the Royal Photographic Society celebrated 150 years of life in 2003.

Now in 2019 we witness one of our sister Royal Societies celebrating its own 150th anniversary as the Royal Philatelic Society London initiates and supports a wide range of celebratory events. It is this anniversary that has prompted the author to revisit the celebration of photography in stamp issues, and to reflect on some other anniversary issues. The question is, why should that concern us? The answer is simple. The links between photography and philately can be traced back to the earliest days as philately and photography emerged into the public domain more or less simultaneously. While photography was announced by both Daguerre and Talbot in 1839, the legislation formally approving the issue of the first adhesive postage stamps in Great Britain also dates to that year. Furthermore, occurrences in 1840 established both as features of everyday life. That was the year that the first photographic studio opened in London, and in May 1840 the iconic penny black, the first adhesive postage stamp, was issued. The connection was almost immediate. Recent evidence comes in the form of a letter discovered in an auction lot for sale in the autumn of 2018. The author was alerted to the sale of the papers from the estate of Arthur Swaine Taylor (1806-1880) by Dr Michael Pritchard. The letter described below was examined by the author at the offices of the auctioneers in Bury St Edmunds.3 Thus we now know that some time in May 1840, Taylor wrote to Sir Rowland Hill (1795-1879), the postal reformer, enclosing some images of postage stamps made by Talbot's photogenic-drawing process.3 Although we cannot date his letter or trace the original images, the evidence lies in the letter, which does exist, in which Hill replies to Taylor, 'I have seen the very curious imitations of the small Postage Stamps which



Republic of Mali, 1983

you have produced by the photogenic art.'

Since that time, numerous countries have issued stamps in celebration of photography. Some marked the occasion by issuing stamps in 1989, exactly 150 years from the key announcements. In other instances, the celebration has been of the arrival of photography in that particular country, or the success of individual photographers. In Francophile countries the focus has frequently

been on Nicéphore Niépce. Several countries included what is generally accepted as the first photograph, the image made by Niépce at his farmhouse near Chalon sur Saône. The Republic of Mali, on the other hand, issued a stamp in 1983 marking 150 years since the death of Niépce.

A somewhat paradoxical situation arises in the stamps of Bermuda. In 1989 a set of six stamps were issued marking the 150th anniversary of photography. In notes accompanying the issue, the authorities explain that although the photographs



Bermuda, 1989, one of six anonymous images!

used were 'not 150 years old, but date from the 1860's, they represent some of the earliest known photographs'. Then, while supplying such details as the exact size of the stamp, down to the last hundredth of a millimetre (30.56 x 38.00 mm) the photographers are not identified. The designer, A D Theobald, is acknowledged, as is Tom Butterfield for 'supplying information', but the only account of the origins of the images is a credit to The International Museum of Photography, New York, for providing photographic material.5 It does seem ironic that none of the photographers are named. The answer may be that even the Museum does not know the identities, but if so, it prompts the obvious question as to why anonymous images should have been be used for this particularly significant anniversary.

Turkey, Russia, Finland and Sweden all issued stamps to mark the occasion but they all chose modern or stylised designs that celebrated the event without using old images. All communicate the message effectively by including some form of anonymous 'old camera' with bellows and tripod!



Turkey, 1989

Australia is one of the countries that chose to celebrate its own earliest photography. It was in 1841 that Captain Augustin Lucas (1804-1854) demonstrated the daguerreotype process by making an image of Bridge Street, Sydney.6

Four stamps were produced in 1991 using images by Wolfgang Sievers (1913-2007), Harold Cazneaux -1878-1953), Olive Cotton (1911-2003) and Max Dupain (1911-1992).

This paper is not, and does not seek to be, a catalogue of the postage stamps of all nations that were issued in celebration of the photographic sesquicentenary. That might be boring and would most probably be incomplete! One significant but deliberate omission is any reference to the stamps of Canada. It is hoped that given the significance of the work of



Australia, 1991 Harold Cazneaux



Australia, 1991 **Wolfgang Sievers**

Karsh, the use of his images on stamps both in Canada and elsewhere (including the famous Churchill portrait adopted for stamps in Great Britain), and the large number of stamps issued by Canada in celebration of photography, the Editor might find space for a further paper at some future date, addressing the topic of Canadian stamps and photography exclusively.7

What cannot be overlooked is the omission from the stamps of Great Britain of any significant acknowledgement of Talbot and his work. While his



Fox Talbot stamp booklet

story was told briefly on the covers of two stamps booklets, no commemorative stamps were issued. In 1999, as part of one of the many Millennium issues, a stamp was produced showing one of the early 'photographic experiments' attributed to Henry Fox-Talbot and this, for some, is a poor memorial for the man who gave us the positive/negative system of photography which survived in principle until the introduction of digital photography in the latter part of the 20th century.

From a philatelic perspective perhaps the most interesting anniversary in 2019 is the bicentenary of the birth of Queen Victoria, which prompts some discussion of early issues of stamps based on pho-



Newfoundland, 1870

tographs. As far as Great Britain was concerned, photography was ignored in the design of stamps until the turn of the century. Although the photogravure process was not used for stamp production until 1911 when new stamps were needed with the accession of King George V, photography was used in the preparation of earlier stamps. In describing in 1904 the sequence of events in the design of the stamps for King Edward VII, the then Prince of Wales explains that this involved an original sketch by Emil Füchs.⁸ Subsequently, a separate border was prepared by Messrs De La Rue, under Füchs' instructions. Photographs were taken of both the sketch and the border and 'the two prints so obtained were placed together, and a fresh photographic impression taken of the whole'." It is clear that at this early date photography was used to aid the designers and visualise the finished design, though the photography was only incidental.

But we need to return to the beginning! The 'penny black' was based on the design of the Wyon Medal, issued to commemorate the visit of Queen Victoria to the City of London in the year of her coronation.10 In subsequent issues the work of the engraver Joubert dominated.11 He provided a series of engravings referred to as the Diadem designs, which were used for stamps for Great Britain and a number of Commonwealth countries, some of which remained in use for many years. For example, The handsome British Honduras design of 1866, with Diadem VII, lasted for 25 years." However, the Victorian designers did not ignore the new science of photography, and the stamps of Newfoundland are of particular interest. When, in 1870, it was decided to illustrate a new issue with the portrait of the Queen, it was W & D Downey's13 portrait from 1860 that was adopted.

Looking at more recent usage of the early photographs, John Winchester's informative work reminds us that retouching photographs was an early art. 14 He points out that the portrait of Queen



W. & D. DOWNEY

PHOTOGRAPHERS



NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

TO THE QUEEN

W & D Downey, Queen Victoria, 1860. Carte de visite.



Walery's portrait 1897 (dark hair) RCIN 2105762

Victoria illustrated on the stamp issued in 2011, referencing her Diamond Jubilee, was in fact the Golden Jubilee photograph by Alexander Bassano (1829–1913). Although he is correct in this comment and suggests that 'The giveaway might have been that Victoria's hair still appeared quite dark, at 68 years old. A decade later it was more silvery, as befits a 78-year-old,' a look at some other contemporary portraits suggest that hair colour could easily be manipulated. Was using the earlier portrait actually an error, as suggested, or simply a design choice that flattered the Queen? In any case, these two portraits, both dated 1897, from the Royal Collection, tell their own story.



Hughes and Mullins's portrait 1897 (white hair) RCIN 2105778

Endnotes

- Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851), Dominique Françoise Jean Arago (1786-1853), William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877)
- The author is grateful to Ed Crichton of Messrs Lacy Scott and King LLP for facilitating the viewing.
- Hill had several formal roles but at this time he was 'attached to the Treasury with reference to the proposed alterations in the Post Office but had no direct control.' See D N Muir, Postal Reform and the Penny Black: A New Appreciation (London: National Postal Museum, 1990), p.63.
- Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833).
- This information is provided by means of a printed insert issued with the official First Day Cover dated 11 May 1989.
- https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/ artsets/51b88k (Accessed 12 May 2019)
- 7. Yousuf Karsh (1908-2002) (Karsh of Ottawa).
- Emil Fuchs, MVO, (1866-1929).
- HRH The Prince of Wales, Notes on the Postal Issues of the United Kingdom during the Present Reign, a paper read at a meeting of the Philatelic Society, London, held on 4 March 1904. (This paper was recently reproduced in a handbook accompanying an exhibition at The Royal Philatelic Society, 150th Anniversary Celebration: Her Majesty The Queen's and Past Presidents' Collection, London 11 April 2019. It was included in comments on items from the collection of Her Majesty The Queen, by Ian P Grieg FRPSL, FRPSV).
- 10. D N Muir, op. cit., (note 3), p. 150.
- Jean Ferdinand Joubert de la Ferté (1810-1884).

- John Easton, British Postage Stamps Design (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1943), p. 88.
- 13. The Downey brothers set up their photographic business in Newcastle in 1863 and opened a studio in London in 1872. They became prominent and secured numerous high profile clients, Matthews cites the *Photographic News* of 27 February 1885, which relates that Mr W Downey had 'photographed nearly every living crowned head of Europe, three Sultans of Turkey, two emperors of Russia and the whole of the English Royal Family down to Prince Henry of Battenburg'. See P Mathews, *The Album of Carte de Visite and Cabinet Portrait Photographs* 1854–1914 (London: Reedminster Publications, 1974) p. 40.
- J Winchester, 'Wrong Jubilee', in Stamp Magazine, May 2019, and 'The Queen's Head: Portraits of Queen Victoria', in Stamp Magazine, June 2019.

Geoff Blackwell ARPS

Geoff Blackwell is an independent researcher, writer and speaker. For some time he has been working on links between photography and postage stamps, and finds that his research into stamps frequently opens a window onto some interesting aspect of photography. He has been a member of the Historical Group Committee since 2009 and the Yorkshire Region Committee since earlier this year. Geoff is also a member of The Royal Philatelic Society, London.

The views of the Tyrol by William England 'Out-door photography is always very hard work [...], but photography amongst the Alps is hard work intensified.'

Alexander Guano

It was not until the 1990s that photohistorians began to be interested in William England again, although he had been one of the most significant Victorian stereo-photographers.3 In the wake of this renewed interest, a number of articles concentrating on particular aspects of his work were published.3 Only his journey to the Tyrol has not so far been mentioned in research literature - though his biography and his activities with the London Stereoscopic Company (LSC) have been addressed in various publications.4 In 1863, England withdrew from the LSC in order to start his own business, and undertook his first extensive journey into the Swiss Alps5 Rightly, these stereoscopic views - which he produced on behalf of, or by leave of, the British Alpine Club - became a huge commercial success.

The interesting thing about this is that England, like the Parisian photographer Ernest Lamy (1828-1900), did not himself place any advertisements drawing attention to his photographs in the relevant specialist periodicals or newspapers. On the contrary, from the description by Pritchard⁶ it becomes clear that not even a plate on his house, 7 St James's Square, Notting Hill, London, in which his business was situated from 1867 onwards, drew attention to the fact that it housed one of the biggest enterprises undertaking landscape photography in Europe. This shows that England was not aiming at drop-in-customers. The question then is, how did he publicise and sell his photographs throughout the world? The answer, most probably, is via a tight network of publishers. Labels and stamps of publishers from various countries are often found on England's photographs, including his views of the Tyrol.7

Playing another significant role in England's success was of course his confidence regarding what the general public wished to see – which in turn shows what target group he had in mind. Unlike Adolphe Braun (1812–77) and Aimé Civiale (1821–93), both of whom had visited Tyrol and South Tyrol a little earlier, England did not primarily intend to satisfy the alpinists or capture the Alps in a scientific manner but rather to provide mainstream tourists with romantic, picturesque views. The following

quotation from the Alpine Journal of 1866 shows this distinctly and unceremoniously:

The mountaineer, however, will for the present prefer Braun, who seems very often to take a view simply for the topographical detail included in it, so that a collection of his pictures contains a large store of information valuable to the intending climber. We can only express a hope that Mr. England will include in his next photographic tour visits to a few scenes which the hoof of the tourist's mule cannot reach.

This quotation expresses the irritation at what deep-rooted alpinists saw as a considerable nuisance – the tourists. Exactly at the time England visited Switzerland, Thomas Cook started organising his first tours to that country. And especially for these customers England's views proved to be perfect, since they primarily depicted destinations that could be reached by visitors without alpine experience or who were not especially fit. Thus, the views served not only for travel-preparation but also as mementos.

While paradoxically it was the alpinists and photographers themselves who often initiated and promoted the desire to travel to these regions in the first place by their descriptions and photographs in alpinist magazines, for most of the pure alpinists, and for photographers too, these masses of tourists were annoying.9

Setting out from Milan, Thomas Cook had aimed to visit the Tyrol as early as 1865, and subsequently to offer tours there; however, for some reason this project was postponed. Perhaps it was because the train connection between Bolzano and Innsbruck via the Brenner had not been completed by then that it was impractical to organise a tour by a large group of tourists. This may be supported by the fact that in the very year that the rail service was opened (1867), Cook offered the first organised tours to the Tyrol, which in turn may have been a motivation for William England to travel to the Tyrol the following year, in order to being able to offer the newest views from this region recently open to 'mass tourism'.¹⁰

COOK'S EXCURSIONIST, AND TOURIST ABVERTISEE, AUGUST 21, 1987.

GHEANED ASSISTED AS TO THE COODES

FROM LONDON AND PARIS.

TO SWITZERLAND, ITALY, THE TYROL, BAVARIA AND THE RHINE.

In compliance with the expressed wishes of energy Lodges and Combune, and taking according of the spenning of a new Line of Radional the Typesham Alp., Mr. CADOK has ARRANGED to CONDUCT A TOURIST PARTY through the host parts of SWITZERIAND, across the ALPS, to the chief Crims of Nonthern and Control Rady, including Milian, Florience, PISA, BOLDGONA, VENICE, VERONA, A., through the TYROL to ROTZEN, ANNIHOUCK, MUNICH, STUTTWART, FRANKFORT, the chief places on the BOHDERS OF THE BHINE, BEIDGERERG, EADEN, STREET, THE SECRET.

Laffest and Goutlemen may bear Lordon or my time previous to THERDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, on the evening of which does Mr. COOK will depart from Park for GENEVA and from thome will proved by LAEAANNE BERNE, INTERCACKEN, the BRUNIG, LUCERNE, U. LAKE OF LUCERNE, the ST. GOTHARD and COMO to MILAN. From Milan to FLORENCE PISA, BOLOGNA and PADUA is VENAUE. For Venic VENOVA BOTZEN, INNSHBUCK, Mr., is MUNICH.

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Tickets for Travelling and Morel accommodation through the varies Tour to 25 days, combeneding September 17th.

First Class Rollway and Stangers, including also Camillarea and Courier.

If any of the Tenrists leave the Party before the expiration of the Tou. so originable amount of the Tours will be returned.

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Money of all the countries required by the Tourists, will be provided, in exchange, by the Manager of the Excussion.

Parties starting from Paris only will have all Taxious at a reduction of 45% first class and 25% second than, from the farm quoted

The Buttle between Lamino and Paris will be see New haven and Dispos, except on Through Takers issued from Manchester and Licenseed, which may be by any of the Boston according to Freguesian of Milland through these from those places, the prices being as per programme.

All applications for Tickets to be much to the Thurst Office of Mr. Cook, at 98, First sevent, Lember 52, Market sevent Marchenses and the Angle-American Hotel, 15, Rice de la Valumbatic, Paris. Chapter, Park Office Orders, St., to be made payable to

THOS. COOK, 98, Fleet-street, London.

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MR OF PARCE PRESCRIPTION OF PERSONS

MRS. BROWN AT THE PARIS EXHIBITION.

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PORTRUSH HOTEL.

WILLIAM COLEMAN providing above a continuous of the patroneys which he grandely as hardelegas being received for we many years.

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W. C. Lawrence: Printed Published, and Solid by THOMAS COOK, St. Finetenest, Westernich, August 21, 1881.

Figure 1. Advertisment in Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser. 21 August 1867, for the first organised travel through the Tyrol. With kind permission of the Thomas Cook Archive.

The layout and design of England's series of Alpine views constitute the formula for success. Unlike Lamy, England did not manufacture a complete, finalised series of his views from any one region but, like Charles Soulier (1840–76), he produced several editions of commercially successful series and rearranged them afresh, adding in new views. In this way he addressed his clientele's passion for collecting, and maintained their interest. One can see this very well by looking at the series on Switzerland, and, on a slightly smaller scale, at the series on the Tyrol.

Of course, this alone would not have been enough for England's success if the photographs themselves had not been at the highest level from a technical point of view. Contemporary magazines are full of praise for the impressive quality of the photographs, and the views of the Tyrol evoked highly positive reactions from fellow specialists.¹¹

England's photographic equipment

When Auguste-Rosalie Bisson (1826–1900) took pictures of the summit of Mont Blanc in 1861, he needed 25 porters in order to transport the glass plates, the developing tent, lenses, camera and chemicals. In the years before William England's travel to the Tyrol, photographic technique had not developed particularly quickly; nonetheless, some travel photographers – among them England – possessed a certain inventive talent and resourceful-

ness. The long transport of heavy and cumbersome apparatus was not only inconvenient but also very expensive, and so they often devised technical developments themselves. It is therefore no wonder that William England needed far fewer attendants than Bisson or other colleagues like Civiale or Gustav Jägermayer 1834–1901).¹²

On a journey to America in 1859, William England had used a light 'pocket' camera, measuring 20 × 12 × 5 cm. With a weight of only half a kilogram, it was perfect for travelling, but there was one problem with this 'pocket' camera: it used only a single lens, which forced England, while taking a photograph, and in order to attain the desired stereo effect, to move precisely 33 cm sideways, on an exactly predefined line, before taking a second picture. The tent he carried with him for processing the plates on the spot, was also very lightweight.

In the *Photographic News* there is a small note concerning England's photographic equipment on his tour in the Tyrol:

Mr. England used for his views in the Tyrol a large variety of lenses, generally travelling with about twenty different lenses, in order to use precisely the length of focus and character of instrument which each subject requires.¹³

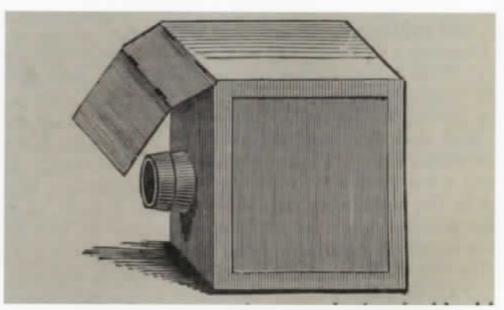
It is not difficult to find out which make of lenses or plates England used, because even though he placed no advertisements for his photographs, the manufacturers of photographic equipment did in-

deed advertise using his name. This further illustrates the status of the photographer. According to an advertisement of the Dallmeyer Company, England used a number of their lenses.¹⁴



Figure 2. William England's travellaboratory.

Figure 3. England's favourite travelling camera. It could be used for stereoscopic pictures or for whole-plate negatives with a simple arrangement for shading the lens. The front flap measures four inches and the middle flap about three, and the double hinge arrangement allows the peak to bend down right in front of the lens. With kind permission of the Getty Research Center.



This high number of lenses suggests that England was working with only one camera, which had interchangeable lenses that enabled the exposure of stereo-negatives as well as single plates. This was a definite advantage as it meant that only one camera was necessary in order to produce either stereo-views or cabinet-views. In fact, in the Photographic News there is a rough sketch of England's travel camera, with the curtain shutter that he invented himself in 1862. The article also describes England's tripod stand as being made of light bamboo.15

Precisely which camera England was using, however, cannot now be ascertained, though it certainly contained the curtain shutter that had been developed by him. England shared all his inventions and experiences with other colleagues, through articles in various photographic magazines.

As far as the plates are concerned, England apparently used W W Rouch's Collodions. This meant dealing with wet plates. In contrast to his practice on his previous travels, England did not use collodium dry plates on this journey. One reason might have been that on his travels through Germany that had taken place shortly beforehand, it appears that none of his photographs had been successful.16 However, England did not blame the plates themselves but the difficulty or impossibility of finding enough pure or distilled water.17

Nevertheless, the wet plates required a portable darkroom, which had to be carried along constantly. In the Photographisches Archiv of 1875,18 England's travelling darkroom is introduced. In contrast to Adolphe Braun's, or to that used on England's American journey, this was not a foldable tent but consisted of a table, a wooden frame of 65

cm length and 45 cm width, on to which the wooden side panels and front panel were attached by means of hinges. The roof was fixed onto the front panel and fitted over the side panels. On top of all this, the cloth was arranged. The entire construction could be set up in four quick movements and had a weight of about 10 kilograms. In the front panel was a protruding window of yellow glass, which let in sufficient light for work. On the small table, there was a bag for the silver bath and a cup made of waterproof fabric, connecting with a drainage pipe. The space was sufficient for pictures of 21×27 cm. This tiny laboratory was used not only for developing the photograph but also to get the wet plates operational in the first place. The difficulty with the wet collodion process is that the plate is sensitive only as long as it is wet or damp, which means that the photographer has only a few minutes in which to get the plate exposed and then immediately developed. The positive thing about it, however, is that the photographer sees immediately whether or not the photograph had been sucessful.

England's journey to the Tyrol

We do not have direct information from England himself as to when he undertook his journey to the Tyrol. Nonetheless, we do have hints about it from advertisements by publishers, articles in specialist journals of the time, in which the views of the Tyrol were being offered as a novelty at the beginning of the year 1869, and an entry in the guest-list of a local newspaper, which together enable us to declare 1868 as the year of William England's journey.19 It appears, therefore, that it took place four years after he first travelled to Switzerland and one year after his first trip to the Rhine region.

The travel route

Looking at the individual villages where England took photographs, one can see immediately that, for the most part, he visited the same places as Ernest Lamy was to go to one year later.30 However, this is not suprising since these regions were the tourists' 'hot spots' in the Tyrol of the time, suggesting that both men probably just followed the recommendations of a common travel guide or the descriptions of alpinists in articles in the Alpine Journal. What strikes the viewer immediately, though, when looking at England's entire photo series, is that, unlike with Lamy's, there are great geographical gaps and omissions between the depicted regions. Moreover, certain touristic highlights of the time, such as the Stilfser Joch with the Ortler or Meran, that were definitely visited by other travel photographers, were not captured photographically at all. In general, one can say that the South Tyrol was dealt with by England very quickly and sparsely: there are only four views in the series. One can only speculate as to the reasons. It might be possible that England did actually visit other valleys and villages lying between those he showed in the series, but that these pictures did not turn out well enough, or were not regarded as interesting enough by England, to be published. On the whole though, one can say that the numerical order of the series might have corresponded in theory with his travel route. This would not be very logical, however, because the series starts in Innsbruck, and then leads, via a short detour, to the entrance of the Stubaital and the beginning of the Wipptal into the Oberinntal, Ötztal and Venter Tal. From there it moves into the Zillertal, and then to Bolzano, in order to connect smoothly with Fernstein and Ausserfern, and from there it goes further on to Füssen in Bavaria. Thus the series undertakes a leap of 150 km from the Zillertal to Bolzano, and from there another leap of 200 km into the Ausserfern.21 Jens Ruchatz remarks in connection with the distribution of photographic series in the 19th century:

In the catalogue, the photographs are regularly arranged as 'series' and are numbered within each series. Such a series does not need to obey an internal logic nor originate with the same photographer; indeed it can even be open, contrary to the real definition of a series, and be continuously augmented by entirely new photographers.²²

This may also hold true here. Because we do not know where England entered the country, theoretically, a completely different travel route from the one suggested by the ordering of the series might have been possible.²³

The assumption that the series did not correspond to the travel route is substantiated by a second series on the Tyrol, which England published in large format. Some of the photographs differ slightly in what they depict, but basically do not show any villages or landscapes that were not already represented in the stereo-views. Only the order is different, so that the series ends not in the Ausserfern but with the view of Zell in the Zillerthal.

Like Lamy, England was not journeying on his own but, as on his travels in Switzerland, had a handful of companions, who can sometimes be found in his pictures as 'staffage'. Among these companions are not only assistants and local guides but translators, since the local inhabitants were rarely in command of languages such as English or French. More often though, one can find his first wife Rosalie Vernier in his views. She accompanied him on a number of his photographic excursions on the continent and took part in even the most difficult tours. Whether his oldest son Louis accompanied him on this journey, as he did in Switzerland, cannot be answered.

The series

As far as the tally of views of the stereo-series is concerned, this can be ascertained easily on the one hand but with difficulty on the other. Easily, as regards the number of images within the series and the advertisements of the publishers that it carried. Thus, both Kramer and Angerer in Vienna state that the stereo-series comprises 80 pictures.24 It only gets difficult when considering that England - as has been mentioned before - never regarded his series as finished but kept photographing and publishing new variations of the same motifs again and again (e.g. image 20 of the series) or varied the series itself, depending on the format in which it was available. Thus, shortly afterwards the publisher Oscar Kramer placed an advertisement, offering more than 40 new views from the Tyrol, in cabinet format.²⁵ Sophus Williams in Berlin offered 50 numbered views in large format.26 One has to assume, therefore, that England took many more pictures of the Tyrol than the serial numbers suggest.

Apart from the offical publishing houses that stated the copyright holder of each photograph on the cardboard divider, there was a number of publishers who sold the views under their own name without mentioning the actual copyright holder and photographer, thus falsely taking all the credit. Since the prints – especially from the publisher









Figure 4. The four variations of No 20 in the stereo-card-series. The sequence can be determined by the shadow. Variation 2 was used by the Innsbruck-based publisher Unterberger without mentioning the actual creator. Variations 1, 2 and 4 are in the possession of the author. Variation 3 with kind permission of the RKSM.



Figure 5. Le village de Sölden, Oetzthal, Tyrol, No 34 of the stereo- and carte-de-visite series and No 20 of the cabinetseries. In the possession oft he author.

Unterberger in Innsbruck – are of very high quality, one can assume that Unterberger acquired them officially – though perhaps without remuneration – and then inserted them into his own cardboard mounts. However, there was also the opposite variation: the *Photographic News* mentioned the case in which a photograph from the Tyrol (Grossglockner), which was not by England, was nonetheless put into one of his cardboard mounts. The trader most probably wanted to make commercial use of the reputation of the photographer.²⁷ Something which would be highly unimaginable today seems then to have been a legal grey area, especially given the varying legal systems in the respective countries.

At first sight, it may be surprising that the series, despite being called Tyrol', also contains a handful of views from Füssen in Bavaria, and its surroundings. However, since the name Tyrol' was often used as an umbrella term or synonym for the region of the eastern Alps, especially in English-speaking countries, it is understandable why the adjoining German region was incorporated into the series.²⁸

The title of the series is identical in all stereoviews and is given on one side in German and on the other in English. However, there are two variations: stereo images with the English picture-title on the right side and the German on the left, and vice versa (compare for example pictures 7 and 13). Moreover, there is a third variation, with views on

green cardboard (see no 41). In this variation, however, the picture title itself is always in French.

In the whole series on Switzerland by William England, there are only two pictures that may be defined as vues instantanées, that is, snapshots of the hustle and bustle of the cities. There is none at all in the Tyrol series. Even with the photographs of Innsbruck, England prefers peaceful subjects like the Stadtpark, the Hofkirche and panoramic views of the town. Even the Maria-Theresien-Straße was depicted almost empty of people. It is clear that the busy activity and fuss of the city did not appeal to the photographer. His attention was obviously directed toward the romantic-historic aspect of a town, and this also seems to have been desired by the clientèle, for the first tourists coming from crowded areas of Great Britain, France or Germany were already looking for unspoiled nature in the mountains of the Tyrol. This desire was sometimes combined with a slightly patronizing attitude, brought about by the common assumption of the travellers that they were coming from a civilized world to a 'non-civilized' country, thought this often added to the attractions of the journey.29 As with Lamy, but often unlike Braun, one can nearly always find staffage figures in England's work that enlivened the picture. On the one hand, they demonstrate the scale of the mountains, and on the other hand, function as representatives of the viewer in the landscape or in space.



Figure 6. Vue à Füssen, Bavière. No 75 of the stereo and carte-de-visite series. In the possession of the author.

As Heinz and Bridget Henisch have pointed out,

A mutually sustaining relationship between the camera and the tourist began to grow. It was an ideal partnership: travel stimulated photography, photography encouraged travel. The photographer took pictures of scenes that visitors were expected to see, and the tourist soon felt an irresistible compulsion to add those sites to his life-list, on the strength of photographs that had already shaped his expectations.³⁰

It was indeed travel photographers – especially Lamy, Clouzard and England – who played a significant role in the development of tourism in the Tyrol, since they made available images of the sights of the country throughout the western world by means of their photographs, thus increasing the demand for travel into this region and giving a great boost to tourism. However, while Clouzard, Lefort or Lachenal³¹ lacked the basic requirements to satisfy this need, Lamy and England were lucky enough to produce their series just as the basics had been established, so were able to catch the first rush of tourists – those who were able to travel in organised parties by means of the railway.

Endnotes

- 'Out-door photography is always very hard work if pursued systematically and not spasmodically, but photography amongst the Alps is hard work intensified'. Stephen Thompson, 'Photography Amongst the Alpine Passes of Switzerland and Italy', The British Journal of Photography, Liverpool, 2 December 1864, p. 485. Stephen Thompson was a contemporary and acquaintance of William England. Shortly before England, he travelled in Switzerland and published a series of his own, depicting views of Switzerland, Italy and the Tyrol (also called ,'Views of Switzerland, Italy and the Tyrol'). However, not a single image of the Tyrol itself has yet been found.
- See The PhotoHistorian, no. 180, Spring 2018.
- Joseph Henggeler, 'Stereo Emeralds. A Look at Ninteenth Century Irish Stereo Views', Stereoworld 1987, Volume 14, No. 1, p. 22 ff. Ian Jeffrey,: An American Journey. The Photography of William England (Munich; New York: Prestel, c.1999). Hartmut Wettmann, 'William England's 1867 Rhine Journey', Stereoworld Vol.29. No. 1, 2002, pp. 4–9. Gerard Bourgarel,:William England. 1863 exploration photographique de la Suisse (Pro Fribourg 149 Trimestriel 2005-IV, 2005). YvesBiselx, 'William England: Vues

- stéréoscopiques du Valais de 1863 et 1865' (AVIA, 2011). Peter Blair, William Englands's Views of Switzerland. A Collector's Guide, 2014. Gerlind-Anicia Lorch, 'Ferne Länder in 3-D. Die stereoskopische Reisefotografie von William
- England (ca. 1830-1896)' (University of Hamburg Dissertation. 2016).
- For England's biography see: John Hannavy (ed.): Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography ol I. A-I (New York: Routledge, 2007); Gerlind-Anicia Lorch, 'William England: Much Esteemed, Mostly Forgotten',: Stereo World Magazine. Vol 38, No 2 (2012). Gerlind-Anicia Lorch, op. cit., (note 2).
- It may be that Stephen Thompson advised England, whom he had met two years earlier and who not long previously had travelled in Switzerland but had only touched the Tyrol, since Thompson's pictures and some of those by England bear a strong similarity.
- H Baden Pritchard, The Studios of Europe. (New York: Anthony, 1882), pp. 14 ff.
- Examples are: Ulbricht and Kaders in Dresden, LSC in London, Unterberger in Innsbruck, Kramer in Vienna, PE Kappisser (probably the USA), GW Thorne (NY), HT Anthony (NY), Tiddy & Bro. in Charlotte (NC). Furthermore, there were views of the Tyrol used in the school textbook by W S Clark: Elements of Geography and History, Containing a Geography of the World and Historical Sketches of the Different Countries. Illustrated by Steroscopic Views. (Rockford, Illinois: Clark Lake & Co, 1871).
- And further: With his Swiss and Savoy views, England probably came the closest of all his contemporaries in capturing the sense of the picturesque in nineteenth-century landscape photography. [...] The picturesque stressed the significance of painting, and later photographing, scenery as it was, ennobling the landscape as opposed to scientifically observing it.' The Alpine Journal. A Record of Mountain Adventure and Scientific Observation. Vol. 2, 1865–1866 (London: Spottiswoode, 1866), p. 48.
- 9. Why do artists of all kinds so generally hate tourists? I confess to hating them too in a mild kind of way; but some recent writers of the painter class have emptied the vials of their wrath upon them. If I may hazard a theory it is the inevitable result of dissimilarity in the objects pursued. One means play, and the other work; and the artist has little sympathy with the man who has no higher object than mere amusement, while the tourist on the other hand is often a bore, and one very apt to

- put foolish, and even impertinent questions.' Stephen Thompson: op. cit. (note 1), p. 485.
- Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser, 21 August 1867.
- The views in the Tyrol lately taken by Mr. England, are so excellent that they cannot but add to that gentleman's high reputation', The Photographic News A weekly Record of the Progress of Photography, Vol. XII. London 20 November 1868, p. 560.
- 13. Op. cit. (note 11), p. 564.
- "Wide angle rectilinear lenses and quick-acting stereoscopic 'landscape' lenses especially constructed for Messrs. Wilson, England, Blanchard, Good etc', in The Year Book of Photography and Photographic News Almanac for 1869 (London: Piper & Carter, 1869).
- 15. Op. cit. (note 11), 9 April 1880, p. 171-172.
- 16. 'England hat ein paar hundert schöne Rheinbilder mit dem Collodiumverfahren gemacht, wieviele ihm aber misrathen sind erzählt er Niemanden, nur soviel steht fest dass er von seinen zahlreichen Aufnahmen in Heidelberg, im Siebengebirge (man hat ihn arbeiten sehen) nicht eine einzige publicirt hat, vermuthlich weil die Platten nichts taugten, und ebenso steht fest dass er auf seiner neuesten Reise durch Tyrol nur nass gearbeitet hat.' In: Photographische Mitteilungen. Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Förderung der Photographie. 6 Jg. Berlin 1870, pp. 292-293. In the exhibition catalogue of the 19th photographical exhibition of the French Photographic Society, all views on the Tyrol by England are explicitly labelled 'Collodium humide'. Catalogue de la neuvième exposition de la société française de Photographie 1. Mai au 31 Aout 1870. (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1870), p. 12. The wet-plate workers were legion. [...] those in the Tyrol by W. England'. The Photographic News. A weekly Record of the Progress of Photography. Vol. XII. (London, 4 December1868), p. 579.
- 'Mr. England abandoned the use of his dry process during the last summer's campaign not from imperfection in the process, but from the difficulty in getting water pure enough to

- work it satisfactorily.' Op. cit. (note 14), pp. 33-34, p. 102.
- Photographisches Archiv, Monatliche Berichte über den Fortschrift der Photographie (Berlin: Grieben, 1875), No. 309, p. 54.
- Zeitschrift des deutschen und österreichischen Alpenvereins von 1869, Photographische Correspondenz (Wien, 1869), p. 138. Österreichische Buchhändler-Correspondenz 20 April 1869, No. 12, p. 118, and 01 May.1869, No. 13, p. 128; also 1 June 1869, No. 16, p. 161.
- Guano, Alexander, 'Französische und englische Reisefotografen in Tirol vor 1870: das Beispiel Ernest Eleonor Pierre Lamy', in: Schlern Jg 91. Bozen: Athesia, 2017 Heft 3, S. 4-13. Alexander Guano, 'French and English Travel photographers in Tyrol before 1870. The example of Ernest Eleonor Pierre Lamy', The PhotoHistorian no. 180. (Bath: RPS, 2018) pp. 5-12.
- More surprising is the absence of views of Meran and the Stilfser Joch, since the most common route from Bolzano into the Oberinnthal and Ausserfern leads not via the Brenner but via the Reschenpass, on which route these two places are situated.
- Jens Ruchatz, 'Ein Foto kommt selten allein. Serielle Aspekte der Fotografie im 19. Jahrhundert', in: Fotogeschichte, Heft 68/69, Marburg 1998, p. 34.
- 23. It is rather improbable that the two Englishmen, mentioned in the following piece of news, are England and a companion of his: Two Englishmen, whom the ride on the horsedrawn omnibus from Bolzano to Trient for five guilder seems to be too expensive and who therefore intend to await the reopening of the train-service, have taken lease in a house next to the Talfer-river, right opposite the Rendelstein Tower. Because when they inspected the old building, which had recently precariously been undermined by the flowing water of the Talfer, one of them claimed it would collapse within a fortnight, whereupon the other one bet him 100 pounds that the tower would be standing another six weeks. After moving into the house, they very soon set up their photographic apparatus in the best situated room of that house in order to be on guard alternately day and night, in order to capture Rendelstein in the very moment of collapsing. At present, the tower is still standing," Der Deutsche Correspondent, Baltimore, 30 November 1868, p. 4.
- Österreichische Buchhändler-Correspondenz
 April 1869, No. 12, p. 118 and 01 May1869,
 No. 13, p.128. 1. Vue panoramique d'Innsbruck,

Tyrol, 2. vue generale d'Innsbruck et le Waldrast, Tyrol, 3. Vallee de l'Inn a Innsbruck, Tyrol, 4. unknown, 5. Interieur de l'Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Tyrol (1), 6. Interieur de l'Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Tyrol (2), 7. Le Tombeau de Maximilien dans l'Hofkirche, Tyrol, 8. unknown, 9. Statue médiéval en Bronze dans l'Hofkirche Innsbruck, Tyrol (1), 10. Statue médiéval en Bronze dans l'Hofkirche Innsbruck, Tyrol (2), 11. Statue médiéval en Bronze dans l'Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Tyrol (3), 12. Statue médiéval en Bronze dans l'Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Tyrol (4), 13. Statue médiéval en Bronze dans l'Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Tyrol (5), 14. Statue médiéval en Bronze dans l'Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Tyrol (6), 15. Statues de Joanna et Ferdinand d'Espagne près l'Hofkirche (1), 16. Statues de Joanna et Ferdinand d'Espagne près l'Hofkirche (2), 17. Statues de Charles de Bourgogne et Philippe le Bon dans l'Hofkirche à Innsbruck, Tyrol, 18. Le monument d'Hofer dans l'Hofkirche, Innsbruck, Tyrol, 19. L'arc de Triomphe à Innsbruck, Tyrol, 20. Vue de la Neustadt à Innsbruck, Tyrol, 21. Annasäule. Le monument dans la Neustadt, Innsbruck, Tyrol, 22. Vue dans le Hofgarten Innsbruck, Tyrol, 23. Le chateau d'Ambras, Innsbruck, Tyrol. 24. Le chateau du Weiherburg, Tyrol, 25. Le monastère des capuçins à Innsbruck, Tyrol. 26. Vue sur la route du Brenner, Tyrol (1), 27. Vue sur la route du Brenner, Tyrol (2). 28. Le Solstein vue de la route du Brenner, Tyrol. 29. Le Stubaythal, Tyrol. 30. Vue à Zirl dans l'Innthal, Tyrol. 31. Vue près de Oetz, Oetzthal, Tyrol. 32. Vue à Umhausen, Oetzthal, Tyrol. 33. La chute du Stuiben, Oetzthal, Tyrol. 34. Le village de Sölden, Oetzthal, Tyrol. 35. L'église de Sölden, Oetzthal, Tyrol. 36. Intérieur de l'église de Sölden, Oetzthal, Tyrol. 37. Le Oetzthal près de Sölden, Tyrol. 38. Le village de Lengenfeld, Oetzthal, Tyrol. 39. Vue dans le Timblerthal [Timblerthal = Timmelsjoch]. 40. Gorge de Timbler, Tyrol. 41. Le Timblerbach près de Gurgl, Tyrol, 42. Le village et le Glacier de Gurgl. Oetzthal, Tyrol. 43. Vue du Oetzthal Glacier, Tyrol (1). 44. Le Geisbergferner vu du Gurglthal, Tyrol, 45. Le Rothmooskogel et Gletcher du Gurgithal, Tyrol. 46. Vue sur le Ramoljoch, Tyrol. 47. Vue à Fend, Fenderthal, Tyrol. 48. Le Fenderthal et le Thalleitspitz, Tyrol. 49 Vue dans le Fenderthal, Tyrol. 50. Le village de Rofen dans le Rofenthal, Tyrol. 51. Vue sur le Hoher-Gletcher, Tyrol. 52. Crevasses dans le Hoher-Gletcher, Tyrol. 53. Le Schafkogel et le Hoher-gletcher vu de Niederthal, Tyrol. 54. Le

Stilluperbach, Zillerthal, Tyrol. 55. unknown, 56. unknown, 57. Le Hochsteig Zillerthal, Tyrol. 58. Le chateau Rungistein près de Bozen. Tyrol, 59. Le chateau de Ried dans le Sarnthal, près de Bozen, Tyrol. 60. Gorge dans le Sarnthal près de Bozen, Tyrol. 61. Panorama de Bozen, Tyrol. 62. Vue de Nassereit, Tyrol. 63. Vue de Fernstein, Ober Innthal, Tyrol. 64. Le lac de Fernstein, Ober Innthal, Tyrol. 65. Vue près de Fernstein, Ober Innthal, Tyrol. 66. Lermos, Tyrol (1), 67. L'eglise de Lermos, Tyrol. 68. Le Zugspitzee vu de Lermos, Tyrol. 69. Le Wetterstein Gebirge vu de Lermos, Tyrol. 70. Vue à Lermos, Tyrol. 71. Le Stuibenbach près Reutte. Tyrol. 72. Le Weissensee et le Miemingerberg, Tyrol, 73. Panorama de Füssen, Bavière, 74. Vue a Füssen, Bavière [1]. 75. Vue a Füssen, Bavière [2], 76. Le chateau de Füssen, Bavière. 77. Une rue a Füssen, Bavière. 78. L'église St. Magnus Füssen, Bavière. 79. Hohenschwangau près de Füssen, Tyrol. 80. Vue près de Füssen, Bavière.

- Österreichische Buchhändler-Correspondenz, 1 June 1869, No. 16, p. 161.
- Zeitschrift des deutschen und österreichischen Alpenvereins 1869, 2, Abt. Bibliographie 5, 81, Vue panoramique d'Innsbruck, 2. Vue générale d'Innsbruck et le Waldrast. 3. La Vallée de l'Inn près Innsbruck. 4.5. Vue dans l'Hofgarten, Innsbruck. 6. Vue sur l'Inn, Innsbruck. 7. L'Arc de Triomphe à Innsbruck, 8. Basrelief du monument d'Hofer dans l'Hofkirche, Innsbruck. 9. le Chateau d'Ambras, 10. Le Chateau de Weiherburg, 11. Vue de la Neustadt à Innsbruck. 12. Le Monastère des Capucins a Innsbruck. 13.14. Vue sur la route du Brenner, 15. Le Solstein vu de la route du Brenner, 16, Vue à Zirl dans l'Innthal. 17. Vue près de Oetz. 18. Vue à Umhausen. 19. La Chute du Stuiben. 20. Le Village de Sölden, 21. L'Eglise de Sölden, 22. Le Oetzthal près de Sölden. 23. Le Village de Lengenfeld. 24. Vue à Lengenfeld. 25. Le Timblerbach près de Gurgl. 26. Le Village et le Glacier de Gurgl. 27. Vue du Oetzthaler Glacier. 28. Le Geisbergferner vu du Gurglthal. 29. Le Rothmooskogl et le Gletscher du Gurglthal. 30.31. Vue sur le Ramoljoch. 32. Vue à Fend, Fenderthal. 33. Le Fenderthal et le Thalleitspitz. 34. Vue dans le Fenderthal, 35. Le Village de Rofen dans le Rofenthal. 36. Le Schalfkogl et le Hoher Gletscher vue du Niederthal. 37. Le Chateau Rungistein près de Bozen, 38. Panorama de Bozen, 39. Vue de Nassereit, 40. Vue de Fern-

- stein, 41. Le Lac de Fernstein, 42,43. Le Weissensee et le Miemingerberg. 44. Vue à Lermos. 45. L'Eglise de Lermos. 46. Le Zugspitze vu de Lermos, 47 and 48. Le Wetterstein -Gebirge vue de Lermos. 49. Le Stuibenbach près de Reutte. 50. Le Village de Zell, Zillerthal.
- 27. 'Mr. England, singularly enough, happened to be at hand at the moment - he was a guest at the house where we ourselves were a visitor - and straightway the pictures were carried to him. Naturally enough, the first idea was that Mr. England being a considerable traveller, might have forgotten the circumstance of his visit to the Gross Glockner. But no, the explanation simply was that the photographs were the work of another, who had affixed Mr. England's name to the mount; or, what was more likely, a supply of the English photographer's cards had been secured for the purpose of mounting the photographs.' Photographic News, 2 May 1879, p. 205.
- 28. Jim Ring, How the English made the Alps (London: Faber and Faber, 2011), p. 108.
- 29. The reports of the photographers and alpinists often brim over with laudable remarks on country and people, but also with comments on the backwardness and missing comforts they find here, which are to be traced back to the primitive nature of the country in contrast to the 'civilized world'.
- 30. Heinz K and Bridget A Henisch: The Photographic Experience 1839-1914. Images and Attitudes (Pennsylvania: Penn State University, 1994), p. 400; Lorch, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 57-58.
- 31. Athanase Clouzard (1829-1903); Pierre Henri Armand Lefort (1804-80); Jean Lachenal (dates unknown).

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Hurley's War R M Callender



Figure 1. In 2015, the basis of a talk by the author was to compare photographs of the Allies with the Axis equivalents and he acknowledged contributions from friends, neighbours and many others who responded on learning of the project.

nitially, I had no interest in Frank Hurley. In preparing a talk for the Symposium on War Photography,1 I had set up a matrix around which I began to assemble photographs of the Great War. The plan was to gather images of the allied forces and to match them with German equivalents; Figure 1 demonstrates the idea very well.2 Like a giant jigsaw, my collection grew but I was short of a colour photograph originating from France.3 A search on the reliable world wide web offered a colour image of a French army sergeant selling military souvenirs. I bought it.

I had expected to receive a single print, but a few days later the postman delivered a package, which contained a CD holding just over five thousand images. It took an age to locate my French sergeant, but I was content. Many months later, however, I returned to the CD to scrutinise the other image files and there it was - a portfolio of photographs by Frank Hurley.



Figure 2. The Paget plates which were used by Frank Hurley for his colour pictures necessitated exposing a panchromatic plate in contact with a light-coloured mosaic filter. After processing, a strong-coloured mosaic plate was affixed to the positive to create the colour sensation. The disparity between the two mosaics contributed to an enhanced plate speed, compared to, say, the Lumière Autochrome process.

I discovered more about James Francis [Frank] Hurley (1885-1962) while following the story of Paget colour plates. He had used them during Antarctic expeditions where he earned a reputation as an exceptional photographer, and where he practised his photography under extreme conditions. When he returned home to Australia in 1917, he learned of the war raging in Europe and, quite simply, he stated that he wanted to photograph the war. The Australian authorities did him a favour by appointing him to the rank of honorary-captain in the AIF (the Australian Imperial Forces). 'His rank gained him privileges relating to accommodation, transport and regimental duties. When he arrived in France in August 1917, he answered to Australia's official war correspondent, Captain Charles Bean, with whom he was to have serious quarrels.

Figure 3. In the Antarctic, Hurley often staged photographs of himself and his camera by enlisting the help of a former stowaway, who activated the shutter release.





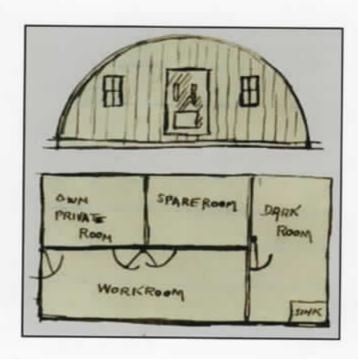
Figure 4. Frontispieces of Hurley's three war diaries in which he wrote entries every day, chronicling his activities in France, Belgium, Egypt, Palestine and London from 21st August 1917 to 13th August 1918.

The diaries

Following lengthy searches on the world wide web, I came on three diaries that Hurley had written, which covered his war experiences in France, Belgium, Egypt, Palestine and London from August 1917 to October 1918.⁴ The manuscript entries revealed much about the personality of the man and his dedication to photography. In many ways, the texts describing the risks he took help to validate his nickname of 'The Mad Photographer'.⁵

Of course, the entries cover a range of subjects. From time to time, Hurley records the photographs he took on special occasions, but many of his daily entries are descriptive passages, which express what he saw and encountered that day. These reveal his ability to visualise images in words and in camera, but they also display his professional outlook when he comes up against the authorities. He arrived in France, via London, in the late summer and many of his early observations describe the beauty of the scenery and the activities of the peasantry husbanding the grain with a sickle or making tiny furrows with a small push plow'.

Figure 5. Sketches 'lifted' from Hurley's diary entry of 1" September 1917 that introduces his staff members and describes his accommodation. For example, soon after his arrival, on 23 August 1917, he remarks on a journey by car – '... the ride out was delightful; the grain has all been harvested & now stands in sheaves ready for "ricking". ... The beautiful Avenued roadways and quaint villages ... offer pictures at every turn. Even aspects of the war appealed to his visual sense that day – The Battlefield in the night was a wonderful sight of star shells & flashes. The whole sky seemed a crescent of shimmering sheet lighting like illumination."



2 dether behow further slaughter hothing can withstand our artilling for when we cited taking a position, we simply blow it to pieces with he guns New seous it with infantry. 4th Ochber 191 Timetally at the our infantry attacked along an light will from after fired it had been battered by our artilley borrage. By a remarkable coincidence the Bock had also planned a counterattack at precisely the same hour : but our frightful barrage descended valsol. letty demoratived & alward annihil. ated his attacking line. Our infanty followed up in three waves, the harrage being lifted for each attent * carried all objectives the pens-

Figure 6. In his diary entry for 4th October 1917, Hurley describes an Allies' infantry attack along an eight mile front, which started 'punctually at 6am'. Later, he appended his negative references.



Figure 7. A typical composition by Hurley that features infantry moving forward to the front lines, but note that the string of packhorses on the skyline does not appear in some versions.

For the rest of the month, Hurley devoted his time to obtaining staff and negotiating the provision of suitable accommodation that included a private room and a spare room, plus a darkroom and a spacious workroom. He compliments himself – 'It was a good move insisting on securing a Captain's rank, for if I had not done so, it would have been practically impossible to move with freedom.' He was, however, exasperated when the Official Censor attempted to limit his freedom during an interview on 10 September 1917:

His duty is to examine all photographs likely to convey any information to the enemy seemingly in most cases a most absurd proceeding as the enemy is already aware of most if not all. ... I shuddered when I saw the careless manner in which negatives are handled and shuffled like packs of cards – to think that mine have to go through the same procedure! However I found the Censor sympathetic and I have no doubt that they can be taught how to handle them.

Just a few days earlier (5 September 1917) Hurley had identified a change in his own outlook when he wrote 'I'm afraid that I'm becoming callous to many of the extraordinary sights and sounds that take place around me.' Dispassionately he added, 'We again left for Ypres this morning'

Hurley's diaries describe his staff and companions. In an agreeable entry he writes, 'In one dugout, I had a pleasant surprise ... on meeting my old chum, Leslie Blake. We were both together in the Antarctic with Mawson.' Hurley's own staff consisted of 'Lieutenant Wilkins [who was in charge of record work], Sergeant Harrison, Field assistant, Martin, Darkroom & generally useful, Dick my driver & Harvey the batman. They are all an excellent crowd of fellows and enthusiastic.' But the entry adds one ominous note, 'I am learning Sergeant Harrison to act should occasion so arise to take my place.'10

There was one unwelcome colleague, Captain Charles Bean, the Australian Official War Correspondent. The nature of Hurley's commission meant that Bean was his superior, and from the



Figure 8. Hurley's famous interpretation of battle, which he called 'The Raid' and which he assembled from twelve negatives. A hand-coloured version was exhibited in Australia as 'Over the top', and copies were also available as picture-postcards.

outset there were arguments and disagreements. Bean maintained there was no place for photography in the war; he argued it was 'a construction of flimsy fake'. Bitterness between the two men lasted for months¹¹ and came to a crisis the following year when Hurley was staging an exhibition of photographs in London for propaganda purposes.

Exhibitions

Hurley took an active part in an exhibition of 'Australian Official War Pictures and Photographs' which opened in the Grafton Galleries, London. Although he was in Palestine at the beginning of the year, he came to London in May 1918 to liaise with the officer who had responsibility for the assembly of the exhibition, Captain Smart. Yet again, Hurley's diaries reveal a candour that conveys the professional outlook inherent in him. In order to portray a lasting impression of war in his photographs, Hurley had begun to produce prints from multiple negatives, but the authorities disapproved of this practice. The official attitude was that 'montage diminished the

documentary value' and his colleague and antagonist, Charles Bean, supported this view. Hurley appealed to the Chief of the Australian Forces. General Birdwood relented and permitted Hurley to exhibit six composite prints, which had to be captioned to explain the multiple printing.¹²

In a diary note, Hurley described one of the composites measuring twenty feet by fifteen feet, which he judged to be a 'sensational picture'. He wrote, Two waves of infantry are leaving the trenches in the thick of a barrage of Shells and shrapnel. A flight of Bombing Aeroplanes accompanies them. An enemy plane is burning in the foreground. The whole picture is realistic of battle, the atmospheric effects of battle smoke are particularly fine.'

The diaries, of course, also reveal Hurley's anguish and his severe criticism of the authorities. With the opening of the exhibition two days away, Hurley's entries were brief and to the point. On 22 May [1918] he wrote – 'Not a picture is yet hung & the show is to open on 24th!' The next day he encountered a major problem:

Ill fortune was with us this morning. A heavy thunderstorm overtook the van carrying the pictures from Ealing with the result that several of the large pictures stuck together. We had no end of trouble repairing the damage but the damage was barely noticeable. Extremely busy picture hanging and arranging the projection lantern. Heaven knows how things are going to be ready by the morrow.

Hurley's mood was no better the following day, when he said:

Worked until 1AM this morning and we managed to cover the walls chiefly with substitute pictures. I was particularly disgusted with the arrangements. Capt Smart who has them in hand utterly lacks powers of organisation & I have to thank him for more or less presenting the Exhibition. ... I was so disgusted that I did

not appear at the Official opening and I believe things were more or less mixed up by the projecting man for the Color work being missing. Here again Smart showed his incompetence by discovering at the last moment that the hall for projecting purposes had been previously engaged.

Once it was open to the public, Hurley pronounced, The exhibition is a magnificent display of Photographic technique & is well patronised. The Color plates are the great attraction – They are superb.' Hurley now began to consider 'that this set of pictures be sent to Australia & retained in the National collection of War pictures.'

However, in spite of the exhibition being open, there were still major problems inasmuch as the best of his pictures had yet to be hung. The largest picture an Episode during the battle of Zonnebeke measures about 21ft x 15ft is a combination of 12

Figure 9. In spite of his diaries recounting frequent clashes with authority and the impediments in completing the London exhibition, Hurley took time to stage a triumphant photograph featuring himself and one of his giant enlargements.





Figure 10. A Paget colour plate showing Hurley inspecting shells and ammunition, which he was forbidden to use in the London slide-shows because he was the featured subject. In his diary, he expressed frustration and anger at the authorities.

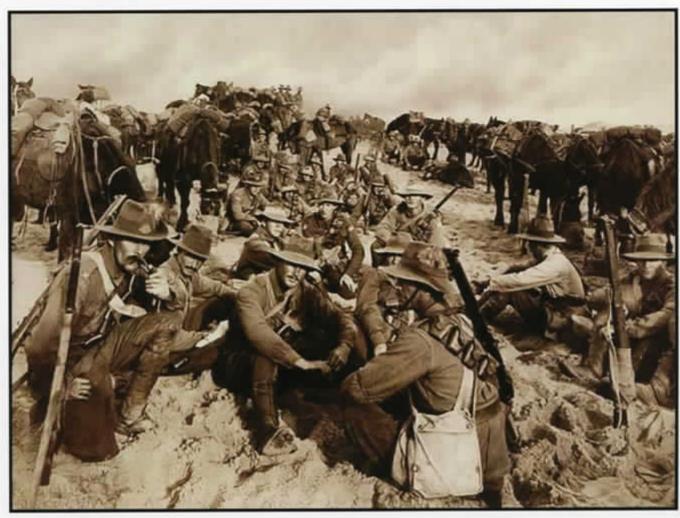


Figure 11. Commanding officers frequently asked Hurley to photograph their troops, and as an Australian, Hurley favoured the men of the A.I.F. (the Australian Imperial Force) which included the Australian Light Horse (a mounted regiment).



Figure 12. A well-composed photograph by Hurley which endeavours to portray the reality of war by concentrating his camera on the casualties. The arrangement and layout suggest Hurley gained the co-operation of the featured soldiers.

negatives." For the next three days, Hurley was 'occupied in completing the exhibition', when he was able to write, 'It is some recompense to see ones work shown to the masses and to receive favourable criticism after the risks and hardship I have taken and endured to secure negatives.' Nevertheless he was pleased. Over 600 people were attending each day and sometimes this rose to over 900.

Wretched news

In June1918, Hurley's former assistant in France, Lieutenant Hubert Wilkins, came over to see the exhibition, but he carried news that considerably upset Hurley. 'He was awarded the M.C.¹⁵ I received nothing', Hurley wrote on 3 June. 'I feel very much receiving no recognition as I took equal share & risk. ... There has been string pulling Wilkins certainly deserved the MC but there should have been no distinction.' The lack of recognition may have spurred Hurley's determination to exhibit his pic-

tures in Australia. He also met Captain Bean in London and wrote, 'I am urging that the present set of enlargements be sent to Australia for propaganda. No better medium could we possibly have.' In time, Hurley admitted he was up against a stone wall and by 11 July, he had resigned his commission and had been 'gazetted to the Reserve List.' 'It is good to be free once more & untrammelled by military dogma & discipline,' he wrote in his diary.

The next day [12 July 1918] he accepted an invitation to join two friends who were holidaying in Yorkshire and when he returned to London on 16 July, he met up with former colleagues and together they began to devise ways of exploiting the visual material each had taken on the Antarctic expeditions.¹⁷

Hurley had married in April 1918 and his wife was in Egypt. 18 Hurley was anxious to see her but was detained by the negotiations he was conducting on slide lectures, books and film editing. In addition he still maintained the strong wish for his photographs



Figure 13. The first aid station was established in an underground bunker but Hurley's ensuing photographs reveal his competence in working with flash and securing the co-operation of the participants.

to be exhibited in his native land, and pressed the military authorities and the High Commissioner to despatch the enlarged prints to Australia. Following the success of the London exhibition, however, the plan was to circulate them around towns in Britain. Expressing disgust, Hurley wrote in his diary, 'They are being sent around the provincial towns, starting with Blackwall [?] and Brighton !!!'

One Sunday morning (21 July), an exasperated Hurley went to Raines & Company, photographic printers, in Ealing 'where my private collection of loan pictures are being finished. They look magnificent. Afternoon Went to Hyde Park and lay down in the grass to get some fresh air and sunshine.' The print order was a bold move and Hurley probably paid for the work. That is to say, Hurley had secured a set of photographs for his personal use from the negatives that were retained by the authorities.¹⁹ He returned to Australia with his wife in 1919 and eventually he did manage to stage an exhibition of his war photographs. Kodak Australasia came to the rescue by printing and mounting a selection of

128 prints, which were displayed in the Kodak Salon in Sydney. Advertisements in the local papers emphasised it was an 'Exhibition in aid of the Red Cross' by 'Capt. Frank Hurley: late official photographer with the A.I.F.'

In a foreword to the exhibition catalogue, Hurley explained, 'I make no claim to pictorial merit; the pictures are records, and except for several of the larger ones are faithful reproductions of the scenes they portray. In order to convey accurate battle impressions, I have made several composite pictures, utilising a number of negatives for the purpose.' In conclusion, he acknowledged that 'sincere thanks are due to the members of the section who faced peril and hazard unswervingly, and who at all times applied themselves loyally and enthusiastically. We all did our best.'

CATALOGUE

AUSTRALIAN Official War Pictures and Photographs



Pictures of Gallipoli, the Western Front and Palestine.

-PRICE SIXPENCE.--

Figure 14. The catalogue for the exhibition of war photographs and drawings which was staged at London's Grafton Galleries in May 1918. The following year, Hurley arranged a personal exhibition in Sydney, Australia, and the authorities responded with an exhibition from many contributors in Melbourne in 1921.

Antarctica revisit

By this gesture, Hurley had achieved his objective and not only did he then concentrate on exploiting material from two earlier Antarctic expeditions in which he had taken part, but he returned to the Antarctic in 1929 with Sir Douglas Mawson, who had organised another international expedition.

At the age of 56, Hurley received the Order of the British Empire, which acknowledged war service in North Africa and the Middle East from 1940 to 1944.

Author's note.

In accumulating my library of pictures on Captain Francis Hurley, I have been aware of the need to observe the legal conditions relating to reproduction. Hurley's war photographs are taken from a collection purchased by me, the author. For figure 9, I received permission from the Imperial War Museum, and was given freedom to publish material from the State Library of New South Wales, provided it was more than one hundred years old. Figure 3 was copied from the internet and hopefully its reproduction in The PhotoHistorian fulfils the requirements of 'Fair Use'. On occasion, I utilised the copyright-tracing facility known as TinEye.

Endnotes

- The RPS Documentary & Visual Journalism Group, Symposium on War Photography, Winchester, 19 April 2015.
- 2. Ibid.
- A reliable contact had told me he believed Agfa was test-marketing two colour processes when war broke out. One batch was being distributed in France, and the other in Germany.
- On the world wide web, Frank Hurley's diaries are available in three different forms – in manuscript form, as typed pages that follow Hurley's pagination, and in an easy-to-read transcription initiated by the State Library of New South Wales. Access can be difficult.
- During his expedition with Shackleton to Antarctica, the first officer of the Endurance prophetically described Hurley as 'a warrior with a camera'.
- Very often such an entry carries an additional entry in red ink, which identifies his negative reference.
- France in autumn would be a great contrast to Hurley, who had been marooned in Antarctica one year previously.
- Only later Hurley experienced frustration in not being able to capture such images exactly as he wished with his camera.
- By this stage, Hurley had received all his photographic equipment and had been photographing action around a strategic location, known as Hill 60, which preceded the battle of Ypres. He says, 'We climbed the hill 60, where we had an awesome view over the Battlefield to the German lines. What an awful scene of desolation!'
- That is, in case he was killed in action, Hurley made a contingency plan that Harrison would take over.
- In September 1917, Hurley's diary records 'a great argument with 2 about combination pictures.' 'Am thoroughly convinced that it is impossible to secure effects – without resorting to composite pictures.'
- During the exhibition, these captions disappeared and the viewing public accepted the interpretation that Hurley intended.
- Hurley supervised the printing which was carried out by Raines & Co in Ealing and probably helped with the giant enlargements which covered walls in the galleries. See https://www.porthcawlandthegreatwar.com/davids-blog/photographic-propaganda-during-the-greatwar-part-3

- This photograph is usually described as 'The Raid' but the title 'Over the Top' was used in Australia and the photograph was presented in colour.
- During the Great War, the Military Cross was awarded to officers for exemplary gallantry, whereas non-commissioned ranks received the Military Medal. This differentiation has now changed.
- 16. It is easy to sympathise with Frank Hurley, but bear in mind that his commission was honorary and he had offended many people of authority while on military service. Also, his colleague Lieutenant Wilkins was a regular conscript with a commission.
- 17. Note that this was no easy matter. The success and ensuing publicity of the expeditions prompted serious questions on ownership of the material and how it should be utilised. With some justification, Hurley believed his photographs belonged to him.
- Antoinette Rosalind Leighton ('Tony' to Hurley)
 was an opera singer Hurley had met while returning to London from Palestine. After a romance of ten days, they were married.
- In 1919, the Australian War Records Section accepted over eleven thousand war negatives for safe keeping, in a collection that had been initiated by Hurley's war-time colleague, Charles Bean.
- The librarian at the State Library of New South Wales was helpful in providing material relating to the exhibition in Sydney, which was held in March 1919. Another exhibition of 261 war photographs was staged in Melbourne in 1921.

The author

Dr Ron Callender, FRPS, retired from full-time employment in 1990. After completing his degree, he tackled projects that relied on applied photography, such as the gold mines of North Wales, tracing sites to record standing stones, and visiting the Covenanters' battlefields. For a change, he enjoys researching obscure aspects of photographic history.

Research replaces REAP

Dr Michael Hallett ASICI FRPS, chair of the Research distinctions panel, talks about changes in this distinction, with relevance to the Historical Group.

Listorical Group was formed in 1972, it has had a close link with the Society's distinctions. Historically, REAP (Research, Education & Application of Photography) has been in its current form since 1990, though its genesis in education goes back to the early 1960s. The broader canvas of Research, as distinct from its predecessor, REAP, continues to emphasise our collaboration with the Historical Group. The Group's research days enhance the value of this collaboration.

This distinction encompasses research in the arts and sciences of photography. It also looks at how photography is considered, how its history is recorded and preserved, how photography is taught and how it is understood in its own terms and as part of wider visual and artistic culture.

Now, nearly 30 years later, it seems time to acknowledge the Society's strengths, and this is just what we have done.

- Research is an umbrella title which encompasses both the arts and the sciences, and represents the Society's mission statement. Making this change removes the negative belief that REAP represents only the history of photography.
- The Society is an 'educational charity' and a 'learned society' and the Research title accurately supports that.
- The Society's recent move to the Paintworks district of Bristol and its learning / education promotion can additionally be reflected and enhanced by this Research distinction. It draws and promotes academia into this new vision.
- With the introduction of Research, the standards reflected in REAP distinctions have not changed, though it does provide an opportunity to identify our continuing relationships with academia.
- In general an ARPS will have parallels with a bachelors award at 2.1 or above or a credit or above at a taught masters. A research masters (MPhil or equivalent) and above with a distinctive photography / imaging element in the research could lead to an FRPS. Appropriate evidence should be submitted to the panel.

A candidate with a successful PhD in an appropriate topic from a recognised university need only submit a c.500-word abstract along with the names of the university and any collaborating institution, names of supervisors and names of external examiners. As most PhD theses are now in the public domain, the link to that is advisory but will not be essential to the submission.

Besides me myself as the current chair, the panel includes Professor Afzal Ansary ASIS FRPS, David James ASICI FRPS, and Professor Andrea Liggins ASICI FRPS. Collectively we have knowledge and experience in the arts, the sciences and the photographic professions as well as higher education. If there is a body of work outside our collective knowledge we will bring in an advisor with that specialist knowledge. With our close links to the Creative Industries Qualification and the Imaging Scientist Qualification we have a library of knowledge at our fingertips. The equivalence and the maintenance of standards along with quality issues are essential to what we do. Again, collective knowledge of the Society's distinction and qualification processes and the requirements of further and higher education make our requirements safe. With REAP and now Research, the unexpected is more common than you would think.

Full details of our requirements are on the Society's website. These have been amended to bring us into line with the digital age. Normally, all material should be submitted as a good quality pdf file of less than 20mb that can be easily transmitted to panel members. Additionally one hard copy of the material, suitably bound/presented, should be sent to Headquarters. This is for reference during assessment, and if the application is successful, it will be retained for future reference. There is no specific word length beyond what is appropriate for such a body of work.

The early response to this change has brought in proposals that we would not otherwise have received. Already it raises queries as to whether applicants can deliver without some background in research methodology, and it may be that we are going to have to recommend online courses that offer initial support for the research process. For all of us, this is a continuous learning curve.

