

Philadelphia Naturalistic Photography
1865 — 1906



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Exhibition and Catalogue Prepared by
Mary Panzer

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Cover:

30. Robert S. Redfield, *Untitled (Marsh Landscape)*
Platinum, January 4, 1899

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Mary Panzer
Yale College, Class of 1976.

Philadelphia Naturalistic Photography

1865 – 1906

This new science is the free trade of art, and everyone may now be an artist in their spare moments without toiling for years over laborious mechanism. Its charm is, that the simplest student may become a discoverer and that his results may be always greater than he had expected. The most evanescent moments of life may be arrested. . . . Historical events will now be recorded with indisputable accuracy, and we shall no longer have to depend alone upon the verbal reports of ignorance or animosity.

Photography may be to Art what printing was to literature.¹

The ebullient optimism of the first decades of photography clearly informs these words of 1855. Born of science in an age of invention, serious photography would remain, well into the 1880s, the province of those who were able to master its technology. More often than not the photographer was trained in science and welcomed cameras as a modern addition to intellectual life.

Early photographic groups in America united men with an interest in the new, experimental technique.² They met to compare procedure, equipment and results just as their contemporaries assembled to collect moss, ferns and wildflowers, to examine slides under a microscope, study geological formations or probe the secrets of evolution by tracing anatomical development in fish and birds. Most of these enthusiastic naturalists had little formal training; unlike physics, mechanics or astronomy, natural science required no sophisticated mathematics or special vocabulary. Good work was within the reach of the skilled observer familiar with nature and simple laws of chemistry.

Similar skills aided photographers, whose success depended upon common scientific knowledge. No ready-mixed formulas, prepared negatives or light sensitive paper could be purchased. Early camera boxes were commissioned from cabinet makers; lenses, chemicals, glass plates, trays and other darkroom supplies were bought from dealers in “Philosophical Instruments” who also sold materials to their science-minded workers.³ Instruction often came through published experiments in British or German periodicals. Club members met to pool experience.

In the early 1860s when most groups began, photographs were made on paper from glass negatives, prepared with collodion emulsion; the emulsion remained sensitive to light only when it was wet, so negatives had to be prepared, exposed and developed without interruption. A photographer carried his chemicals, plates and a dark-tent wherever he took his camera. Procedures, though cumbersome, became fairly well defined and, with practice, a photographer could manage some kind of result. But fine work still needed strong motivation; for the professional, it was, of course, his fee. Others, amateurs for the most part, enjoyed scientific collaboration; the social atmosphere surrounding photographic endeavor became a kind of intellectual sport.⁴

Club members spent a great deal of time during the late 1860s and 70s trying to develop a sensitive dry plate which could be prepared in advance and processed at leisure. At last, in 1879, dry plates reached the commercial market. At the same time other technological changes—smaller, cheaper cameras and tripods, ready-made paper and pre-mixed chemicals—opened the field to a new generation of workers who photographed for pleasure rather than scientific or material profit. Camera clubs were overrun by amateurs seeking instruction and the opportunity to show their work. Exhibitions eventually brought attention to every kind of photographic achievement, including the capacity of photographs to capture beauty and express emotion.

In 1898, due in great part to the energies of Alfred Stieglitz, the general public finally acknowledged what photographers had known for decades—that a photograph was capable of expressing the unique vision of its maker.⁵ Stieglitz had mounted a vigorous campaign to win official acceptance from the world of Art. As long as photography remained the province of scientists, experimenters and hobbyists, Stieglitz could not exert the kind of leadership—or establish the standards—which would win photography a place among the fine arts, a goal shared by many photographers. Some of the most effective detractors from his campaign were neither the hobbyists nor those who had striven for wide public recognition, but a serious group which had been content to shine within photography's relatively circumscribed community. They made up the old-guard establishment and, for the most part, were left behind when power and influence in the photographic world shifted from the national network of camera clubs to New York and the Photo-Secession. Their photographs, however, remain, as do published records of their many accomplishments. This early establishment, with its many clubs, magazines, manufacturers and practitioners, found its leadership in the Photographic Society of Philadelphia.

Capital of the colonies and America's most sophisticated city for much of the nineteenth century, Philadelphia with its vigorous intellectual community was admired by such widely separated visitors as Alexis de

Tocqueville, Mrs. Trollope and Henry James.⁶ The city had earned its fine reputation by supporting such institutions as the American Philosophical Society (est. 1743), the Academy of Natural Sciences (est. 1812), the Franklin Institute (est. 1827) and the Library Company of Philadelphia (est. 1751). Patrons meantime had hopes of rewards apart from altruistic concern for civic good. They intended to support institutions which would promote American science—commonly defined as “useful knowledge”—in contrast to the abstract, intellectual fare taught in the universities of the Old World.⁷ Thus supporters of the Philadelphia scientific community were inspired by patriotism. They celebrated practical, even profitable, return from their investments as evidence of American superiority.

Photography, with many applications for its inherently pleasing images, flourished in Philadelphia as the “handmaid of science and art alike.”⁸ Photographic industries and commerce in images (which included stereographs, lantern slides, portraits and urban views) fueled a general climate of interest and enthusiasm. Prosperous Philadelphians who supported scientific research also endorsed photography as an inherently valuable skill. In 1862, thirty-three Philadelphians established the Photographic Society of Philadelphia—one of the first such clubs in America. Scientists, artists, professionals and amateurs united to share their interest in the medium.⁹

Philadelphians enjoyed the beauty as well as the usefulness of photographic images. Their philanthropy had been extended to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts since its founding in 1802.¹⁰ Photographic records of European painting, sculpture and architecture were popular among art students and those who journeyed abroad. But the capacity of a photograph itself to express an individual point of view, record a beautiful scene or convey an artist’s emotion also impressed observers.

Marcus Aurelius Root, a Philadelphia daguerreotypist, authored the first American history of photography, *The Camera and Pencil*, in 1864. Root claimed that “sun painting is *not* a mere *mechanical* process . . . it is one of the fine arts . . . and in its *capabilities* is, at least, the *full equal* of the others bearing this name.”¹¹ Root’s colleague from Boston, Albert Sands Southworth, advised portraitists that their medium had the capacity to enhance, even alter appearances.

Nature is not all to be represented as it is, but as it ought to be, and might possibly have been; and it is required of, and should be the aim of, the artist photographer to produce in the likeness the best possible character and finest expression of which that particular face or figure could ever have been capable.¹²

And Philadelphian John Moran, lone photographer in a family of distinguished painters, reminded his colleagues that photography “was a

more plastic art than was generally supposed.” He called attention to its qualities of light and shade, especially noting “the fine effects to be secured toward sunset when the light is weak and the imposing effects of masses of shadow with but little detail.”¹³ Under Moran’s guidance, a photographer would necessarily convey more information about his mood or “impression” than about the precise appearances or minute aspects of the subject at hand.

These comments, typical of the informed opinion among photographers, reached a wide audience through publication in the photographic press. British, French, German and American journals circulated widely from the 1850s onward and created a large, well-informed community of workers.¹⁴ The editors of these journals became important and powerful voices of opinion. In America, Edward L. Wilson reigned over the photographic scene as head of the *Philadelphia Photographer* from its founding in 1864 until the 1880s.¹⁵ Wilson printed technical advice, comments on new cameras, lenses and procedures, minutes from camera clubs across the country and editorials on style, taste and subject matter, all in the interest of promoting “blessed photography,” as a cause and a commodity. Each issue included a tipped-in photographic frontispiece, usually an albumen print made from an original negative by a Philadelphia studio. Wilson used this monthly specimen to promote new printing surfaces (like carbon or gravure); innovations in portraiture (new formats and frames, manufactured backgrounds); especially successful images (landscapes by S.R. Stoddard from Vermont, A. Bierstadt from Niagara Falls, Scottish professionals G.W. Wilson or J. Valentine, or local amateurs like John C. Browne); portraits by J.M. Mora, F. Gutekunst or the Shreiber studios; and expedition work from W.H. Jackson or Wilson’s own trips to Egypt. He not only published the *Philadelphia Photographer*, but also launched two other magazines (*The Photographic World* and *The Photographic Times*), published stereo views and lantern slides, and led the formation of two national photographic associations.¹⁶ Wilson even promoted the artistic side of photography, so admired by Root, Southworth and Moran, but with a pragmatic eye. “It will,” he advised his readers, “enable you to do your work more quickly, to get better results, better prices, better reputation as an artist and as a consequence a better income.”¹⁷

Heinrich Vogel, Wilson’s Berlin counterpart, devoted equal energy to the cause.¹⁸ Vogel came to photography as a scientist and researcher, not as a businessman, and his attitude toward his fellow colleagues differed accordingly. He wrote frequently for Wilson’s magazines, spoke before large audiences in Europe and influenced several generations of students from his position at the Berlin Polytechnik and as editor of *Die Photographische Mitteilung*.¹⁹ Wilson invited him to speak before the

National Photographer's Association in 1873. After his U.S. visit, Vogel summed up his utilitarian views:

Photography offers such a wonderfully interesting field to the investigator . . . a new science, photochemistry, owes to photography its origins. Still more important is our art in its application; it has become serviceable to every science, and even to trade and commerce; Everything which requires pictorial illustration, be it for pleasure, for instruction, or as an advertisement, avails itself of photography; it is a new way of writing which fixes the appearance and multiplies it, the same as the art of printing fixes thoughts.²⁰

In practice, however, experiments in photographic science, photographs in the service of science, or photographs made for pleasure differed more in description than in actual example. The landscape through an open window (Catalogue no. 4) made by John C. Browne in 1865 achieves a remarkable range of tones despite the difficulties posed by the lighting conditions and Browne's slow collodion plates. Interior detail, the delicate pattern of lace curtains and elegant figures outside on the lawn appear in a sure balanced composition that must have been a stunning technical feat. The success of this photograph is due as much to Browne's mastery of exposure, development and printing as to his mastery of composition and tonal values. Browne's skill enabled him to render the room, window and landscape as a continuous vista. His photographs acted as metaphors for the energy that fused science and art. Such harmony between the technical and the aesthetic characterized American photography until Philadelphia's celebration of America's Centennial in 1876.

From his powerful position as leader of the National Photographer's Association and editor of the *Philadelphia Photographer*, Edward Wilson raised over \$20,000 to build a pavilion devoted to photography at the Centennial.²¹ As a display of patriotism, promotion and commercial accomplishment, the exhibition was well suited to the occasion. The Centennial showed photography in every form: portrait cartes-de-visite and life-size images, mammoth landscapes and stereo views, booths from every manufacturer in America and foreign exhibits from Austria, England, France, Germany and Russia.²² An historical section, dramatizing photographic progress, culminated in the appearance of gelatine plates and lantern slides.

Lantern slide shows proved one of the most popular attractions of the fair.²³ Thanks to new brilliant light sources, fine, detailed images could be enlarged and projected before large audiences. The luminous images were frequently hand-colored, giving a life-like impression that visitors to the Centennial found enchanting. Photographic lantern slides had been shown since the 1850s when W. and F. Langenheim of Philadelphia first

experimented with projecting photographic positives made on glass before the inmates of the Institute for the Insane. Colored cartoons and instructional drawings were familiar to audiences by 1876 but only the new gas lamps could illuminate photographic detail to great satisfaction. The optical firm of W.Y. McAllister (Langenheim's successor) began marketing the slides with great success after the Fair. Thanks to their ingenuity (and the success of Daniel & Caspar Briggs, McAllister's competition) Philadelphia became the lantern slide capital of America.²⁴

Gelatine plates suspended light-sensitive material in a dry emulsion; other dry-plate formulas had recently come into use among innovative groups of amateurs, but at the time of the Centennial no American manufacturer had devised a practical method for wide distribution.²⁵ In 1879 Philadelphia manufacturer John Carbutt and New Yorker Albert Levy both had placed their dry plates on the market. The development had been long awaited by wet-plate practitioners; many new workers were lured to photography as a result of the great simplification of technique. Almost overnight, camera clubs found their membership changing. The Photographic Society of Philadelphia, once composed of "the most expert photographers and scientific men of the city," now included "skillful amateurs, who find in photography pleasant and healthful recreation; scientists who study the art experimentally; artists to whom the camera is a helpful tool, travelers who [make] pictorial records in all parts of the world, and professional photographers of the highest ability."²⁶ In Boston, New York, Chicago and other centers of photographic activity, the story was the same.

Most professionals eyed the new movement with suspicion, fearing their business would suffer.²⁷ Dr. Vogel, with characteristic generosity, argued in favor of the amateurs when he addressed the P.A.A. in 1883:

We have observed that we have nothing to fear from the amateurs, on the contrary, we are very much indebted to them. Who invented photography? An amateur, Daguerre. Who is the inventor of the printing process? An amateur, Talbot. Who invented the collodion process? An amateur, Archer . . . God bless the amateur!²⁸

Vogel believed that amateur enthusiasm would contribute to photography in another, less concrete but equally important way. He illustrated the point with an analogy to Germany's famed appreciation of music: "Why is Germany the most musical land of the world? Why do you find their music more appreciated than in any other part of the world? Because we have so many musical amateurs . . . amateurs elevate the art."²⁹

New technology made photography available to those who had little interest in technical experiments or photographic progress as an end in itself. Dryplates effectively separated the work of making an image from the choice of subject, composition and manipulation of a picture.

Amateurs turned their cameras on subjects that pleased them, ranging beyond the portraits, city views, and survey photographs professionals had found so profitable. Where professionals sold photographs of the new, exotic or unfamiliar, amateurs turned to subjects close at hand. But these images, however personal, were meant for public view. Whether as informative documents, demonstrations of expertise, or records of a particular experience, the amateur photographer intended to present his images before an audience. Amateurs worked for exhibition, finding reward through recognition from colleagues. (Eastman Kodak, with its famous slogan, "You Push the Button, We Do the Rest," sustained a different sort of photography intended for private viewing or entertainment alone. It simply did not qualify for exhibition where all work had to be done by the competing photographer.) Camera club members, who hoped to reach new viewers and independent practitioners, who sought opportunities to exhibit alongside their peers, discovered that established American exhibitions were open only to professionals. Their work required an audience, however, and soon amateur exhibitions arose to meet their demands.

One alternative forum was created in 1881 when a league of camera clubs formed the American Lantern Slide Interchange.³⁰ (Philadelphia professional William H. Rau was one of its most active supporters for over twenty years.) More ambitious photographers sent their prints to camera club exhibitions in Europe and Great Britain, where sophisticated taste and high technical standards insured tough competition for highly publicized awards. Exhibitors competed according to category: landscape, portrait, genre, lantern slides, enlargements and technical inventions were typical divisions. To each was assigned a separate medal, and on occasion a Grand Prize award was made. Americans seldom won recognition, but the few who did generally came from the long-established clubs in Boston, New York and Philadelphia.³¹

Photographs like Robert S. Redfield's *Near Salisbury Connecticut* (no. 31) and John G. Bullock's *Untitled (Boy on A Fence)* (no. 33) represent the kind of work which first won them recognition in Europe under categories of Genre and Landscape. Both men were skilled in science before turning to photography.³² They took advantage of the dry plate's relatively simple processing in order to devote their energies to capturing the beauty of familiar scenes. Family members, local landscape and architecture were their most frequent subjects. Human figures in the landscape established scale and invited the viewer to enter the scene. Man and nature were felt to exist in a harmony that was at once idyllic and a part of everyday experience. Redfield and Bullock brought deep familiarity with natural science to their representation of landscape. Their photographs reveal knowledge of the geological formation of a valley, the character of its vegetation and the consequent effect on the quality of

light, and that elusive characteristic called “atmosphere.” It never would occur to them to stage elaborate tableaux or imitate the subject matter of paintings as did many of their counterparts in Europe and especially England.

The young professional, Henry Troth, joined Bullock and Redfield in gaining European recognition for landscape work. Troth attempted to define the quality he admired as “somewhat akin to haze and . . . caused more or less by dampness. In England that condition is very much in evidence, and is largely responsible for the many fine landscape pictures made there.”³³

Troth undoubtedly was referring to models such as Peter Henry Emerson, H. P. Robinson, J. Valentine and G. W. Wilson whose photographs and criticism frequently appeared in American journals during the 1880s. These British masters provided models for practitioners throughout the world. They also made up a significant part of the competition in European contests. Victories like that of Robert S. Redfield in the 1890 lantern-slide group at Newcastle-on-Tyne must have been doubly satisfying, for Redfield bested Valentine for the prize.³⁴

The high technical standards maintained by these exhibitions, however, concealed serious limitations of an aesthetic character. For instance, a fairly sentimental notion of the beautiful photograph seemed to dominate many exhibitions which were burdened by endless renditions of sheep at pasture, children at play, and lonely farms at sunset. By contrast, the harmony which Redfield and Bullock sought to establish between figure and landscape often appeared unadventurous—but precisely because they did not overtly seek to emulate painting. These American landscapes of the 1880s and early 1890s aimed to involve and please the viewer on a more purely photographic level; the competition medals speak for their success in Europe.

Vogel's earlier predictions held true in Philadelphia, where widespread amateur interest swelled attendance at annual Photographic Society lantern-slide shows from nearly one hundred in 1873 to over eight hundred in 1884. Crowds were not deterred by the entrance fee imposed in 1884. Since such a large audience included many who were new to photography, only the best work was shown. But when they imposed a harsh system of selection, the committee felt justified by a sense of responsibility: “. . . it is a duty imposed upon the Society. If we do not do it, who shall?”³⁵

In 1886, the same logic inspired the Philadelphians to organize America's first International Exhibition of Photography. Although the Boston Camera Club had hosted national exhibitions of amateur work in 1883, 1884 and 1885, and the New York Society of Amateur Photographers had sponsored a national show in 1885, neither city attempted to emulate the standards established at the competitive

European exhibitions. In fact, they excluded European work and made liberal awards to local practitioners. The Photographic Society of Philadelphia believed that low standards and limited competition hampered the progress of American photography. Only the finest work deserved medals, and only the finest work could instruct less successful competitors. Yet, to encourage participation and to enhance the educational function of the exhibition, they guaranteed that all work submitted would find a place on the walls.³⁶

Browne, Bullock, Rau and Redfield formulated the exhibition plans. They invited amateurs as well as professionals to submit work, and guaranteed that every image sent would be hung. The simple array of categories used in Europe was expanded to give everyone an opportunity to excel. All manner of subjects, all sizes, all varieties of experience required a separate category (there was even a special section for work by ladies)—and each merited a separate award.³⁷ Where European exhibitions made do with six or ten competitive divisions, the Philadelphians created nearly fifty. On January 11, 1886, the exhibition opened, displaying over 1700 prints by 114 photographers from seventeen countries. The American International lured hundreds of visitors to the galleries and to the evening lantern-slide shows at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Local newspapers, national journals and the photographic press lauded organizers, participants and modern photography itself.³⁸

Many reviewers observed great changes since the photography pavilion at the Centennial. The *Public Ledger* reported that dry plates encouraged an expansion of subject matter and brought “a vast army of amateurs” to the field.³⁹

E. L. Wilson noticed a different development:

In every way, the old Society has cause for congratulation upon the success of this last enterprise. It was fine. And it was not all due to the “young blood” either. It is true that in several instances the work of some children of the older members hung there, but next to it were proofs that *pater familias* still held his own. . . . It was indeed a pleasant sight to see these old gray-beards . . . there in person, showing the same enthusiasm they did twenty-three years ago, when dear Guilloû, and David, and Wilcox, and Wenderoth were alive. Pleasanter, even, was it to see their bright children “trained up in the way they should go,” not only, but “going for” photography with all their might and main.⁴⁰

One of those gray beards belonged to Wilson. His protégé, William H. Rau, led the professional contingent of exhibitors. Another elder, John C. Browne, hung work alongside his student, John G. Bullock. Though Wilson missed his old friend Constant Guilloû, first president of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, Guilloû’s nephew (by marriage), Robert S. Redfield, exhibited the photographs and lantern slides which

had won him recognition in Europe. Rau, Bullock and Redfield in turn influenced others of their own generation. The Vaux family turned to Rau for lessons in printing their photographs of scientific exploration in the Canadian Rockies. Louise Deshong Woodbridge, a society matron from nearby Chester, photographed with "The Bullock Group" (which included Redfield and Henry Troth) on one of her early camera outings. J. Howard Blair, Clarence B. Moore and Eva L. Watson were also among that rising generation who used cameras to express their view of the world.⁴¹

Philadelphia's prominence accounts for the presence of work by the esteemed and controversial English photographer, Peter Henry Emerson, at the 1886 Exhibition. Only months after the Philadelphia Exhibition opened, Emerson delivered his landmark address on "Photography—a Pictorial Art" before the Royal Photographic Society.⁴² Emerson asserted that a "straight" photographic print could express emotion, and thus deserved the status of fine art. This shocked his audience, whose notions of photographic art had been formed by the work of H. P. Robinson and Oscar Reijlander. They combined negatives of figures, clouds and backgrounds forming tableaux just as contemporary painters combined sketches of models and landscapes to create finished pageants on canvas. The opposite photographic ideal was espoused by Emerson. He celebrated the artistic value of naturalistic landscapes and commonplace scenes, bringing an elaborate reading of the entire history of Western Art to his argument for the artistic value of plain, unretouched photographs. Emerson's views seemed to confirm what had long been practiced in Philadelphia by Browne and even his forerunners.

As we have seen, Emerson was by no means the first to endorse the expressive qualities of photography, but he revived the issue at a time when almost every technical problem had reached a satisfactory (if not final) solution. Above all, he challenged the dependence of photography's aesthetic standards on the accomplishments of technique and the artificial sentimentality of Victorian painting.

Emerson's ideas had little impact on the American photographic scene, although forward-looking Philadelphians were sympathetic to his work. With their long tradition of viewing photography as both an art and a science, the Philadelphians had developed a distinctive regional style—especially in landscape. The Delaware Valley was well-known for its beautiful scenery; excursions through the Delaware Water Gap, along the Wissahickon and up into the Pocono Mountains were popular among scientists, naturalists and nature lovers, many of whom brought their cameras along.⁴³ From the Amateur Exchange Club, and John Moran's work in the 1860s, through John C. Browne in the 1870s and John G. Bullock, Robert S. Redfield and Louise Deshong Woodbridge in the 1880s, one can trace a regional artistic style. It combined influences from

England and the expeditions in the American West with a local appreciation for nature. Most American photographers, however, were suspicious of self-conscious tradition and the temptation to place photography among the fine arts, as an editorial from *The Saint Louis and Canadian Photographer* explained:

Photography is . . . earthy, but not the less lovely on that account. The realm of Photography is realism. The realm of Art is idealism. . . . You may count on your fingers the few whose giant brain has borne them onward and upward to eminence as artists while hundreds, yea thousands of Photographers have excelled in the technique of their Art science. For one individual made happy by the works of these great masters, thousands and tens of thousands have rejoiced over the gift or possession of a photograph of a loved, absent or lost one. Let us therefore be content. Although Photography is not art, it has conferred a thousand-fold more happiness on mankind than Art ever did, or ever will.⁴⁴

Yet ambitious European and American amateurs who took up the camera as an expressive tool found little reward in joining “hundreds, yea thousands;” their goal was to capture a vision uniquely their own.

Camera clubs in Boston and New York were anxious to afford their own members the same exhibition opportunities enjoyed by Philadelphians. All agreed that America could not sustain three separate annual exhibitions; nor did any city have the requisite funds to mount an elaborate yearly display. New York’s Society of Amateur Photographers and the Boston Camera Club proposed that the three societies sponsor an annual exhibition to rotate among them.⁴⁵

In 1887 the Joint Annual Exhibition began and continued (with the exception of 1890) until 1894, starting in New York, and moving, in turn, to Boston and Philadelphia. Each year the Joint Annuals changed to accommodate the taste of the host society and to reflect the growing sophistication among the participants. Categories gradually diminished; in 1891 New York appointed artists Edward Bierstadt and Thomas Moran to the jury.⁴⁶ Not to be outdone, in 1892 Boston named a jury composed entirely of painters to reward “painter-photographs.” But results of the competition were not very satisfactory; the painters knew little about technical standards and their medals were applied “so freely to works of [such] . . . absurdly unequal merit that one gives up in despair . . . of learning . . . to appreciate the difference between “photographs” and “painter-photographs.”⁴⁷

The following year, Philadelphia, hosting the Sixth Joint Annual Exhibition, characteristically acknowledged “the art feature” as “but one of this many-sided science,” and continued,

. . . when the infinitely varied applications of photography are fully understood then, and not until then, can those who labor for the promotion of the art-science devote their efforts exclusively to one of its

features. In the meantime it should be considered and employed . . . as . . . the friend of science and art alike.⁴⁸

Thanks to Philadelphia's strong international reputation, excellent submissions arrived for the Sixth Joint Annual of 1893. The American Amateur Photographer called it "the finest exhibition of photographs ever seen in the United States . . . probably but once excelled in any country."⁴⁹ The reviewer was Alfred Stieglitz, who had recently returned from studies with Dr. Vogel in Berlin. Stieglitz also praised the fine management of the exhibition, "the lion's share of which fell upon Mr. Redfield's shoulders" as "well nigh perfection. . . . The great success in collecting the choicest foreign work is entirely due to his untiring energy and zeal in working for the cause of the improvement of the art of photography."⁵⁰ In 1892 both Redfield and Stieglitz figured in *The Cosmopolitan's* illustrated article on "The Leading Amateurs in Photography."⁵¹

The lone exhibition surpassing Philadelphia's Sixth Joint Annual was organized by the Vienna Camera Club in 1891. The Vienna Salon introduced a new competitive edge: now the photographers were required to submit their work to a jury in order to secure a place in the exhibition. There were no medals, admission was the only prize. Because this arrangement was modeled on recent exhibitions of new painting and sculpture, it went a long way toward bestowing the status of fine art on photography. Stieglitz helped organize American submissions to the Vienna Salon. Though few others passed the jury, John G. Bullock and Stieglitz did manage to exhibit.

The Vienna Salon remained an isolated incident until the fall of 1893, when a group of photographers seceded from the Royal Photographic Society in London and formed "The Linked Ring." Turning away from the older exhibition format, they modeled their own on the Vienna Salon.⁵² Linked-Ring founder George Davison reviewed the London Salon for the *American Amateur Photographer*, claiming it represented "death to the old style of show where mechanical, scientific and industrial exhibits are all jumbled together with very little distinction."⁵³ True to Davison's prophecy, New York's Seventh Joint Annual was a flop, and in 1895 Boston declined to host another. Stieglitz called on his colleagues to "start afresh with an Annual Photographic Salon to be run upon *strictest* lines. Abolish all medals and all prizes; the acceptance and hanging of a picture should be the honor."⁵⁴

But even artistic photographers resisted the changes for which Stieglitz called. One of these was Henry Troth, who enjoyed a popular following in Europe and a high reputation in Philadelphia's scientific circles for his landscapes and flower studies.⁵⁵ Troth's platinum prints of botanical specimens resembled fine aquatints as much as herbarium sheets. His rural and woodland views managed to capture the character of the ecology, or

“atmosphere,” which bound the many natural elements together. Troth’s prints appeared on display at the Chicago Camera Club, decorated a Botanical Society Scrapbook at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and illustrated a deluxe edition of poems by Sidney Lanier.⁵⁶ In a harmony of scientific and artistic aspirations reminiscent of John C. Browne, Troth satisfied many different audiences with apparent ease. As long as he could please and inform his viewers with one image, Troth (and his successful colleagues) felt little incentive to press for change.

By the early 1890s, forces outside the establishment began to exert some pressure on contented photographers. New half-tone reproductions had generated an unprecedented need for illustrations of all kinds, photographs among them. As Dr. Vogel had predicted, amateur enthusiasm paved the way for widespread acceptance of the medium. Editors of magazines like *Ainslee’s*, *The Century*, and the *Cosmopolitan* found their readers enjoyed photographs which conformed to popular tastes in art. Girls in Greek robes, sentimental genre scenes, and portraits of beautiful women sold magazines in whatever form they appeared. Frequent publication of such “artistic” photography called attention to its mediocre quality, yet the photographers (who knew better) were not as alarmed as the painters and illustrators (who resented the competition).

Without further evidence, one can only speculate why the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts decided to host a photographic salon. But by 1898, when the Academy invited Robert S. Redfield and the Photographic Society of Philadelphia to join in sponsoring the event, photography had already become a popular and profitable commercial art form. The Academy’s move to welcome photography as a fine art demonstrated a shrewd instinct for showmanship; it was neither as risky nor as controversial as publicity and later historians would suggest.⁵⁷ In hosting the salon, the Academy would bring this popular medium under its authority and welcome large audiences to its halls.

Despite the need for a new exhibition and his personal interest in the salon, Redfield recognized that the Academy’s invitation did not extend to all members of the Photographic Society. He immediately wrote to Stieglitz:

We consider that photography *as a fine art* has received a great compliment and it gives us an opportunity to get up an exhibition *purely on artistic lines* which I feel is hardly practicable for a society devoted to the *general* development of photography to hold by itself. At least the general support of its members would hardly be given to such an exhibition.⁵⁸

Redfield knew his membership well. Many had learned to photograph in the days of wet plates and had experimented with formulas for a dry emulsion long before they were available on the market. Others had received great recognition for their technical achievements: Alfred

Clements for his platinum paper, Frederic Ives for experiments with color projections, and Coleman Sellers for early work in animation. Artistic workers like Redfield and Bullock shared their colleagues' interest in "general" photography; all enjoyed wide reputations in their respective fields. The Society's high standards held its disparate factions together. Redfield recognized that a Salon devoted to fine art photography alone would disturb their union by its necessary exclusion of many local lights.

Eventually a committee of three (George Vaux, Jr., John G. Bullock and Redfield) met with Academy representative Harrison S. Morris to select a jury, design a catalogue and administer details of the competition. Notices announcing the Salon proclaimed its goal "... to show only such pictures produced by photography as may give distinct evidence of individual artistic feeling and execution." The jury consisted of photographers Redfield and Stieglitz, painters William Merritt Chase and Robert M. Vonnoh, and illustrator Alice Barber Stephens.⁵⁹ They managed to select 259 photographs from the over 1200 submitted.

Only four by Troth and one by Bullock passed the jury; the Vauxes did not succeed in exhibiting at all; Redfield, out of deference to his position on the jury submitted nothing, while Stieglitz showed the limit of ten prints permitted one artist.⁶⁰

When the Salon opened on October 21, 1898, no one was sure how the public would respond. The Academy even solicited a guarantee fund from members of the Photographic Society in case admission fees did not cover costs. But the Salon met enthusiasm from every quarter and was held on an extra two weeks to accommodate the crowds; over 16,000 attended. *Harper's Weekly* published an illustrated review by Charles H. Coffin who called it "an unqualified success." The New York Evening Post called it a "revelation."⁶¹

One new publication expressed reservations. *Camera Notes*, the journal of the Camera Club of New York, published the comments of amateur J. T. Keiley, who suggested that "much yet remains to be accomplished."⁶² Alfred Stieglitz edited this quarterly which included five gravure reproductions along with its reviews, essays, and reports from Europe. From its green Art Nouveau cover to its exacting editorial opinions, *Camera Notes* reflected the most modern taste and style. Though many other American magazines and journals reported on photography (there were over thirty such publications in 1900), none devoted themselves exclusively to photography as art. *Camera Notes* gave a new voice to the movement that had made its debut in the Philadelphia Salon.

In his zealous attempt to identify truly artistic photographs, Keiley cuttingly described the sort of work which did not qualify: "Badly fogged pictures . . . labeled and exhibited as Impressionistic studies," or "Snapshots of horses in motion in which one leg [has] been snapped off,"

or “Vulgarly elaborate pictures of ill-shaped females, undressed in mosquito netting, carving knife in hand for cimeter . . . and labeled ‘Judith’ . . .”⁶³ His last, vehement description neatly eliminated a whole school of work that followed the popular paintings of Bougereau. But the rest of Keiley’s rancor was aimed at straw men. He railed against accomplishments of a purely technical nature, like bullets stopped in mid-air, but these had always been assigned to appropriate categories, and none had been submitted to the jury in any case. Incompetent or “badly fogged” attempts had served no one’s interests and were rarely, if ever, singled out for awards. In fact, Keiley found it difficult to offer specific standards for artistic excellence and ultimately reverted to a recitation of works by those he admired—Stieglitz, newcomer Clarence H. White, and Boston aesthete F. Holland Day. What Keiley also objected to, however, was the Philadelphia naturalistic style itself. The jury had already rejected some of the photographs with which the present exhibition is concerned. These works were not so obviously “works of art” but stood closer to the straight photographic, less pretentious works already produced by Browne, Bullock and Redfield.

The Outlet of The Lake (no. 71) by Louise Deshong Woodbridge was rejected by the Salon Jury of 1898 and probably typifies the Philadelphia trends Keiley found wanting.⁶⁴ This peaceful view of a mountain lake, with its deep picture space, rapidly leads the eye along a diagonal axis, past border reeds, to a point of rest in a small boat. The smooth water, dark trees, distant mountains and soft rushes constitute a compendium of natural texture. The boat and its occupant provide scale and a focus for the viewer’s participation, setting off the range of shapes and tones of the whole. However, Woodbridge seems to have captured too much information in this diffuse, bright light. She calls attention to the water, mountains, vegetation and the lone passenger in the boat instead of confining her attention to the broad tonal effects of the composition. Although the descriptive elements would enable the frequent visitor to the White Mountains to identify the exact location of this view, the effect is to distract him from the photograph itself. Woodbridge, like Troth, was an accomplished botanist as well as a photographer; her passion for landscape obviously arose from her scientific training as well as from her artistic sensibilities. Unfortunately, this was clearly the kind of work the Salon committee wished to eliminate when they explained their goals in the preface to the catalogue:

A far greater general interest centres in a picture displaying artistic feeling and sentiment than in one which simply reproduces faithfully places or things in themselves interesting. In one the picture itself pleases—this is art, and can be produced by photography. In the other we think only of the object reproduced—this is only a photograph.⁶⁵

In 1899 Edmund Stirling joined the Salon Committee. An editor at the *Public Ledger*, Stirling and his wife had taken up photography in the 1890s. Stirling had followed the development of the Salon with a journalist's eye. He corresponded at length with Stieglitz and was among the first to inform him of the Committee's decision to name five photographers to the jury for 1899. One candidate was Bostonian F. Holland Day, but something about the appointment made Day uneasy. Day consulted Stieglitz, who mirrored his colleague's discontent in his reply:

As for Philadelphia, I'm at a loss what to say. Stirling (one of the Committee) was here in New York last Saturday and had a long confab with the two K's and myself—our, including yours and White's positions were made clear to him. He has nothing to do with the Salon directly, and I am afraid he imagines everyone as honest as himself and misplaces confidence at times—I like you as a juror but Miss Johnston! and even Troth. Why not Day to represent the East, Käsebier the Middle States and White the West. Of course that would leave Philadelphia out, which would be a good thing for obvious reasons . . . I tell you this in confidence, having kept it quiet all along, as I did not care to put the Philadelphians in a false light. But seeing as how they are going ahead again, I can not refrain from letting you know so important a matter. I am afraid Redfield is not absolutely trustworthy.—Nevertheless, it may be a good thing for you to accept so as to prevent the thing from being mediocre . . . you see, I am put in a very delicate position and can impossibly move—I don't want to run the exhibitions, but neither can I show any enthusiasm for something which is apparently started in a slovenly manner. *That is putting it mildly.*⁶⁶

Day did serve on the 1899 Salon jury along with Washington professional Frances Benjamin Johnston, New York portraitist and intimate of Stieglitz, Gertrude Käsebier, Henry Troth, and Ohio amateur Clarence H. White. They judged only the submissions from America, while European work was solicited outright (doubtless part of the procedure Stieglitz found so aggravating; he was impatient, too, with the style of hanging and framing, the design of the catalogue and the Philadelphia society's overall attempts to soften the impact of the Salon. Out of 962 prints submitted, 182 passed the jury and 168 more arrived from Europe.⁶⁷

Reviewers found the Second Salon less enchanting.⁶⁸ In a typical assessment, Wilson called the new, dark-toned carbon and platinum prints depressing and Salon rhetoric dull: "photography takes itself too seriously nowadays . . . it has lost its old-time cheerfulness of color and tone."⁶⁹ But art critic Charles H. Caffin detected a change for the better. Whereas the first Salon "seemed to have started with the scientific point of view . . . trying to superadd an artistic quality . . .," the second placed "artistic knowledge and purpose . . . uppermost [while] scientific and manipulative skill have been brought into subordination to them."⁷⁰

New techniques—like gum bichromate printing, glycerine brushed on to slow development, rough textured paper, and scratched, altered negatives—had been imported from Europe and were gaining popularity. All successfully obscured photographic detail in order to emphasize the uniqueness of each artist's work. Redfield's *Marsh landscape* (no. 30) and Eva L. Watson's *Portrait of Robert S. Redfield* (no. 63) are examples of the way the photographer's vision began to take precedence over his subjects. Redfield's marsh is a moody, soft composition of an anonymous place. The contrast between water, grass and sky does not reflect the expected relationships between tonal values. It has become Redfield's record of a private vision, set down by means of photography. Similarly, Watson's portrait of Redfield does not capture a clear set of features, but a mood and a stance within a stylized composition. Watson's impression of her colleague mirrors its subject and its maker simultaneously.

But as the artistic point of view grew better defined, so did its opposition. Photographers in the more traditional school whose sharp, informative work had been twice refused (despite technical proficiency and previous success) openly questioned the jury's authority to confine the Salon to one style only. Philadelphian Charles L. Mitchell, M.D., a photochemist by profession, appointed himself spokesman against the new regime. He had been named one of the "Leading Amateurs" by *The Cosmopolitan* in 1892, and his work repeatedly won prizes at the Joint Exhibitions, but he could not gain entry to the Salon.⁷¹ Mitchell began his campaign at home, as Edmund Stirling wrote to Stieglitz in July, 1900:

We are likely to have a fight on our hands this fall in our own society—that is some of the discontented ones are talking very loud and one of them, Dr. C. L. Mitchell, has written two very insulting letters to Redfield on the subject of the "experiments and failures of a lot of cranks" which we have chosen for our Wall Displays, and he threatens to disrupt the Society if we don't be catholic in our methods and suppress all interest in anything but "*pure Photography*." I hope we shall not get into an undignified squabble. We are pretty strong and so far the advantage is with us.⁷²

As Redfield had foreseen, the general disposition of his membership resisted domination by the friends of Fine Art photography.

The wall displays Mitchell scorned showed work by Frank Eugene, Gertrude Käsebier, J. T. Keiley and F. Holland Day among others.⁷³ When Eugene, Käsebier and White were appointed to the jury of the Third Salon in 1900, Mitchell must have grown more bitter still. No more pleasing were the appointments of local portraitist Eva L. Watson, a recent and devoted practitioner of the Fine Art style, and Alfred Stieglitz as the fourth and fifth jurors.

This time the jury's verdict came through with stunning force. Not only did the jurors agree on selections, their own work was exhibited as

justification for their choices. Critical reactions to the show expressed various degrees of dismay.

In the Boston-based journal *Photo Era*, Osborne I. Yellot confessed:

I could not help feeling that my disappointment was shared by the public generally . . . individual pictures were good but over all there hung like a pall an air of gloom, of despondency, almost of decadence. There was a dreary monotony about the tier on tier of weak, fuzzy washed-out looking photographs which listlessly stared at me from gloomy frames as only a weak, fuzzy, washed-out looking photograph can stare.⁷⁴

Anthony's, a magazine directed at a professional audience, eyed the new movement with skepticism because it seemed to be based only upon negative ideas:

. . . if their work is totally unlike the usual thing, why then it must be "artistic." Therefore, as cardinal sins in a photograph are likeness, and clearness and detail, they get rid of these.⁷⁵

Even stalwart Keiley admitted to a "first impression . . . almost of disappointment" before "a distinct aesthetic emerged, infinitely more even and evenly refined . . . strong, firm and definite of purpose."⁷⁶

In response to the Salon's clear statement, Mitchell's opinions took final shape. He published long reviews in both the *Photo American* and the *American Amateur Photographer*.⁷⁷ The following excerpt from the second review relays Mitchell's rhetoric at its most effective:

When photography is advancing by leaps and bounds as it is today when its applications in medicine, in science, in newspaper and periodical illustration, in color work, etc. etc. is being made more universal, it seems short sighted to confine an exhibition of photographs to the products of one narrow, limited, rather egotistical school. . . . It is time that there should be more variety in photographic exhibitions, and there is no organization better qualified, on account of its age, its experience, its conservative character and its recognized high standard of work, to inaugurate such a movement than the Photographic Society of Philadelphia. But at the present time there is getting to be too much "Bunthorne and the Lily" business about photographic salons. There is too much sentiment, too many "twenty love-sick maidens" hanging on the accents of a few photographic Oscar Wildes and imitating their productions. There are too many "impressions" and too few clearly conceived, thoroughly expressed realities; too few real pictures and too much "trash."⁷⁸

With the "age, experience . . . conservative character and . . . recognized high standard of work" at the Photographic Society of Philadelphia no one could disagree. The *American Amateur Photographer* observed "some slight friction in the Philadelphia Society in connection with the recent salon" but like most of their readers, its editors thought the Society too

secure and its members too dedicated to allow any permanent impact from the dispute.⁷⁹ Keiley admonished Mitchell for dragging “the venerable old Photographic Society into the mire and notoriety of sensational newspaper misrepresentation and abuse,” advising the Salon supporters to hold firm: “Such attacks can hardly have any other effect than to react on those who stoop to them. . . .”⁸⁰

Stirling kept Stieglitz abreast of the Society’s response to the controversy, but the advice from New York only seemed to fan the flames:

We have acted on your good counsel and have not talked of compromises but the fact is that *if we are to have a show* here some will have to be made. The Academy will require it as a condition of their cooperation and our strongest allies in the Society are critics (in a friendly way) of the Salon. Of course there is time yet to talk over the whole outlook for the future, and to decide whether we cannot still do good work for pictorial photography by finding a way to unite the two conflicting interests in *one* exhibition. *I don’t see the way yet but haven’t given up hope.*⁸¹

Stirling, Redfield and Bullock presented the Society with a detailed report on the administration of the Third Salon. They pronounced it “on the whole, a notable success,” despite its “many imperfections” and extended thanks to the Society for the “interest shown in this as one of many applications and phases of photography to which its fostering care is given.”⁸²

Then Robert S. Redfield declined to serve another term as President of the Photographic Society. After eighteen years in office (eleven of them as Secretary, four as Vice-President and three as President), Redfield’s resignation could simply be seen as a graceful step out of the limelight. But the precarious Salon situation and the unhappily divided membership suggest that Redfield’s leadership was more important than ever.⁸³ His move bears out the suspicion Stieglitz earlier confided to Day. It also indicates how difficult it must have been to express dissent even among those photographers the Salon admitted. It also provided Mitchell with an opportunity to seize control of the Society.

Mitchell sponsored his own candidate, S. Hudson Chapman, a skilled technician of the genre school; George Vaux, Jr. ran against him. Much to everyone’s surprise, Chapman won, as Stirling recounted for Stieglitz:

I’ve been waiting from day to day before writing you, in the hope that I’d some news for you. And I have, but not what I hoped! We are beaten in the election last night by 4 votes out of 78 or 79. It was a case of misplaced confidence. The other fellow was so impossible some of our friends did not take it seriously while the Mitchell party marshalled all the kickers, the fellows who stopped work 5 or 10 years ago and expect the Society to do the same, and some of the younger members who, I suppose, jumped at the chance to join in a kick. . . . Of course Bullock, Redfield and I will resign and leave the matter open, as we cannot go to the Academy as matters rest now.⁸⁴

Though all other Society committees were reappointed as a matter of course, Chapman tried to assemble a Salon Committee on his own, but everyone he approached was in the opposing camp. As a last resort, Chapman journeyed to New York to meet with Stieglitz, in an effort to persuade Mitchell's opponents to join him. He did not succeed.

Stirling confided to Stieglitz:

I do not know whether to class Chapman as an unprincipled liar or as an inutterable fool! . . . he told Troth that it seemed that nobody would help him and that he guessed he'd have to run the Salon himself! He or somebody has already started the story that we resigned from the Salon Committee because he was elected President and refused to go on with the work!⁸⁵

Stirling's letter reveals his own reluctance to compromise. In some respects Chapman's story was absolutely true; his election did precipitate the resignations, and he was forced to organize the Salon without experienced help. But the Salon battle had already taken its toll—at least on Stirling. His retreat into dignity also allowed him a little peace of mind:

I must confess I feel a little bit relieved that you don't think this is the moment for a new Salon . . . But, and this is the "*but*" which troubles me, I hope to see such a movement launched at a time when it is not handicapped by a setback like that which we have just had in Philadelphia.⁸⁶

Shortly thereafter Stirling resigned his post as Secretary of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia.⁸⁷

In New York, Stieglitz faced similar pressures as editor of *Camera Notes*, where dissenting members of the Camera Club of New York accused him of fostering "this fad for muddy, fogged, bombastic, indistinguishable, unguessable monstrosities."⁸⁸ Despite the international prestige of the magazine, local members were distressed by the editorial policy and Stieglitz's post was constantly in jeopardy. *Camera Notes* even printed criticism of the new movement, both to placate the unhappy membership and to head off criticism of the support Stieglitz had lent to the Salon. One particularly effective piece depicted a comic visit to the Salon by Daguerre, Niepce and Talbot. Before the shades depart they tack up a declaration to "certify that we have examined the within collection of so-called photographs, and that we never discovered or intended to discover any such thing."⁸⁹

Former Salon advocates (including the entire British membership of the Linked Ring) declined to enter the Salon of 1901. Some critics were pleased by the absence of "the weird exhibits," and the "depressionist school"; Osborne I. Yellott called them "The School of Rule or Ruin."⁹⁰ But Charles H. Caffin who had thus far refrained from entering the

political fray, finally took a stand: “The Philadelphia Society has blundered for it has made it impossible for many of our best photographic artists to exhibit without a lot of self-respect and nobody will agree that it can do without them.”⁹¹

In January 1902 Käsebier and Stieglitz resigned honorary memberships in the Photographic Society of Philadelphia. Eva Watson-Schütze (recently married) resigned in February and in March Bullock and Redfield gave up their posts on the Board of Directors.⁹²

Stieglitz, unlike Stirling, was not content to wait for another movement to launch itself. From the platform of *Camera Notes* he used the Philadelphia Society as an example of photography gone wrong. It was a strategy more instinctive than deliberate, but the result could not have been better prepared. For when the momentum had grown strong enough to justify an independent exhibition, Stieglitz and New York were ready to go ahead.

In May 1902 Keiley delivered a 20-page history of “The Decline and Fall of the Philadelphia Salon,” addressing his remarks to “those really, *honestly* interested in the welfare of the photographic Salon.”⁹³ His elaborate essay assembled quotes, cross-references, footnotes and asterisked asides betraying his legal training. It also served him well in condemning Mitchell, the “vascillating and unaccountable conduct of the Philadelphia Society,” and everyone who ever opposed Stieglitz and the New American School.⁹⁴ Keiley concluded his work with a resounding flourish, freeing all true believers “to form their own organization and hold their exhibitions where the best interests of pictorial photography will be more faithfully guarded and consistently served.”⁹⁵

Redfield wrote to thank Stieglitz for publishing the story, adding with characteristic frankness and tact,

We’ve had a rough time of it for the last four years but I’ve enjoyed it and am glad that the experiment has been honestly and faithfully tried. The Society had the opportunity of its lifetime and has been small enough to throw it away, proving that a *general* photographic Society is not fitted to carry on a Salon in the true sense of the word.⁹⁶

Soon after, Stieglitz joined friends planning a photography exhibition at the National Arts Club. He solicited work from Philadelphians Bullock, Redfield, Stirling and Watson-Schütze, as well as from Frank Eugene, Gertrude Käsebier, J.T. Keiley, Clarence H. White and other supporters of the Salon movement. This historic show was called American Pictorial Photography Arranged by the Photo–Secession.⁹⁷ The Photo–Secession initially offered the benefits of membership to those photographers who could no longer remain with their local groups. But out of the twelve Philadelphia Secessionists, only John G. Bullock and Eva Watson-Schütze remained active.

Philadelphia photographers continued to use their cameras in pursuit of special interests: Bullock made records of historic architecture in Germantown; Redfield made family portraits; the Vaux family recorded their geological exploration in the Canadian Rock Mountains; Woodbridge turned to travel, assembling large albums of her work. Among the professionals, Troth, Rau and Watson-Schütze carried on successful careers, making documentary records, illustrations and portraits.

But their photographs did survive, though long lost from view because of Stieglitz's criticism. Accurate, detailed renderings such as theirs were prized by libraries, institutions and families interested in the subject portrayed rather than the medium itself. Ironically, the work of these unfashionable photographers now provides an essential link between the representational photographs of the 1870s and sharp-edged, purely photographic style which arose after the Armory Show.⁹⁸

By 1913 Stieglitz advised entrants to the Wanamaker's Competition "not to be ashamed to have their photographs look like photographs. A smudge in 'gum' has less value from an aesthetic point of view than an ordinary tintype."⁹⁹ Edward Steichen, who started his career as an art photographer in 1900, told historian Robert Taft in 1938:

I take every opportunity that presents itself to urge the abandonment of certain prevalent soft focus and similar vagaries which paraded under the name of 'pictorial' in favor of a more strictly objective use of the camera. I feel particularly called upon to do this in view of the fact that I had been one of the ring-leaders in the production of these technical aberrations.¹⁰⁰

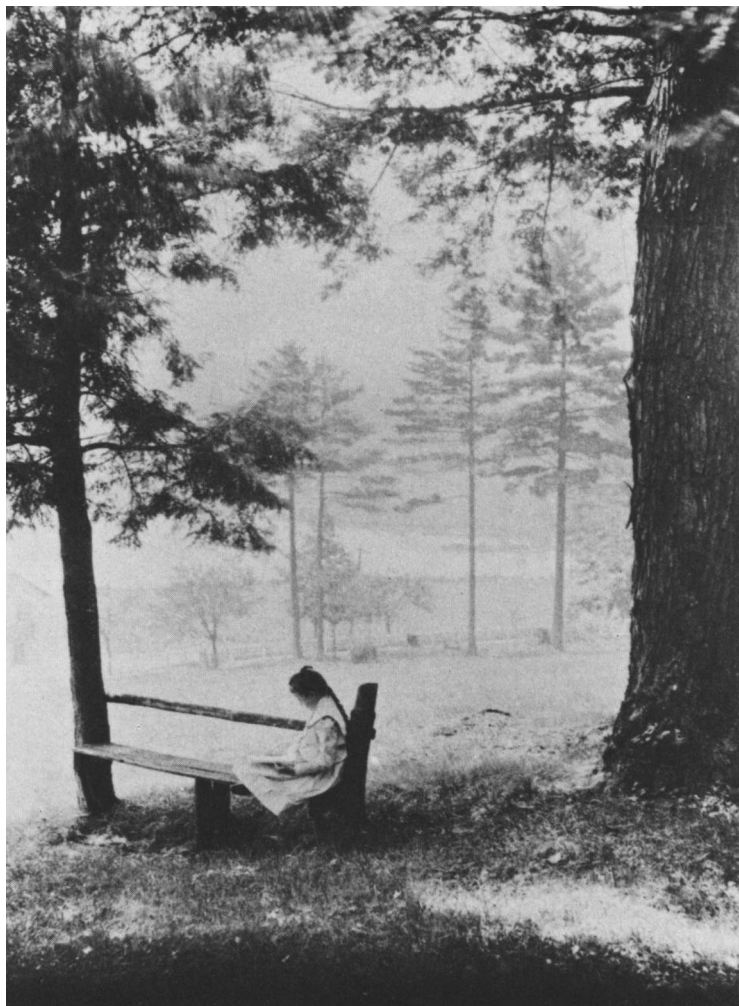
There was more at stake in the establishment of this New American School of Photography than a simple question of taste and fashion.¹⁰¹ Pictorialists like Steichen and Stieglitz (or their younger colleagues Imogen Cunningham, Paul Strand or Edward Weston) would revise their views, and consequently, their images. But the vehement campaign at the turn of the century permanently altered the organization and focus of American photographic art. It was transformed from a universal, technical standard to a specialized, individual aesthetic; from open, democratic exhibitions to selective avant-garde salons; from science to art. The change was clearly reflected in the displacement of the establishment from Philadelphia to New York.



2. Howard Blair, *Path Through the Woods*
Platinum, ca. 1896



71. Louise Deshong Woodbridge, *The Outlet of the Lake*
Platinum, ca. 1890



11. John Griscom Bullock, *Untitled (Girl Reading Under Tree)*
Platinum, ca. 1898



28. Robert S. Redfield, *Untitled (Becalmed)*
Platinum, 1900



16. Clarence B. Moore, *House Near the Marsh*
Platinum, ca. 1895



33. Robert S. Redfield, *Untitled (Boy on a Fence)*
Platinum, ca. 1890



6. John Coates Browne, *Peter's Woods, Fairmount Park*
Albumen, ca. 1875



67. Louise Deshong Woodbridge, *Ladies Pool*
Platinum, ca. 1885



19. Mary F. C. Paschall, *Picking Geese*
Platinum, ca. 1900



58. George Vaux, Jr., William S. Vaux, Jr., Mary Vaux Wolcott,
Mt. Stephen, Field, British Columbia
 Platinum, 1901



51. Henry Troth, *Untitled (Marsh Landscape)*
Platinum, 1897



45. Henry Troth, *Indian Pipes*
Platinum, ca. 1897

Catalogue

J. Howard Blair *Active 1897–1910*

Little is known about J. Howard Blair. He was listed as a buyer in the city directories of the turn of the century and lived in the Roxborough section of Germantown. In 1898 he participated in the Photographic Salon organized by the Roxborough Camera Club as an alternative to the Philadelphia Salon being held at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. His photographs won mention in the International Salon and Exhibition held by the Pittsburgh Amateur Photographer's Society in 1899 and received awards in the Wanamaker Competitions sponsored by the Philadelphia department store from 1905 until the late 1920s. Blair's work in albumen, cyanotype and platinum exemplifies the artistic amateur style of the time, including pastoral views, flower studies and romantic landscapes along the Wissahickon Creek in Philadelphia.

1. *Still Life, Apples*

Cyanotype, ca. 1896

96 x 119

Lent by William F. Stapp

2. *Path through the Woods*

Platinum, ca. 1896

119 x 164

Lent by William F. Stapp

3. *Sheep Grazing, Chestnut Hill,
Philadelphia*

Platinum, 1899

121 x 171

Exhibited, International Salon and
Exhibition at the Carnegie Galleries
sponsored by the Pittsburgh
Amateur Photographer's Society,
1899.

Lent by William F. Stapp

John Coates Browne *1838–1918*

John Coates Browne was elected to the Mineralogical Section of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia at age nineteen, an unusual honor for such a young man. He was an active and important member of

America's photographic community. Browne instructed Dr. William A. Bell in the technique of wet-plate photography before Bell joined the 1867 government survey to find the best route for a Southern railroad. Browne also experimented in dry plates and his research was commemorated by manufacturer John Carbutt who named his fastest plates "J.C.B." in 1881. A charter member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, Browne served as informal historian for the group; he addressed celebrations of the twenty-first and, in 1902, the fortieth anniversaries of the Society. Browne's landscape work appeared in the national magazine *The Philadelphia Photographer* in the 1870s. In the 1880s and 1890s Browne collaborated with Samuel Castner, Jr. to document historic architecture in and around Philadelphia (now preserved in the Castner Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia). Browne regularly exhibited his work at the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and in the Joint Exhibitions of 1886–1894. In 1893 he was appointed one of four judges of the Photographic Section at the World's Columbian Exposition. He also collected prints and broadsides and was a manager of the Episcopal Hospital.

4. *Untitled (Landscape Through Open Window)*

Albumen, ca. 1865

152 x 177

From an album presented by Browne to his mother in 1865.

Lent by Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr.

5. *Washington Oak, Presque Isle, Maine*

Albumen, 1881

243 x 195

Lent by Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr.

6. *Peter's Woods, Fairmount Park*

Albumen, ca. 1875

147 x 200

Lent by Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr.

7. *Presque Isle, Maine; Looking South*

Albumen, ca. 1881

197 x 243

Lent by Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr.

8. *Muir Glacier, Alaska*

Albumen, ca. 1875

114 x 188

Lent by Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr.

John Griscom Bullock 1854–1939

In 1894 *The Cosmopolitan Magazine* identified John Griscom Bullock as one of America's "leading amateurs in photography" who was "peculiarly fortunate in that he brings . . . a thorough knowledge of chemistry" to his work.¹ Bullock graduated from Haverford in 1874 and earned a Ph.G. from the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy before joining his family's drug and chemical business. He studied photography with John C. Browne in 1882. Bullock quickly became active in the Photographic

Society of Philadelphia, helping to organize the International Exhibition of 1886, the Joint Exhibitions which followed (1887–1894) and the Philadelphia Salons of 1898–1900. He exhibited photographs in Chicago and New York as well as in Paris, Vienna, London, Hamburg and Berlin. In 1901 his work was chosen for F. Holland Day's exhibition, "New School of American Photography," as well as for Stieglitz's "American Pictorial Photography" held in Glasgow. As a charter member of the Photo-Secession his work appeared at the 1902 inaugural exhibition and at subsequent members' exhibitions in New York (1905–06), Philadelphia (1906) and Buffalo (1910). Reminiscent of his teacher, Browne, Bullock photographed historical buildings and sites. His work was used to illustrate Charles F. Jenkins' *Guide to Historic Germantown* in 1915. In 1923 Bullock moved to West Chester where he became curator of the *Chester County Historical Society*.

9. *Untitled (Running Fence)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

114 x 164

Lent by The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of the John Emlen Bullock Estate

10. *Untitled (Pine Tree and Lake)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

200 x 149

Lent by The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of the John Emlen Bullock Estate

11. *Untitled (Girl Reading Under a Tree)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

200 x 149

Lent by The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of the John Emlen Bullock Estate

12. *Untitled (Bridge and Reflections)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

149 x 200

Lent by The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of the John Emlen Bullock Estate

13. *Untitled (Running Water)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

196 x 156

Lent by The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of the John Emlen Bullock Estate

14. *Untitled (Landscape)*

Platinum, ca. 1902

138 x 207

Lent by Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr.

Charles N. Lochman (*dates unknown*)

Charles Napier Lochman graduated from the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy in 1885. He wrote his thesis on *Collininsonia Canadensis* (otherwise known as Horsetweed), a common plant used as a tonic, astringent and simple diuretic. He went on to author the *Dose and Price*

Label Book and translate the second edition of *The German Pharmacopoeia*. In 1896 he presented a cyanotype proof copy of *Photographs of Medicinal, Economic and Interesting Plants from Natural, Living Specimens, Indigenous and Introduced, Growing Without Protection in the United States* to the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. Lochman lived in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he was employed by the firm of Simon Rau & Co.

15. *Photographs of Medicinal, Economic and Interesting Plants from Natural, Living Specimens, Indigenous and Introduced, Growing without Protection in the United States*

Bound manuscript of cyanotypes, 1896

289 x 248

Lent by the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia

Clarence B. Moore 1852–1936

Clarence B. Moore is best known for his twenty-five years of archaeological exploration of North American Indian mounds and cemeteries in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Arkansas. Artifacts from his expeditions now reside at the Museum of the American Indian and at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. Moore was the son of Bloomfield Haines Moore and Clara Sophia Jesup Moore; he became heir to the Jesup & Moore Paper Company fortune. After graduating from Harvard in 1873, he traveled through Europe and South America, crossing the Andes on horseback and descending the Amazon by raft and dugout. When his father died in 1881, Moore returned to preside over the family estate, but an injury to his eye excused him from business responsibilities and he took up science with undivided attention. Around 1888 he joined the Photographic Society of Philadelphia. He quickly began to compete in European exhibitions, wrote articles about photography for popular magazines and made generous contributions of prints and periodicals to the library of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia. Moore was influenced by his uncle, J. Ridgway Moore, a member of the New York Camera Club and supporter of the movement to establish photography as a fine art. But after his uncle's death in 1901, Moore abandoned his photographic ambitions in order to pursue archaeology, living on a houseboat along the rivers which bordered his excavation sites. He earned membership to the American Philosophical

Society, the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Anthropological Society, as well as in scientific organizations in Europe, Scandinavia and South America.

16. *House Near the Marsh*

Platinum, ca. 1895

205 x 253

Lent by the Library Company of
Philadelphia

Mary F. C. Paschall *Active 1895–1905*

Mary F. C. Paschall, née Mary F. Carpenter, was born in Boston and lived in Doylestown, Pennsylvania where she took up photography in 1893. She belonged to the Lenape Valley Photographic Club and made illustrations for her husband's newspaper. From 1898 to 1900 she photographed the buildings, utensils and farm processes of the past for the County Historical Society. In 1900 she was selected by Frances Benjamin Johnston for an exhibition of American Women Photographers shown at the Paris Exposition. Some of Paschall's photographs were chosen to illustrate *Old Time Gardens* by popular historian Alice Morse Earle (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1916). Paschall told Johnston she worked "without training either technical or artistic, without a darkroom, under very crude conditions as time, strength, money, all of them limited, would permit."¹

17. *Milkweed*

Platinum, ca. 1900

163 x 114

Exhibited by Frances Benjamin
Johnston, Paris, 1900
Lent by the Library of Congress,
MpH/P266/A1

19. *Picking Geese*

Platinum, ca. 1900

113 x 164

Exhibited by Frances Benjamin
Johnston, Paris, 1900
Lent by the Library of Congress,
MpH/P266/A3

18. *Hawthorne*

Platinum, ca. 1900

114 x 154

Exhibited by Frances Benjamin
Johnston, Paris, 1900
Lent by the Library of Congress,
MpH/P266/A2

20. *An Old Porch*

Platinum, ca. 1900

114 x 158

Exhibited by Frances Benjamin
Johnston, Paris, 1900
Lent by the Library of Congress,
MpH/P266/A4

21. *Album of the Lenape Camera Club*

Various photographs, 1895–96

Lent by The Spruance Library, Bucks
County Historical Society,
Doylestown, Pennsylvania

William H. Rau 1855–1920

William H. Rau began his career as a commercial photographer at age nineteen, when he joined the American expedition to record the transit of Venus in 1874.² Rau was recommended to the post by William Bell, photographer for the Wheeler Expedition in 1872; when Rau returned to Philadelphia he and Bell set up a studio. Their firm produced portraits and commercial views; they also published stereographs and lantern slides. Rau's travels provided a source for sensational and exotic images; their popularity and wide sales assured the Rau studio a national reputation. Egypt, the American southwest, Chicago's Columbian Exposition, the Johnstown (Pennsylvania) Flood and the Baltimore Fire of 1904 were typical Rau subjects; he also made comic and historical series for education and entertainment.³ In 1899 Rau was commissioned by the Lehigh Valley Railroad to execute a series of views along their new line which ran from Perth Amboy to Niagara Falls.⁴ When the State of Pennsylvania dedicated its new state house in 1906, Rau was chosen to document the ceremonies. For many years Rau administered the American Lantern Slide Interchange which united camera clubs in America and Europe. The Vaux family and Eva L. Watson were amateurs who benefitted from his teaching. His wife, Louise Bell Rau, daughter of William Bell, was also a photographer; her work appeared in exhibitions sponsored by the Pictorial Photographers of America.⁵

22. *Dedication Crowd and Grandstand*

Platinum, 1906

190 x 242

Part of a photographic commission to
document the opening of the new
capital building in Harrisburg.Lent by the Library Company of
Philadelphia, P.8479.8923. *The Dedication Officials Leaving*

Platinum, 1906

241 x 190

Lent by the Library Company of
Philadelphia, P.8479.9424. *Ex-Governor Stone Delivering the
Key*

Platinum, 1906

190 x 241

Lent by the Library Company of
Philadelphia, P.8479.9225. *Governor Pennypacker Speaking*

Platinum, 1906

190 x 241

Lent by the Library Company of
Philadelphia, P.8479.86

Robert S. Redfield 1849–1923

Robert S. Redfield was born into a distinguished family of scientists. His grandfather, W. C. Redfield, was a colleague of Benjamin Silliman and the first president of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science. His father, John Howard Redfield, studied with John Torrey and Asa Gray before moving to Philadelphia where he became curator of the herbarium of the Academy of Natural Sciences. Robert S. Redfield first learned photography in 1866 from Constant Guilloû (first president of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia), Coleman Sellers (a prominent inventor, colleague of Oliver Wendell Holmes) and a friendly professional named Hemphill. But only after dry plates became accessible did he begin to work in earnest. Redfield joined the Photographic Society of Philadelphia in 1881 and eventually served as secretary, editor of the *Journal*, vice-president and president. In 1891 he was cited as one of the leading amateurs of photography by *The Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Together with Edmund Stirling, the Vauxes and John Bullock, he provided the impetus behind the Joint Exhibitions of 1886–1894 and the Philadelphia Salons of 1898–1900. Redfield also exhibited widely in Europe, winning over twenty medals for his landscapes and lantern slides. His work was included by both Stieglitz and F. Holland Day in their respective exhibitions of New American Photography at the turn of the century. Having resigned his post as president of the Photographic Society, Redfield became one of the first members of the Council of Photo-Secession in 1902. Nevertheless, he gradually confined his work to family portraits and the recording of life in Wayne, Pennsylvania and Cape Cod.

26. *Brook in Springtime*

Platinum, 1895

230 x 133

Sent to Frances Benjamin Johnston,

April 22, 1900.

Lent by the National Museum of
American History27. *Untitled (The Little Sailboat)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

88 x 34

“A wee thing in the marine line which
has been much admired by some of
my friends.” Sent to Frances
Benjamin Johnston along with *Brook*
in *Springtime* April 22, 1900.

Lent by Donald R. Griffin

28. *Untitled (Becalmed)*

Platinum, 1900

115 x 239

Exhibited, Third Philadelphia

Photographers Salon, 1900.

Lent by Donald R. Griffin

29. *Untitled (Moored Sailboat)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

128 x 240

Lent by Donald R. Griffin

30. *Untitled (Marsh Landscape)*
Platinum and glycerine, January 4,
1899
135 x 255
An experiment in glycerine
development.
Lent by Alfred C. Redfield
31. *Near Salisbury, Connecticut*
Platinum, June 22, 1887
157 x 203
Lent by Alfred C. Redfield
32. *Near Lake Waramaug, Connecticut*
Platinum, June 9, 1890
192 x 240
Lent by Alfred C. Redfield
33. *Untitled (Boy on a Fence)*
Platinum, ca. 1890
197 x 240
Lent by Alfred C. Redfield
34. *Photographic Society of Philadelphia:*
Where We Make Them
Platinum, 1886
156 x 206
The darkroom of the Society.
Lent by Alfred C. Redfield
35. *Photographic Society of Philadelphia:*
The Society Office
Platinum, 1886
188 x 241
Lent by Alfred C. Redfield
36. *Photographic Society of Philadelphia:*
The Meeting Room
Platinum, January 15, 1886
157 x 208
The tanks of oxygen and hydrogen
were used to fuel an intensely bright
flame for the projection of lantern
slides.
Lent by Alfred C. Redfield
- 36A–36D. Four Competition Medals
awarded to R.S. Redfield by the
Photographic Society of
Philadelphia
Lent by Alfred C. Redfield

Mary Townsend Sharples Schaeffer 1861–1939

Mary T.S. Schaeffer was best known for her intrepid exploration of the Canadian Rockies. She first traveled to Lake Louise in 1889 on a visit to the camp of George, William and Mary Vaux, friends from Philadelphia. There she met her future husband Dr. Charles Schaeffer. Together, the Schaeffers pursued their interest in natural sciences, especially botany. Schaeffer illustrated her husband's catalogue of the flora of this unexplored region with both watercolors and photographs. In 1900, Schaeffer's work appeared in Paris along with that of other American women photographers, in the exhibition assembled by Frances Benjamin Johnston. After her husband's death in 1904, Mary continued to explore the Rockies in the company of women friends and mountain guides, charting new territory. She published articles in the *Bulletin of The Geographical Society of Philadelphia* (1907, 1908) and *The Canadian Alpine*

Journal (1908) and co-authored *Alpine Flora of the Canadian Rocky Mountains* (New York, S.P. Putnam's, 1907) with Stewardson Brown of the Academy of Natural Sciences. A successful series of lectures based on her travels encouraged her to collect her expedition journals into a book, *Old Indian Trails* (New York, G.P. Putnam's, 1911). In 1915 she married William Warren, a British guide, and they moved to Banff where Mary Schaeffer Warren continued to be recognized as an authority on the Canadian wilderness.⁶

37. *La France Rose Sprinkled with Water*

Silver, 1900

117 x 168

Lent by the National Museum of
American History 77.92.30

38. *Lake Marion*

Platinum, ca. 1900

204 x 109

Lent by the National Museum of
American History 77.92.45

39. *Epigaea Reifens—Trailing Arbutus,
Botanical Study*

Silver, 1900

117 x 168

Lent by the National Museum of
American History 77.92.29

Edmund Stirling 1861–1948

Edmund Stirling worked for more than fifty years at the Philadelphia Public Ledger as a reporter, assistant city editor, night editor, managing editor and editorial writer. He married Anne Biddle and together they took up photography in the 1880s. Stirling was an active member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia, serving as its secretary from 1895 until 1902. He helped organize three Philadelphia Salons (1898–1900) at which time he became a close associate of Alfred Stieglitz in the fight to establish photography as a fine art. He joined the original Council of the Photo-Secession in 1902. His work appeared in the early exhibitions of Secessionist photography, 1902 and 1905. Stirling's deep modesty, however, prevented him from submitting work to the International Exhibition of the Photo Secession at the Albright-Knox Gallery in 1910; he felt none of his current work could meet Stieglitz's exacting standards.

40. *Untitled (Young Woman and Sweet
Peas)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

165 x 121

Lent by the Art Museum, Princeton
University, Gift of the John Emlen
Bullock Estate

41. *Untitled (Portrait of a Gentleman in
Academic Robe)*

Platinum, 1899

165 x 146

Lent by the Art Museum, Princeton
University. Anonymous Loan

42. *The Old Wedding Dress*

Platinum, ca. 1898

165 x 118

Lent by the Art Museum, Princeton
University. Anonymous Loan43. *Untitled (Landscape)*

Platinum, ca. 1898

124 x 76

Lent by the Art Museum, Princeton
University. Anonymous Loan

Henry Troth 1863–1948

Henry Troth came from a Quaker family of chemists and entrepreneurs. His photographs appeared throughout the 1880s in the Salons of Berlin, Brussels, London, Paris and Vienna, and in every major American exhibition through the turn of the century. Having won over thirty medals for his landscape and botany photographs, both Alfred Stieglitz and F. Holland Day invited him to join their respective exhibitions of the New American School in 1901. Troth served on the juries of the Philadelphia Salon of 1899, the Chicago Salon of 1901 and the Kodak Competition of 1902. Unlike most other artistic photographers, Troth became a professional specializing in outdoor work that included contemporary architectural records and illustrations for books and magazines like the glossy *Country Life in America*. His work also enhanced a deluxe edition of poems by the popular poet Sidney Lanier, *Hymns to the Marshes* (New York, Charles Scribners Sons, 1907), collected essays by J.P. Mowbray, *A Journey to Nature* (New York, Doubleday & Page, 1902), and George L. Walton's *The Flower Finder* (Philadelphia, J.P. Lippincott, 1914). John W. Harshberger, professor of Botany at the University of Pennsylvania, used Troth's work to illustrate his *Phytogeographic Survey of North America* (vol. 13 of *Die Vegetation der Erde*, Leipzig, Wilhelm Englemann, 1896–1925), while the Botanical Section of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia inserted Troth's flower studies in its records. Troth belonged to the Pennsylvania Sketch Club and the Delaware Valley Ornithological Society. He lived with his sister Emma, an illustrator and portrait painter.

44. *Long Beach Fern*

Platinum, ca. 1897

173 x 220

From the Scrapbook of the Botanical
Society of the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia.Lent by the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia
(937A–2/46)45. *Indian Pipes*

Platinum, ca. 1897

221 x 170

From the Scrapbook of the Botanical
Society of the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia.Lent by the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia
(937A–2/48)

46. *Untitled (Fallen Tree over Stream)*

Platinum, ca. 1905

157 x 206

From the Scrapbook of the Botanical
Society of the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia.

Lent by the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia
(937A-2/34)

47. *Cypress on the Pocomoke River at
Snow Hill, Maryland, No. 2583*

Platinum, ca. 1900

128 x 203

From the John W. Harshberger
Scrapbook illustrating the
Phytogeographic Survey of North
America, Volume III.

Lent by the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia

48. *A New Jersey Swamp, No. 3451*

Platinum, ca. 1905

123 x 203

From the John W. Harshberger
Scrapbook, Volume III.

Lent by the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia

49. *Avalon, New Jersey*

Platinum, ca. 1900

205 x 153

From the John W. Harshberger
Scrapbook, Volume III.

Lent by the Academy of Natural
Sciences of Philadelphia

50. *Untitled (Bare Trees and Dunes)*

Platinum, 1897

163 x 244

Lent by Alfred C. Redfield

51. *Untitled (Marsh Landscape)*

Platinum, 1897

175 x 220

Lent by Alfred C. Redfield

52. Illustrations, from Sidney Lanier's

Hymns to the Marshes (New York,

Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907)

Halftone reproductions

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

George Vaux, Jr. 1863-1927

William S. Vaux, Jr. 1872-1908

Mary Vaux Wolcott 1860-1940

All of the Vauxes were avid naturalists and explorers. On a visit to the Canadian Rocky Mountains in 1887 they made the first photographs of the Illecillewaet Glacier and returned every summer from 1897 until 1922 to measure the glacier's recession. They published their findings in the *Canadian Alpine Journal*, the *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* and the *Proceedings of the Engineers Club of Philadelphia*. In addition to their detailed observation of the Illecillewaet, the Vaux family made ascents of Mt. Stephen and Mt. Sir Donald in the Selkirks and explored the Asulkan, Victoria and Yoho Glaciers in the Rockies. The Canadian Pacific Railroad gave them free transportation in exchange for photographs which were used to publicize the transcontinental line. A

more permanent testament to their work, Mt. Mary Vaux (elevation 10,881 feet), stands in the Rocky Mountain range in British Columbia.

Both George and William Vaux attended Haverford College, but their work was greatly influenced by their uncle, William Sansom Vaux, a renowned amateur naturalist. William H. Rau, the professional photographer, taught them to make fine platinum prints from the glass plate negatives they brought back from each expedition. Mary Vaux was the darkroom technician for work which was simply signed with the family name. She also made and colored lantern slides which she entered in competition alongside the work of her friend Mary T.S. Schaeffer.

In 1902, George Vaux, Jr. and Mary Vaux were appointed associate members of the Photo-Secession; their work was exhibited at the Members Show which opened the Little Galleries of the Photo-Secession in New York in 1905.

George Vaux was a lawyer who devoted his career to political reform. He was appointed to the U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners in 1906 and served as its chairman until his death. He was also president of the Philadelphia Mineralogical Society and a charter member of the American Alpine Club. William S. Vaux, Jr. was an architect, specializing in construction design. He published reports on the Victoria, Wenkchemna, Yoho and Bow Glaciers. The *International Commission on Glaciers* reprinted his work of 1907, the first time it published any research not specifically sponsored by the Commission. Mary Vaux married Charles Doolittle Wolcott, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in 1913. She accompanied him on many other expeditions and began a series of watercolor records of wildflowers. Four hundred of her drawings were published by the Smithsonian in 1925, earning her the reputation as the "Audubon" of North American Flora.⁷

53. *Illecillewaet Glacier*

Platinum, ca. 1900

153 x 198

Lent by George Vaux

54. *Illecillewaet Glacier*

Platinum, 1903

204 x 154

Lent by George Vaux

55. *Illecillewaet Glacier, near Glacier*

House, British Columbia

Platinum, ca. 1900

151 x 203

Lent by George Vaux

56. *Illecillewaet Glacier, near Glacier*

House, British Columbia

Platinum, ca. 1900

155 x 202

Lent by George Vaux

57. *Mt. Stephen, Field, British Columbia*

Platinum, 1900

154 x 207

Lent by George Vaux

58. *Mt. Stephen, Field, British Columbia*

Platinum, 1901

156 x 202

Lent by George Vaux

59. *Cathedral Crag and Kicking Horse River*

Platinum, 1901

113 x 94

Lent by George Vaux

60. *Mount Temple, Alberta*

Platinum, 1897

96 x 121

Lent by George Vaux

61. *Bow River Valley and Fairholme Range from Banff, Alberta*

Platinum, ca. 1900

94 x 117

Lent by George Vaux

62. *Panorama, In the Selkirks*

Platinum, 1901

152 x 577

Lent by George Vaux

Eva Lawrence Watson-Schütze 1867–1935

Eva Lawrence Watson-Schütze studied painting at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts during the tenure of Thomas Eakins. She then worked at a commercial photogravure business before beginning to exhibit her own photographs. After her work was accepted at the first Philadelphia Photographic Salon in 1898, she became a strong advocate of the movement to establish photography as a fine art. Watson served on the jury of the Photographic Salon of 1900, published articles, lectured on photography and encouraged fellow pictorial photographers to persevere. In 1901 she married Professor Martin Schütze and moved to Chicago where she opened a professional portrait studio and photographed William Butler Yeats, H.L. Mencken and other famous figures of the day. She exhibited widely in America and Europe, winning admission to the prestigious British organization, The Linked Ring. In 1902 she was appointed a member of the Council of the Photo-Secession and was the only photographer represented in the 1902 Academy exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, a tacit acceptance of photographs as the equal of painting and sculpture. Frances Benjamin Johnston chose her work as part of the show, *American Woman Photographers*, that opened in Paris in 1900. Miss Watson was also featured in Johnston's series of articles on "The Foremost Woman Photographers" for *The Lady's Home Journal* in 1901.

63. *Portrait of Robert S. Redfield*

Platinum, ca. 1900

160 x 92

Lent by Donald R. Griffin

64. *Untitled (Landscape)*

Sepia platinum, ca. 1900

172 x 229

Exhibited by Frances Benjamin Johnston, Paris, 1900.

Lent by the Library of Congress
(MpH/W341/A1)

65. *Untitled (Landscape)*

Sepia platinum, ca. 1900

167 x 89

Exhibited by Frances Benjamin

Johnston, Paris, 1900.

Lent by the National Museum of

American History (77.92.60)

Louise Deshong Woodbridge 1848–1925

Louise Deshong Woodbridge lived in Chester, Pennsylvania on the Delaware River, where she reigned as a prominent club woman and leading figure of society. In 1877 Louise Deshong married Jonathan Edwards Woodbridge, a naval architect and Confederate veteran of the Civil War. Together the Woodbridges supported institutions of art and science, such as the Art Alliance, the Atlantic Union, Geographical Society of Philadelphia, Museum School of Industry and Art, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and the University Museum of Science and Art. Mrs. Woodbridge began to photograph in 1884 with the help of her friends John G. Bullock, Robert S. Redfield and Henry Troth. In 1893 her photographs appeared at the Sixth Joint Annual Exhibition of Photography in Philadelphia and among the rare examples of amateur photography at the World Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. On the other hand, her work was refused by the jury of the First Philadelphia Photographic Salon in 1898. Mrs. Woodbridge's interest in science led her to support the Botanical Society of the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1901 she began a series of lectures in Chester called "Afternoons with Science." For twenty-five years the Afternoons brought eminent speakers from Philadelphia colleges and universities to give illustrated talks on history, travel and gardening as well as botany and evolution. A charter member of the Delaware County Historical Society, she left a large collection of prints and negatives as a record of privileged life at the turn of the century.

66. *Untitled (Boat Among Lily pads)*

Albumen, ca. 1885

111 x 187

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

67. *Ladies Pool*

Platinum, ca. 1885

115 x 165

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

68. *The Big Loyalsock*

Platinum, ca. 1890

118 x 168

This image was rejected by the jury of the 1898 Philadelphia Salon.

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

69. *In the Catskills*

Platinum, ca. 1890

115 x 170

This image was rejected by the jury of
the 1898 Philadelphia Salon.

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

70. *In Conashaugh Glen*

Platinum, ca. 1890

115 x 155

This image was rejected by the jury of
the 1898 Philadelphia Salon.

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

71. *The Outlet of the Lake*

Platinum, ca. 1890

119 x 167

This image was rejected by the jury of
the 1898 Philadelphia Salon.

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

72. *Carter's Notch from Rocky Pasture*

Platinum, ca. 1885

115 x 165

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

73. *Purgatory Rock*

Albumen, 1885

113 x 93

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

74. *Marcus Hook Looking Northeast*

Albumen, 1885

114 x 192

This image was exhibited at the
Columbian Exhibition and the Sixth
Joint Annual Exhibition in
Philadelphia, 1893.

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

75. *Along the Mountainside*

Platinum, ca. 1890

117 x 167

This image was rejected by the jury of
the 1898 Philadelphia Salon.

Lent by Janet Lehr, Inc.

Notes

1. "Review of the Second Annual Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Great Britain," *The Crayon*, vol.1 (February 21, 1855), p.150.
2. See Coleman Sellers, "An Old Photographic Club," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, vol.19 (May 26, 1888), pp.302–303, and vol.19 (June 7, 1888), pp.338–341; *American Journal of Photography*, vol.1 (March 1, 1859), pp.301–303; and John C. Browne, "Photography in the Early Days," *Journal of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, vol.8 (October–December 1902), pp.32–33.
3. Louis Siple, "The Photograph on Glass," *Pennsylvania Arts and Sciences Magazine*, vol.4 (Fall 1939), pp.27–29, 93. *Idem*, "Maker of Scientific Apparatus," *Pennsylvania Arts and Sciences Magazine*, vol.2 (Winter 1937), pp. 225–228 and 258–259.
4. Nineteenth-century photographic magazines remain the best source on this growing movement. For a good overview of this topic, refer to *The American Amateur Photographer*, *American Journal of Photography*, *Philadelphia Photographer*, *Photo Era* and the *Photographic Times*.
Some excellent modern essays on the period include Peter Bunnell's "Introduction" in *A Photographic Vision: Pictorial Photography 1889–1923*, Salt Lake City, 1980; Marianne Fulton, "The Philadelphia Photographic Salon 1898–1901," *Image*, vol.21 (January 1978), pp.2–10; Pamela Hoyle, *The Boston Ambience: An Exhibition of Nineteenth Century Photographs*, Boston, 1981. Of the many books written on the history of photography, the following four shed particular light on the role of science, amateur contributions and the Philadelphia scene in general: Kenneth Finkel, *Nineteenth Century Photography in Philadelphia: 250 Historic Prints from the Library Company of Philadelphia*, New York, 1980; Richard Rudisil, *Mirror Image: The Influence of the Daguerreotype on American Society*, Albuquerque, 1971; and William Welling, *Photography in America: The Formative Years 1839–1900, A Documentary History*, New York, 1978.
Also see, Toby Quitslund, "Her Feminine Colleagues: Photographs and Letters Collected by Frances Benjamin Johnston in 1900," in *Women Artists in Washington Collections*, College Park, Maryland, 1979; David Travis, "Photography Rediscovered," in *Photography Rediscovered: American Photographs 1900–1930*, New York, 1979; Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History*, New York, 1938, pp.204–221.
5. Stieglitz dominates the history of American photography, both as artist and as critic. See Jonathan Green, "Introduction," *Camera Work: A Critical Anthology*, New York, 1973, for an excellent account of Stieglitz's career; Green's bibliography continues to be one of the most helpful and complete on the history of photography as a fine art. For more controversial discussions, see Sarah E. Greenough, "Alfred Stieglitz and the Opponents of the Photo–Secession," *New Mexico Studies in the Fine Arts*, vol.2 (1977), pp.13–19; and Estelle Jussim, *A Slave to Beauty: The Eccentric Life and Controversial Career of F. Holland Day, Photographer, Publisher, Aesthete*, Boston, 1981. As editor of *Camera Notes* (New York, 1897–1902), Stieglitz created a stylized forum for his work. Modern books on his career abound. See Weston Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz: Fifty Pioneers of Modern Photography*, New York, 1978; and Dorothy Norman, *Alfred Stieglitz, An American Seer*, New York, 1973, for their valuable use of original images and interviews not available in other sources.
6. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey to America*, New Haven, 1960, pp.67–68, 71, 274–291; Francis Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, vol.2, London, 1832, pp.38–81; Henry James, *The American Scene*, New York, 1907, pp.273–302.
7. Bruce Sinclair, *Philadelphia's Philosopher Mechanics: A History of the Franklin Institute, 1824–1865*, Baltimore, 1974, pp.1–50 and 135–136.
8. Preface to the catalogue of *The Sixth Joint Annual Exhibition of The Boston Camera Club, the New York Society of Amateur Photographers and the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1893.
9. John C. Browne, *A History of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1883.
10. For a good description of Philadelphia's cultural community at work, see L. Schreiber, "Bluebloods and Local Societies: A Philadelphia Microcosm," *Pennsylvania History*, vol.48 (July 1981), pp.251–266.
11. Marcus Aurelius Root, *The Camera and the Pencil*, Philadelphia, 1864, p.25. Quoted in Finkel, *250 Historical Prints*, p.x.

12. Albert Sands Southworth, "The Early History of Photography in the United States," *British Journal of Photography*, vol.18 (November 1871), pp.530–532.
13. "Society Gossip," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.10 (July 1873), p.212.
14. Journals from abroad include *The Amateur Photographer*, the *British Journal of Photography in England*; the *Bulletin de la Société Française de Photographie* and the *Photo Gazette* in France; and *Die Photographische Mittheilung* and *Die Photographische Rundschau* in Germany. For American journals, refer to note 4 above.
15. The *Philadelphia Photographer* began publication in 1864; the magazine moved to New York in 1886 and changed its title to *Wilson's Philadelphia Photographer* in 1889, and to the *Photographic Journal of America* in 1915. In 1917 the magazine returned to Philadelphia where it was published until 1923.
16. *The Photographic World* (1871–1872) covered the international scene for American readers and eventually merged with the *Philadelphia Photographer*. *The Photographic Times* (est. 1871) was published in New York until 1916. The National Photographic Association was founded in 1868, but was succeeded in 1880 by the Photographer's Association of America.
17. The frontispieces of *Philadelphia Photographer*, vols.10–15 (1873–1878), provide ample demonstration of Wilson's catholic taste.
18. "Our Picture," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.10 (January 1873), pp.28–30.
19. *Ibid.*, p.30.
20. *Idem.*
21. Frequent fundraising messages appeared throughout *Philadelphia Photographer* during 1875.
22. *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.13 (June 1876), p.182, (July 1876), p.196, (August 1876), p.226 and (September 1876), p.318. See also Taft, *Photography and the American Scene, A Social History*, pp.361–364.
23. Siple, "Maker of Scientific Apparatus," p.227.
24. The firms eventually merged and their complete archives now reside at George Eastman House, International Museum of Photography.
25. Taft, *Photography and the American Scene, A Social History*, pp.365–371. See also, John C. Browne, "The Waterfalls of Pike County, Pa.," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.13 (July 1876), pp.208–211 and *idem.*, "Washed Emulsion," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.14 (July 1877), pp.194–195 for a firsthand account. Also see Welling, *Photography in America*, p.257.
26. *The Photographic Times*, vol.19 (February 1889), p.177.
27. S.D. Wardlaw, "Are Amateurs Killing the Photography Business?" *The Photographic Times*, vol.15 (April 1885), p.201, is typical of the period. See also journals catering to an audience of professionals, like *Philadelphia Photographer*, *Anthony's Photographic Journal* and the *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*.
28. *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.20 (September 1883), pp.282–283.
29. *Idem.*
30. W.S. Harwood, "Amateur Photography of Today," *Cosmopolitan*, vol.20 (January 1896), pp.249–258.
31. Notices of competitions and American awards appeared frequently. British clubs were the most active; competitions were held in Bristol, Calcutta, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Newcastle–on–Tyne and Worcester. On the continent, photographers competed in Amsterdam, Arnheim, Berlin, Brussels, Hamburg, Milan, Paris, Salzburg and Vienna.
32. Clarence B. Moore, "Leading Amateurs in Photography," *Cosmopolitan*, vol.12 (February 1892), pp.430–434.
33. Henry Troth, "Amateur Photography at its Best," *Ladies Home Journal*, vol.14 (February 1897), p.17.
34. Edmund Stirling, "The Camera," *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, May 6, 1890, p.4.
35. *Photographic Society of Philadelphia Ledger*, vol.2, entry for May 7, 1884. This ledger is now part of the 3M/Siple Collection at George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.

36. *Photographic Society of Philadelphia 1886 Exhibition Scrapbook*, *passim* (3M/Sipley Collection, George Eastman House).
37. *The Photographic Times*, vol.14 (October 16, 1885), p.591; vol.15 (January 22, 1886), pp.48–49; (February 5, 1886), pp.77–80; (February 12, 1886), pp.93–94; (February 19, 1886), pp.106–108; and (February 26, 1886), pp.122–123.
38. See *American Journal of Photography*, vol.7 (February 1886); *Art Interchange*, vol.17 (February 1886); *Philadelphia Record* (March 20, 1886); *Photographic News*, vol.30 (February 2, 1886); *Philadelphia Public Ledger* (January 12, 1886); and *Scientific American*, vol.54 (January 30, 1886).
39. *Philadelphia Public Ledger* (January 15, 1886), p.3.
40. *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.23 (February 6, 1886), pp.82–83. Constant Guilloù also belonged to the Amateur Exchange Club. He was a lawyer in Philadelphia. Hugh David was a charter member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia. Frederick Wenderoth (d.1884) was a charter member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and partner in the photographic firm of Wenderoth, Taylor & Brown from 1866–1884. Colonel V.M. Wilcox, former leader of the N.P.A., became a partner of E. & H.T. Anthony in New York. See John C. Browne, *History of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1883; *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, vols.2–4 (February–April 1880); and pp.44–45; Finkel, 250 *Historic Prints*, pp.217–219.
41. George Vaux, of Bryn Mawr, shared information about his father, uncle and aunt who made platinum prints under Rau's supervision. Louise Deshong Woodbridge's photograph of the Bullock Group appears in the L.D.W. Collection, of the Delaware County Historical Society. The best sources of information about Blair come from clippings he assembled and the exhibition labels attached to his prints. Moore reflected on his photographic training in correspondence with Stieglitz (now in the Stieglitz Collection at Yale University). Eva L. Watson contributed articles to the *Journal of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, *Camera Notes* and *Camera Work*. She also corresponded with Stieglitz (Stieglitz Collection, Yale University). See also Naef, *The Collection of Alfred Stieglitz: Fifty Pioneers of Modern Photography*, pp.477–478.
42. Emerson's speech was reprinted in *Naturalistic Photography for Students of the Art*, London, 1889, and in *The Amateur Photographer*, vol.3 (March 19, 1886), pp.138–139. His well-known photographs were published in original platinum and gravure portfolios and include *Life and Landscape on the Norfolk Broads*, London, 1886; *Pictures of East Anglian Life*, London, 1888; and *The Compleat Angler*, London, 1888.
43. See John C. Browne, "Trip to the Water Gap," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.13 (July 1876), pp.203–213, and "Excursion Notes," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.4 (July 1877), pp.194–195. Wilson printed long descriptions of photographing excursions organized by the Photographic Society of Philadelphia. See John C. Browne, "Photographic Excursions to Glen Onoko," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.12 (July 1875), pp.216–219; *idem*, "The Waterfalls of Pike County, Pa.," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.13 (July 1876), pp.208–211; *idem*, "Excursions of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.14 (July 1877), pp.229–232; *idem*, "Excursions of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia," *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.15 (July 1878), pp.193–195.
44. *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, vol.5 (February 1887), p.34.
45. *The Photographic Times*, vol.16 (April 1886), p.173.
46. *St. Louis and Canadian Photographer*, vol.9 (April 1891), p.151.
47. *The Photographic Times*, vol.22 (May 1892), p.250; see also *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.4 (June 1892), pp.263–264.
48. Preface to the catalogue, *Sixth Joint Annual Exhibition*, 1893, n.p.
49. *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.5 (May 1893), p.201.
50. Alfred Stieglitz, "To the Editor," *Photographic Times*, vol.21 (June 1891), p.313.
51. Moore, "Leading Amateurs in Photography," p.431.
52. 1893 was also the year of the Chicago World Columbian Exposition. Despite a proliferation of photographs throughout the fair, critics found the American photographic exhibit "humiliating. Aside from exhibits made by the leading professional photographers there are not photographic pictures as such.

... The useful servant of all the arts, whose help has been asked everywhere in the Fair, is denied the privilege of putting on her gala attire and appearing before our guests." From the *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.5 (July 1893), p.258. Judges at the exhibition included John C. Browne and Dr. Vogel.

53. George Davison, "The Photographic Salon," *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.5 (November 1893), p.495.

54. *Photographic Times Almanac for 1895*, p.27.

55. "Wiener Camera Club: Die Jubel Ausstellung des Camera Clubs," *Wiener Photographische Blätter*, vol.5 (May 1898), p.101; William M. Murray, "The Troth Exhibition," *Camera Notes*, vol.1 (April 1898), p.119.

56. Louis L. Lamb, "Artistic Photography of Henry Troth," *Brush and Pencil*, vol.8 (August 1901), pp.281–288; 1904 *Excursion Scrapbook*, Botanical Society of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; *Hymns to the Marshes*, New York, 1907.

57. Moreover, the Academy had been the site of the Joint Exhibition in 1893 and 1889, of the first American International Exhibition in 1886 and of the Society's Annual Exhibition of Lantern Slides in the early 1880s.

58. Robert S. Redfield to Alfred Stieglitz, February 18, 1898. Alfred Stieglitz Archives, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

59. Several excellent essays describe the history of the Salons in detail: Jerald C. Maddox, "Essay on a Tintype," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress*, vol.26 (January 1969), pp.48–54, and Marianne Fulton, "The Philadelphia Photographic Salon 1898–1901," *Image*, vol.21 (January 1978), pp.2–10. For contemporary accounts, see journal reviews in *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.35 (December 1898), p.529; *Photographic Times*, vol.31 (January 1899), pp.1–10; *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.10 (December 1898), pp.548–554; and *Photograms of 1899*, pp.7–24. J. T. Keiley described the Salon of 1898 in *Camera Notes*, vol.2 (January 1899), pp.113–132, and each Salon thereafter received long reviews. See *Camera Notes*, vol.3 (November 1899), pp.135–169; vol.4 (January 1901), pp.189–227 and vol.5 (April 1902), pp.278–305.

60. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Loan Ledger, October–November, 1898, n.p.

61. "Philadelphia Photographic Salon," *Harper's Weekly*, vol.42 (November 5, 1898), p.1037; "Modern Photographic Art," *New York Evening Post* (November 6, 1898), p.7.

62. J.T. Keiley, "The Philadelphia Salon: Its Origin and Influence," *Camera Notes*, vol.2 (January 1899), p.131.

63. *Ibid.*, p.115.

64. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Loan Ledger, October–November, 1898, n.p.

65. Catalogue, 1898 Philadelphia Photographic Salon, n.p.

66. Alfred Stieglitz to F. Holland Day, March 31, 1899 (Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Yale University); "the two K's," are J.T. Keiley and Gertrude Käsebier.

67. See note 59, above.

68. *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.11 (December 1899), pp.514–522; *The Artist*, vol.26 (October–November 1899), p.xlvi; *Brush and Pencil*, vol.5 (December 1899), pp.109–116; *Camera Notes*, vol.3 (November 1899), pp.135–169; *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.36 (December 1899), pp.565–566; *Photographic Times*, vol.32 (January 1900), pp.4–9.

69. *Photographic Mosaics: An Annual Record of Photographic Images, 1900*, New York, p.566.

70. Charles H. Caffin, "The Philadelphia Photographic Salon," *The Artist*, vol.26 (October–November 1899), p.lviii.

71. Moore, "Leading Amateurs in Photography," p.427.

72. Edmund Stirling to Alfred Stieglitz, July 28, 1900 (Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Yale University).

73. *Journal of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, vol.6 (October 1899–September 1900), *passim*.

74. Osborne I. Yellott, "Lessons of the Salon," *Photo Era* vol.5 (December 1900), p.165.

75. "The Philadelphia Salon as it Appeared to an Observer," *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, vol.31 (December 1900), p.531.
76. J.T. Keiley, "The Salon," *Camera Notes*, vol.4 (January 1901), pp.195–196.
77. Charles L. Mitchell, "The Third Philadelphia Photographic Salon," *The Photo American*, vol.11 (December 1900), pp.371–375; and a second article by the same title in *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.12 (December 1900), pp.560–568.
78. *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.12 (December 1900), p.567.
79. *Ibid.*, p.568.
80. J.T. Keiley, "The Salon," *Camera Notes*, vol.4 (January 1901), p.227.
81. Edmund Stirling to Alfred Stieglitz, December 13, 1900 (Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Yale University).
82. "Report of the Salon Committee of 1900," *Journal of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, vol.7 (February 1901), pp.20–21.
83. J.T. Keiley, "Robert S. Redfield and the Photographic Society of Philadelphia," *Camera Notes*, vol.5 (March 1901), pp.59–61. Keiley recounted Redfield's illustrious career but his desertion earned attention, too. Keiley commended Redfield for his "sterling worth," making an allusion to his more loyal Philadelphia colleague, Edmund Stirling.
84. Edmund Stirling to Alfred Stieglitz, April 11, 1901 (Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Yale University).
85. Edmund Stirling to Alfred Stieglitz, April 25, 1901 (Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Yale University).
86. *Idem.*
87. *Journal of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, vol.7 (May–June 1901), p.40.
88. Daniel K. Young, "The Other Side—A Communication," *Camera Notes*, vol.2 (October 1898), pp.46–49.
89. A. Smiler (Osborne I. Yellott), "The Transcendentalists," *Camera Notes*, vol.4 (July 1900), p.64.
90. "The Philadelphia Salon," *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.13 (December 1901), pp.561–562; Charles E. Fairman, "The Fourth Philadelphia Photographic Salon," *American Amateur Photographer*, vol.13 (December 1901), p.533; Osborne I. Yellott, "The School of Rule or Ruin," *Photo Era*, vol.7 (November 1901), pp.209–215.
91. Charles H. Caffin, "The Philadelphia Photographic Salon," *Camera Notes*, vol.5 (January 1902), pp.207–216.
92. *Journal of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia*, vol.8 (January–February 1902), p.1, and (March–April 1902), p.9.
93. J.T. Keiley, "The Decline and Fall of the Philadelphia Photographic Salon," *Camera Notes*, vol.5 (May 1902), p.319.
94. *Ibid.*, p.321.
95. *Ibid.*, p.329.
96. Robert S. Redfield to Alfred Stieglitz, April 1, 1902 (Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Yale University).
97. See Naef and Norman (cited in note 4), and Robert Doty, *Photo-Secession: Photography as a Fine Art*, Rochester, New York, 1960.
98. We are thinking in particular of the work of Paul Strand and the subsequent photography of Stieglitz, as well as "Group f.64" and its influential members Ansel Adams, Imogen Cunningham and Edward Weston.
99. When the Philadelphia department store included photographs in its annual exhibition of art, Stieglitz sat on the jury. See *Photo-Miniature*, vol.11 (March 1913), p.220.
100. Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History*, pp.496–497.
101. The title came from an exhibition organized by F. Holland Day and held in Paris in 1900. Stieglitz assembled a similar show the following year for Glasgow.

Notes to the Catalogue

1. Notes made by Frances Benjamin Johnston (now in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress) quoted by Toby Quitslund, "Her Feminine Colleagues: Photographs and Letters Collected by Frances Benjamin Johnston in 1900," *Women Artists in Washington Collections* (College Park, MD, University of Maryland Art Gallery, 1979) p.133.
2. *Philadelphia Photographer*, vol.11 (1874), pp.213-214.
3. See Catalog for Wm. H. Rau Studios c. 1896.
4. "Railroad Photography," *American Journal of Photography*, 1897.
5. *Pictorial Photography of 1920* (New York, Pictorial Photographers of America, 1921).
6. *A Hunter of Peace: Mary T. S. Schaeffer's Old Indian Trails of the Canadian Rockies/including a previously unpublished account/The 1911 Expedition to Maligne Lake/and/Yabe-Weha—Mountain Woman/a portrait of Mary Schaeffer Warren*, edited by E. J. Hart, Banff, Alberta, Canada, The Whyte Foundation, 1980.
7. See *American Alpine Club Annals*, vol. 27 (1940), pp.128–9; and *Notable American Women*, vol.3 (1971), p.525. The Vaux negatives now reside in the Archive of the Canadian Rockies, Banff, Alberta, Canada.

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