

ABSTRACT

The thesis considers nineteenth century photography of images of India and the Near East in relation to contemporary and contemporary id THE IMPERIAL EYE: emphasis on Perception in British Photography Samuel B (1850-1870) of India and the Near East photographers selected were all, in some way, financially dependent on the popularity and success of their work and hence their photographs may be presumed to have been taken with a potential audience in mind.

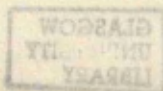
Alison Johnston Lindsay, MA

This audience, most of which was made up of the British middle class, had certain pre-conceptions about the subject-matter of the photographs, based on a wide range of artistic, cultural, political, religious ideas and beliefs. The Thesis submitted for the degree of M Litt at the University of Glasgow Faculty of Arts, History of Art Department the thesis.

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Topographical subjects form the bulk of the images analysed. Particular attention is paid to the extent to which photography continued the idea of the eighteenth century 'picturesque', whilst what was regarded as a 'moral' dimension of photography is analysed with reference to nineteenth century notions of 'truth', eg as found in the work of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Ruskin, Tennyson etc. Comparison with previous and contemporary artistic depictions of the same scenes helps to reveal the extent to which photography reflected changing perceptions of India and the Near East.

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The Imperial Eye: **ABSTRACT** in British Photography
(1850-1870) of India and the Near East

The thesis considers nineteenth century photographic images of India and the Near East in relation to previous and contemporary ideas and attitudes, with particular emphasis on early work (185-1870) by Francis Bedford, Samuel Bourne, Francis Frith and Linneaus Tripe. The photographers selected were all, in some way, financially dependent on the popularity and success of their work and hence their photographs may be presumed to have been taken with a potential audience in mind.

This audience, most of which was made up of the British middle class, had certain pre-conceptions about the subject-matter of the photographs, based on a wide range of artistic, social, cultural and historical attitudes and beliefs. The extent to which these are reflected in the photographs studied is given special consideration in the thesis.

Topographical subjects form the bulk of the images analysed. Particular attention is paid to the extent to which photography continued the idea of the eighteenth century 'Picturesque', whilst what was regarded as a 'moral' dimension of photography is analysed with reference to nineteenth century notions of 'truth', eg as found in the work of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Ruskin, Tennyson etc. Comparison with previous and contemporary artistic depictions of the same scenes helps to reveal the extent to which photography reflected changing perceptions of India and the Near East.

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The 'Truthful Art' of Photography

The Paradox of Photography

In the text which *The Contribution of the Letterpress* usual
fashion thus ¹. *Summary* to illustrations bound at the end
are given in the form (1).

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In the nineteenth century, the spelling of proper names,

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varied widely. The original spellings have been retained

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PREFACE

In the text which follows, notes are indicated in the usual fashion thus ¹. References to illustrations bound at the end are given in the form (1).

In the nineteenth century, the spelling of proper names, especially of places and people in India and the Near East, varied widely. The original spellings have been retained when quoting from contemporary sources, or when referring to the titles given to works of art or photographs. In the text, however, the spelling has been standardised to the usual modern version.

I acknowledge with thanks the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, Glasgow University Library, Her Majesty the Queen, Mrs Helena Hill, the National Library of Scotland, the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Royal Geographical Society, and the Scottish Record Office.

I would like to record my thanks to my supervisor, Dr Clare Willson, for her comments, advice and encouragement throughout my period of research. Finally, I thank my parents for their unfailing love and support.

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I am particularly indebted to the staff of Glasgow University Library's Special Collections Department and to the Librarian of the Department of the History of Art. In London, I received particular assistance from staff at the Palestine Exploration Fund and the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections. Margaret Spencer of the Nottingham Society of Artists provided invaluable help in tracing one of Bourne's paintings.

For permission to reproduce images from their collections, I acknowledge with thanks: the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections; Glasgow University Library; Her Majesty the Queen; Mrs Helena Hill; the National Library of Scotland; the Palestine Exploration Fund; the Royal Photographic Society; and the Scottish Record Office.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The specific subject-matter of topography in India and the Near East, in its broad sense of landscape, figures and buildings, has been chosen as the material for study in this thesis. Before and after the invention of photography, topographical landscapes were admired and discussed, in terms both of their truth to nature and of their appearance as art. These twin elements emerge too in studying photographs, giving an opportunity to measure and compare works by British photographers with artistic representations of the same sites. The British aesthetic theories of the eighteenth century, which formulated the concepts of Picturesque, Sublime and Beautiful, had considerable influence on artistic and even photographic ideas throughout the nineteenth century; analysis of this influence is one of the principal aims of this thesis.

The principal photographers whose work will be analysed are Francis Bedford, Frances Frith and Samuel Bourne, all British photographers working abroad in the 1860s and/or 1870s. Although there is much anonymous work, these three enable certain key issues to be explored. Each produced a large body of work; this work can be easily identified; it was published or otherwise disseminated in quantity to the British public; as photographers with a commercial interest in their output they had to consider their market and so inferences can be drawn about the role of the viewer; and the substantial quantity of writings which Bourne and Frith, at least, produced reveals much about

their methods and subjects. Comparisons will be made with the works of other photographers who were working in the Near East and India.

The two areas chosen as the pictorial subjects of this thesis are India and the Near East (Egypt and what was then called the Holy Land, a religious rather than a geographical entity, comprising parts of modern Israel, Jordan and Syria). These were two parts of the world where nineteenth century British interest and influence were substantial and increasing, to which a growing number of British visitors were directing their steps, and about which the British public wanted to be informed. The art and politics of both areas were both of interest to Britain. An analysis of existing traditions of travel and prevailing artistic attitudes sets the context in which to undertake a study of nineteenth travel photography. As a mechanical process manipulated by individuals, photography involves the modern critic in looking at contemporary notions of taste. This thesis will consider the extent to which the photographs of these countries produced by commercial photographers were in the tradition of previous publications illustrated with artistic representations of exotic scenery, and whether the camera contributed a new way of looking at the destinations, and thereby created a new understanding of them.

John Sweetman's contention in The Oriental Obsession, a study of Islamic influence on British art, is that a distinction can be made between nineteenth century

attitudes towards India and the East: part as Moscow,

"In the absence of fresh objective encounters and
 was chance of relaxed social contacts between Britons at
 and home and Indians themselves, the romanticised imagery
 is of India presented in Lalla Rookh lived on. The
 observer at home might increasingly wish to see the
 The modern Turk, Moor and Egyptian with greater truth:
 the with India there was the factor of distance; the
 dagu relationship was between rulers and ruled; and the
 inte curiosity aroused by indoctrination." ¹

This contention is worth considering and I hope to show
 whether it is borne out in the photographic field by an
 analysis of examples.

"Les gens du monde rechercheront cette belle

The Notion of Photographic 'Truth' chercheront pour son

One of the aims of this thesis is to consider the
 'truthfulness' of photographic images as perceived by
 photographers and viewers, what they meant by
 'truthfulness' and the extent to which their goal of
 truthful representation was met.

complementary. This at least was the theory, in practice

It is significant for the topographical study of
 photography that one of the first uses to which the new
 invention was put was the illustration of a travel book.

This was the two-volume Excursions Daquerriennes: Vues et

Monuments les plus remarquables du globe (1841-44) by a

Frenchman, Noel-Marie Lerebours, who soon after the
 galloping horseman in the foreground, with the horse's two
 announcement of Daguerre's invention made a number of
 front legs raised, its rider wearing a turban and short
 daguerreotype cameras and despatched photographers abroad
 cloak blown back on the breeze; a dramatic pose which
 to record exotic scenes. He received back over one
 draws the attention away from the column itself. This is

thousand images, from places as far apart as Moscow, and Jerusalem and Algiers, though only a selection of these was used in his book. The majority show places in Europe, and around half are of French sites; the only English view is of St Paul's in London.

The chosen photographic scenes were engraved and printed: the lateral reversal which is a feature of the daguerreotype was reversed back by the printing. The intention was to give the public, for the first time, a set of images which ought to be relied upon to show exactly what these places looked like: the introduction noted of the views that

"Les gens du monde rechercheront cette belle collection de vues, ils la rechercheront pour son exactitude et son expression." ²

The two seemingly contradictory elements of exactitude and expression, truth and emotion, nature and art, are thus seen as equally significant and desirable; perhaps even as complementary. This at least was the theory - in practice it seemed that, to quote one of the most important British topographical photographers, Francis Frith,

"Few, I fear, can tolerate simple truthfulness - there is not enough of excitement in it." ³

Lerebours' La Colonne de Pompée (Alexandrie) ⁴ features a galloping horseman in the foreground, with the horse's two front legs raised, its rider wearing a turban and short cloak blown back on the breeze; a dramatic pose which draws the attention away from the column itself. This is

one example of the engravers' adding figures, animals and plants to enliven the scenes, to make them appear as they would in actuality and to make the images seem more in the tradition of previous publications, such as the near-contemporary Finden's Landscape Illustrations of the Bible ⁵: the views in Finden's collection almost invariably included foreground figures, in traditional costume, to lead the eye into the scene. In spite of this aim, a curious feature of these engravings from the photographic plates is the apparent lack of freedom on the part of the engraver to interpret the scene himself in pictorial terms: almost all of the prints in Lerebours' book appear flat with no defined focus of attention, and thus lacking an artistic cohesion whatever their representational merits.

This concept of 'truth' is a key theme of discussion in

The introduction to Finden's book gave as its aim that of supplying the deficiency of illustration of "the most important of all books - the Holy Scriptures" ⁶. It relied for its illustrations on the common practice of commissioning artists at home to produce paintings based on drawings and sketches made on the spot, usually by amateurs - archaeologists, pilgrims or army officials. Twenty-six of these were done by Turner, who produced watercolour sketches designed to be engraved. Hence, once the painting had been engraved it had gone through three different hands and inevitably changed slightly in conception because of this. However, this was what the public were used to, and Lerebour's engravings of Daguerre's plates marked only a slight change in the

presentation of topographical illustrations. Much more had to be done if unadorned photography was to be accepted as a truly accurate way of showing different countries.

This passage illustrates the concern of the period to Improvement in photographic techniques, in particular the glass negative, which could produce prints with greater speed and clarity than the paper process, soon meant that books could be illustrated with 'tipped-in' photographs, reproduced from an original negative and pasted into the book. Once this was achieved, and original photographs were disseminated to the public in the form of loose prints, book illustrations, albums or stereographs, this viewers could feel that they were at last being shown unadorned reality. This concept of 'truth' is a key theme of discussion in this thesis, and an ideal introduction to the subject is provided by a review of Frith's stereographs of the East in The Athenaeum. It tells its readers that Frith's "views of the Holy Land from Jerusalem to Mount Lebanon are also to be published as a Biblical comment which must interest the whole Christian world, who hitherto have had to depend on the pictorial statement of artists who too often, even if patient enough to see truly, would turn black into white, or round into square, for the sake of the pyramidal grouping and the central light, or such articles of the old creed. Mr Frith, who makes light of everything, brings us the Sun's opinion of Egypt, which is better than Denon's, Champollion's, Wilkinson's, Eothen's, or Titmarsh's

[Thackeray]. What an educational revolution is here, my countrymen!"⁷ This truth is illustrated by John Ruskin in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), which included

This passage illustrates the concern of the period to relate photography to past traditions and art, but is also an example of the constant reiteration one finds of the theme of the superiority of photography over any artistic representation. This idea that truthful representation was synonymous with photographic representation is repeated in very many contemporary reports, reviews and descriptive texts, but there has been little analysis, either modern or contemporary, of what was meant by this photographic 'truth'⁸, even though many nineteenth century writers ascribed this quality to photography and praised "the simple Truthfulness of the Camera"⁹; its "admirable faithfulness of detail"¹⁰; and its presentation of "actual positive truth"¹¹.

As an extension of this, there seems to have been in the minds of many a notion of the photograph as providing a kind of moral illumination along with the purely physical image resulting from natural illumination. Frith wrote:

"We can scarcely avoid moralizing in connection with this subject; since truth is a divine quality, at the very foundation of everything that is lovely in earth and heaven; and it is, we argue, quite impossible that this quality can so obviously and largely pervade a popular art, without exercising the happiest and most important influence, both upon the tastes and morals of the people."¹²

itself particularly in writings on Egypt and the Holy Land.

This moral quality of truth is illustrated by John Ruskin in The Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849), which included "the Lamp of Truth". Truth, which "forgives no insult, and endures no stain" ¹³, was, he believed more maligned by smaller, lesser lies and fallacies than by greater deceit. This argument he applies to the contemporary attraction towards spurious ornament, which conceals the honest material lying beneath. The attempt to deceive, exemplified by painted marble or wood-grain, is unworthy and "as truly deserving of reprobation as any other moral delinquency" ¹⁴.

this, a viewer might deduce that the photographic view was a more 'truthful' representation.

What can perhaps be called the Victorian concern for accuracy is well illustrated by the popularity of Alexander Keith's Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion (1844), which saw in the East's archaeological remains proof of the Biblical histories and, particularly, proof of the Arab's fall from grace since the time of Christ. Hence it combined a search for objective evidence with a sense of superiority towards other races frequently found in Victorian writings: in its vaunted search for 'truth', it is almost a written version of the pictorial Finden's Landscape Illustrations of the Bible, which "exhibited nearly one hundred of the most remarkable places mentioned in the Bible, as they actually existed..." ¹⁵

The rapid reprinting of both books indicates their appeal. carried the different appeal of an Imperial conquest.

Concern for truth, both literal and moral, manifested

itself particularly in writings on Egypt and the Holy Land for, I believe, two reasons. The first is that, because of the greater amount of artistic material available on the Near East by the mid-nineteenth century ¹⁶, viewers were better aware of what the area looked like through the eyes of artists, and hence a comparison with photographs would reveal the differences between artistic and photographic representation. Details such as the relative heights of buildings or architectural mouldings would, it was, or thought, be shown more accurately in photographs and could be contrasted to their advantage with older prints or drawings. From this, a viewer might deduce that the photographic view was a more 'truthful' representation.

Photography's Appearance as Art

The second consideration is that Egypt and the Holy Land, as noted below, had to the nineteenth century an increased religious significance as the sites of Biblical history, and hence the concern to have them portrayed as accurately as possible so that one might see the scene of holy events. It was in this context that members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood produced such works as Christ in the House of His Parents (John Everett Millais, 1849, Tate Gallery) and The Scapegoat (William Holman Hunt, 1854, Lady Lever Art Gallery). India too had been the subject of earlier artists' views, but these works were likely to have been known to a smaller circle since India, more exotic and more distant, did not make the same appeal to religion, sentiment and popular knowledge. Instead, it carried the different appeal of an Imperial conquest.

established as a genre, since many were not yet convinced

The titlepage of Frith's Egypt and Palestine Photographed and Described (1858-59) quotes a verse emphasizing the words "daylight truth's [salubrious skies]" ¹⁷. Whether this 'truth' always presented a completely accurate representation of scenes deserves closer consideration, since there were many ways in which a photographer might manipulate his image to present a slightly different aspect of the scene. Physical details may be more accurately shown in photographs, but the atmosphere, or proportions and elements, of a scene can be altered by composition or choice of viewpoint to create a particular kind of 'truth'. The products of photography was considerably aided by Royal patronage. Queen Victoria and *Photography's Appearance as Art* in photography, and The variety of ways in which photographs could be presented ensured their rapid and widespread dissemination. Besides single prints, either loose or as book illustrations, there were stereographs which gave the impression of three-dimensional depth and became popular drawing-room 'toys'; and photographic panoramas, giving an all-encompassing 360-degree vision of a scene, which rivalled the painted panoramas. Both of these were available from the early 1850s. The spread of illustrated papers such as The Illustrated London News (founded 1842), which used photographs as a source for its woodcuts, also encouraged people to derive their information more from visual, rather than written, sources. However, photographic critique was not yet fully established as a genre, since many were not yet convinced

of photography's claim to be an art, not a science. The lengthy reviews of a single painting which appear in nineteenth century critical magazines are not matched by similar critiques of photographs save for a few works such as Rejlander's The Two Ways of Life (1857, Royal Photographic Society) which had a high moral and artistic claim. This was particularly true of photographs which were topographical in nature and those such as Bourne's, which were issued without text, were more open to individual viewer interpretation.

General acceptance of the products of photography was considerably aided by Royal patronage. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were much interested in photography, compiling albums filled with portraits and scenery, and they became patrons of the Royal Photographic Society soon after its inception in 1853¹⁸. Photographers were commissioned to take photographs of the Royal Family. Roger Fenton's photographs from the war in the Crimea were collected by the Queen and Francis Bedford accompanied the Prince of Wales on his tour to the East in 1862. Prince Albert was sympathetic too to the artistic aspirations of the new medium and encouraged photographers who aimed to emulate art such as Oscar Rejlander. The Queen's own subject preferences were for places and (especially) people; royalty, celebrities, soldiers and servants. Albums were compiled of the Crimea War, and others showed those countries which she and her family visited, and over which she ruled. The Queen identified closely with all her subjects, both British and foreign. This royal connection

was of value in encouraging acceptance and approval of the photographic representations, although it would undoubtedly have flourished without this additional cachet. From these journeys was produced a mass of

material recording the sensations and opinions of

While some photographers preferred to stay with the paper process, the glass plate method gave a very clear image and could also be reproduced readily, usually as albumen prints. Wet collodion, as used by Frith, had its own problems, about which he wrote at length; the solution of gun cotton dissolved in ether had to be spread over the plate in one smooth movement, and needed to be exposed and developed while still moist. Dry collodion (Bourne used the Fothergill dry plate process ¹⁹) had the advantage of allowing any length of exposure and could be left until it was convenient for the photographer to process the negatives. Thus equipped, photographers could produce remarkably clear and frequently beautiful images of places which, by virtue of the photographic process, were considered to be more accurate than the artistic views which preceded them.

Travel and Taste

Travel was usually the prerogative of those who could afford the expensive and time-consuming affair it was until relatively recently. The 'Grand Tour' through Europe to Italy, which became increasingly popular in the eighteenth century, was seen as an essential part of education for aristocratic young men ²⁰. Young artists and architects also sketched on study trips abroad and some

published their work; for instance Robert Adam crossed the Adriatic to Split (now in Yugoslavia) to work on The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro (sic) (1764). From these journeys was produced a mass of material recording the sensations and opinions of travellers in Europe. The huge quantity of printed and personal records leads one to suspect that the keeping of them was in some way a talisman: as though the actual writings are a physical souvenir of the journey, much as, in the nineteenth century, the photograph became tangible proof of travel.

In spite of comic criticism made once the idea had become

Although the routes followed and sights visited altered ²¹ the idea of a European tour remained, and it was only with the French Revolution and the subsequent wars against Napoleon that the concept of a Grand Tour in its eighteenth century guise was laid aside. The changed circumstances of Europe in the early nineteenth century, and the improvement of steam transport meant that when travelling resumed it was on a new pattern. With the Continent becoming a more familiar destination for the better educated classes, it ceased to excite the same awe and admiration. Those who sought a frisson of the exotic with their travelling found they had further to go if they wished to be sure of breaking newer ground. Hence the increase in the numbers of travellers to India and the Holy Land, and the growing interest in information about these places.

1). Gilpin really started the vogue for picturesque travel with his accounts and sketches of

In the analysis of photographic examples which follows,

reference will frequently be made to the importance of artistic attitudes formed in the eighteenth century. Of particular significance to this thesis is the Picturesque mode of viewing, the essential character of which was formulated by William Gilpin. The most important features of the Picturesque when applied to landscape photography, as will be shown later, are Gilpin's stress on the value of light and shade to animate a scene and the significance given by later writers on the Picturesque to associative value in a landscape. A description of the particular characteristics of the Picturesque is given in Appendix 1. In spite of comic criticism made once the idea had become fair game for humour (1), the picturesque ideas of the eighteenth century remained a key mode of viewing throughout the nineteenth and even into the twentieth century ²².

The growth in the study of landscape and scenery inspired by Gilpin created a market for a new type of book. Collections of views were already established as popular and profitable, as were written accounts of travels: towards the end of the eighteenth century they were combined to form the very popular genre of picturesque travels. Designed to give the armchair traveller the sensation of a real journey, these linked a series of prints of landscape, scenery and figures with a text describing the country and what the traveller had seen (see Appendix 1). Gilpin really started the vogue for picturesque travel with his accounts and sketches of travels in Britain, but the popularity of the genre meant

that large numbers of such works followed and they remained popular in the nineteenth century.

Gilpin's Picturesque had an enormous appeal and the term itself quickly passed into the language ²³. Various writers took up the issue, particularly Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price ²⁴, while evidence of the impact made by the ideas of picturesque landscape is found in much of the fiction of the period ²⁵. William Combe's The Tour of Dr. Prosody in search of the Antique and the Picturesque, through Scotland (London, 1821), like Austen's Northanger Abbey, mocked the Picturesque while depending on its readers' thorough knowledge of it. In European art, the Picturesque continued and developed in the nineteenth century with men such as David Roberts, who made extensive use of Picturesque imagery and terms in the 1830s and 1840s with his The Holy Land and Egypt and Nubia. Also influenced by the Picturesque were the Romantics, such as Friedrich, whose representations of landscape are infused with emotional, semi-mystical overtones.

As the nineteenth century progressed the growth of the Romantic movement and of industrialisation meant that the countryside was much appreciated as a refuge from the towns. Holidaying or touring within the British Isles became easier and more popular: but Britain and Europe were no longer adequate for the increased interest in the exotic and countries further afield were becoming objects of interest. Previously, information on such countries

had been obtained through individual drawings and sketches and printed travel books; from 1839 the photograph was increasingly and surely to arrogate this function to itself. y applied to photographic representations, and one which represents a departure from the eighteenth century

Summary classification of landscape in terms of the

The analysis of the features of the Picturesque style as outlined above and in Appendix 1 is important because it sets out the principles of the approach by which the exotic landscapes of India and the Near East were viewed, in the light of the viewer's own experience and tastes. These concepts and ideas had a strong hold on the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century mind and being so ingrained we may expect that they would have had a great influence on photographic representation, despite the growing preoccupation with 'truth' as an alternative canon. How far the idea of 'truth' could co-exist with these artistic conventions is a key issue in evaluating nineteenth century photography, and one which will be considered in the course of this thesis.

artistic and photographic representations of the

The paradox which will be explored in this thesis is that, while photography was seen by many as a way of achieving 'truth', many photographers continued to use the conventions of the Picturesque and Sublime. I hope to examine the extent to which photography used these ideas and its similarities to, and differences from, previous styles of topographical representation. Sweetman's theory, referred to earlier, that there is a distinction between representations of, and attitudes toward, India

and the East, will also be considered. The notion of 'truthful' is a key feature in the discussion which follows, since this was one of the adjectives most commonly applied to photographic representations, and one which represents a departure from the eighteenth century habit of classification of landscape in terms of the Picturesque, Beautiful or Sublime. I wish to consider the extent to which this goal of truthful representation was met, whether the camera brought a new way of looking at scenes, and the extent to which photographer, viewer and letterpress writer might expect and perceive different information from the same photograph.

A series of case studies has been chosen as the best means of examining more searchingly the role and function of photography in India and the extent to which it reflects, shapes and creates attitudes, as well as its relationship to art. The case studies in the following chapters cover various aspects of India and the Near East which were of interest to British visitors and which featured in the artistic and photographic representations of the nineteenth century. An outline of the historical background of each is followed by detailed analysis of examples.

photographs which may have a claim to be regarded as works of art, or which were exhibited or otherwise intended to be viewed as such.

Although nineteenth-century photography, thanks to the work of such researchers as the Gernsheimes, is now recognised as a valid field of study, most works have

CHAPTER 2: AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF EXOTIC PHOTOGRAPHY

There is always a difficulty in discussing photography as an art because the photographic image is produced by a mechanical process. Normally one is well aware that any representation is seen by the viewer, at 'second hand': through the eyes and hence hands of the artist. In contemplating a photograph, one tends to believe that here at last is the object, scene, building or whatever, presenting itself to our view. But we are seeing, not the actual subject, but the photographer's view of it, and in matters of angle, pose and lighting the photographer has, nowadays at least, almost as much freedom as the artist; though in the early years of photography such factors could be influenced, to a far greater extent, by technical limitations with which today's viewer is not generally familiar. Contemporary notions of beauty and taste influence the approach of the photographer fully as much as constraints of equipment and materials; and an understanding of theories of artistic beauty, such as the Picturesque and Sublime introduced in the previous chapter, is an essential prelude to an interpretation of photographs which may have a claim to be regarded as works of art, or which were exhibited or otherwise intended to be viewed as such. Although nineteenth-century photography, thanks to the work of such researchers as the Gernsheims¹, is now recognised as a valid field of study, most works have

tended to concentrate on the artistic or technical conclusions, or the historical evidence, which may be drawn from the photographs *per se*. Little attempt has been made to look at the complete milieu or environment (art historical, social, often technically constrained) in which they were produced and to evaluate the photographs from a standpoint which relates the artistic to the technical. In the field of travel photography there have been relatively few studies, and the information available on individual photographers is limited and frequently contradictory. up the Mission Héliographique in 1851 to document France's existing architectural heritage. The Much that is useful on the topic is published in North America and not readily available here ², while some is unpublished ³. One useful survey of those working in the field is Adam and Fabian's Masters of Early Traveling that Photography (1983) ⁴, which gives a brief account of the lives and works of early photographers. More often travel photography is one section or chapter in a book dedicated to recounting the complete history of photography from its invention: and there is a plethora of such general volumes ⁵. Such chapters of necessity can give little more than a brief factual survey of the countries and photographers involved. Information on individual photographers is even harder to find. The photographers selected as examples for this study - Francis Bedford, Francis Frith and Samuel Bourne - have received little attention, certainly as far as regards their foreign photography: three recent monographs

on Frith have concentrated almost exclusively on his which photography in the British Isles after his Eastern trips⁶. Modern catalogues exist for exhibitions of their work, but the information in them is less than might be hoped⁷.

Texts as well as contemporary images must be consulted to A comparable series of events was taking place in France at around the same time; photographers travelled within France and to the Near East to record architecture and landscape. In France, the Commission on Historical Monuments set up the Mission Héliographique in 1851 to document France's existing architectural heritage. The Ministry of Public Instruction sent Du Camp to the East in 1849, while Auguste Salzmann was dispatched there by the Ministry of Education in 1853. Much more work has been done on these and other French photographers, showing that their work was a matter of pride to France and regarded as something of national prestige. The scarcity of good and accurate material on British photographers in India and the Near East is therefore one reason why I have chosen to explore the topic of their work in this period.

students of his work. Not all their photographs can be Any sort of picture, representative or non-representative, is without meaning unless it has a viewer and what this viewer sees in it may not be precisely what was intended by its maker. This applies to photographs as much as to any artistic creation, and I hope to explain the significant role of the viewer in any analysis of a photograph. Documentary, social, religious, literary, historic and personal associations can be attached to an

image but remain unacknowledged by a later audience which naturally does not view it in a contemporary context.

Contemporary artists such as J.F. Lewis produced paintings with Eastern subjects (51) and a recollection of these would influence the reception of a similar photograph.

Texts as well as contemporary images must be consulted to fill out the attitude of mind in which these photographs were viewed. Technical limitations should also be considered when endeavouring to explain a choice of viewpoint or subject, and I will refer to these later.

Particular problems arise when studying nineteenth-century photographs: problems largely of identification of date and/or photographer, since many did not identify their work. Bourne, however, almost invariably not only signed his plates but gave them a reference, which can be identified in his printed catalogue. Frith usually signed his plates, sometimes numbered them and occasionally provided a year. Bedford's signature is less easy to spot, but his habit of titling his photographs and providing a day, month and year is helpful to later students of his work. Not all their photographs can be positively attributed, but where the identification seems likely I have set out my reasons for the belief.

Books of illustrations were not the only way in which visual images were disseminated. Exhibitions of photographs were equally popular and were mounted in towns and cities throughout the nineteenth century. Photographs of other countries were very popular and a collection of a

particular photographer's works were often shown after his return. Such temporary exhibitions, however, were naturally evanescent and reached relatively few people, and the catalogues which survive were rarely illustrated. There is a lack too of critical reviews of such exhibitions. A book or personal collection of photographs was more likely to be preserved, read over and considered at length. Tipped-in illustrations in books and albums (the compiler of which may not always be known) provide the best-preserved source of nineteenth century travel photographs and these have therefore been selected as illustrations to this study.

Frequently with those photographs which illustrate books the text was written by someone other than the photographer concerned. Consideration must therefore also be given to the use that was made of the photographs and the interpretation placed on them in the text. What was taken by the reader from the photograph via the text may have been quite contrary to the photographer's original intention, and it is a truism that the context can make a considerable difference to one's interpretation of an image. As the reproduction of photographs in large quantities for book or newspaper illustration really post-dates the period being studied⁸, copies of the original photographs were glued onto the page to create the illustrated book. Stereographs (two images of the same scene taken from slightly different angles) were also popular. When placed in a stereographic viewer these gave the impression of a three-dimensional image, and hence an

even greater sense of actuality heightened the impression of photographic truth. These too were often bound into books with descriptive text.

With regard to the issue of foreign subject matter, an interesting comment is made by Dr Lindsay Errington in the sphere of painting. Writing on David Wilkie, she draws a significant distinction between the work of Scottish artists at home and abroad:

"In painting Scotland they were dealing with what they knew inside out. Abroad they were strangers seeing only the outside, and estimating its interest or importance only in terms of its difference from home conditions." ⁹

In 1844 Alexander Kinglake published Eothen, a simple and chronological narrative of his travels in the East, 1834-5, and one of the most popular travel books of the time. In his preface he argues for the egotistical approach:

"it [his book] conveys, not those impressions which ought to have been produced upon any 'well constituted mind', but those which were really and truly received at the time of his rambles, by a headstrong and not very amiable traveller ... His very selfishness - his habit of referring the whole external world to his own sensations, compels him, as it were, in his writings, to obey the laws of perspective; - he tells you of objects, not as he knows them to be, but as they seemed to him." ¹⁰

disciplines to obtain the kind of deeper insight into the
 The point is applicable to a wider stage and to the to
 different products of photography. D. G. Hogarth's
 introduction to Alexander Kinglake's Eothen distinguishes
 between two types of travel books: those which deal with
 types and those which deal with particulars (the two were
 not absolutely exclusive). To describe types. It must
 draw "demands the deeper insight, the wider knowledge, the
 cons higher art...the insight to distinguish the essential
 phot from the accidental." of the individuals (and

In contrast, particulars meant the reation of such an
 appr "descriptive or dramatic treatment of unfamiliar ds of
 thou objects and moving incident." ¹¹ historic, personal and
 universal which occupied the minds of both photographer

'Particulars' therefore are observed and depicted from the
 outside, as a stranger would do, and as Frith, Bourne and
 particularly Bedford seem to have done through the nature
 of their medium as a swift means of recording. The
 distinction, an important one in the context of all forms
 of nineteenth century representations of exotic places
 (written, drawn or photographed), is one to which I will
 refer later in the comparison of photographs with earlier
 representative images. Another paradox is thus emerging;
 that of a medium which, though it gave an apparently more
 'truthful' representation of a place, was seemingly not so
 successful in conveying the 'feel' of it.

In the absence of satisfactory published surveys or
 analyses of exotic photography, it has been necessary to
 borrow or at least consider approaches from related

disciplines to obtain the kind of deeper insight into the photography of India and the Near East which I wish to make the aim of this thesis. Given the special characteristics of the photograph as a phenomenon related both to art and science, and casting illumination on the writing and criticism of the period, such an interdisciplinary approach needs to be evolved. It must draw on artistic, technical, historical and social considerations and themes to place the study of exotic photography in the context of the individuals (and society) who produced it. In the creation of such an approach, I hope to show the many inter-related strands of thought - artistic, associational, historic, personal and universal - which accupied the minds of both photographer and viewer in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 3: INDIA

Introduction

This chapter considers nineteenth century British photography of India in the context of the contemporary technical, social and historical influences which shaped attitudes to the country. India is treated first because, although further from Britain than the Near East, it was from the eighteenth century a valuable British possession as a source of raw materials and goods (Egypt was, at first, viewed by many people simply as a stop on the route to India, and was not appreciated until later). When the Suez Canal opened in 1869 it, together with improvements in steam transport, reduced the journey-time to India to one month, and increased the number of shorter-stay visitors to India ¹. There was thus a new large tourist market for photographs of India.

Most educated people in Britain were aware of India's economic and military significance, particularly where increased British occupation of the Indian territories resulted in the ultimate defeat and expulsion of the traditional enemy, France. With this background there were opportunities for publishers and individuals to extend such knowledge through their own productions. Certain historical and political events, the most obvious of which is the Indian Mutiny, stimulated the interest of Britons at home in their Indian empire, and where discussion and formulation or shifting of attitudes were

taking place, photographs (if there were any being taken at the time) can provide an interesting illumination on, and reflection of, contemporary thinking.

However, India's religious and historical past, as opposed to its contemporary economic and political significance, was not as well-known to the British as that of the Bible lands of the Middle East. Britons had to develop their own terms of reference for a land that had a culture largely alien to the European mind. Photographers, of course, would be amongst those shaping such terms of reference.

The photographs of one British photographer, Samuel Bourne, have been selected as the chief source for an analysis of the opinions and attitudes of the period as related to photography. Bourne was one of the first British photographers to go to India and he made Indian views his speciality. As he spent only a few years in India, he may, like Frith and Bedford, be presumed to have retained his 'British' eye for landscape and buildings and hence his photographs should offer information on nineteenth century attitudes towards India. The photographic work of another Briton, Linnaeus Tripe, is also considered, as his official government-sponsored work in the south of India might be expected to reveal contrasts with Bourne's private, commercial ventures, which were largely carried out in the north of the country.

The following discussion provides an explanation of the historical context of the various types of subject-matter which were photographed, accompanied by one or more most case-studies of photographs which illustrate the topics discussed. social life made a considerable contribution;

when trading posts were first set up in the eighteenth

THE BRITISH IN INDIA

India by themselves, with the aim The historical background outlined in Appendix 2 is essential to an understanding of what India meant to Britain, and what knowledge of and ideas about it were in common currency by the time that photography arrived. Specific reference to historical context will be made in the analyses of the photographs chosen for discussion in the chapter. the British consequently became more isolated

from the people they governed³. An 1841 review of

By our period, the mid-nineteenth century, India was increasingly seen as a major possession in the British Empire rather than simply as a trading colony². This British control over India is suggested by an 1851 map of northern India (2). The vignettes surrounding the map show the exotic aspect of India: dark-skinned Hindoos; the "car of Guggernaut", under which devotees of the Hindu god Vishnu would hurl themselves; tiger-hunting with elephants; the ruins of the old city of Delhi - but largest of all, and in a dominating position on the page, the British Residency at Hyderabad (built 1803-8), controlling the region. Thus the exotic and marvellous was held in check by 'rational' British rule.

(1839), an account of the religion of the Thuggees who

British Attitudes to honour their goddess Kali, aroused

The attitude of the British towards India undergoes a number of changes during the nineteenth century; the most obvious ones are probably seen after the Mutiny of 1857. Changes in social life made a considerable contribution; when trading posts were first set up in the eighteenth century men came out to India by themselves, with the aim of making a fortune and retiring back to Britain. Few took their families with them, as conditions were fairly primitive; to fill their leisure hours, therefore, they depended more on contact with various classes of natives. By the mid-nineteenth century it was customary for families to live out in India, creating their own social circle, and the British consequently became more isolated from the people they governed ³. An 1841 review of Mountstuart Elphinstone's History of India (1841) presented an analysis and categorisation of those opinions about India held by the British public. They display a "vague and...various" attitude: some saw it as exotic and marvellous, while to others its religious and social systems seemed blighted by ignorance. There were those to whom it represented the possibility of acquiring wealth, while others were ignorant of its claims to knowledge and art ⁴.

The Arabian Nights image of India was mitigated for those who actually lived there by discomfort, superstition and bloodshed. Philip Meadows Taylor's Confessions of a Thug (1839), an account of the religion of the Thuggees who

murdered travellers to honour their goddess Kali, aroused fascination and revulsion. The prospect of sudden illness or infection was also an ever-present threat, and many Britons - in particular children - died in the alien country. There were exotic buildings and sights to captivate visitors, and during journeys across and through India travellers visited sites of interest en route, but most lived a fairly narrow existence within the confines of the local British community. Not unnaturally, this led later in the nineteenth century to an intellectual and social isolation, in contrast to the curiosity of earlier visitors ⁵.

With the extension of British influence over India there was increased interest at home in Britain in the country where so many British were spending their lives. Volumes of illustrations about India by visiting British artists to all intents and purposes began with William Hodges, who produced his Select Views in India in 1785-8 ⁶. It was the tombs, temples and palaces of Hindu and Moslem architecture which held the strongest appeal for Hodges, and after his return to England he published a study of Indian architecture. Oriental Scenery (1795-1809), by Thomas and William Daniells, came out about ten years after Hodges and made his redundant with their superb aquatint illustrations (47, 49) and their frequent criticism of the inaccuracy of Hodges' views ⁷. Hodges and the Daniells also produced paintings of Indian buildings and scenery, similar to their engraved work.

Both collections featured the exotic aspects of India, particularly architecture in conjunction with natural features such as vegetation or hills with small figures (usually natives) in the foreground. A minority of views show British buildings, both official and private. In general, the picturesque elements of landscape, as defined by Gilpin, tend to appear, and Hodges in particular was known to 'improve' his views by altering the size and placement of individual features.

Keeping journals and writing letters were popular pastimes

For India there were a large number of such publications in the nineteenth century. The triumphs of the East India Company through the Treaty of Kathmandu in 1816, and the surrender of the Pindaris two years later together with acceptance of British suzerainty by the Rajput chiefs, meant that British control now reached as far north and west as the Sutlej river in the Punjab. Travellers could pass through these areas in safety, and there began to be produced guides to these hitherto little-known parts of India. Such works as J B Fraser's Journal of a Tour through part of the Snowy Range of the Himala Mountains (1820), Charles Forrest's A Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna in India (1824) or Captain Henry Bellow's Views in India (1833) continued the idea of the Picturesque in their titles, texts and illustrations.

India was "beautiful" far more frequently than

The Oriental Annual of 1839 included a number of drawings by David Roberts based on the sketches of Thomas Bacon who had visited India. The use of 'Oriental' to describe

anything east of Europe indicates the type of loose perceptions held by many members of the British public and those who catered for them. The invention of lithography and steel-engraving meant cheaper books could be published, which could be afforded by the newer middle classes. The vogue for such books lasted till the 1860s amongst the British public ⁸. Such books widened British perceptions of India while reaffirming a British presence.

The English ¹⁰ and German ¹¹ Romantics were caught by the Keeping journals and writing letters were popular pastimes for British in India, as well as sketching, and some amateur writers and artists had their work published in Britain. This would give a flavour of India to those reading and viewing at home in Britain. Emily and Fanny Eden, sisters of one Governor-General, Lord Auckland, were enthusiastic amateur artists and after their return to England Emily published Portraits of the Princes and Peoples of India (1844) and a collection of her letters home as Up the Country (1866). A considerable number of such journals was published during the nineteenth century, including books such as Fanny Parks' Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque (1850): a significant title, showing as it does the persistence (if debased) of Gilpin's ideas or, perhaps more accurately, of his terminologies. Her descriptions of (mainly northern) India use "beautiful" far more frequently than "picturesque", but the latter word is applied to ruins, the dress and tombs. Himalayan scenery is usually "beautiful", which suggests a slight move away from

Gilpin's original specific meanings, since mountain scenery to him was "picturesque" or "sublime". Bourne himself refers to Parkes' title when he writes of his own "wanderings in search of the picturesque" (his quotation marks); an important allusion, showing the continuing thread of picturesque ideas which is a principal theme of this analysis⁹.

The English¹⁰ and German¹¹ Romantics were caught by the romantic appeal of India and produced works using Indian images and settings, the most famous and popular of which was Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh (1817). The accuracy of the picture it presented was questionable, but its exoticism helped colour the visions of those at home. In the accounts of visitors, even fifty years later, it was frequently quoted, for instance by Bourne, who introduces Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir and Adjacent Districts with an extract:

"Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
With its roses the brightest the earth ever gave,
Its temples and grottoes and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over the wave?"
and continues:

"The lovers of poetical romance have been charmed by the highly-wrought descriptions of Lalla Rookh..."¹²

Besides this notion of the Picturesque in scenery, and the appeal of exotic Indian architectural styles, there was interest too in the lives of the Indian peoples. This

arose out of both a concern for those living under British government, particularly later in the century with the development of the concept of a world-wide British Empire ruled by Queen Victoria; and from an anthropological interest in what were seen as primitive peoples. Such interest had begun in the eighteenth century, stimulated by Cook's voyages to the South Seas, and 'scientific' works and illustrations dealing with native peoples were produced alongside the purely appealing and picturesque. The Mutiny stimulated this interest, since the trouble had started with ignorance or carelessness in England and India towards the beliefs of the two principal classes in the Indian army, and it was felt that if such violence were to be avoided in future it behoved the governing British to know more about the people under their sway.

An awareness of India is found in much of the writing of the period which is not directly concerned with the country. Thackeray had been born in India, and introduced a number of Anglo-Indians characters into his novels, such as Jos Selby, the indolent Collector of Boogly Wallah in Vanity Fair. In Elizabeth Gaskell's Cranford (first published in Household Words 1851-53) an ex-sergeant's wife tells of walking across India with her baby and of the kindnesses she received from the natives. Such accounts brought the idea of India and its inhabitants before the British public, and while some, like Confessions of a Thug, reinforced prejudice, others such as those above presented the British and native

inhabitants of India as people with individual attitudes, ideas and beliefs. Madras that a photographer might be attached to the School noted that he might begin

PHOTOGRAPHY IN INDIA

Techniques and Practitioners

Photography found a ready welcome in India, and quickly became a popular amateur pastime both amongst those stationed there and amongst wealthy natives ¹³. The first recorded commercial photographic studio in India (Calcutta) was opened by a Mr Schanzhofer in 1848 ¹⁴, and the earliest recorded in Madras in 1858. In 1854 the Photographic Society of Bombay was founded (President Captain H J Barr, Patron Lord Elphinstone), with similar groups being set up in Bengal ¹⁵ and Madras two years later ¹⁶.

All these events suggest that there was a substantial body of official interest in photography developed at the same time. Captain T. Biggs was assigned to photograph objects of interest in western India in 1855 while the Madras Presidency appointed Captain Linnaeus Tripe in 1856 ¹⁷. In 1855 the Court of Directors reported that they had "recently desired the Government of Bombay to discontinue the employment of draughtsmen in the delineation of antiquities of Western India and to employ Photography instead, and it is our desire that this method be generally substituted throughout India." ¹⁸

reproduction of maps as in India."

An unsuccessful plea by Dr Hunter of the School of Industrial Arts at Madras that a photographer might be attached to the School noted that he might begin "doing photographs of the most useful Timber Trees, Fibrous plants and Medicinal or useful Vegetable products of India. It is of consequence that many of these should be correctly delineated as the resources of India are now attracting great attention".¹⁹ The value of photography as a rapid means of recording items of interest to the British in India was therefore recognised from an early date. As well as resident photographers, amateurs and professionals like James Robertson and Felix Beato²⁰, and Bourne, visited India with their cameras.

All these events suggest that there was a substantial body of private British interest in the pastime of photography, while official government approval is indicated by the fact that from 1855 photography was taught to cadets in the Military Seminary of the East India Company at Addiscombe near Croydon. In India, one of the chief official uses of photography was not for taking views, but for reproducing maps. In his Report on the Cartographic Applications of Photography... (1870), James Waterhouse noted that

"in no country in the world has photography been so extensively and so usefully applied to the reproduction of maps as in India."²¹

Indians at "scientific or educational institutions" were also to be encouraged to study photography ²², while natives at the Thomason (actually Thompson) College at Roorkee were to be

"instructed in the art for the purpose of recording the progress of public works." ²³

It was this application to public works which was one of the chief official uses of photography in India. British officials with native assistants recorded the progress of structures such as railways, tunnels and buildings; there was even a hope that it might be possible to record the faces of known criminals to give the police force help in identifying and capturing them ²⁴.

Where an earlier generation might have sketched, gentlemen amateurs and ladies also took up the new skill with enthusiasm. Even earlier, John McCosh, a surgeon in the service of the Bengal army since 1831, had taken calotype portraits during the Second Sikh War 1848-49 ²⁵. His Advice to Officers (1856) includes, as almost its first suggestion, a recommendation that they take up photography, since

"I know of no extra professional pursuit that will more repay him for all the expense and trouble (and both are very considerable) than this fascinating study...he may make such a faithful collection of representations of man and animals, of architecture and landscape, that would be a welcome contribution to any museum." ²⁶

Photographers in India faced particular difficulties in pursuing their craft. One noted that "heat and dust are the great enemies of photography" ²⁷ while another listed as drawbacks

"The heat, sometimes almost intolerable, the dust, the glare, the non-actinic quality of the light; the slight but constant wind, which keeps almost every leaf in motion, the dense and dark foliage..." ²⁸

Both the paper and glass processes suffered from difficulties. Lady Eastlake noted the seeming paradox that exposures in brighter, sunnier countries, were always longer than those in duller climates ²⁹. Nevertheless Indian photographs were taken, and were both published and exhibited in London ³⁰. Reviews concentrated on the accuracy of photography, which brought to viewers the actual appearance of places; those of Robertson and Beato, which are connected with the Mutiny, are described along with a note of the events which took place there, and the photographs imbued with a greater value as records of this. The Illustrated London News, which regularly published engravings taken from photographs, always stated that this was the source of its illustrations as though emphasising the verity of such images ³¹.

Samuel Bourne

The main photographer whose work is used to illustrate this chapter is Samuel Bourne, chosen because of the richness and variety of his images and because, as a

professional photographer, he was selecting his images to appeal to British viewers, whether in India or Britain, and to sell. Information about his life is scarce: every book has variations on the few facts known about him and original sources, save his articles in The British Journal of Photography, are difficult to trace. He was in his early twenties, a bank clerk in Nottingham, when he took up photography, and showed photographs at a number of exhibitions before deciding to go to India.

In his descriptions of his Indian photography, Bourne Accounts vary as to the date of his journey but The British Journal of Photography has a note in its edition of 16 February 1863 announcing the arrival of letters from the Cape sent by Bourne, so he must have arrived in India in 1863. After arriving in Calcutta, he set off for Simla, the summer capital of Government, where a year later he was to join the photographic firm of Shepherd and Robertson ³². On this and the other journeys he was to make he took many photographs, and he also sent back to The British Journal of Photography a series of accounts of his travels which were published intermittently between 1863 and 1870.

The process which Bourne used for his photography was the Fothergill dry plate process, a derivation of the wet collodion process which had been devised in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer ³³. It used glass plates coated with a bromo-iodised collodion as a basis for the negative, which meant that the image was very clear, and

could also be reproduced easily, usually as albumen prints. Before he left for India, Bourne wrote a very full description of the process which he followed³⁴. The plates were prepared at least a week before his summer fortnight-long photographic excursions, and developed a week after. In India however, he apparently tended to prepare and develop plates as needed, to judge from the references scattered through his writings³⁵. "that last and crowning perfection"³⁶, though his photographs show a

In his descriptions of his Indian photography, Bourne frequently stresses the difficulties which he encountered. On one occasion he had to light a fire on a glacier and melt snow to get water to wash the plate. He used a portable tent as a darkroom, coloured yellow, and fitted with a flap for ventilation, as Bourne

"in this country I could not work in one of those little suffocating boxes without elbow room and without ventilation."³⁶

He gives much information on his methods and materials and concludes that many of the difficulties he faces are due to the climate, its heat and dust: for example the printing paper dries out in the dry season and becomes spotted, while, due to the rapid evaporation of ether, collodion flows very sluggishly over his large plates³⁷.

preferred.

Bourne as an artist

Bourne returned to Nottingham from India about 1870 and established a prosperous business in cotton, initially in partnership with his brother-in-law³⁸. He became president

of both the Nottingham Photographic Society and the Nottingham Society of Artists. Bourne was very interested in watercolour painting and increasingly devoted himself to this rather than photography. This is perhaps presaged in his letters from India, where there is a constant reiteration of the wish that artists could see what he is seeing now, and how restrictive the camera can be ³⁹. Such a Bourne particularly laments the lack of colour, "that last and crowning perfection" ⁴⁰, though his photographs show a superb manipulation of tone, even in the difficult snow views. This work, painted in 1900, long after his return to Nottingham, and his Indian photographs, is remarkable. The paintings which Bourne exhibited in Nottingham were the landscapes, and received generally favourable reviews in the local press. One said that Bourne produced original and "recalls Nature with almost a botanist's eye, and endeavours to reproduce her just as he sees her with every minute detail." ⁴²

a description of what sounds like a Pre-Raphaelite style, very similar to the detail and clarity of his photographs. His photographs, because of the difficulties of focusing, could not record great detail unless it was close to the picture plane; architectural subjects were more suited to this than the landscapes which Bourne appears to have preferred.

Bourne's watercolours mainly survive in private collections and are difficult to trace. One identified as his is a watercolour of Derwentwater (3), which shows that

Bourne's style in his paintings was rooted firmly in earlier landscape tradition. The rustic figures pausing in their labours to sit for a while amidst the sheaves of corn which they have been binding suggest a much earlier and very English tradition; that of Constable and Stubbs in the early nineteenth century. His fascination with the 'Picturesque' effects of light and shade, which is such a characteristic of his photography, is shown in his depiction of the dappled patterns of cloud shadows on the hills across the lake and in the tree-tops. The contrast between this work, painted in 1900, long after his return to Nottingham, and his Indian photographs, is remarkable. For a painting from the turn of the twentieth century, the watercolour of Derwentwater seems remarkably dated in style; whereas in his photography Bourne produced original and significant works in what was a relatively new genre.

In India, and he carefully gives the address of his

Bourne as a photographer Co. of Soho Square, London, at

The most important feature of Bourne's photographs is his manipulation of chiaroscuro to enhance his viewer's understanding of form, while he simultaneously creates decorative patterns of light and shade. Differing aspects of this control of light and shade are evidenced in his landscape and architectural views, as will be illustrated later. at the subjects which he chose were therefore

intended to appeal to British taste. As his exploratory

Despite the difficulties involved in carrying and handling large plates of glass, Bourne much preferred them and advocated their greater use. He condemned prints from

small cameras as "scraps, however good they may be: they have no pretensions to pictures....I take it that one good large picture that can be framed and hung up in a room is worth a hundred little bits pasted in a scrap-book." ⁴²

A review of Bourne's photographs upholds him in this:

"These are pictures not to be doubled up in a coarse scrapbook but framed for the adornment of the drawing room." ⁴³

No doubt this refers at least in part to Bourne's great ability to make a coherent composition out of the sometimes disparate elements before him; usually dependent on his manipulation of light and shade.

Bourne's views could be purchased in Britain, as well as in India, and he carefully gives the address of his agents, Messrs Marion and Co. of Soho Square, London, at the end of his series of articles in The British Journal of Photography ⁴⁴. It is difficult to be certain as to what extent his photographs were intended primarily for the Britons resident in India, or those in Britain. It may be argued however that, whichever his intended audience, it would in large part be British by nationality and that the subjects which he chose were therefore intended to appeal to British taste. As his exploratory journeys involved so much difficulty and expense, many views would have been taken simply to ensure that they were safely recorded, since a second visit was unlikely.

It is tempting to argue that more familiar views, such as those of the Vale of Kashmir or the Taj Mahal, were intended for an audience in Britain, while less well-known views would be targeted at local Indian viewers. However, the size of India meant that many people could spend their lives there but see only a small part, and hence not all views would be familiar to Bourne's Indian audience.

later, he was attempting to fit his landscape photographs The reaction of his British audience in India is indicated by a review in the southern Indian Neilo cherry Excelsior.

It comments that

"The idea generally associated with a landscape photograph is that of a dirty-looking picture, more or less true to nature, in spite, apparently, of the efforts of the artist to make it otherwise [but] here is artistic selection of subject, proper arrangement and balance of lines, appropriate foregrounds, delicate middle tints, and soft aerial distances...we cannot but rejoice that Mr Bourne, after depicting the grand scenery of the Himalayas and Cashmere...has found his way to our less grand, but, according to him, not less beautiful plateau." ⁴⁵

This quotation indicates that Bourne's productions were considered much superior to those of other photographers, both as regards his artistic compositions and the accuracy of his views: it shows the combination of 'truthfulness' and Picturesque which runs as a theme through much of this Indian chapter. The remark about the beauties of the

Indian photographs, Bourne remained stubbornly insular in Neilgherries is of interest since it makes it clear that British residents in India did possess a local pride in their area which would make good photographs of it a desirable purchase.

Bourne's Indian photographs are evidently the product of careful thought: perhaps because, as will be illustrated later, he was attempting to fit his landscape photographs into British tradition. Evidence that Bourne may well have experimented with his compositions may be identified from looking at a number of small square prints in the India Office Library, which seem to show him exploring alternative compositions in preparation for his larger prints. The small print Kashmir, Poplar Avenue shows tree shadows coming from the left, and two figures on the right middle distance (6). A larger print Poplar avenue, Srinuqqur, from the end, has shadows falling from the right, half across the road (5). The figures in the scene are slightly further back, and have been carefully disposed, looking in different directions but none into the camera. A third, Poplar Avenue from the Middle, also has shadows falling from the right, but across the full width of the road, to make a three-sided linear pattern (4). It seems clear from the different positions of the figures in these several prints that they were placed by Bourne, seeking their most successful and satisfying disposition.

Despite the technical excellence and artistic merit of his

Indian photographs, Bourne remained stubbornly insular in one respect: he commented to his readers in The British Journal of Photography that

"I am perfectly convinced that no scenery in the world is better or so well adapted for photography, on the whole, as that of Great Britain" ⁴⁶.

This may explain his adoption of the Picturesque mode.

The Mutiny was confined to the northern portion of India,

CASE STUDIES cities there such as Lucknow, Meerut and

The Indian Mutiny most. Photographs of the Mutiny were

The initial reaction to the Indian Mutiny was one of horror and resentment, shown in The Illustrated London News's first editorial after the news broke, demanding that "such an example...will be made as will strike Terror into the minds of the native population" ⁴⁷, and typified in September 1857 when an official Day of Prayer was held to pray for British casualties and the progress of the civilisation in India ⁴⁸.

accurate visual idea of places in India.

The vast amount of press coverage which appeared in 1857-58 shows that the public were following events closely. Although a rebellion by only a part of the Bengal Army and natives sympathetic to them, the title of the Indian Mutiny given it by the British showed the treasonous and all-pervading nature which they ascribed to it. This gradually faded as more people began to consider at least the possibility that the British government had not been wholly blameless and an increasing mood of toleration began to pervade the press ⁴⁹. Nonetheless, after the British defeated the rebels, their possession of

India was indisputable. The Mutiny lingered for a considerable time in the public consciousness in Britain and in India: when Edward Lear visited India twenty years later, in 1877, he found it was still a common topic of conversation, and the places associated with it were tourist attractions ⁵⁰.

The Mutiny was confined to the northern portion of India, and it was the cities there such as Lucknow, Meerut and Delhi which suffered most. Photographs of the Mutiny were exhibited in Britain, but considerably later than the events which they depicted: The Athenaeum notes such a series in 1859, mainly portraits of those who figured in the events of 1857, "taken by Mr Robertson and his Armenian brother-in-law Mr Beato", and the implication in the text is that this is one of the earliest of such series to be shown ⁵¹. This is nearly two years after the Mutiny, and shows how difficult it was to obtain an accurate visual idea of places in India.

The post-1857 photographers who took views of the Mutiny sights must have had their perceptions coloured by the written accounts in newspapers, quantities of which were also produced as books by many people with their own Mutiny story to tell. The concentration on the Kashmir Gate, for instance, illustrated below, must be one result of these accounts since it is scarcely mentioned or illustrated before the Mutiny. Hence there is a particular inter-relationship between photographs of the Mutiny and the verbal and written accounts of events.

Case Study: The Kashmir Gate, Delhi

The city of Delhi (7) has been the seat of Indian government for a thousand years. It has seen Hindu, Moslem and British governance and its many styles of architecture provide a great variety of subjects for the artist, presumably why it was so frequently represented in drawings and photographs. Its most famous monuments were the Qutub Minar, the Fort of Selimgurh, the Observatory and the Jumma, Fatehpuri and Kala Mosques; the first four are depicted in Oriental Scenery and all feature in Bourne's photographic catalogue.

However, for the post-1857 audience, Delhi had a deeper significance which, for a time at least, blotted out any consideration of its past greatness. Although the rebellion had begun at Meerut, the rebels decided to go to Delhi, where the eighty-two-year-old King of Delhi lived as a powerless pensioner of the British. Around him the rebellion gathered in strength as more and more Indian troops mutinied and marched to Delhi. The British officers and civilians who remained at Delhi and had survived the first massacre in the city congregated in a fortified enclosure known as the Main Guard, inside the Kashmir Gate, the nearest exit from the city to the British camp⁵².

When rebel troops entered this enclosure, the survivors made for the ramp which led from the courtyard to the bastion above. From there they climbed down into the ditch and pressed under its inner wall till the enemy left to

plunder the treasury. Only then could they scale the counterscarp and escape. Later, when Delhi was being held by the mutineers, the British counter-assault began near the Kashmir Gate, where fierce fighting followed a failed British attempt to blow up the gate. After six days of fighting, the last of the rebel strongholds fell.

A typical reaction to the events at Delhi came from a British combatant: "There are several mosques in the city most beautiful to look at. But I should like to see them all destroyed. The rascally brutes desecrated our churchyards and graveyards, and I do not think we ought to have any regard for their stinking religion."⁵³

This then is the background to a sequence of photographs from the India Office Library showing the Kashmir gate. Since all that the uninformed viewer would see is a rather tumbledown wall with a ditch around it, a knowledge of the course of the Mutiny would be necessary to an understanding of the significance of the image; which would have been supplied if not encouraged by the very detailed accounts of the course of events provided by newspapers and books. The Times printed full accounts from various correspondents in India, including one letter, originally written to his sister, from a young man who survived the first events at the Kashmir Gate⁵⁴.

The Illustrated London News printed a full-page illustration of the taking of the gate by the British, with smartly-dressed soldiers beating down the native resistance (8). Here frenzied activity is the main feature, in striking contrast with the quiet, sometimes deserted, Kashmir Gate shown in the series of photographs below. Because of technical limitations, photography could not show events like this taking place: instead it relied on the perceived veracity of photography to create an image which would be of interest to viewers and through association evoke memories of events linked with it.

One of the earliest photographs of the damaged Kashmir Gate, by Beato, c1858, (9) was taken relatively soon after the events narrated above (though of course post-dating the written accounts), and the rubble in the ditch is a relic of the Mutiny. The walls look very pock-marked, presumably from the bombardment, and the viewer is left in little doubt that this is the scene of a battle. Beato has included some poorly-clad native figures in his photograph; Bourne's view, taken some five years later, (10) shows two better-dressed natives on the bridge, looking into the ditch. This is now cleared, levelled and grassed over, and the embankment too looks better-maintained. A small tree is springing up on the other side of the ditch near the gate. Though the ruins still show the marks of bombardment, there is not such a sense of immediacy as there was in Beato's photograph, because of the intervening five years. Bourne's view also gives the impression of brighter sunshine than Beato's,

though the angle of the shadows is similar. fighting at Delhi and the subsequent British recapture of the city. Ruined walls and vegetation are traditionally 'picturesque', and the contemplative figures are another picturesque inclusion; but in this scene, as in most of his architectural views, Bourne chooses a seemingly-simple shot which lets the individual elements impress themselves on the viewer. Knowing its history, a viewer could draw his or her own impressions of the scene. This of this is straightforward approach is how Bourne treats all his Mutiny subjects; perhaps feeling himself to be forced by a new type of subject-matter, dependent on specific associations, to devise a new way of looking and representing. of the Nizam of Hyderabad. As the scene of fierce fighting during the Mutiny, the Kashmir Gate was an The view by an unknown photographer, taken in the 1880s, (11) shows an enormous growth in vegetation: the embankment is much more covered and trees are growing up and over the wall. Shrubs in tubs placed along the "the embankment make the scene look more like a park, though in spite of this the gate somehow looks more brooding and unkempt than in the earlier views. However, by the 1890s, when the British photographer G. W. Lawrie took a similar view (12), the Gate has been returned more to the appearance it had in Bourne's photograph. With the tubs removed and the vegetation stripped from the wall it has a tidier look. Even the scars from the bombardment seem to be fading, and becoming more like the original brickwork. The events of the Mutiny were not yet forgotten; the 1891 edition of Murray's Handbook for Travellers to India and

Ceylon included a five-page account of the fighting at Delhi and the subsequent British recapture of the city following attacks on the Kashmir Gate. Further, "on a slab set up...just outside the gate, the event is described"⁵⁵.ay underlie this particular choice of viewpoint.

The first photograph which I have discovered to take a view through the famous Gate is in fact the last in the sequence, dated 1902 (13), and the significance of this is increased by the photographer being an Indian firm, Raja Lala Deen Dayal and Sons. Dayal had received his photographic training from the Thompson Civil Engineering College, and from 1884 to 1911 he served as photographer to the court of the Nizam of Hyderabad. As the scene of fierce fighting during the Mutiny, the Kashmir Gate was an obvious choice for British photographers, but all those so far considered had chosen to take their photograph obliquely, showing the ditch where the British took refuge. In his description of Delhi Bourne mentions "the gate - where so many of our brave countrymen perished"⁵⁶ and the significance of the site to the British obviously depended on this association.ected with the Mutiny were made, and Bourne's catalogue includes views of the

Only with the beginning of a new century, it seems, could this association be mitigated, with a photograph that takes the viewer through the gates to see the garden beyond. Its Indian photographers presumably intended that their picture should appeal to an Indian audience, both British and native. In 1901, Edward VII had succeeded to the throne and, more important for India, in 1899 Lord

Curzon had been appointed its Governor-General. At this period he was much admired by native Indians for his determination to apply the same force of law to British as to Indian malefactors, and the notion of new hopes for a new century may underlie this particular choice of viewpoint. *the Residency, Lucknow*

According to William Russell of the Times, writing in

Through its unusual double openings the Kashmir Gate provided the main entry and exit point on the road to Kashmir, but it is difficult to find pre-photographic, or even pre-Mutiny views of the gate (though other parts of Delhi appear frequently), precisely because its Oriental significance depends on a viewer's knowledge of the events of 1857. Earlier views of Delhi, such as those of the Daniells, concentrated on its half-ruined Observatory, its palaces and temples such as the Pearl Mosque; these also feature in Bourne's catalogue of Photographic Views in India, along with various sizes of prints showing the Kashmir Gate and "The Ridge", another spot connected with the Mutiny. *cy during the rebellion became a matter of*

grave concern to the public in India and in Britain, and

Many photographs of places connected with the Mutiny were made, and Bourne's catalogue includes views of the Memorial Well at Cawnpore where the victims of one massacre were thrown by the rebels, as well as others, like this, which show where fighting took place.

Nonetheless, Bourne's photographs of Mutiny sites (as he travelled some five or six years after the Mutiny the visible evidence of rebellion had largely vanished) are far outweighed by his other views of Indian landscape and

architecture: hence, despite the frequent references to the Mutiny in his articles for The British Journal of Photography, he is not disproportionately biased towards this aspect of Anglo-Indian history.

Though evidence is lacking, Beato may have taken an early

Case Study: the Residency, Lucknow India Office Library

According to William Russell of the Times, writing in March 1858, Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, was the most beautiful city in the world ⁵⁷. It was famous above all for the luxury and magnificence of its artistic works, and the circumstances of British protection allowed these arts to flourish ⁵⁸. Lucknow features three times in Oriental Scenery; The Punj Mahalla Gate, Palace of Nawaub Sujah Dowla and Lucknow from the Opposite Bank of the River Goomty ⁵⁹.

The British Residency at Lucknow was begun in 1780, but the whole complex took over twenty years to complete ⁶⁰. The fate of the British soldiers and civilians besieged in the Residency during the rebellion became a matter of grave concern to the public in India and in Britain, and the recapture of the Residency was seen as symbolic of Britain's victory over the rebels ⁶¹. The complex of buildings was preserved as a monument, and one of the best-preserved traditions, that the Union flag had flown from the Residency throughout the fighting, was commemorated in a poem by Tennyson: the last line of each verse reiterates that "ever upon our topmost roof our banner of England flew".

Written and published over twenty years after the Mutiny, in 1879, it shows the lasting impact which the events of 1857 had made in the British consciousness. *have turned the Residency complex into a park, where a pensive white-robed*

Though evidence is lacking, Beato may have taken an early view of the Residency ruins in the India Office Library (14) since a number of very similarly-composed scenes of Lucknow by Beato and Robertson are in the Gernsheim *figure a* Collection in Texas ⁶². The view shows the walls pitted and broken from the bombardment received, with long wooden beams aggressively puncturing the flat plane of the building frontage. In the foreground are more beams, presumably some of the material needed in the *ves in great* reconstruction of the building. Among the rooms visible is the one in which General Sir Henry Lawrence, leader of the besieged British forces, was killed by an exploding shell ⁶³. *the recollection of atrocities without the walls,*

just as flowers and marble monuments serve to recall

As the decades progressed, the shattered ruins acquire an air of peace, almost of respectability. Beato's view had been taken immediately after the recapture of the Residency, before the site had been cleared or vegetation had a chance to smooth over the scars of the bombardment. In Bourne's view, taken in the 1860s (15), climbing plants have covered the ruins of the two storey building, and in the foreground neat piles of rubble replace the previous chaos. The natives in the view almost look like building labourers resting in their task, an impression heightened by the seemingly newly-cut blocks to the right.

**the deepest interest attaches to the ruined Residency*

In a photograph by V. & E. Pont from the 1870s (16) the process continues, with a neatly-tended garden where the rubble had been. Lawns, paths and shrubs have turned the Residency complex into a park, where a pensive white-robed figure, from his clothes a native, appears a little out of place in such well-maintained, lush grounds. The rehabilitation of the Residency has been so complete that one almost fails to recognise in this thoughtful figure a reference to its tragic past. George Wheeler's account of India in 1875-76: the Visit of the Prince of Wales this

comments to his reader that if one looks away from the "these hallowed memorials of the thrilling three months' war...your eyes will lose themselves in great breadths of flowers...where they stand, the cannon of the enemy opened their relentless fire, and they have grown rapidly and luxuriantly as if trying to blot away the recollection of atrocities without the walls, is just as flowers and marble monuments serve to recall the memory of heroic sufferings and valiant deeds within." ⁶⁴

By the 1890s the almost painfully well-manicured grounds and the sharply defined ruins present a very sterile image to the visitor (17). In the planting of lawns and shrubs its keepers may have wanted the desert to rejoice and bloom as the rose, but this careful tending has destroyed much of the emotional impact of the untouched ruins. The Residency tower was recommended as an outlook point for tourists: "the deepest interest attaches to the ruined Residency

and its crowded cemetery...where 2000 heroic men and women lie." ⁶⁵

Illustrated London News, in its regular accounts of the Tennyson's poem was published in 1879, at the end of a decade in which Queen Victoria had become Empress of India, and by which time the story of the defence of Lucknow had become one amongst many stories of British heroism throughout the centuries. But it is only in this last scene that a Union flag flies from the flag-staff on top of the Residency: Tennyson's poem had stressed this feature throughout his account of the siege, but the legend, like most, would appear to be later than the event. To a viewer who also knew the poem, and because of the perceived veracity of photography, it would seem that the photograph proves the truth of the poem. But in fact, it is the poem which has, in a sense, put the flag there: hence the photograph, instead of verifying existing truths, is helping to create new ones. By the time this last photograph was taken, it seems as though the viewer is being shown the scene through Tennyson's eyes: by the late nineteenth century the significant associations of the ruined building are creating a Romantic view of the British past in India. Virtually contemporary with Beato's photograph of the ruined residency is a view of The Residency, Lucknow, in The Illustrated London News (18). This, though, shows the Residency as it appeared before the bombardment, and

without any flag, unlike a view of Delhi after the Siege (19) which displays the effects of looting. The Illustrated London News, in its regular accounts of the progress of the siege of Lucknow, never mentions the Residency flag⁶⁶. The Delhi view, as the paper explains, was sent by a correspondent in India and engraved from his sketch; hence it seems likely that the more static views such as The Residency, Lucknow, were based on an image already available in Britain⁶⁷.

As the century progressed, the events of the Mutiny began to recede into the past, and views of Mutiny places became less significant as a record as they were tidied up and altered. However, as these views of the Kashmir Gate and the Lucknow Residency show, there does seem to have been a body of interest in such sights until the end of the century, as instanced by the experience of Edward Lear as a 'tourist' (above). Delhi, for instance, has around a dozen gates piercing its walls⁶⁸, some architecturally more interesting than the Kashmir Gate; but it is this Gate which is most closely linked with the Mutiny and which continually appears in photographs in the nineteenth century.

It is clear from the foregoing that the Mutiny provided one of the first major opportunities for travel and profit to commercial photographers in India, despite the difficulties of the early processes. Where earlier conflicts had attracted journalists and graphic artists, the Indian Mutiny was, along with the Crimean war, one of

the first conflicts to create what might almost be seen as the forerunner of the photo-journalist. The events of 1857, with their stories of bloodshed and fighting, brought possession of India, with all the responsibilities which that entailed, home to the British more than any number of religious or educational tracts could have done. This may have been one of the reasons why Bourne chose to go to India when he did, as the market for his views was thereby enlarged considerably. It seems likely his photographs were appreciated among the public more as accurate records than as artistic compositions, though his own skill in manipulating light and shadow emerges in almost all of his views. Critical opinion certainly admired his views for their aesthetic and artistic appearance as well as their representation of Indian scenes⁶⁹.

Natives laid more on costume than physical features. With *Portraiture* of photography its usefulness in this

By far the commonest application of the new photographic techniques, when they became more widely-available, was for taking portraits. This was certainly true of the photographic studios set up in towns in Britain, since there was a ready market serving individuals unable to afford a painted portrait. In India, too, it was the portrait photograph which predominated, continuing a tradition of Western-style portraiture amongst those members of society who could afford such luxuries⁷⁰.

from the retiring Governor-General Lord Canning and his wife. Canning himself, though deploring the events of the

Native Types

Such portraits were of individuals, commissioned and bought by their native subjects. For the British to purchase, though, there was a different kind of picture: that showing characteristic 'types'. Anonymous figures engaged in various trades or wearing a specific costume were always popular subjects for artists and book illustrators, such as the Grass-cutter and Organ-grinder (20) from Fanny Parkes' Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque ⁷¹. Such figures were often included in landscape views, such as those in Oriental Scenery, but the most thorough survey was produced by a Dutch artist, Francois-Balthazar Solvyns, who in the 1790s made hundreds of drawings later published as A Collection of two hundred and fifty coloured etchings descriptive of the manners, customs and dresses of the Hindoos ⁷². Such representations tended to romanticise the subjects, with stress laid more on costume than physical features. With the invention of photography its usefulness in this particular sphere was quickly apparent and in 1863 a Bombay civil servant, William Johnston, published The Oriental Races and Tribes: Residents and Visitors of Bombay illustrated with inserted photographs. (21)

A larger production was The Peoples of India, published by the India Office in eight volumes 1868-75. In the introduction it is stated that this collection of ethnographic photographs was compiled following a request from the retiring Governor-General Lord Canning and his wife. Canning himself, though deploring the events of the

Mutiny, had set himself against the vengeful acts of many British in India and always insisted that equal justice and consideration should be extended to Indians. He and his wife, who had been involved in the establishment of the Photographic Society of Bengal ⁷³, wanted a collection which might "recall to their memory the peculiarities of Indian life" and accordingly "officers of the Indian services went forth and traversed the land in search of interesting subjects." ⁷⁴

The project grew with contributions from both amateurs and professionals and it was decided to publish the result as an official government publication,

"with a view to copies being distributed among the different institutions of the country [Britain]" ⁷⁵ These photographs from over a dozen different sources were intended to "[make] us intimately acquainted with the various physical types and the costumes of the Asiatic races." ⁷⁶

In other words, they were a scientific study, and had no intention of being works of art. Toda Women (21) illustrates the unease with which many natives viewed the camera, and the photograph shows the external appearance of the women, particularly their dress, rather than revealing any detail of their individuality.

The India Office Library has a fascinating collection of native portraits, dating from the 1860s-1870s, which are

hard to fit into the studies of natives discussed above. These are studies of natives from Eastern Bengal and it is tempting to make comparisons with the work of Julia Margaret Cameron in Britain, and her attempts to show the personalities of her sitters. The India Office Library unfortunately has no idea of the identity of the scientific photographer, or whether he or she might be native or British; the images seem unconnected to The Peoples of India. These photographs go far beyond the depiction of sitters in terms of physical possessions or even physical attributes. One shows a man, dressed in a loose white robe, with the shadow of a cross on the wall behind him (22). This, together with his brooding gaze, suggests a Christ-like figure.

One of the most fascinating aspects of India to the British was the light. Another shows an older man, whose face is lit by a lamp in the picture (23), unusual for the time the photograph was taken. This Rembrandtesque effect, which may derive at least some of its impact from the difficulties of achieving even lighting when photographing indoors or under cover, concentrates attention inwards, onto the figure which evokes that of a saint or prophet. The photographs show an intense concentration on the sitters as individuals, while at the same time they might also be seen as representing universal emotions such as 'Suffering' and 'Knowledge'; or perhaps even have been intended to suggest scriptural or religious connotations.

The British had always felt more at ease with Islam, as is To return to the distinction between 'types' and 'particulars' drawn earlier in this thesis, it can be

argued that The Peoples of India: Toda Women (21) deals with the latter, in the external appearance of the women, while the native portraits discussed above deal with 'types'; specifics which are at the same time universal.

Once the study of race had been put on a pseudo-scientific footing in the later nineteenth century by the works of men such as Count Arthur de Gobineau and Nott and Gliddon the contempt which most Britons felt for their Indian subjects could be rationally justified⁷⁷. They drew comparisons with the lower classes of the British Isles, especially Ireland, whose poor and shiftless 'Paddies' seemed analogous to the native Indian⁷⁸.

One of the most fascinating aspects of India to the British, and the source of much of the sense of 'difference' felt by them, was its religions. The all-pervading caste system was linked to the religious beliefs of India's largely Hindu population and, unlike the Bible lands of the Middle East, India's religious and historical past was not familiar to the British. They had to develop their own terms of reference for a culture largely alien to the European mind; a development which depended largely on relating Indian features to an existing framework of reference in other spheres much as the landscape was compared with British scenery.

The British had always felt more at ease with Islam, as it had been known to the West from an early date and, like Christianity, acknowledged only one God. Hinduism assigns

different attributes to various gods. Certain practices were peculiarly abhorrent to the British, among them the custom of suttee, self-immolation of a Hindu widow; thuggism, practiced by the devotees of the goddess Kali who demanded the murder of travellers and their despoilation; and infanticide ⁷⁹. Such practices served to encourage the British in a feeling of social and religious superiority towards the majority of their subjects.

The middle years of the century 1840-65 were notable for the overt Christianising bias of prominent government officials such as John and Henry Lawrence ⁸⁰. In the wake of the 'muscular Christianity' preached at Dr Arnold's and Rugby, duty to the fledgling British empire became almost a religion. Discomfort and suffering helped mould the character and, by inference, self-denying toil in an uncomfortable and alien environment such as India benefitted the soul ⁸¹. The irony of the situation in India was that, while improvements in health, education and the eradication of superstition, which had been provided by the missionaries to draw Indians to them, were gladly embraced by the natives, conversions were few ⁸².

In the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly after the Mutiny, came more favourable appreciation of Indian religions for the virtues which some aspects were now recognised as possessing, no doubt helped by the suppression of some of the less attractive practices such as thuggism. After the 1857 uprisings the prospect of Christianising the native population lost much of its

appeal, despite the enthusiasm of earlier years.⁸² Included in his compositions.

Nonetheless, representations of class and caste continued; Bourne's catalogue of Photographic Views in India includes a brief list of some three dozen native photographs, almost all groups. These included such titles as Sansies (a tribe of thieves and shoplifters), Hermaphrodites and Shrofs (Money-changers); without reference to the photographs we can deduce that the British fascination for the unknown or alien continued ⁸³. Though it is tempting to argue that such photographs could be of value in 1874; teaching the British about their native subjects, it seems far more likely that it was the element of strangeness and unfamiliarity which attracted British curiosity. was familiar to their native customers, namely the portrait of Bourne shared the superior attitudes of his countrymen, and contempt for natives is revealed in his references to those met on his journeys. Their ignorance of the process of photography, though it would seem entirely to be expected among the coolies and villagers he encounters, is described with contempt for their fears ⁸⁴, while the noble Indians whom he meets do not receive much more sympathetic treatment ⁸⁵. Where Bourne is at his most unprejudiced is when he considers the natives purely as photographic two subjects. Writing on the Kashmiri women, he praises their "pretty round faces" ⁸⁶. Such a comment differs from those of previous Picturesque writers, who saw figures as attractive additions to a scene rather than as a subject in themselves. Nonetheless, Bourne's employment of them in his photographs conforms to the picturesque usage; he

rarely takes native portraits, though figures are included in his compositions.

Case Study: Rural India

Unfortunately it is difficult to find examples of native photography with which to compare Bourne's work ⁸⁷.

Although there is much evidence of official training for native photographers (see references above), this was for official purposes, and the practising amateur is rare.

The best-known professional Indian photographer is Raja Lala Deen Dayal, whose photographic career began in 1874; an example of his work (13) was discussed above. Indian art has a tradition of portraiture; hence photographers who set up their businesses concentrated on what was familiar to their native customers, namely the portrait or group. It was largely British photographers who supplied their British audience with landscape and architectural views.

One such, Bourne's Rural Scene in Bengal (25), is an interesting illustration of how his interests lie more in the picture-making and less in the documentary presentation of facts. The most prominent of the figures is the white cow in the foreground, rather than the two natives squatting nearby. Instead, the viewer's eye is attracted to the patterns made by the tree-trunks against the sky and their reflections in the water beneath. These lines are contrasted with the feathery edges of the palm fronds. Pattern-making is the predominant feature of this photograph when it is first viewed; it is only later that

one realises it is also showing the two natives in their environment.

This contrasts with a near-contemporary photograph by the amateur W. W. Hooper, a captain in the Madras Light Cavalry⁸⁸. Hooper has also composed his Village Scene (26), but the effect is quite different. The clearing, with its groups of natives, bullock cart and scattered utensils, looks almost like a stage setting, with the natives posed to indicate how they perform their various tasks. Hooper's photograph shows more details of village life, and points out all the visible ways in which these people differ from the British, but Bourne's in a sense gives the whole picture at once: it makes up a more coherent visual entity, reflecting his own artistic inclinations. The two views form an interesting illustration of the difference between representing types and representing particulars. Hooper's view, with all its detail, is a record of the tools and work of a specific group of natives, taken at a particular time when all was laid out for inspection - 'particulars' - whereas Bourne's photograph is about a generalised type of lifestyle - 'types'.

In contrast, Bourne's Toda Villagers in the Mountains of South India (24) shows how some representations of natives might influence the formation of the views of his distant British audience. The version of Toda Women in The Peoples of India (21) had a stark background, with an indeterminate flooring, and may have been taken against a

wall or in a studio. Here the natives are shown in stiff poses in front of their huts, revealing an existence which would be largely alien to most of his British viewers many accustomed to comfortable nineteenth century living conditions. The lack of emotion on the features of the villagers is disconcerting, while the primitive living conditions would have been likely to arouse feelings of superiority in British viewers, aware as they were of Britain's greatly superior scientific and technical act as knowledge.

ing an ideal self-sacrifice not found in the West, but humanitarians were shocked by the fact that

Religion sure was brought to bear to ensure the

Photographic material with any obvious religious link is limited; much less therefore can be made of it. Much which bears upon the subject often relates to depictions of native figures, since the Hindu caste system and their religion were inextricably linked. Hence many photographs of natives show on one level the particular living and conditions of those natives depicted, while at the same time they illustrate a specific class or caste. The studies of natives of eastern Bengal (above) illustrate this dichotomy, since they can be read as individual portraits or as social and/or religious 'types'. Their of photographer is unfortunately unknown, and considering the evidently 'Christian' attributes with which they seem to have been endowed it is possible that they formed part of an evangelising or missionary effort; either showing the effects of Christianity on Hindus or imposing a Christian viewpoint onto what could be seen as 'pagan' sitters.

of a god, beneath which ecstatic worshippers had been

Representations of Religious Practices that British

The Indian way of life held interest for the British because of its dissimilarity from their own. One of many books on this subject was Scenery, Costumes and Architecture chiefly on the Western side of India by Captain Robert Melville Grindlay (1826-30). This book of coloured aquatints includes one entitled Immolation of a Hindu Widow on the Funeral Pyre of her Husband (27). Originally there was some British approval for this act as illustrating an ideal self-sacrifice not found in the West, but humanitarians were shocked by the fact that often pressure was brought to bear to ensure the fulfilment of the custom. The East India Company were reluctant to intervene against it, but when he became Governor General of Bengal in 1829 Lord William Bentinck launched a determined attack on inhuman Indian religious rites. Like many of the more repellent Indian customs such as hook-swinging, suttee was both horrifying and fascinating to westerners and illustrations of it frequently appear in collections of artistic pre-photographic views of India such as Grindlay's.

The Illustrated London News contained a lengthy History of the British Empire in India, its many illustrations including A Swinging Festival in India (28). The text merely mentions hook-swinging along with many other aspects of India life, but the fact that this illustration appears beside another showing The Rutt Jatthra, A Hindoo Festival Held At Juggernath, (where men drag the heavy car of a god, beneath which ecstatic worshippers had been

known to throw themselves ⁸⁹⁾ suggests that British interest lay very much in the exotic differences between themselves and India. They had seen or heard. Bourne could only show what was in front of his lens, whether he

In contrast to the great number of artistic representations of religious rites, I have found no photographic versions which show such events taking place. The reasons for this are various: the British government's crusade against such practices as hook-swinging and suttee; the natural reluctance of Indians to have such aspects of their lives portrayed by a foreigner; and the inability of photography to capture the swift movement of hookswingers or the surrounding crowds at a suttee.

Bourne's comments about the ignorance of Indians (above) make it clear that many would not understand the camera's operation, and those who did might well view the photographer as a government spy. Hence the combination of these circumstances meant an inevitable shift away from depicting Indian religious rites from life, although religious significance might be given by implication or association.

Case Study: Benares

This case-study considers views of Benares (Varanasi) on the river Ganges, a holy place for Hindus and one of the oldest cities in the world. At the burning ghats (sacred stairways), the ashes of the dead are scattered on the river to ensure a favourable reincarnation. Bourne's photographs of the city include Benares, The Burning Ghât (29). It is unlikely that any of the artists' depictions

of suttee would have been made on the spot at the time, but they, unlike Bourne, could have recreated the scene in a drawing from what they had seen or heard. Bourne could only show what was in front of his lens, whether he arranged it or not. His scope was therefore more limited than that of any artist, who could thereby argue that he or she was providing a fuller coverage of all aspects of life. It is unlikely that permission would have been given for him to photograph a suttee, but a far more important factor would have been British disapproval of suttee. The fact that none of Bourne's photographs show any such incident may therefore be one reflection of the way in which the British had altered the Indian way of life.

Nevertheless, an extract from Bourne's letters to The British Journal of Photography shows that, even if suttee was now becoming extinct, funeral pyres were still lit. Of Benares, he writes

"I witnessed the ceremony of the burning of two dead bodies...I could discern through the flames the roasting skull and feet of one of the bodies. One of them was a woman, whose husband stood by evidently regarding the horrid spectacle with the highest satisfaction." ⁹⁰

It is difficult to see if there are any bodies in this photograph and Bourne does not actually say that he did photograph the scene which he describes. It seems likely that such an intrusion into private affairs would have been resented and as Bourne does not mention a photograph

taken at that time it seems more likely that he did not. However, mention of it does suggest that the British public continued to be fascinated by what they felt to be such grisly practices, and this view of the The Burning Ghât may be intended as an allusion to Indian funerary practices. Fanny Parkes includes a description of the lengthy funeral rites of the Hindus, comparing them with the rites of the ancient Romans, but remarking that the reality has "a sort of absurdity...mixed with it" ⁹¹.

The communal burning ghat is the chief cremation centre of the city, but Bourne does not seem to have had scruples about photographing another's religious practices. Bourne, himself a fairly devout Christian, attempted on one occasion to convince a Hindu priest of the misguided nature of his religion: but his total failure to convince the priest left him, as Bourne put it "only more confirmed in the grossness of his own belief" ⁹².

A few years earlier than Bourne's photograph is The Illustrated London News's View on the Ganges (31), showing a more contemplative view of the river and the ghats ¹⁰⁰. Birds float on the water, or fly above the riverside buildings. Such movement could not be captured by Bourne's camera, but other features mark the difference between the two views. The Illustrated London News concentrates on the river and its boats, since the Ganges was an important waterway in a country where land transport was still primitive. Bourne, in contrast, shows the people who crowd the ghats and make Benares such a

busy city. Twenty years later, Edward Lear's watercolour shows the continuation of the leisured eighteenth century tourist approach (30); revealing more of the river and its craft, with the Hindus who crowd to the Ganges less apparent. Bourne, for all his obvious delight in picture-making, has chosen to show a view of the bank, and the natives, perhaps because, as his text indicates, he found the spectacle of such strange religious behaviour interesting, and assumed it would appeal to his audience.

In 1854 a novel was published entitled Oakfield: or Scenes in the East. It was written by William Arnold, younger brother of Matthew Arnold and himself employed by the East India Company. It is the story of a young man named Edward Oakfield who gives up his plan of entering the Church to go India. Though written as a novel, it was a plea to change British attitudes towards its Indian subjects. In one episode Oakfield is travelling up the Ganges in a modern steamship, discussing the Indians with a fellow-passenger. Mr Middleton, a clergyman, remarks when they reach Allahabad:

"Look at us here, on board this steamer, and there at those multitudes, engaged in their harsh-sounding, unpleasing but animated devotion, and you will see the problem we were speaking of the other day, stated broadly enough. What an incredible separation there apparently and actually is between us few English silently making a servant of the Ganges with our steam engines and paddle-floats, and those Asiatics, with shouts and screams worshipping the same river." ⁹³

Bourne's photograph of the The Burning Ghât (29), some 500km downriver of Allahabad, was sold to purchasers as an individual print without descriptive text; but it could be seen as conveying exactly the same ideas and attitude as this passage, both photograph and text suggesting a contempt for native behaviour. Mr Middleton is a tolerant man, created by Arnold as an ideal version of the British missionary, but even he betrays an impatience with the Indian way of religion.

Architecture and Antiquities

The difficulties of photography in India, where the climate presented particular problems, have been touched on above. Moving objects, or rather subjects such as people or landscape which might move, also presented problems for any photographer, and hence buildings were a popular subject. In India, such views had a double value, both for their associations (as in the Mutiny examples discussed above) and for what was felt to be their inherent beauty and interest as examples of Indian art.

interested in the country and people. Many used their

The complexity of Indian architecture, both Moslem and Hindu, meant accurate copying of it was tedious, and the British frequently employed Indian artists to do this for them⁹⁴. The invention of photography was of enormous significance in this respect, since it obviated the need for such devoted copying. Now that the equipment was available, it became possible for more thorough photographic surveys to be undertaken. Although the possibility is never considered by MacFadzean in his book

on the Glaswegian architect Alexander Thomson ⁹⁵, photographs would surely be one of the most readily available sources for information on the Indian architectural styles which he used in his buildings, such as the Indian/Hindu-style tower of St Vincent Street Church. The architect Digby Wyatt employed Indian motifs in his reconstruction of the East India Company Museum ⁹⁶, for which photographs could again have provided some inspiration. Indian architecture did not again reach the heights of popularity it had enjoyed earlier in the century, of which the supreme example was the Prince Regent's Royal Pavilion at Brighton, but Indian motifs resurfaced later in the nineteenth century (see below).

Outline of British Interest

There was already a long-standing tradition of interest in Indian architecture and antiquities. In the later eighteenth century, before British society in India began to segregate itself from its Indian environment, officials in the army or civil service were more willing to be interested in the country and people. Many used their time in India to study its past as evidenced in its buildings ⁹⁷. The men of the East India Company, with their postings to lesser-known districts, had opportunities to record new sites ⁹⁸, while the study of all aspects of Indian culture was encouraged by the formation of the Asiatick Society of Bengal in 1784 ⁹⁹.

Moslem history and particularly architecture, similar to Islamic styles such as were found in the Alhambra, were

well-known to Europeans, but those of Hinduism were not, and their temples or pagodas were of great interest to archaeologists¹⁰⁰. The Indian Government was early aware of its responsibilities regarding the buildings it had taken over; in 1808 a committee was set up to consider repairs to the Taj Mahal, and successive Governors-General authorised restoration for various buildings¹⁰¹. Unfortunately, not all government officials were as concerned with preserving the past; Lord William Bentinck wanted to demolish the, as he saw it, useless Taj Mahal and sell its marble for construction materials¹⁰².

Neither were tourists always fully appreciative: Fanny Parkes describes how, at Agra, "European ladies and gentlemen have the band to play on the marble terrace, and dance quadrilles in front of the tomb!"¹⁰³

The fact that some Europeans could behave in this way and see no incongruity in the association of dancing and death illustrates the sense of superiority over Indian culture which had developed.

Before c1830 the British intention had generally been to preserve existing remnants of Indian culture, but the impact of the Industrial Revolution made European successes in production and manufacture seem far more relevant to contemporary British life. The Great Exhibition of 1851 offered an opportunity to see original Indian artefacts, the realisation that such a handcraft tradition should be encouraged and preserved was given encouragement later in the nineteenth century by William

Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement's stress on the value of hand methods. The notion of exotic people as 'primitive', in the sense of embodying an artistic tradition lost to the West through its increasing reliance on the machine, put Indian handwork on a similar level to the Gothic which was then being imitated, and a revival of Indian, mainly Islamic, style can be traced in such things as the Paisley shawl¹⁰⁴.

From 1855 the East India Company had begun to replace draughtsmen with photographers; besides Linnaeus Tripe (see below), Captain Biggs and Dr Pigou were employed by the Bombay government to photograph ancient sculptures and inscriptions in western India. In 1861 the Governor-General, Lord Canning, appointed General Sir Alexander Cunningham Architectural Surveyor and authorised an architectural survey of northern India¹⁰⁵. Though such a venture would be of significant architectural and artistic value, it is quite possible that one motive in initiating such a survey was a hope that British territorial control over its new (1858) Empire could be thereby underlined; a similar motive might well underlie Canning's later involvement in The Peoples of India survey. It soon became evident that the task was far larger than had been anticipated, and in 1871 Cunningham was appointed Director General of the Architectural Survey¹⁰⁶. The scope of the survey was widened to include the whole of India in 1874 but concern was still largely for surveying; it was not until 1881 that an Engineer officer, Major Cole, was appointed Curator with the responsibility

of preparing a list of buildings which should be kept in good repair ¹⁰⁷. I would include arms, implements,

Architectural Photography: Captain Linnaeus Tripe

Even before Canning's initiative, there had been 'official' photographic surveys of Indian architecture; these were undertaken by individual Presidencies, rather than by national government, and have parallels with the surveys sponsored by the French government in the 1850s. One was undertaken by Captain Linnaeus Tripe of the Madras Infantry, who had been appointed official photographer to the British Mission to the court of Ava in Burma in August 1855 ¹⁰⁸. In 1856, the Madras Presidency appointed him Government Photographer with the remit of travelling round the south of India recording the buildings and views: an appointment which he took up in March 1857. The appointment lasted only until the end of 1860, the closure of the establishment being due to the Government's desire to cut expenditure in the aftermath of taking over from the East India Company.

Tripe's aims were set out in a letter to the Governor's private secretary. These were threefold: the third dealt with the training of assistants, but the other two are most significant in indicating what he saw as his role.

1st and chiefly to secure before they disappear the objects in the Presidency that are interesting to the Antiquary, Architect, Sculptor, Mythologist and Historian. 2nd. Simultaneously to obtain Illustrations of the

Races under this Government, of their customs, dress, major occupations. I would include arms, implements, and musical instruments &c. There may be features of the country, characteristic of peculiar Geological facts; that may be deemed worthy of being represented. Also Forest Trees, in short I would select any object with which, people, at a distance, can only become acquainted, by means of a representation. The Picturesque may be allowed perhaps, supplementally." ¹⁰⁹

Tripe's waxed paper ¹¹⁰, which he sometimes worked over to create cloud effects, was easier to handle on the journey than Bourne's glass plates, and he obtained an impressive degree of clarity though less than would have been the case with glass plates ¹¹¹. The paper process was generally favoured by the French photographers who worked for the Mission Héliographique in the 1850s, in France and elsewhere; Du Camp, for example, used paper negatives during his mission to Egypt. Information about improvements to the paper process, such as Blanquart-Evrard's modifications, would reach Tripe in India through the various Indian photographic journals. Tripe's first official photographic tour in the south of India in 1857 (an area unaffected by the Mutiny) was planned from reports sent in by district officials. This ambitious adventure took him to Seringham, Trichinopoly, Madura, Poodoocottah, Tanjore, and Triviar before his return to Madras after some four and a half months on

tour. On the trip, he produced nearly 300 negatives, the majority on paper, as well as 160 stereographs in wet collodion¹¹². The Madras Government ordered such large quantities of prints (70 copies of each, later reduced to only 12 copies of less significant ones) that production of these meant that the original plan of making annual trips in the south of India had to be abandoned.

After the closure of his establishment was ordered in 1860, Tripe offered to produce more albums for sale; gradually it became accepted that the albums produced would be sold to benefit the Madras Government's finances, not kept as an official record. Albums and stereos were produced to illustrate new sites in British territories; while appealing to a mass market, these might have a subsidiary result of demonstrating the success of British rule. The texts to accompany his published prints and stereographs were written by a number of different people.

A Difference of Styles: Bourne and Tripe of the exposure Tripe, like Bourne, could become eloquent on the subject of a photographer's sufferings, which were no less real for being inevitable. In arguing against the desire of the Madras Government that he make his headquarters at Madras rather than Bangalore, he graphically described the discomfort endured¹¹³.

In spite of this, Tripe produced very sharp, clear images, ideal for displaying the details of the architecture he photographed. He seems to have practised retouching with

some frequency, particularly in skies to increase dramatic effect. As Lady Eastlake had explained, "the burning atmosphere of India" paradoxically necessitated increased exposure times, which would have burnt out the clouds which could be successfully captured in Europe ¹¹⁴. In one scene in Photographs of Madura the sky appears to have been added ¹¹⁵. Backgrounds of a number of prints in a volume entitled Photographs of the Elliot Marbles and other subjects; in the Central Museum, Madras have been darkened to concentrate on the stones which are the subject of the photographs ¹¹⁶. In his Stereographs of Madras, one showing figures on the four central pillars of the West Façade of the Puthu Mundapan seems very much retouched ¹¹⁷. The varying thicknesses of the lines of the pillars are done by hand, perhaps by a brush. With the insertion of the native to indicate scale, the Tripe largely avoided the inclusion of figures, instead letting the imagination people his scenes from the hints of human presence he included, such as ladders, carts and tools ¹¹⁸. In some, because of the length of the exposure time, indistinct figures like ghosts move across the picture, like the white-clad wraiths in his Rava Gopuram from East ¹¹⁹. He very occasionally posed a figure beside the subject ¹²⁰. The Stereographs of Madras includes three groups of figures, one Zeminder Minors with their instructor [subject unspecified] G F Fletcher, Esq., under whose care they have been placed by Government. As the other two show a native official with his family, and members of a caste noted for their skill at robbery, the implication of protective British paternalism is enforced.

Since the Mutiny had taken place in the north of India, there was not any direct extra significance given to his southern views after 1857, unlike Bourne's views of Delhi and Lucknow. Tripe was solely employed in photographing the south of India as he was employed by the Madras government, so no significance can be drawn from his omission of northern Mutiny scenes.

The impact of this massive piece of masonry is greatly Bourne's views of architectural subjects such as Mausoleum of Etmad-Dowlah (32) show his manipulation of light to reveal as much as possible of the intricate Indian carving on the tomb monument: just the sort of work which an artist would find lengthy and tedious. This print was evidently something of a tour de force to show how expertly photography could copy such a mass of detail. With the insertion of the native to indicate scale, the tomb presents the appearance of a filigree box.

of the fort, is strikingly modern. Though reminiscent of some of In direct contrast to the lightness and detail of the previous example is the Piranesi-like solidity of his view of Deig Fort (33). Bourne seems to have preferred the oblique view, which again is a feature of the rougher, non-symmetrical Picturesque. Here the round bulk of the bastions repeats into the distance on the right; there are a total of 72 of these massive bastions around the fort, which had been captured from native forces after a successful British siege in 1804. The smooth, silky, rather blurred surface of the water in the moat shows the length of exposure Bourne has had to use. Bourne greatly admired the work of George Washington Wilson who was

achieving instantaneous effects in Scotland in 1857, and laments that none of the dry processes then known would allow such results. The Fothergill process, he believes, gives the finest results of the dry processes but recognises that it is not the process but the photographer which produces the successful result ¹²¹.

The impact of this massive piece of masonry is greatly enhanced by the size of Bourne's original print: 10 by 8 inches. Bourne certainly considered the idea that his prints might be framed and hung on a wall as well as placed in the more usual album ¹²², and if this view of Deig Fort was intended for framing this would make it a very radical composition for its time. In contrast with Bourne's landscape views, which rely heavily on the Picturesque, its close-up pattern-making composition, with the tiny figure on the right to show the scale of the fort, is strikingly modern. Though reminiscent of some of Piranesi's overgrown ruins, it is still evidence that the photograph could create a new genre for itself, when manipulated by a photographer interested in creating a picture as opposed to simply recording.

Bourne's preference seems to have been for geometrical compositions: scenes not necessarily symmetrical, but with a solid geometrical structure underlying them. He seems to have possessed an instinctive feeling for and response to pattern and balance. As in his views of the Taj Mahal (below) and the Poplar Avenue (above), Lucknow, The Mermaid Gate (34) is not taken from the exact centre;

close enough to indicate the symmetry of the gate but sufficiently oblique to make it lively. The three arches of the gateway recede on the ground plane but because of their repetition they give the composition a flat pattern-like quality. The native figures are evidently positioned by Bourne to contribute to this effect, the two near balanced by the single more distant figure, but again they are not symmetrical. They are facing into the photograph; from the evidence of many of his photographs which include posed figures, Bourne much preferred those with their backs to the viewer. Possibly one reason for this was to lead the viewer's eye into the picture; such inclusion of figures was a typical Picturesque feature.

Bourne's work in the north of India, for his own commercial purposes, is in contrast to that of Tripe, the official photographer of the Madras-based southern government. Bourne, more than Tripe, was interested in the artistic possibilities of photography, and mentions his compositional decisions in his series of letters sent from India to The British Journal of Photography. They make illuminating reading in conjunction with his Indian photographs.

Case Study: the Taj Mahal

At first it was the better-known Indian buildings that were depicted by artists and later by photographers, amongst which of course was the Taj Mahal at Agra. It was well-known from a very early stage of British residence in India: probably the story behind it accounted for a large

part of its appeal. The Taj is a Moghul building, erected by the Moslem Emperor Shah Jahan in 1632-43 as a mausoleum for his favourite wife who had died in childbirth.

Through previous long-standing links with Eastern countries, Europeans knew of Islamic architectural styles and therefore found the Moslem buildings of India easier to relate to their own experience than the hitherto unencountered Hindu style. This too will account for their preference for the elegant and classically proportioned Taj.

William and Thomas Daniell included only one view of the Taj Mahal in Oriental Scenery and it concentrates more on the entrance gateway than the mausoleum itself ¹²³. In view of the interest in the Taj this is rather unusual, particularly as they spent some time drawing there ¹²⁴.

Bourne took several views of the Taj Mahal, including one of the entrance gateway, which evidently did have its own fame since it was this gateway that The Illustrated London News elected to show (36). Bourne's The Taj, from the Fountain (35) makes careful compositional use of the stream of water which runs through the gardens in front of the building and contains 23 fountains in its course ¹²⁵. Water was a feature of Moslem gardens for its coolness and the extra dimension given by reflections. Bourne tends to make a feature of water and reflections when he can, for the immediate symmetry it can give to a landscape.

the building, included for scale and as a contrast to the whiteness of the Taj. such as Bourne included figures in

The clarity of the photographic image, as a consequence of the glass negative, and his expertise are particularly evident in the representation of such buildings with their intricate detailing. The speed and ease with which the photograph recorded such buildings made the work of Bourne's artists like the Daniells unnecessary ¹²⁶. The Taj, however, presented problems to the photographer: E C Buxton, in an account of Photographic Experience in India describes how

"In front of the building is an avenue of dark cypress trees, and a long line of fountains, at the end of which stands the Taj flashing like the sun itself. It would be hard to conceive a more difficult subject for a photograph..." ¹²⁷

Bourne himself says that the Taj:

"is one of the things which every photographer who sees it tries to reproduce, but in which, I am sorry to say, he so often fails." ¹²⁸

However, as he then remarks that

"the camera is the only instrument which can give to those who have not seen it any idea of its proportions and beauty." ¹²⁹

he evidently thinks its benefits outweigh the drawbacks.

Another view, from a greater distance and at a height, shows it looking pure and white, and fragile (37): only a second glance reveals the tiny figures in front of the building, included for scale and as a contrast to the whiteness of the Taj, much as Bourne included figures in

his view of The Manirung Pass (below). (40), although

concentrating like Tripe on one part of a building,

Case Study: Temples for a strong oblique view, which

As Tripe was working in the south of India, he took no view of the Taj with which he can be compared with Bourne.

The buildings in his photographs are frequently temples and, more often than Bourne, Tripe concentrates on a detail or single feature. This is again no doubt due to his primary recording purpose, as well as to the difficulty of capturing the entire building at a point sufficiently near to provide adequate detail. Side This

Entrance to the Temple of the Great Bull, Tanjore (38)

shows a typical Tripe view, focusing on the striped steps leading up to the door. Though flanked by two trees, the overall impression is of masonry, visible even through the branches of the saplings. A similar close-up concentration is seen in Figure of Bramah in the West Portico of the Poodoo Mandabam (39), where the carved figure and ornate sculpture on the pedestal, which is viewed at a slightly oblique angle, fills most of the picture. Mermaid Gate, Lucknow (34). This introduction of the

Bourne's photographs include a few of the very south of India, presumably taken after 1866, when his catalogue of views was printed, since the numbers which the negatives bear are higher than those featured in the catalogue. His articles in The British Journal of Photography do not mention a trip to the south of India, but the photographs certainly present the evidence of one. have been simply

photographs taken for a documentary purpose 130.

Bourne's Carved Horse Pillars, Mundapum (40), although concentrating like Tripe on one part of a building, reveals his preference for a strong oblique view, which emphasises the rearing movement of the carved horses. Bourne creates a feeling of much greater movement than Tripe's very similar Figure of Bramah..., which concentrated on the figure of Bramah rather than the rearing horse and rider on the other side of the pillar. In his Approach to Raka Gopuram (42), Tripe shows the temple at the far end of a sun-lit but empty street. This photograph was intended as, and would have made, a dramatic stereograph, with the dark shadows on the left side of the street leading the eye past a long range of buildings to the temple. In contrast to Tripe's typically figure-less scene, in The Eastern Temple in Trichinopoly (41) Bourne has placed in front of the temple entrance two native figures, who appear to be looking at each other but are not speaking. Beyond them and barely visible underneath the entrance, is a third figure, and the disposition of the three figures recalls the three in Mermaid Gate, Lucknow (34). This introduction of the figures, and particularly Bourne's placing them as points of reference to lead into the picture, immediately creates more tensions than if he had simply photographed the temple without figures. They also, more prosaically, serve to indicate scale. With his oblique viewpoints and native figures, Bourne is creating artistic and satisfying compositions from what might otherwise have been simply photographs taken for a documentary purpose ¹³⁰.

A series of views by Eugene Impney, published as Delhi, Agra and Rajpootana (1865), dwells in its letterpress on the architectural elements of the composition, but it is the incidentals in many views which capture the viewer's attention. In Rajpootana: a chutree (resting place for travellers), though the building is the ostensible subject of the photograph, the natives sitting and talking, or passing by with their water-pots, bullocks and carts, draw the viewer's eye to them ¹³¹. It is this quality of photography, which by giving equal focus or attention to every element in a scene can leave the viewer unable to recognise what is the photograph's subject, that makes careful composition even more vital than in an artistic representation of a scene, where the artist can simply omit any undesired object.

LANDSCAPE AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Since few landscape artists went to India, either before or after the invention of photography, booksellers who sold prints of India often had to use amateur drawings engraved by professional artists in Britain. The Portico of an Excavated Temple on the Island of Salsette includes a native figure placed against a much larger human figure carved in relief on the end wall ¹³². Such an addition not only serves to indicate scale, it makes a visual play on the two figures, sculpted and human, much as Bourne is doing in The Eastern Temple in Trichinopoly. Where Bourne could not compete with the Daniells was in their interior temple views, such as Interior of the Temple of Mandeswara, near Chaynpore, Bahar, where the artist was able to construct a scene from memory and sketches, but where the photographer would have lacked the necessary light to photograph ¹³³.

Tripe too was capable of creating visual tensions and connections between elements in his photographs: in The Jumbugaswarum Pagoda at Seringham: Approach from the West (43), the trunks of the palm trees on the right recall the columns of the adjoining building, while the ragged edges of the palm leaves echo the spiky top of the pagoda. However, in spite of the subsequent attempt to appeal to the public and make the prints a commercial success, Tripe's photographs were taken originally as an official record, and this is evident in the images. Tripe's own comment that "The Picturesque may be allowed, perhaps, supplementally" is a fair analysis of his photographs, which had a primary recording purpose.

LANDSCAPE AND PHOTOGRAPHY

Since few landscape artists went to India, either before or after the invention of photography, booksellers who sold prints of India often had to use amateur drawings engraved by professional artists in Britain. The little journalist Emma Roberts pointed out that "drawings made in India, and sent to England to be engraved, are subject to much alteration in the process" ¹³⁴.

The British Journal of Photography recounts how an unidentified sketch of a treeless part of the country was sent from India to an illustrated London publication, and when the long-awaited engraving was received, it was found to have palm trees occupying every spare part of the scene. In defence, it was explained that

"the public would not have any eastern scenes without palm trees. The public demanded palm trees and the public would have them. *It was no use being truthful if nobody believed you* [their emphasis], and so palm trees must be put in, even at the expense of truth." ¹³⁵

Case Study: Simla

Such a story illustrates the essential value of photography in presenting an 'accurate' picture of a land which few Britons would see for themselves. Bourne mentions another such incident, when The Illustrated London News reproduced two views of Simla:

"we were amused here to see how greatly the artist had drawn on his imagination and pressed into service beautiful overhanging trees, which, no doubt, ought to have been there, but were not... you will see how far we can rely on these artists' creations." ¹³⁶

In the early years of British settlement there was little time for leisurely pursuits, but once the British had begun to establish their rule increasing numbers of military and civilian officers began to record their impressions of India in sketches, letters and journals. These were also favourite occupations for the wives and families who came out to India to share their menfolks' life, while for engineers and surveyors sketching was an important professional skill. Throughout the nineteenth century there was a large number of visiting and resident artists. With the invention of photography, men who might

previously have adopted sketching as a pastime took up photography with enthusiasm ¹³⁷. The Mutiny made a difference to the previously leisured life: and the men who came out after 1858 did not see sketching as a manly pursuit ¹³⁸.

Longer stays in India became more tolerable to the British

Case Study: Simla and development of the hill station,

Successful photography depends largely on adequate light.

In spite of the difficulties which India presented cooler,

(referred to above), Bourne's response to the light in the

India was immediate: Simla, built on a spur of the

Himalayas "after arriving just fresh from England, where the

dampness and thickness of the atmosphere so sadly mar

the brilliancy and crispness of the picture...I have

frequently stood transported at the wonderful

brilliancy of the image portrayed on the screen, at

the beautiful touches of sunlight amongst the trees,

and the fine masses of broad light and shadow

everywhere pervading the picture." ¹³⁹ of a mountain

covered partially with fir trees... A further

For much of his time in India Bourne was based in Simla, a

hill station in the north. From there he made three trips

into the Himalayas, reporting back to Britain through The

British Journal of Photography. He was not the first to

make such journeys a source of profit, since Oriental

Scenery included views of Srinagar and the lower

Himalayas, but he was the first photographer to explore so

far afield in the region. The first trip, in 1863, took

only ten weeks, but the second, a year later, extended

over nine months. On his final trip in 1867 he went high up into the Himalayas, to the source of the Ganges and the 18,600 ft high Manirung Pass, where he took photographs at an altitude not surpassed until this century.

Longer stays in India became more tolerable to the British with the discovery and development of the hill station, collections of dwellings in the more mountainous regions of India. A period of leave could be spent in the cooler, less humid mountain air as a respite from the heat of the plains. The most famous was Simla, built on a spur of the Himalayas, with British post-office, church, and houses set amidst splendid scenery. For Bourne, however, Simla was not what he had hoped for as a subject for photography.

"I must confess to disappointment on my first view of Simla. A mass of apparently tumble-down native dwellings on the top of a ridge, with bungalows scattered here and there on the sides of a mountain covered partially with fir trees... A further acquaintance with Simla has not altogether banished the disappointment its first sight gave me, yet it is not to be condemned."¹⁴⁰

The scenery was neither picturesque nor sublime, merely untidy, and the haphazard nature of the building meant that careful composition, though attended with opportunities for the picturesque, was necessary but difficult. Many of his views were taken during the

winter, when the whiteness of the snow makes it difficult to take an effective photograph. Bourne complained of the difficulty in photographing snow ¹⁴¹; his view of The Church, Simla (44) is particularly hampered by the fact there are no real shadows in it to break up the snow and give it pictorial depth. Most of it appears pure white and flattens the picture plane so that only the difference in texture and form between houses and trees separates the two hills. British influence had not then reached so far north, though after 1803 and the capture of Delhi the

Of the scenery around Simla, Bourne remarked: *Himalayan* *mountain* "Its great defect to the photographer is its lack of *view* water...for introducing into his views. There are no *Mount* lakes, no rivers, and scarcely anything like a stream *his* in this locality, neither is there a single object of *of* architectural interest, no rustic bridges, and no *by* the ivy-clad ruins, trees and mountains; and the beautiful *Subl* play of light and shadow about them are, therefore, all that the photographer has to compose his *Brit* pictures." ¹⁴²

As we have seen already, Bourne's compositional tastes lay clearly in the Picturesque mould; this quotation is, *was* further evidence of the picturesque features which he *had* sought. Further on his journey though he found plenty of rivers and streams, and his letters make frequent *for* reference to waterfalls, to which he seems to have been particularly attracted. His abilities in composition were better served in the landscape of the Himalayas than in

city and architectural views. The Himalayas lay another great Power, Russia, and expansion into the mountains thereby Case Study: Himalayas with Russia closer. The landscape of The Daniells were the first Europeans to penetrate the Garhwal mountains in the north of India and to reach of Srinagar, but were only able to visit the foothills for one month. At Srinagar, because of the threat of war for between neighbouring Rajahs, they were forced to turn back ¹⁴³. British influence had not then reached so far north, though after 1803 and the capture of Delhi the British began to explore further north and the Himalayan mountains became the subject of a number of books of 1860s views. J. B. Fraser published Views in the Himala part of Mountains (1820), and claimed that they reminded him of his home scenery of Scotland. As a contrast to the heat of the Indian plain the mountains were much appreciated by the British, whose reaction to them was firmly rooted in Sublime and Picturesque sentiment ¹⁴⁴. Frost and the chemicals which he used attacked his hands, Britons were naturally attracted to mountainous areas, which reminded them of the Lake District and Highland scenery they had left in Britain. This comforting found comparison, relating exotic scenery to that of home, was to linger long: one review of Bourne's works commented "but for the presence of some natives, the views amongst the fir trees might readily be mistaken for scenes in Scotland." ¹⁴⁵ in nature, and I could not, unfortunately, use a longer focus lens, which would Though most of this far northern part of India seemed by

desolate and remote, beyond the Himalays lay another great Power, Russia, and expansion into the mountains thereby brought the frontier with Russia closer. The landscape of the Himalayas held a fascination too because of the immensity and remoteness of the mountains. The vale of Kashmir, popularised by writers such as Victor Jaquemont and Vigne who praised the suitability of its climate for British occupation, was seen as a paradisaal haven among the bleakness of the mountains, its people different from the usual Indian and its scenery reminiscent of 'home' ¹⁴⁶. Bourne was a pioneering explorer in the Himalayas, and the photographs which he took in the 1860s contributed greatly to increased knowledge of this part of India.

On his travels Bourne suffered transportation problems because of the heaviness of his boxes of glass plates: once two coolies slipped, and many plates were broken ¹⁴⁷. Frost and the chemicals which he used attacked his hands, and he was plagued by technical restrictions. Hence unlike the artist, who could compose his picture from selected elements of the scene before him, Bourne found that his freedom to compose his photographs as he would have liked was restricted. Of one picture he wrote

"I secured two negatives of this charming view, in which, however, the peaks being distant do not tell with the same effect as in nature, and I could not, unfortunately, use a longer focus lens, which would have nearly doubled their size, as I should thereby

have spoiled the composition by cutting out the rocks on the side of the valley in the foreground." ¹⁴⁸

In spite of these difficulties, the photographs of Himalayan scenery which he produced are very skilfully composed and in his articles he makes it clear that he felt creating a pleasing composition was more important than presenting the actual reality of a scene.

A Bit on the Road is essentially a study in tone, with

Although Bourne complained that "the character of the Himalayan scenery...is not picturesque" ¹⁴⁹, A Bit on the Road (and there are quite a number in the same style)

would appear to contradict him. This scene (45) has the requisite Picturesque characteristics - rushing torrent on the furthest mountain, rugged mountains and ravines, wild-looking trees and a small figure leaning on a staff apparently absorbed in contemplating the view. William Gilpin had felt figures and animals could enliven a drawing, but had a particular dislike of movement in the foreground of a picture because it contradicted the immobile quality of a picture. The Picturesque features of Bourne's photograph may be identified by a comparison with an almost identical, mirror-image, composition; Gilpin's Pass of Killiecrankie (46), where a lone figure regards from a path a receding range of mountains.

century picturesque ideas with the early nineteenth

Bourne's single contemplative figure certainly follows Gilpin's precepts; such an inclusion can be traced in eighteenth-century art in the views of the Daniells such as Sculptured Rocks at Mauvelepore on the coast of

Coromandel (47), with its two natives in the foreground gazing at the subject of the picture, to the two figures which recur throughout Dr John Murray's Picturesque Views in the North Western Provinces of India (1859). Again, the title shows the continuation of the notion of the picturesque.

A Bit on the Road is essentially a study in tone, with receding planes becoming paler (aerial perspective) but Bourne was never satisfied with the camera's rendition of this phenomenon. Of this particular photograph he explained it was taken on a cloudy day, and a negative made under these circumstances is "too much of one tone, lacks the charm of shadow and those touches of sunlight which give effect."¹⁵⁰ Bourne writes at length about the quality of Indian light, and how he wishes it were possible to photograph at dawn and twilight.

"It is in the dim and solemn twilight only that the true grandeur of the Himalayas can be felt."¹⁵¹

He evidently wanted to convey a mood as well as the actual features of the scene and was frustrated by the limitations of the photographic process. This combination of mood and landscape is a hybrid of original eighteenth century picturesque ideas with the early nineteenth century Romantic stress on sensation. 'Bit' was a word much used by Bourne, both in his articles¹⁵² and in the titles of his photographs; he

always surrounds the word with quotation marks. 'Bit' seems in Bourne's sense to bear one of the meanings given it in the Oxford English Dictionary: "applied to complete objects, viewed as portions or samples of a substance". 'Bit' might therefore seem to bear a similar meaning to 'particular', since both show only part of the subject; the photographer being limited by the camera's inability to show the whole of a wide view successfully just as much as travel writers might be limited by their own inabilities to convey to their readers their complete impressions of another place.

To judge from many of his remarks lamenting the limitations of the camera, Bourne seems to have regarded photography as the depiction of 'bits', leaving the more open and panoramic landscapes to painters who could capture the aerial perspective which defeated the camera. Paradoxically, though, there is a strong Picturesque element running through his 'bits', as instanced above. This ties his work closely to eighteenth century traditions, unlike similar concentration on 'bits' by Ruskin and other Pre-Raphaelite painters. John Brett's The Val d'Aosta (1858, collection of Sir Francis Cooper, Bt.), though a depiction of 'particulars', is quite different in intent from Bourne's photographs. Brett was influenced by Ruskin's obsession with seeing the Divine in landscape, whereas the Picturesque, though created by a clergyman, was much more inclined to accept landscape simply on its surface appearance; it inspired emotion in

its viewer, but this emotion generally was personal or associative rather than religious in nature. the way in which Bourne uses figures to act almost as punctuation

As Bourne penetrated deeper into the High Himalayas, the scenery changed. His own account of The Manirung Pass (48), with its reference to the divine, shows Bourne's affinities with Pre-Raphaelite 'truth':

"I seemed to stand on a level with the highest of these innumerable peaks, and as the eye wandered from range to range and from summit to summit, all robed in the silent whiteness of eternal winter, it seemed as though I stood on a solitary island in the middle of some vast polar ocean [whose waves] had been suddenly seized in their mad career by some omnipotent power and commanded to perpetual rest." ¹⁵³

In Europe, the Frenchman Auguste Bisson had photographed at the summit of Mont Blanc in 1861. Bourne, who was aware of this achievement ¹⁵⁴, seems to have felt a desire to emulate, if not surpass, this. Of one of his early Himalayan photographs, taken at 15,282 feet, he notes that his elevation at Taree Pass is 200 feet higher than the summit of Mont Blanc and that the photograph which he took is "so far as I am aware,...taken at the greatest altitude ever yet attempted" ¹⁵⁵.

Bourne had to work quickly to get his plates developed before clouds came up, and the small cracks seen on some prints are due to the cracking of the film on the glass.

plate, probably because of the extreme cold. The Manirung Pass is a particularly good illustration of the way in which Bourne uses figures to act almost as punctuation points in his photographs. The tiny black figures give interest to the otherwise bare snow. They also, most importantly, give scale: without them it is impossible to believe the Pass is so gigantic.

"it was impossible to gaze on the tumultuous sea of
Although the Daniells did not reach as far as this, they managed at least to catch a glimpse of the higher Himalayas from their road. Their text mentions the
"appearance of a prodigious range of still more such distant mountains, proudly rising above all that we have hitherto considered as most grand and whose magnificent, and which, clothed in a robe of and everlasting snow, seem by their ethereal (sic) hue to belong to a region elevated into the clouds, and partaking of their nature; having nothing in common with terrestrial forms. It would be in vain to attempt, by any description, to convey an idea of and these sublime effects, which perhaps even the finest art can but faintly imitate." ¹⁵⁶
mountains.

According to the eighteenth century division of landscape into the Beautiful, the Picturesque and the Sublime, mountains were Sublime. Although the scene at Buddell, opposite Bilcate, in the Mountains of Serinaqur (49) is Picturesque more than anything, the Higher Himalayas certainly merit the description Sublime and the Daniells

were greatly disappointed they could not proceed further. who both explicitly (*Winter Landscape with Church*, 1811). Contrast the Daniells' account with Bourne's description of the high peaks, which at first reading appears remarkably similar. The significant change in emphasis is the reference to divine creation, missing from the Daniells' account. Bourne remarked: "it was impossible to gaze on the tumultuous sea of disc mountains without being deeply affected with their (181) terrible majesty and awful grandeur, without an Rusk elevation of the soul's capacities, and without a see silent uplifting of the heart to Him who formed such the stupendous works, whose eye alone has scanned the sign dread depths of their sunless recesses, and whose large presence only has rested on their mysterious and ample are sublime elevations." ¹⁵⁷

The word sublime again appears but with a less specific meaning. Here it is one among the many adjectives in this passage, instead of being used as shorthand for a The particular emotion or feeling, which was both described and delimited by the word Sublime. That emotion is inspired by God whose work alone has raised these mountains. largely derive from the figures, though a work like *Our English Coasts (Strayed Sheep)* (Holman Hunt, This shift in attitude can be seen as a product of figures. shifting attitudes towards religion in the nineteenth century, as well as the movement, encouraged by Romantic ideas, which saw a divinity in landscape. This amalgam of spirituality and nature perhaps reaches its peak in the

paintings of the the German artist Caspar David Friedrich, who both explicitly (Winter Landscape with Church, 1811, Schloss Cappenburg Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Dortmund) and implicitly (The Stages of Life, c1835, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig) endowed his landscapes with qualities far beyond the simply representatve. In Britain, the works of Turner must have been known to Bourne; the most relevant of these to this discussion being his Snowstorm: Hannibal crossing the Alps (1812, Tate Gallery, London) and other Alpine views. and Ruskin's writings also encouraged such a shift towards such seeing a deeper significance in the natural world ¹⁵⁸. By the middle of the century, when photography was growing in significance, art began to reflect a religious interest: a large number of the Pre-Raphaelite paintings, for example, are directed towards a moral and religious interpretation. recognisable northern landscape.

It is obviously more difficult to give landscape a moral dimension than it is to create an allegory such as The Awakening Conscience (Holman Hunt, 1851-3, Tate Gallery, London). The Hireling Shepherd (Holman Hunt, 1851, of Manchester City Art Galleries) has religious connotations, but these largely derive from the figures, though a work like Our English Coasts (Strayed Sheep) (Holman Hunt, 1852, Tate Gallery) is an allegory without human figures. Brett's Val d'Osta is far more consciously charged with meaning than Bourne's photograph, or the Daniells' earlier illustrations. The contrast between Brett's painting of 1858 and Bourne's A Bit on the Road suggests that in

landscape at least, photography, the more modern art, was looking to older precedents, while painting was moving forward and developing new styles.

This in part may relate to the need, referred to above, for existing frames of reference in which to develop the British reaction to India. Remarks about the resemblance between British scenery and that of the Himalayas show that it was the similarities, not the differences, which preoccupied British travellers in the north of India, and which led ultimately to the creation of hill stations such as Simla. This could obviously only be true of areas which resembled British scenery but the flat, dry plains of southern India were little photographed in comparison with the large number of Himalayan views, suggesting that both photographer and audience were drawn more to the more recognisable northern landscape.

CONCLUSION

The recording function of photography, which has not yet been addressed, was its primary virtue in the eyes of Indian officialdom, and it is in this context that we must consider the work of Bourne and Tripe. Early on, the Directors of the East Indian Museum realised the possibilities of photography for recording antiquities. Other archaeologists found the camera a more rapid form of recording buildings, though measured drawings continued to be produced because of the distortions inherent in other than small-scale photography.

Those which reached the India Office Museum were duplicated for dissemination to other institutions under the direction of John Forbes Watson, Reporter on the Products of India. In his eyes, both photography and drawing were useful solely as recording mechanisms, each one suitable for particular subjects.¹⁵⁹ A report on The Cartographic Use of Photography (1870) describes the Great Trigonometrical, Topographical and Revenue Surveys of India, for which photozincography was used to reproduce maps. For such official purposes, professional photographers were preferred although some, like Tripe and Biggs, were army officers whose hobby led to them being employed full-time on photographic projects.¹⁶⁰ fine art productions in consequence.

One of Tripe's photographs was praised by the scholar Walter Elliot as being a "noble triumph of photography": it showed a panoramic view of the Tamil inscriptions at the Great Pagoda at Tanjore, and the work involved in copying it out by hand would have been enormously greater than that involved in photographing it. Elliot referred to "the incalculable value of Photography as applied to such old records."¹⁶¹

A comparison of the relative costs of prints and photographs shows that they were still relatively costly items. The firm of Bourne and Shepherd, a partnership between Bourne and Charles Shepherd issued a catalogue in 1866 entitled Photographic Views in India.¹⁶² They

produced many hundreds of different views; in this catalogue there were over 1200, with prices given in rupees ¹⁶³. The largest size, 15 x 12 inches, cost approximately 10 shillings and the 12 x 10 inch-size 8 shillings. As a comparison, Oriental Scenery was originally issued in six folio parts, hand-coloured, at 200 guineas for the complete set. Even taking account of inflation, photographs were still therefore fairly luxurious items. Bourne's prints were sold individually, without text, and the purchaser could select views to compile an album (also supplied by the firm). The impression still persists, therefore, of a fairly limited market for the new photographs, and their equation with fine art productions in consequence.

The difficulties in the way of early travel photography (the distances, weight of equipment and manipulation of chemicals) made the efforts of the photographers seem as daring and courageous as those of the explorers whom they frequently resembled. The accounts Bourne sent back to England, and which have been used extensively in this study, are exceptionally lively and amusing. He frequently betrays a healthy scepticism which makes his letters so entertaining and readable even to those who would not have technical knowledge, and it is to be regretted that the letters did not enjoy a wider publication than that offered by The British Journal of Photography. Bourne's justification of the inclusion of personal matters into his narrative makes it quite clear

that he will interpret as well as record. With this outlook, it would not be surprising if his photographs possessed an interpretive slant¹⁶⁴.

Paradoxically, although Bourne himself saw his

Conclusions are difficult in India, where the increasing popularity of the new art of photography more or less coincided with the outbreak of mutiny. The new method, however, did not eradicate the earlier ways of seeing; although terms such as the Sublime and the Picturesque were not so frequently used (at least with capital letters), their influence on photography is evident. One modern commentator remarks, significantly, that it

"Assured a kind of verisimilitude" (my italics), because of course there are numerous ways in which a photographer can slant the impression his photograph gives. As she goes on to say,

"the fact that camera images could not convey anything that moved, that lens distortion made perspective ambiguous, and that colour was lacking, did not impede the acceptance of photography as the new contender for verisimilitude."¹⁶⁵

Bourne's presentation of buildings is characterised by Unlike photography of the Near East, where both artists and reviewers tended to stress the "truthfulness" of representations, Indian photographs seemed to be sufficiently exotic in themselves. The idea of the 'bit', whether implicit or explicit, can be traced through much of the photography of India in this period, in both landscape and architectural views. The distinction

between 'types' and 'particulars' is a useful one, since by bearing it in mind while considering the photographs analysed here we can see that many fall into the latter category. Paradoxically, although Bourne himself saw his photographs as showing 'bits', in contrast with Tripe's architectural photographs his own can be seen to be aiming to portray a far wider, more all-encompassing image of India. Tripe to a far greater extent concentrates on the 'particulars'. In landscape, the difference is perhaps most clearly seen in the two village scenes by Hooper and Bourne, where Hooper's extensive visual description is simply a concentration of particulars, while Bourne's scene epitomises a whole way of life.

Certainly the photographs which have been discussed above General characteristics can be recognised in the different categories of views analysed. Landscapes, from a combination of the suitability of the scenery of the Himalayas for such representations, and Bourne's own tastes, rely more on the picturesque/sublime traditions set by Gilpin and his successors. Architectural views show a world less familiar to Britons, though again Bourne's presentation of buildings is characterised by skilful control of light and shadow to create satisfying compositions as well as documentary records: a great advance on a criticism of his early work which remarked that "all of them [were] somewhat deficient in the artistic sense"¹⁶⁶. While this criticism might have been valid for Bourne's early photographic career, his Indian views reveal a compositional ability which seems almost

instinctive though his letters indicate how much effort went into choosing and composing a photograph. Tripe's architectural photographs concentrate more on details, and he more frequently employs a frontal viewpoint. Native figures rarely intrude in his scenes, which gives them a particularly peaceful appearance.

Illustrations and descriptions of the "Overland Route to India". The survey of successive views connected with the Mutiny reveals a change in photographic representation as attitudes also changed. Improvements in technicalities of photography largely coincided with the Indian Mutiny, and it is hence difficult to tell whether the Mutiny itself is a turning point in photographic representation of India. Certainly the photographs which have been discussed above suggest that changing British attitudes towards India and its inhabitants, which are documented by historians elsewhere ¹⁶⁷, can be seen reflected in photographic representations; and the gap in publication date (as compared with newspaper reports of the Mutiny) suggests that verbal/published accounts shaped the views of the photographers rather than vice versa as we might expect today. 1. the photographs discussed suggest that Indian landscape and architecture was viewed and photographed in. With representations of natives, the style seems to have changed, from a concentration on exotic caste or occupation subjects produced by artists and illustrators to the more direct approach of the photographer. On occasion, as with the studies of Eastern Bengal natives discussed above, the presentation is almost symbolic,

substituting inward emotion for the physical evidences of Indian belief. responsibility of the government, and it is to this category that most of the works of Tripe belong.

The Illustrated London News published many engravings of Indian subjects in the period, not simply in response to the need for information during the Indian Mutiny. Illustrations and descriptions of the "Overland Route to India" appeared several times, as something of which Britons might be presumed to be proud, while native figures and customs seem to have been its favoured subjects. These include a set of engravings of Criminal Trial in India, which combines portraits of the stock characters involved (European judge, native barrister, Omlah or clerk of the court, native policeman, the accused and the witness) with a slightly exaggerated account of proceedings (50). The dissimilarity from British procedure (or rather its caricaturing of it) is emphasized, in a way that suggests an amused tolerance. After the Mutiny, amusement remains a feature of description, but in the form largely of amused scorn ¹⁶⁹.

Overall, the photographs discussed suggest that Indian landscape and architecture was viewed and photographed in a slightly different way from that of the Near East. More than simply recording, it sometimes appears as though the British possession of India, its architectural past and commercial future, could be emphasised through photography. Those concerned with the recording of the Indian architecture and antiquities tended to praise the

accuracy of photography in taking photographs of buildings which were the responsibility of the government, and it is to this category that most of the works of Tripe belong. Although he himself had noted that the Picturesque might play a part, his photographs do not in general show the same concern with picture making displayed by Bourne, even when they are working with similar subject matter. Hence, presumably, the viewer's ideas of Indian architecture might be altered slightly, depending on whether he or she saw Tripe's or Bourne's photographs of temples first. and which was reflected in critical artistic opinion; and that Bourne's articles in The British Journal of Photography, with their reiteration of the word 'bit', suggest that the ability of photography to represent landscape was acknowledged as being limited. Yet, paradoxically, many of his landscape photographs show more characteristics in common with the older, more 'composed' and 'created' tradition of Gilpin and the picturesque, in contrast with the work of the Pre-Raphaelite painters in Britain. Certainly on Bourne's part there was an implicit acceptance that photography could not show all that an artist might, and this contrasts with much of the writing on photographs of the Near East.

'Truthfulness' can be perceived in their photographic records of Indian architecture, but both Bourne and Tripe seem to have seen more potential for the picturesque; though their achievements in this respect vary with Tripe's being, as he himself recognised, "supplemental".

CHAPTER 4: THE NEAR EAST

This is no doubt due in part to their largely differing subject matter and purpose: Bourne's work was carried out

Introduction

mainly in the north, according to his own taste and decisions, while Tripe's southern photographs were done at the Near East, as exemplified in views of Egypt and the the behest and under the control of the British Holy Land; an area chosen, as explained in the government.

Introduction, because of the political, artistic and

religious meanings it had for Britain in the nineteenth

In conclusion, it seems that, for India, "truthfulness"

century. An illustration of British attitudes to the area

was less highly valued than the combination of exoticism

prior to the invention of photography is followed by a

and sentimental/historical associations which evolved and

detailed study of the work of two noted British

which was reflected in critical artistic opinion; and that

photographers of the Near East, Francis Frith and Francis

the need to fit exotic and unfamiliar subject-matter into

Bedford. Analysis of their photographs will include

an existing frame of reference was a key factor in the

comparisons with previous and contemporary art and an

type of photography undertaken.

evaluation of the contribution made by the camera, and the

influence it exerted, in shaping contemporary attitudes to

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One important reason for the selection of the work of these two photographers as the chief subject of study in

this chapter is that both men intended publication of

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and accompanying text (not always by the photographer

concerned) are all both illustrative of and shapers of

contemporary attitudes.

CHAPTER 4: THE NEAR EAST

Introduction

This chapter is devoted to a study of the photography of the Near East, as exemplified in views of Egypt and the Holy Land; an area chosen, as explained in the Introduction, because of the political, artistic and religious meanings it had for Britain in the nineteenth century. An illustration of British attitudes to the area prior to the invention of photography is followed by a detailed study of the work of two noted British photographers of the Near East, Francis Frith and Francis Bedford. Analysis of their photographs will include comparisons with previous and contemporary art and an evaluation of the contribution made by the camera, and the influence it exerted, in shaping contemporary attitudes to the East through choice and selection of views.

One important reason for the selection of the work of these two photographers as the chief subject of study in this chapter is that both men intended publication of their photographs, which were therefore taken with the deliberate aim of interesting the public; both for pleasure and for education. As commercial publication was their intention (neither could afford such a trip purely for pleasure), scenes would have been chosen with an eye to their eventual sale; and choice of subject, viewpoint and accompanying text (not always by the photographer concerned) are all both illustrative of and shapers of contemporary attitudes.

Although Egypt and the Holy Land are so close geographically to one another, they were viewed by the European traveller as being very different. Egypt had been once a great pagan empire and was the scene too of many episodes in Old Testament history ¹. After several centuries of neglect, scholarly and popular interest in the Near East was beginning to develop in the wake of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 and his subsequent Syrian campaign ². The Holy Land was the scene of Christ's life and death and to Christians it was of much greater significance than Egypt ³.

As explained in Chapter 1, the idea of 'truth' is one which recurs regularly in many Victorian descriptions, analyses and reviews of photographs of the Near East, and particularly in photographs of the lands of the Bible. The frequent implication, indeed overt assertion, is that 'here we can be certain that we have the true depiction of a scene'. As there was already a fairly substantial body of material depicting the scenes of the East, both viewers and reviewers usually had some idea of former artistic representations. In discussing photographs, contemporary writings often make unfavourable comparisons with these previous artistic representations which were seen to have failed, simply because of their medium, in giving a true and accurate picture of a distant scene.

The revival of Christian fervour in Britain, though slightly pre-dating the reign of Queen Victoria, is closely associated with the Victorian era. Alongside this

increasing enthusiasm was a growing interest in scientific matters, and the proof which science could offer for the actuality of Biblical events. Societies such as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) produced literature and tracts designed to educate and edify. There was in particular a growing desire for accurate information about the lands where Biblical events had taken place. A significant illustration of such scientific study of the Bible is given by the numbers of Bible atlases produced in the nineteenth century. The introduction to one explained: "Geography comes to the aid of History, to delineate the scenery of the historical narrative, to describe the city or country where the event recorded transpired...Nothing so effectively aids us to call up from the tomb the figure of the past and reinvest it with its former lineaments, as those changeless features of nature."⁴ The camera obviously had an important role in this. Nor was it only photographic prints in books or the popular stereographs which could explain the Bible lands to non-travellers. The magic lantern, which before the invention of photography had projected hand-painted glass slides onto walls with illumination from oil-burners, could also be used to project positive glass images onto a screen and was a popular form of entertainment⁵. In 1837 Dr Alexander Keith published The Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion (dozens of editions were

printed in the nineteenth century). It takes Biblical prophecies of disaster for land and people as Gospel truth, proved by reference to current conditions. Keith evidently felt strongly about his subject, since he described his lengthy volume as a "brief and imperfect sketch" ⁶. Such a remark suggests the almost obsessive interest felt by him, and doubtless to some extent by his readers, in this comparison of the Near East of Christ and the Bible with its current state. brother-in-law Felice Beato, who passed through and photographed Egypt and the

Keith's book had a considerable influence on nineteenth century British attitudes; for instance Thompson, in The Holy Land etc, commented after his description of Egypt

"Here we take our leave of Egypt; and in looking back and over its ancient memorials, we cannot fail to be struck with the direct or incidental confirmation they furnish to the statements of the sacred writers". ⁷

Such quotations show that physical evidence of the truth of Holy Scripture was welcomed by the Victorians, not to settle any doubts but as an extra confirmation. This comparison of past and present, built on the Romantic interest in decay and notion of contemplation before ruins, could be applied to both pagan and Christian building as will be illustrated later.

The idea of 'truth' will be studied in this chapter to see what concepts lay behind the viewers' acceptance of the camera's view as 'truthful'; what links may be drawn with previous traditions; and how contemporary ideas might have influenced the way in which these countries were viewed by

the British. The role of painters, particularly the Pre-Raphaelites with their stress on realism, is significant, and their contribution is analysed below.

Some earlier images of the East had been made in the 1850s by photographers such as C G Wheelhouse, a surgeon, or the gifted Irishman John Shaw Smith. These men were amateurs; the first professional British photographers in the Near East were James Robertson and his brother-in-law Félice Beato, who passed through and photographed Egypt and the Holy Land on their way to photograph the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny. Frith and Bedford, though, were the first to make a commercial success of subsequent publications, intended to provide a financial reward for their efforts and hence designed to appeal to a wide British market.

The circumstances of each journey make an interesting contrast and may be seen reflected in their photography. Frith travelled of his own will, to an itinerary chosen by himself, and photographed his own selection of views.

Bedford accompanied the Prince of Wales's tour and could not therefore set his own itinerary, though benefitting from access permitted to the Prince. An outline of their careers will be followed by an analysis of selected examples, to show how particular places were discussed in literature and guides, presented in art, and ultimately shown in photographs.

team of artists and engineers and reproduced by some 400 engravers (52, 65, 68, 80). Hence there was existing topographical illustrative art for Egypt, against which later British attempts could be

BACKGROUND TO BRITISH INTEREST

French and British Interest in Egypt

Though not of course to the same extent as the interest in classical history and archaeology, Egyptian themes continually recur in European building and design. A full account is given in Curl's The Egyptian Revival (1982), in which he traces the phenomenon from the Roman Empire up to the twentieth century. The Napoleonic campaigns in Egypt 1798-1801 had sought to strike at Britain's strength which came from ruling India and thus showed the importance with which India was regarded by the French as a source of Britain's power. French publications after this contributed greatly to the growing interest in Egypt; the first being Baron Dominique Vivant Denon's Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte, London, 1802, illustrated by his own sketches⁸, and including many views of the country, its natives and antiquities. Some years after Denon's work appeared there was published the first volume of the comprehensive Description de l'Egypte, ou, Recueil des Observations et des Recherches qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française (20 vols, Paris 1809-1828). It contained an exhaustive account of the history, archaeology, natural history, topography and inhabitants of Egypt, illustrated with 900 high-quality engravings drawn by a team of artists and engineers and reproduced by some 400 engravers (52, 65, 68, 80). Hence there was existing topographical illustrative art for Egypt, against which later British attempts could be

measured: and against which they might indeed be measuring their own work.

Both publications were obtainable in Britain, and Egyptian style became fashionable in the early nineteenth century⁹.

Although such interest arose out of the romantic, exotic aspects of Egypt's ruins and inhabitants (and Burke's term Sublime was eminently applicable to many of the emotions aroused by Egyptian architecture), it moved during the first part of the nineteenth century to a more scientific, practical footing. This more modern approach is evidenced

in An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, by Edward W. Lane and Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, by J.G. Wilkinson, (both 1836).

The first edition of Lane's book was sold out in a fortnight and both works remained in print for many years.

Both men had devoted much study to their respective subjects; Lane indeed had spent many years living in the Islamic quarter of Cairo and Wilkinson travelled widely in Egypt in the 1820s. Wilkinson later produced Modern Egypt and Thebes (1843), subsequently revised and incorporated

into Murray's series of handbooks for travellers. With the improvement of communications with the East, increasing numbers of Europeans visited and wrote about their experiences. Alexander Kinglake's Eothen (1844) was the forerunner of many such accounts: a fashion which was rapidly to reach saturation point¹⁰.

Despite the lure of ancient ruins and past civilisations, the importance of Egypt to British politics in the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was largely commercial and military since an overland route to India through Egypt cut out the long journey round the Cape (see India chapter, above). One of the more important consequences to arise from the development of the overland route was a heightened awareness of monuments and places of religious and archaeological interest to Europeans, and the numbers of British visitors passing through Egypt were increased substantially. Even those who could not make the trip were enlightened through such events as The Route of the Overland Mail to India, a painted panorama shown at the Gallery of Illustration, London, 1850-52¹¹.

The linking of the two countries in the public imagination through the overland route gave rise to speculation about the ultimate domination of Egypt by Britain in the wake of its conquest of India¹². The opening of the French-built Suez Canal in 1869, and Britain's successful purchase of the controlling interest in 1875, further showed the relevance of modern Egypt to the British Empire. Egypt itself was naturally concerned at the conflicting European interests thus expressed and, despite its enormous wealth of archaeological remains, was in the nineteenth century a country very much interested in its present affairs. Indicative of this was the contemporary Egyptian view that ruined temples, the objects of veneration by European travellers, were of value simply as a source of building material; hence many nineteenth century photographs of ancient monuments record what, for a variety of reasons, no longer exists.

British Artists in the East

A few British travellers had been to the Middle East in the eighteenth century¹³ but Egypt and the Holy Land were viewed as virgin territory by the artist David Roberts, whose journey there in 1838-39 was undertaken for the express purpose of collecting new subjects. The result was his volumes of lithographs The Holy Land (1842-43) and Egypt and Nubia (1846-49). On his voyage up the Nile, well Roberts wrote: "I am the first Artist at least from England that has yet been here, and there is much in this. The French work I now find conveys no idea of these splendid remains."¹⁴

The "French work" referred to was that of Denon and the Description, and this reference betrays both Roberts' awareness of their work and his belief that a British artist, to wit himself, was needed to show the Egyptian remains accurately.

Roberts was not the first English artist to visit the area: two topographical draughtsmen William Bartlett and Thomas Allom had been sent by the publishers Fisher and Sons to collect material to illustrate the publisher Carne's Syria, The Holy Land, Asia Minor etc (1836-8); and Finden's Landscape Illustrations of the Bible (1836) used travellers' sketches redrawn in London by artists, including Turner and Roberts. He was nevertheless the first professional artist to do so without support from a patron or official expedition.

produced them must have been a favourite subject of Lewis

The large coloured lithographs which resulted from Roberts' trip eschewed the dramatic cataclysms of John Martin (popular earlier in the nineteenth century) in favour of presenting a more realistic view of the architecture and scenery of the Middle East. The scenes almost invariably include native figures in the foreground, with perhaps some broken masonry, and in that respect Roberts is obeying artistic conventions ¹⁵. As well as enlivening the scene, the figures also provide a guide to scale, something very necessary for a publication showing buildings and scenery which many of his readers might never visit. The main subject of the picture usually fills the middle distance, with a faintly delineated backdrop of hills. Sometimes he employs artistic licence with slight alterations to the scene to create a more satisfying picture ¹⁶. Both artists and travellers had therefore visited the Middle East before our period, but it was still unfamiliar territory to the vast majority of Britons.

According to Christian belief, Christ is omnipresent, and In the latter part of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of British artists found the Middle East a source of subject matter and inspiration. J F Lewis spent the ten years between 1840 and 1850 in Egypt and the next quarter century in Britain producing a series of works showing a prettified interpretation of Eastern life, mostly interiors (51). Many of these showed an interest in the effects of light entering through lattice windows, often of a hareem, which from the number of times he produced them must have been a favourite subject of Lewis

or of his public, who identified him with such scenes. In two respects, Lewis's work is beyond the photographer to achieve; interiors were difficult to photograph, and are absent from collections of Eastern photographs at this date, while no Muslim would permit another man to see inside his harem, far less to photograph there. Hence some aspects of modern Eastern life were barred to the photographer, whose viewers therefore would not find such photographs included in Eastern collections.

PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE NEAR EAST

The most significant group in the nineteenth century to use the Middle East as a source was the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Holman Hunt and Thomas Seddon spent some years in the Middle East¹⁷. Hunt, before leaving for the East, had exhibited The Awakening Conscience and The Light of The World (1854, Keble College, Oxford), both works showing enormous attention to details of properties and background. The Light of The World shows Christ knocking at a door which is surrounded by English plants. According to Christian belief, Christ is omnipresent, and therefore there is no reason why He should not appear in an English scene; but once Hunt had seen and studied the Holy Land his paintings place Christ firmly in the setting with which He would have been familiar in life. The Scapegoat and The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple (1854-60, City Art Gallery, Birmingham) display his close observation, and A Street Scene in Cairo; the Lantern-maker's Courtship (1854, City Art Gallery, Birmingham) shows that he was also interested in modern Egyptian life.

Later in the century Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema and Edwin Long produced scenes of the modern Near East, again painted with studied accuracy and scrupulous attention to material details ¹⁸. Their works relied on a quality of 'prettiness' to appeal to viewers, using often female figures and soft colours to produce attractive pictures, instead of the harsh 'honesty' of Hunt's depictions, which were frequently worked with reference to photographs.

In this resemblance to an artistic print, the photographs

PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE NEAR EAST

Early Photography

Egypt and Palestine were, in the first score or so years of photography, among the most extensively photographed of countries ¹⁹. Among those so employed there was a particularly high proportion of Frenchmen, chief among these being Maxime Du Camp, Auguste Salzmann and Louis De Clerq. The first major publication in France to be illustrated with photographs was Du Camp's Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie, published 1853 after an expedition by Du Camp and his friend the novelist Flaubert. The French response to this was overwhelming; Napoleon III awarded him the Cross of the Legion of Honour, and, perhaps equally significant of educated opinion, the novelist Baudelaire dedicated Le Voyage to the pair. Du Camp's photographs were known in England; The Athenaeum of January 1853 praised those currently showing in the Exhibition of Photographic Pictures at the Society of such photographs as Doorway, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, 1854.

Arts. It remarked that "the details of the interesting remains are given with great beauty, and the effect of the photographs is excellent but it criticised "a peculiarity": "they have rather the appearance of lithographs, and are not to our eye so pleasing as the warm sepia tint seen in many excellent specimens around them."²⁰

In this resemblance to an artistic print, the photographs are being seen to share with Lerebours' engraved daguerreotypes a cold unnatural quality; and this criticism cannot be the product of any insular antipathy since the works of other French photographers are praised as "much more pleasing".

The next year saw the publication by Blanquart-Evrard of Jerusalem, époques judaïque, romaine, chrétienne, arabe, explorations photographiques par A Salzmann²¹. This was intended to provide accurate illustrations of building to corroborate the theories of the architect de Saulcy, whose use of his own drawings to provide visual evidence was treated with scorn. Salzmann's calotype photographs have therefore a purely instructional aim and were intended to illuminate de Saulcy's text on the possibility of dating buildings by their physical details. Calotype prints tend to emphasize texture, while Blanquart-Evrard, who produced the prints, had developed an improved process which increased the clarity of the image; hence the impact of such photographs as Doorway, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, 1854²².

The third main forerunner of the British effort was Louis de Clerq, appointed to accompany the expedition to the Middle East planned by the expert in Crusader architecture, Emmanuel Guillaume Rey. The resulting five-volume Voyages en Orient 1859-60. Villes, monuments et vues Pittoresques, recueil photographique exécuté par Louis de Clerq included many panoramas, and a number of his photographs were exhibited at the Universal Exhibition in London in 1862.

All the books above were French publications; even the American J B Greene chose to issue his book of photographs Le Nil through Blanquart-Evrard in 1854, most probably because Greene was more familiar with France through family circumstance ²³. Blanquart-Evrard's role in producing many of these expensive and finely-illustrated French volumes, with his large staff developing and printing the photographs tipped-in to each volume, is not matched by any comparable figure in Britain. The French government early on realised the value of photography as a form of documentation, of the past as well as of the present and future of France. The Commission des Monuments historiques sent a number of photographers into the field with instructions to record the large variety of architectural remains scattered around France.

The British photographer (or particularly the British commercial photographer, the essential subject of this study) came slightly later to the Near East. Those few Britons mentioned above who did photograph there in the

1850s did so largely for their own pleasure. Thus Frith was the first to publish in Britain ²⁴. As with earlier volumes of engravings, French productions had at first dominated the scene. As Roberts' disparaging remark shows, there was a tendency for British artists to feel that French work was inferior to their own. It is certainly possible that such a motive might have been one influence on Frith and Bedford in their photography in the East.

What emerges above all from the French examples above is the close involvement and encouragement of the French government. One by-product of this was bound to be an underlining of their interest in, and justification for, French political claims in the East. On the part not only of the Emperor but also of the government, there is clear evidence that photography was considered to have a value and significance for the country as a whole. By sending out its own photographers the French government was guiding public ideas and perceptions much more than was the case in Britain.

The British Royal family were also deeply interested in photography (witness the various commissions to Bedford), but on a more personal level as a record of their own affairs: which coincidentally concerned the ruling family of the British Empire. Though the Prince of Wales, according to Thompson, "not seldom himself proposed subjects for pictures" (below), he only subsequently granted permission to exhibit and publish them ²⁵. With

the possible exceptions of the inclusion of Francis Bedford in the Prince's retinue and the later Ordnance Survey photographs of Jerusalem (neither strictly comparable to the French examples) it was left to gifted amateurs and determined professionals to make their own choice of subjects; which, despite the lack of official encouragement, they did. He returned down the Nile to Cairo, then travelled through the Sinai desert and home via Jaffa (Tel Aviv) and Haifa.

Francis Frith was born in Chesterfield in 1822 into a family closely connected with the Quaker movement and his religious beliefs were to have considerable influence on his life. As a young man he was apprenticed to a Sheffield cutler, a trade which he found uncongenial and a breakdown in health followed c1843. After his recovery Frith embarked on business on his own account, and this was so profitable he was able, in 1856, to sell out at a substantial profit ²⁶. Henceforth he was able to devote himself to his hobby of photography.

On his first trip Frith sailed in September 1856, accompanied by Francis Herbert Wenham ²⁷. In Egypt, Frith used a small steam yacht to travel a thousand miles up the Nile to beyond the second cataract ²⁸. On his return in July 1857, he arranged that three firms should share the distribution of his photographs: Thomas Agnew and Sons were to sell individual prints from the large plates; James S Virtue issued albums of the photographs and Messrs Negretti and Zambra published the stereo views.

published on a commercial basis and though the French had

The second trip was begun only a few months later, when Frith set out in November 1858. This time he travelled even further, to Palestine and Syria. He returned to Britain in May 1858 and spent a year there. On his third and final trip to the East, 1859-1860, he travelled further up the Nile than any previous photographer to that beyond the sixth cataract of the river. He returned down the Nile to Cairo, then travelled through the Sinai desert to Jerusalem and home via Jaffa (Tel Aviv) and Constantinople. After this Frith contented himself with photographic trips around Britain and Europe, and with the production of multiple copies of his photographs for sale.

Frith's photographs generally show the same sights as earlier artistic views. Most of Egypt is a desert and the route south via the Nile was the only practical option open to Frith, as it had been to the previous artists who visited Egypt. The sites along the Nile would be ideal subjects from both a commercial and an artistic point of view. Hence the comment in one modern account that "Frith faithfully photographed all the monuments and described in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Hand-book for Travellers in Egypt"²⁹.

The method which Frith used for his photography was the wet collodion one, devised in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer, which used glass plates as a basis for the negative and could also be reproduced easily. Mass-production was essential if the prints were to be published on a commercial basis, and though the French had

relied on the paper process, Frith and other British photographers tended to use the wet-collodion method. Du Camp had found that, even with Blanquart-Evrard's improvements, he took two minutes to expose a negative in the Egyptian climate ³⁰. The collodion process, though slow, took a shorter time ³¹ and the result surpassed that of the calotype in clarity. Frith had taken with him three different sizes of camera: a stereo camera as well as one which used 8x10 inch plates and a huge one needing 16x20 inch plates. All these plates were glass, so his luggage would have been considerable and very fragile. In the wet collodion process, the collodion mixture has to be poured onto the glass plate, exposed, then the latent image developed before the collodion had time to dry. It was a task requiring some dexterity, and Frith's accounts of his travels often mention the difficulties he encountered ³². The first book to be published as a result of Frith's trips was the two-volume Egypt and Palestine Photographed and described by Francis Frith 1858-59, which originally seems to have been issued in 25 parts, each consisting of three prints ³³. Though the same sights are always covered, views of them occasionally differ ³⁴. The descriptive letterpress by Frith commences with an essay on the difficulties of photographing landscape, which cannot be rearranged as an artist might do in his depiction of a scene. But "the simple truthfulness of the Camera" ³⁵ is of greater value than a painting as a

substitute for actual travel. He scatters through his text of the difficulties he faced in taking his photographs.

At a cost of 10 shillings per part it was certainly not a cheap production, but demand was high and eventually over 2000 copies were produced ³⁶. There was sufficient interest for a number of other volumes illustrated by Frith's photographs to be published, and his photographs were also used to illustrate The Queen's Bible, the rarest of his books, illustrated with photographs of the Holy Land and costing 50 guineas ³⁷. Frith's stereographs too found a ready reception and considerable praise on their release by his publishers Negretti and Zambra ³⁸.

Another book, Cairo, Sinai and Jerusalem, had text by Mrs Sophia Poole and her son Reginald Stuart Poole. Their style was in remarkable contrast to Frith's own writings. Mrs Poole was sister to Edward William Lane, whose An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians had appeared in 1836, and she and her sons spent most of the 1840s with Lane in Cairo. While there, she published The Englishwoman in Egypt (1844 and 1846). Reginald Stuart Poole was an Orientalist and spent his career in the British Museum coin and medal department. He wrote much on Egyptian and Arabic history. The text to Cairo, Sinai and Jerusalem is a more pedestrian effort than Frith's own writings ³⁹, concentrating on rather stolid descriptions of what can be seen in the picture ⁴⁰.

photographs and letterpress. He writes:

Frith's personality colours his accounts, making his travels (and by implication the Near East) exciting and

unusual. The stories which he scatters through his text of the difficulties he faced in taking his photographs seem largely designed to impress the reader with his tenacity and ability. It is entirely conceivable that The Approach to Philae (94), for instance, with the huge rocks in the foreground, was taken at least partly to illustrate his bravery in getting so far against difficulties. The frontispiece to Egypt and Palestine (58) is Frith in Turkish summer costume: and this is the only photograph specifically concentrating on costume in the entire book. Frith obviously wanted himself recognised and so did not choose a native sitter. He records their return from Cleopatra's Temple at Erment to their boat: "In a fit of vulgar exultation, we loaded up the forty barrels of our revolvers and awoke the Howadj, who slumbered in the cabins, and the echoes which slept in the grand old temple of Luxor, with a rapid succession of forty bangs - gunpowder, 2 drams; brown paper, 2 inches, well rammed down!"⁴¹

To judge from the preceeding quotation, Frith found much to amuse him on his travels, but the strength of his religious belief is unquestioned. This belief will mean that he has certain pre-conceptions about the Near East, which must be considered in the analysis of his photographs and letterpress. He writes:

"I do not envy the man who can enter unmoved the land where the holiest of memories, phantom-like,

throng'...I cannot write lightly of Holy ⁴¹. Frith's
 Palestine." ⁴² Correct what the family thought of as a
 Frith's strongly-held Quaker faith must have been one of
 the reasons why he chose to travel to the East, though he
 would have also been aware of the commercial opportunities
 offered. His justification for his travels and *ling on an*
 photography was: ⁴³

"to provide for those to whom Circumstances forbid
Such that luxury [of travel], *faithful* representations of
phot the scenes I have witnessed." ⁴³

Barham quotes Frith's avowed aim to do David Roberts over
 again for photography, but gives no source for this most
 interesting remark ⁴⁴. There is no question of the nature
 of his response to the buildings and sculpture which he
 saw: *an early age in painting and drawing* ⁴⁵. For a time

he wrote "Hundreds of these beautiful sculptures now enrich the
esta museums and private collection of all Europe, but only
Acad the intelligent Egyptian traveller can fully *to film*
Day appreciate their loss to Egypt...Methinks it were
of t better that a few men who will be at the pains of *may*
have seeking them in their legitimate places can enjoy them
cert as they can only there be enjoyed, rather than that
fiel the hordes of careless people who throng the British
work Museum should smile thoughtlessly at the incongruous
to C quaintness and, in England, their unintelligible *ath*
ther grandeur." ⁴⁵ *day gift from Queen Victoria.* In the

1850s he began to travel around Britain, collecting views
 At the time of Frith's absence abroad, The Athenaeum
 published an article on his stereographs which said he was

employed by Negretti and Zambra to take views ⁴⁶. Frith's sister wrote to correct what the family thought of as a mis-statement. In response, The Athenaeum published an apology and correction, and in June again reiterated Frith's independence of commercialism:

"Mr Frith, an independent gentleman, travelling on an Art-crusade..." ⁴⁷

Such an exchange suggests that despite the modernity of photography, Frith wanted to be fitted into an older tradition; that of the gentleman traveller, exploring for his own pleasure.

Francis Bedford of Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales was The son of an architect, Francis Bedford was interested from an early age in painting and drawing ⁴⁸. For a time he worked for his father's firm but was also beginning to establish himself as an artist; he exhibited at the Royal Academy 1833-1849 and worked with the lithographic firm Day and Son. This interest in lithography, which was one of the pre-photographic ways of reproducing an image, may have led him to take up photography in its turn; he had certainly established a reputation for himself in that field by 1854, when he received a commission to photograph works of art from the Royal Collection. In 1857 he went to Coburg to photograph scenes of Prince Albert's youth there as a birthday gift from Queen Victoria. In the 1850s he began to travel around Britain, collecting views to be published, often as stereographs. Reviewing the exhibition of the Photographic Society, The Times

commented: William McLure Thompson, author of The Land and the "Mr Bedford seems to us to have carried the perfect out-rendering of reflected lights and half-tones further in than any of our photographers." ⁴⁹ "convenient and inexpensive issue of the views" ⁵¹.

In the 1860s he further enlarged his collection, amassing a large archive of negatives. Many thousands of these were published. He became particularly famous for his views of scenery and buildings in Britain, which he continued to produce until his death in 1894. Like Frith's later photographs in Britain, these were town or country scenes with a topographical rather than picturesque aim.

and to secure any large numbers of views in a journey

After the death of Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales was sent to the Near East on an educational tour in spring and 1862; Bedford was commissioned to accompany him ⁵⁰. On their return to Britain, 172 of the prints Bedford had taken were exhibited in London. In 1863 there appeared the four-volume Photographic Art made by Francis Bedford during the Tour of the East, in which by command he if in accompanied HRH the Prince of Wales. Choosing to describe his photographs as Art suggests that Bedford wished them to be compared with similar collections of etched or most engraved prints. This was a luxurious and expensive been production, issued in parts: the twenty-one parts cost two guineas per part, the final part three guineas, with a and total cost therefore of £47 5s. In 1867 the publishers of Day and Son brought out a smaller edition of 48 of acts Bedford's photographs entitled The Holy Land, Egypt, Constantinople, Athens Etc Etc. The accompanying text was

written by William McLure Thompson, author of The Land and the Book, a study of the Bible lands which was outstandingly popular in North America. It was produced in response to the "wish for a more convenient and inexpensive issue of the views"⁵¹. In a highly significant extract, containing as it does a wide range of contemporary perceptions of photography, Thompson commented: "It will be at once obvious that the beautiful art practised by Mr Bedford could alone enable an artist to cope with the difficulties incident to such a tour, and to secure any large numbers of views in a journey necessarily so rapid...Of poetry, as represented in the exquisite and eloquent drawings of Mr Roberts and his brother artists, we had had much; and it needed but the plain prose of photography, in all its simplicity and literalness, to make us perfectly acquainted with the physical characteristics of the Land of Promise and the neighbouring regions...if in any class of subject we may prefer the sternly real to the loveliest ideal, and rigid accuracy, even though lacking in grace and almost comeliness, to the most exquisite art in which fidelity has in any degree been sacrificed to mere beauty and pictorial effect, it must be in that class which presents us with sites and scenes clearly connected with the historical facts of our holy religion, and above all in those subjects which are forever identified with the life, travels, ministry and death of our Lord." ⁵²

This comment is strikingly similar to Frith's own dictat, given above, on the divine quality of truth ⁵³.

Both these extracts reveal an almost reverential attitude towards photography and its contribution towards the spiritual and moral enlightenment of the public (this moral quality of photography has already been discussed in the Introduction). Thompson's illustration of this quality is Bedford's photographs of the Biblical landscape and though Frith too makes only a general observation on the matter, his own choice of subject at the time he was writing was also the landscape of the Middle East.

Perhaps because Thompson was responsible for the text and not the illustrations, he seems to have a slightly romanticised view of photography. The selection of a view and manipulation of a glass plate negative could take considerably longer than the "few minutes" which he claims, while the halts at evening and morning which offered "a wealth of subjects" would in all likelihood have had insufficient light to permit of photography.

This included the Cave of Machpelah at Hebron, into which The Prince of Wales was accompanied by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Canon (later Dean) of Westminster and author of the widely-read Sinai and Palestine (1856). Frith obviously knew of Stanley's book, since in a description of Bethlehem he refers his reader to Stanley's description of the town ⁵⁴. Thompson notes that in the company of Canon Stanley the Prince derived from:

"his most extensive and minute knowledge of the

topography and historical associations of the country much valuable information respecting localities and objects especially meriting observation." ⁵⁵

Canon Stanley found the charge of an energetic youth a difficult task and was much dismayed at the start of the tour by the Prince's "levity and frivolity" in insisting it would be much better to stop and shoot crocodiles than it would be to inspect "tumble-down" old temples ⁵⁶. It may be recalled that Frith had done the same: evidence of the contrast between what one ought to feel while on what was in effect a pilgrimage to the East, and what one in fact did feel.

As Bedford was the official photographer to a touring party, he was (unlike Frith) hampered by a need to keep to the planned schedule. In the company of the Prince though, as Thompson points out,

"he obtained ready admission to, and a quiet stay in, many places not otherwise easily accessible to artists." ⁵⁷

This included the Cave of Machpeleh at Hebron, into which Jews and and Christians were forbidden to enter ⁵⁸. The Prince too, besides

"providing every facility and rendering all possible assistance to Mr Bedford in the prosecution of his work, not seldom himself proposed subjects for pictures." ⁵⁹

In spite of this comment, there is little specific information in Thompson's text as to what suggestions the

Prince made.ult to avoid concluding that for many European travellers in the East, a certain conscious superiority

In general, Bedford's photographs concentrate on the and historic past of the countries visited, rather thanat showing the contemporary situation of the people. The areof modern figures which do appear are included for compositional reasons, or to show scale, although the man native costume would have changed little over the world. centuries and these modern figures might be seen too as descendants of past Egyptian or Biblical figures.ld be However, the ostensible subject of the tour was to tion introduce the Prince of Wales to the history of the area and most Europeans would be interested more in its past; though the Egyptians themselves might have been better pleased had more attention been paid to their current most condition and needs.e historic and antique past of other countries and found much to interest them in the study of

CASE STUDIES

Of a tour in Greece and Turkey in 1818, *Attitudes to the Near East* by Sir Charles Eastlake (later

To British visitors to the Near East, it was the past history of the area which was of interest. The obvious contrast between the former greatness of Egypt and the and Holy Land, and their present relatively poor condition as compared with Britain coloured the reactions of many. For practical reasons of time, distance and cost, most journeys to the Near East included visits to both Egypt and the Holy Land, but aside from that the two areas were perceived as complementary; Canon Stanley described Egypt as "a fitting, it may almost be called a necessary, their prelude to Sinai and Palestine" ⁶⁰.oyed to record the

It is difficult to avoid concluding that for many European travellers in the East, a certain conscious superiority overlays their attitude to what they see ⁶¹. Europeans and particularly Britons were, in their own estimation at least, the leaders of the world ⁶². Figures like Sir Marc Brunel and his son Isambard caught the Victorian imagination as men of the modern era, who could use human intelligence and knowledge to conquer the natural world. The nineteenth century admiration for science found most fascinating the changes and improvements that could be made to daily living, and the camera was one invention whose effects were readily perceived and whose products were increasingly available.

Alongside such an appreciation of modern inventions, most travellers valued the historic and antique past of other countries and found much to interest them in the study of other peoples. Of a tour in Greece and Turkey in 1818, undertaken with Charles Barry, Sir Charles Eastlake (later President of the Royal Academy) wrote:

"I have no other object than the picturesque, and (181) shall consider myself at liberty to put the mosque and the temple in the same picture, and to pay the same attention to the Turk's beard and turban as to the bas-relief he sits on." ⁶³

Many visitors, both artists and later photographers, were also inspired by such a search for the picturesque and the curious; the contrast between the photographers and their predecessors lay in the method employed to record the

scenes. The visual transcription of the camera was perceived as particularly suited to the recording of the scenes of the East, whose importance lay in the fact that the buildings and landscape had been the background to the historical and Biblical events. The lineaments and habits of the native inhabitants were expected to be directly descended from those of Christ and the Prophets and a photograph would convey the truth of this better than an artist's drawing.

(52) Lane's Account of the Manners and Customs of the
In an early woodcut of the pyramids, c1670, a group of European men in tall hats appear in the foreground ⁶⁴. This inclusion of a European traveller in the view of a foreign site to which he had travelled is something which photography was later to take up: indeed some resident photographers derived much of their income from it. Because photography is a record of what is in front of the camera, many people had themselves taken in front of the interesting feature they had come to see - as proof they actually went, and somehow to associate themselves more closely with the site. In Jane Austen's Mansfield Park (1814) one of the characters refers to a story about the Doge who, on being asked what he found most remarkable about Versailles, replied "To see myself here" ⁶⁵, and an element of this sort of wonder runs through a number of photographs. There was doubtless also a vicarious thrill for armchair travellers perusing the illustrations, since the inclusion of obviously British or European figures in photographs of foreign sites would have allowed the viewer at home to identify with the travellers.

Natives and architectural views, has some groups of
Representation of Near Eastern Natives

There appear to be very few books of illustrations of Eastern costume or figures: fewer even than for India. The Description included a variety of plates showing Eastern costume, physiognomy and occupations, which tended to be interdependent; although not to the same extent as in India, a particular costume could be identified with a certain occupation or native from a specific locality (52). Lane's Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians also illustrated details of costume and accessories. One photographic series, Hart's Eastern Costumes (1865), followed a similar series of European costumes, showing both costumes and physiognomy, but a significant comment on it is that

"The lower-type Arabs look suspicious and repulsive, as if their hand was still against every man." ⁶⁶

In general though, in the works of Roberts and later, of the photographers in the Near East, natives appear as accent figures rather than as the main subject of a drawing or photograph.

There appears to have been no

The publisher of Hart's Eastern Costumes was French, not British, and it must not be forgotten that the French too had a political interest in the Near East. The greater production of such collections of native types relating to India may be because India was a part of the British Empire and hence Britons might feel (and might have been expected to feel) a paternalistic interest in their subjects. Even Bourne, much better known for his

landscape and architectural views, has some groups of Indian natives and castes. Such interest appears to be largely absent for Egypt and the Holy Land, whose inhabitants were viewed principally as a sad falling-off from their Biblical ancestors⁶⁷; Frith comments of "Holy Palestine" the Near East, she had not yet intervened.

"It is true...that the towns are paltry and dirty in the extreme, - that the Turkish Mohammedon population is ignorant and bigoted, - that the Arabs who infest its solitudes are the laziest, the most cowardly, and worthless set of fellows..yet, in spite of this...

comes the thrilling recollection- that this was the country of Abraham and the Prophets! - these the cities of David!"⁶⁸

With the limited exception of photographs of Cairo and Jerusalem (below), there were no scenes showing the contemporary state of affairs of the Near East. Even these were taken with the aim of showing antique buildings; the present, in the shape of native figures or modern buildings, might have obtruded but was rarely included deliberately. There appears to have been no intention to capture the people of the area by photography, however thorough was the documentation of landscape and architecture.

This contrasts with India where, as we have seen, The Peoples of India received support from the government and public. British Imperial aspirations in India evidently included a paternalistic concern for their native

subjects; there is perhaps a sense of possession apparent in this photographic documentation of their incised characteristics, much as the Architectural Survey recorded British control of the inanimate in India. At this point, although Britain was much interested in the balance of power in the Near East, she had not yet intervened directly as she was to do in 1881. Hence there was no justification on grounds of possession to make a peaceful comprehensive record of Eastern natives; and once left to individual photographers to choose their own native Temple subjects it seems that few made much of the opportunity.

(56) sets curved native forms against the geometric lines

Case Study: Native Figures as Accent and Symbol along

The use of native figures to enliven or increase the significance of a view is common to the work of both Frith and Bedford, and their disposition seems to be rarely, if ever, the result of chance. In Frith's Colossal Sculptures at Philae (53) the huge incised standing figure has a native figure placed leaning against his leg in a mirror image of the pose, indicating scale but also playing with the subject-matter; setting up tensions between present and past, small and large, clothed and unclothed, even simple skull-cap set against tall and elaborate head-dress. The dark shadow behind the native is heavy and black; the carved figure, though so large, is only lightly incised and its shadows are limited to defining its outline. All these contrasts and comparisons may not immediately obtrude on the viewer, but the sense of the differences between, indeed the gulf between, Egypt's past and its present is brought out.

Bedford's View through the Great Gateway into the Grand Court of the Temple of Edfu (54) has similar incised profile figures, but he contrasts these with a number of seated or crouching figures, also in profile and both native and European, thus emphasising the size of the carved figures. In a view of Medeenet Abou (55) an incised design of figures fighting which is cut into a pylon is cleverly contrasted with a remarkably peaceful scene in the walled enclosure in front, where an older native and a boy are resting in soft sunlight. His Temple on the Southern Side of the Sphinx, recently excavated (56) sets curved native forms against the geometric lines and angles of massive blocks of cut stone. Lying along the tops of the blocks, the figures form patches of dark and light, echoing the light and shadowed blocks of stone, and the light-clad figure against shadow to the right reflects his shadow on the white stone.

The instances above illustrate the compositional use of native figures, employed almost as shapes and volumes rather than as 'figures in a landscape' or other scene. In these photographs, they simply perform a function. By contrast, Gilpin's Picturesque often included figures to indicate scale, but such usage never lost sight of their identity as people; often their presumed emotion of admiration or awe contributed to the mood of the picture. Roberts's views of the Near East carry on this tradition, with small figures in the foreground directing the viewer's eye into the picture by their pointing or gazing (90).

Frith's view of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (92) includes two figures in the foreground. Presumably posed by Frith, they are neither seated nor occupied with any form of employment. Perhaps Frith's choice of such a subject reflects the perceived distinction in the nineteenth century, which originated with Keith's Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion, between the Holy Places as objects of veneration and their inhabitants who were perceived as being far less worthy. The ancestors of such men denied Christ and so in the nineteenth century it was felt that their poor condition since was attributable to this⁶⁹. Thompson notes a letter written to The Times by Dr Stanley regarding the Prince's visit to Damascus, where there had been a massacre of Christians.

"...though two years had elapsed since the massacre, the ill-feeling of the Musselman inhabitants towards the Christians continued so strong that, though restrained from over manifestation, it was plainly observable in the sullen mein and but half-suppressed scowl of many of the common people on his entrance into the city; and here alone was there the failure to render the customary recognition of, and honour to, his rank."⁷⁰

Evidently there was a preconception of how natives should regard the British; perhaps this partly explains why both Bedford and Frith tended to adhere to the topographical emphasis favoured by contemporary guides and travellers,

rather than making a study of the inhabitants of the Near East. His public in a different persona, perhaps emphasising the difficulties of his travels in the East, where Holman Hunt, Millais, Dyce and other Pre-Raphaelite artists had produced works showing Eastern natives (57) and the brilliant colours of these would have made monochromatic photographic representations seem particularly dull in comparison. These paintings also carried symbolic overtones, and were much more than a simple representation, in a way which photography would have had difficulty in emulating. Considered in the light of the distinction between 'types' and 'particulars' defined in Chapter 1, these paintings of natives represent 'types' while the photographs find themselves limited to showing 'particulars'.

Case Study: Turkish Summer Costume

Despite Frith's apparent reluctance to concentrate on native figures as a subject ⁷¹, he depicted himself in native costume as the frontispiece to Egypt and Palestine (58). His text comments that "Eastern costume is one of the most beautiful blunders of a luxurious but half-civilised state of society." ⁷² Photograph such as Frith's near-contemporary David Roberts, some twenty years previously, had been obliged to wear Turkish dress in Cairo to allow him entry to the mosques which he wanted to paint. Perhaps Frith was anxious that this comparison might be drawn between himself and Roberts, and between his photographic self-portrait and Roberts' portrait (59). It is possible

too that Frith saw this as an opportunity to show himself to his public in a different persona, perhaps emphasising the difficulties of his travels in the East, where this European travellers sometimes found it safer to wear a disguise.⁷⁶ at the German Gallery in 1862⁷⁷. He too, evidently, felt little urge to record Near Eastern costume. Frith wrote at length on the variety and brilliance of Eastern costume, but recognised the difficulty in giving a true impression of it without the aid of colour. Until this was possible, photographs were being taken; and then "we must veil our heads before our brothers of the brush and palette, who may paint with little fear of exaggeration, even to the verge of Pre-Raphaelite brilliancy, from the listless, dreaming, graceful life-studies of the East."⁷³ And his entourage at various points in their journey, recalling the role of the Frith's decision largely to exclude such photographs is doubtless due, as he says, to the undeniable fact that contemporary artists were producing paintings often consisting largely of colourful costume details, particularly Holman Hunt, whose first essays drawn directly from Eastern subjects had been exhibited in 1854. In contrast to Hunt's work, for instance The Afterglow in Egypt (57), a photograph such as Frith's near-contemporary Self-Portrait, Turkish Summer Costume (58) can only plead accuracy of form against its essentially monochromatic tonality. there are separate sections below dealing with topography and landscape. However, more so than in India Bedford's four-volume collection of Photographic Pictures...in the East includes just one scene showing a

native type, Water Carriers at Durazzo ⁷⁴ and two untitled portraits, one of a male Arab, the other a group of 15 natives ⁷⁵. He exhibited two further photographs of this type, Albanians, Soldiers and A Group of Gipsy Oil-carriers ⁷⁶ at the German Gallery in 1862 ⁷⁷. He too, evidently, felt little urge to record Near Eastern natives. Apart from the difficulties of rendering costume and type attractive in a monochrome medium he was, as Thompson says, under the influence of the Prince of Wales, on whose behalf the photographs were being taken; and there are no contemporary records of any particular sympathy on his part for the lot of others which might have made him desire photographs of the natives he encountered. The portrait views which Bedford took are largely confined to the Prince and his entourage at various points in their journey, recalling the role of the photograph in providing evidence of a traveller's visits.

Architecture and Antiquities

British interest in the Holy Land arose solely from its link with the life of Christ; interest in Egypt's past was accompanied by a realisation of its significance as the route to India. However, it was the historic past of both countries which attracted visitors. Those who could not visit were eager purchasers of books, prints and later photographs devoted to the Near East. As in the India chapter, there are separate sections below dealing with topography and landscape. However, more so than in India, any discussion of buildings and monuments inevitably involves some analysis of the surrounding landscape.

Case Study: The Pyramids, Egypt

The attitude of many people over the centuries to Egypt is illustrated most interestingly in what they chose to write and represent about the pyramid, a shape inextricably identified with the country and often used as a visual shorthand to indicate Egypt. In Turner's Fifth Plague of Egypt (1800, Indianapolis Museum of Art), he is painting a historical landscape, setting a Biblical event in an imaginary geographical and architectural context. The howling hailstorm shows Turner's concern to endow landscape with a deeper meaning beyond its surface features, and the steeply-angled pyramid in the background is a picturesque and symbolic adjunct to the scene. Most of Roberts' views of the Pyramids in his Egypt and Nubia were accurate enough, but one brilliantly-coloured lithograph of Approach of the Simoon (60) showing the Sphinx in front of the Pyramids facing the rising moon has taken liberties with the site and it is difficult to argue that an artist's main concern is for accuracy in the face of two such conflicting productions ⁷⁸.

To turn to any photograph of the pyramids is to realise the enormous difference which photography made to conceptions of areas known only from artists' impressions. Frith's view of The Pyramids of Dakshoor (61) is dated 1857, hence taken on Frith's earliest trip to the East, and its realism has even greater impact after the whirling storm of Turner. Instead there are crumbling piles of rock, each stone clearly visible, in a dry barren desert. The scale too, with the four men in the middle distance,

seems rather unimpressive, until one realises that the small black mark in the centre of the photograph, just below the largest pyramid, is a donkey with its master. These are the Arabs who bring travellers to see the pyramids and obviously Frith has taken considerable care over the composition of his photograph. The foreground figures, the donkeyman, the largest pyramid, the lighter one to the right and the tiny tip of one in the centre, are all punctuation points into the picture. At the same time, the group of men is used to balance the size and weight of the pyramids behind, to create a flat pattern on the surface, while the tiny figure in the distance creates a sense of the pyramid's massive height and solidity which might otherwise fail to impress so fully. Frith is again setting up tensions between the various elements of the picture.

Another view by Frith, The Great Pyramid from the Plain, (62) has a group of figures in a very similar pose. Three seated figures, one of whom leans to the side, again appear in the foreground, this time accompanied by a standing figure. The figures are nearer to the viewer in this photograph, and the trees on either side of them create a more fertile impression of Egypt, as these pyramids stand beside the Nile. The whole scene is almost a visual rendition of Frith's own remarks on the pyramids:

"The pyramids are in full view all the way from Cairo and seem ever to remain at the same distance from the eye, even until one stands close under them, when their vastness becomes suddenly oppressive." ⁷⁹

The clarity of the albumen print reveals the arid scenery (derived from Frith's mastery of the collodion process) and its pattern-like quality stands in direct contrast to the almost contemporary but much lushier Pyramids of Giza: Sunset Afterglow (63) by the Pre-Raphaelite painter Thomas Seddon. The great emphasis on colour in this work makes the monochrome photograph seem even duller in comparison, and unlike the rocky barren landscape of the photograph Seddon chooses to show the Nile with reeds, palms, birds and an ox. The painting, though, shows the pyramids with a sharper angle than the photographs would suggest and hence again underlines the greater 'truthfulness' of representation which a photograph provides. *is remarkable for the enclosed feeling which they often convey, whereas*

Francis Bedford's view of The Sphinx, The Great Pyramid and 2 lesser Pyramids, Ghizeh (64) shows a similar concern to dispose his elements carefully. Here a single figure stands facing the sphinx, in the pool of shadow cast by the huge sculpture, on which are stretched two more figures. The idea of an Arab confronting his country's past, as represented by the sphinx, recalls Romantic ideas and might be expected to appeal to a British audience; it seems likely therefore that Bedford arranged the *visible* composition. In contrast, Frith does not seem to employ this device; the native figures in his photographs appear on occasion to have a far less respectful attitude to the monuments as two are seen standing and sitting on the knees of Colossal Figure at Abu Simbel (66). Since such native figures were clearly positioned by Frith, the mood which he intend to evoke is a quite different one from

Bedford's; as Frith's natives do not usually regard the faces of statues the element of confrontation is absent, replaced by an air of unconcern.

As Bedford had to follow the Prince's schedule he presumably had only a short time to produce his photographs, and had to work with the light effects in place at the time. In his disposition of figures he created an intriguing image, placing the small figure to balance the dark bulk of the sphinx. It is characteristic of Bedford that the viewer's eye is stopped from going into the distance by the pyramid and sphinx, which fill most of the photograph. Bedford's images are remarkable for the enclosed feeling which they often convey, whereas Frith's usually appear more open.

Pyramides de Memphis: Vue du Sphinx et de la Grande Pyramide (65) shows the extent to which it was covered in sand when the French first saw it; by contrast, much more is visible in Bedford's view. By the time the photographers were working, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, much sand had been cleared away, and hence a photograph frequently showed more of any visible remains. The earlier view was apparently truthful for its date, just as much as the photograph. Even so, in comparison with earlier artistic representations, and to those unaware or uncaring of the excavations which had taken place in the intervening years, the photograph could be seen as providing a more 'truthful' idea of a monument than the earlier drawing.

Case Study: The Colossi at Memnon, Egypt

Shelley's poem Ozymandias ⁸⁰, describing the ruined Colossus at Thebes, is a well-known instance of the theme of decay. The temple at Thebes was constructed as the funerary temple of Ramses II, but by the nineteenth century was in ruins. This king, Ramses the Great, was also known as Usermare Ramses and his temple is identified as the Tomb of Ozymandias described by the Roman historian Diodorus Siculus. Frith's view of Osiridae Pillars and the Great Fallen Colossus (67) shows a party of European travellers among the ruins. This is a very unusual inclusion for Frith, who preferred his included figures to be anonymous natives, and considering the significance of the fallen statue which is the ostensible subject of the photograph, it is difficult to avoid concluding that a deeper meaning is attached to the presence of the figures; the whole can indeed be recognised as an illustration to Shelley's poem, as well as a development of the ideas of Keith and others about the former greatness of Egypt.

Description, stands in front of the plinth of the first. This view shows the upper part of the broken statue and in his commentary on the plate Frith spends about as much time in speculating what could have brought the statue to its ruined state as he does on the wonder of its construction ⁸¹. He concludes gunpowder is the only thing known to him which could have produced such an effect: this, however, is a significant departure from Shelley's Romantic conception of Time and decay. This mixture of modern and Romantic is characteristic of Frith's photography, much as his letterpress blends the serious

and frivolous. ues of Memnon at Thebes during the Inundation

(70) shows the statues at sunrise, and he has chosen this

Close by were two other seated statues, unbroken though damaged, known as the the Colossi of Memnon. The statues were well-known tourist attractions, and were included in most collections of Egyptian views prior to the invention of photography. Vue des Deux Colosses shows the two statues side by side, viewed at an angle which allows shadows to express the three-dimensional nature of the figures (68). On each plinth is a standing figure, who appear by his costume to be a European. Both they and the horse in front of the statue indicate scale, and the European figures also show the French involvement in Egypt which resulted in the Description.

The angle from which Frith choses to take his photograph of the Colossi is very similar to that in the Description, although the figures now fill most of the image (69). The horse in Frith's photograph which, like that of the Description, stands in front of the plinth of the first statue, is much larger than that in the earlier work, and both this and the comparative size of the human figures show that the artist of the Description has emphasized the size of the Colossi by making the included figures smaller than they would appear in real life. The Description illustration has caught the mis-shapen faces of the two Colossi with accuracy and indicates the correct positioning of the blocks which make up the statues; it is only in this matter of scale and impression that the artist's influence has intruded.

Robert's Statues of Memnon at Thebes during the Inundation (70) shows the statues at sunrise, and he has chosen this time of day not simply because he wants a Turner-esque effect, but because of an old legend connected with the statues: that they are supposed to sing when the sun rises, a phenomenon recorded as many as eighteen centuries ago but which is believed to have ceased c170 A.D. In a way, Roberts' lithograph could almost be seen as the forerunner of the motion picture and sound camera, to record the sight and sound of an event. A closer comparison for the period would be with the painted and photographic panoramas which became popular in the nineteenth century and which were intended to give the spectator the sensation of being present at a major event or significant place. The sharp yellow wash which tints the picture is a visual representation of the thin sounds made by the wind across the stone figures, thought to be the original of the singing.

Frith's description of these statues includes an account. Instead of a simple frontal representation which, because of the position of the statues, would of course prevent the inclusion of the sun, Roberts places the viewer behind the Colossi and makes him a participant in the rites of the statues. Seen from behind they are obviously damaged, since one arm is missing, but are endowed with personality through the lighting and viewpoint. The Nile flood water around their bases reflects the sun's light and makes the whole image more dazzling. The men fishing in the foreground are not, by their clothes or figures, present day Arabs. Their linen loin clothes and thick black hair

suggests that they are ancient Egyptians, hunting fish with tridents. Even if this scene is set in the historic past, the statues are still ruined, suggesting Egypt has different ages of antiquity.

In spite of Frith's desire to "do Roberts over again" ⁸² his interpretation of the Colossi differs considerably from that of Roberts. The figures in Frith's photographs, though serving the same purpose of indicating scale, are dressed in modern garb and their passive attitudes, though necessary to prevent any movement blurring the photograph, contrast with the activity of Roberts' figures. Frith may be drawing a visual parallel with the incised profile figures which can be seen cut into the seats of the colossi. Like the Roberts' fishermen, the figures seem uninterested in the statues, though they have little else in common.

Frith's description of these statues includes an account of some visitors to the statues at the same time as himself, who "spent their whole time on the spot in haggling with the Arabs over paltry purchases and the moment they were concluded - my word for it - they threw themselves upon their donkeys and rode off to the next 'sight', without ever having raised their eyes to the glorious old statues of Memnon!" (Frith's emphasis). ⁸³

Frith's emphasis shows he feels this is not the right way to behave when abroad; and his method of telling the story

suggests that his audience too would not approve. Most people looking at his photographs would be doing so as a substitute for a journey to the Near East and the attention with which they would study the photographic representations is evidently something Frith feels should be bestowed on the originals.

Unlike Roberts, Frith cannot use his artistic imagination to depict the statues as though seen from a height above ground, and has to be content with a view from the ground. This makes the stone figures seem more massive and earthbound. Light is equally important in his representation, but instead of dark shapes against the light he uses strong sunlight on the figures, to bring out detail and reduce the length of the exposure time. By making the statues fill almost the whole of the picture plane, he emphasizes their monumentality in a different way from Roberts, who has made the figures smaller in comparison with the statues. Shortly before this date, Le Gray in France was taking photographs into near direct sunlight⁸⁴. This owed its success to the comparable luminosity of sky and water and such a technique was not possible with the bright and cloudless Egyptian skies. As Lady Eastlake observed,

"experience proves that the brighter the sky that shines above the camera the more tardy the action within it"⁸⁵.

Bedford's Vocal Memnon is pictured with native figures much as Frith had shown it (71). These stand on the

statue's pedestal or just in front of it, but the image is dominated by the broken, shadowed face of the statue.

Both Bedford's and Frith's scale figures stand close against the statue, since problems of focus would arise if he attempted photographing them in a different picture plane; Roberts has his figures participating in a separate incident in front, which distances the statues and therefore makes them seem larger. Hence the different techniques of photography have imposed a different way of representing the subject, and even a different way of seeing on the part of the viewer.

Inevitably, both Bedford and Frith tend more to the representational than Roberts, and their approach is similar: curiously Bedford's close-up view of the statue seems rather to diminish its impressiveness, though the face is striking. The native figures to provide scale are perhaps a necessary inclusion given that most viewers would have no idea of the statues' size, but the effect is more traditional than innovative. Both Frith and Bedford, therefore, rely on the statues themselves to provide impact in their photographs, rather than making them the backdrop for any scene.

Case Study: Baalbek, Holy Land

In the Holy Land, away from the coast, north of Beirut and south of Tripoli, is Baalbek, once an important town on a Phoenician trade route. Its two huge temples were built for the worship of Baal, chief god of the Phoenicians and Canaanites.

To compare the views of Baalbek by David Roberts and Francis Bedford is to appreciate the change in viewing practice which emerged with the invention of the camera. Roberts' View of the Temples of Baalbek (72) perhaps influenced by his experience of painting stage-scenery, takes a very frontal and flat approach. His exterior views are often panoramic in nature, striving to present as comprehensive a view as possible. The distant hills are a pastel-coloured backdrop for the wall of masonry which stretches across most of the middle distance. In the foreground a group of natives, clad in the brightest colours in the scene, add a narrative element. Between them and the walls is another group of men and camels, who by their small size demonstrate the massive height of the walls.

In Frith's Baalbek from the South (74) the whole side of

Bedford's General View of the Ruins, from the South-west,

3 May 1862 (73) could scarcely be more different in its approach. The ruins are seen at an oblique angle (such a twisted or skewed angle is a favourite motif with Bedford), from across a group of irrigated fields with a water ditch running from the viewer; this note of contemporary life is juxtaposed with the ancient ruins which are the subject of the photograph. The six free-standing columns are clear-cut but distant against the sky, but the greatest impact is made by the stone pillar leaning against the flat wall to the right. Even at this distance, and without scale figures, the viewer recognises its huge size, emphasized by its dark shadow. Bedford's own pride in the image is indicated by the fact

that it was chosen as the frontispiece to the second part of his Photographic Pictures...in the East. states from a very early date, and the history of both areas tends to Bedford's photographs often convey a feeling of enclosure; here, for instance, he has chosen to make the line of the walls the centre of his composition, unlike Roberts who shows distant hills. Although the wide foreground draws the viewer's eye smoothly into the picture, the abrupt halt at the walls is little modified by the more distant view of hills to the right. Unlike Roberts' image, which emphasized the monumentality of the whole group of buildings, Bedford makes the pillars appear smaller by filling his foreground with the incidentals of modern agricultural cultivation. Cairo, of course, is a very large city; but so too is In Frith's Baalbec from the South (74) the whole side of the temple against which the pillar is leaning is in shadow. Frith's viewpoint is between the two main pieces of masonry, the six tall columns and the large wall with the leaning pillar, so that both are viewed at an angle. He has also moved much closer to the scene, while still giving an image of the whole. In the foreground, the apparent evidence of cultivation is even more prominent than in Bedford's view, stressing the contrast between the Romantic past and more prosaic present. Alongside his photograph Frith provided a map of Baalbec compiled from the Surveys of Wood and Dawkins, as though trying to convey the actuality of the place by cartography, rather than showing the temple's physical presence in the way Bedford was later to do.

City Views

Both Egypt and the Holy Land were civilized states from a very early date, and the history of both areas tends to dwell on the largely urbanised lives led by many inhabitants. Hence the concept of cities and towns as entities was established in the minds of the European public for the Near East far more so than for India. The New Testament in particular emphasises the idea of interdependent communities and their association with the life of Christ.

It may be significant therefore that paintings and photographs showing a general view of a whole town or village are more common for the Holy Land than for Egypt. Cairo, of course, is a very large city; but so too is Jerusalem, which is pictured in its entirety by both artists and photographers. Many of the Holy Land towns are surrounded by hills, which makes it easier to create a successful composition of the whole town than with the flat landscape of Egypt. Nevertheless, Frith at least did actively seek views which might convey an idea of the whole: "I vainly rode round and round [Bethlehem] in search of a point from which I might convey, in a single picture, any comprehensive and satisfactory idea of the place."⁸⁶

This concept of 'a town set in a landscape' is applied far more consistently to the Holy Land than to Egypt and, bearing in mind the deep emotion felt by many Victorians over the land of Christ, this seems likely to have been in

part a deliberate response by artists and photographers to a recognised desire amongst British viewers for scenic representations of this all-encompassing type.

Case Study: Cairo, Egypt

Cairo, capital of Egypt, lies on the Nile at the start of the Nile delta (75). As well as Moslem mosques and palaces it contained remnants of the Christian occupation during the Crusades, and was one of the places where travellers might stop on the Overland Route to India.

Various buildings in Cairo are represented in the Bedford's View from the Mehemet Ali Mosque (which is part of the citadel complex) has in the foreground the bulk of the Sultan Kalaun Mosque with its tall minaret, and beyond it to the right the cemetery buildings, while extending to the left are the buildings of modern Cairo (76). As a composition the photograph is poor, with the environs of the city blurring through loss of focus, and its recording function must have been its chief value. Frith's Cairo From The Citadel (77) takes a similar view, though the courtyard in front of the mosque is full of people. Frith has set the mosque to the left side of the photograph and tall walls to the right, thus allowing the viewer to see straight across Cairo, instead of restricting the view as Bedford so often does. The flat nature of the Nile delta is very apparent in these views, and neither photographer has Roberts' advantage in being able to improve the composition as in his Cairo Looking West (78) where the various minarets and towers all lead the eye to the distant pyramids just breaking the skyline.

Roberts, Bedford and Frith included images of Cairo street scenes in their collections, less because particular buildings in the scene were their subject (though the various Cairo mosques feature) than because they were trying to present a 'typical' scene in the 'picturesque' part of old Cairo (79) ⁸⁷. This contrasts with views of Holy Land towns, where it is generally the specific - the well of Mary, the house of Simon - which is the subject of photographs. Memlooks, Cairo, with an Arab funeral (83),

where a frieze-like procession passes on its way as though Various buildings in Cairo are represented in the collections of views discussed in this chapter; one view which recurs in most is that showing the Cities of the Dead, the vast cemeteries which extend north, east and south of the citadel of Cairo. Vues de Tombeaux from the Description shows panoramic views of the tall towers and smaller headstones which make up the cemeteries (80); the overall impression of bleakness and desolation is heightened by the rocky ground almost bereft of human figures. and destroying the palace which held his tormentors and himself.

Frith's Cairo, Tomb under the Gebel Mukattam (81) concentrates on two of the larger tombs, and the much smaller size of the further tomb shows how flat is the ground. The rock-strewn ground emphasises the broken nature of the masonry, and the half eaten-away appearance of one corner is emphasised by the distant Mehemet Ali Mosque. Bedford's Tombs of the Memlooks at Cairo (82) provides a remarkable contrast to Frith's, which shows the tombs to the north of the citadel. Bedford has chosen for

his subject the much more complete collection of tombs to the south, where a variety of patterns and textures - rough ground, tiled roof, stone wall and pierced windows - play across the surface of the photograph, while a place, sequence of overlapping domes lead the eye towards the distant mosque. The contrast with Frith's view explains the "unobtrusive softness" of Bedford's work ⁸⁸. As typical of Roberts and Frith respectively are Roberts' Tombs of the Memlooks, Cairo, with an Arab funeral (83), where a frieze-like procession passes on its way as though in a stage-set before a flat line of tombs; and Frith's Tombs in the Southern Cemetery (84) where three groups of figures carefully disposed lead the eye in stages into the picture. *generally woefully patchy and ineffective.*

compared with Turner's (Frith's italics)". ⁸⁹

Case Study: Gaza, Holy Land

Gaza was the first town in Palestine to which travellers from Egypt came: it was also the town where Samson was taken captive and forced to work before recovering his strength and destroying the palace which held his tormentors and himself. *the middle distance on the left; in*

the photograph this has arches of different sizes and

An example of how the photograph was fitted into the tradition of previous book-illustration is in a photographically-illustrated volume entitled Scenes in the East, published in 1870 by The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge ⁸⁹. It included a view of Gaza from a print by Frith (85) ⁹⁰; a very similar photograph appears in Frith's Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem etc (86). The plates in Scenes in the East were probably coloured to

make them appear like the more expensive aquatints or lithographs; but, although the whole point of the photographs in such a publication was to give a 'true' illustration of places where Bible events had taken place, the heavy colouring obscures much of the original clarity of the photograph ⁹¹.

Frith wrote of the landscape photographer's difficulties.

"No man knows so well as he, that very rarely indeed does a landscape arrange itself upon his focusing-glass, as well, as effectively, as he could arrange it, if he could. No man is so painfully conscious as he is, that nature's lights and shades are generally woefully patchy and ineffective, compared with Turner's (Frith's italics)". ⁹²

The colouring of the photograph would seem an effort to circumvent these problems; not only is there an attempt at aerial perspective through colour, but some of the 'patchiness' Frith bemoans has been removed. An example of this is the wall in the middle distance on the left; in the photograph this has arches of different sizes and depths cut into it and distracts the eye slightly from the central tower and palm tree. In the coloured print this area has been simplified, while the disposition and quantity of the palm trees seems to have been altered and made less intrusive. Nevertheless, the original photograph is more successful than the coloured print in conveying a sense of actuality; the latter appears flat and coarse in comparison.

No comparison with a Bedford photograph is possible in this instance; the four-volume collection of Photographic Prints...in the East at the Royal Archives at Windsor includes no views of Gaza, and Thompson's book contains no reference to Gaza. As Gaza lies slightly inland, it was most probably missed out of the Prince's itinerary; he travelled between Cairo and Jerusalem in six days⁹³.

However, Roberts includes one plate of Gaza which is, as with so many of his views, taken from a distance to show the town in its setting on a hill, surrounded by others, beyond which one can see the Mediterranean (87). The taller of the two towers on the lower right hand of the print is the same as appeared in Frith's photograph, surrounded as it is by palm trees and lower buildings. By concentrating on that small area, Frith has given an erroneous impression of Gaza; from his photograph one would assume the whole area to be flat. Frith's previous comments on the difficulty of photographing the whole of Bethlehem suggest how technical limitations could dictate the options open to a photographer.

Case Study: Jerusalem, Holy Land

The most significant religious site in the Holy Land is Jerusalem (88), which has a history of European involvement reaching back to the Crusades. The Mosque of Omar, also known as the Dome of the Rock, is a holy building to Jews, Christians and Moslems.

Jerusalem appeared in Finden's Landscape Illustrations of the Bible in a version originally drawn by Turner and

engraved (89). His view of the Mount of Olives takes in the whole of the holy walled city and the valley of the Kidron brook (the Valley of Jehoshaphat), which lies between the city and the Mount of Olives. It is clear from the illustration that Turner is not only creating mood by a choice of weather conditions, but that he has also altered his subject. A comparison with Frith's photograph (92) shows that the size of the mosque has been much enlarged by Turner, to draw the viewer's eye to it as the most important building in Jerusalem. The mood Turner creates is more than purely topographical; the broken weather allows a rainbow to form on the right, traditionally a sign of hope. Holman Hunt made use of it in a similar way in his later painting of The Scapegoat. An even more symbolic insertion is the stone coffin in the foreground, with its broken lid, which recalls the tomb left empty after Christ's resurrection. Turner's view of Jerusalem therefore uses particular additions to create a highly charged and emotional landscape, which is symbolic as well as topographical. A letter of Disraeli to his sister in 1831 recognises the symbolic character of Jerusalem in its landscape setting: "the ground is thrown about in such picturesque undulations, that the mind is full of the sublime, not the beautiful...Jerusalem in its present state, would make a wonderful subject for Martin and a picture from him alone could give you an idea of it." ⁹⁴

"Nowhere in this series do we so fully recognise the peculiar excellence of photography as in the view

Roberts' views of Jerusalem tend to focus on the golden dome of the mosque which draws the eye by its contrast in tone: dark against light in The Haram esh-Sharif (90) and light behind dark in The Mosque of Omar (91). Both have the ubiquitous native figures in the foreground and, though architectural detail is present, it is subsumed under the wish to create a single pictorial entity.

Frith's view of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (92) seems an attempt to emulate the picturesque features of Roberts, but because of the 'truthfulness' of photography it is less successful. The two figures in the foreground do not integrate into the landscape as well as those of Turner or Roberts, and as they are simply standing looking at one another they do not have the same apparent motives for being there as in earlier artistic representations, however manufactured those motives might be. The view is taken from lower down the hill, among the trees which form part of the Garden of Gethsemane. The trees, though introducing perhaps a more picturesque element, are so disposed as to block part of the view, unlike the 'stage wings' of Gilpin's Picturesque. The impression gained by the viewer is of truthfulness, the representation of what was there in front of the camera, but the picturesque elements sit uncomfortably with this.

The letterpress accompanying another photograph of Jerusalem comments that: "Nowhere in this series do we so fully recognise the peculiar excellence of photography as in the view

before us. In it we have the very reflection of Jerusalem. Artists have represented the Holy City but while we have admired their works, we have lamented an inevitable want of perfect exactness. The first feeling in looking at them with those who had seen what they purport to portray has been disappointment: with those who had not, distrust. Here the first

feeling is the satisfaction produced by confidence;

and as with a much loved face, such a helpful record is of more value than the most elaborately beautiful and depicted as bleak, desolate and monochromatic picture." ⁹⁵

Earlier artistic representations, such as Roberts' and those in Finden's *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* The authorship of this is unclear, since both Frith and the Pooles contributed letterpress to this particular volume of photographs. The letterpress on the Sphinx (see below) describes its "sweetness and grandeur", but a known comment of Frith calls it "exceedingly ugly" so one must conclude that that particular text was produced by the Pooles. I suggest the Pooles too as authors of the above extract on Jerusalem since Frith usually managed to insert the word 'I' into his text. The comment "while we have admired their [artists'] works..." suggests a more detached view than Frith would have been likely to possess on the subject.

This extract again shows the concern for truth which obtained at the time, and the way in which photography was seen to provide it; particularly often reiterated by non-photographers. One product of such interest was the appointment of an Ordnance Survey team to survey Jerusalem

(1864-65) and later the Sinai Peninsula (1868).

Photographically-illustrated accounts of these surveys were subsequently published, but as both Ordnance Surveys post-date the photography of Frith and Bedford their more personal views could not have been compared by contemporary viewers with such official productions.

Landscape General View of the Island of Philae, Nubia (93)

The landscape of the Near East is most often thought of and depicted as bleak, desolate and monochromatic.

Earlier artistic representations, such as Roberts' and those in Finden's Landscape Illustrations of the Bible sought to enliven the landscape with ruins, figures and vegetation, but in general these were artistic additions to soften the naturally bleak aspect of the land. In contrast, the harshness of the Pre-Raphaelite paintings of Holman Hunt avoided any notion of the picturesque in favour of uncompromising reality.

The contemporary landscape photographic views by Bedford and Frith partake more of reality than the picturesque, and so make an interesting contrast with the Indian photographs of Bourne. Landscape has already featured in the analysis of buildings and monuments such as the statue of Memnon, and buildings will feature too in this discussion. The essential difference is that earlier monuments in their landscape setting were examined; here landscapes which include topographical subjects are analysed.

Case Study: Philae, Egypt

Upriver of the first cataract of the Nile lies the island of Philae. Its temples and ruins made it a popular destination with travellers, while to ancient Egyptians it was considered their most sacred place and the supposed location of the tomb of Osiris.

ents influence the attitude with which ancient ruins and monuments are viewed; though Roberts' General View of the Island of Philae, Nubia (93) takes a high viewpoint and looks down on the buildings and across to the mountains of the desert beyond. He exaggerates the real curve of the Nile at that spot, and the resulting oval composition gives a much greater sense of completeness than if he had been able to show only part of the island; the shape of the island, wide in the centre and pointed at both ends, makes it almost like a boat floating on the river. At the same time, in Britain, Turner had begun using circular or shaped canvases to increase the concentration on the subject of his paintings, creating the impression of a vortex; and Roberts seems to be seeking after the same effect here.

human occupancy contrast with the natural shapes of rocks The scene is enlivened by the figures, boats and watermill on the left. These could equally well be figures from the past (though not the antique past) or the present, showing continuing life round ancient ruins. The letterpress mentions the discovery of the name of a French commander inscribed on a pylon on the island, complete with the date of the French force's occupation. Roberts wonders why no ability to select and emphasise certain features, the

Englishman has added "expelled from the land of Egypt by an English army, September 2nd 1801." ⁹⁶

This is one of the many instance which occur of how current or near-contemporary events influence the attitude with which ancient ruins and monuments are viewed; though the plate of Philae does not of itself indicate such an attitude. Roberts however also notes that "the picturesque forms of the buildings are best seen at sunset", placing his own work and tastes in the picturesque tradition. Indeed the words picturesque and sublime constantly appear in Roberts' accounts ⁹⁷.

Frith, who considered Philae "the most beautiful thing in Egypt" ⁹⁸ takes a lower, more distant viewpoint for The Approach to Philae (94). The mounds of rock which frame the island dominate the picture, and seem to refer to a more distant past, earlier than that of the partly ruined buildings. The rectangular buildings from the period of human occupancy contrast with the natural shapes of rocks and palms. Although the composition was deliberately planned, one reason for not following Roberts' view was doubtless the difficulty in transporting his heavy camera and equipment up to the top of the island lying next to Philae, from which Roberts made his sketch. In comparison, the limitation of photography in only being able to show 'bits' is apparent. Without the artist's ability to select and emphasise certain features, the

panoramic photographic view generally dissolves too readily into aerial perspective. Another drawback of the inability of the camera to produce a wide and comprehensive view is that the viewer cannot as easily be drawn into the scene and feel the landscape surround and enfold him, as would be desirable for the creation of a particular mood.

In another of Frith's view of 'Pharoah's Bed', Isle of Philae (95) the 'natural' aspect of Philae is stressed by positioning the real leaves of palms beside the temple against the sculpted leaves forming the column capitals. On the water in front of the temple is the darkroom-boat in which he travelled up the Nile. Both this view and the preceding one, therefore, indicate or imply the difficulties through which Frith has passed. Besides these there are various photographs of the temple seen from the middle of the island, showing the centre filled with broken masonry. This is obviously not as attractive a scene as the exterior of the island, but the fact that such views were taken does suggest that the recording value of a photograph might be at least equal in significance to its attractiveness as a work of art.

Bedford's view of Philae - the Hypaethral Temple and small chapel (96) looks out from the island to the temple set against the mountains. Unusually there are no native figures included, which leaves the viewer with the problem of determining scale. The foreground is filled with the

ruins of half-buried walls, in which the temple seems almost out of place. The picturesque serenity of Roberts' Isle of Philae by Sunset (97), which set the sun directly behind the temple columns, has been replaced by a less certain emotion, where the viewer's eye is again directed by Bedford into the image while being given few clues on how to interpret the photograph⁹⁹.

at least viewed the East in very much the same way as Roberts had done, and *The Landscape of the Holy Land* concur in finding only The route to the Holy Land from Egypt usually lay across the Sinai peninsula, which lies between the two arms of the Red Sea. This was where most travellers experienced real desert travel; it took several days to cross Sinai on a route usually between Suez and Gaza. Palestine was a poorly-defined area within the Turkish Ottoman Empire, now comprising parts of modern Israel, Jordan and Egypt. From 1831-40, the area was occupied by the Egyptians. European intervention in 1840 caused Egypt to withdraw and though Palestine reverted to the Ottoman Turks, there was a steady increase in European influence there.

of earlier works, it does seem that the photograph itself The Holy Land was the subject of Frith's second series of stereographs described in a catalogue issued by Negretti and Zambra in 1858. The text which accompanies the stereographs is a pedestrian effort in comparison with Frith's accounts in his books: unfortunately an author other than the company is not specified¹⁰⁰, though the style suggests the Pooles may well have contributed.

photographic 'truth'.

Damascus is dismissed thus:

"The beauty of this city has been greatly overrated. It is remarkably deficient in fine mosques and minarets, which are the only objects that make an Eastern town look picturesque." ¹⁰¹

The observation would suggest that in spite of the invention of the camera this writer at least viewed the East in very much the same way as Roberts had done, and presumably expected readers to concur in finding only of Islamic architecture picturesque. It is difficult though to establish the extent to which the descriptive text was an adjunct to the photograph, and how far the reader was expected to interpret the photograph for himself; Frith felt that the photograph was the important part: *from the view* "Scarcely anyone does read the letter-press which *bes it* accompanies a series of views." ¹⁰²

Though Frith's own volumes, and others illustrated with photographs, have lengthy descriptive texts to accompany each photograph, presumably to keep them in the tradition of earlier works, it does seem that the photograph itself was being recognised as an important carrier of information. This suggests an unspoken contrast between the acknowledged difficulty of relying on an artist's impression of a country, and the perceived accuracy of *some* photography. Such an idea may be difficult to *inclusion* substantiate as a firm conclusion, but it is worth *able* considering as another aspect of the concept of *it seem* photographic 'truth'. *ures have been added later; a number*

Case Study: Tiberius, Holy Land

The small inland Sea of Galilee, about seven miles across, is linked to the Dead Sea by the river Jordan. Most accounts call it the Lake of Tiberius, or Lake Gennesarat. It was illustrated in Tristram's Scenes in the East (98) and a photograph of it appeared in Egypt and Palestine (99). able to arrange them on his glass plate. His view of the Lake of Tiberius

Tristram describes the current condition of the city of Tiberius, now the holy city of the Jews and the seat of the principal Jewish Ecclesiastical University. The town was damaged by an earthquake in 1837 and there was still much rubble around. Poverty and squalor was a live brick characteristic. None of this however is visible from the viewpoint of the plate: instead the letterpress describes it thus: artist and omit.

"The calm placid lake, without a ripple on its These surface, lies beneath our feet, sleeping as it were his sunk on the cushion of hills which encircle it on and can every side." ¹⁰³

The impression given is one of timelessness and peacefulness, with the golden light of the sun illuminating the scene. ocular plane they are remarkably intrusive and untidy. Prith remarked that "few... can The disposition of the figures in the coloured plate seems particularly fortuitous; very much the sort of inclusion Roberts would have made. Their scale seems incompatible with the size of the rocks beside the road, and it seems likely that these figures have been added later; a number

of other pictures in the book have a type of halo around figures, suggesting the area round them had been rubbed blank then the figures inserted.

Frith himself, to judge from the quotations below, would not have been wholly averse to such alterations, if he had been able to arrange them on his glass plate. His view of the Lake of Tiberius

"embraces a tower of the Roman castle, now partly in ruins, and a piece of modern brick wall...the greater part of the present town and the southern bay of the lake." ¹⁰⁴

Writing on the photograph he laments the intrusive brick wall to the right of Gennesareth (100) is very similar to "which I would have given anything to be able to play the artist and omit." ¹⁰⁵

These remarks may, however, be a subtle way of reminding his viewer that his photographs have not been altered, and can be relied upon as a truthful representation of the scenery. The ruins he includes are not at all picturesque; because of the equal focus given to everything on this particular plane they are remarkably intrusive and untidy. Frith remarked that "few...can tolerate simple truthfulness" but he himself is here almost apologising for it, contrasting it, perhaps tongue-in-cheek, to its disadvantage with what an artist could do. Venice (1851-53). The author has a style quite

different from that of Thompson, whose text had also

Despite the holy associations of the area, which Frith does mention, his narrative is taken up largely with the present. He describes the town as

"a most wretchedly forlorn and dirty-looking assemblage of houses or hovels of ultra-oriental character." ¹⁰⁶

and notes that there is an old adage

"that the king of the fleas holds his court in Tiberius." ¹⁰⁷

In his writings, Frith speaks of his quest towards the romantic and perfected past ¹⁰⁸ but reality, as he found, had an unpleasant habit of intruding into romance.

Egypt and Palestine (1858-9) and in Cairo, Sinai.

Bedford's The Lake of Gennesareth (100) is very similar to Frith's, taking in the sweep of the bay and its ruins, but by positioning himself behind the ruins instead of in front of them as Frith did, Bedford eliminates from view the town of Tiberius. Neither photograph, however, possesses the picturesque qualities of Roberts' Town of Tiberias, looking towards Lebanon (101); the comparative ugliness of the two photographs may be another subtle reference to the fallen nature of the Holy Land.

religious sites - the stock phrase of this group appears

ATTITUDES OF PHOTOGRAPHERS AND WRITERS

A selection of Bedford's photographs were used to illustrate Mrs Mentor Mott's The Stones of Palestine (1865); the title possibly intends a reference to Ruskin's Stones of Venice (1851-53). The author has a style quite different from that of Thompson, whose text had also

accompanied Bedford's photographs. While there are artistic elements of choice and omission which give us a view of the photographer's aims, the interpretation accorded to a photograph does depend heavily on the descriptive text which accompanied it and interpreted it to a reader and viewer who would very likely not have seen the place described; an issue considered below.

Mrs Mott's writing style is certainly emotive, and a comparison with other writers at the same time shows the variety of styles prevailing. Frith's photograph of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives appears both in his own Egypt and Palestine (1858-9) and in Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem etc (1860) with text by Mr and Mrs Poole. The difference in tone between the two accounts is very striking and illustrative of two differing types of attitudes assumed by those who have visited the East, or are writing about it.

These may be generally divided into the 'breathless' and the 'iconoclastic'. To the former category, exemplified by the Pooles, belongs much of the writing on the religious sites - the stock phrase of this group appears to be the remark 'who could fail to be moved by....' The Pooles wrote of one photograph taken in the Garden of Gethsemane

"You would never tire of sitting under the shade of one of these old olive trees in the month of April, dreamily inhaling the very atmosphere of sacred

history." ¹⁰⁹ Their descriptions concentrate chiefly on the ancient holy and historical sites; they rarely mention modern buildings and affairs.

By contrast, the 'iconoclastic' writer, such as Frith, seems to make a practice of setting up marks only to shoot them down. Of the Sphinx (102) Frith wrote "I fancy that I have read of its beautiful, calm, majestic features: let my reader look at it, and say if he does not agree with me, that it can scarcely have been, even in its palmiest days, otherwise than and exceedingly ugly." ¹¹⁰

However, the Pooles wrote of another of Frith's Sphinx photographs (103)

"...although taken from the point at which it is most difficult to gain the true expression of the face, is eminently successful, giving us all its sweetness and grandeur." ¹¹¹

The almost aggressive nature of Frith's remarks may be in part an affectation, designed to draw attention to the 'raw' truth of his images as opposed to the more pleasing but less accurate artistic images. A comparison with the two views of the Sphinx suggests that for his own text Frith deliberately chose a particularly unattractive angle, with the face of the Sphinx in dark shadow and pushed to the extreme right of the photograph. This manipulative approach may be a way of asserting an

alternative canon of judgement for the photograph as opposed to the painting; Frith may hope that he can thereby pre-empt his audience's criticisms in his letterpress, and thus emphasise the 'truthfulness' of photography much as he did with the modern wall at Tiberius.

The existence of two such differing styles applied to what is sometimes the same photograph shows that a viewer's attitude to a photograph might be influenced quite substantially by the accompanying letterpress. Of equal significance is the fact that both Frith and the Pooles, and Thompson and Mott, were produced as letterpress, in similar volumes; publishers evidently felt that there would be a market for both.

Writing about travel is a difficult task: but "how can anyone convey that subjectively true sense of the marvellous and at the same time keep the reporter's cardinal goal of conveying objective truth." ¹¹²

Frith is more successful in reaching both these goals because his writings convey more of genuine emotion and an acceptance of the combination of good and bad in what he sees. In a perceptive comment, Sweetman remarks

"The 'sublime' experience of the writer who had never experienced the East is very different from the precise image of one who had." ¹¹³

The change in attitudes to the East is indicated in a short story by Anthony Trollope, entitled An Unprotected Female at the Pyramids ¹¹⁴. The female, Miss Dawkins, is without the obligatory male protector but it soon becomes evident that the other characters need to be 'protected' from her and her desires to seek their company and finances to save herself expense. Cairo and the pyramids are the setting of the story and unlike a travel book the descriptions given are merely to set the scene. The American and English families in Cairo decide to visit the pyramids and though they dutifully climb to the top and enter the interior, the pyramids serve mainly as background for the frustration of Miss Dawkins's intentions and the successful conclusion of the romance between the two young people of the party.

The pyramids are thus an essential feature of the plot, but beyond that there is no rhapsodising by any character - save Miss Dawkins, for her own ends. Instead Trollope notes sadly

"when we have seen a thing it is never so magnificent to us as when it was half unknown...as the subjects which inspired us are brought near to us: 'Ah! so those are the pyramids, are they?' says the traveller when the first glimpse of them is shown to him from the window of a railway carriage. 'Dear me; they don't look so very high, do they? For Heaven's sake, put the window down or we shall be destroyed by the dust.'" ¹¹⁵

The writer Rudyard Kipling made a Nile cruise with his wife in 1913. In a letter home to his children, he remarked "You never saw anything in the world so like their photographs as the Pyramids."¹¹⁶ This of course is an inversion of the real order of things. Though intended as a joke, Kipling's remark shows how photography had brought exotic places to the hands and eyes of everyone, and bred a kind of familiarity towards distant objects. Bedford's photographs has Egypt followed by the Holy Land.¹¹⁷

CONCLUSION

The invention of photography coincided very closely with the development of the Near East as a destination for British travellers; or perhaps the photographs stimulated the travellers to travel; or perhaps the travellers stimulated the photographers to photograph. The answer can never be absolute, choosing one option at the expense of the other two. Even with the help of men such as Thomas Cook, travel was difficult and costly; but those who could afford to travel could equally well afford to purchase the albums of prints discussed above. Men like Frith, enjoying his freedom to travel as he wished abroad, might be stimulated by the prospect of travel in eastern countries; men like the Prince of Wales and Bedford would enjoy a tour where, although they might have suggestions for an itinerary, all the arrangements would be made for them. In descriptive letterpress, the images themselves were used to convey a mood or encourage a particular

Transportation certainly improved in the nineteenth century, making journeys slightly less arduous, but for many parts of the East the only practical conveyances were camels or sail boats. If the idea of travel attracted someone, he or she might find stimulus in photographs of the East; but for many the photograph or stereograph might have provided all they wanted to know of the area. None of Frith's books (including the Pooles') are arranged according to any itinerary, though the Thompson book illustrated with Bedford's photographs has Egypt followed by the Holy Land ¹¹⁷.

The East as a whole, especially in photographs, was exotic (and the more so for being 'truthfully' represented) rather than picturesque; the dim hills beloved of David Roberts tended to disappear in photographs leaving the subject isolated against the sky. The mountains of India lent themselves more readily to picturesque convention. Instead, the literal transcription provided by photography became the essential reason for praise.

However, the recurrent stress on the sad contrast between the past grandeur and greatness of the East compared with its present poor condition (a contrast drawn in both letterpress and photograph and indicative of at least a partial survival of Romantic ideas) prevents total objectivity from being achieved. In India, in the absence of descriptive letterpress, the images themselves were used to convey a mood or encourage a particular

interpretation; in the Near East the letterpress guided opinion towards certain conclusions.

Stereographs, by giving a three-dimensional impression, were particularly typical of the benefits of photography; they gave a lifelike rendering of a scene which had been virtually impossible to produce when the two differing images had to be drawn by hand. As such, they might be considered to give a more 'truthful' picture than even a single photograph, and the reviews of Frith's stereographs are full of praise, both for the works of the photographer and for the concept of the stereograph¹¹⁸. Travelling, The Athenaeum said,

"is all very well, [but] lazy folks may prefer going to cold snows and hot sands via Messrs Negretti and Zambra's stereoscope. It is safer, quicker, cheaper."¹¹⁹

In reviews of stereographs, it is always the sense of immediacy with the subject which is stressed, and this is one form of the "photographic truth" perceived as superior to artists' representations.

The concept of photography as moral illumination is implicit in many of the statements made. On the titlepage of Egypt and Palestine Frith quotes from Thomas Campbell's Gertrude of Wyoming

'I boast no song in magic wonders rife,
But yet, on Nature! is there nought to prize,
Familiar in thy bosom-scenes of life?

And dwells in DAY-LIGHT TRUTH's salubrious skies

No form with which the soul may sympathise?'

This stresses both the idea of truth, and the idea of daylight and sun as somehow contributing to that truth, not just by the natural illumination which they provide but by a form of moral illumination shed on the soul. There is almost the idea that photographic truth is God-given; an idea that Frith himself, because of his own beliefs favoured ('truth is a divine quality...') but which is implicit in other writings.

tradition of print-making. Railways, machinery, bridges,

Whether this 'truth' is indeed achieved is debatable.

Despite Frith's claim that no-one reads the letterpress, it seems evident from the contrasting views expressed by him and by the Pooles that there could be considerable differences of opinion on what an image represented. The foregoing analysis of photographs has shown that the way in which a photographer chose to take his subject could change its impact, significance or even appearance.

Picturesque ideas linger on in the letterpresses of some photographs as they had in Roberts' journal. Absolute truth of representation is absent from a photograph as from an artist's impression. Truth, as much as beauty, can be shown to reside in the eye of the beholder.

guide him round the East, and Bedford, as one of an organised party with the Prince of Wales, found his route clearly laid out. Even Bourne, who was often irritated by his unreliable coolies, relied on them as guides in the more inaccessible parts of India in which he travelled.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

As was pointed out at the start of this thesis, the historian of exotic photography is forced, in a sense, to 'invent a discipline'; to adapt and adopt aspects of other historical approaches, and to take account of a much more varied context (literary, political and social) than might be expected. Photography was, after all, only one of the many scientific inventions of the nineteenth century, whilst it was related in some respects to the earlier tradition of print-making. Railways, machinery, bridges, improved sanitation: all coincided with the invention and development of photography. In Britain, pride in such scientific advances was widespread, and the Great Exhibition of 1851 was intended to present British triumphs to the world. These inventions were exported to countries, such as India and Egypt, in which Britain had an interest¹.

Once photography had become more accessible, and *The Context of Nineteenth-century Photography* became

Most visitors abroad in the nineteenth century, even those who might feel they were making the journey as economically as possible, were accompanied by native servants and guides. Francis Frith had a dragoman to guide him round the East, and Bedford, as one of an organised party with the Prince of Wales, found his route clearly laid out. Even Bourne, who was often irritated by his unreliable coolies, relied on them as guides in the more inaccessible parts of India in which he travelled.

Such native guides (and also the written guides which travellers followed, like Gardner Wilkinson's Modern Egypt and Thebes) must in a sense have acted as buffers to the country: the choices of subject which a photographer might make were, to some small degree at least, constrained and directed by the necessity of having to use these guides. Similarly the impossibility of some routes through political or physical difficulties constrained their field of choice. In a wider sense, the photographs and accounts which they produced acted in a similar way on the keeping purchasers, who viewed these countries through the eyes of the dragoman cum photographer. This was carrying on an artistic tradition which had begun with men such as Gilpin and Finden. Like their artistic predecessors, the commercial photographers studied here spent time before taking a photograph on selecting the best angle and lighting to employ. Once photography had become more accessible, and devices such as the Kodak camera (produced 1888) became common, travellers could select and take their own views. Taking a photograph became a much quicker process and in a sense a substitute for close observation, capturing an image of the subject to stick in an album and as proof that one had indeed visited the site ²: much as the photographs of men such as Frith had been earlier employed as a record of the country for those in Britain. perhaps suggests another difference between the British and the French, whose government had earlier perceived the

The political context in which photographs are taken is revealed in numerous ways. The sequence of views of the Mutiny scenes can be related to contemporary attitudes, showing changes over the years as the events grew less vivid but indicating that the British were not likely to forget their troubles of 1857. It seems as though there were more photographs of such sites where Britons had suffered than there were of the Indian natives who were part of the British Empire, which indicates a rather self-absorbed attitude among the British quite in keeping with their Imperial aspirations.

The scarcity of photographs of Eastern natives among the works of Frith and Bedford is explicable by a similar attitude, perhaps given emphasis by the British belief that the Near Eastern natives now were a sad contrast to the Biblical figures of whom they had read. There appears to be an implicit recognition by photographer, writer and reviewer of the difference between the land and buildings of the Near East (the scenes of Biblical events, meriting admiration and awe), and the people of the area who are generally spoken of with disrespect. Written accounts, as has been shown, consistently directed attention to this, and the conclusion is more likely that Frith and Bedford were of the same opinion than that they perceived no market for photographs of natives. Hart, after all, had seen one, though the fact that his publisher was French perhaps suggests another difference between the British and the French, whose government had earlier perceived the

value of the photograph as a means of recording. *aphs and titles such as The Picturesque Village of Dunker, Saiti*

It is curious that the British operation which most clearly resembles the French Missions Héliographiques was the appointment of official photographers to the various Indian Presidencies; no such operation was planned for the British Isles. The prime motive for these appointments was the desire to record the historical and architectural monuments in the keeping of these Presidencies, and it is difficult not to see in this aim a way of establishing British ownership over its possessions. No such appointments were made in the Near East, which was independent of Britain until Egypt was occupied 1881-82. Hence British photographers there shared the territory of with French photographers and others, although sales of the ensuing photographs were almost exclusively confined to the photographer's own country.

Aside from the general impression of a collection of *The Survival of the Picturesque*, there is no specific Bearing in mind the British fascination for its scientific progress, it is interesting to look at Bourne and Shepherd's catalogue of Photographic Views in India (1866). Its revealing collection of biases as regards a subject include the inclusion of only four railway views amongst the 1,500 or so photographs. The four show Allahabad: the Railway Bridge across the Jumna (Nos. 1199-1202), just one of the many bridges built in India by the British, set beside a range of hundreds of landscape views and architectural studies. Waterfalls, rivers,

mountains and valleys predominate in the photographs and titles such as The Picturesque Village of Dunkar, Spiti (No. 1489) reveal the attitude of mind behind the selection of subjects. In spite of the great British contribution to the modern life of India, Bourne at least is concentrating on images of an older age. These subjects were chosen because they would sell to the public, and evidently the public's preference was for views of a more rural, backward land, whether as a retreat from their modern lives or to encourage their feeling of superiority. Despite the prevailing preoccupation with creating an Imperial image, in the context of which some stress on British 'improvements' and 'achievements' in India might have been expected, it seems that the past of the new territory rather than its present was where Britain saw Indian 'imperialism' most manifested.

Aside from the general impression of a collection of architectural and landscape views, there is no specific theme to the catalogue. 'Contorted Strata' at Losar (No. 1456), or View of curious gravel formations...at Kioto, Spiti (No. 1458) do not form part of a serious scientific survey of Indian geology: they are among less than half a dozen geological views. There are a similar number of glacier photographs, and one Specimen of the Edible Pine (No. 1509). These are curiosities that one would see on one's travels and are included in the catalogue for no other reason than that they exist and, while a part of the Indian whole, would appear exotic to the British. It is

as though Fingal's Cave were included in a set of photographs of Scotland: to be viewed as a curiosity, which had acquired historical/literary associations, not as a scientific phenomenon to be analysed.

Romantic theme of the contrast of past and present is

The catalogue includes photographs of modern buildings, such as hotels and Post Offices of the British-built hill-stations of Dalhousie and Simla. These would obviously be of more interest to those who had actually visited them, and would hence recognise the subject. But there are no views of the barracks at Kangra, Dhurmsala and Subathoo, although the catalogue includes views from all three. As they had been built by Britons, their architecture would be European and, as barracks, utilitarian, and would hence have no exotic value. As a variety of Mutiny sites are included in the catalogue, it could not be argued that the omission was a sign of political sensitivity. Notes alongside the photographs' titles in the catalogue, such as The Buska Valley, from Sun gla. This gives the best idea of this beautiful Valley (No. 1514) and Futtehpore Sikri - the "Windsor" of Akbar (No. 394) are obviously intended as guides to purchasers who were strangers to the sites.

Near East prevented photographers from indulging in

From the evidence of the above, it seems that Picturesque and Sublime conventions still held sway in landscape photography; perhaps more so indeed in photography than in art, in comparison with which it appears slightly old-fashioned at times (particularly so in respect of the

Indian views). Bourne's A 'Bit' on the Road (45) is remarkably similar to Gilpin's Killiecrankie (46) and has all the characteristics of his Picturesque. In a number of the photographs of the Near East studied here the Romantic theme of the contrast of past and present is employed. Hence the paradox emerges of old-fashioned theories used in conjunction with modern processes.

Martin and Turner, still appears to have persisted in It is uncertain to what extent this use of older models was deliberate on Bourne's part, perhaps as an attempt to justify his work as 'art'. However, from the many remarks which he lets fall in his articles about the relative picturesqueness of different areas of Indian scenery, it seems clear that an instinctive recognition of the picturesque was part of his nature, and his application of picturesque techniques may have been more unconscious than conscious.

There are far fewer landscape photographs of the Near East, or even of the flatter parts of India, where scenic views concentrated on the traditionally Picturesque subjects of mountains, trees and water. In part the unsuitable nature of the generally flatter land of the Near East prevented photographers from indulging in Picturesque composition, and the only real exception seems to be photographs showing the various Holy Land towns in their more hilly settings. In these both Frith and Bedford are trying to provide their viewers with a image and impression of the whole and thus illustrate the

environment in which Biblical events are set; though Frith's restricted view of Gaza shows that photography could on occasion present a distorted impression because of technical difficulties of taking near and far in equal focus. The ready accessibility of photographs - it became more familiar to British readers and viewers and, for some at The Romantic view of landscape, as found in the works of Martin and Turner, still appears to have persisted in overtly exotic subjects, although in British painting the Pre-Raphaelite style seemed to mimic photographic detail. The artist still had the freedom to alter his scene or, more specifically, to insert into his painting the numerous symbolic details which were a feature of many Pre-Raphaelite paintings but which, as Julia Margaret Cameron and Oscar Rejlander found, often looked tawdry when included in a photograph. India featured far less in contemporary painting than did the Near East, but curiously this appears not to have influenced the popularity of photographs of India. Bourne's works were reviewed in British journals, and could be purchased through his British agent, though it is obviously difficult to say how many albums now in British hands were compiled in India. The photographs of Frith and Bedford were produced in Britain and their work, Frith's in particular, served to illustrate more than one volume, thus disseminating the images to as wide an audience as possible. Landscape artists travelled abroad, booksellers who sold prints often had to use amateur drawings which were done on the spot but then engraved by professional artists.

Towards the end of the century, as the quotations from Kipling and Trollope show, the Near East was losing much of its mystique. For a variety of reasons - easier transport, British involvement there after 1881, possibly the ready accessibility of photographs - it became more familiar to British readers and viewers and, for some at least, evidently a degree of contempt was thereby bred. India, perhaps because of its greater distance from Britain, retained its attraction. The vision of Kashmir given in Lalla Rookh was still current for Bourne when he came to India, and 'the Great Game', the friction between the British and Russia over the Himalayas, featured in Kipling's stories at the end of the nineteenth century. It would appear from the photographs which have been studied that those which sought to bring 'truth' to representations of the Near East added what might be seen as another demystifying element to British ideas of the area; while the old-fashioned, deliberately Picturesque and Romantic views presented in Bourne's photographs of Indian landscape, at least, allowed romance to continue.

Frith, and sometimes Bourne, frequently criticised

The 'Truthful Art' of Photography

Prior to the invention of photography, any idea of the appearance of foreign countries could be derived in only two ways; from a personal visit, or from the drawings, paintings or prints produced by visiting artists. Since few landscape artists travelled abroad, booksellers who sold prints often had to use amateur drawings which were done on the spot but then engraved by professional artists

in Britain. In the case of a publication like Finden's Landscape Illustrations of the Bible, the reader was seeing not a second- but a third-hand depiction: the engraver engraved the painting of Turner, whose work was based on the original sketches of amateur and professional artists to the East, and written descriptions such as the Description. A new era of accuracy was not the inevitable result of the invention of photography. Emma Roberts' comment on the accuracy of drawings made from photographs, and the anecdote in the British Journal of Photography (both given in Chapter 3) make it clear that the public were well aware of the limitations inherent in artistic interpretations of photographs of foreign scenes. it is inevitable that these will show in part the living

The obsession of the contemporary critic, John Ruskin, with the truth of detail which could be found and represented in nature is illustrated by his influence over the ultimate appearance of Brett's Val d'Aosta. This absolute truth of representation is almost a perversion of the Picturesque pleasure in observing and recording a scene. Frith, and sometimes Bourne, frequently criticise their photographs for their compositional and artistic failings in comparison with what an artist might produce, and the almost aggressive assertion of this has the perhaps intended effect of convincing the reader of the unadorned veracity of these images. This is one way in which photographers skirted round depicting the total objective

For the viewer of a photograph, there was the presumed benefit of being shown a more truthful image, and one of

the most significant aspects of the body of writing produced about the new science of photography was the quantity of praise for its perceived ability to depict a true scene. The Photographic News commented: "One of the prime uses of photography (is) the conveyance of information on the subject of people and things we can never see".³

The Times noted of Frith's photographs that they: "to carry us far beyond anything that is in the power of the most accomplished artist to transfer to his canvas".⁴

In views of the East, particularly those of towns, it is inevitable that these will show in part the living conditions of the natives. For India, there are a number of photographs showing modern street scenes; not so much by Bourne, who concentrated on British buildings, as by Murray and Impey. But unlike men such as Thomas Annan in Glasgow, the depiction of native poverty and squalor was not the main aim of these photographers. This would have made an unpleasant contrast with the aim of many collections of photographs; an instructive but essentially entertainment-led tour of exotic places. Scenes of poverty were only incidental, and avoided where possible, so a complete idea of the conditions in foreign countries could not be obtained from them. This is one way in which photographers skirted round depicting the total objective truth about the countries which they visited.

This sentiment was given its clearest expression by Frith,

The Paradox of Photography

Unlike an artist who, even when he is sketching a scene in front of him, can choose to omit what he feels are extraneous details, a photographer is obliged to portray all that comes within his viewfinder (unless he cares to doctor the negative later or select a particular lighting effect or technique which obscures certain elements).

Hence the desire of Frith over his photograph of Tiberias "to be able to play the artist" and omit the wall in the foreground. Incidental details like that will unavoidably be included in the photograph. Frith might have chosen a different viewpoint, perhaps in front of the wall; the fact that he did not suggests an almost aggressive emphasising of the 'truthfulness' of his medium.

A photographic image, particularly where there are no figures included (such as those of Tripe), has a peculiarly sterile quality. The greater the detail of individual elements, the less the whole image comes across. Something of this is felt too in Impey's views, where incidentals often crowd the eye and distract from the ostensible subject. This observation is less valid for the Himalayan views of Bourne, simply because he was following the older Picturesque tradition.

One of the curious features of photography is that the more accurate is the representation of a scene, the less the viewer sometimes gains a feel for the place. This sentiment was given its clearest expression by Frith,

writing on the Hall of Columns, Karnak

"I can tell you, it is true, how many columns are standing in the great hall, and I can give you their dimensions; but as for transporting you even in imagination to the very spot - as for making you feel the witchcraft of the place, its oppressive grandeur, its dark mysterious interest, the thing is impossible." ⁵

Rather than being greater than the sum of its individual parts, as a well-composed picture or even photograph can be, the impartial camera which recorded everything in front of it could end up producing a collection of disparate items. Curiously, it could be argued that Roberts' views, as are those of the Daniells, or even the paintings of Holman Hunt, are more successful in conveying to the viewer, not what is there but what it would feel like to be there. The role of association in influencing the emotions of visitors to and viewers of the Holy Land in particular meant that many people already had preconceived ideas which could be stimulated and encouraged by these artistic views. Some, like the Pooles, evidently expected to feel the emotions about which they wrote, even though the photographs which they described were quite different in approach and intention.

The Contribution of the Letterpress

It is remarkable to see how 'iconoclastic' the photographers' own writings are in comparison with their

own photographs or with the texts produced by others to accompany their photographs, showing how attitudes might be moulded or influenced by the accompanying letterpress. In the example of the Sphinx, quoted below (and referred to above, Chapter 4, on Jerusalem), the contrast is particularly evident. In this instance, a similar photograph is used with widely-differing texts depending on the writer. The explanation for this is more difficult to establish: does the close observation of all aspects of a subject which is needed to produce a successful still photograph destroy the romance envisioned from a distance - or does a certain type of man take to photography?

Summary

Frith's critical comments on the Sphinx (above, Chapter 4)⁶ would suggest the former. His remark about its beautiful features strongly suggests an ironic reference to previous literary or artistic representation, which proves on examination to be far from the 'truth'. Previous travellers had found close contact with their destination dissipated a feeling of awe: Alexander Kinglake explained:

"As I have felt so I have written; and the result is, that there will often be found in my narrative a jarring discord between the associations properly belonging to interesting sites, and the tone in which I speak of them".⁷

It would seem from this that iconoclasm is an almost inevitable result of close contact with the exotic.

Nonetheless, it is significant that, on the whole, the photographs analysed do not, of themselves, reveal this disappointment with the distant and supposedly exciting scenes portrayed. The letterpress or other writings of the photographer may betray his disenchantment (though as we have seen, some writers like the Pooles could remain fascinated and uncritical) but the same scenes which had been depicted by earlier artists, who had more freedom to alter and improve, were still being presented to the viewer: who, to judge from contemporary reviews, still found them as exciting.

Summary of the landscape photographs studied is that

The examples given in the body of the thesis reveal that objective truth was no more a preserve of photography than it was of art. Certainly the camera faithfully represents what is in front of it, but there is an almost infinite variety of approaches, nuances and manipulations open to the photographer to allow him to impose his own ideas and attitudes on the scene depicted. A photograph can be 'morally neutral', as in the Sphinx example, but still give differing impressions according to its letterpress. Bourne's prints, issued without a letterpress, did sometimes bear titles to guide the reactions of a potential purchaser or actual viewer, but his letters in the British Journal of Photography reveal the same iconoclastic attitude as Frith's text. Bedford's views, also initially issued without text, would have been known to almost every viewer to be the result of his travels

with the Prince of Wales, and this could colour reactions since the Prince might be expected to have received privileged conditions but perhaps, for instance, see less of the lives of natives than a humbler traveller.

Dr Errington's comment on Scottish artists abroad with "seeing only the outside, and estimating its interest or importance only in terms of its difference from home conditions"⁸ is a valid comment, but one aspect of it needs to be made clearer if it is to be applied to the men who travelled and photographed abroad. The impression which one obtains from many of the landscape photographs studied is that they were interpreting the world in terms of what they knew at home, via Picturesque and Sublime conventions. Hence although it is fair to say that differences between the known and unknown types of scene were used as a starting point, it was the similarities of scenic landscape which were often fastened on as points of reference. This merged to create a new division of landscape for a new type of traveller.

Although art in the mid-nineteenth century was abandoning picturesque notions in favour of Pre-Raphaelite realism, photography, rather than sealing the fate of the Picturesque, transformed it through the demands of the medium. Despite the claims for the realism of photography, the examples given in the body of the thesis tend to show that to a large extent it was adopting an older artistic tradition where its recording function was

not of prime importance. abilities of accurate reportage offered by photography, it seems that, even in Egypt and Returning to Sweetman's idea of a distinction between the attitudes towards India and the East⁹, in the photographs studied here it is difficult to maintain such a distinction. Although the Biblical associations with Egypt and the Holy Land gave them a more obvious appeal to the British, the alien nature of the countries as revealed in costume and architecture (but not the landscape which, as noted above, used familiar references) is as evident as in Bourne's photographs of India. Though India and the Near East were quite separate entities, the political importance of the two areas, as well as the fact that Egypt and the Holy Land lay en route to India, meant that they were perceived as related in British eyes. The Pyramids and the Himalayas had in common their awe-inspiring size and the response to both, as revealed in written accounts, suggests that the sublime response to such immensity was being transferred to the exotic; that the two had merged to create a new division of landscape for a new type of traveller.

Frith's accounts make the East exotic, adventurous and amusing, but scarcely familiar. The overwhelming impression obtained from these photographs is of the East seen from the outside: photographed and described by men to whom it was alien, and who, in the terms of Hogarth's Eothen introduction, were therefore depicting 'particulars'. In spite of the enthusiasm engendered in

APPENDIX 1: THE PICTURESQUE

the press for the possibilities of accurate reportage

offered by photography, it seems that, even in Egypt and the Near East, a relatively objective truth was not in the end achieved; and that 'moral illumination' and the Romantic concept of 'fallen Empires' were as important in some instances as the picturesque or sublime.

existence before, became recognised categories of scenes;

a sort of aesthetic shorthand. Burke considered that

subconscious emotions aroused by a scene were concerned

with either of the two most fundamental passions:

self-preservation and self-propagation. From these

emotions were derived ideas of the Sublime and the

Beautiful¹. The attributes of the Sublime were

1) Obscurity, 2) Power, 3) Privations, 4) Vastness,

5) Infinity, 6) Succession, 7) Uniformity, 8) Surprise,

9) Solitude. Beauty, in contrast, was composed of

1) Smallness, 2) Smoothness, 3) Gradual Variation, 4) Delicacy

of form and colour, 5) Gentle Curves, 6) Polish².

The shift towards a more picturesque viewpoint gained

momentum as the eighteenth century progressed. It was

found that some types of landscape, such as those by

Wainwright, and the Dutch painters on whom he had

modelled his style, could not be described as either

Beautiful or Sublime, but gave considerable pleasure to

viewers. The necessary category which emerged was that of

the Picturesque, given an individual identity by a parish

priest William Gilpin (1724-1804). He found pleasure in

maintaining his interest in art with travels in scenic parts

of Britain, and produced sketches and notes on the trips;

APPENDIX 1: THE PICTURESQUE

In the development of ideas about landscape, a significant work was Edmund Burke's A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757).

Through it the terms Sublime and Beautiful, though in existence before, became recognised categories of scenes: a sort of aesthetic shorthand. Burke considered that subconscious emotions aroused by a scene were concerned with either of the two most fundamental passions: self-preservation and self-propagation. From these emotions were derived ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful ¹. The attributes of the Sublime were

1) Obscurity, 2) Power, 3) Privations, 4) Vastness, 5) Infinity, 6) Succession, 7) Uniformity, 8) Surprise, 9) Solitude. Beauty, in contrast, was composed of 1) Smallness, 2) Smoothness, 3) Gradual Variation, 4) Delicacy of form and colour, 5) Gentle Curves, 6) Polish ².

The shift towards a more picturesque viewpoint gained momentum as the eighteenth century progressed. It was found that some types of landscape, such as those by Gainsborough, and the Dutch painters on whom he had modelled his style, could not be described as either Beautiful or Sublime, but gave considerable pleasure to viewers. The necessary category which emerged was that of the Picturesque, given an individual identity by a parish priest William Gilpin (1724-1804). He found pleasure in combining his interest in art with travels in scenic parts of Britain, and produced sketches and notes on the trips;

the first, Observations on the River Wye, and several parts of South Wales &c. relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty... (1783), was followed by six other volumes.

Gilpin chose the term Picturesque Beauty to categorise beautiful objects which were also suitable for painting, but he did not intend to create a rival category; simply a subdivision of the Beautiful. He found a quality of roughness in the picturesque which distinguished it from the merely beautiful although his attempts to formulate an aesthetic theory for it were based on a circular argument; his 1768 definition of the word picturesque was "expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture" 1768 ³.

Despite his great admiration for natural scenery, Gilpin was still enough of an eighteenth century product to hold that "Nature is always great in design; but unequal in composition" ⁴. The artist need not therefore feel bound to copy what is exactly before the eye ⁵. Gilpin's picturesque partakes more of sublimity than beauty, with its trees, mountains and penchant for ruins. His analysis of landscape divided each view into three distances - Background (Mountains and Lakes); Off-skip (Valleys, Woods, Rivers); and Foreground (Rocks, Cascades, Broken Ground and Ruins) ⁶. There should be one "leading subject", usually in the middle distance, and towards which the foreground should naturally lead the eye ⁷; Gilpin's preference was for a darkened foreground, often scattered with rocks or trees, leading towards the light-diffused

middle distance. Killiecrankie (46) is characteristic of Gilpin's work, showing the receding tonal planes which, he considered, marked out the parts of a landscape.

Light and shade perform in Gilpin's landscapes the function of expression in a history painting, animating the scene and creating a mood suitable to the landscape and time of day. The drama could be increased further by what Gilpin called "effect": special lighting effects such as those gained with mist, cloud, storms, sunrise and, particularly, sunset⁸. Harmony in a landscape was achieved by a careful attention to the balance of tone. Gilpin felt that figures and animals could enliven a drawing, but had a particular dislike of attempts to indicate movement near the eye because it contradicted the immobile quality of a picture. Instead he sought to animate landscape with its natural attributes, composition and light⁹; much as photographers, who were technically precluded from rendering movement, were later to make use of natural light to illuminate and compose their photographs.

The Rev. Archibald Alison's Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste (1790) pointed out the value of association in the appreciation of landscape. According to him there could be no objective grounds for like or dislike: instead one's reaction was dependent on the emotions aroused in one's mind by the object. Thus Picturesque objects pleased because in looking at them one was reminded of similar ones seen in pictures¹⁰. Since

association, particularly historical and literary, was such an important feature of the theory of the Picturesque (Gilpin particularly recommended the Cedar of Lebanon and because of its association with Christ ¹¹) it is perhaps surprising that, according to Hussey ¹², more writers did not make use of Alison's ideas; Uvedale Price's Essays on the Picturesque (1794) ignored the theory. However it is evident that the theory would prevent any attempt to establish an independent and distinct set of principles which could be applied to landscape paintings. In considering later photographs of exotic landscape, of Bible lands in particular, this idea of association was to be of considerable significance to reviewers and writers in assessing the importance or value of photographic views.

in India, however, they became conquerors and rulers. What was common to both, though, was a desire to profit from trade and exploitation of these new markets.

Britain and France initially competed for trading privileges in India, but the first British success was their victory over the French in 1761, which gave them control of Bengal. Over the next century a series of conquests included the kingdom of Mysore in southern India, the lands of the Marathas in central India and the takeover of the remnants of the Mughal empire ruled from Delhi, whose Emperor became a powerless pensioner. Delhi and its surrounding territories had been taken by the British in 1803 and fighting continued till 1818. With this victory over the Marathas British influence could extend into North and Central India and Britons were now

able to APPENDIX 2: BRITISH OCCUPATION OF INDIA such as Delhi and Agra. In mid-century the large territories of India was governed by the British from an early stage, and it is in this firm establishment control that it differs so much from the Near East, which was largely left alone until circumstances drove the British to intervene in Egypt in the 1880s ¹. The East India Company had an enormously influential role in shaping the government of India and, to a large degree, shaping expectations and ideas about India. The importance of the country to judge Britain was chiefly financial ² and it was only gradually, because of many different circumstances, that Britain came to rule over large parts of the subcontinent. In the Middle East, at least till the 1880s, Britons were of visitors - in India, however, they became conquerors and rulers. What was common to both, though, was a desire to profit from trade and exploitation of these new markets. to release the powder contained therein. Amongst Britain and France initially competed for trading 1856, privileges in India, but the first British success was their victory over the French in 1761, which gave them control of Bengal. Over the next century a series of conquests included the kingdom of Mysore in southern India, the lands of the Marathas in central India and the takeover of the remnants of the Mughal empire ruled from Delhi, whose Emperor became a powerless pensioner. Delhi and its surrounding territories had been taken by the British in 1803 and fighting continued till 1818. With this victory over the Marathas British influence could extend into North and Central India and Britons were now

able to visit the famous cities of northern India, such as Delhi and Agra. In mid-century the large territories of the Punjab and Oudh were taken over, and virtually the whole of India was now under British control or influence. The north of the country was opened up to increased, with British activity as they carried on towards the Himalayan Mountains.

The outbreak of the Mutiny in May 1857 took many of the British residents in India very much by surprise, to judge from the slowness of their reaction after hostilities began. It began among the sepoys, the native ranks of the Bengal army, whose grievances against their overlords included questions of pay, pension rights and terms of service. The ostensible reason was a refusal to use cartridges allegedly contaminated with animal fats which would cause loss of religious purity to those who bit them to release the powder contained therein. Amongst rest inhabitants of the kingdom of Oudh, taken over in 1856, the assessments placed on the natives by the British and caused considerable hardship and encouraged rebellion (Pemble 157). There was much very unpleasant bloodshed on both sides before it ended, and in Britain news of the course of events was eagerly sought.

Although the East India Company had begun as an independent concern, the size and importance of their expanding sphere of influence was a matter of concern to the British government. The India Act of 1784 provided for a board of British ministers based in London to

supervise the Company's government in India. Successive Acts of Parliament further weakened its power to act independently³. By 1858, when the British government took over responsibility for India, the administration was divided between the East India Company and the Crown, with the East India Company maintaining its own army and not officials. until the P&O line undertook arrangements in 1843. One result of this was to assist in the stimulation. Internally, after the Mutiny, Indians and British enjoyed civil peace until the 1890s, despite the dislike of new taxes which were introduced. External affairs were dominated by the annexation of Upper Burma, which took place in 1888. Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in 1877, after a visit by the Prince of Wales had demonstrated the great affection in which the British Royal Family were held by the native Indian population. Photograph albums in the Royal Collection were compiled of the tour; some photographs were anonymous, but the rest included topographical and architectural studies by Bourne, Shepherd, Robertson, and the firms of Bourne and Shepherd and Shepherd and Robertson; while various written accounts were published⁴.

Poor communications between London and India in the first century of British rule meant that those who governed in India were largely free to dictate their own policies. In the days of sailing ships it took half a year for a letter to reach London, with a similar time needed for any reply to arrive in India, but with the advent of steam-powered ships the time needed was virtually halved. Nevertheless,

the circumnavigation of the point of Africa still meant substantial time was spent on the journey.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Thomas Waghorn developed a land route over the isthmus of Suez, which reduced dramatically the length of the journey. Regular communications by this route were not developed until the P&O line undertook arrangements in 1843. One result of this was to assist in the stimulation of interest in the history and remains of the Middle East, an area of already increasing interest to travellers. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened and the journey time to India was reduced to a single month.

1. Finden (1836), p111, for 1832.

2. The Athenaeum, 20 March 1858, p371.

3. The Oxford English Dictionary devotes over a page to the different senses of "truth"; that most appropriate in the sense in which it is being used here is

"Conformity with fact; agreement with reality; accuracy, correctness, verity...Agreement with the thing represented, in art or literature; accuracy of delineation or representation; the quality of being 'true to life'". (volume 10 p435, entry 5 and 5b)

4. Sketch Egypt and Palestine (1858-59), Introduction, an unnumbered page.

5. The Times, 1 January 1858, p9.

6. Thompson (1867), p3.

7. Sketch on The Art of Photography, reprinted Newhall (1961), p117.

13 Complete works of NOTES TO CHAPTERS Wedderburn (1903), vol 8, p55.

Chapter 1: Introduction ed Cook and Wedderburn (1903).

- 1 Sweetman (1988), p153.
- 2 Lerebours (1841), Introduction, un-numbered page.
- 3 Frith Egypt and Palestine (1858-59), Introduction, and
un-numbered page.roductions mentioned in the Bibliography.
- 4 Lerebours' Excursions Daquerriennes (1841), vol 1, plate
5.ottish poet Thomas Campbell (1777-1844).
- 5 First published 1835 as The Biblical Keepsake, reissued
1836 as Landscape Illustrations of the Bible; information
from Shepherd (1987), p261.ole in The British Journal of
- 6 Finden (1836), piii.ary 1862, p6.
- 7 The Athenaeum, 20 March 1858, p371.anguage by the middle
- 8 The Oxford English Dictionary devotes over a page to the
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'true to life'". (volume 10 p435, entry 5 and 5b)
- 9 Frith Egypt and Palestine (1858-59), Introduction,
un-numbered page. introduces his book on the subject
- 10 The Times, 1 January 1858, p9.shock at discovering that
- 11 Thompson (1867), p3. criteria than the Picturesque for
- 12 Frith on The Art of Photography, reprinted Newhall
(1981), p117. Northanger Abbey (begun 1798, published

1818) shows the concept as being sufficiently familiar to

- 13 Complete works of Ruskin ed Cook and Wedderburn (1903),
vol 8, p55.
- 14 Complete works of Ruskin ed Cook and Wedderburn (1903),
vol 8, p59.
- 15 Finden (1836), piii.
- 16 For instance, the works of David Roberts, Finden and
numerous other productions mentioned in the Bibliography.
- 17 From Gertrude of Wyoming, part 1, verse IX, by the
Scottish poet Thomas Campbell (1777-1844).
- 18 Dimond and Taylor (1987), p13.
- 19 See Thomas Fothergill's letter in The Times 27 April
1858, p5, and Bourne's article in The British Journal of
Photography, 1 January 1862, p6.
- 20 The term 'Grand Tour' was in the language by the middle
of the eighteenth century; the novelist Samuel Richardson
uses it a number of times, for example in Sir Charles
Grandison, where the hero tells how:
 - 1 "My Father was pleased to consent to my going
abroad, in order to make the Grand Tour, as it is
called..." (Richardson (1754), vol 1, p263).
- 21 For instance, after Greece gained independence from
Constantinople in 1829 it became more accessible to
tourists.
- 22 Hussey (1967), p2, introduces his book on the subject
with a description of his own shock at discovering that
there could be other criteria than the Picturesque for
admiring landscape.
- 23 Jane Austen's Northanger Abbey (begun 1798, published
1818) shows the concept as being sufficiently familiar to

the educated classes to have already become something of a joke. (1978), Wilson (1985), and Jay (1975)

Price found the Picturesque to form a category distinct from the Sublime and the Beautiful, and to include qualities not found in either: "The two qualities of roughness and sudden variation, joined to that of irregularity, are the most efficient causes of the picturesque"

(Pevsner (1968), p129, quoting Price.

Such as the novels of Charlotte Smith (Emmeline, 1788) and Ann Radcliffe (The Mysteries of Udolpho, 1794) where set-piece descriptions of picturesque scenery appear with regularity.

Kinglake (1844), p.ix-x.

Chapter 2: An Approach to the Study of Exotic

Photography

The Gernsheims' History of Photography (1955) was a seminal work in the field.

For instance Julia Van Haaften: Egypt and the Holy Land in Historical Photographs - 77 Views by Francis Frith, New York, 1980; Deborah Bull and Donald Lorimer: Up the Nile - A Photographic Excursion: Egypt 1839-1898, New York, 1979; and Susan Williams: Samuel Bourne - In Search of the Picturesque, Williamstown, 1981.

Flora Gross Samuel Bourne: English Photographer in India during the Victorian Period. Dissertation Thesis, Trent Polytechnic, Nottingham, March 1978.

Adam and Fabian (1983).

- 5 For instance Haworth-Booth (1984), Gernsheim (1988).
 6 Quennell (1978), Wilson (1985), and Jay (1975)
 7 For instance, Taylor (1980), perhaps because it is simply
 an exhibition catalogue, consists largely of a précis of
 8 Bourne's own letters from India to The British Journal of
 9 Photography interspersed with quotations from them, and
 10 little attempt to analyse the letters or relate them to
 11 the photographs. p303.
 8 The Woodburytype, the first semi-mechanical process for
 reproducing photographs, appeared c1866, but had only a
 13 limited application. The British Journal of Photography,
 9 Errington (1985), p80.
 10 Kinglake (1844), pxx.
 11 Kinglake (1844), p.ix-x.
 14 Desmond (1985), p49.

Chapter 3: India Secretary/Treasurer, Desmond (1974), p30.

- 1 Edwardes (1967), p171.
 2 The Charter Act of 1833 created the post of Governor-
 18 General of India as a whole, not simply for the British-
 held Bengal area. See East note 12 for evidence of the
 19 imperialistic view of India.
 3 Edwardes (1967), p45.
 4 By H H Milman, Dean of St Paul's, in the Quarterly Review
 (Sept 1841, p377-413).
 5 "A hundred years before, the insensitivity, disdain
 and lack of curiosity which characterized so many
 21 English residents in India would have been barely
 22 conceivable": Hibbert (1978), p37.

- 6 According to Steube (1979), p43, Hodges was the first professional artist to travel in India.
- 7 See Sutton (1954), p89, on the superiority of William Daniell's aquatinting over Hodges.
- 8 Sutton (1954), p1.
- 9 The British Journal of Photography, 4 January 1867, p4.
- 10 Drew (1987), p186. 7 October 1864, p484. 'Actinic'
- 11 Edwardes (1967), p303. action of radiant energy (as that
- 12 The British Journal of Photography, 5 October 1866, p474. Eastlake on Photography in the Quarterly Review of
- 13 A very brief note in The British Journal of Photography, 8 July 1864, p239, states simply that " wrote to The
"A letter from India informs us that the wealthier native inhabitants there have taken almost as a body to the study of photography".
- 14 Desmond (1985), p49. Journal of the Photographic Society of
- 15 With an Indian Secretary/Treasurer; Desmond (1974), p30.
- 16 Desmond (1974), p8. reviews of Indian photographs, such
- 17 Desmond (1974), pp19-20. Museum 26 February 1859, p290).
- 18 The British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, ref F/4/2725, 198.064, p17.
- 19 The British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, ref F/4/2725, 198.064 p8. seed in Mysore
- 20 Felice A Beato, who arrived in India soon after the 1858 Mutiny and appears as a commercial photographer in the New Calcutta Directory of 1859, Worswick and Embree (1976), p8. not the James Robertson mentioned previously:
- 21 Waterhouse (1870), p.xiii. (1974), p26.
- 22 Desmond (1985), p53.

- 23 The British Journal of Photography, 15 February 1864, p59.
- 24 Desmond (1985), p53.
- 25 Desmond (1985), p53.
- 26 McCosh (1856), p7.
- 27 Photographic News, 4 November 1864, p533.
- 28 Photographic News, 7 October 1864, p484. 'Actinic' refers to the chemical action of radiant energy (as that of the green, blue and ultraviolet rays of the spectrum).
- 29 Lady Eastlake on Photography in the Quarterly Review of April 1857, reprinted in Newhall (1981), pp81-95, quotation from p89. A "Bombay Amateur" wrote to The British Journal of Photography (16 March 1863) that he exposed collodion plates for 20-30 seconds, but for the paper process, Captain Biggs reported exposures of up to fifteen minutes (Journal of the Photographic Society of Bengal, No 5, May-June 1855, p83).
- 30 Witness the regular reviews of Indian photographs, such as Robertson's (The Athenaeum 26 February 1859, p290), Beato's (The Athenaeum 14 June 1862, p793), and C C Taylor's (The Athenaeum 4 June 1864, p780).
- 31 For instance two engravings from Mr R B Oakley's series of photographs of the Temple of Hallibeed in Mysore appeared in The Illustrated London News of 19 June 1858.
- 32 Very little known of them before Bourne joins them: the firm began in Agra 1862. The Robertson in the firm is A. Robertson, not the James Robertson mentioned previously: information from Desmond (1974), p26.

- 33 Information from The British Journal of Photography, 16 February 1863, p79. For further details of the process and Bourne's use of it, refer to Chapter 1: Introduction, note 18.
- 34 The British Journal of Photography, 1 January 1862, pp6-8.
- 35 The British Journal of Photography, 8 February 1867, p63: "while taking a picture...engaged in developing a plate..went inside to prepare another plate".
- 36 The British Journal of Photography, 5 October 1866, p474.
- 37 The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1863, p364.
- 38 Heathercote, History of Photography, April 1982, p107.
- 40³⁹ "For pictures in oil of a large size this [Himalayan] scenery might yield many fine subjects as general views, but photography cannot deal with it on an adequate scale... It is of course totally impossible to give any notion of scenes and distances like these by the camera; the distances would run into each other and be lost in one indistinguishable hazy line...The photographer can only deal satisfactorily with "bits" and comparatively short distances; but the artist, who has colour as well as outline to convey the idea of distance, might here find something worth coming for".
(The British Journal of Photography, 23 November 1866, p560).
- 40 The British Journal of Photography, 25 January 1867, p39.

- 41 Williams (1981), p634.
- 42 The British Journal of Photography, 18 March 1870, p126.
- 43 The British Journal of Photography, 26 November 1869, p571.
- 44 The British Journal of Photography, 1 April 1870, p159.
- 45 Reprinted in The British Journal of Photography, 26 November 1869, p571.
- 46 The British Journal of Photography, 1 July 1863, p268.
- 47 The Illustrated London News, 4 July 1857, p1.
- 48 Bearce (1961), p236.
- 49 Bearce (1961), p237.
- 50 Mudford (1974), p185.
- 51 The Athenaeum, 26 February 1859, p290.
- 52 Harris (1973), p48.
- 53 Hibbert (1978), p318.
- 54 The Times, 23 July 1857, p9.
- 55 Murray (1891), p140.
- 56 The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1863, p345.
- 57 Pemble (1977), p3; he gives no source for the quotation.
- 58 Pemble (1977), p10.
- 59 Daniells' Oriental Scenery, Part Three, numbers 5, 16 and 17 respectively.
- 60 Pemble (1977), p33.
- 61 Pemble (1977), p214.
- 62 Gernsheim, (1988), p102-3.
- 63 National Army Museum (1968), p29.
- 64 Wheeler (1876), p225.
- 65 Murray (1891) p231, p233.

- 66 It has a very full account of the siege of Lucknow, complete with map, 16 January 1858, pp65-66.
- 67 Possibly a photograph, since an army surgeon, John Murray, exhibited photographs of India in London in December 1857: information from Haworth-Booth (1984), p105.
- 68 See panorama in The Illustrated London News, 16 January 1858, p52.
- 69 For instance The British Journal of Photography, 26 November 1869, p571, commented: 'Here is artistic selection of subject, proper arrangement and balance of lines, appropriate foregrounds...'
- 70 In 1899 there were 24 Bombay firms specialising in 'view' photographs (landscape and buildings), 6 in Madras and 10 in Calcutta; but a far greater number of firms concentrated on the photographic portrait; information from Worswick and Embree (1976), p9.
- 71 This figure is included to illustrate the remark of irritated Indian wives that they wished they were married to a grass-cutter, an occupation so poorly-paid that only one wife could be afforded: Parkes (1850), p153.
- 72 For a discussion of this work, see Archer and Lightbown, (1982) p19.
- 73 Desmond (1974), p11.
- 74 Quoted in Thomas (1978), p32.
- 75 The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1865, p452.

- 76 The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1865, p452. (see 1866, p524).
- 77 See, for instance, the Frenchman de Gobineau Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines (1853) on racial differences; and Americans J C Nott and G R Glidden Types of Mankind (1855) and Indigenous Races of the Earth (1857) on natural superiority of white races. (see 1980)
- 78 Hutchins (1967), p133.
- 79 See, for instance, a review of History of the Suppression of Infanticide..., The Athenaeum, 18 August 1855, p948. (see up photography by McCosh's Advice to
- 80 O'Malley (1941), p319.
- 81 Witness the eagerness of St John Rivers in Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre (1847) to expose himself to a difficult and dangerous proselytising life in India. p269.
- 82 Bearce (1961), p88. (see Photography, 5 October 1866,
- 83 Though one album of Bourne's photographs in GUL Special Collections (ref Dougan 96) contains only one photograph of natives, Neigherries, Toda Village and Todas.
- 84 "I took a group of three natives...who were very timid during the operation and evidently thought that their heads were about to be blown off." 1866, p230. (The British Journal of Photography, 19 October 1866, p498). studies have "beguiled the monotony of four India
- 85 One account tells of how he encountered a local Rajah who was interested in photography, and who invited Bourne to visit his palace. The Rajah shows off his collection of equipment and Bourne makes scathing reference to "the simplicity and childishness which he manifested in

- everything" (The British Journal of Photography, 2 November 1866, p524).
- 86 The British Journal of Photography, 4 January 1867, p5.
- 87 As one writer points out,
 'though amateur interest in photography during the nineteenth century was great, active native Indian professional photographers are rare': Worswick (1980) p17.
- 88 Mathews (1973), p23. Unfortunately there seems no way of knowing whether Hooper had been influenced in his decision to take up photography by McCosh's Advice to Officers.
- 89 The Illustrated London News, 28 November 1857, p540.
- 90 The British Journal of Photography, 1 July 1863, p269.
- 91 Parkes (1850), vol 2, pp424-425.
- 92 The British Journal of Photography, 5 October 1866, p475.
- 93 Arnold (1854), vol 1, p184.
- 94 Archer (1968), p55.
- 95 Ronald McFadzean: The Life and Work of Alexander Thomson, London 1979.
- 96 The Illustrated London News, 6 March 1858, p230.
- 97 James Forbes, in his Oriental Memoirs (1813), describes how his studies have "beguiled the monotony of four India voyages, cheered a solitary residence at Anjaengo and Dhuboy, and softened the long period of absence from my native country': vol 1, pxi.
- 98 Like Colonel Tod's extensive work on the Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (1829).

99 The Society's journal, Asiatick Researches, received contributions from officers and civilians on a wide variety of topics including language, sculpture and archaeology; the first volume, 1798, included articles "On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India", "Asiatick Words in Roman Letters", "Trial by Ordeal among the Hindus" and "Process for Making Attar of Roses".

100 Archer and Lightbown (1982), p22.

101 Desmond (1982 a), p111.

102 Mudford (1974), p130

103 Parkes (1850), vol 1, p355.

104 See Sweetman (1988) for a discussion of Indian influences on art and design.

105 Roy (1961), p36.

106 Edwardes (1967), p168.

107 Edwardes (1967), p169.

108 Brettell et al (1984), p199.

109 British Library: Oriental and India Office collections, file ref F/4/2725 198.065, p7.

110 According to Dewan and Sutnik (1986), p6, he used the calotype process process.

111 Tripe's preference is indicated by his comment "For those intended for the Public Works, the paper process seems to me the best adopted" (British Library: Oriental and India Office Collections, file F/4/2725, 198.065 p11). Other photographers in India too favoured the paper process; in The Journal of the Photographic Society of Bengal, No 2, 15 February 1855, p29, a Mr W H Stanley Crawford wrote "...for general utility, and certainty of

action in the warm climate of India, none can be compared with the Waxed Paper Process'.

112 Dewan and Sutnik (1986), p16.

113 British Library: Oriental and India Office Collections, file ref F/4/2725, 198.065 p24:

"What must become of his energy who, instead of a well-ventilated office with all appliances for banishing heat and discomfort, has a room where no air in movement is allowed because of dust, and no ventilation because of white light the temperature higher than outside the Atmosphere (sic) a mass of chemical evaporations...?"

The Photographic News of 7 October 1864, p484, sympathised:

"The photographer in India has many difficulties to contend with, which in Europe are scarcely known, or experienced in a much less degree".

114 Lady Eastlake's article on Photography in the Quarterly Review of 1857; see note 29 to this chapter.

115 Photographs of Madura, part4, no7, Roof of the Sessions Court.

116 Photographs of the Elliot Marbles: Plates 1,3, 29,33, 40 and 48 all have as background a particularly solid shade of black, which lacks the slight gradations of tone normal in dark areas.

117 Stereographs of Madras, West Facade of Purthu Mundapan.

118 Pointed out by Sutnik and Dewan (1986), p7

119 Photographs of Madura, part 1, no 8, Rava Gopuram from E.

120 For instance Photographs of Madura, part 4, no 13, Front of the Mundapam at Secundermalie.

- 121 The British Journal of Photography, 1 January 1862, p8.
- 122 The British Journal of Photography, 18 March 1870, p126.
- 123 Oriental Scenery Part One, number 18, The Principal Gate leading to the Taj Mahal.
- 124 According to Sutton (1954), p37. However they later produced a set of two aquatints of the Taj Mahal complete with a descriptive text, presumably to supply this want.
- 125 This was a popular view of the Taj, recommended in Murray's Handbook (1891), which advised the reader that 'it is now that the mausoleum presents itself to the gaze in all its glory' (p168).
- 126 One earlier amateur artist, Emily Eden, sister to a Governor-General of India, complained she disliked drawing Moghul buildings because the amount of detail which had to be represented was very trying to her patience (Dunbar (1955), p198).
- 127 The British Journal of Photography, 17 March 1865, p140.
- 128 The British Journal of Photography, 1 July 1863, p260.
- 129 The British Journal of Photography, 1 July 1863, p261.
- 130 An earlier British photographer in India, Dr John Murray, used a similar device in his photographs, published in 1859 as Picturesque Views in the North Western Provinces of India. These almost invariably have the same two natives somewhere in the scene - one naked save for a white turban and loincloth, the other fully clothed in white. The presence of the same figures makes it clear that these are deliberate additions, presumably

Murray's servants, posed in the scene as accents and to provide scale. caught the eye among the rugged and

131 Scottish National Portrait Gallery, ref PGPR 194.52 ther

132 Oriental Scenery, Part Five, number 4. ave the whole an

133 Oriental Scenery, Part Five, number 22. the mind with

134 Roberts (1835), vol 2, p228. awe" [Henry Pottinger,

135 The British Journal of Photography, 15 January 1863, p40. 32-33, quoted in Bearce (1961), p113].

136 Bourne, The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1863, p347, names The Illustrated London News of 25 April 1863 as the culprit. 85; Bearce (1961), p252.

137 For instance Captain Robert Tytler, whose wife's 1866, memoirs An Englishwoman in India (Tytler, 1986) covering 1828-1858, describe their life and their hobby of 70, photography.

138 Edwardes (1967), p173. Photography, 23 November 1866,

139 The British Journal of Photography, 1 July 1863, p268.

140 The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1863, p345.

141 "In taking views of snow, unless you get broad masses of it well lit up by the sun, it does not 'come out' in the photograph with that purity which conveys the impression of snow".

15 The British Journal of Photography, 4 March 1870, p98.

142 The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1863, p345. orted in Photographic News, 23 August 1861, p401.

143 Sutton (1954), pp50,87. Photography, 15 February 1864,

144 One example:

"Nothing could be more sublime or majestic than this

scenery: the solemn stillness of the place, the varied forms which caught the eye among the rugged and stupendous mountains, piled, as it were, on each other like the waves of an agitated sea, gave the whole an indescribable effect, which impressed the mind with feelings of admiration and awe" [Henry Pottinger, Travels in Beloochistan and Sind, London, 1816, p32-33, quoted in Bearce (1961), p113]. so strongly

The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1863, p341. have been either avoided in terror or inhabited

Keay (1977), pp76, 85; Bearce (1961), p252. universal

The British Journal of Photography, 28 December 1866, p618. are most manifested, there also are manifested

The British Journal of Photography, 18 March 1870, p125. tableness of His power" [Complete works of Ruskin ed

The British Journal of Photography, 23 November 1866, p559. on's Report on the Illustration of the Archaic

The British Journal of Photography, 3 December 1869, p579. of recording buildings and ruins with comments on

The British Journal of Photography, 23 November 1866, p560. means of affording a truthful delineation of

For example, The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1863, p347. n of their architectural features"

The British Journal of Photography, 28 January 1870, p39. ued to indicate scale, it is evident that

Reported in Photographic News, 23 August 1861, p401.

The British Journal of Photography, 15 February 1864, p70. pensible for buildings such as the Taj Mahal

which it is impossible to reproduce by means of

156 Oriental Scenery, Part Four, Text to Plate XXI, View
 157 between Natan and Taka-ca-munda.

157 The British Journal of Photography, 15 February 1864,
 p69.

158 Writing of the Alps in Modern Painters, Ruskin
 mentioned the "mountain gloom" which he felt the area
 possessed:

159 "And in this mountain gloom, which weighs so strongly
 160 upon the human heart that in all time hitherto...the hill
 defiles have been either avoided in terror or inhabited
 in penance, there is but the fulfilment of the universal
 161 law, that where the beauty and wisdom of the Divine
 working are most manifested, there also are manifested
 162 most clearly the terror of God's wrath, and
 inevitableness of His power" [Complete works of Ruskin ed
 Cook and Wedderburn (1903-12), vol 6, p416].

159 Watson's Report on the Illustration of the Archaic
Architecture of India (1869) considered all the possible
 ways of recording buildings and ruins with comments on
 160 the effectiveness of each. Photography (p1) was
 161 "a means of affording a truthful delineation of
 162 structures of every description, and of imparting an
 163 accurate impression of their architectural features"
 164 but as he recommended that a rod marked in feet should be
 included to indicate scale, it is evident that
 165 photography was seen exclusively as a recording medium.
 Coloured drawings on the other hand (p2), were
 indispensable for buildings such as the Taj Mahal
 "which it is impossible to reproduce by means of

photography alone".

160 Waterhouse (1870), p5, acknowledged the debt owed to amateur photographers but felt that

"as a rule, the work executed by professional artists is of a superior quality...it will probably in the end be found both better and cheaper to employ the latter".

161 Quoted in Dewan and Sutnik (1986), p18.

162 The date of the foundation of the firm is unknown; it may have been around 1864. See Heathcote in History of Photography, April 1982, p106.

163 At the time one rupee was roughly equivalent to two shillings.

164 "I think I am quite at liberty to tell my readers occasionally what I did, and what befell me at times when my head was not enveloped in a black cloth...one is a social being as well as a photographer"

(Bourne, The British Journal of Photography, 2 November 1866, p525.)

165 Dewan and Sutnik (1986), pp2-3.

166 Heathcote, History of Photography, April 1982, p100.

167 For instance in the accounts of Bearce (1961), Hibbert (1978).

168 There is an illustrated descriptive account in The Illustrated London News, 6 July 1844, pp8-10.

169 The Illustrated London News describes one native as "swaggering through the bazaar...looking a thorough rake and bully, but one, it is to be hoped, whose race is pretty nearly run". (6 March 1858, p231).

Chapter 4: The Near East

- 1 Incidents such as the finding of Moses and the
visitation of plagues on the ruling Egyptians set Old
7 Testament stories in an Egyptian setting.
- 2 A full analysis of this phenomenon is given in Shepherd
9 (1987). *ance, the Egyptian Hall in Picadilly, 1812.*
- 3 Nineteenth century British religious teaching, called
particularly where influenced by Evangelicism, tended
10 to concentrate on the New Testament and in particular the
life of Christ. One of the most popular accounts of
Biblical topography, Canon Stanley's Sinai and Palestine
(1856), devoted a 50-page Introduction to Egypt, with
11 360-odd pages on the Holy Land.
- 4 Coleman (1854) piii.
- 5 "'There's no countries I'd like to see better than
them Bible countries,' said Master Isaac, 'and I've
wished it more than ever since that gentleman was here
12 that gave that lecture in the school, with the Holy
Land magic lantern. He'd been there himself, and he
13 explained all the slides. They were grand, some of
14 'em, when you got them straight and steady for a
15 bit...But when you did get 'em, right side up, and the
light as it should be, they were grand!'" Ewing
(1880), p41. *ble standing in the foreground of a*
- 6 Keith (1837), p541. His theme is summarized in the
comment *outline of Roberts' practices, with examples, see*
"Having visited the land of Judea, the writer may
confidently affirm that it sets before the eyes of
every beholder, who knows the Bible and can exercise

18 At his reason, a three-fold illustration of the truth of
 19 Scripture, in respect to its past, present, and yet
 20 its destined state" (p114). Richard Tomlinson's The Athens

7 Thompson (1867), p28.

8 Sweetman (1988), p115-6. notes the figure of over 100

9 For instance, the Egyptian Hall in Picadilly, 1812, century.

20 designed to hold a collection of curiosities called

21 Bulloch's Museum. for a slightly different title.

10 Thomas, History of Photography, April 1979, vol 3, no 2,

23 quotes The Illustrated London News of 1851 in its to his
 criticism of the numbers of young men who produce
 journals of their travels.. The Athenaeum 25 August

11 Hyde (1988), p143. that his archaeological work was known

12 Kinglake (1835): "the American papers".

24 At "...the Englishman, straining far over to hold his
 beloved India, will plant a firm foot on the banks of
 the Nile and sit in the seats of the Faithful" p218.

13 Robert Wood reached Baalbec and Thomas Hope, later to
 find fame for his interior designs, travelled through
 25 Turkey, Syria and Egypt on a tour 1787-95.

14 Quoted in Guiterman (1986), p73. taken from Jay (1975).

15 Kinglake (1835) on natives for Frith's life

"their tawny skins and their grisly beards will gain
 27 and them honourable standing in the foreground of a firm
 landscape" p20. who were to publish the photographs

16 For an outline of Roberts' practices, with examples, see
 28 Guiterman (1986), p77. says that Roberts too travelled as

17 Bartram (1985) devotes a chapter to a study of the work
 29 which resulted from this. Frith was certainly aware

- 18 Although this is outwith the subject of this thesis, a study of the role of photography in Alma Tadema's works is provided by Professor Richard Tomlinson's The Athens of Alma Tadema (1991).
- 19 Chevedden (1981), p1, quotes the figure of over 100 photographers in the Near East in the nineteenth century.
- 20 The Athenaeum 1 January 1853, p23.
- 21 Reissued 1856 under a slightly different title.
- 22 Illustrated in Pare (1982), plate 70.
- 23 Greene's interest in photography was largely due to his requiring a rapid method of recording for his archaeological discoveries. The Athenaeum 25 August 1855, p979, notes that his archaeological work was known to Britain through "the American papers".
- 24 Although in 1858-59 George W Bridges, a friend of Fox Talbot, produced a small album of photographs of Palestine: information from Rosenblum (1984), p99. This did not have the same commercial impact as Frith's publications.
- 25 Thompson (1867), p3, p1.
- 26 The foregoing information is taken from Jay (1975), pp13-15, the fullest source for Frith's life - unfortunately he does not give his sources.
- 27 An optical engineer and optical consultant to the firm Negretti and Zambra, who were to publish the photographs which resulted from the trip.
- 28 Guiterman (1978), p7, says that Roberts too travelled as far as the second cataract.
- 29 Adam and Fabian (1983), p59. Frith was certainly aware

- of the book, first published in 1841, since in Egypt and Palestine, when writing of Koum Ombo, he quotes Wilkinson.
- 30 Newhall (1982), p53.
- 31 Frith, for instance, preferred an exposure of about 40 seconds: information from Jay (1975), p24.
- 32 On one occasion Frith records that the temperature was so hot the collodion boiled and bubbled as it was poured over the plate (in Introduction, Egypt and Palestine). He also recollects trying to use the interior of a damp, slimy rock-tomb as a darkroom (text to Early Morning at Wady Kardassy, Nubia in Egypt, Sinai and Palestine: Supplementary Volume).
- 33 Jay (1975), p26, and Chevedden (1981), p11.
- 34 For instance, the two differing copies in Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department, ref Dougan 48-49 and Dougan Add. 22-23.
- 35 Frith, Egypt and Palestine (1858-9), Introduction.
- 36 Egypt and Palestine includes a list of 274 subscribers, the most noble of whom is the Duke of Hamilton, while from the addresses given one can calculate that 28 subscribers are from London, 14 from Frith's own town of Liverpool, 10 from Oxford and 88 from Cambridge.
- 37 Adam and Fabian (1983), p61.
- 38 See review in The Athenaeum, 20 March 1858, p371.
- 39 For instance "In the view we look toward the south... immediately beneath...above this slope..." text to The Village of Siloam and Valley of Kidron in Frith: Cairo, Sinai, and Jerusalem (1860).

- 40 Although there is no reason to think these photographs were used without Frith's permission, the question of photographic copyright was a recognised problem. The Athenaeum, 27 March 1858, p401-3 reported on the deliberations of the Artistic Copyright Committee and 9 August 1862, p180, gave details of the new Copyright Act and instructions on how to register a photograph.
- 41 Frith: text to Cleopatra's Temple at Erment, near Thebes in Egypt and Palestine, vol 1, plate 5.
- 42 Frith: text to The Pool of Hezekiah etc...Jerusalem in Egypt and Palestine, vol 1, plate 4.
- 43 Frith, Introduction, Egypt and Palestine.
- 44 Bartram (1985), p100.
- 45 Talbot (1988), p6. Roberts shared this recognition of the value of objects *in situ*. His journal entry describing Abu Simbel added
- "Is it not shocking to see these glorious specimens of art...destroyed by relic hunters...nothing being so delightful to these vermin as a finger or a thumb or the great toe of a statue" Guiterman (1978), p9.
- 46 The Athenaeum, 20 March 1858, p371.
- 47 The Athenaeum, 19 June 1858, p791.
- 48 Dimond and Taylor (1987), p52.
- 49 The Times, 18 Jan 1861, p7.
- 50 According to Thompson (1867), p1:
- "...Mr Francis Bedford was honoured with the command of the Prince to accompany the Royal Party, and to take photographic pictures of various objects of interest which should engage attention. During the

proposed voyage and travels, HRH the Prince of Wales thus preserved a large number of highly interesting memorials of his visit to Eastern lands".

51 A guide to the type of readership intended can be derived from the Introduction, which states that:

52 "The descriptive letterpress is designedly of a popular character... The writer of the following pages has but sought to give in a concise form just such information respecting each subject as a tolerably well-read person might be supposed desirous of being acquainted with." Thompson (1867), p6.

52 Thompson (1867), p3.

53 See Chapter 1: Introduction, note 11.

54 Frith, text to Bethlehem with the Church of the Nativity in Egypt and Palestine (1858-9), vol 1, plate 9. There are further quotations from Stanley in his notes to Nazareth from the North West (vol 1, plate 7) and Nablous (vol 1, plate 13).

55 Thompson (1867), p2.

56 Magnus (1964), p54.

57 Thompson (1867), p2.

58 Thompson (1867), p59. Canon Stanley himself, though a noted scholar, had been unable to gain entry on a previous visit: information from Magnus (1964), p55.

59 Thompson (1867), p3.

60 Stanley (1856), p.xxiv.

61 One example of this was the MP Richard Cobden, a prominent leader of the Anti-Corn Law League and hence a man whose concern was very much for contemporary affairs.

He went out to Egypt in 1836 to inspect its modernisation programme and, visiting the Pyramids, was much vexed at the enormous effort "wasted" in piling 6 million tons of stone "in a useless form": information from Hyam (1976), p244. (1863); both vol 3.

Kinglake (1844), p13, carries an account of a conversation between an Englishman and the Pasha, in which the former remarks: "the English really have carried machinery to great perfection".

Quoted in Crook (1972), p60. Great Pyramid, Gizeh, in Sandys (1670), p99. vol 2, plate 2.

Austen (1814), p223, referring to a story in Voltaire's Louis XIV Siridae Pillars and the Great Fallen Colossus

Review in The British Journal of Photography, 1 September 1865, p453. 1851, p100.

Damer (1841), vol 2, p106, comments that it is "singular how completely the ancient characteristic of the Philistines and the Ishmaelites is preserved".

Frith, text to The Pool of Hezekiah in Egypt and Palestine (1858-9), vol 2, plate 4. by reflected light on

See Shepherd (1987), p14, for early instances.

Thompson (1867), p77. on Photography in the Quarterly

The only such view which Frith seems to have taken is Arab Sportsman and Cook, plate 38 in Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem etc, and one suspects that their inclusion was due to Frith's usual rather egotistical approach to his subjects; these were the two who looked after him on his trip therefore he takes their photograph.

Frith, text to Turkish Summer Costume, frontispeice in

- Egypt and Palestine (1858-9), vol 1.
- 73 Frith, text to Turkish Summer Costume, frontispiece in Egypt and Palestine, (1858-9), vol 1.
- 74 Bedford (1863), vol 1.
- 75 Bedford (1863), both vol 3.
- 76 The latter, taken at Durazzo, may be the same as the Water Carriers.
- 77 The British Journal of Photography, 1 August 1862, p288.
- 78 Guiterman (1986), p77 points this out.
- 79 Frith, text to The Sphinx and Great Pyramid, Geezeh, in Egypt and Palestine, vol 2, plate 2.
- 80 First published in the Examiner, 25 January 1818.
- 81 Text to Osiridae Pillars and the Great Fallen Colossus in Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem etc (1860), plate 17.
- 82 Quoted in Bartram (1985), p100.
- 83 Frith, text to Statues of Memnon, second view in Egypt and Palestine (1858-9), vol 2, plate 33.
- 84 For example, Bridge upon the Water, illustrated in Gernsheim (1988), p79, where extensive clouds block the sun though its presence is revealed by reflected light on the water.
- 85 Lady Eastlake, article on Photography in the Quarterly Review, September 1857, reprinted in Newhall (1981), p89.
- 86 Frith, text to Bethlehem in Egypt and Palestine (1858-9), vol 1, plate 9.
- 87 Similar scenes appear in Roberts Egypt and Nubia, such as Scene in a Street in Cairo, vol 3; or Frith's Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem etc eg Street view in Cairo.
- 88 This "unobtrusive softness" was remarked upon in a

review of Bedford's work in The British Journal of
Photography, 1 August 1862, p288.

89 The photographers were Frith, James Graham, Rev A A
 93 Isaacs, Rev G W Bridges and 'Cramb'.
 90 Negretti and Zambra, publishers of many of Frith's
 94 photographs, are credited in brackets after Frith's name
 95 for Scenes in the East. The Athenaeum, 17 April 1858,
 96 p500, reported that Messrs Negretti and Zambra had
 "become the owners of all the stereoscopic negatives
 97 hitherto taken by Mr. Frith". A previous article had
 reviewed the stereos and the mention here of
 "stereographic" negatives may either have been because of
 98 the previous context or because Negretti and Zambra only
 managed to obtain these stereo negatives. The Copyright
 99 Works of Art Act of 1862 had given photographers
 protection for their work and it is unlikely that a
 well-known company would make improper use of negatives
 owned by a photographer. If however, they were the
 possessors of the negatives, they might make what use
 they liked of them. It would be easy to use just one
 negative from a stereo pair to provide a book
 illustration.

91 The method by which the colour is applied may be
 chromolithography, since "Chromo" is written underneath
 three of the dozen illustrations in the book, and all
 10 have a similar layer of colour applied. The Athenaeum,
 28 June 1862, p860, praised one example of
 chromolithography "of admirable quality" showing Woodland
Gatherings, though the examples in Scenes in the East do

not seem to be of a particularly high quality.

92 Frith, article on The Art of Photography in Art Journal, 1859, reprinted in Newhall (1981), p117.

93 Proof of this can be found in Bedford's prints, which are dated Cairo 25 March, Jerusalem 1 April.

94 Blake (1982), p66.

95 Text to Jerusalem in Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem etc (1860).

96 Roberts, text to General view of the Island of Philae in Egypt and Nubia, vol 1, quoting from Roberts' Journal.

97 Instances quoted by Ballantine (1869) include, on Cairo, "unequalled in the world for the picturesque" (p106) and "the most sublime scene I ever saw" (p134).

98 Frith, text to Pharoah's Bed, Egypt and Palestine (1858-9), vol 1, plate 19.6; unfortunately he gives no

99 The British Journal of Photography's review of Bedford's 1862 exhibition remarked that

"It would be an admirable lesson for those who absurdly contend for the mechanical nature of our art to compare Mr. Bedford's view of the *Hypæthral Temple at Philae*, generally called *Pharoah's Bed*, and Mr. Frith's view of the same object taken from nearly the same place - both excellent, but the sentiment and expression entirely different in the two renderings."

(The British Journal of Photography, 1 August 1862, p288).

100 Negretti and Zambra The Holy Land: Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty-Eight Stereoscopic Views, in the collection of the Palestine Exploration Fund. However, Gernsheim (1984), does not include any reference to the

series. publications that

- 101 Negretti and Zambra (1858), Letterpress to No. 439.
- 102 Frith, Egypt and Palestine (1858-9), Introduction.
- 103 Tristram (1870), p18.
- 104 Frith, text to Lake of Tiberius in Egypt and Palestine,
vol 2. p371 and 19 June 1858, p791.
- 105 Frith, text to Lake of Tiberius in Egypt and Palestine,
vol 2.
- 106 Frith, text to Lake of Tiberius in Egypt and Palestine,
vol 2. 5: Conclusion
- 107 Frith, text to Lake of Tiberius in Egypt and Palestine,
vol 2. The same complaint appeared earlier in Kinglake
(1844) p105. Anne Guthrie's Photograph Album...Tour
- 108 Quoted in Jay (1975), p16; unfortunately he gives no
source. City Library, ref Dougan Add. 19.
- 109 Text to Gethsemane in Cairo, Sinai, Jerusalem etc
(1860). Opium War in China, the Photographic News, 18
- 110 Frith, text to The Sphinx and Great Pyramid, Ghizeh in
Egypt and Palestine, vol 1, plate 2.
- 111 Text to The Sphinx in Cairo, Sin, Jerusalem etc (1860).
- 112 Adams (1983), p109. vol 1, plate 21.
- 113 Sweetman (1988), p114.
- 114 First published in Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper
October 1860, first published in book form in Tales of
All Countries 1861. His contention was that India
- 115 Trollope (1861), p1, pp11-12. lost its romanticised
- 116 Kipling (1983) p152.
- 117 A review of Bedford's photographs in The British
Journal of Photography, 1 August 1862, p288, notes of

Frith's publications that APPENDICES

"the grave error was committed of not arranging the
 subjects in any kind of order, topographical or
 otherwise". p12.

118 The Times, 1 January 1858, p9; The Athenaeum, 20 March
 1858, p371 and 19 June 1858, p791.

119 The Athenaeum, 19 June 1858, p791.

Mussey (1967), p11.

Gilpin himself was such an improver of nature that his

Chapter 5: Conclusion

1 For instance, by 1869, 4000 miles of track had been laid
 in India: information from Edwardes (1967), p223.

2 For example, Anne Guthrie's Photograph Album...Tour
 through Egypt, Syria and Palestine, 1888, Glasgow
 University Library, ref Dougan Add. 19.

3 Review of Negretti and Zambra's series of views of the
 Second Opium War in China, the Photographic News, 18
 November 1859, p125.

4 The Times, 1 January 1858, p9.

5 Frith, text to Hall of Columns, Karnak in Egypt and
 Palestine (1858-9), vol 1, plate 21. Occupation of

6 See Chapter 4, note 110.

7 Kinglake (1844), p3. cited; see Chapter 3, note 2 and

8 Errington (1985), p80. See Chapter 2.

9 See Chapter 1, note 1: his contention was that India
 remained exotic, while the East lost its romanticised
 image. accounts of events see Bance Jones (1982), p3, Pearce

(1961), p13.

Such as Wheeler (1876).

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NOTES TO APPENDICESBooks
Appendix 1: The Picturesque

- 1 Hussey (1967), p12.
- 2 This list of characteristics is derived from Hussey (1967), p38, and Pevsner (1968), p126.
- 3 Barbier (1963), p102.
- 4 Hussey (1967), p11.
- 5 Gilpin himself was such an improver of nature that his sketches in the Wye book were criticised for not representing an accurate scene. Barbier (1963), p71.
- 6 Hussey (1967), p115-6.
- 7 Barbier (1963), p121.
- 8 Barbier (1963), p134.
- 9 Barbier (1963), p122.
- 10 Hipple (1957), p164.
- 11 Hussey (1967), p123.
- 12 Hussey (1967), p15.

Appendix 2: Background to British Occupation of India

- 1 This was long anticipated; see Chapter 3, note 2 and Chapter 4, note 12.
- 2 "a source of untold wealth to ourselves" according to The Athenaeum, 6 February 1858 p177.
- 3 For accounts of events see Bence-Jones (1982), p3, Bearce (1961), p13.
- 4 Such as Wheeler (1876).

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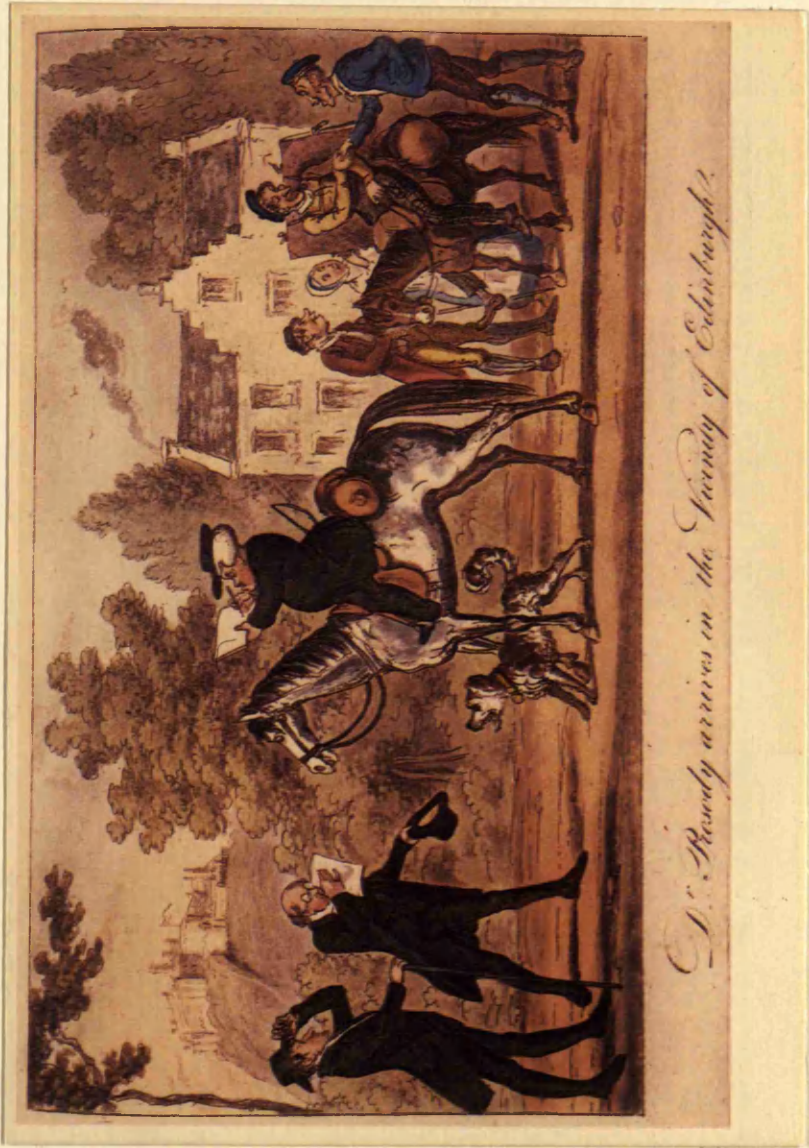
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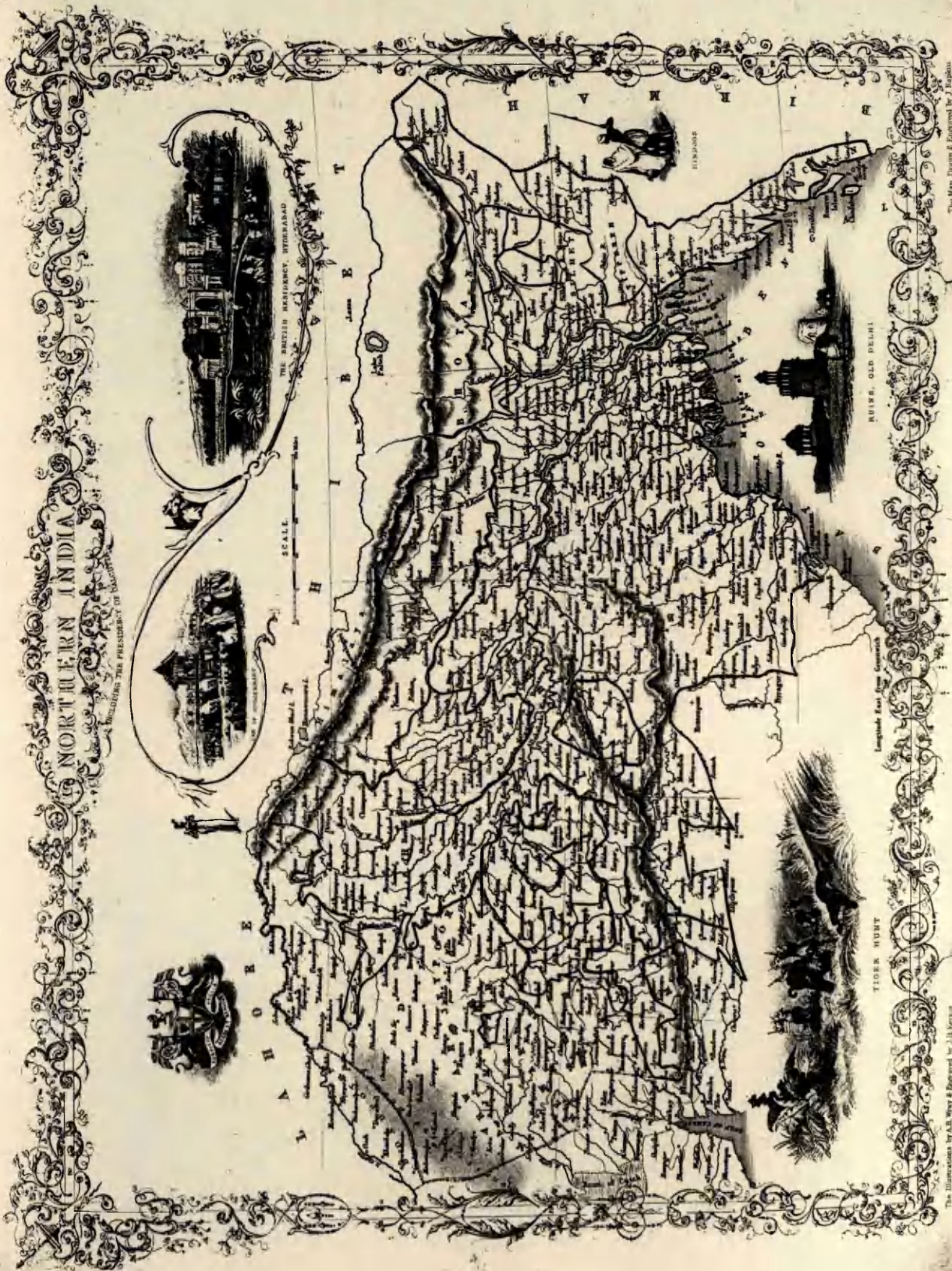
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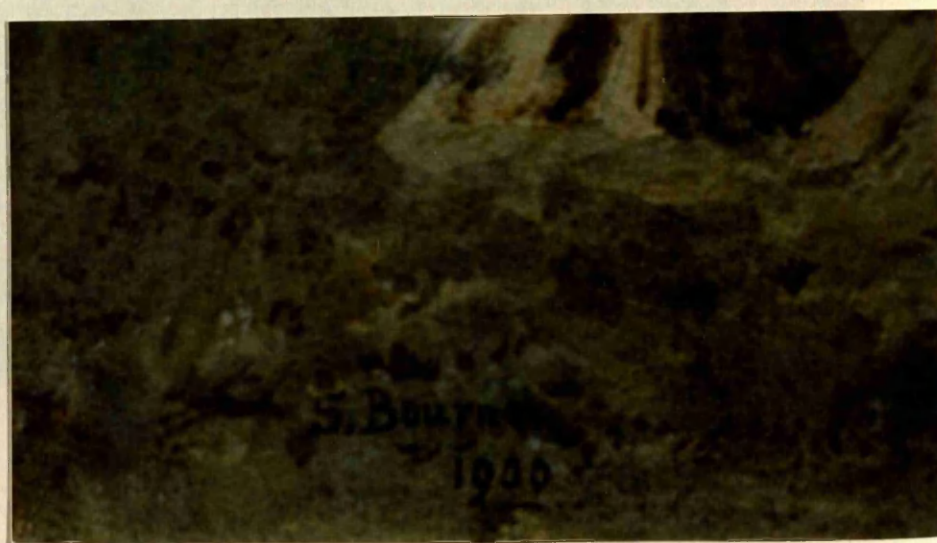
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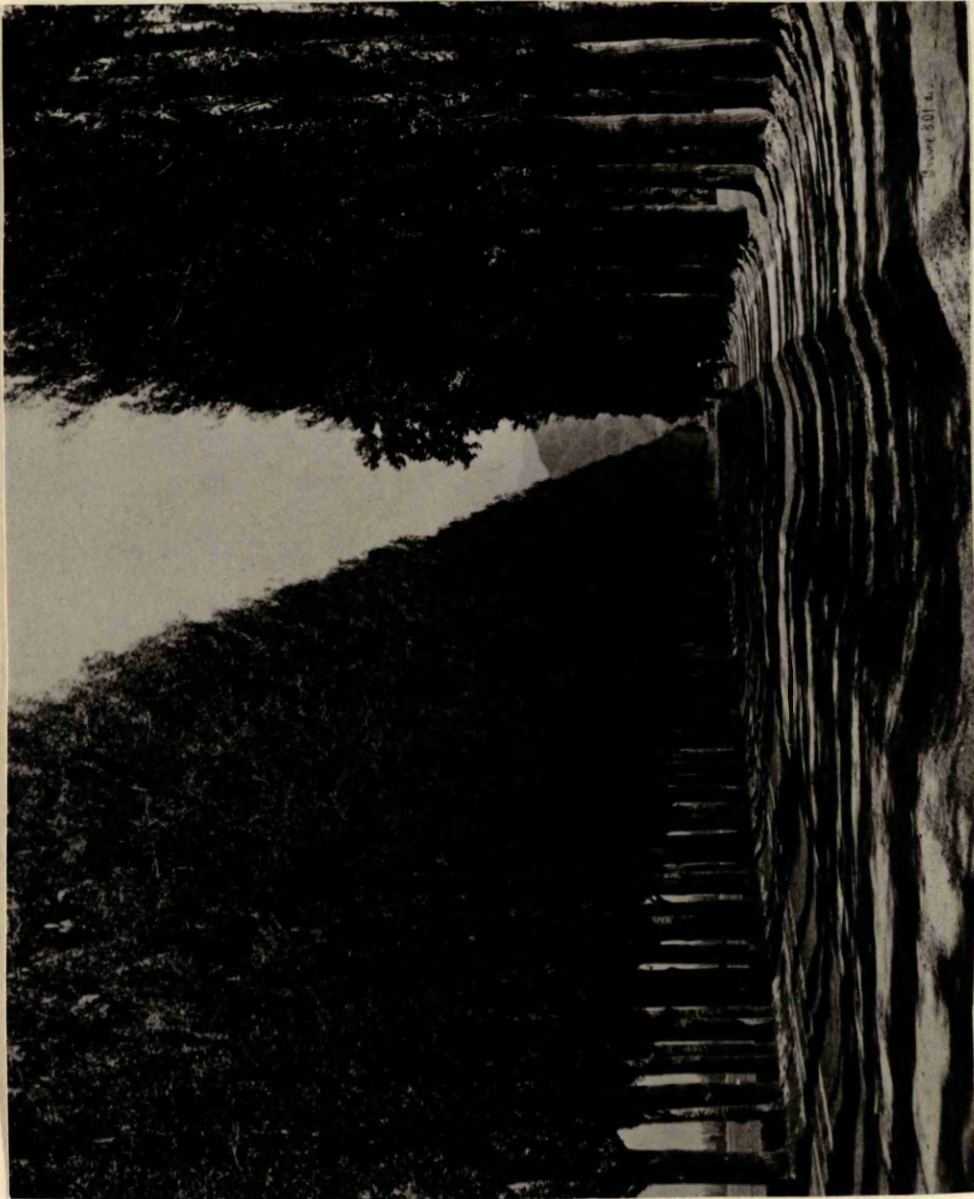


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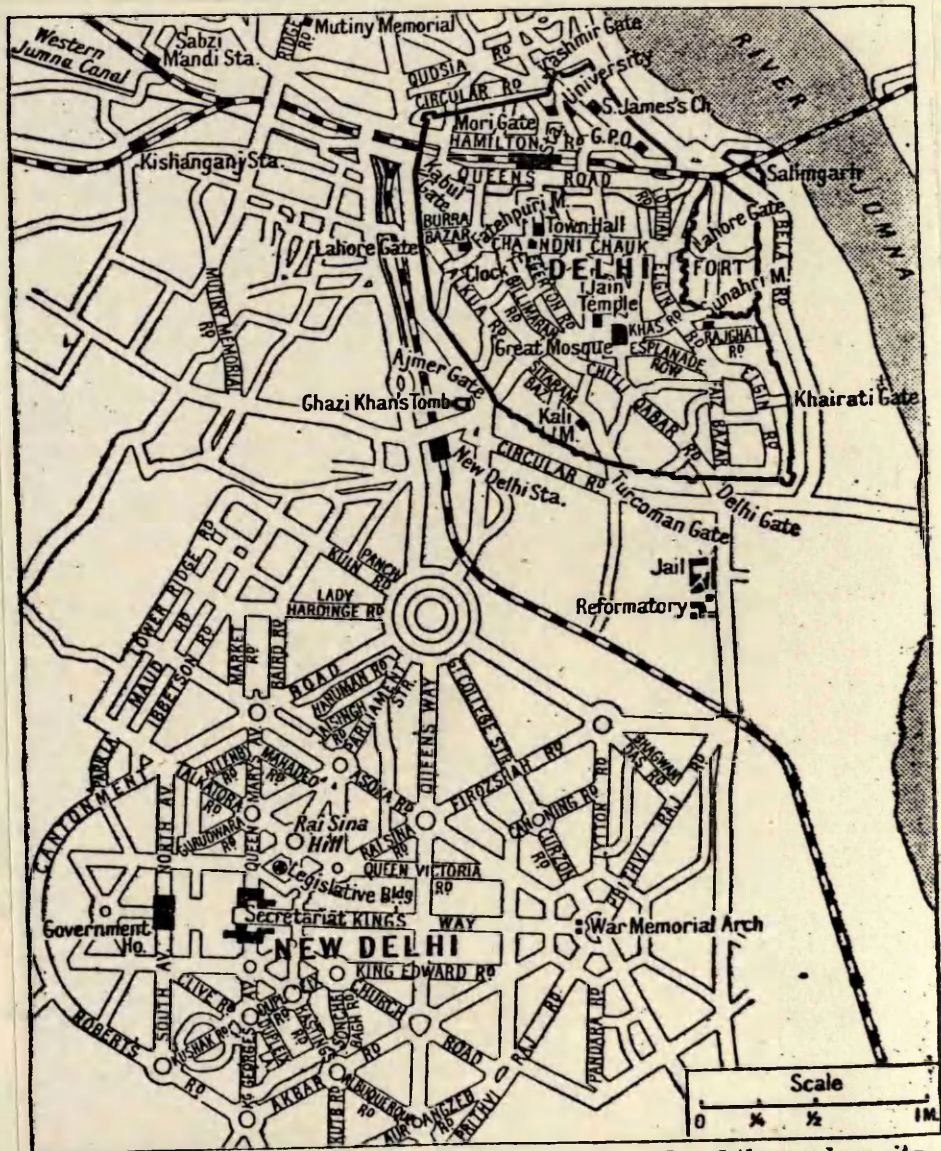
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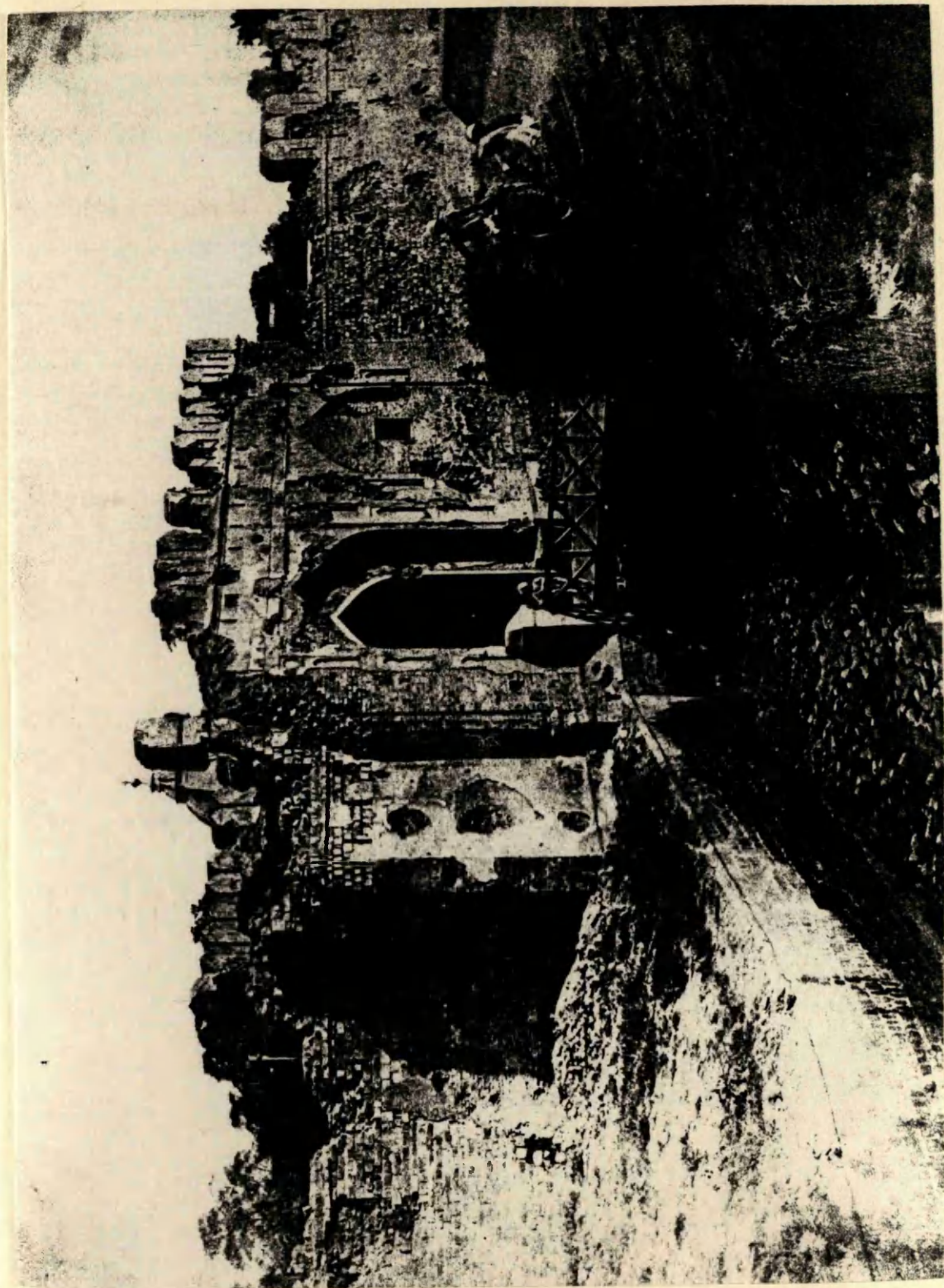


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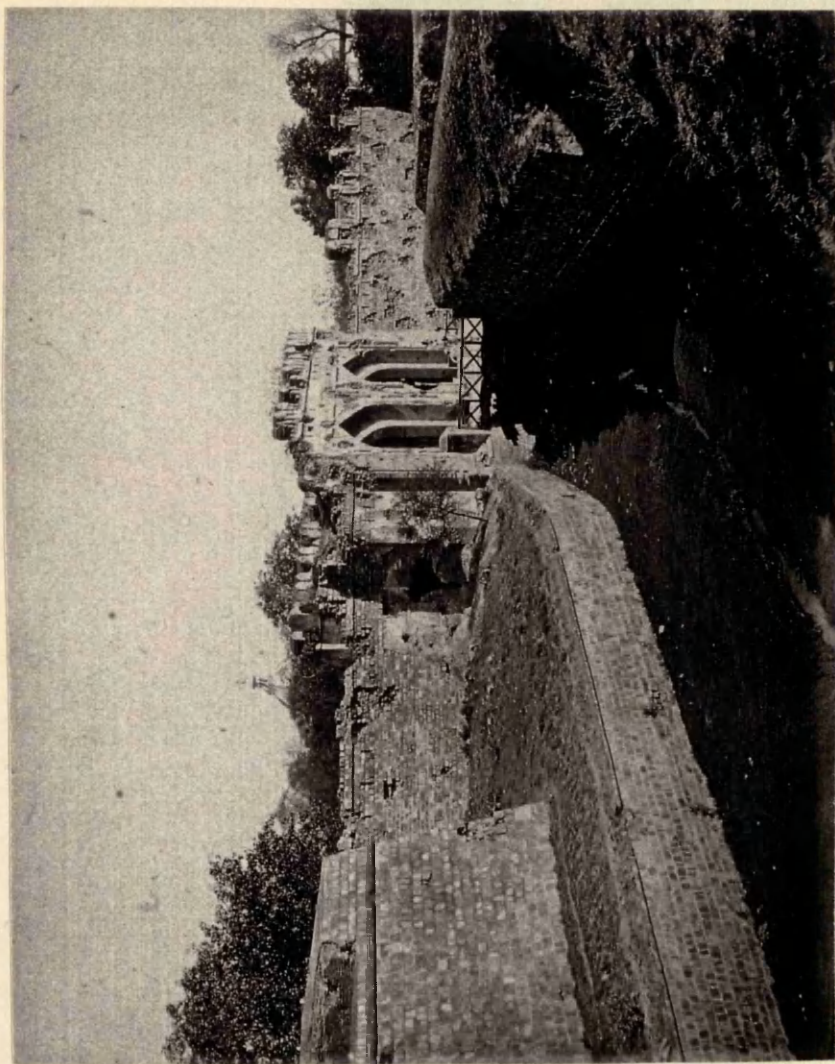


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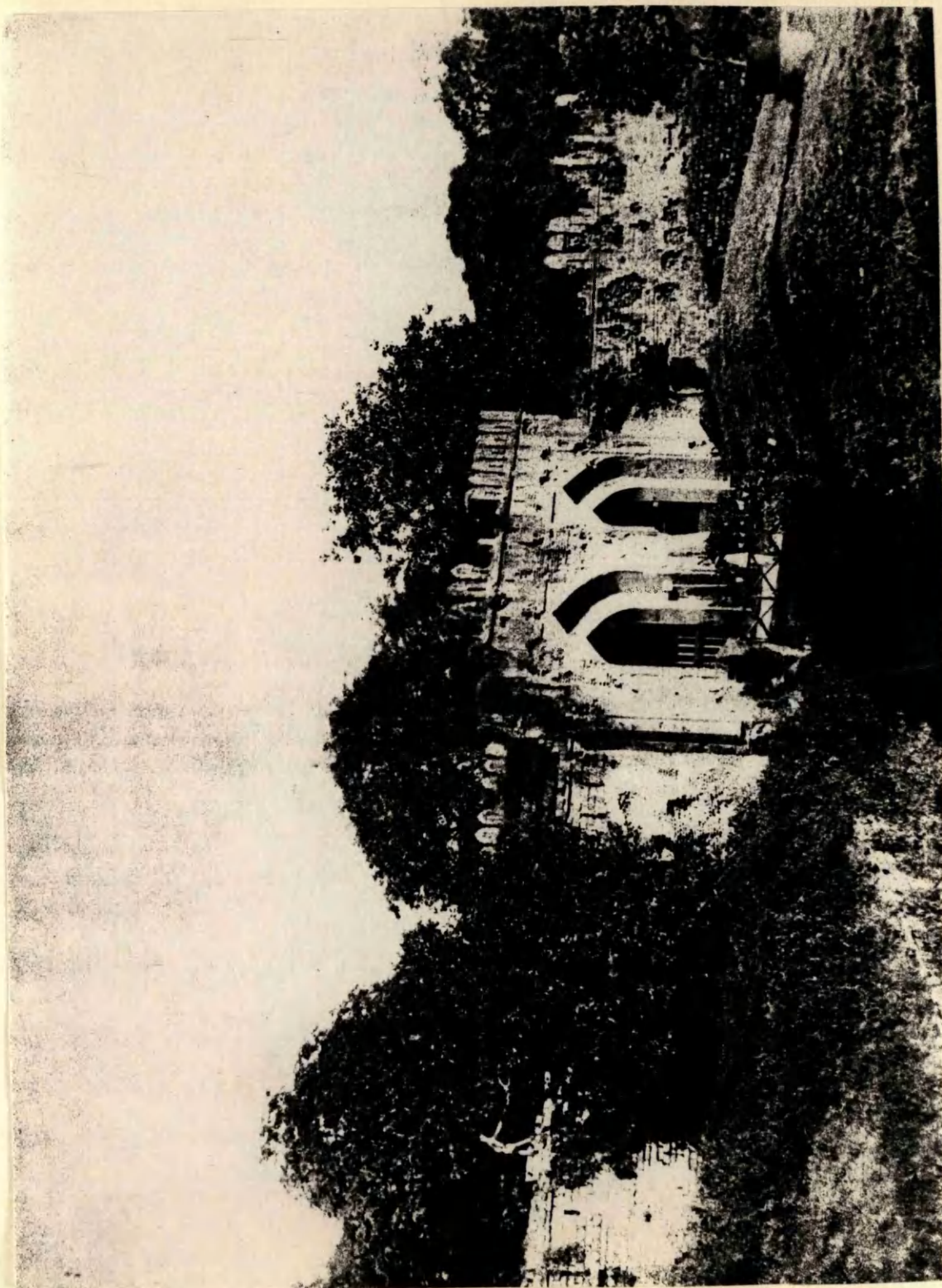
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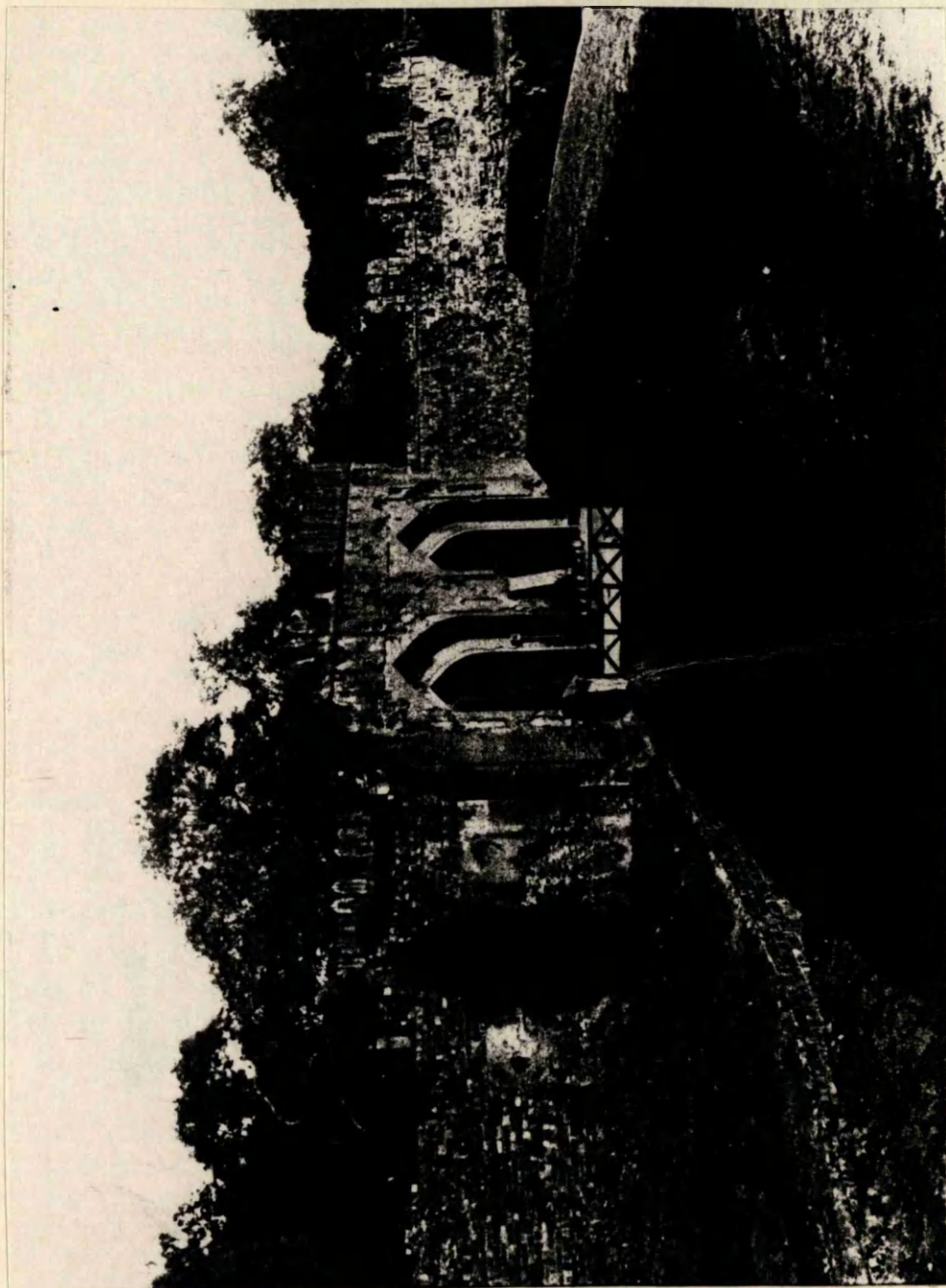
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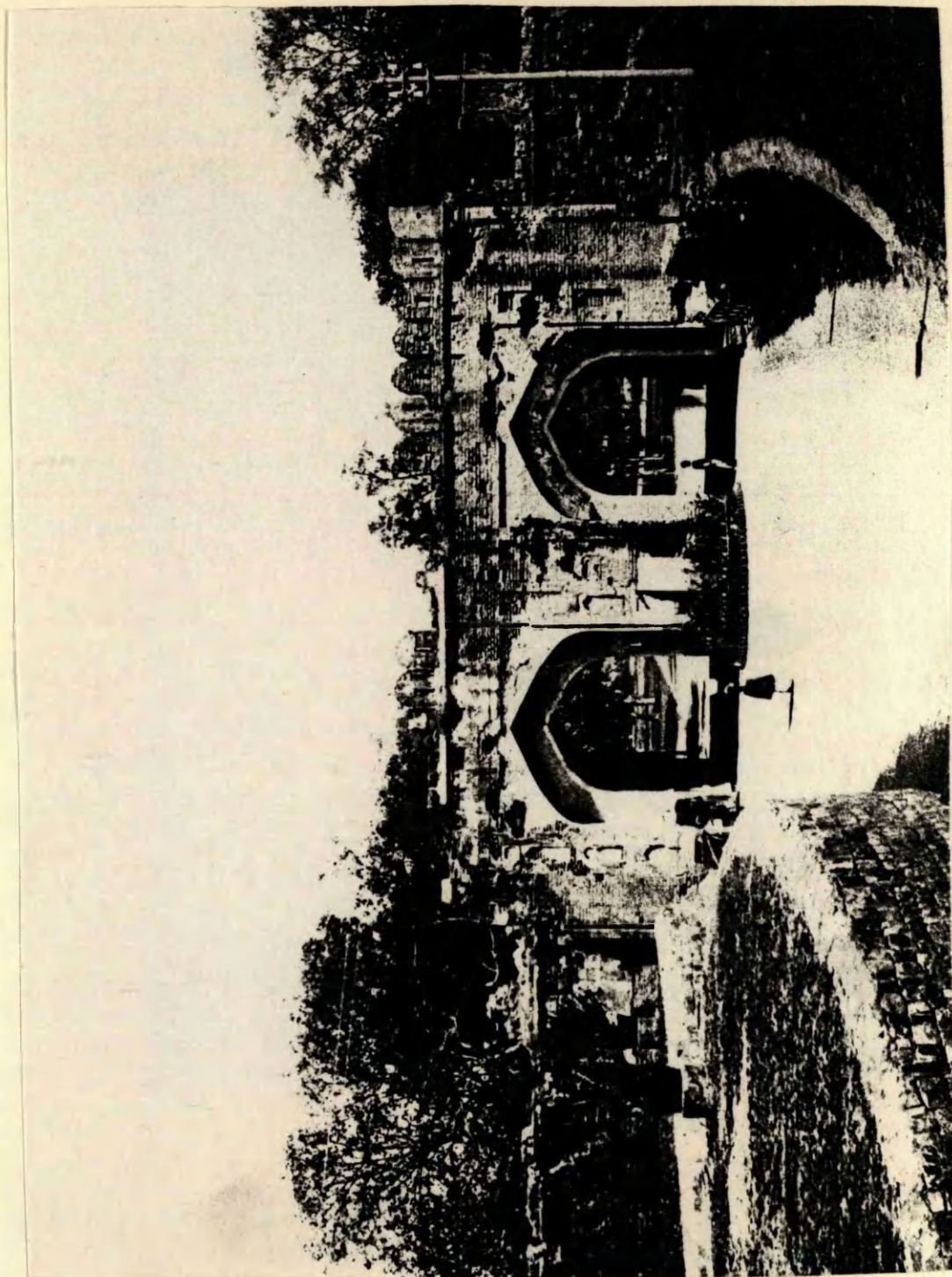
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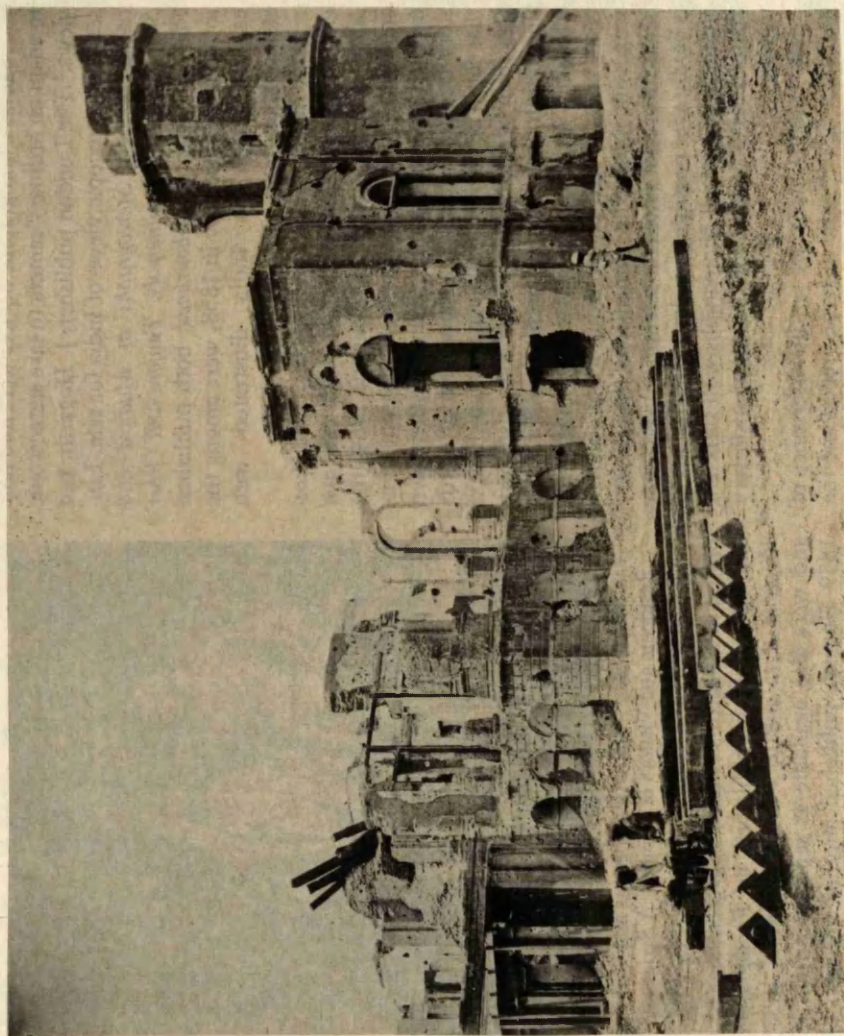
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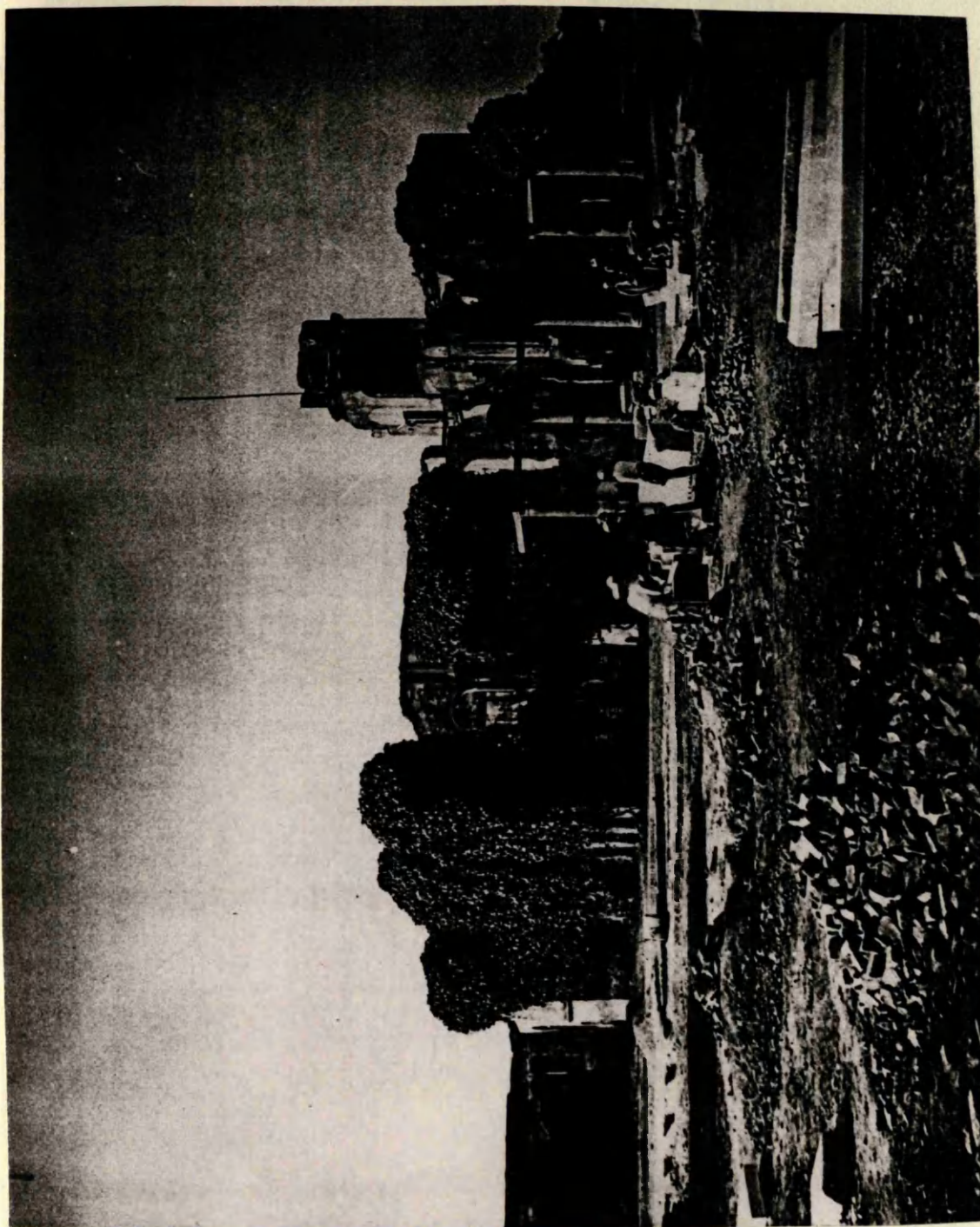
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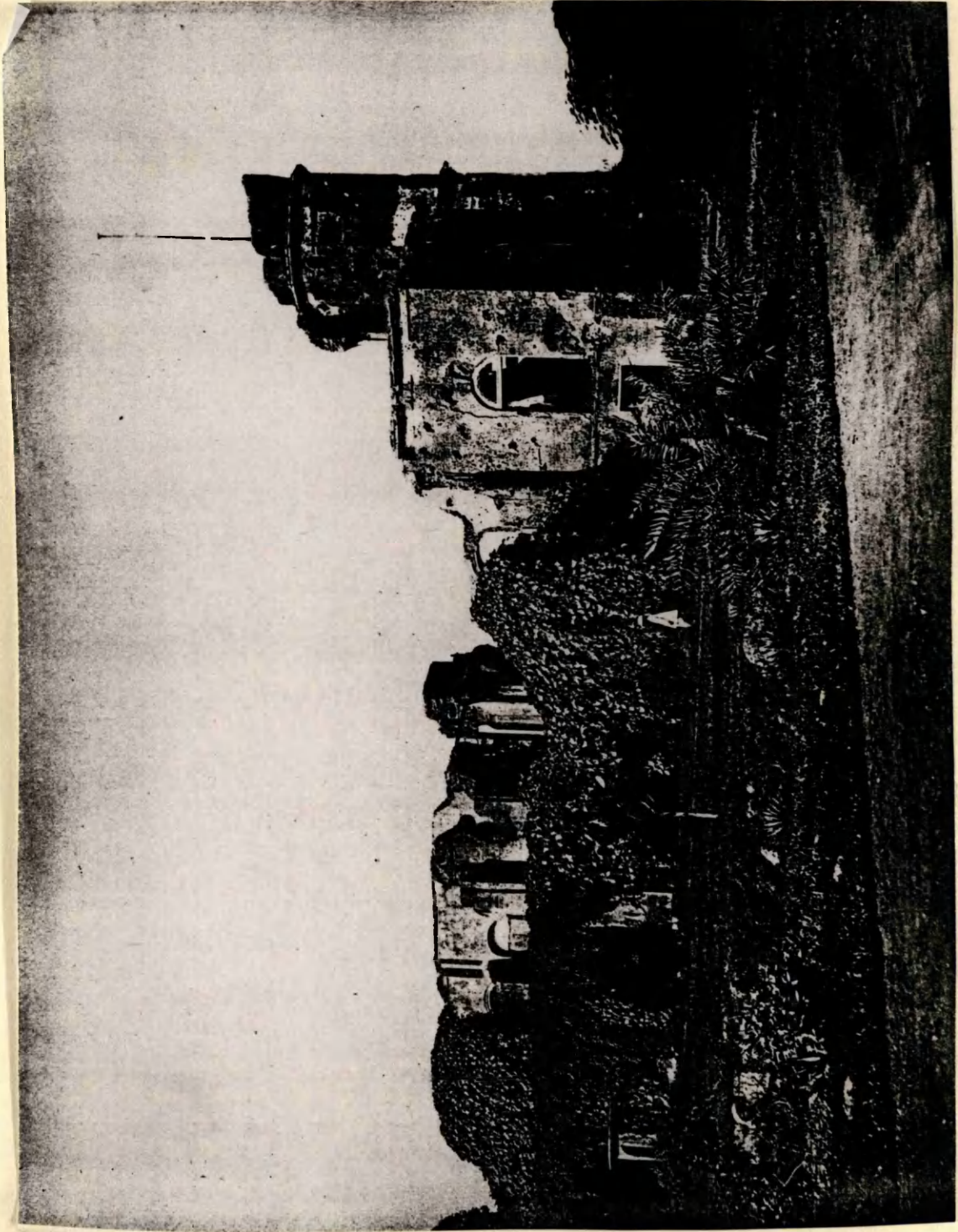
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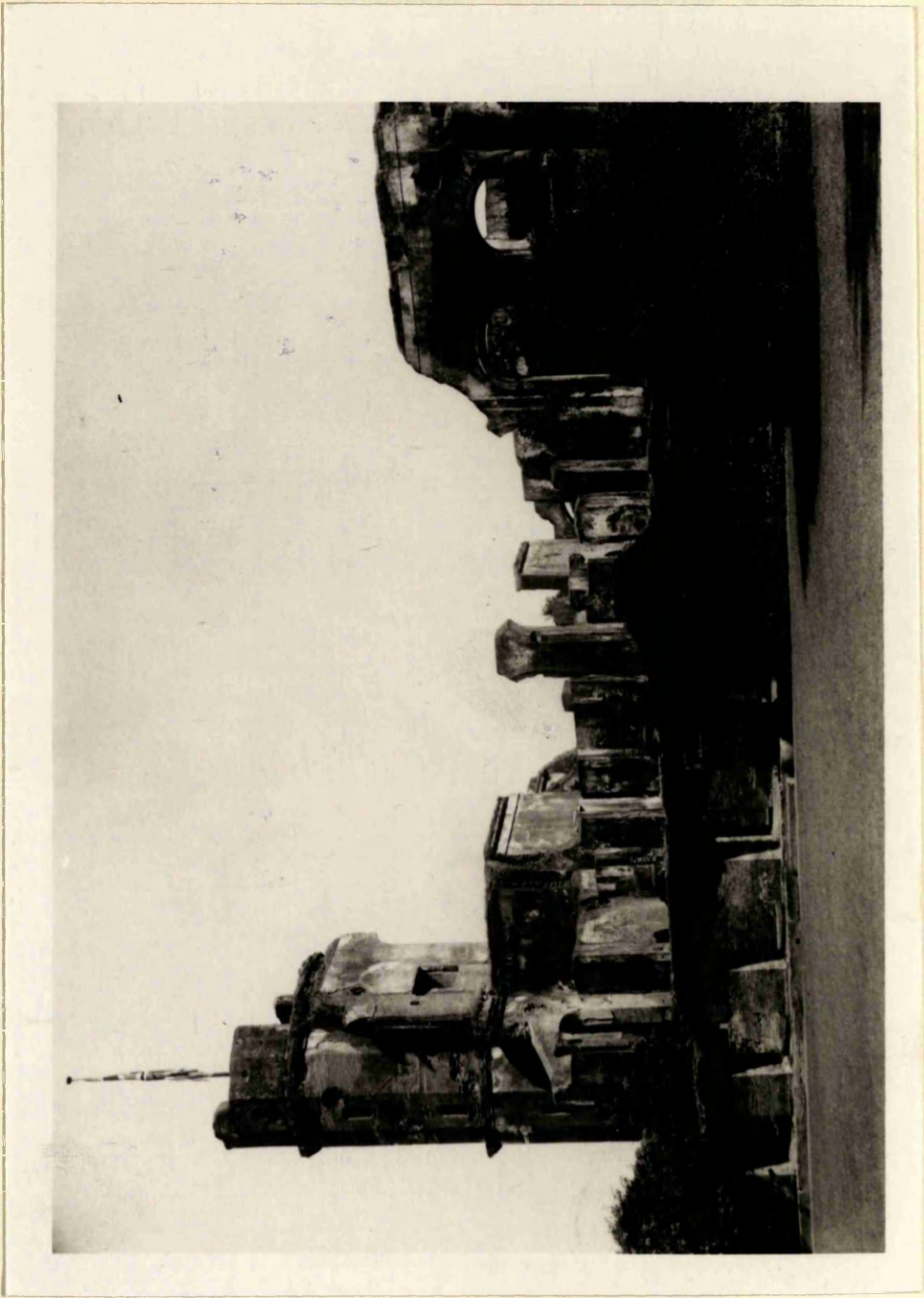
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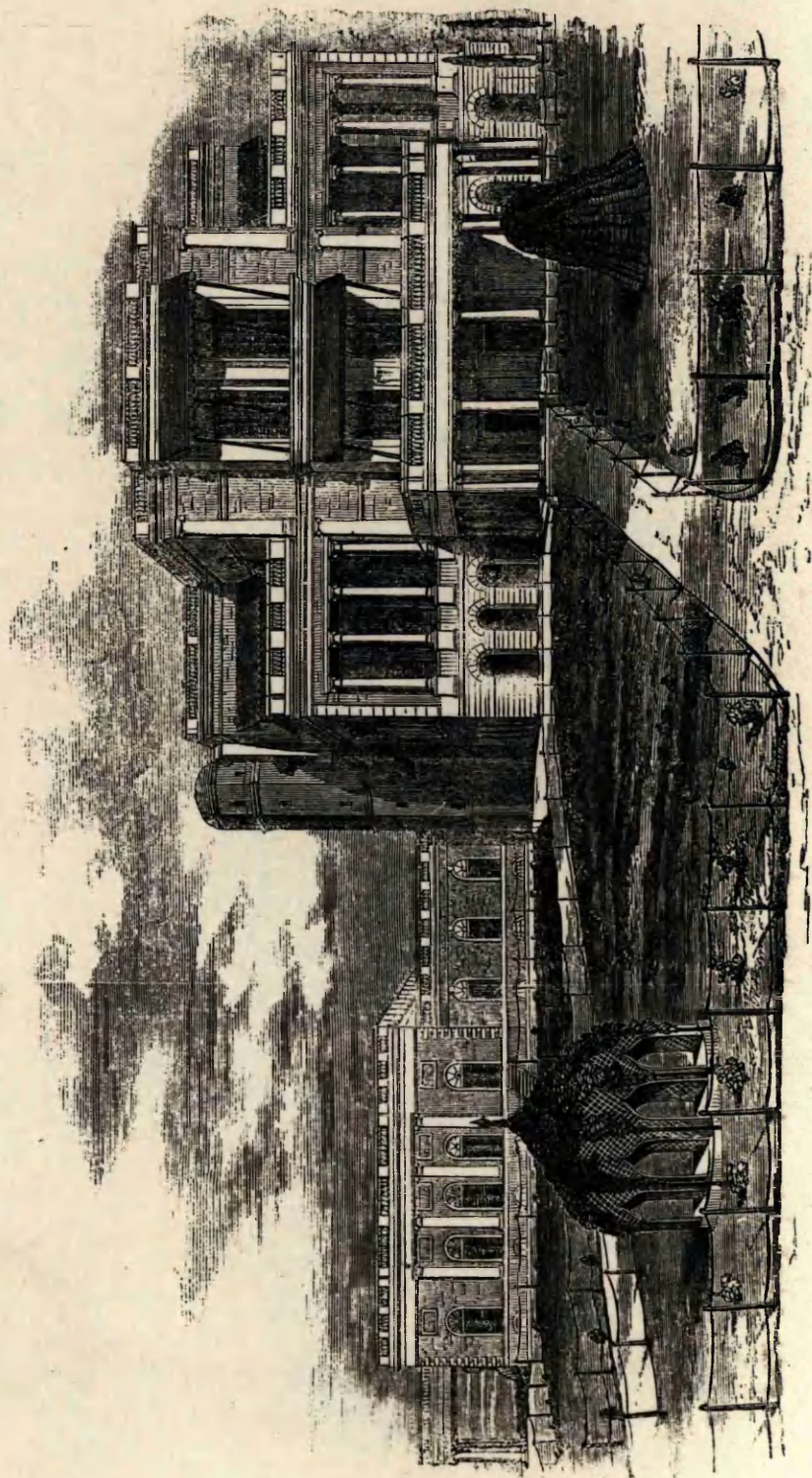
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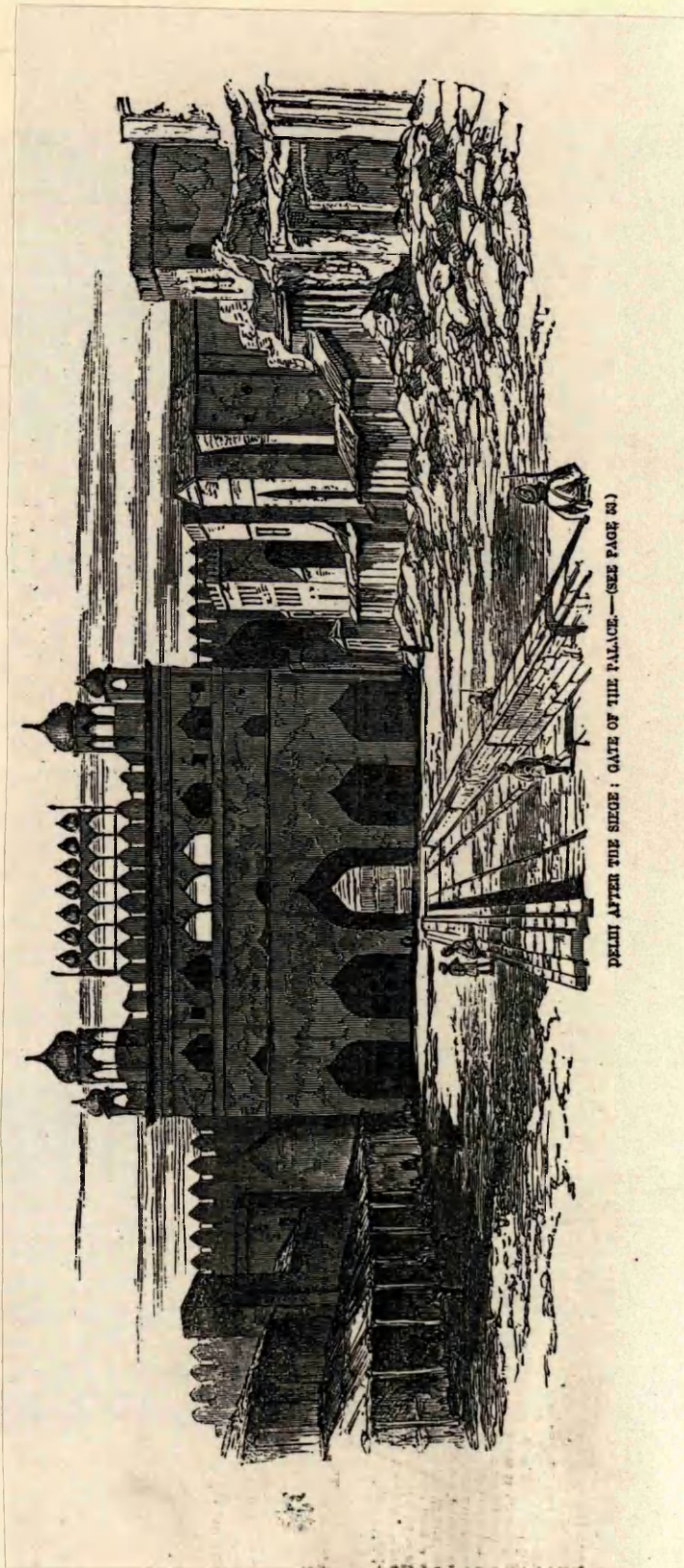


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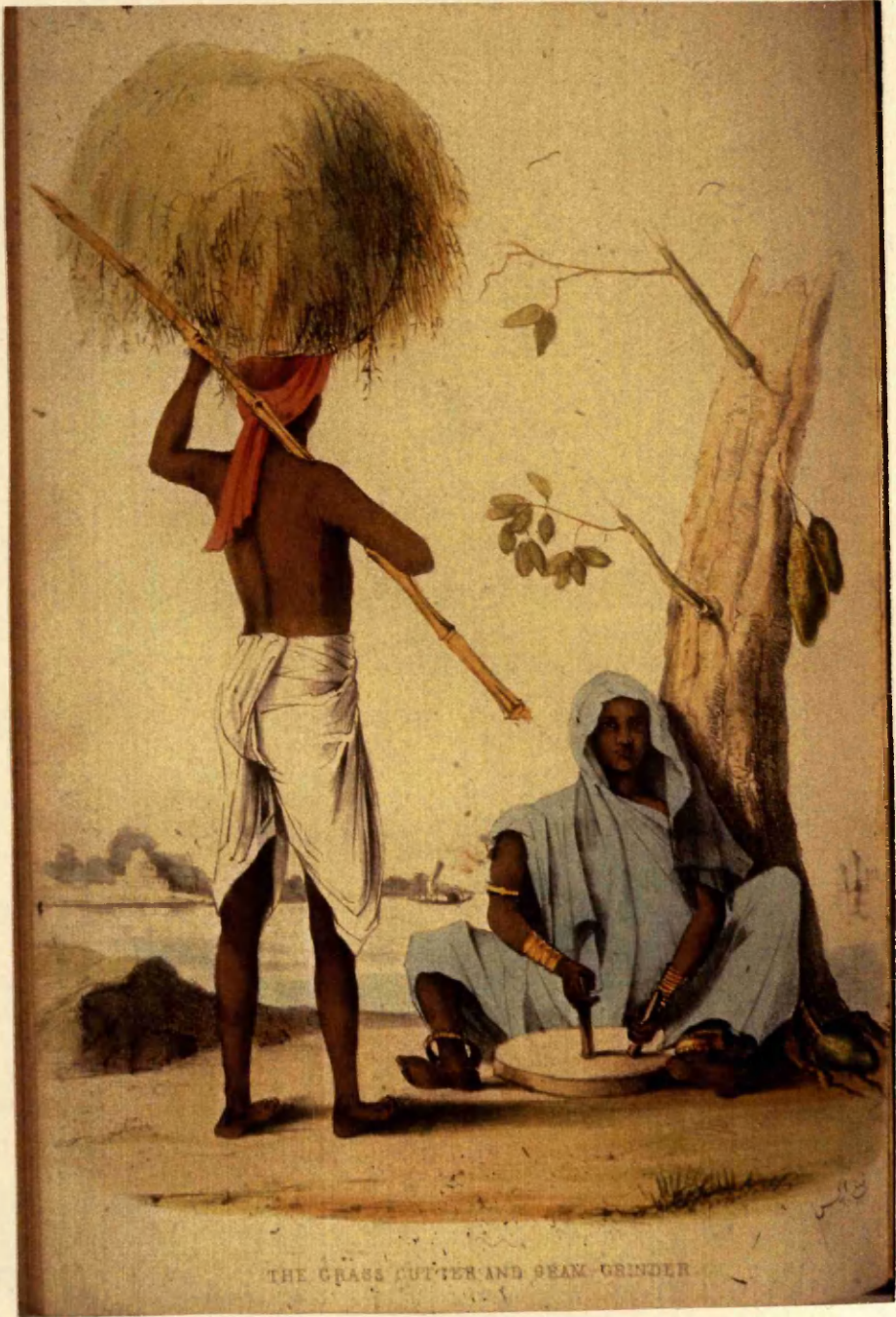
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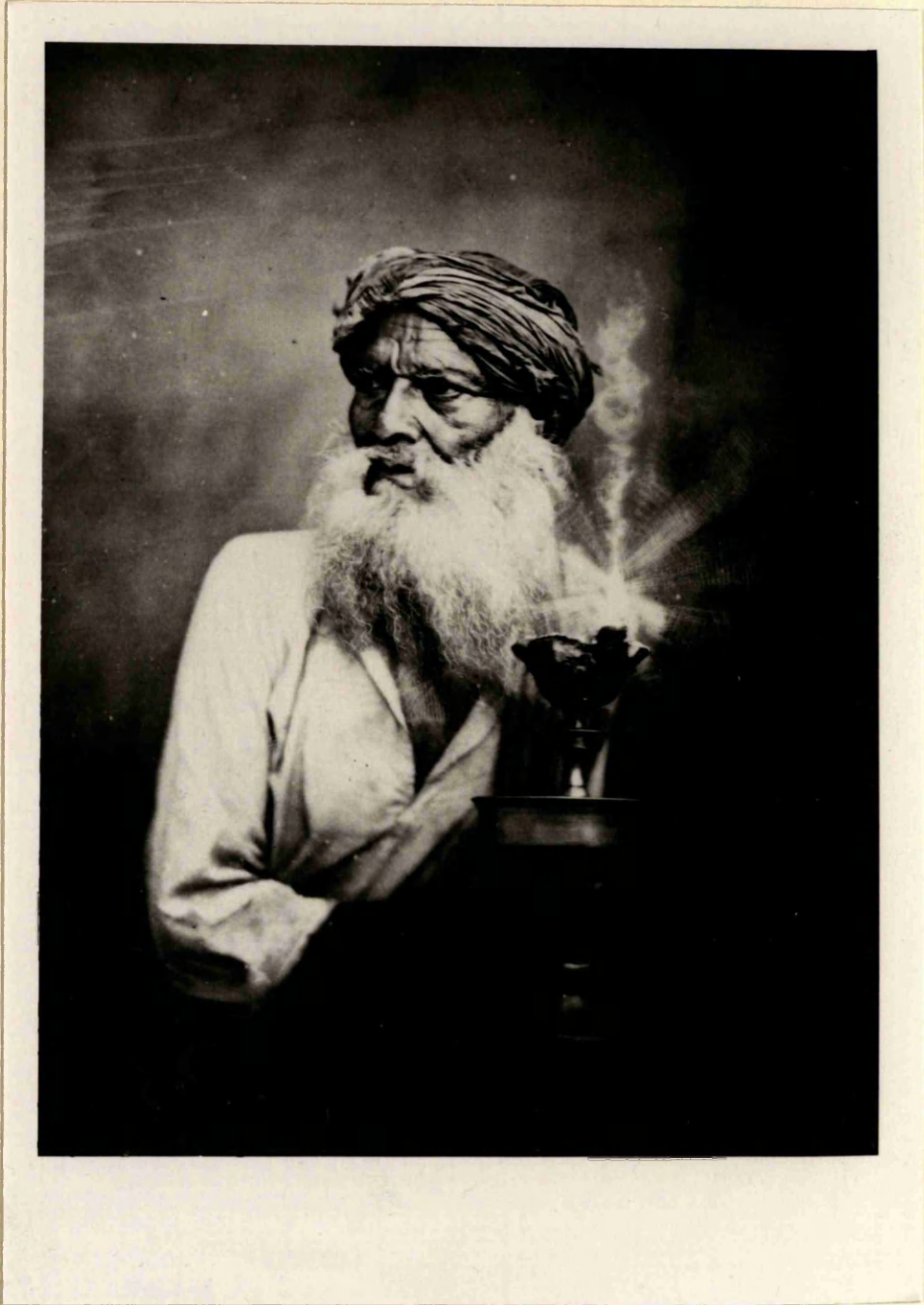
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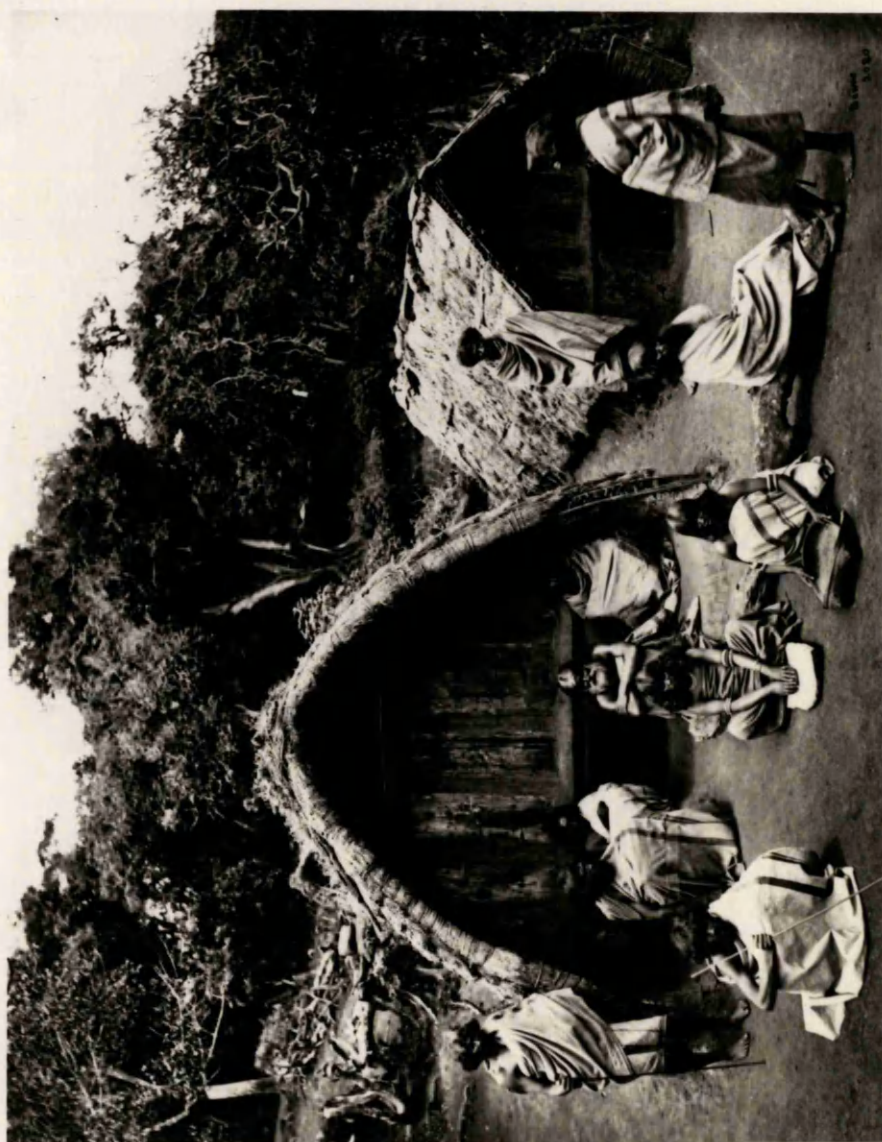
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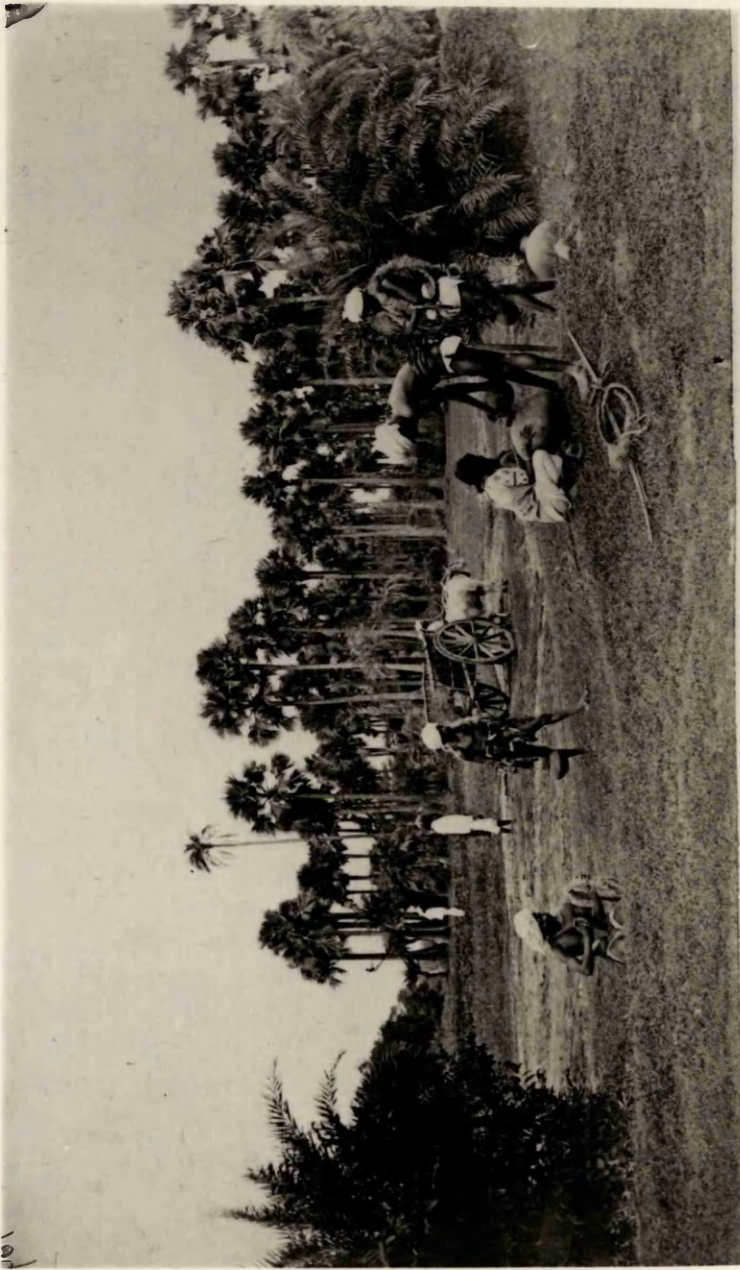
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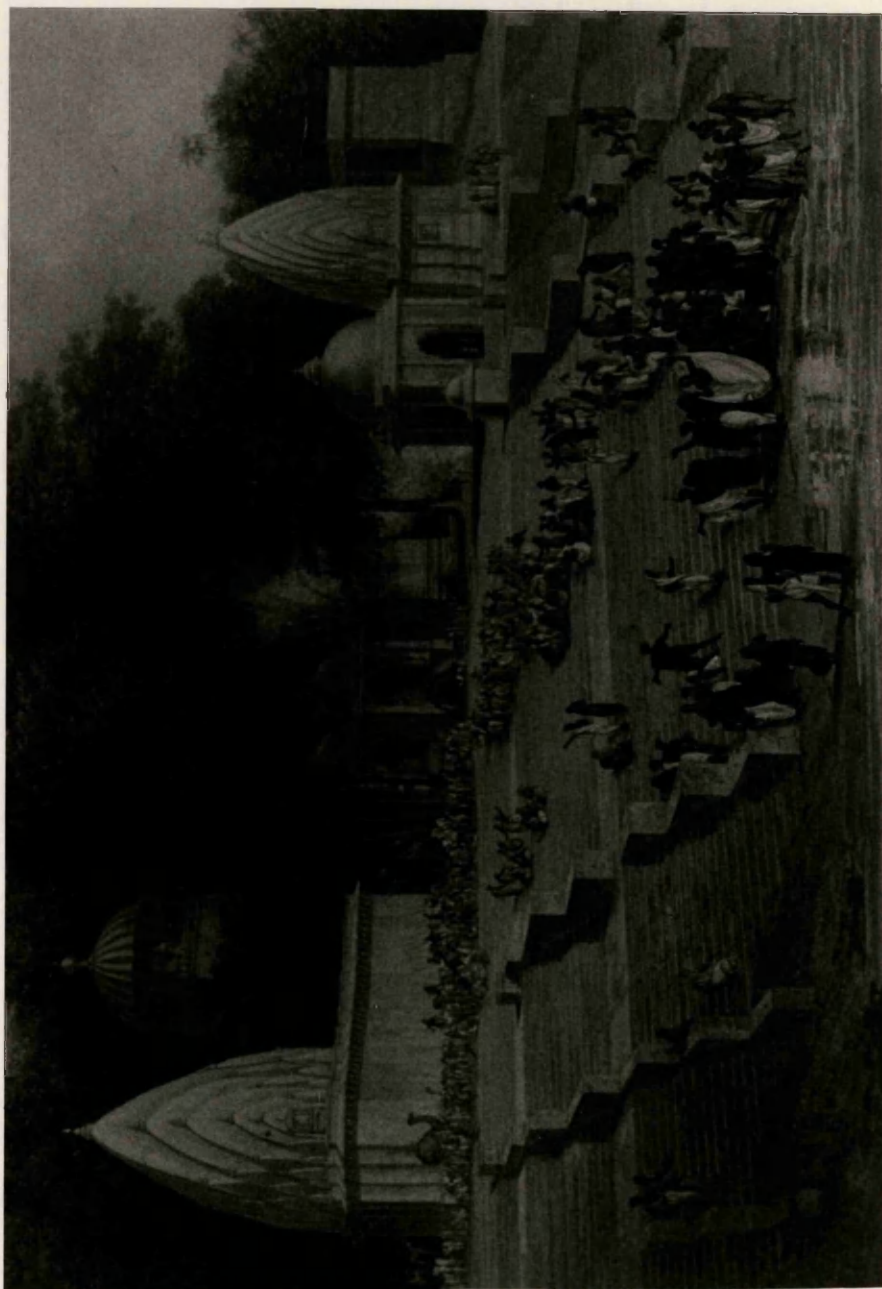
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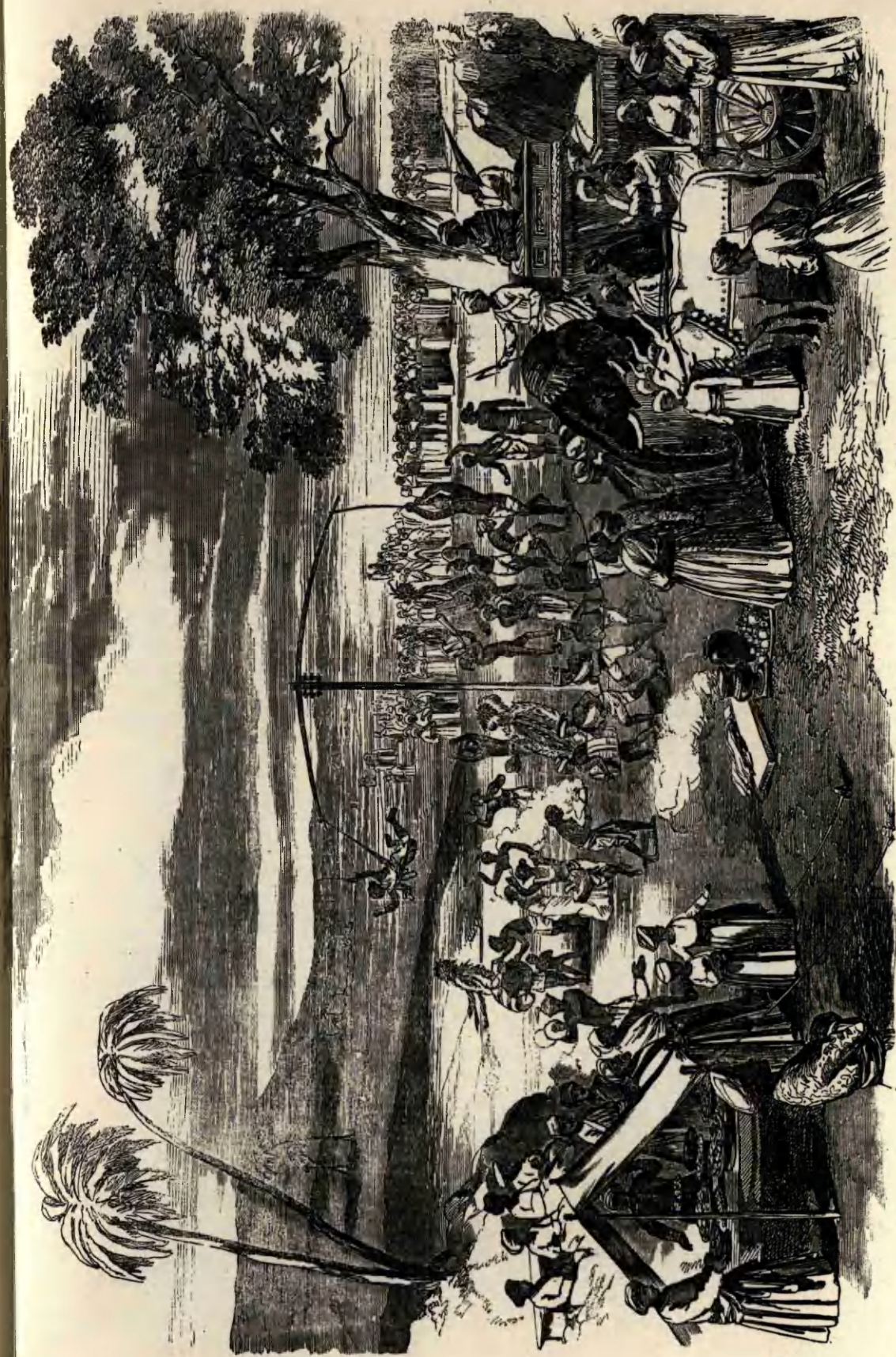
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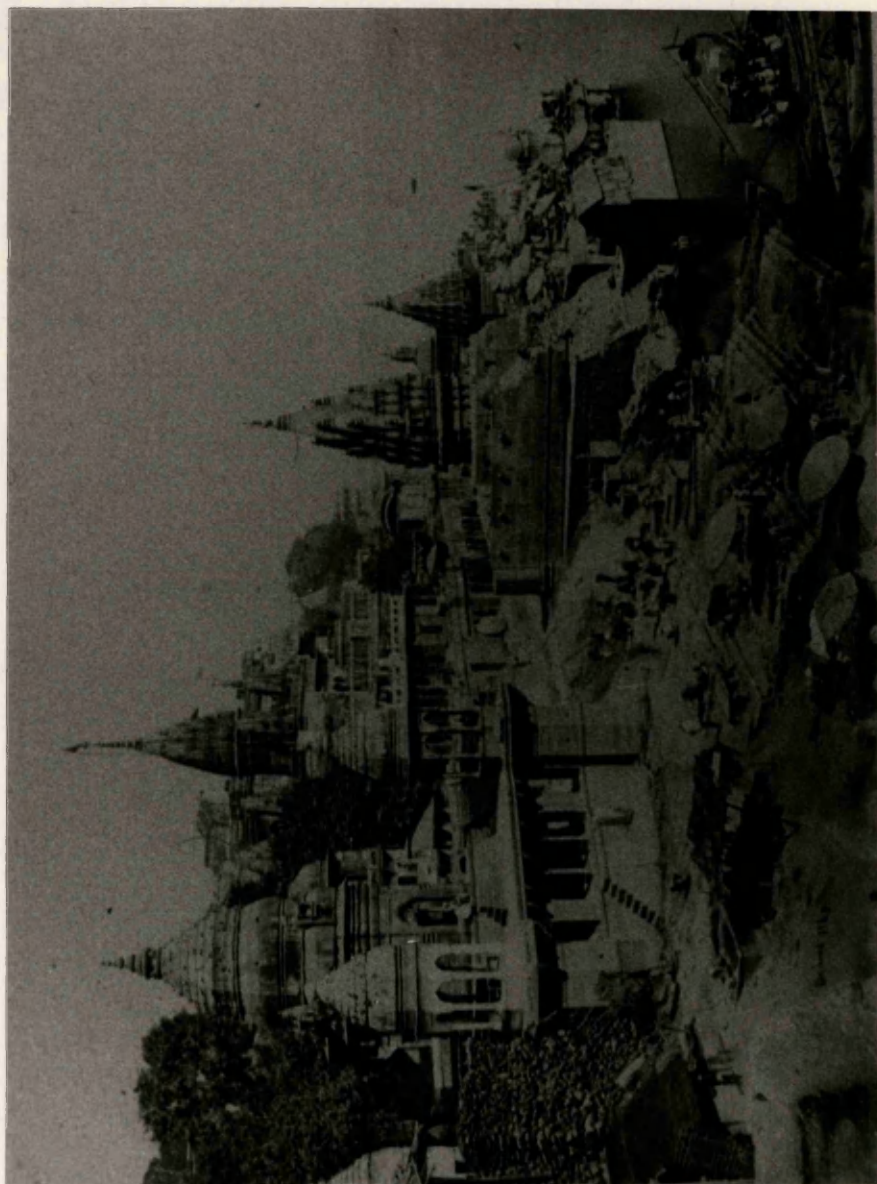


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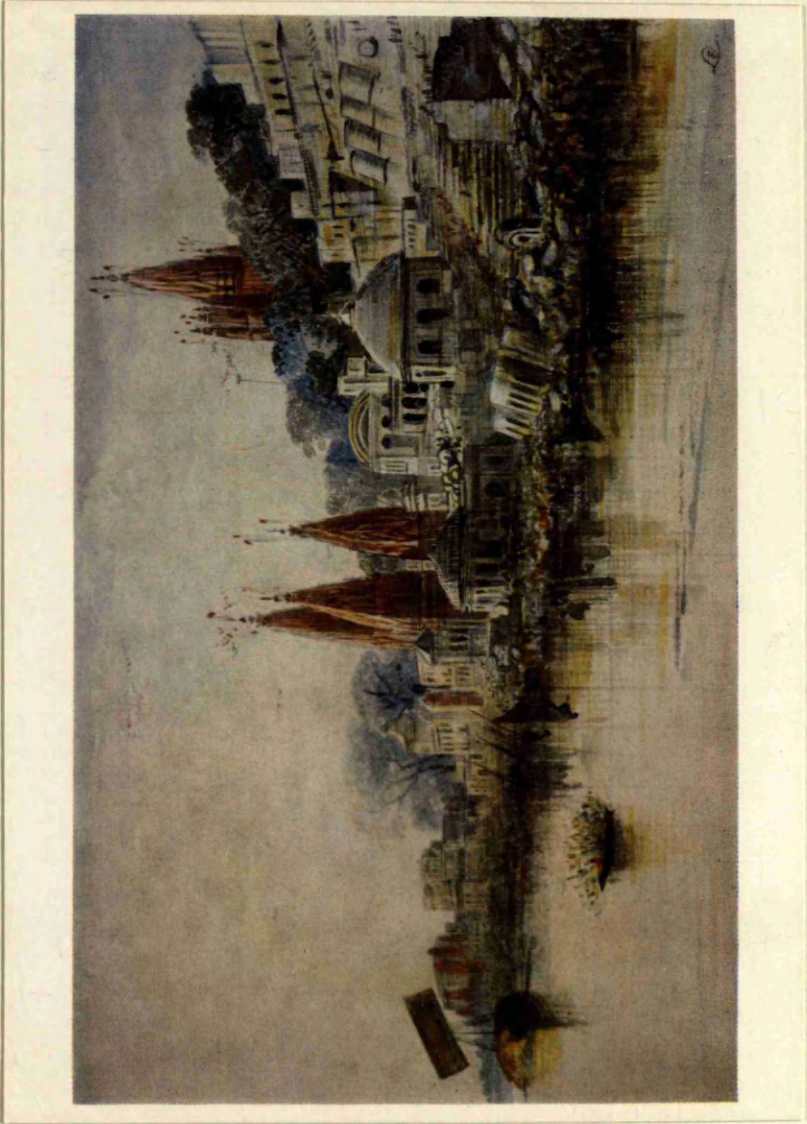
A SWINGING FESTIVAL IN INDIA

(28) The Illustrated London News: A Swinging Festival in India 1857

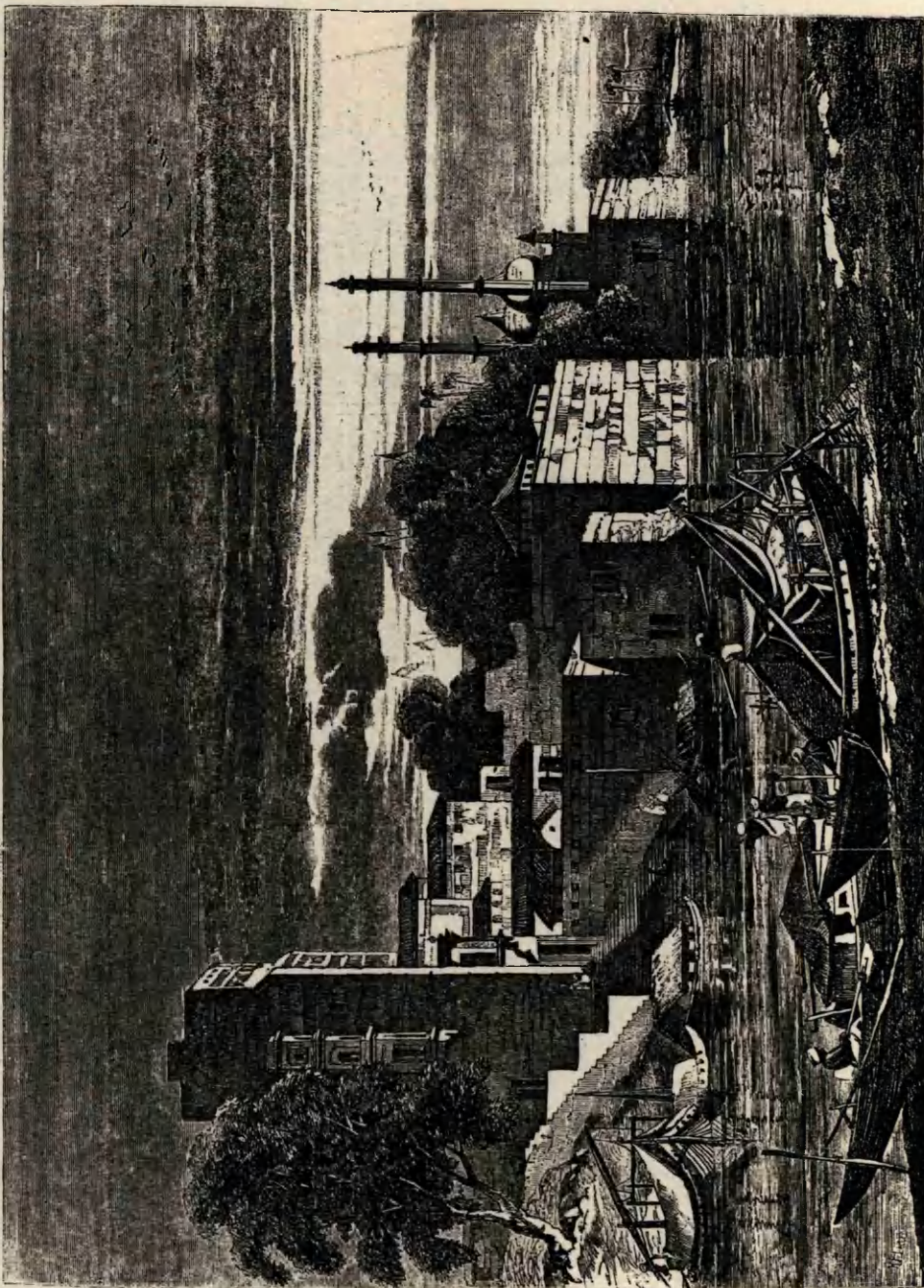


(29) Samuel Bourne: Benares. The Burning Ghât 1860s

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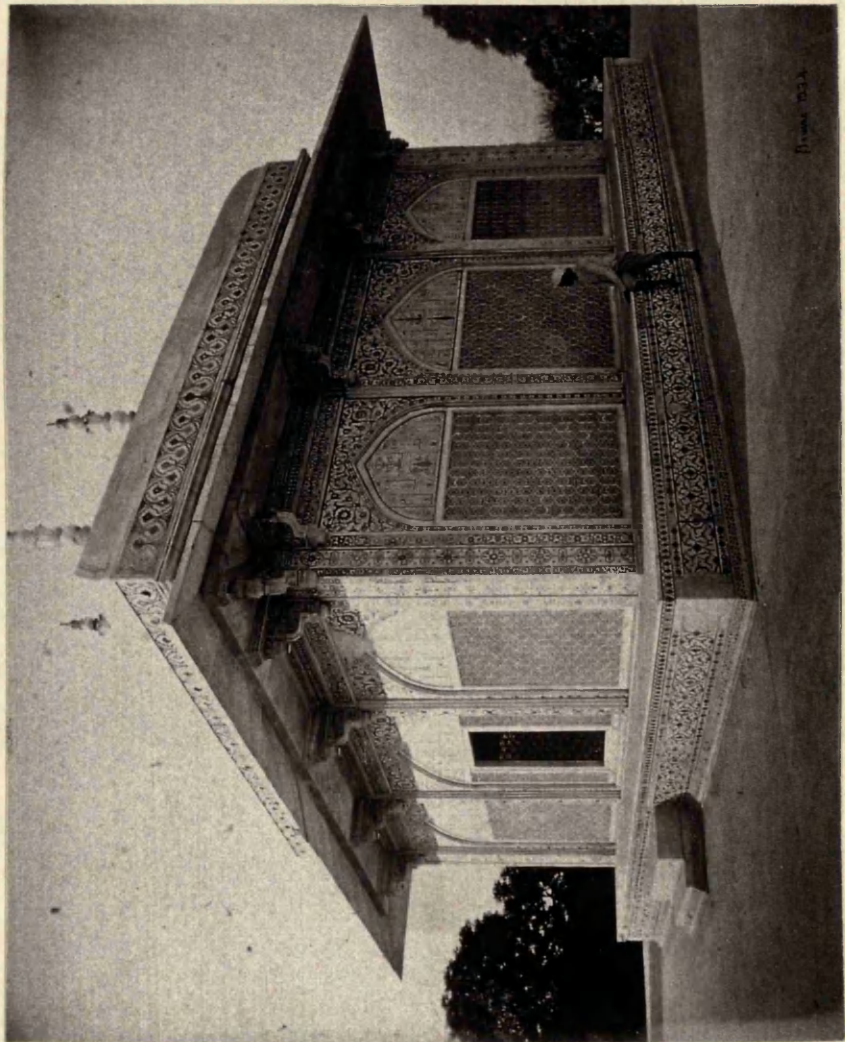


(30) Edward Lear: The Burning Ghats, Benares 1873

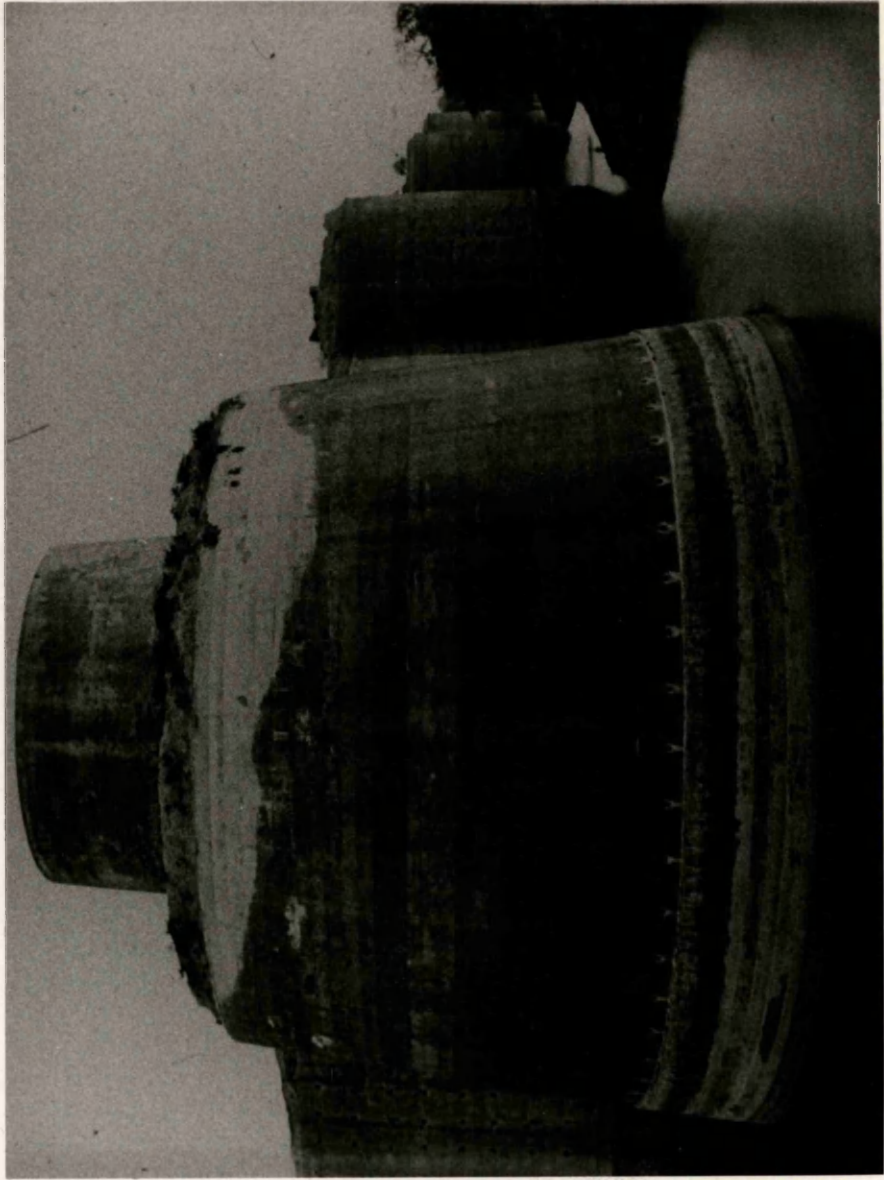


VIEW ON THE GANGES.

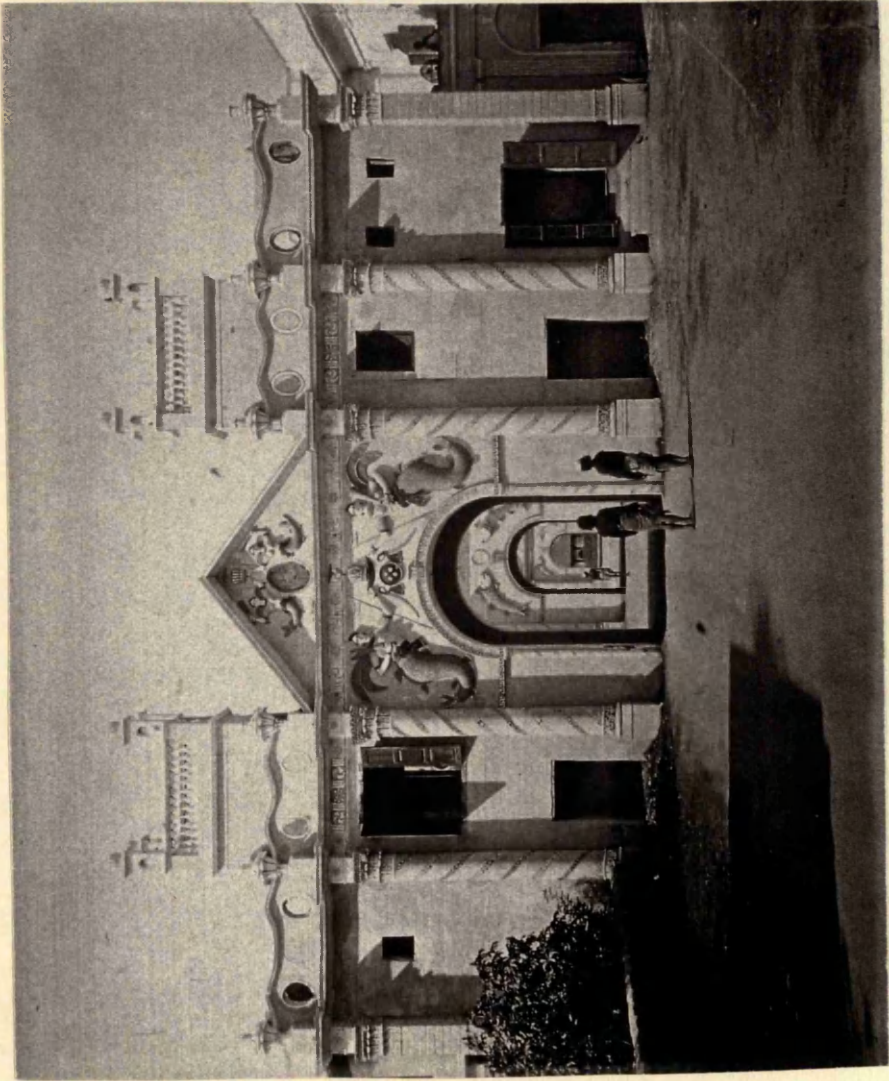
(31) The Illustrated London News: View on the Ganges 1857



(32) Samuel Bourne: Mausoleum of Prince Etmad-Dowlah, Marble Cupola 1860s



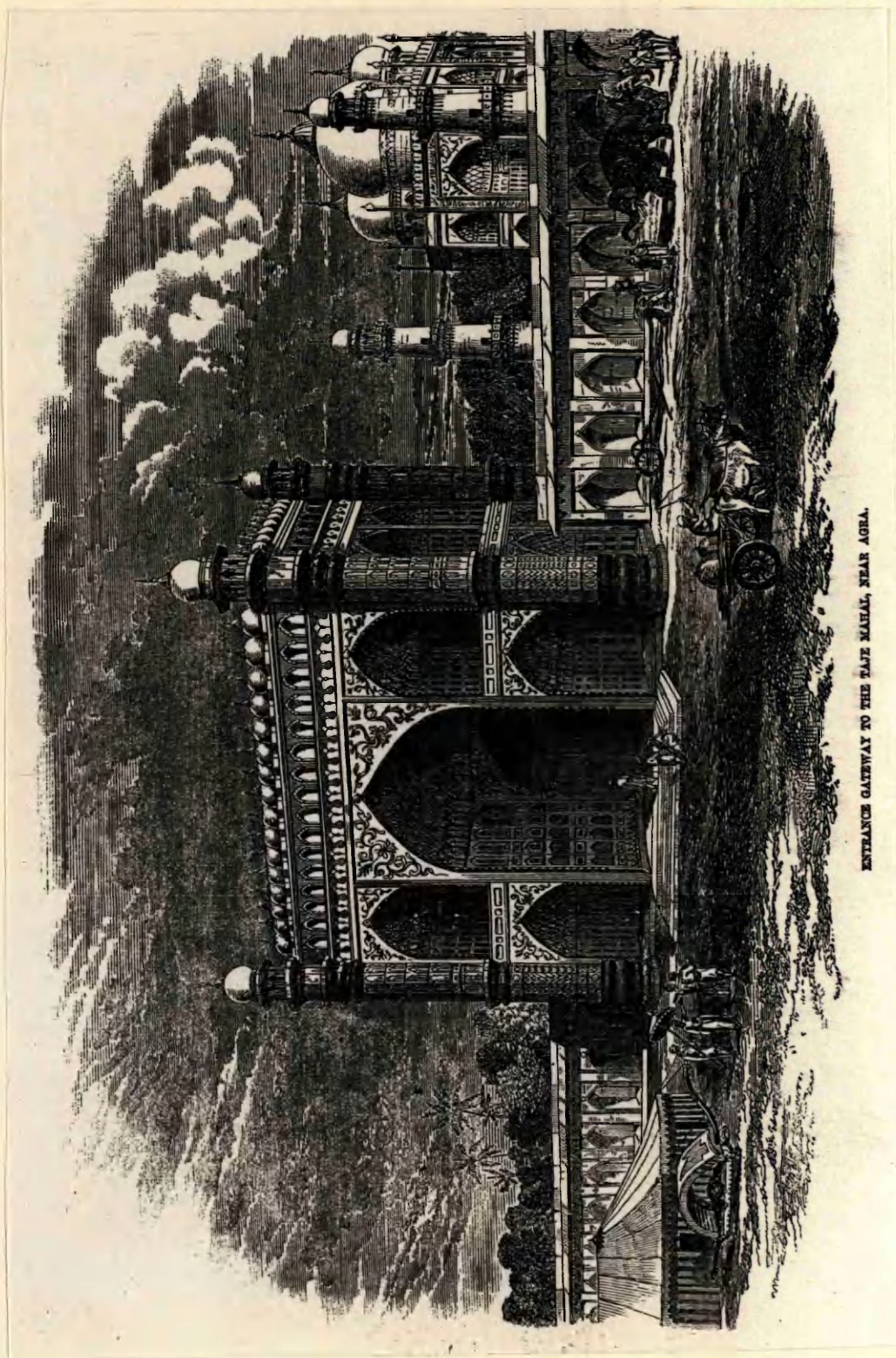
(33) Samuel Bourne: Deig Fort 1860s



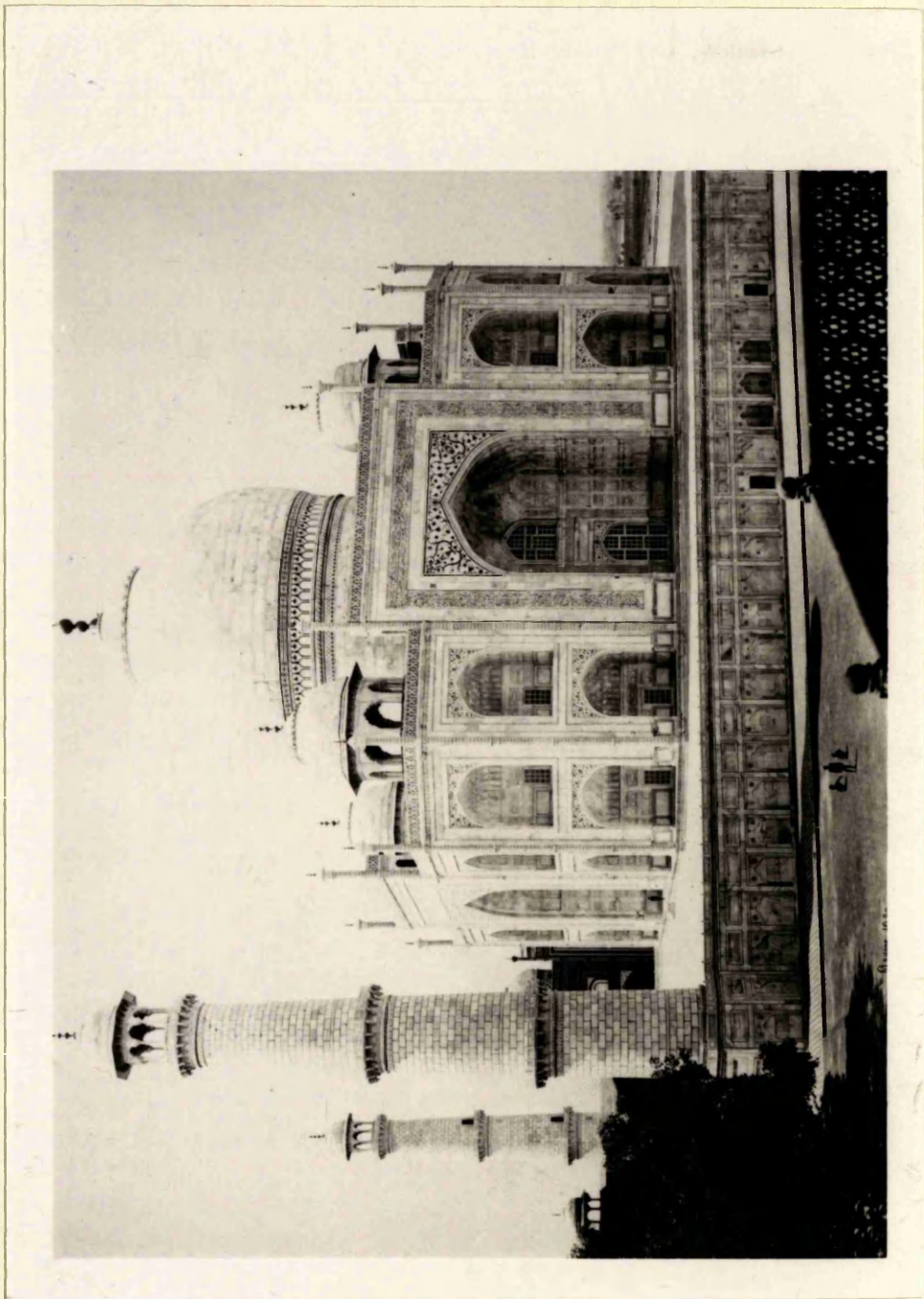
(34) Samuel Bourne: Lucknow, The Mermaid Gate 1860s



(35) Samuel Bourne: The Taj, from the Fountain 1860s



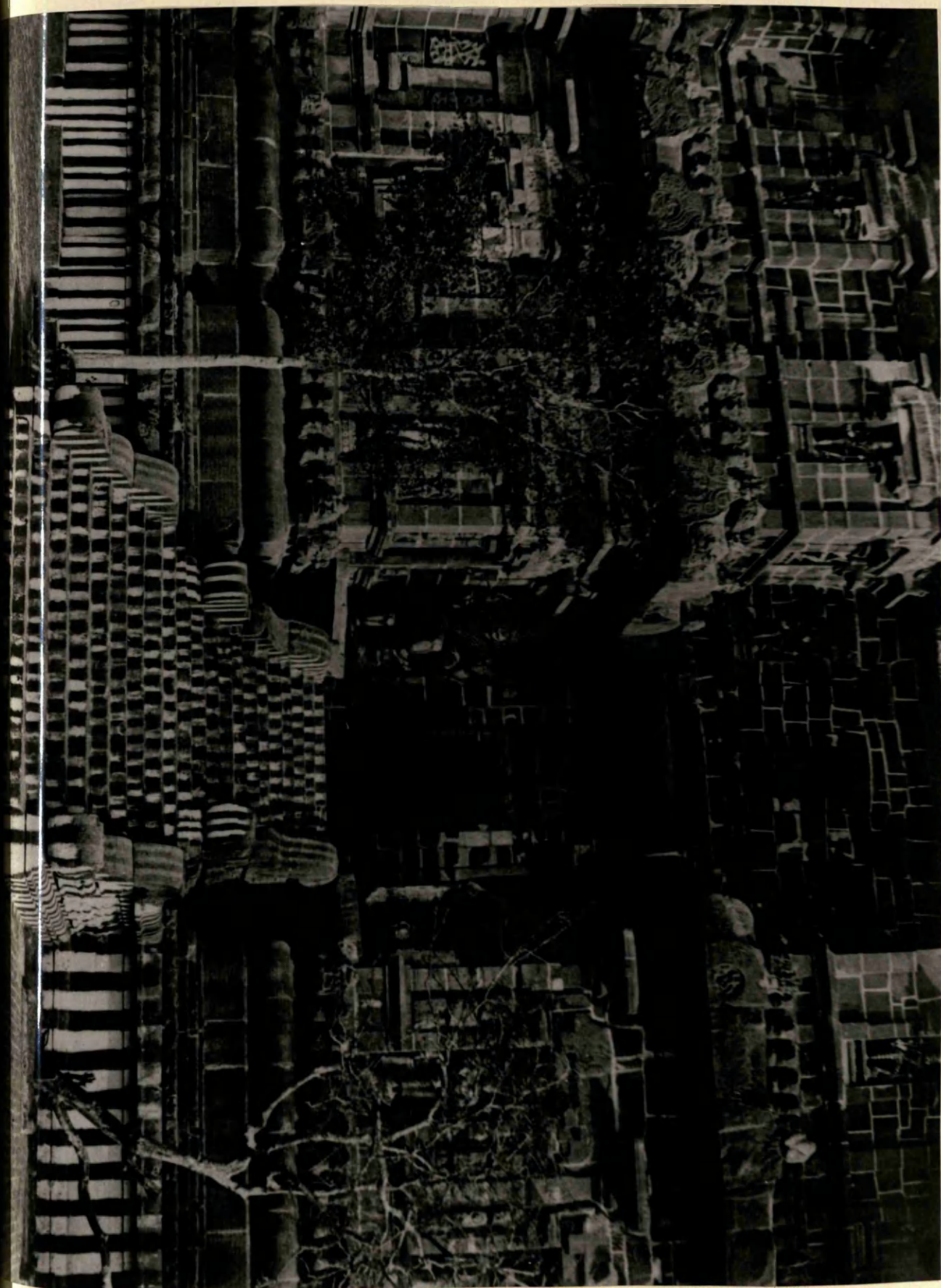
(36) The Illustrated London News: Entrance Gateway to the Taj Mahal, near Agra 1857

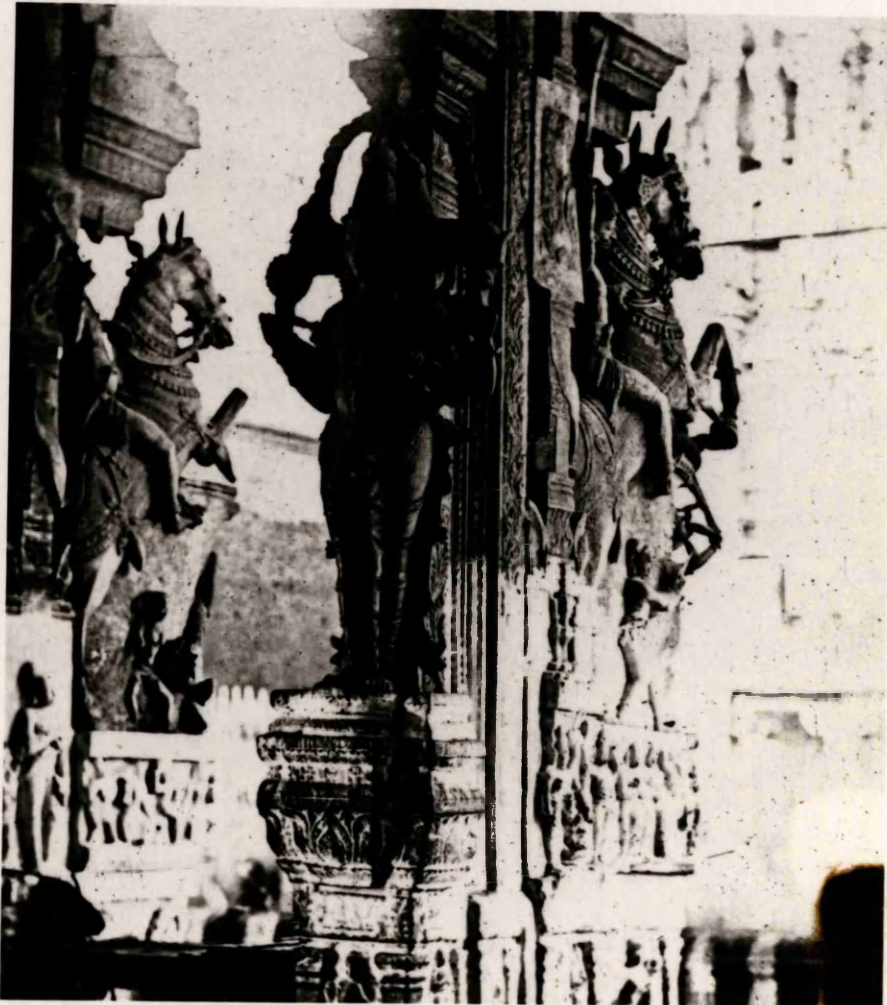


(37) Samuel Bourne: The Taj. from Corner of Quadrangle 1860s

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(39) Linnaeus Tripe: Figure of Bramah in the
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(40) Samuel Bourne: Carved Horse Pillars, Mundapam 1860s



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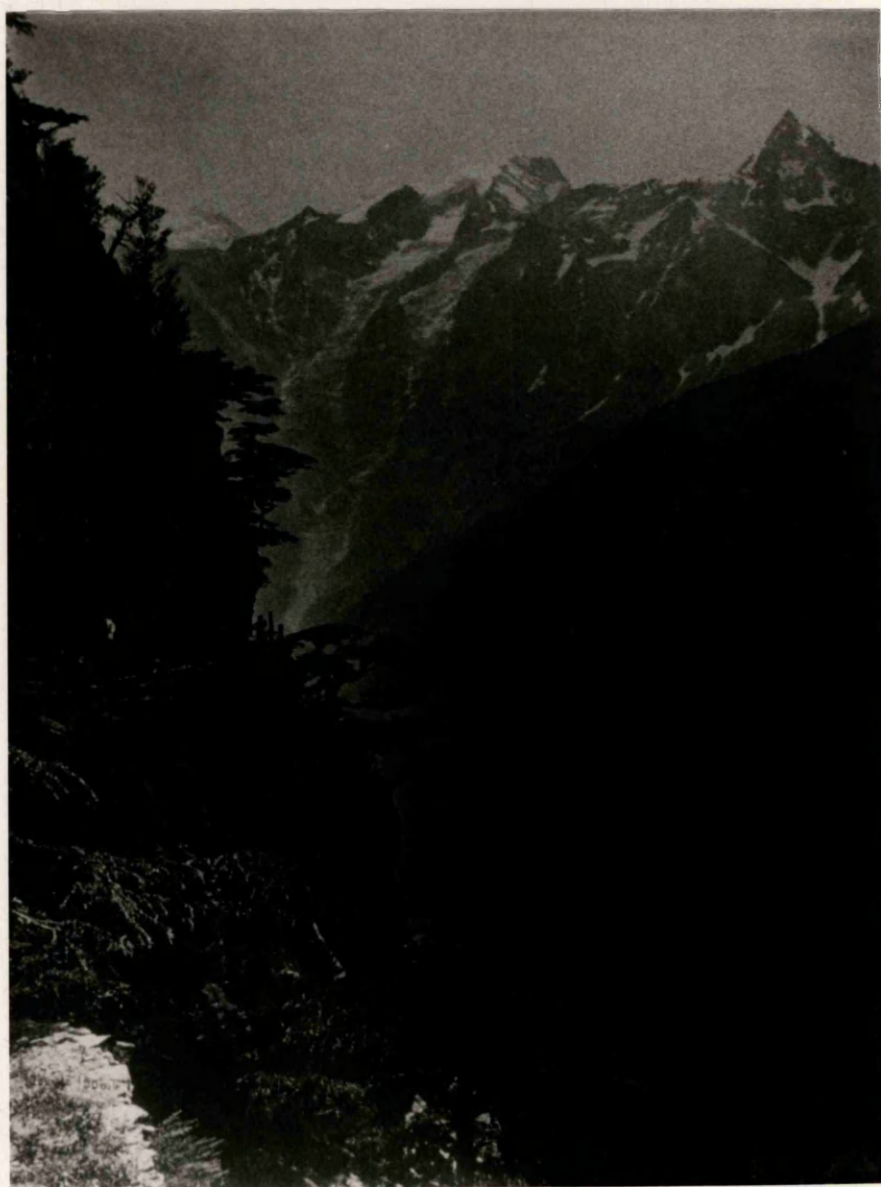
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(44) Samuel Bourne: Simla. The Church etc. Winter 1860s



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(46) William Gilpin: Killiecrankie 1789



(47) Thomas and William Daniell: Sculptured Rocks at Mauveleporam on the Coast of Coromandel 1799



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[SEPTEMBER 21, 1844.]

CRIMINAL TRIAL IN INDIA.

[By the last Overland Mail, we learn that "in Bombay there was a trial going on of eighteen Parsees, for a murder committed at two o'clock in the day, in one of the most public streets in the town, on the principle of the gang murders which degrade India. Great excitement prevailed on the subject; the murdered man was one of their own tribe, and yet much money was expended in the hope of preventing the conviction of any of the parties. The present may, therefore, be a fit opportunity for introducing to our readers the process of a criminal trial in India, described and illustrated by a gentleman fully conversant with East Indian affairs.]

The Civil Service of the East India Company furnishes altogether the most extraordinary example of a system of jurisprudence carried out by foreigners over a people amounting at least to a hundred and twenty millions, and that in a manner to give entire satisfaction to the rulers.

The Civil Service may be said to be divided into three portions—the Judicial, Revenue, and Political—the latter being the Secretaries to Government in the different departments, Residents at native courts, and Governor-General's agents. But all the members of the service are equally eligible for any of these appointments, and, as regards the two former, they are changed from the one to the other without the slightest regard to the efficiency of the service, or the onerous duties they have to perform.

The law, as administered in India, is the most curious compound that ever was devised. Over Englishmen, the Company's magistrates have little or no control in a direct and legal way; those in criminal cases being only subject to the magistrate under his powers as a Justice of Peace, his jurisdiction extending to a fine of five pounds. With English law, the civil servant has nothing to do; Blackstone, Coke, and Littleton, being wholly disregarded. The law, par excellence, is "regulation law," that is, a number of crude undigested regulations, filling a good sized folio, and which have been issued, repealed, abolished, renewed, and re-issued, in the last hundred years, until no one can tell what portion remains, or what has been taken away; or whether an act, repealing another act, which



VAKIEL—NATIVE BARRISTER.

the Mastrida, and imprisonment with hard labour, chiefly on the roads.

In the first sketch we have portrayed the European Judge as he is usually to be found whilst administering his legal duties; and in a climate like that of India, the white jacket and boots are better suited to his constitution than the wig and gown of an English Judge would be.

The principal official by whom the Judge is assisted is the Omiah, a most characteristic sketch of whom we have next given. His duties are to prepare all papers and documents for his superior, take down the evidence, or see it properly done by his subordinate the Mohurrers (or sealers); to read the evidence to the Judge; and aid and assist him in all matters with his counsel and advice; not to omit a very large dose of flattery which he duly administers morning and evening, and on all fitting occasions, taking care that if there is anything unpleasant, it shall be made as palatable as possible to his superior; and that no one shall intrude upon his master's privacy with unpleasant tales of injustice or injury sustained through the complaisance of the said Omiah. His pay is about six pounds sterling a month; yet no one could for a moment doubt his being a man both of wealth and influence, and beyond the suspicion of taking bribes to use his influence over his superior's judgment. A native would not consider his case thoroughly gained, though he had a decree in his favour, if he had not bribed somebody; and only seeming to possess the countenance and influence of the European superior, is a sure method of obtaining the presents of all suitors; and his power of getting a suit advanced or retarded, without reference to the ultimate decree, is sufficient to establish a claim on his part to their generosity. Most of the suitors come a distance of several days' journey



THE OMIAH.

from their homes, to which they are anxious to return; and it is only through the good offices of the Omiah they can expect to do so in anything like a reasonable time, or without a chance of performing the journey more than once.

The Native Barrister is called a Vakeel (No. 3), and would scarcely be tolerated by his learned brethren in Europe. The East India Company are, however, too good judges themselves to allow the gentlemen of the long robe to carry off all the emoluments from their litigious subjects. When a suit is filed, the plaintiff has to do so on stamped paper, and the value of the stamp is ten per cent. on the amount of his claim. When the defendant files his answer, he has also to do so on stamped paper, paying ten per cent. on the amount claimed. Thus, for instance, if an action be brought for a thousand pounds, the East India Company charge the litigants two hundred pounds, and then pay the Vakeel for conducting the suit, the costs of which are about thirty shillings or two pounds. The parties may sharpen the wits of their legal advisers if they please, but most indigo factors, and persons engaged in commercial transactions, have a Vakeel at all times in attendance in the courts, the pay being about sixteen shillings a month, the duty of this Vakeel being to make his employer acquainted with all new orders and regulations of the magistrates and Government, and to answer any complaints which may be brought against his master. The wealthy natives who have Vakeels in attendance, and it is looked upon as a mark of their respectability that they should do so. The Vakeels are a clever, shrewd class of men, familiarly acquainted with the practice of the court and the regulation law. They are treated with much courtesy by the Judges, and hold an influential position in native society.

The Prisoner (No. 4) is a thief by profession, and in being so does not consider himself a useless member of society. It is his misfortune—his fate—to have been detected and brought into his present difficulties, but he does not feel that his character is in any way injured by the crime he has committed. It is his vocation, and he fol-

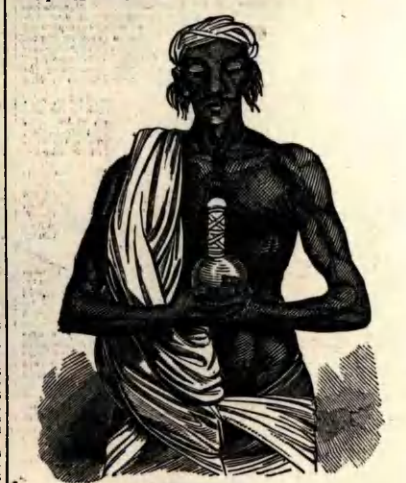
lows it as he would any other. The adroitness used by this class is extraordinary, and bets have often been laid in India upon finding a man who should steal any article named, however carefully guarded. If he makes up his mind to rob a person, it is all one to him whether it be to-day or this day month; he will follow an encampment, or hover about the parties, until his object be effected. In breaking into a house, he seldom enters by a door, but makes an aperture in the wall sufficiently large to admit his person and remove his booty. They follow the same plan in horse-stealing, making the hole in the wall at the horse's head, and leading him out. If the horse be a grey, they will remove him some six or eight miles, and then, in the course of a few hours, dye him another colour. If the object of plunder is in the tent, they will cut the canvas with a sharp knife, and thus obtain an entrance. With European articles they have little idea of the value of their plunder, and with a watch they will separate the gold or silver cases from the works and throw the latter into the first pond they come to. So incessant are their depredations, that every European is obliged to have at least one watchman, who keeps guard all night; and in marching, the village where the person halts is obliged to find four watchmen, as, without this precaution, the party would assuredly be plundered.

The Burkundahs, or native policemen, (No. 5) are retained regularly in the employ of the Government, and are always armed with a sabre. Their pay is about eight shillings a month, with which they have to feed, clothe, and lodge themselves. They obtain some slight remuneration for serving warrants, but nothing very considerable; perhaps, every thing considered, their situation may be worth about twelve shillings monthly. They are not very expert as thief catchers, and pay more attention to the cultivation of their beards and the proper arranging and dressing of them, than to anything else. They are also used as guards at the collector's treasury. A portion of the police are mounted and equipped as irregular cavalry, and posted at short distances throughout the country. These take notice of every traveller, and should the wayfarer not reach his destination, they at once make their enquiries and report accordingly. This is as much as can be done in so extensive a tract of country, where considerable towns are seldom within twenty miles of each other, and the principal police station sometimes a hundred.



BURKUNDAH, OR NATIVE POLICEMAN.

The Witness (No. 6) holds in his hands the bottle of holy water, by which he swears the oath supposed to be binding on a Hindoo. The water is from the river Ganges, and the nearer it is procured to the source of the stream the purer and better it is considered. At certain seasons of the year hundreds of pilgrims are to be met returning from Hurdwer with flasks of this water, which they convey even as far as Madras, a distance of more than two thousand miles. The Muslim is sworn on the Khoran, which is placed in a folded cloth and then held in his hands the whole time he is giving his evidence. The form of oath most binding, but which is not allowed to be used in the courts of justice, is by the witness placing his hand on a boy's head. If he has a son with him, then his own child is the person; but, if at a distance from home, he is required to adopt the boy by whom he swears, and the form of oath, or rather imprecation, is, that should he forever himself may all the consequences fall on his child. It is very shocking that so dreadful an imprecation should ever have been in use, but at the same time it shows a disregard of truth. A witness invariably begins by telling you that he always speaks truth, well knowing the slight estimation in which his veracity is held. To obtain a plain answer or dissent from him is impossible, nor can you obtain any answer until you have allowed him to tire of the whole story with which he has come primed and loaded.



THE WITNESS.



EUROPEAN JUDGE.

abolished a regulation, brings the original regulation again into force; a favourite way with some rulers of bringing an obnoxious law back to the regulation book. To this law all foreigners who proceed to India are subject; and, however various or contradictory it may be, they have no means of procuring a printed copy anywhere by which to regulate their conduct.

Our Muslim subjects are governed in civil cases by "regulation law," of which they know nothing; and in criminal cases, by the Law of the Khoran. Our Hindoo subjects are in the same predicament in civil cases, and ruled by the Shastres and Vedas in criminal cases. Persons born of native women by European fathers, are subject to the law of the mother. In all cases where natives are concerned, the Judge is assisted by a native Judge, who lays down the law, but by which the European Judge is no further bound than he may think fit, acting entirely upon his own judgment and responsibility. The parties may appeal if they like to the Sudder Board, and the Judge has then to forward the evidence taken on the trial, and the reasons for his decision. For Bengal, the Sudder Board is at Calcutta; and in the north-western provinces (to which this statement chiefly applies), at Allahabad. In civil cases, between Europeans and natives, the appeal lies to the Supreme Court in Calcutta. We believe only one case of appeal has ever been brought to trial in this court (Maxwell v. Ferguson). Capital offences are tried by the Commissioner of the District, all others by the Judge and Magistrate.

The punishments are death by hanging, transportation (generally to

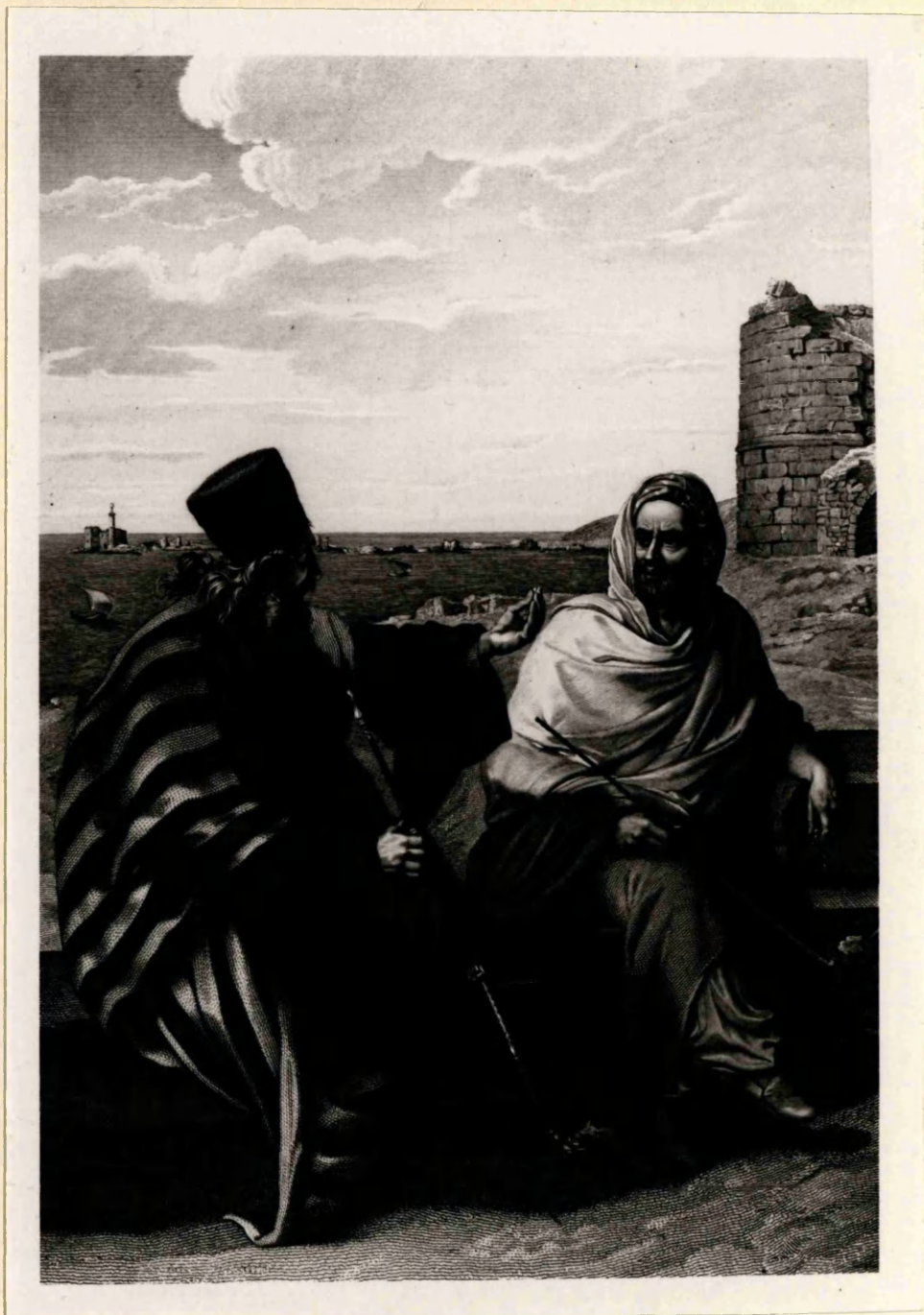


THE PRISONER.

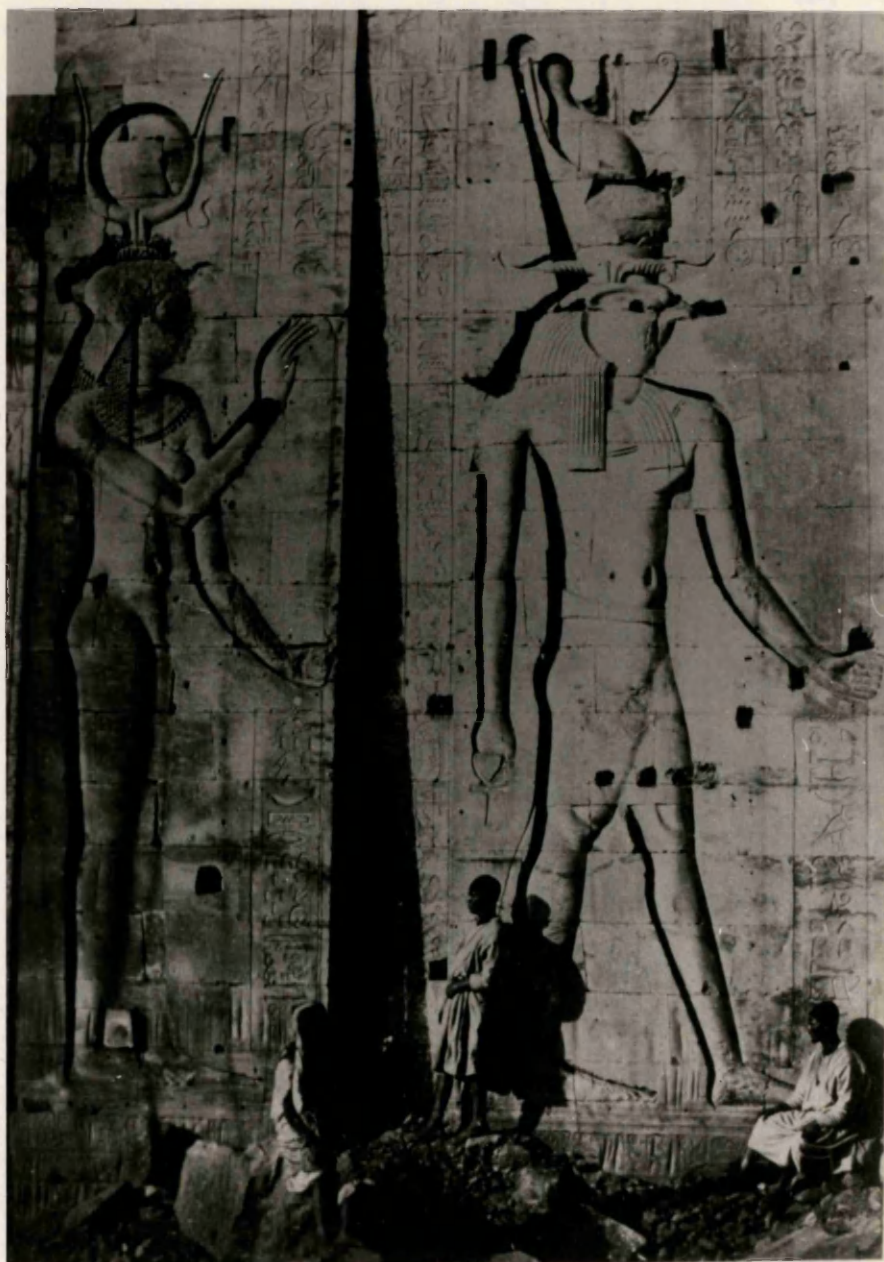
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(51) John Frederick Lewis: The Hhareem c1850



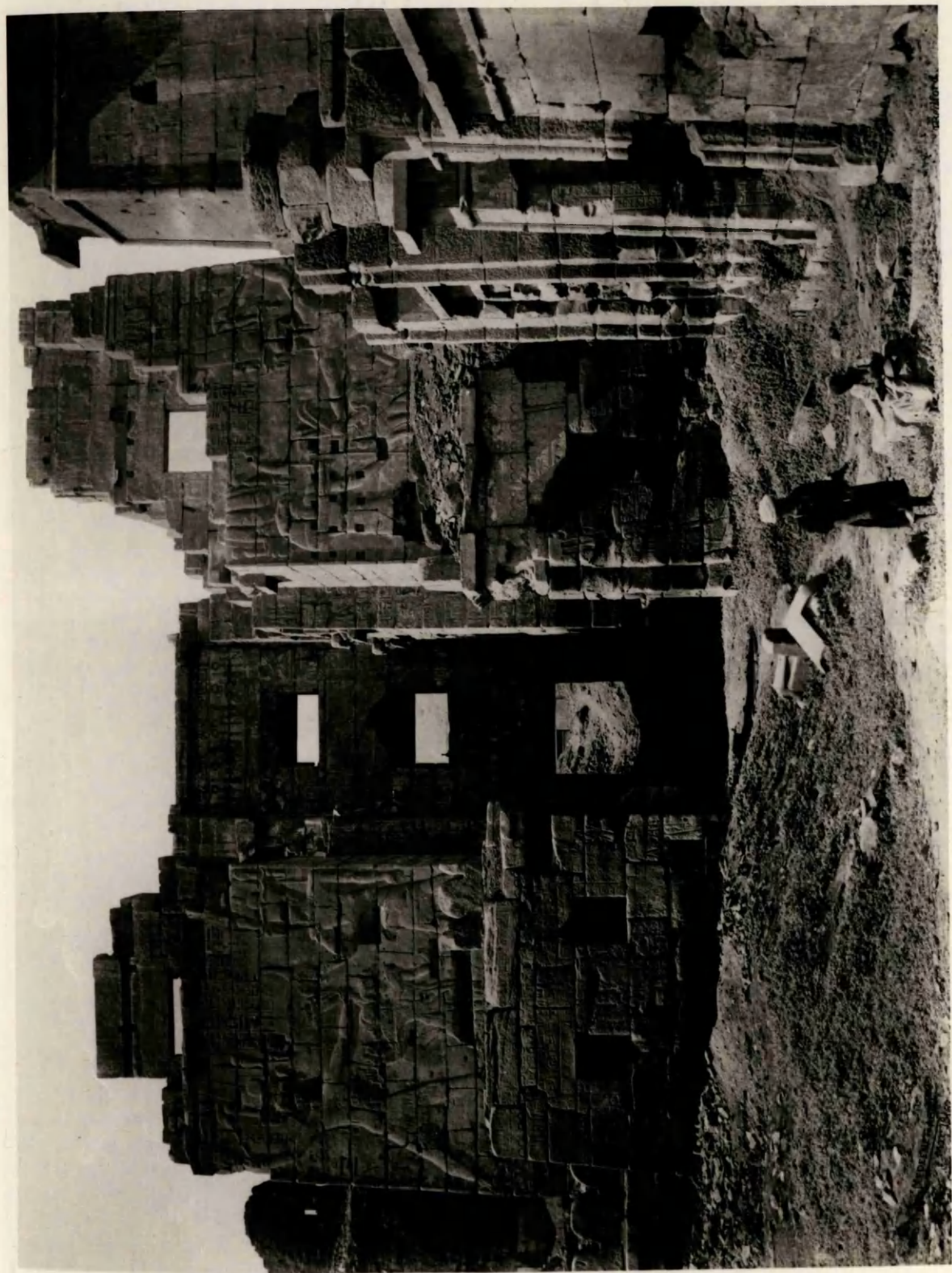
(52) Habitans de l'Oasis et du Mont Sinai from Description de l'Egypte 1817



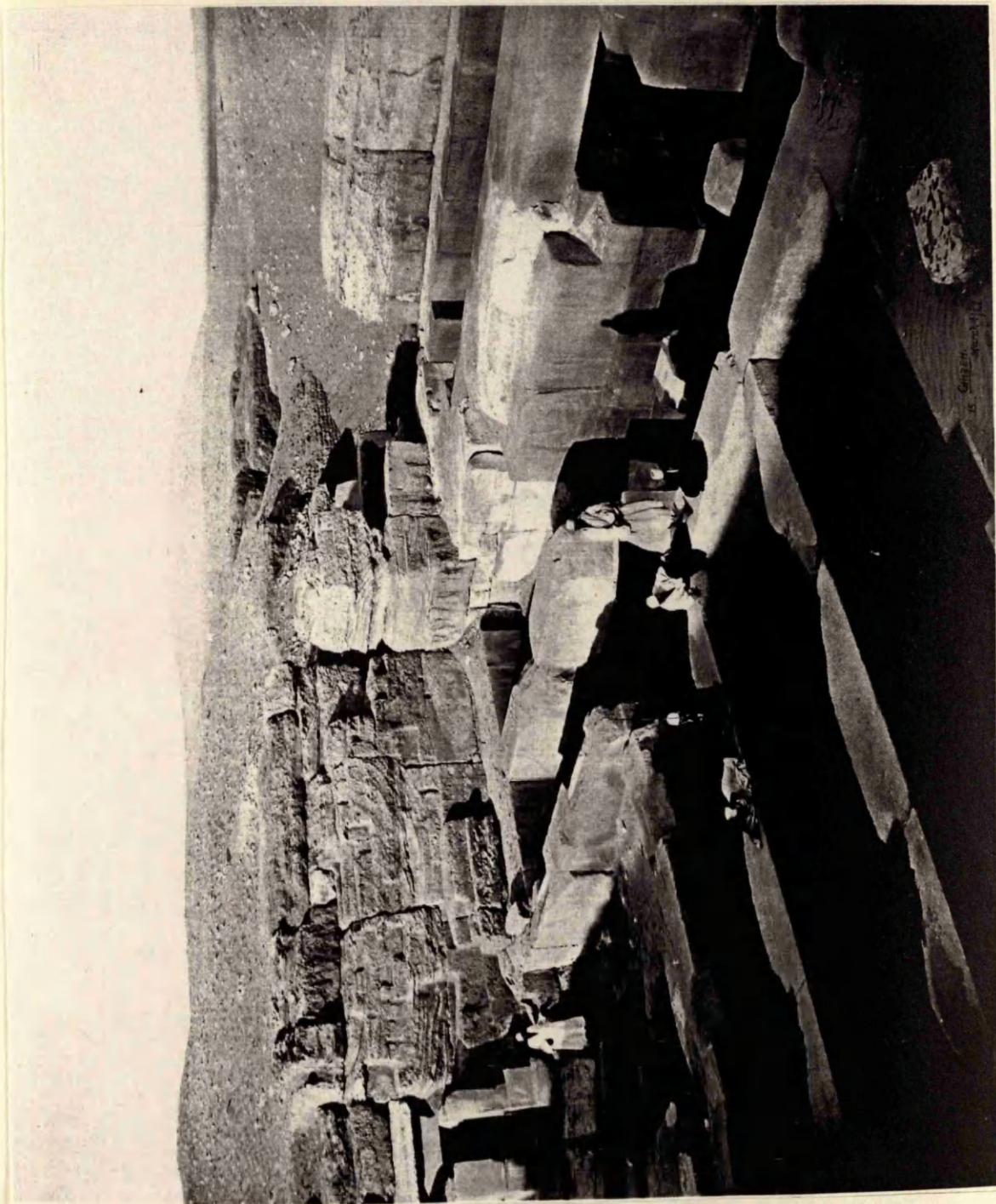
(53) Francis Frith: Colossal Sculptures at Philae 1859



(54) Francis Bedford: View Through the Great Gateway
into the Grand Court of the Temple of Edfu 1862



(55) Francis Bedford Medeenet Abou - part of the Pavilion of the King in the Temple Palace 1862



(56) Francis Bedford Ghizeh. Temple on the Southern Side of the Sphinx. recently excavated 1862

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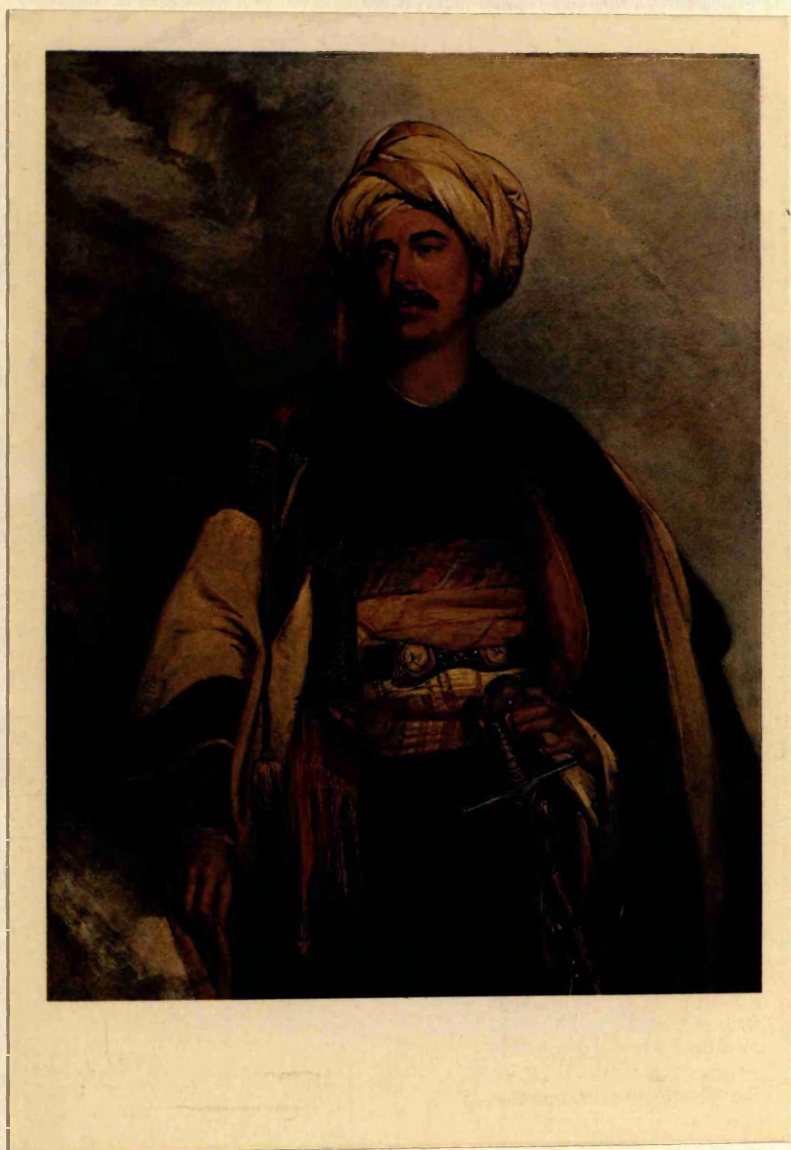


(57) William Holman Hunt: The Afterglow in Egypt 1854-63



(58) Francis Frith: Self-portrait, Turkish Summer Costume 1857

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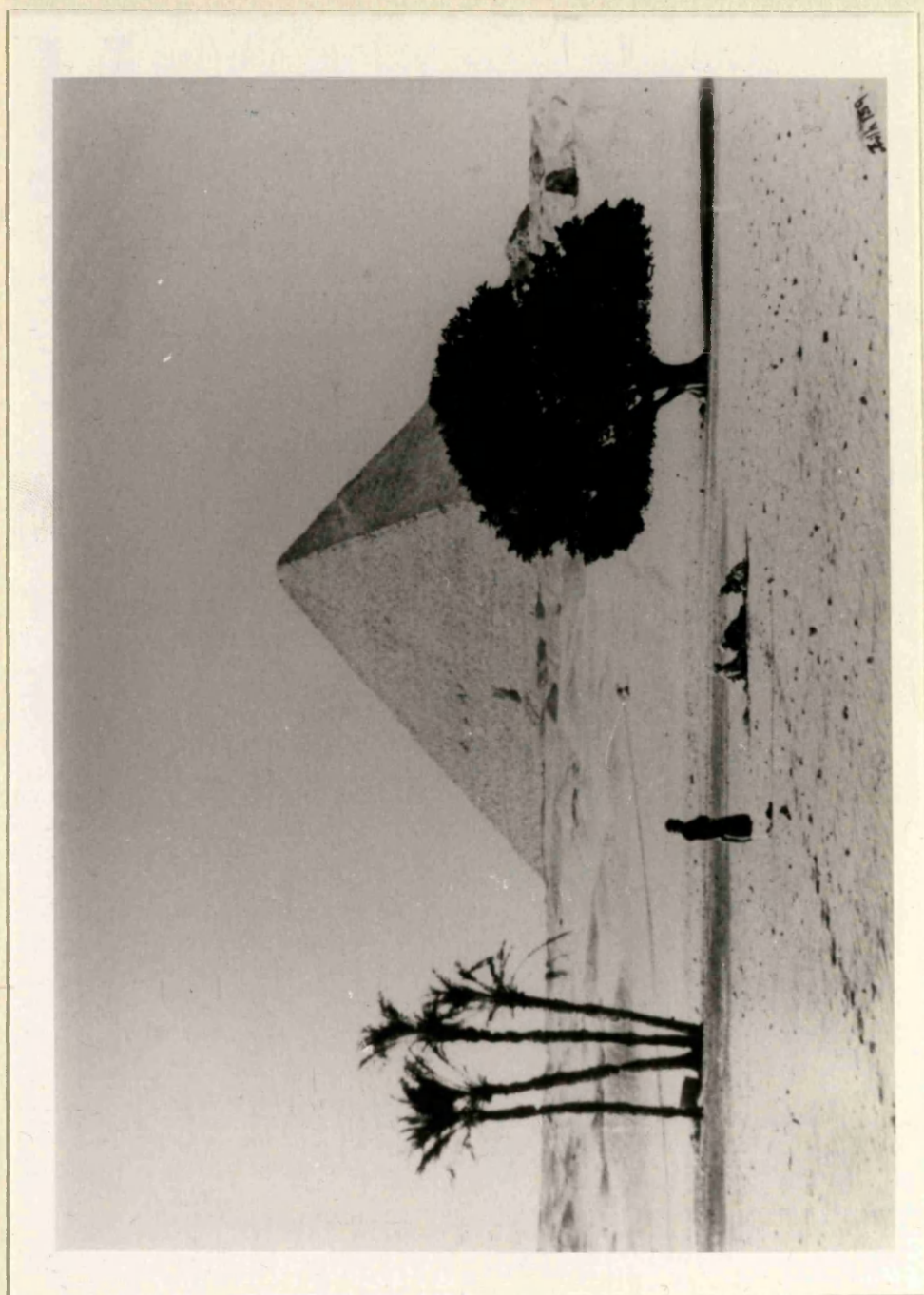
(59) Robert Scott Lauder: David Roberts 1840



(60) David Roberts: Approach of the Simoon 1840s

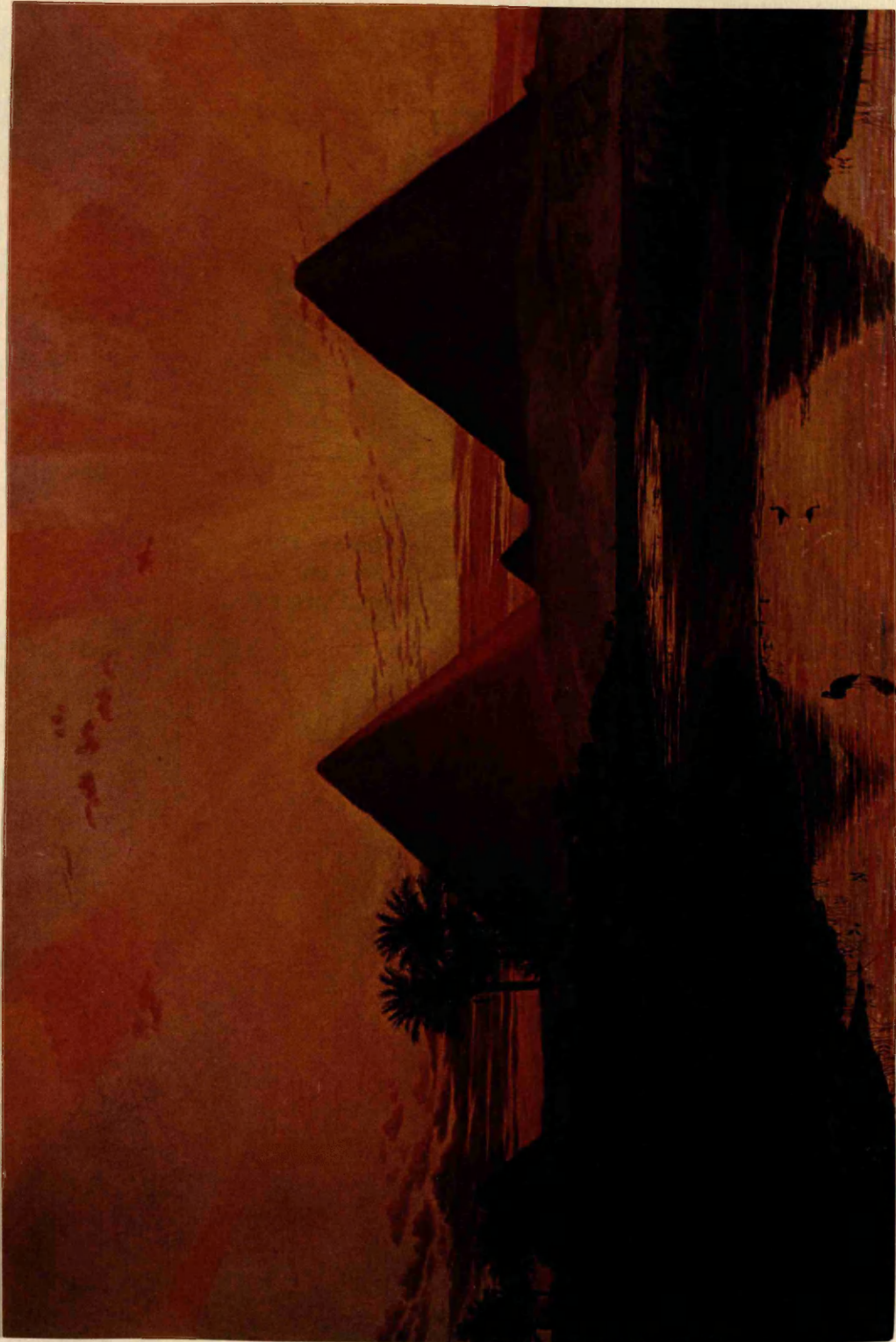


(61) Francis Frith: The Pyramids of Dahshoor 1857

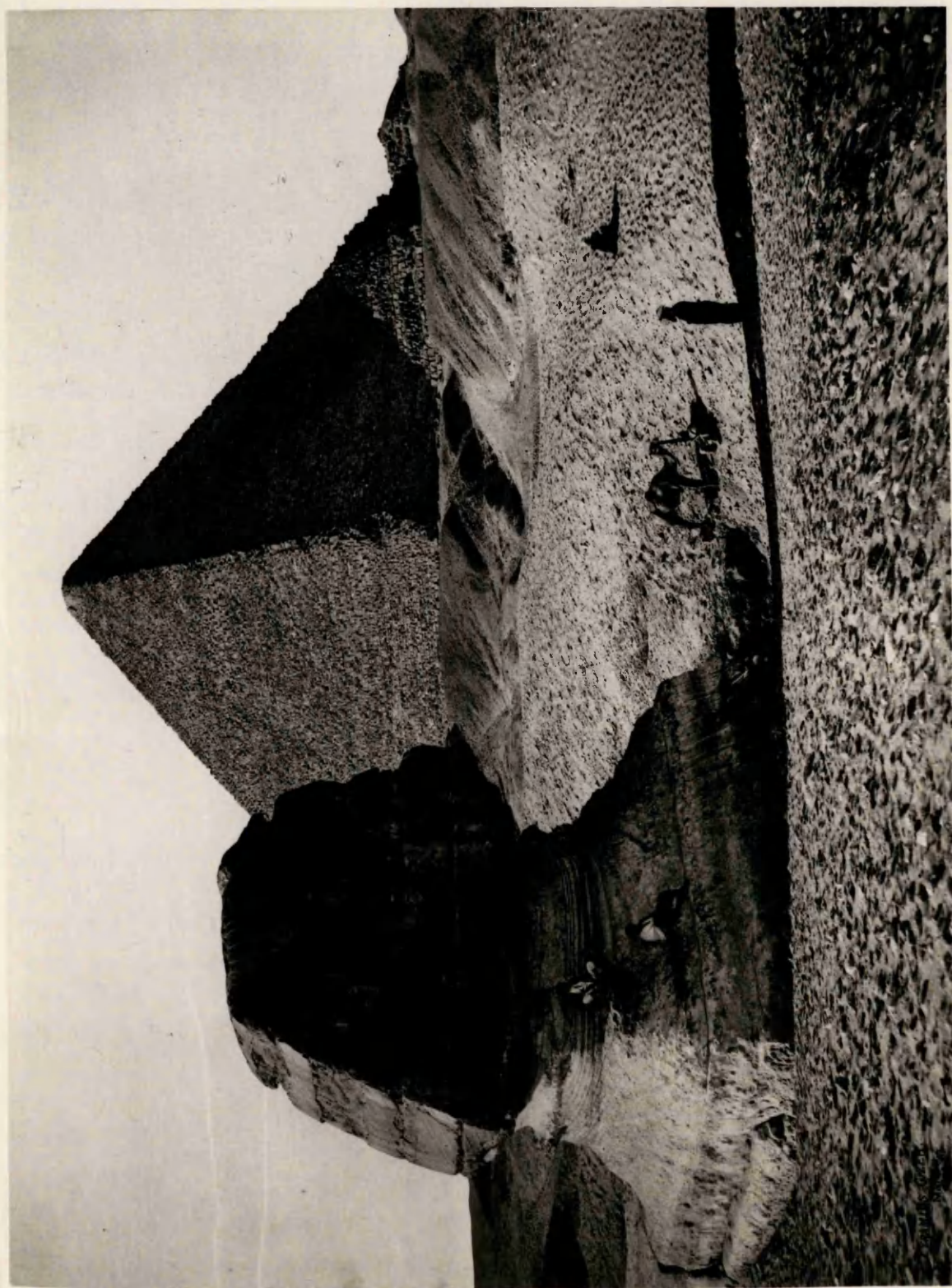


(62) Francis Frith: The Great Pyramid from the Plain 1857

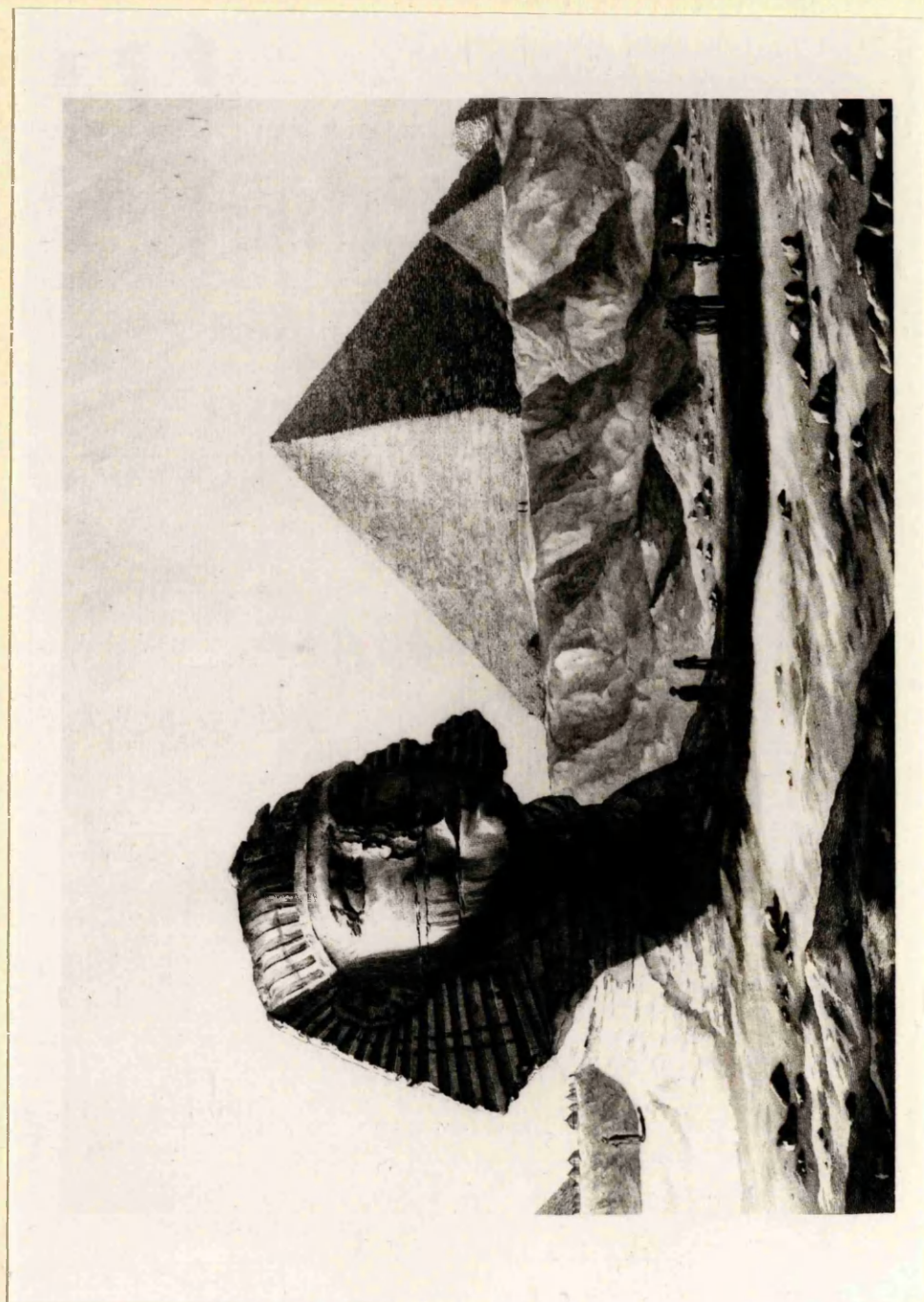
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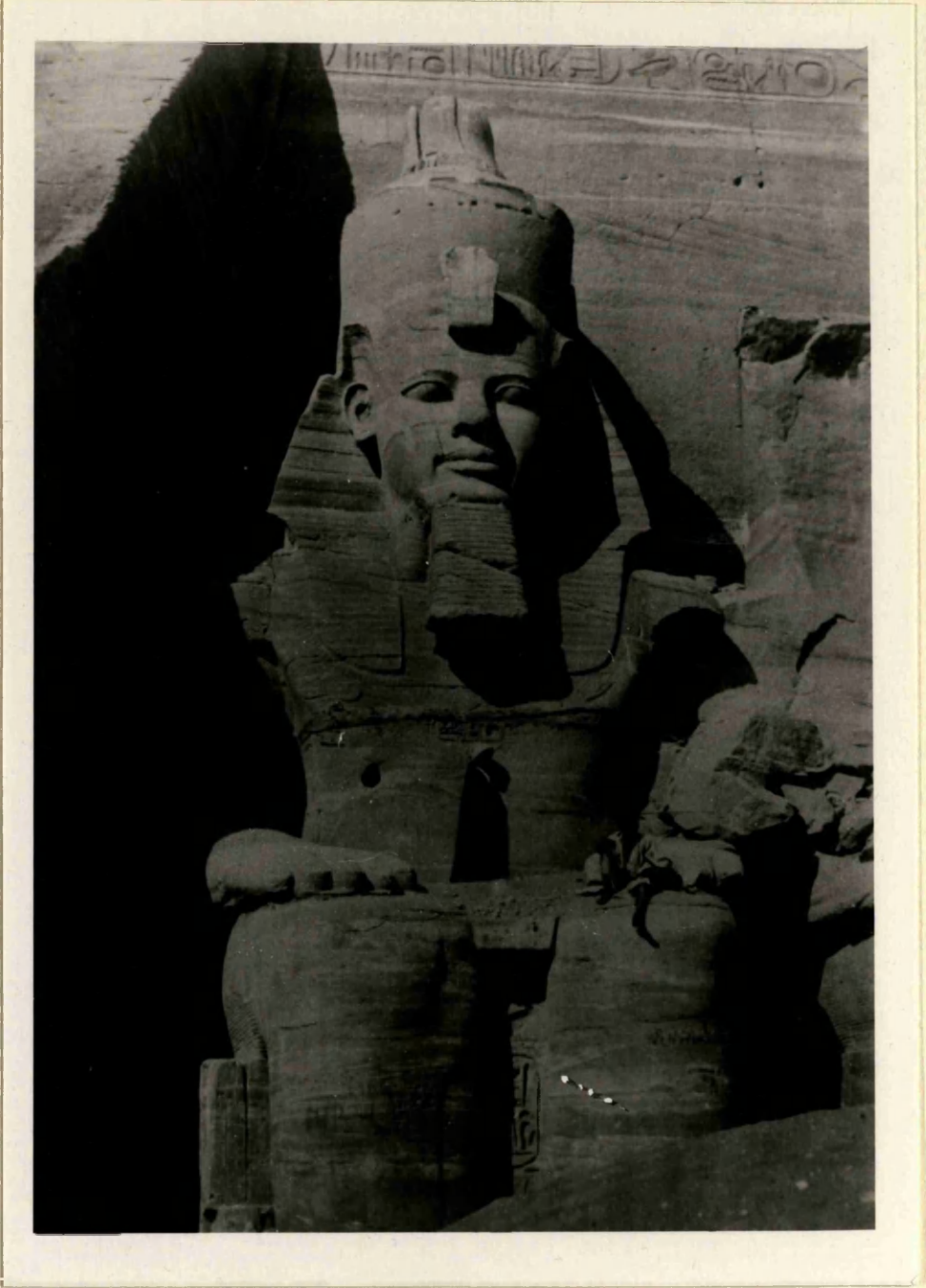
(63) Thomas Seddon: Pyramids of Giza: Sunset Afterglow 1850s



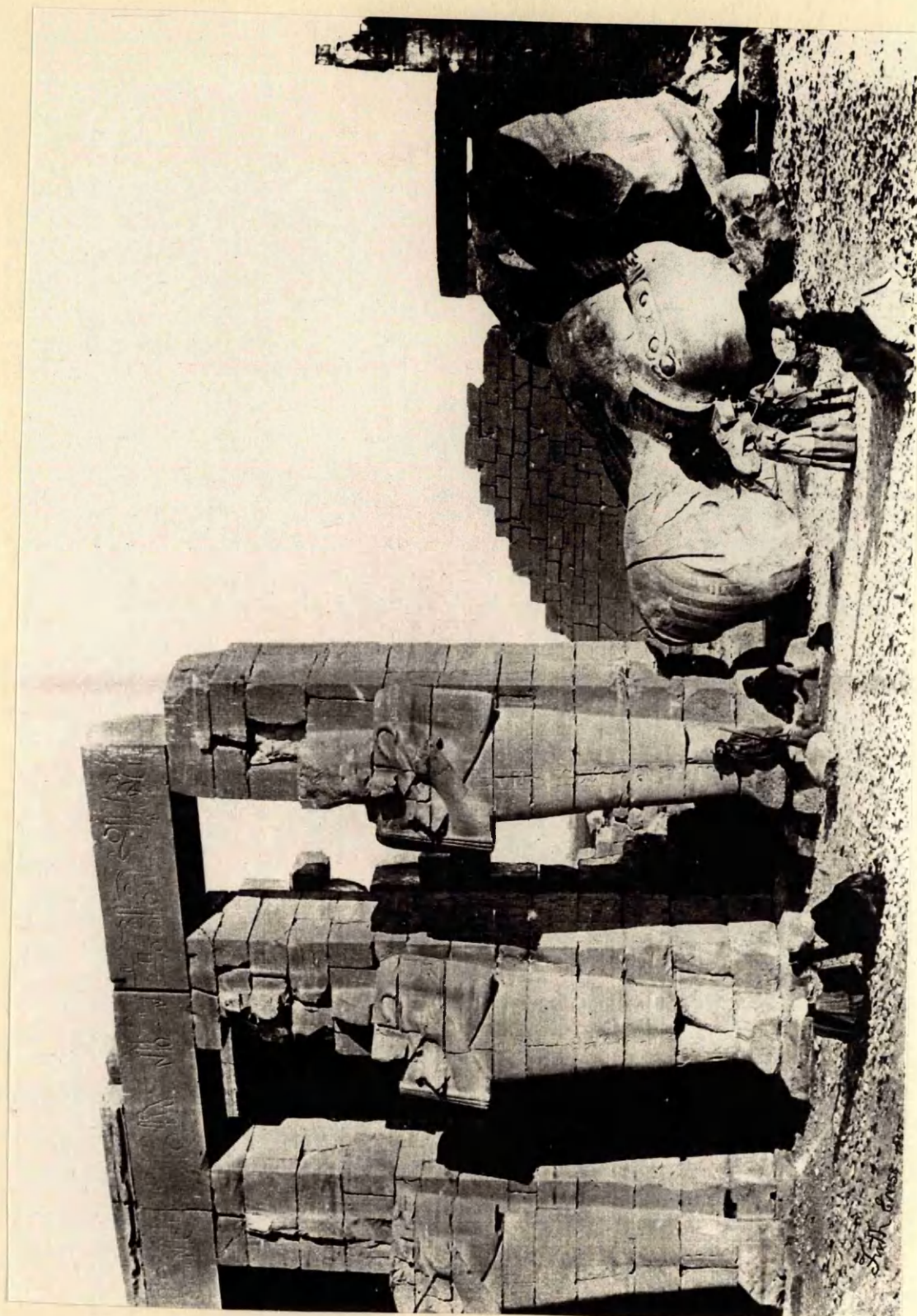
(64) Francis Bedford: The Sphinx, The Great Pyramid and two lesser Pyramids, Ghizeh 1862



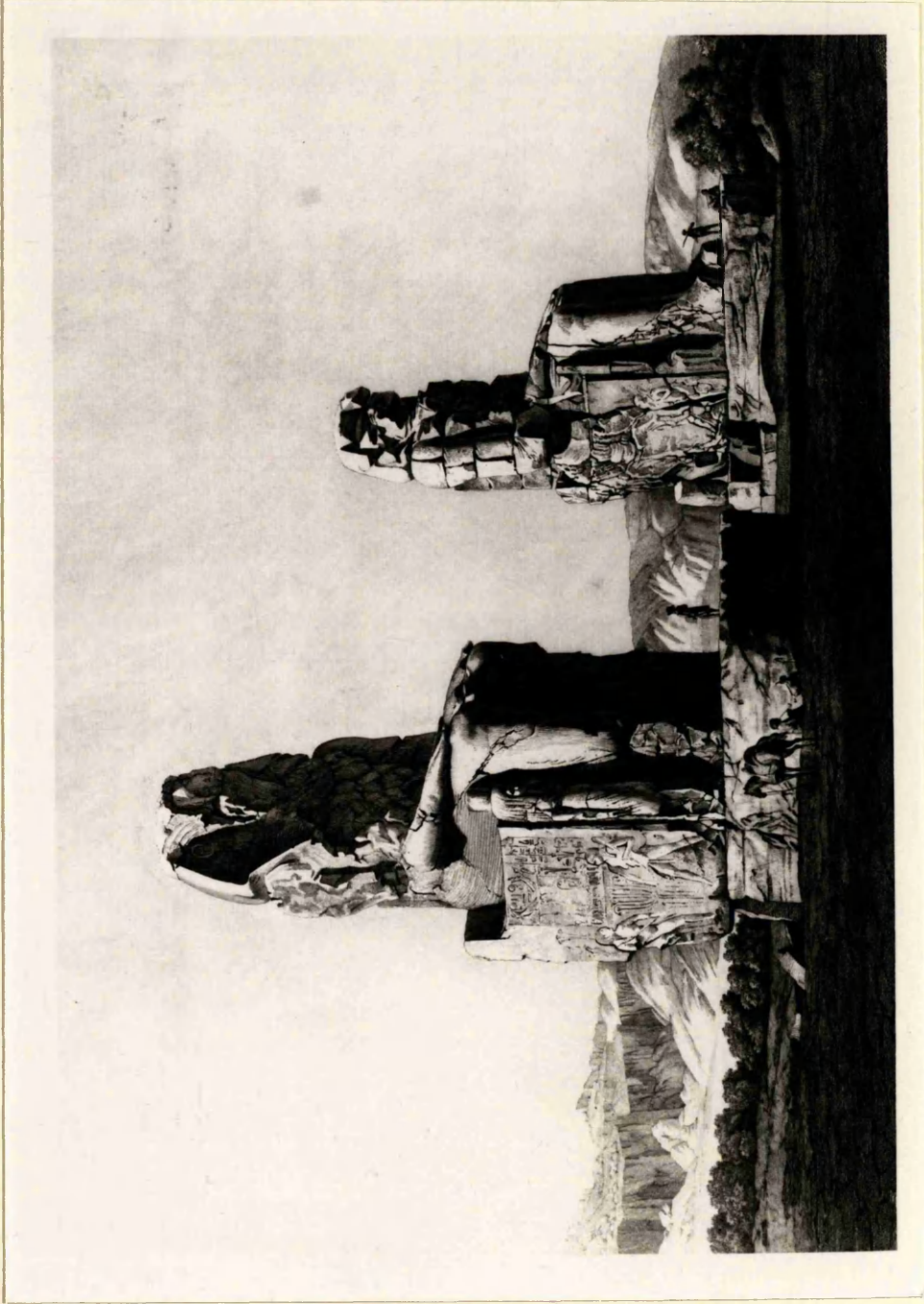
(65) Pyramides de Memphis: Vue du Sphinx et de la Grande Pyramide. prise du sud-est from Description de l'Egypte 1822



(66) Francis Frith: Colossal Figure at Abou Simbel 1859



(67) Francis Frith: Osiridae Pillars and the Great Fallen Colossus, The Memnonium, Thebes 1857



(68) Vue des Deux Colosses from Description de l'Égypte 1812



(69) Francis Frith: The Statues of Memnon, Plain of Thebes 1857

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(70) David Roberts: The Statues of Memnon, at Thebes, during the Inundation 1840s

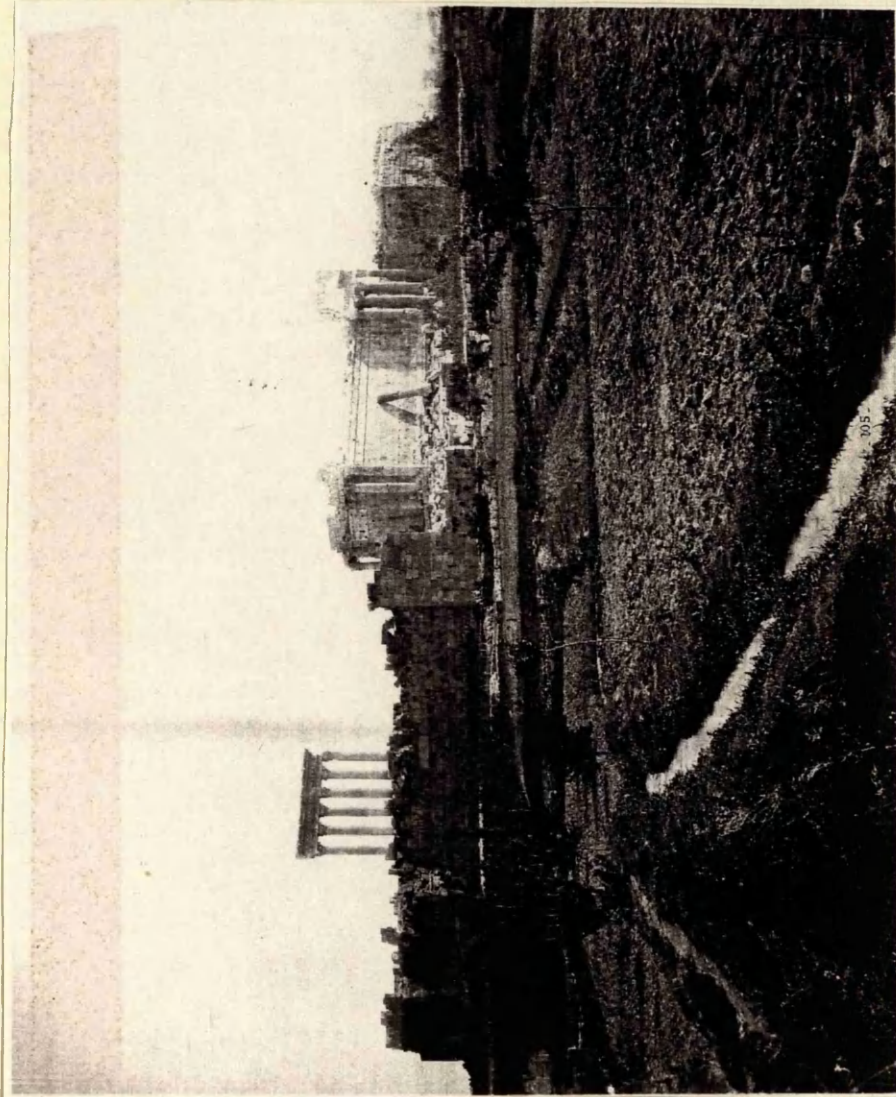


(71) Francis Bedford: The Vocal Memnon 1862

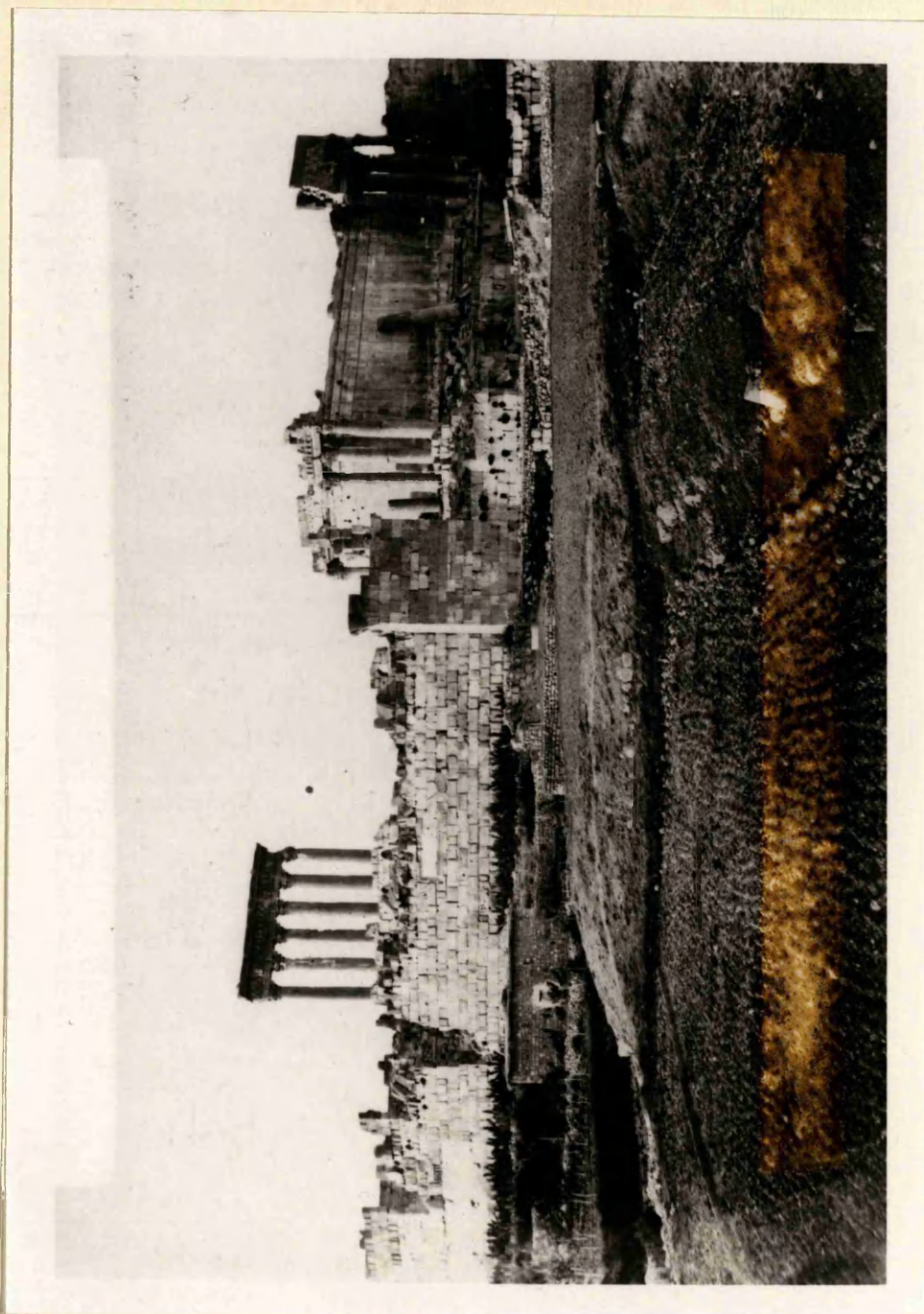
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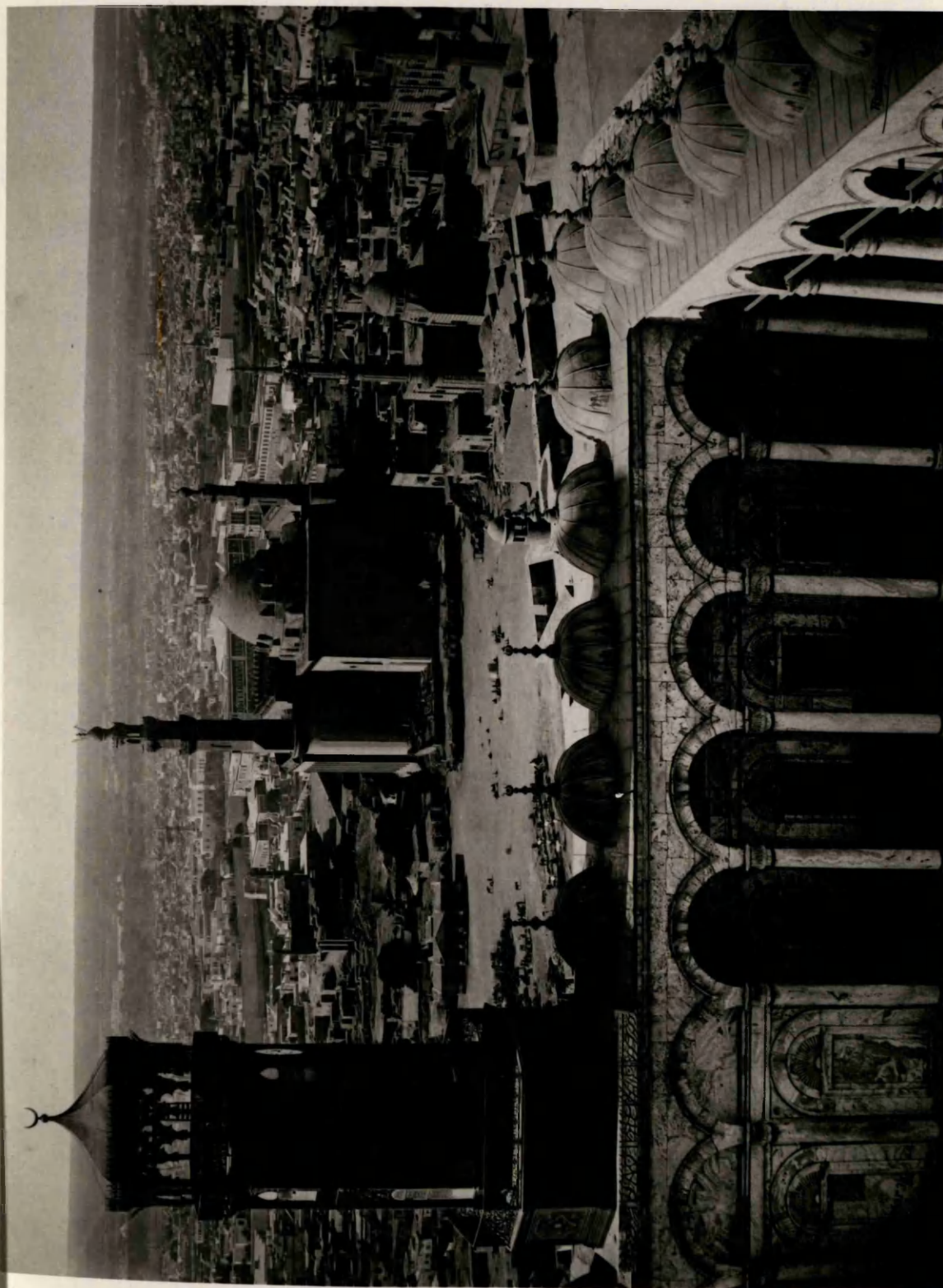
(72) David Roberts: View of the Temple of Baalbek 1840s



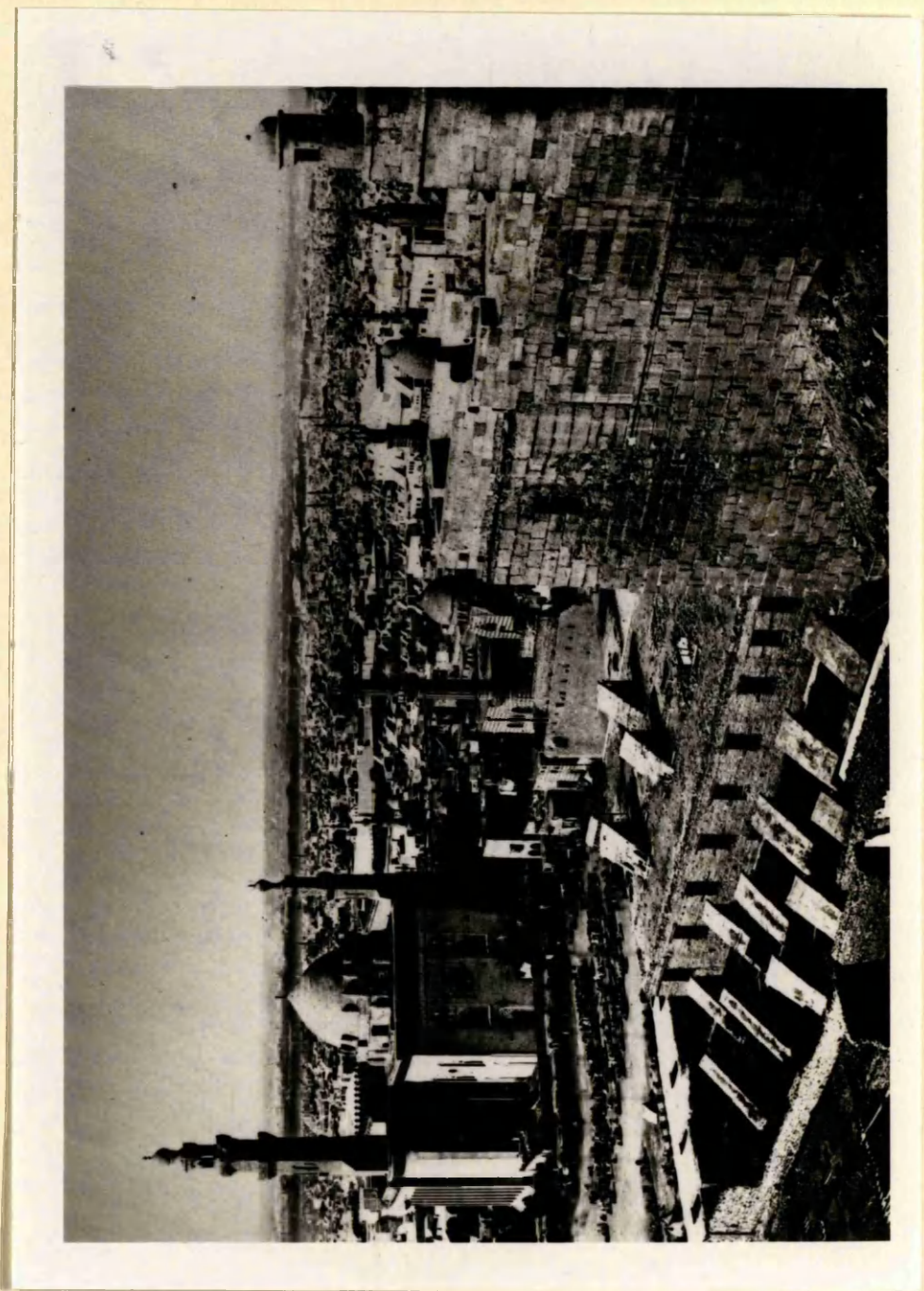
(73) Francis Bedford: Baalbek: General View of the Ruins from the South west 1862



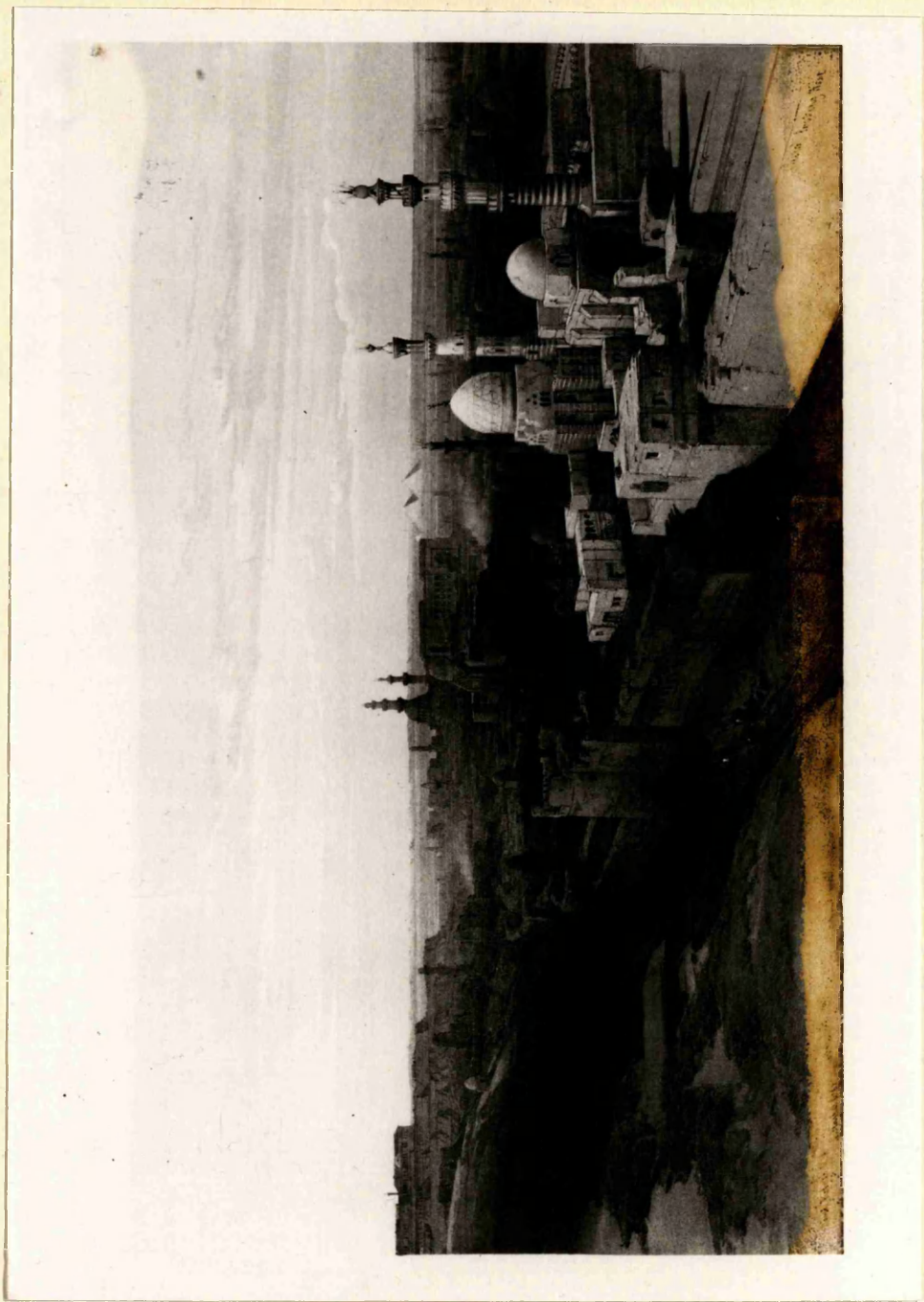
(74) Francis Frith: Baalbec from the South 1857



(76) Francis Bedford: Cairo. View from the Mehmed Ali Mosque 1862

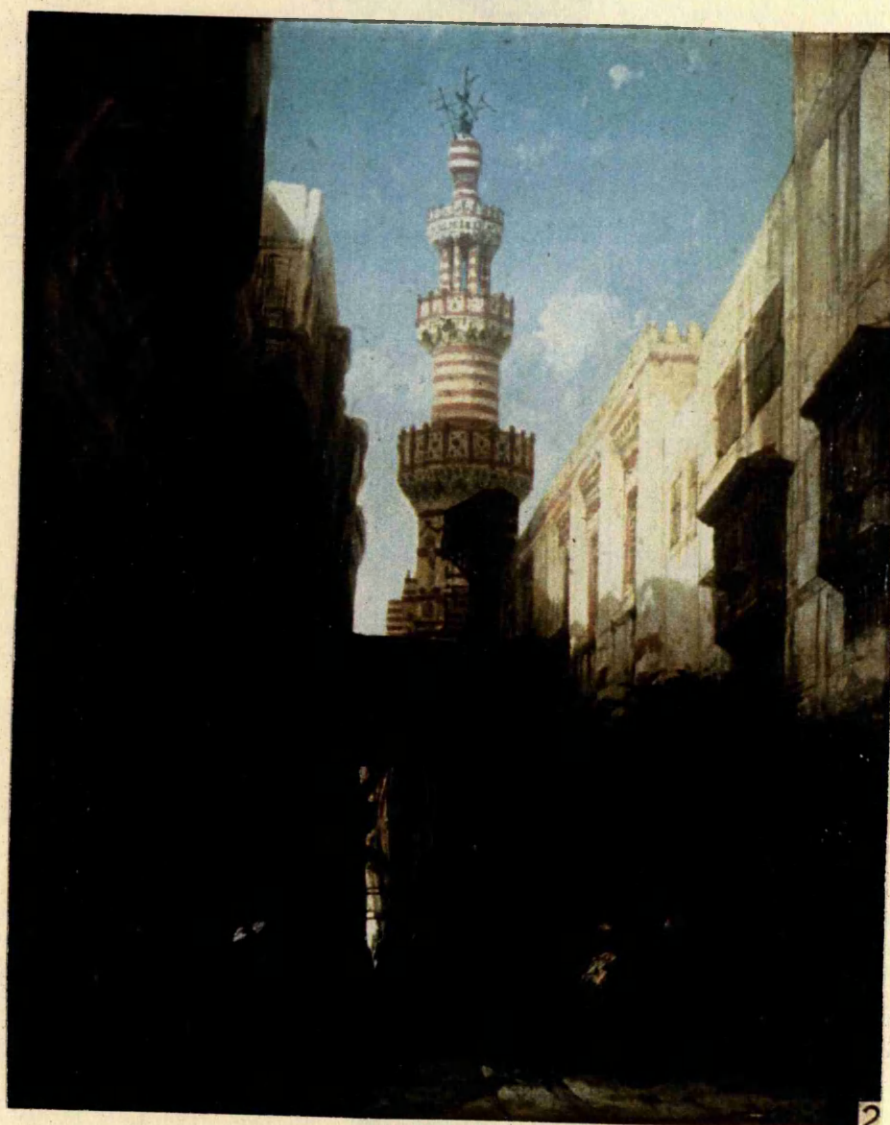


(77) Francis Frith: Cairo from the Citadel, with the Mosque of Sultan Hasan 1857

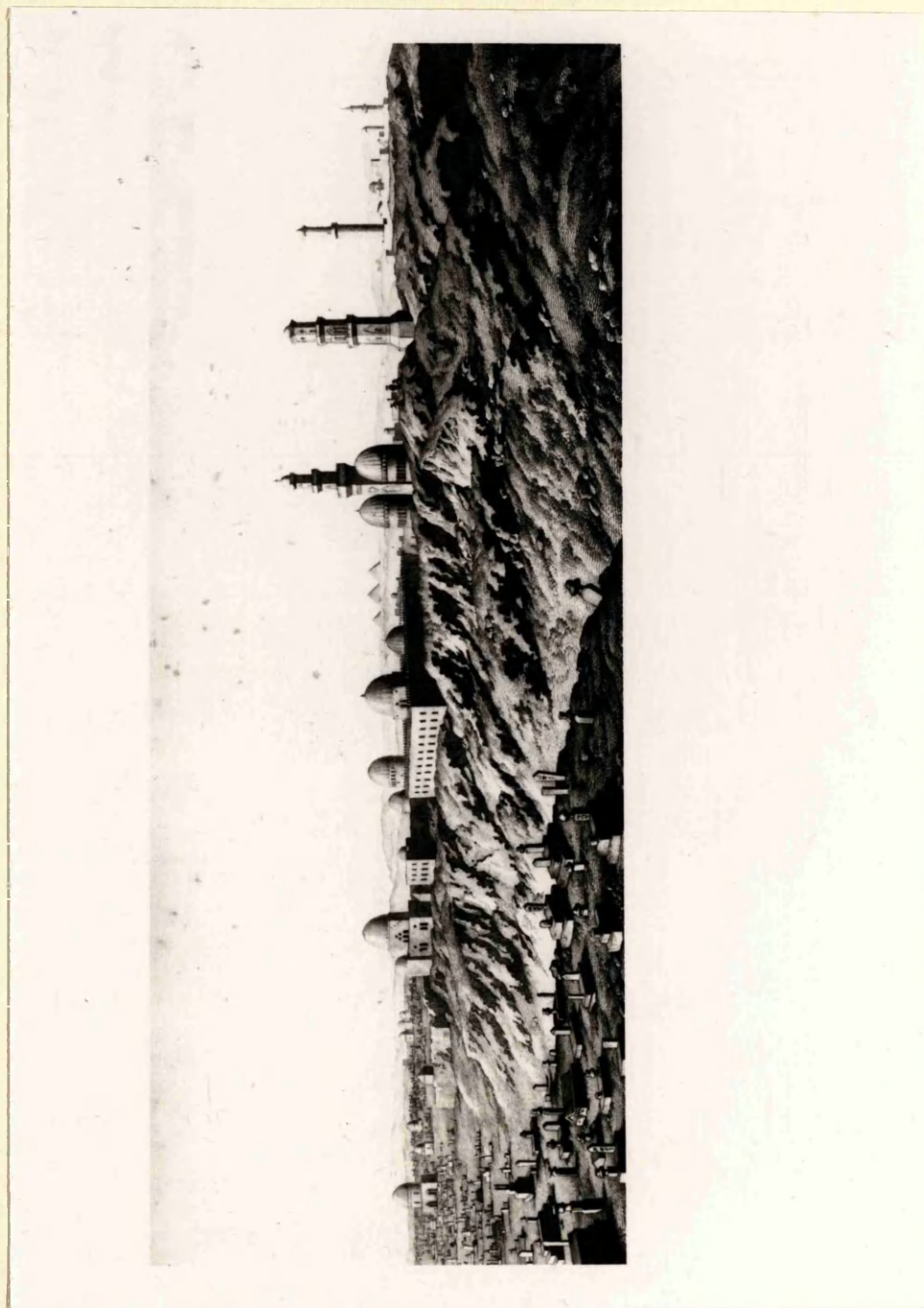


(78) David Roberts: Cairo Looking West 1840s

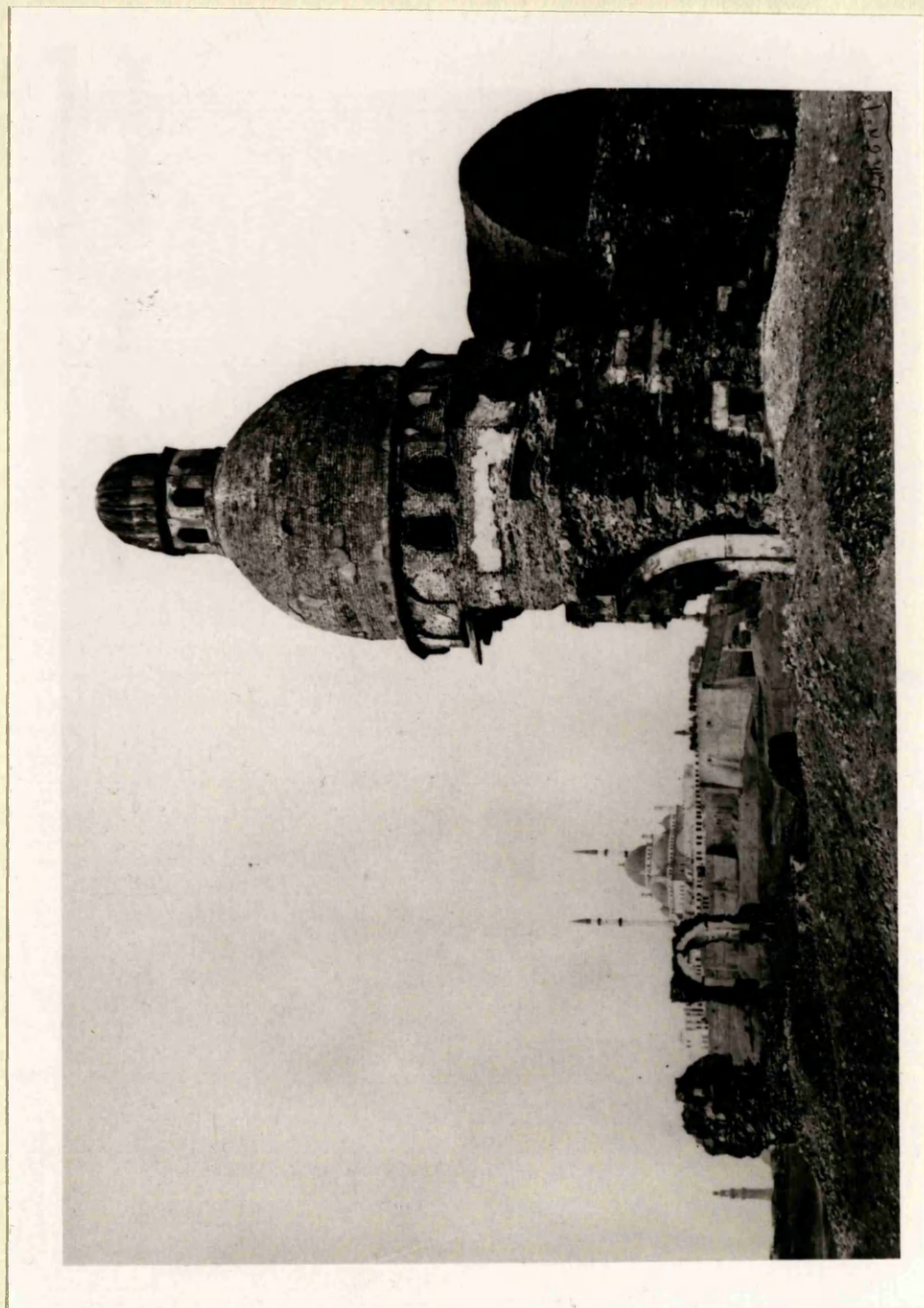
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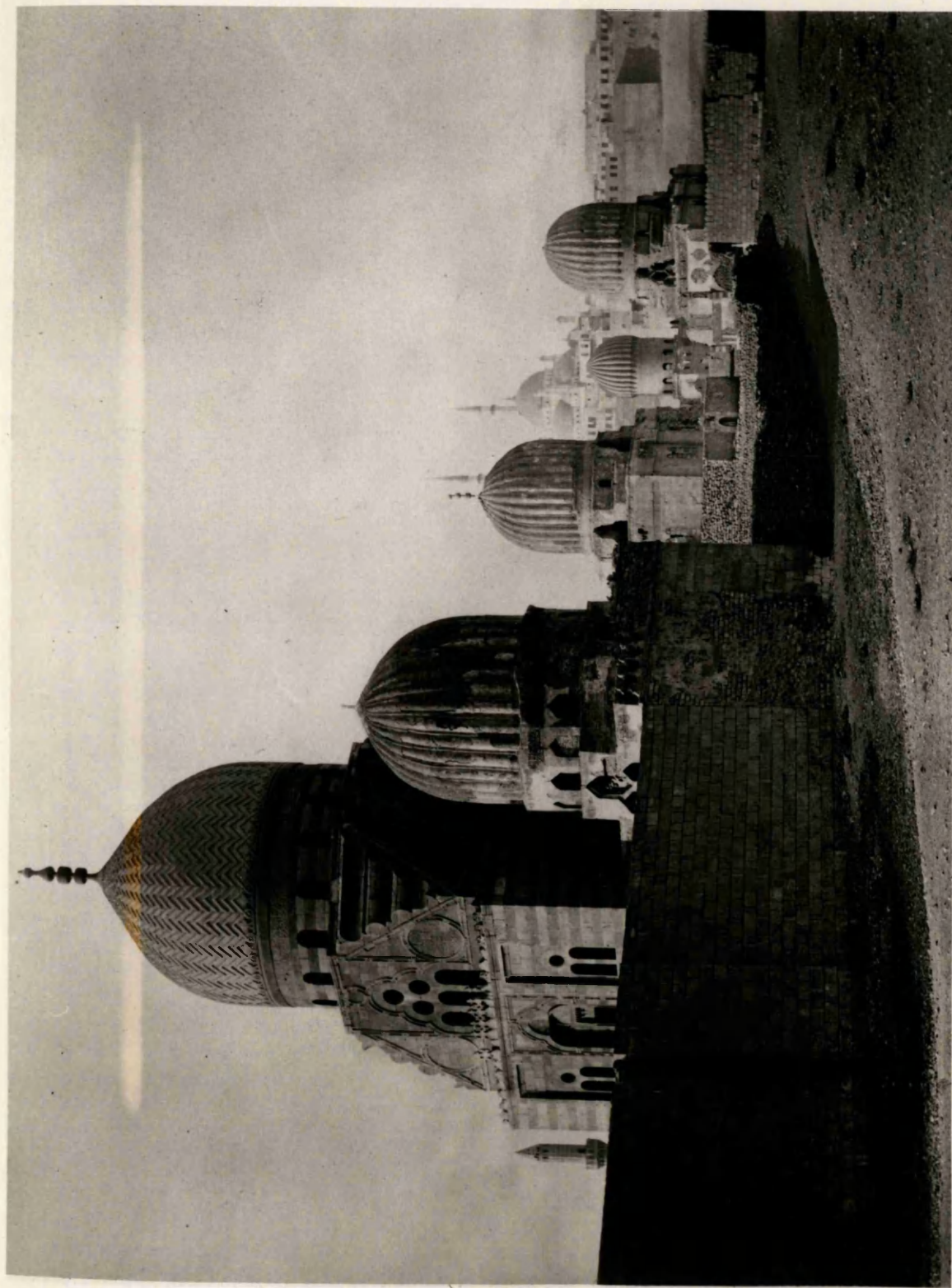
(79) David Roberts: Street in Cairo 1846



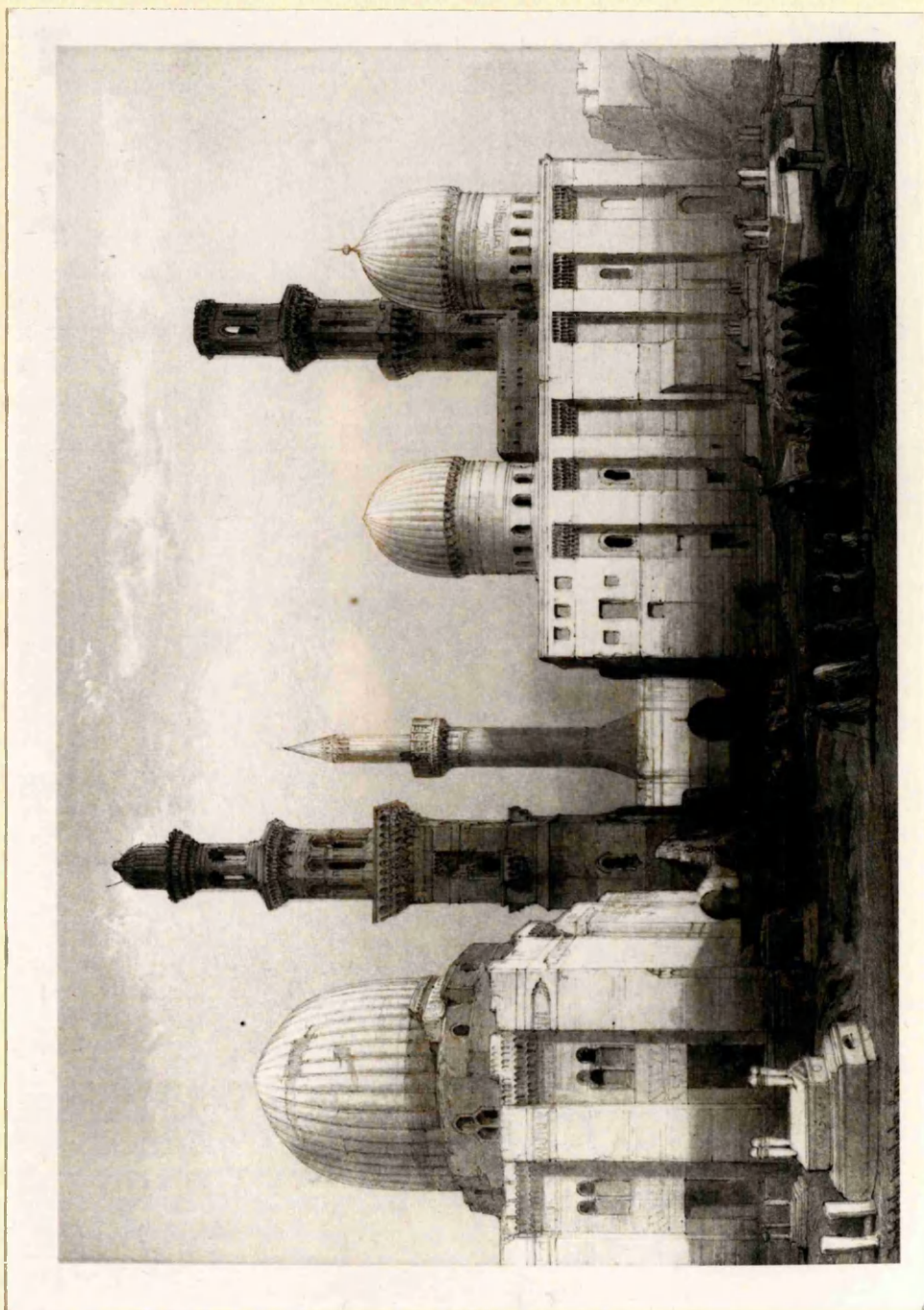
(80) Le Kaire: Vues des Tombeaux from Description de l'Égypte 1809



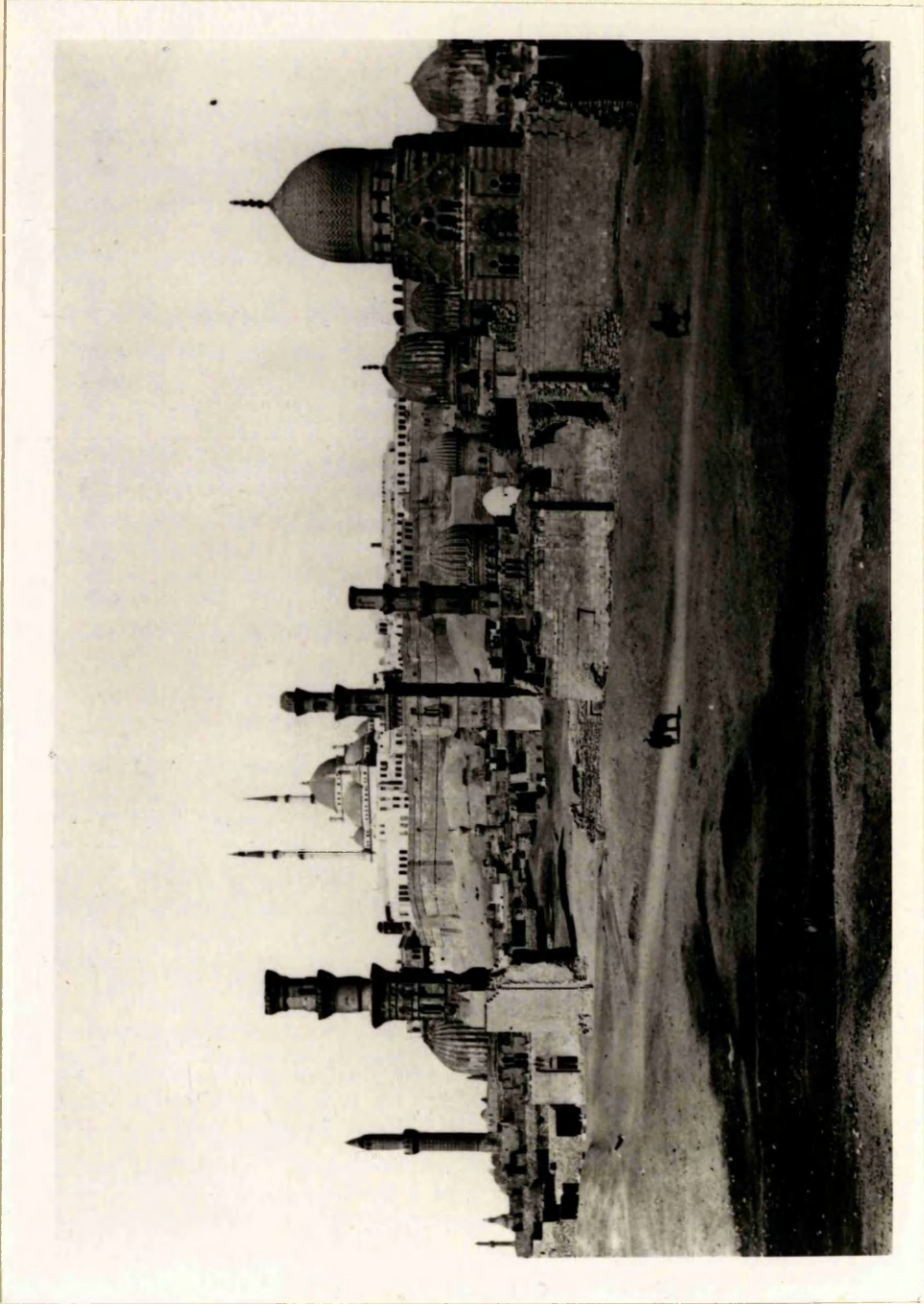
(81) Francis Frith: Tomb Under the Gebel El-Mukattam, Cairo 1857



(82) Francis Bedford: Tombs of the Memlûks at Cairo 1862

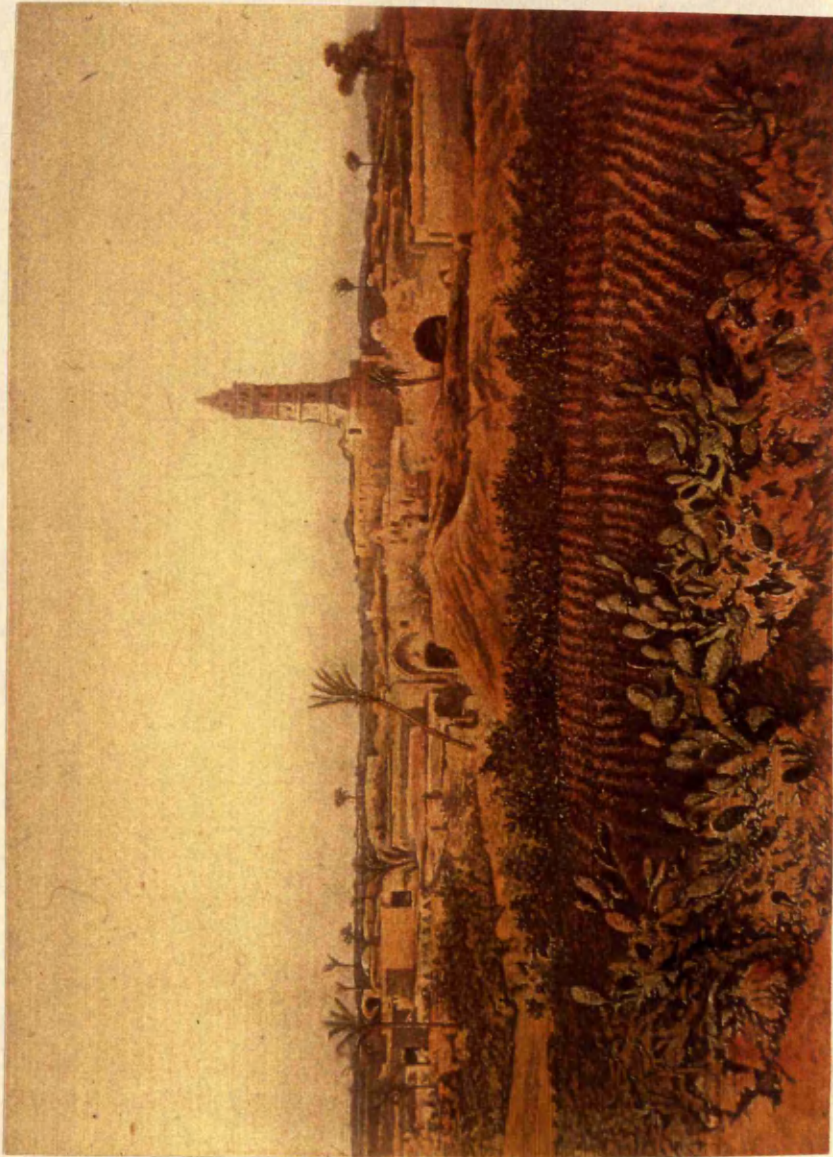


(83) David Roberts: Tombs of the Memlucks, Cairo, with an Arab Funeral 1840s

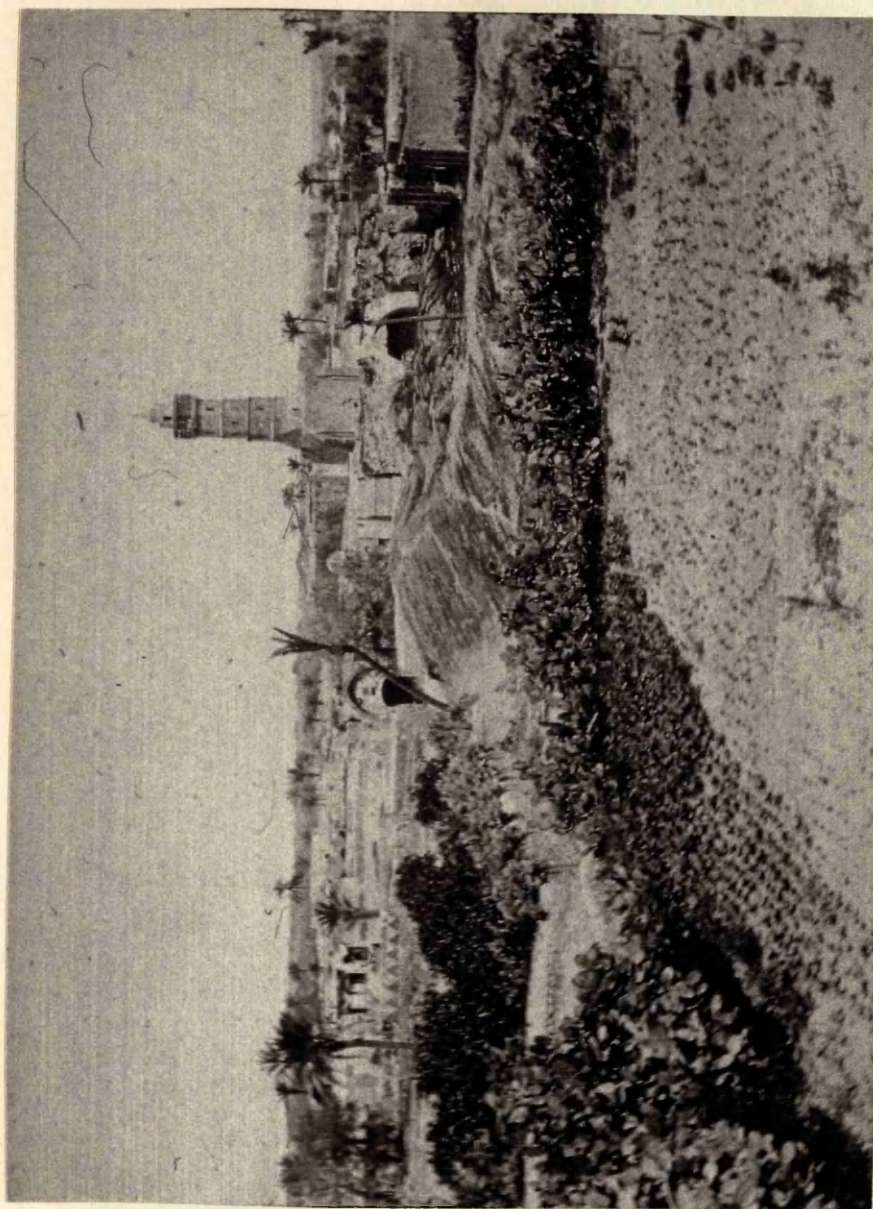


(84) Francis Frith: Tombs in the Southern Cemetery 1859

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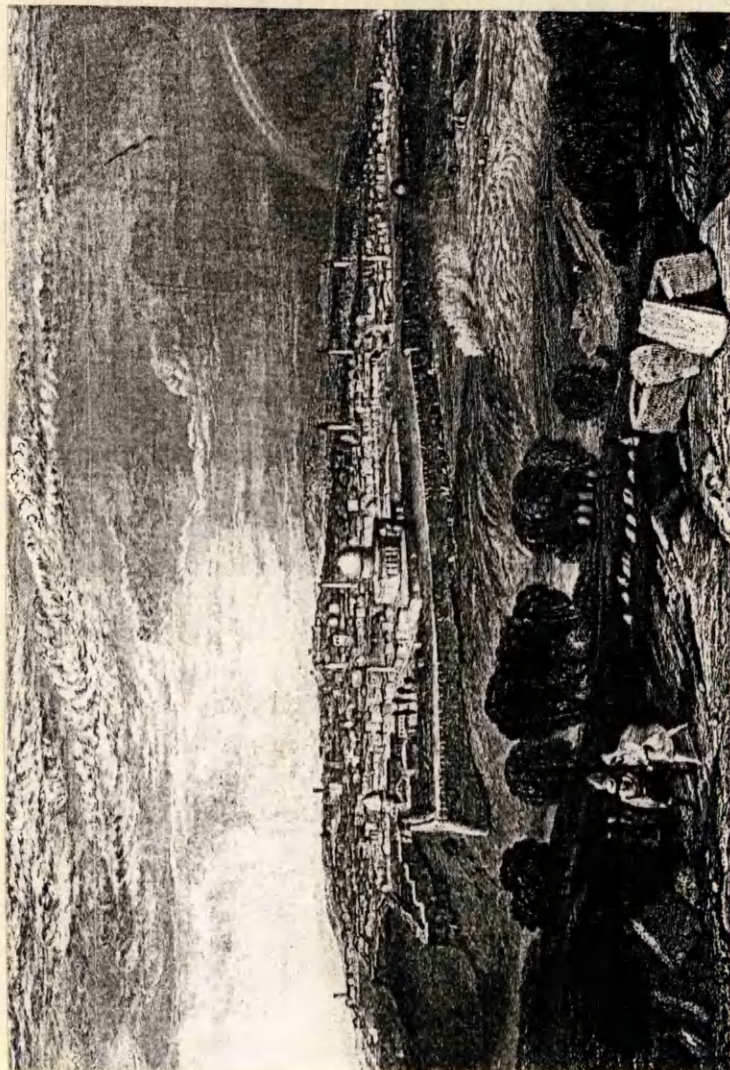
(85) Francis Frith: Gaza. The Old Town 1857



(86) Francis Frith: Gaza. The Old Town 1857



(87) David Roberts: Gaza 1840s



(89) J M W Turner: Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives 1836

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(90) David Roberts: The Haram esh-Sharif (Temple Mount), Jerusalem 1840s

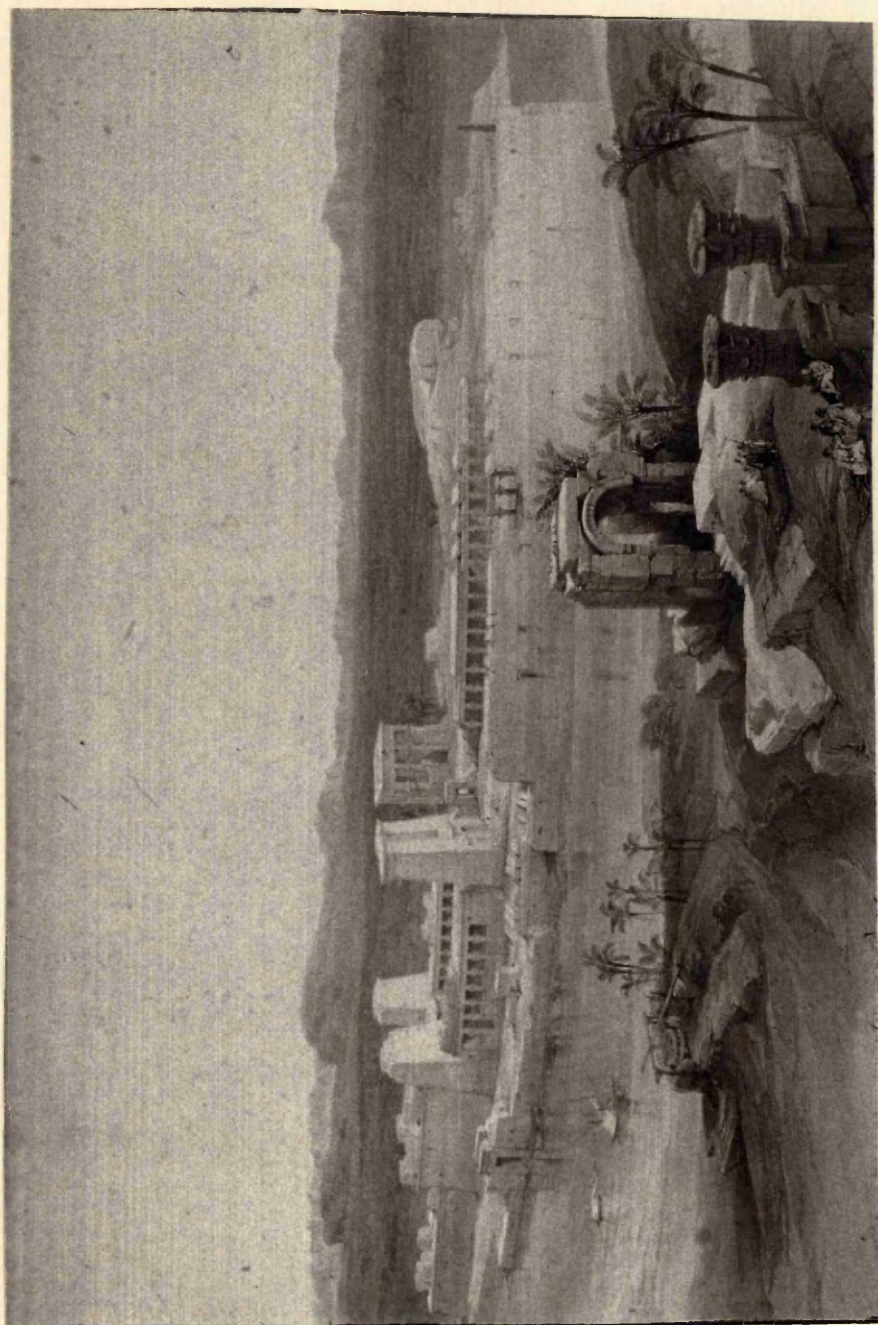
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(91) David Roberts: The Mosque of Omar, on the Ancient Site of the Temple 1840s



(92) Francis Frith: Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives 1858



(93) David Roberts: General View of the Island of Philae, Nubia 1840s



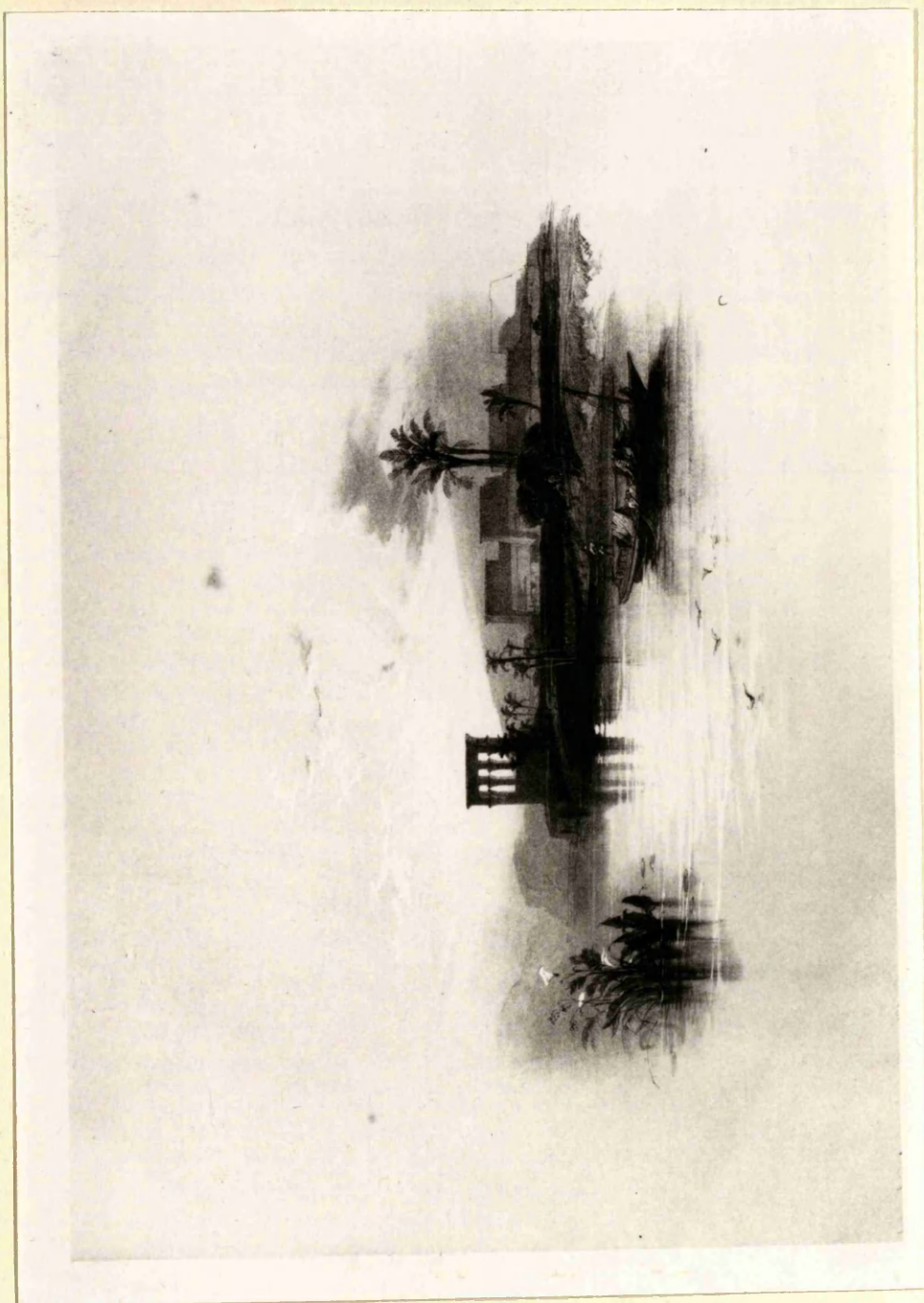
(94) Francis Frith: The Approach to Philae 1858-9



(95) Francis Frith: 'Pharoah's Bed', Isle of Philae 1858-9



(96) Francis Bedford: Philae - the Hypaethral Temple and small chapel 1862

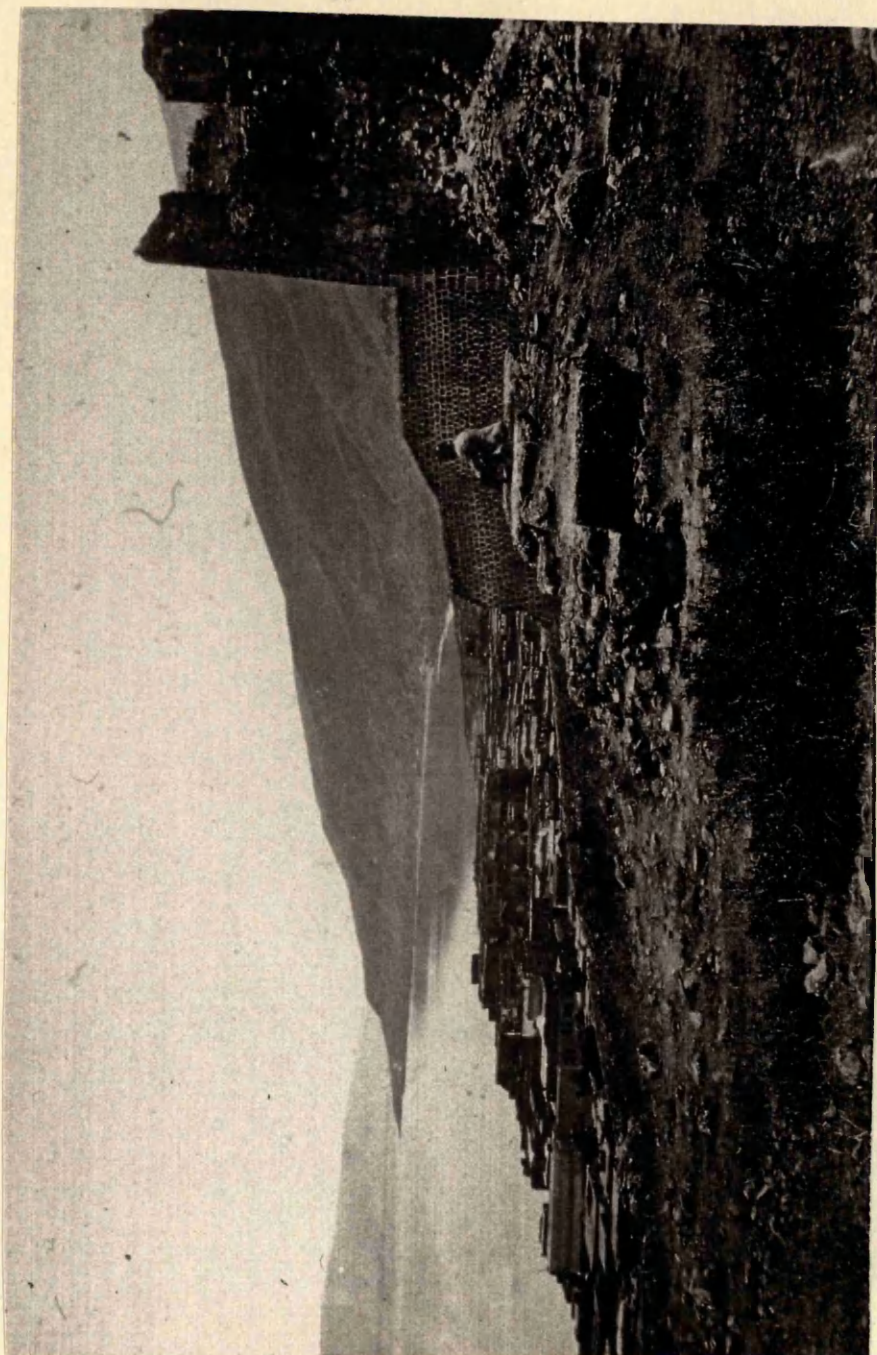


(97) David Roberts: Isle of Philae by Sunset 1840s

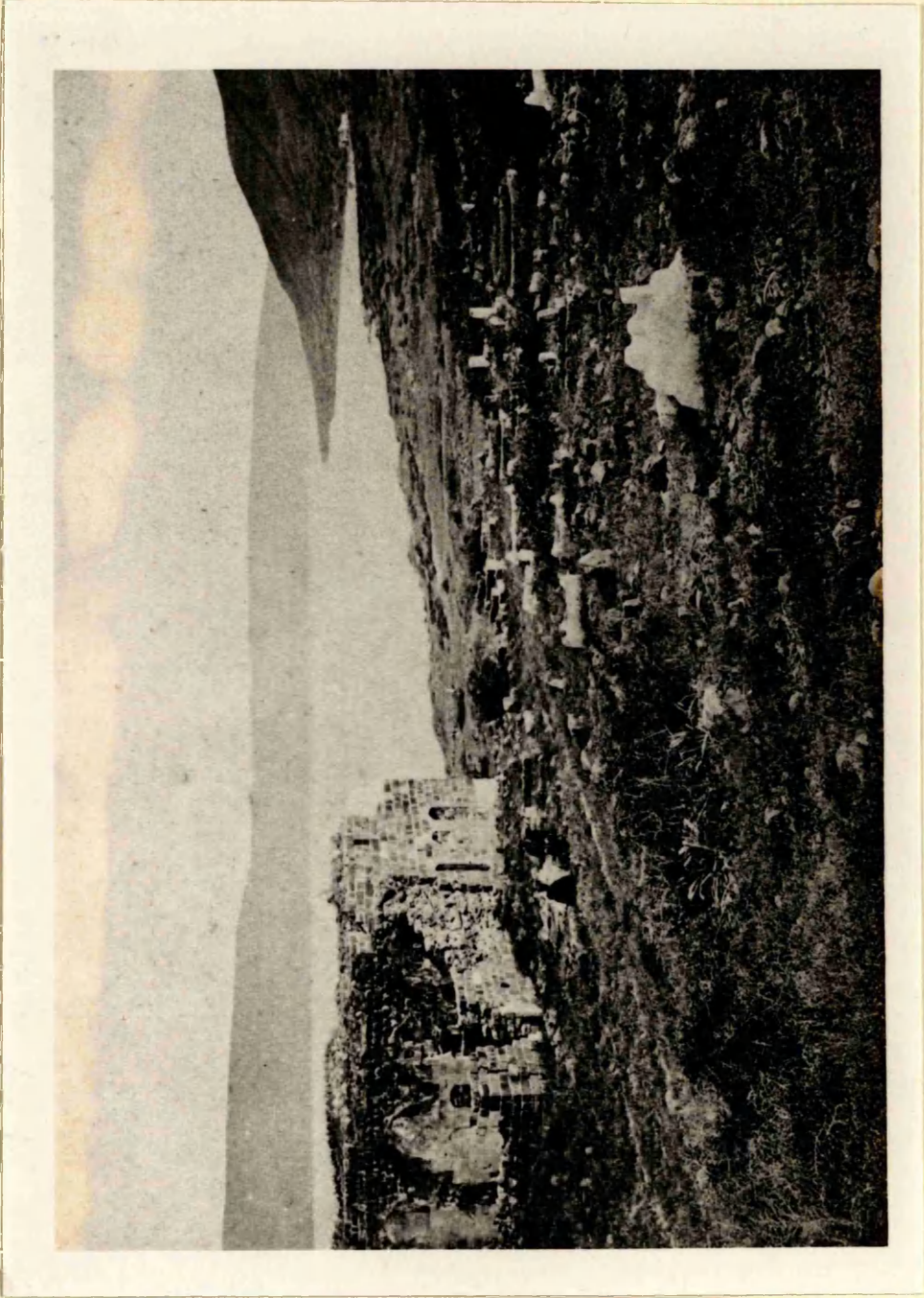
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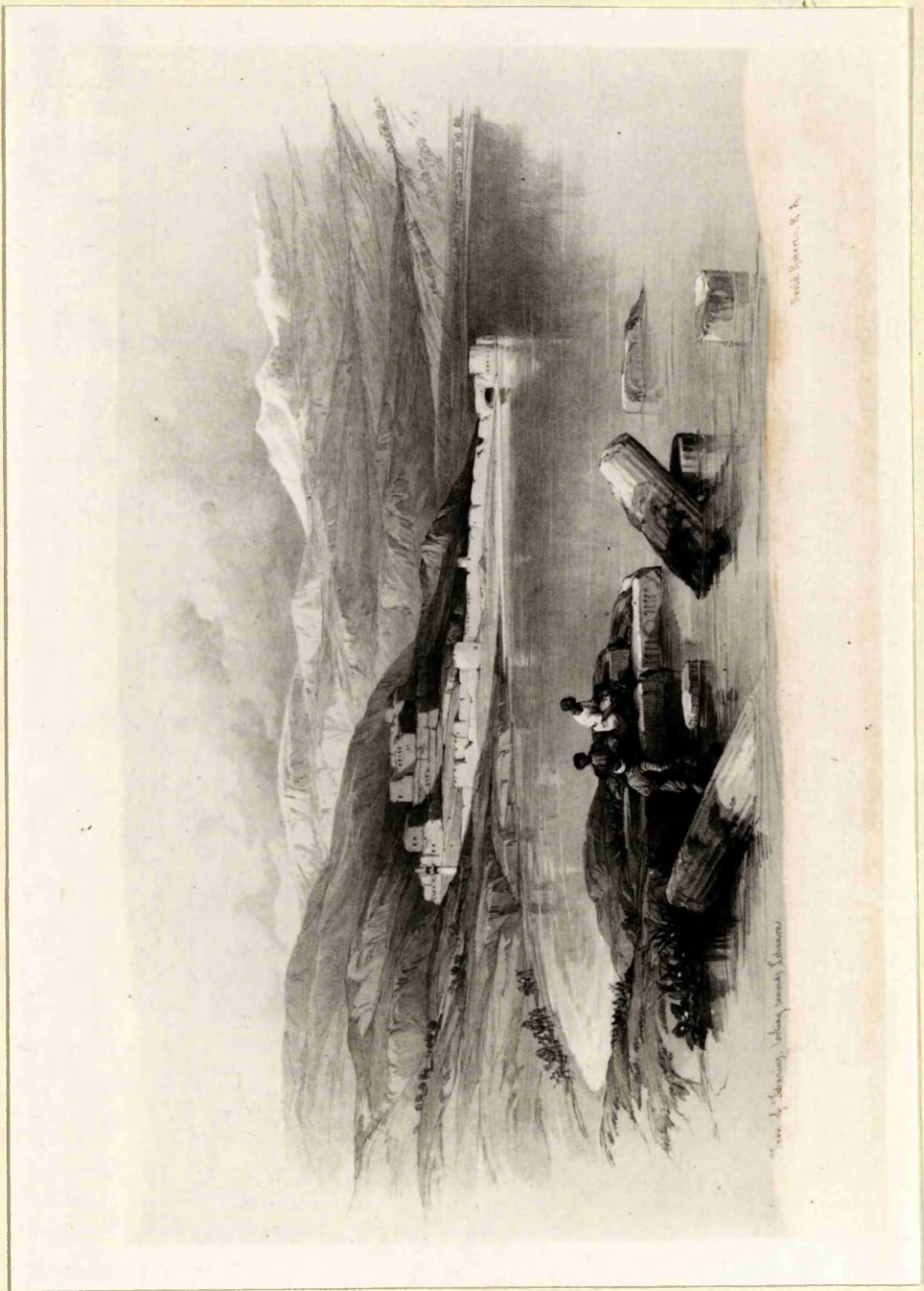
(98) J Graham: Tiberias 1870



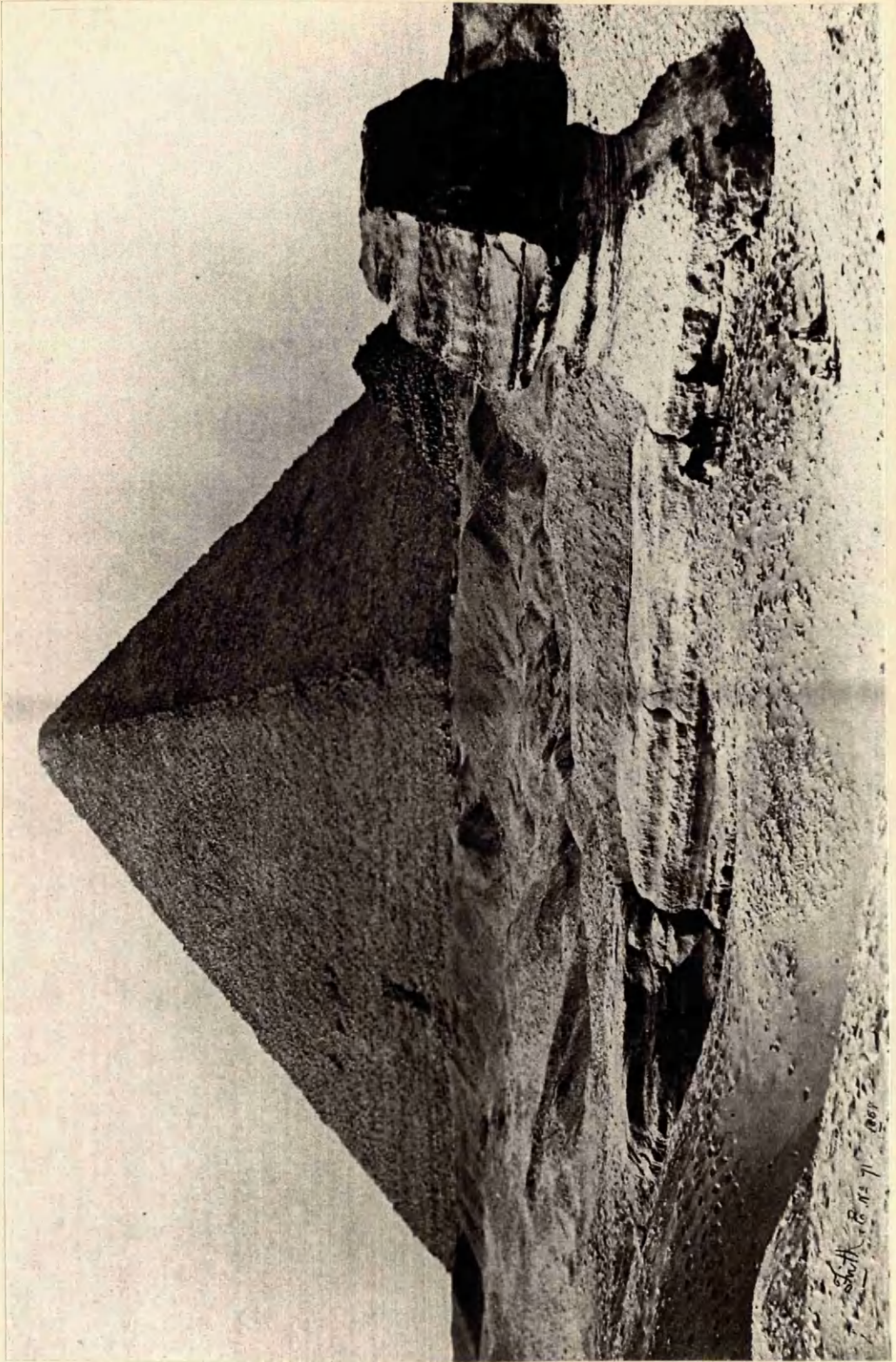
(99) Francis Frith: The Town and Lake of Tiberias from the North 1857



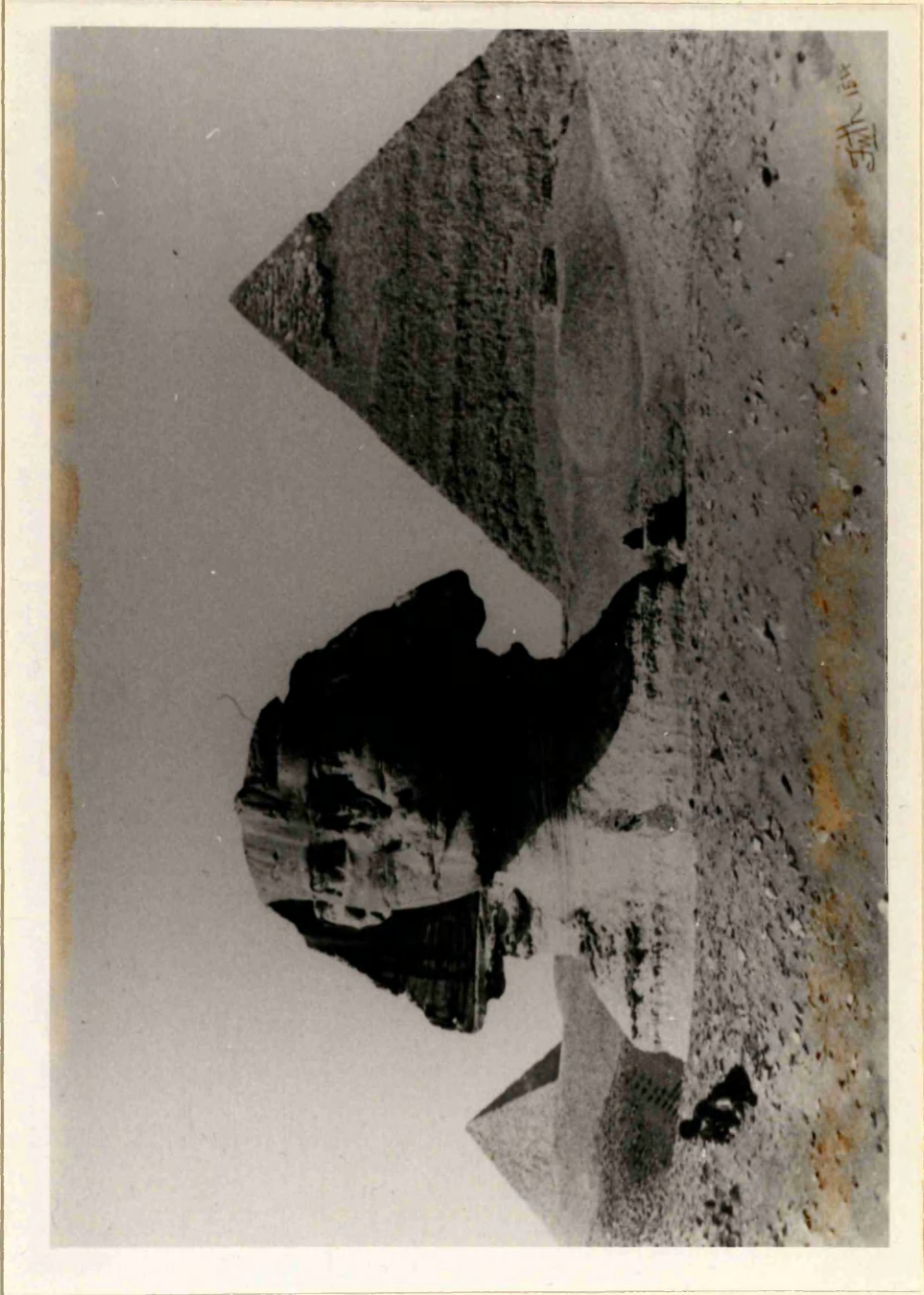
(100) Francis Bedford: The Lake of Gennesareth 1862



(101) David Roberts: Town of Tiberias, looking towards Lebanon 1840s



(102) Francis Frith: The Sphinx and the Great Pyramid, Ghizeh 1857



(103) Francis Frith: The Sphinx 1857