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The Uses of Photography in Ireland, 1839-1900

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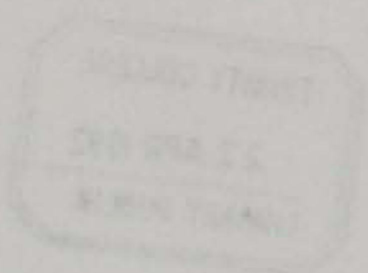


THE USES OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN IRELAND

1839-1900

3 VOLUMES

VOLUME I

Peadar Slattery, F.R.P.S.

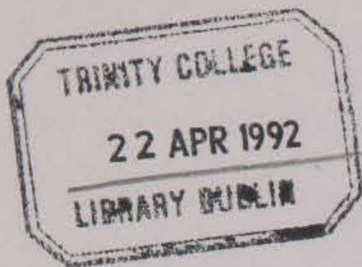
A thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.

at the University of Dublin

in the

department of modern history

October 1991



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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Professional photography was introduced to Ireland in 1841 and accepted change contemporaneously with London trends. It expanded in the cities and towns with Belfast and Dublin becoming major centres. By 1881 most counties in Ireland had at least one photographer. Photography provided employment; there were 677 persons in photography in 1901, one third of whom were female. From the 1850s the landed and wealthy classes took up photography; Hemphill and Brownrigg were recognised in Britain, and Irish photographers did significant work abroad: Shaw Smith, Tenison, H. L. Hime, and Burnaby. The relationship between art and photography was sometimes uneasy, though, from 1840 artists used photography as an aid. From the 1890s commercial artists working in periodical illustration used and felt threatened by photography. From the 1850s photography was used by antiquarians and was seen as the best method of making available copies of ancient MSS. The Irish government used photography in the fight against crime, convict photography being set up in 1860. It was used for the surveillance of released prisoners. Scenes of crime were photographed in the 1880s, but the police did not have their own photo departments until the 1890s when they began to photograph political suspects. From 1860 photography was used by medical doctors to record the condition of patients in case notes and in medical journals. Fraser, at the R.C.S.I., was a pioneer photographer. Grubb's supplied equipment for the astrographic survey planned in 1887. In the 1890s geologists recognised the scientific value of photographs of geological sites and ethnologists used photography as an

aid in the analysis of physical types and in recording cultural goods. Photography was used to publicise political and social aspirations and photographs played a part in personal relationships. From 1850 Ireland was seen as photogenic by photographers from Britain and from 1860 to 1900 was publicised in photographic journals.

When this work was begun in 1984 there was little published work on the topic. Kieran Hickey (ed.), The light of other days (London, 1973), contained a brief biography on Robert French. Other works on photographers Welch, Hogg, and the countess of Ross followed: E. E. Evans and Brian S. Turner (eds.), Ireland's Eye (Belfast, 1977), W. A. Maguire, Caught in time (Belfast, 1986), and David H. Davison (ed.), Impressions of an Irish countess (Birr, 1989). Social histories by Brian M. Walker, illustrated by contemporary photographs, were published in the 1970s and 1980s , for example, Shadows on glass (Belfast, 1977).

The largest body of manuscript material used is in the National Archives, Dublin: the registered papers, and the fenian, crime, and prison collections. The annual indexes of collections were searched for references to photography. Minute books of the R.I.A. and correspondence of the National Museum of Ireland held many references. Robert Welch correspondence was found in Cambridge. Newspapers, learned journals, biographies, and parliamentary papers for the period were searched for relevant material.

The author surveyed photographs in the P.R.O., London, and in the N.L.I., in the R.P.S., in family collections in Ireland, and in London, where a dealer had albums by James Graves and Lord Otho Fitzgerald. The trend to sell early albums abroad continues and some Coghill albums are in a Californian museum.

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1. The first daguerreotype studio in Ireland, October 1841, located over the entrance to the Rotundo at the north end of Sackville Street, Dublin, modern photograph of an original illustration (E. C. Chandler, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin).
2. Glukman's first daguerreotype studio at 13 Lower Sackville Street, Dublin, used by other daguerreotypists in the 1840s when Glukman took a bigger premises in Upper Sackville Street (from Shaw's _New city pictorial directory, 1850_).
3. Sir Edward Blakeney, commander-in-chief of British troops in Ireland, lithograph by Henry O'Neill after a daguerreotype by Leon Glukman, circa 1848 (Elmes, _Engraved Irish portraits_, p. 18).
4. Album page depicting views in the neighbourhood of Killarney, Co. Kerry, page decorated by a stag's head motifs reproduced by photography, c. 1863 (Muckross and Morris collection, Herbert album, Victoria & Albert Museum, X.714).
5. Adelaide E. Coghill, Sir John J. Coghill's sister who began keeping an album of his photographs in 1854 (Somerville collection, Castletownshend, Co. Cork).
6. John Gough, stationer and print seller, outside his

shop at 6 Eustace Street, Dublin in the mid-1860s (Religious Society of Friends historical library, Dublin).

7. An album page of cartes-de-visite of the royal family including a photograph of Queen Victoria standing and Prince Albert sitting, c. 1861; this photographic studio pose became fashionable (Muckross and Morris collection, Herbert album, Victoria & Albert Museum, X.714).

8. Collage of sixty-nine trimmed carte-de-visite portraits of women from British and Irish families, e.g. the marchioness of Hastings, the duchess of Montrose, Lady Otho Fitzgerald, the countess of Donoughmore, Lady Emily Peel, c. 1862 (Muckross and Morris collection, Herbert album, Victoria & Albert Museum, X.714)

9. 'Ireland, the tourist souvenir', a composite photograph by Frederick Holland Mares (Copyright collection, 1863, P.R.O., COPY 1/4/230, crown copyright).

10. 'Grace, Mirth, and Beauty', a composite glamour/theatrical photograph by Frederick Holland Mares (Copyright collection, 1863, P.R.O., COPY 1/4/126, crown copyright).

11. Ayton's studio in Derry; the professional's desire to have good daylight in his studio did not always produce such a pleasing roof (Lawrence collection, N.L.I., R. 2568).

12. H. Roe McMahon, photographer, outside his street-level premises in Harcourt Street, Dublin, c. 1909 (Thom's directory, 1910 opp. p. 2192).

13. Lilly Langtry, photograph by Lafayette (Copyright

collection, 1885, P.R.O., COPY 1/374/not numbered, crown copyright).

14. H.S.H. Princess Victoria Mary of Teck in light walking dress, photograph by James Stack Lauder (Lafayette), (Copyright collection, 1893, P.R.O., COPY 1/412(ii)/not numbered, crown copyright).

15. 'My lady sleeps', a pastoral study taken from life by Lafayette (Copyright collection, 1895, P.R.O., COPY 1/422/not numbered, crown copyright).

16. Irene Iris in Greek costume (Copyright collection, 1894, P.R.O., COPY 1/416(i)/not numbered, crown copyright).

17. Lady with cigarette, promotional photography by Lafayette, commissioned by John Player, tobacconists, Nottingham, 1895 (Copyright collection, 1895, P.R.O., COPY 1/420/not numbered, crown copyright).

18. 'An evening zephyr', a heavily retouched photograph by Lafayette, taken in his Westmoreland Street studio; the model lay on a sheet of plate glass (Pearson's Magazine, iii, no. 15 (Mar. 1897)).

19. A street in Cork, daguerreotype by John Mott, c. 1844 (National Museum of Photography, Film, and Television, Bradford, ref. no. DD 19).

20. A daguerreotype taken by John Dillwyn Llewelyn, an early Welsh photographer, c. 1843: standing left, Lady Charlotte Talbot (nee Butler, daughter of the first earl of Glengal and wife of Christopher R. M. Talbot, a cousin of Henry Fox Talbot), seated, from the left, Emma T. Dillwyn Llewelyn (nee Talbot, sister of C. R. M. Talbot), Mrs Calvert Jones, and Rev Richard Calvert Jones, an early Welsh photographer, with a camera (Richard Morris, Chalfont

St. Peter, Bucks.).

21. The council of the P.S.I. elected in 1856; front row left to right: Frederick Sanders, William Cotter Kyle, Thomas Grubb, Sir John J. Coghill, Gilbert Sanders, Capt. Richard W. Hartley, Joseph R. Kirk. back row: Henry T. Vickers, Samuel Bewley Jr., Dr John Aldridge, William Allen, Michael Angelo Hayes, James Robinson, Capt. Robert J. Henry (E. C. Chandler, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin).

22. Monasterboice high cross, c. 1854, photograph by John Coghill (Somerville collection, Castletownshend, Co. Cork).

23. Swords, Co. Dublin, c. 1854, photograph by John Coghill (Somerville collection, Castletownshend, Co. Cork).

24. Augusta Crofton with a wet-plate camera c. 1860; she began photography when quite young and later married a gentleman amateur photographer, Gerald Dillon, Clonbrock, Co. Galway (E. C. Chandler, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin).

25. Croquet grounds at Marlfield, Clonmel, photograph from a stereo pair by William D. Hemphill, c. 1858 (Hemphill, <u>Clonmel</u>, plate LXVIII).

26. Entrance gates, Knocklofty, Co. Tipperary, photograph from a stereo pair by William D. Hemphill, c. 1858 (Hemphill, <u>Clonmel</u>, plate LXIX).

27. Lewis Wingfield with his camera in the late 1850s; he and his class-mates practised photography at school and kept photograph albums (Lewis Wingfield album, c. 1860, Victoria & Albert Museum, X.625).

28. High Street, Maidstone, photograph by Lewis Wingfield (Lewis Wingfield album, c. 1860, Victoria & Albert

Museum, X.625).

29. Alms house, Lenham, Kent, photograph by Lewis Wingfield (Lewis Wingfield album, c. 1860, Victoria & Albert Museum, X.625).

30. Teston church, Kent, photograph by Lewis Wingfield, embossed 'Wingfield' in the top right corner (Lewis Wingfield album, c. 1860, Victoria & Albert Museum, X.625).

31. Luke Dillon, later Lord Clonbrock, a photographer who did not become involved in photographic clubs or societies, and who married Augusta Crofton, an enthusiastic amateur photographer, photograph c. 1860 (E. C. Chandler Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin).

32. The London Photographic Society's exhibition held at the South Kensington Museum in 1858; some members of the society were Irish (Physick, Photography and South Kensington, plate 8).

33. Members of the family of the marquis of Drogheda with a portable darkroom and chemicals necessary to practise wet-plate photography, c. 1860 (album of Mary Caroline Moore, marchioness of Drogheda, N.L.I., MS 3096).

34. 'Near Castletownshend', a prize-winning photograph by John Coghill, mid-1860s (Somerville collection, Castletownshend, Co. Cork).

35. Valentine Lawless with a stereoscopic camera, c. 1865; Denis Lawless, from the same landed family, was also interested in photography and took photographs as a member of a British diplomatic mission to Morocco in 1880 (album of Mary Caroline Moore, marchioness of Drogheda, N.L.I., MS 3096).

36. Photographic Society of Ireland exhibition, c. 1885,

possibly one of the triennial exhibitions of the 1880s (E. C. Chandler, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin).

37. Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club exhibition, 1894 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, H10/21/1143).

38. Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club outing to Glenariff, 1898 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, H01/51/19).

39. P.S.I. members on an outing to Castletown, Co. Kildare, photographed beside a fallen beech tree in the summer of 1886 (E. C. Chandler, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin).

40. George Petrie, miniature painting by Bernard Mulrenin, painted over a photograph (N.G.I., cat. no. 408).

41. 'Trees at Dundrum', c. 1860-64, photograph by Lady Clementina Hawarden (Lady Hawarden photographic collection, Victoria & Albert Museum, X818-114).

42. 'A by-road in Tipperary', 1860, an etching by Francis Seymour Haden, remarkably similar in general composition to Hawarden's 'Trees at Dundrum' (Schneiderman, Catalogue raisonné of the prints of Haden, p. 96).

43. 'Clementina Maude', c. 1862, photograph taken by Lady Clementina Hawarden who, in the late 1850s and early 1860s, lived in London and at Dundrum, Co. Tipperary (Lady Hawarden photographic collection, Victoria & Albert Museum, X818-368).

44. 'The letter, no. ii', 1863, etching by Francis Seymour Haden, the only known instance in which Haden worked directly from a photograph (Schneiderman, Catalogue raisonné of the prints of Haden, p. 126)

45. 'Cherry Ripe', c. 1889, oil on canvas by Walter Osborne; see plate 46 (Ulster Museum, Belfast).

46. 'High Street, Rye', a commercially produced photograph, probably used as an aide-mémoire for 'Cherry Ripe'; see plate 45 (Walter Osborne photographic collection, N.G.I., cat. no. 107).

47. 'Near St. Patrick's Close, an Old Dublin street', 1887, oil on canvas by Walter Osborne; see plate 48 (N.G.I., cat. no. 836).

48. Near St. Patrick's Close, Dublin, photograph taken in Old Dublin, remarkably similar in angle of view to Osborne's painting 'Near St. Patrick's Close', probably used as an aide-mémoire for the painting; see plate 47 (Walter Osborne photographic collection, N.G.I., no number).

49. St. Stephen's Green, 1895-1900, pencil drawing on paper by Walter Osborne (N.G.I., cat. no. 2546).

50. St. Stephen's Green West, Dublin, Lawrence photograph 2235 W.L. (Osborne photographic collection, N.G.I., cat. no. 107).

51. Pencil drawing and tracing on the rear of Lawrence photograph 2235 W.L. (Walter Osborne photographic collection, N.G.I., cat. no. 107).

52. William Despard Hemphill at the Rock of Cashel in the late 1850s with a wet-plate camera; he illustrated a book on Clonmel using eighty-one stereoscopic pairs of photographs (Hemphill, Clonmel, frontispiece).

53. Interior view, Holycross abbey, Co. Tipperary, photograph from a stereo pair by Hemphill, c. 1858 (Hemphill, Clonmel, plate XIX).

54. Lismore castle south, Co. Waterford, photograph from a stereo pair by Hemphill, c. 1858 (Hemphill, Clonmel, plate XXVI).

55. A chalice formerly from the abbey of Donegal,

lithograph from a photograph presented to the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society (R.S.A.I. Jour., viii (1864-6), opp. p. 330).

56. A Norman font formerly in the parish church of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, woodcut from a photograph presented to the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society (R.S.A.I. Jour., viii (1864-6), opp. p. 491).

57. A fictile vessel found at Altegarron, Divis mountain, Belfast, lithograph from a photograph presented to the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland (R.S.A.I. Jour., xi (1870-01), opp. p. 506).

58. Oratory of St. Molaise, Inishmurray, Co. Sligo, photograph by William Mercer, late 1860s, reproduced in autotype (Stokes, Irish architecture, i, plate XXIX).

59. Dun Aenghus, portion of the walls, photograph by William Mercer, late 1860s, reproduced in autotype (Stokes, Irish architecture, i, plate III).

60. Monastic cells and burial ground, Sceilg Mhichil, Co. Kerry, photograph by William Mercer, late 1860s, reproduced in autotype (Stokes, Irish architecture, i, plate XX).

61. Killeevy, Co. Armagh, west door, interior, photograph by William Mercer, late 1860s, reproduced in autotype (Stokes, Irish architecture, i, plate LVIII).

62. Dulane church, near Kells, Co. Meath, west door, interior, photograph by William Mercer, late 1860s, reproduced in autotype (Stokes, Irish architecture, i, plate XLVIII).

63. Tuamgraney, Co. Clare, west end of church, photograph by William Mercer, late 1860s, reproduced in autotype

(Stokes, Irish architecture, i, plate LXIV).

64. A page from Leabhar Breac reproduced by photozincography at the Ordnance Survey, Southampton, 1879, (Gilbert, Facsimiles of the national manuscripts of Ireland, iii, plate XXVIII).

65. A page from the Book of Leinster, photograph reproduced in autotype as a frontispiece, 1880, (Atkinson, Book of Leinster, frontispiece).

66. A clean legible page from the Yellow Book of Lecan, book illustration by reproduction from a photograph, 1896 (Atkinson, Yellow Book of Lecan, p. 161).

67. A soiled damaged page from the Yellow Book of Lecan, book illustration by reproduction from a photograph, 1896, showing the limitations of photography as a method of copying MSS in poor condition (Atkinson, Yellow Book of Lecan, p. 301).

68. Tombs at Petra, calotype by Shaw Smith, c. 1852 (International Museum of Photography/George Eastman House, Rochester, N.Y., 27981 N).

69. Sphinx and pyramid of Cephrenes, calotype by John Shaw Smith, c. 1852 (I.M.P./G.E.H., 28066 N).

70. Obelisk and temple at Karnak, calotype by Shaw Smith, c. 1852 (I.M.P./G.E.H., 280100 N).

71. The Nile boat, calotype by John Shaw Smith, c. 1852 (I.M.P./G.E.H., no. 28068 N).

72. Miniyeh, a village on the Nile, lithograph from a drawing by Louisa Tenison, c. 1845 (Tenison, Sketches in the east, plate III).

73. Temple of Luxor, Egypt, lithograph from a drawing by Louisa Tenison, c. 1845 (Tenison, Sketches in the east, plate V).

74. Philae, Egypt, an island with many temples,

lithograph from a drawing by Louisa Tenison, c. 1845 (Tenison, Sketches in the east, plate X).

75. Gateway in the temple of Baalbec, lithograph from a drawing by Louisa Tenison, c. 1845 (Tenison, Sketches in the east, plate XXVII).

76. Leon cathedral, lithograph from a drawing by Louisa Tenison, c. 1852, (Tenison, Castile and Andalucia, opp. p. 406); the cathedral was also photographed by her husband, Edward King Tenison.

77. The Palio de los Reves or Escurial, lithograph from a drawing by Louisa Tenison, c. 1852 (Tenison, Castile and Andalucia, opp. p. 429); the Escurial was also photographed by her husband, Edward King Tenison.

78. Toledo, litho from a drawing by Louisa Tenison, c. 1852 (Tenison, Castile and Andalucia, opp. p. 472); Toledo was also photographed by her husband, Edward King Tenison.

79. The Castle of Chillon, Switzerland, photograph by John J. Coghill, wet-plate process, September 1855 (E. C. Chandler, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin).

80. Heidelberg castle, north and east courtyard, book illustration from a photograph by Coghill (Aldridge, Spas, p. 142).

81. Encampment of the H. L. Hime party on the banks of the Red River, 1 June 1858, photograph by H. L. Hime (Public Archives of Canada, C-4572).

82. 'Susan, a Swampy half-breed', Red River settlements, Sept.- Oct. 1858, photograph by H. L. Hime (Public Archives of Canada, C-16957).

83. Residence of Mr Bannatyne, near Upper Fort Garry, Sept.- Oct. 1858, photograph by H. L. Hime (Public Archives of Canada, C-20285).

84. Ojibway squaw with papoose, Red River settlements, Sept.- Oct. 1858, photograph by H. L. Hime (Public Archives of Canada, C-728).

85. Morteratsch glacier, photograph by Elizabeth Burnaby, early 1890s, used in her book: Mrs Main, Hints on snow photography (Alpine Club, London, lantern slide collection).

86. The Turtmann glacier with the Bieshorn (4,161 metres) to the right and the Weisshorn (4,512 metres) to the left, photograph by Elizabeth Burnaby, 1884, from the Bruneggjoch (Eckenstein and Lorria, Alpine portfolio, p. 31 and plate 85).

87. 'Winter sunlight' on a road near St. Moritz, photograph by Elizabeth Burnaby; Burnaby specialised in this type of subject (Benson, Winter sports, plate I).

88. Prison photograph of Edward O'Keefe, an untried fenian prisoner; similar photographs were sent from Ireland to the Home Office and then to chief constables in Britain for the purpose of surveillance (Fenian 'r' files, National Archives, 2,241 R).

89. Prison photograph of Charles Joyce, an untried released fenian prisoner who agreed to go to America but returned, the photograph being used to establish his identity in the Fermoy area; the photograph is typical of those taken by Flewitt at Kilmainham during the Fenian crisis of the 1860s (National Archives, R.P. 1867/7,462).

90. Prison photograph of an English pickpocket arrested at a race meeting and held at Tralee prison in 1893; he resisted being photographed and attempts were made to steady him while this photograph was being taken

(National Archives, G.P.B.I. 1893/11,691).

91. Prison photograph typical of the 1880s with the hands showing prominently (National Archives, G.P.B.I. 1885/15,026).

92. Prison photograph with a mirror to show the prisoner's head in profile; the mirror was introduced in 1891 (National Archives, G.P.B.I. 1891/9,659).

93. Prison photography of the late 1890s: frontal and profile photographs, anthropometric measurements, and fingerprints were required (National Archives, G.P.B.I., returns of photography, 1897-1900, 1901/3,015).

94. Fingerprints of a prisoner, routinely taken, Derry prison, 1901 (National Archives, G.P.B.I., returns of photography, 1897-1900, 1901/3,015).

95. Prison photograph of Richard Quinn, an untried fenian prisoner in Aug. 1867, who refused to be photographed as a condition of release but eventually consented (National Archives, R.P. 1867/14,946).

96. A composite photo of prisoners, with shamrock motif, presumably made up by land leaguers, and used by the police as an aid to surveillance (Fenian 'r' files, National Archives, FP3).

97. Police photograph of suspect Thomas St. John Gaffney who was involved in the 'amnesty cause' in New York in 1894; the photograph on police files was a copy taken from an annotated group photograph (National Archives, C.B.S. 1894/9,301 S).

98. Police photograph of suspect Andrew J. Kettle, c. 1892, a founding member and organiser in the old Land League and known to have become a Parnellite; photo taken unknown to the subject (National

Archives, police and crime dept., descriptions (16) with photos of suspected persons, 1892-3).

99. Police photograph of Patrick O'Shea, c. 1892, suspected of associating with leading fenians and of being a member of the G.A.A.; photo taken unknown to the subject (National Archives, police and crime dept., descriptions (16) with photos of suspected persons, 1892-3).

100. Police photograph 'pantry as found', Carrickfergus 1891, taken to provide evidence of arson (National Archives, R.P. 1891/18,532).

101. Police photograph of James Donovan murdered at Glenlara, Co. Cork, in 1894 (C.B.S. 1894/8,796 S).

102. Police photographs of suspects in the Glenlara murder case; some suspects posed for the camera voluntarily while others had to be photographed as they went about their business (National Archives, C.B.S. 1894/8796 S).

103. Police photograph, vault desecration, Inishcarra, Co. Cork, in which the positions of bodies removed from coffins were marked on the photograph (National Archive, C.B.S. 1895/10,002 S).

104. Police photographs of street-preaching at Athlone, 1895; a decision was made by the government, assisted by a police report and photographs, to reduce the number of police on duty at this regularly held meeting (National Archives, C.B.S. 1895/9,677 S).

105. Police photographs taken at one-minute intervals at a street-preaching meeting in Cork, 29 July 1894, in which the reaction to a police order to the preachers and crowd to move away from a street corner is recorded (National Archives, R.P. 1894/16,588).

106. Police photograph, to show how mounted police were used to prevent the crowd from following preachers returning to their rooms, 15 April 1894 (National Archives, R.P. 1894/16588).

107. Police photographs after a street-preaching meeting in Cork, 22 July 1894, in which the preachers are seen returning to their rooms under police protection (National Archives, R.P. 1894/16,588).

108. Police photographs in which Derry is seen in festive mood on the occasion of the visit of the duke and duchess of York (National Archives, C.B.S. 1897/14,253 S).

109. Police photograph taken of a suspect, Niall O'Boyle, as he boarded the Ardrossan steamer (National Archives, C.B.S. 1898/15872 S).

110. Drawing of nebula 51 Messier observed many times at Birr in the 1840s and published in 1850 (Rosse, Scientific papers, opp. p. 110, fig. 1 and pp 114-15, 119-21).

111. Daramona, Streete, County Westmeath, the home and observatory of William E. Wilson (Wilson, Astronomical and physical researches, frontispiece).

112. The great nebula in Orion, photograph by Wilson, January 1897, exposure time of forty minutes (Wilson, Astronomical and physical researches, unpaginated end pages).

113. Spiral nebula M 33 Trianguli, photograph by W. E. Wilson, October 1898, exposure time of one hour (Wilson, Astronomical and physical researches, unpaginated end pages).

114. Medical illustration, patient showing symptoms of morbus addisonii, discolouration of the body surface

with tints or shades of deep amber or chestnut brown; lithograph by Henry W. McConnell from a hand-coloured photograph by Werner, Dublin (<u>Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci.</u>, xl (Aug.- Nov. 1865), opp. p. 363).

115. Medical illustration, patient showing symptoms of melanosis, woodcut by Mrs Caroline Millard after a drawing by Connolly (<u>Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci.</u>, xxxv (Feb.- May 1865), p. 244).

116. Medical illustration, half-tone process, patient showing a recurring cancer of the jaw (<u>Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci.</u>, xcv (Jan.- June 1893), opp. p. 20).

117. Medical illustration of a patient who was operated on by Henry Gray Croly using Teale's method of amputation, lithograph from a photograph by Lawrence, Dublin (<u>Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci.</u>, xliii (Feb.- May 1867), opp. p. 266).

118. Medical illustration of a young girl showing manual dexterity after surgery to save portion of a mutilated hand, from a photograph by Marcus Ward, Belfast (<u>Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci.</u>, xliii (Feb.- May 1867), opp. p. 284).

119. Medical illustration of a boy before and after an operation on a diseased elbow, lithograph by Forster & Co., Dublin, from a drawing by Tomsohn before surgery and from a post-surgery photograph by Lawrence, Dublin (<u>Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci.</u>, xlvi (Aug.- Nov. 1868), opp. p. 57, pp 58, 60).

120. Medical photograph, artificial limb demonstrated in use, lithograph by John Falconer, Dublin, from a photograph by Robinson & Sons, Dublin (<u>Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci.</u>, lxi (Jan.- June 1876), opp. p.

88).

121. Medical illustration in the treatment of hare-lip, surgical procedure shown by woodcut by Oldham (Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci., xlv (Feb.- May 1868), pp 296-7).

122. Medical illustration in the treatment of hare-lip, post-operation photograph pasted into a medical journal, the scar still new and the line of the cicatrix visible (Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci., xlv (Feb.- May 1868), p. 303).

123. Medical photograph, an obese boy photographed at the Meath Hospital, Dublin, in 1875, lithograph by John Falconer, Dublin, from a photograph (Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci., lx (July - Dec. 1875), opp. p. 495).

124. Medical photograph, X-ray photograph of an arm showing dislocation (Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci., cv (Jan.- June 1898), plate 3, between pp 286-7).

125. Medical photograph, X-ray photograph of an arm showing the bones in perfect position and outline (Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci., cv (Jan.- June 1898), plate 5, opp. p. 289).

126. Geological photograph, basalt sea cliffs, the amphitheatre, Giant's Causeway, Co. Antrim, photograph by Robert J. Welch, c. April 1886 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, 04/19).

127. Geological photograph, glaciated rock surfaces, Derrygariff, Moll's Gap, Kenmare, Co. Kerry, photograph by Robert J. Welch, 1898 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, 47/19).

128. Geological photograph, cave passage developed along joints in carboniferous limestone, Catacombs cave,

Ennis, Co. Clare, photograph by Robert J. Welch, 1905 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, 45/09).

129. Anthropological photographs, Aran Islands survey, Michael Connelly, Inishmaan, Co. Galway, a burly man with the largest head in Inishmaan (R.I.A. Proc., ii (1891-3), plate xxiii).

130. Ethnological photograph, the entrance to Newgrange passage grave, Boyne valley, Co. Meath, photograph by Robert J. Welch, c. 1894, supplied to A. C. Haddon, 1 Jan. 1895 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, W29/01/20).

131. St. Columcille's holy well, Fanad, Co. Donegal, photograph by Robert J. Welch, c. 1895, supplied to A. C. Haddon, Dec. 1895 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, W04/37/32).

132. Ethnological photograph, the house cluster, Teelin, Co. Donegal, photograph by Robert J. Welch, c. 1894, supplied to A. C. Haddon, Dec. 1895 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, W04/13/34).

133. Ethnological photograph, solid wheel car, Rostrevor, Co. Down, photograph by Robert J. Welch, no date, probably supplied to A. C. Haddon, c. 1903 (Ulster Museum, Belfast, W05/85/8).

134. Ethnological photographs, taken by J. M. Browne, Inishbofin and Inishark survey, illustrating a quern in use, a spinning wheel, and a method of washing clothes (R.I.A. Proc., iii (1893-6), opp. p. 317).

135. Ethnological photograph, Garumna and Lettermullen survey, women with creels (R.I.A. Proc., v (1898-1900), between pp 222 and 223).

136. Pinus Montezumae, photograph by Hugh Annesley (Annesley, Beautiful and rare trees, opp. p. 45).

137. Rhus Toxicodendron, photograph by Hugh Annesley

(Annesley, Beautiful and rare trees, opp. p. 18).

138. Formium Tenex Variegatum, photograph by Hugh Annesley (Annesley, Beautiful and rare trees, opp. p. 47).

139. Forests, glaciers, and Mt. Bonney, British Columbia, book illustration from a photograph by Henry Swanzy, c. 1888 (Green, Selkirk glaciers, frontispiece).

140. Forest damage, near Mt. Sir Donald, British Columbia, book illustration from a photograph by Henry Swanzy, c. 1888 (Green, Selkirk glaciers, opp. p. 68).

141. Daniel O'Connell, lithograph, c. 1847, from a daguerreotype by Beard, London (Elmes, Irish portraits, p. 152).

142. William Smith O'Brien, lithograph by Henry O'Neill, c. 1848, from a daguerreotype by Glukman, Dublin (Elmes, Irish portraits, p. 148).

143. President and members of the Fenian executive, composite carte-de-visite photograph, advertised openly in the early months of 1866 by which time many Fenian leaders had been arrested (original in the possession of the author).

144. Michael Moore, the Fenian pike maker, carte-de-visite sold in early 1866 (original in the possession of the author).

145. Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, Fenian leader, carte-de-visite sold in quantity, early 1866 (original in the possession of the author).

146. 'The Fenian Trials - a scene in an Irish court of justice', a photograph of a drawing reproduced in the carte-de-visite style, found in the papers of Sir Thomas Larcom; it was published, possibly by Mares, Dublin, using Ashford, Brothers, & Co., Newgate Street, London, as agents (Larcom papers, N.L.I., MS

7698).

147. Album page of public personalities, <u>cartes-de-visite</u>, c. 1865, including, in the top right corner, Lord Naas (Collection of photos of British and foreign notabilities made by Sir Seymour V. Fitzgerald, Victoria & Albert Museum, X.800).

148. The prince of Wales and princess Alexandra, a <u>carte-de-visite</u> registered by Mares, Dublin, October 1862, within six weeks of the announcement of their engagement, and inscribed 'Cead mille failthe'(sic) (Copyright collection, P.R.O., COPY 1/1/182, crown copyright).

149. Ceremonial arch, York Street, Belfast, on the occasion of the royal visit, 1885, photograph by Robert J. Welch (Ulster Museum, Belfast, W10/21/268).

150. Ceremonial arch, Wellington Place, Belfast, on the occasion of the royal visit, 1903, photograph by Robert J. Welch (Ulster Museum, Belfast, W10/21/267).

151. Orangemen passing through Shaftesbury Square, Belfast, c. 1890, photograph by Robert J. Welch (Ulster Museum, Belfast, W10/29/50).

152. The police barracks, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork, the site of a riot and a number of deaths on 9 Sept. 1887 for which the police were blamed, and a contemporary land war slogan (Lawrence collection, N.L.I., R. 1083; Curtis, <u>Coercion and Conciliation</u>, pp 197-200).

153. Parnell Street, New Tipperary; a new mart and two streets were constructed by the Plan of Campaign leaders in their struggle with a landlord leader, Arthur H. Smith-Barry (Lawrence collection, N.L.I., R. 2574; Curtis, <u>Coercion and conciliation</u>, pp 252-5).

154. Sir John J. Coghill with his photographic equipment and chemicals; this photograph was sent to a relative in the Crimea in the 1850s and brought home to be pasted in to a Somerville family photographic album (Somerville collection, Castletownshend, Co. Cork).

155. Somer's fort, the house of a tenant named Somers at Coolroe, Burkestown, Co. Wexford, whose earthworks defeated the battering ram in August 1888; the house was subsequently abandoned and the resistance seen here is staged (Lawrence collection, N.L.I., R. 2486; Curtis, Coercion and Conciliation, p. 245).

156. 'Interior of a cabin, Carraroe, County Galway', a photograph, apparently taken by multiple flash, used to publicise famine in the west and south of Ireland and to raise funds (Mansion House, Distress in the west, no pagination).

157. 'Children, Garumna Island, whose father is on the relief works'; another example of photography being used for fund raising (Mansion House, Distress in the west, no pagination).

158. A page from the album of the Protestant Orphan Society, Dublin, with two orphans wearing the uniform of the society's training ship at Bangor, north Wales, c. 1890 (P.O.S. album, National Archive, 1045/5/10-1).

159. A selection of photographs reproduced in 1884 in The Amateur Photographer which publicised Ireland as a region suitable for tourists and photographers (The Amat. Phot. (suppl.), i (21 Nov. 1884)).

160. An illustrated article on County Antrim; this frequency of illustration was not unusual in The Amateur Photographer in the 1890s (S. L. Coulthurst,

'Picturesque spots' in The Amat. Phot., xxiv, no. 615 (17 July 1896)).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research grew from a number of events and circumstances. My late father, Peter Slattery, was interested in the history of photography, in particular Irish photographic history. In 1939 he submitted a substantial essay on the history of photographic chemistry to the examiners of the Photographic Dealers Association (London) advanced diploma. Among his books is a rare pre-war 'Pelican' paperback: Lucia Moholy, *A hundred years of photography 1839-1939* (Harmondsworth, 1939). In the 1950s I saw him practise an old photographic process, bromoil, which involved bleaching a photograph until the image virtually vanished and then inking the print with various brushes. In lectures to clubs and societies he invariably introduced a historical reference. I became more interested in the photographers of the past than of the present. The Photographic Society of Ireland celebrated its centenary in 1954 and I read with fascination Oscar Merne's pamphlet *The Photographic Society of Ireland 1854-1954* (Dublin, 1954). I am indebted to my father for my interest in the history of photography. This interest was sharpened in 1980 when I acted as local assistant to Nancy C. Barrett, New Orleans, who came to Ireland to work on the calotypist John Shaw Smith. Research I had been doing was given direction in 1982 when I made a submission for associateship (A.R.P.S.) to the Royal Photographic Society, Bath. This short work, Photography in Dublin 1839-1861, was received enthusiastically by the late Arthur T. Gill and John Bardsley, Royal Photographic Society.

Encouraged by their remarks and by the questions on photographic history of a teaching colleague, Jack Cleary, whose questions I could not then answer, I made application

to do postgraduate research in the department of modern history, Trinity College, Dublin, on the social and economic uses of photography in 19th century Ireland. I was formally supported in this by Thomas Broughan, M.Econ.Sc., and Fintan M. Heffernan, C.F.C., M.Sc., as referees, and accepted by Professor K. Gordon Davies and Dr W. E. Vaughan. I am grateful to my supervisor, Dr Vaughan, for the guidance he gave at the preliminary stage of the work as I learned to open up a topic for which there were apparently few sources. As a result I communicated with Dr William J. Davis, Dr Ronald C. Cox, and Dr. Daniel L. Kelly, Trinity College, Dublin. Professor R. Vincent Comerford, Maynooth, was interested and encouraging as was Matthew B. O'Donovan, The Institute of Engineers of Ireland. Dr Brian M. Walker, The Queen's University of Belfast pointed out sources of which I was unaware and Angelique Day, Institute of Irish Studies, Belfast, persuaded me that the Larcom papers in the National Library of Ireland were worth searching.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Institutions and collections

B.A.A.S.	British Association for the Advancement of Science
B.N.F.C.	Belfast Naturalists Field Club
B.N.H. and P.S.	Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society
C.B.S.	Crime branch special
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library
D.P.S.	Dublin Photographic Society
N.A.	National Archives [Ireland]
N.G.I.	National Gallery of Ireland
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
N.M.L. A. & I.	National Museum library, art and industry correspondence
N.M.L. ant. corr.	National Museum library, antiquities correspondence
P.B.C.	Prison board correspondence
P.O.	Prison office correspondence
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
P.S.I.	Photographic Society of Ireland
R.A.S.	Royal Astronomical Society
R.D.S.	Royal Dublin Society
R.H.K.	Royal Hospital Kilmainham
R.I.A., A.	Royal Irish Academy, antiquities committee minutes

R.I.A., C.	Royal Irish Academy, council minutes
R.I.A., M.	Royal Irish Academy, museum committee minutes
R.P.	Registered paper
R.P.S.	Royal Photographic Society
R.S.A.I.	Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

(b) Journals

Dub. Quart. Jour. of Med. Sci.	: The Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science
Jour. of the Hist. of Phot.	: Journal of the History of Photography
Mon. Not. of the R.A.S.	: Monthly notices of the Royal Astronomical Society
Photo. Notes	: Photographic Notes
The Alp. Jour.	: The Alpine Journal
The Amat. Phot.	: The Amateur Photographer
The Brit. Jour. of Phot.	: The British Journal of Photography
The Brit. Jour. phot. alm.	: The British Journal of Photography photographic almanac
The Liverpool Photo. Jour.	: The Liverpool Photographic Journal
The Jour. of the Anthropo. Inst. of G.B. and Ire.	: The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
The Jour. of the Ir. Gard. Plant Soc.	: The Journal of the Irish Garden Plant Society

The Jour. of the Photo. Soc. : The Journal of the Photographic Society

The Photo. Jour. : The Photographic Journal

The Photo. News : The Photographic News

CHRONOLOGY

1839	Announcement of the Daguerre and Talbot processes of photography.
1839	The first Irish daguerreotypes were taken by Beatty in September in Belfast.
1841	Richard Beard opened the first European photographic portrait studio in London and the first Irish studio was opened in October.
1841-2	The first Irish amateur photographers worked in Ireland and Scotland.
1844	Dr Thomas Woods announced his catalysotype process, analogous to Talbot's calotype.
1850-2	Shaw Smith photographed in the Middle East and Tenison photographed in Spain.
1851	Scott Archer published the details of the wet-plate process without patent restriction and the process was used in Ireland.
1852-3	Henry Talbot allowed amateur photographers to use his calotype process and the London Photographic Society was founded.
1854	First British photographic exhibition.

1854	Foundation of the photo section in the Dublin Chemical Society and of the Dublin Photographic Society.
1856	First Irish photographic exhibition.
1857	Prison photography was begun by Walter Crofton.
1858	Humphrey Lloyd Hime took photographs in Canada.
1860	William Despard Hemphill published an illustrated book on Clonmel and its neighbourhood.
1861	The carte-de-visite became fashionable in London and elsewhere and was available in Dublin and Belfast. Ireland had 101 persons earning their living by photography.
1866-7	Fenian untried prisoners were photographed.
1866-9	William Mercer took antiquarian photographs for the third earl of Dunraven.
1874-84	Irish manuscripts were reproduced by photozincography under the direction of John T. Gilbert.
1878	The dry-plate process of photography began to supersede the wet-plate process.
1879	The Photographic Society of Ireland was founded.

1880 Elizabeth Burnaby began to climb in the Alps and soon took up photography.

1884 First triennial P.S.I. photographic exhibition.

1885 The Ulster Amateur Photographic Society was founded.

1891 Ireland had 547 persons earning their living by photography, of whom 169 were women.

1891-2 The R.I.C. and the D.M.P. set up photographic departments; suspects were photographed secretly in the street.

1893 Thomas Marcus Brownrigg was invited to become a member of the Linked Ring of impressionist photographers.

1894-5 The R.I.C. used photography to record, report, and analyse crowd behaviour.

1896 The Yellow Book of Lecan was reproduced by means of photography.

1898 William E. Wilson's astronomical photographs were included in the Royal Astronomical Society's public collection.

INTRODUCTION

Photography was first used in Ireland in 1839 in Belfast when Francis Stewart Beatty took photographs at a bridge across the River Lagan. The public announcement in Paris a month earlier suggested that photography would have application in art, science, portraiture, and landscape work. This prediction proved correct and in the nineteenth century photography was used by professionals in studios, and by amateurs, artists, antiquarians, travellers, and scientists.[1] In 1864 John Rorke, a Dungannon schoolmaster, celebrated photography in all its manifestations in 4,000 lines of heroic verse entitled Fancies on the photograph:

> So in a moment, perfect in each part,
> He pictures scenes of architectural art; ...
> And scenes celestial at his call arise,
> His potent pencil scans the mighty skies, ...[2]

As far as the general public was concerned the professional photographers and commercial print makers and sellers seemed to have taken over photography in the nineteenth century. In photographic studios and at print sellers photographs were seen in abundance and stocks were measured in tens of thousands.[3]

Amateurs were also taking photographs, in the 1850s by removing and replacing a lens cap, in the 1890s by snapping the camera shutter. In 1897 in Britain 25,000 entries were received from amateurs in a Kodak competition and in 1901 almost 50,000 models of a new Kodak camera were sold in Britain. A few years later George Bernard Shaw was acutely aware that millions of photographs were being taken and that few were artistically worthwhile: 'The photographer is

like the cod which produces a million eggs in order that one may reach maturity'.[4]

Some professions had little to do with photography in the nineteenth century. Generally engineers and architects do not appear to have used photography as a professional tool as is done today by photographing the major phases of a construction project. There were exceptions to this apparent lack of interest. Examples of architectural styles and buildings were photographed for educational purposes and in the 1850s at Horetown, County Wexford, an amateur photographer recorded, in a five photograph sequence, work in progress on the building of a new church, and over twenty years later Chancellor's of Dublin, using fifteen photographs, recorded work in progress on the Carlisle Bridge widening scheme.[5] While a number of Irish astronomers did valuable photographic work in the 1880s and 1890s Ireland's golden age in recording pictorially stellar phenomena was in the 1840s when Lord Rosse and his assistants sketched nebulae seen through the telescope at Birr. Now photographs are taken with cameras on board satellites hundreds of millions of miles from earth and the results radioed back to ground stations.[6]

Photography was used in the fight against crime in 19th century Ireland but by the end of the century photographs of prisoners had a rival in the fingerprint as a means of identification. Today a new method of identification is being used by forensic scientists in Ireland in, for example, cases of murder and rape. DNA genetic identification identifies a person by using blood, semen, or other body tissue.[7] In medicine a relatively new machine seems likely to usurp some of the work done by X-ray photography. Magnetic resonance imaging is a technique

available in Ireland which uses radio and magnetic waves to create a three-dimensional image on a computer screen. The technique has diagnostic application in patients with spinal cord problems and, for example, in cases of whiplash and cancer.[8]

PROFESSIONAL PHOTOGRAPHY:
STUDIO AND COMMERCIAL

1. The daguerreotype process

Maria Edgeworth paid a visit to the Royal Polytechnic Institution on 25 May 1841. She was accompanied by her sister, Honora, and her brother-in-law, Captain Francis Beaufort. Each member of the group had their daguerreotype likenesses taken. Maria Edgeworth rather enjoyed the experience:

> It is a wonderful mysterious operation. You are taken from one room into another, up stairs and down and you see various people whispering and hear them in neighbouring passages and rooms unseen and the whole apparatus and stool on high platform under a glass dome casting a snap-dragon blue light making all look like spectres and the men in black gliding about ...[1]

Maria Edgeworth was daguerreotyped twice later in 1843 and she retained her general interest in the process. She visited Sir John Herschel the astronomer who had done some research into the chemistry of photography. She found him 'kind and agreeable' giving 'so much of his time to us, conversing or showing us all that is most interesting'. Herschel showed her examples of the process including a plate with 'no trace' on it. She could not resist informing her brother, Michael Pakenham Edgeworth, that 'upon certain incantations or applications it all returns'.[2]

Francis Stewart Beatty, an engraver from Belfast, worked in the studio at the Royal Polytechnic Institution in 1841. He had experimented with the daguerreotype process 'in the latter part of 1839' and 'in 1840' and

managed to delineate Belfast's 'architectural buildings' and 'old long bridge spanning the River Lagan'. Beatty ground and polished a concave mirror to the same specifications as the Wolcott mirror and produced portraits in 1841. By October he had secured a temporary position as a camera operator in Beard's London studio. While Beatty was there he was informed that takings were £150 daily but it is more likely that they were £50 to £60 per day. On 23 June 1841 Beard purchased the whole of the daguerreotype patent for £800, becoming the sole patentee for England, Wales, Berwick-on-Tweed, and the colonies. Scotland and Ireland were not covered by Daguerre's patent and daguerreotypists were free to operate in both these countries.[3]

The daguerreotype had been announced in 1839 but only in 1841 had it been improved enough to be used commercially. In fact two different processes of photography had been announced in London and Paris in 1839 and neither were suitable for taking portraits. William Henry Fox Talbot, a Wiltshire landowner, known as Henry Talbot to his contemporaries, discovered a process of photography in the 1830s. It provided copies of flat objects, such as leaves from a tree, by superposition on light-sensitive paper. Louis J. M. Daguerre's was a slow process.[4] Exposure time for a street scene took four minutes and people who moved in the scene during the exposure of the light-sensitive plate were not recorded.[5] Both inventors patented their discoveries, and commercial portrait photography, when it became possible under the Talbot and Daguerre processes, operated under licence in England. Daguerre's patent taken out in 1839 covered only England, Wales, the town of Berwick-on-Tweed, and the

British colonies. Otherwise it was patent-free to the rest of the world including Ireland. In 1841 Talbot patented his calotype process when he realized he had a commercial product. The photographic process that popularised photography in Europe and the United States of America in the 1840s was the daguerreotype.[6]

In October 1839 Alexander S. Wolcott, a New York manufacturer of dental supplies, and his partner John Johnson, began experimenting with the daguerreotype process in the hope of taking portraits. The problem of long exposures was solved to some degree by the development of a 'camera' in which the light rays from the sitter were concentrated on the photographic plate by reflection from a concave mirror rather than passing through a lens. Wolcott and Johnson had some success in October 1839 and by March 1840 were able to open the world's first photographic portrait studio at 52 First Street, New York. In February, Wolcott, realizing the potential of his camera with its concave mirror, sent his partner's father, William S. Johnson, to England to sell his invention. Strangely, Wolcott did not patent the camera until May 1840.[7]

Johnson, with the assistance of a patent agent, met Richard Beard, a wealthy coal merchant, who was willing to invest in photography. They came to a financial arrangement which permitted Beard to take out a patent for the mirror camera in June 1840. As neither Beard nor Johnson knew anything about photography, they employed John Frederick Goddard, a science lecturer at the Adelaide Gallery in London, to improve the process. A studio was set up in Holborn. It had reflectors to direct the sunlight on to the sitter and, the daguerreotype plate being more sensitive to blue rays, blue glass screens were

set up to transform white light, as in Wolcott's studio in New York. The first daguerreotype portraits in Britain were taken in the Holborn studio in the summer of 1840. Exposure times were five to six minutes in August, and one to four minutes in September, if a smaller photographic plate was used. Daguerre's patent agent in England, Miles Berry, threatened legal action and Beard and Johnson had to pay a licence fee of £150 a year to use the daguerreotype process. Johnson came from New York in November and made arrangements to set up a commercial studio. This was opened on 23 March 1841 at the Royal Polytechnic Institution with J. T. Cooper and John Frederick Goddard as camera operators.[8]

In Ireland meanwhile the details of the daguerreotype had been given in Saunders's Newsletter on 27 August 1839 and there was a further mention of the process in September. More significantly, an English translation of Daguerre's instruction manual, Historique et description du procédé nomme le daguerréotype, was published in Dublin, probably in November 1839. This translation entitled A practical description of that process called the daguerreotype and a second edition which appeared the same year were published by Fannin & Company of Dublin in conjunction with two British publishers. The thirty-eight page booklet described the various stages of the daguerreotype process.[9]

Throughout the latter half of 1841 studios were opened by Beard or his licencees in Liverpool (September), Southampton (October), Brighton, and Manchester (November). The first daguerreotype studio to be opened in Ireland, and possibly the third in the U.K., was at the Rotundo at the north end of Sackville Street, Dublin, on 13 October

1841.(plate 1)*. It is unlikely that Beard was involved in any way in the establishment of this studio though, strangely, the proprietors began their advertisement with the preamble 'under royal letters patent'. As in New York and London, the proprietor of the first commercial daguerreotype studio in Dublin was an established businessman, Thomas Millard, who was 'the first to champion the introduction of sun painting' in Ireland 'by erecting the studio over the portico of the Rotundo'. He was a cabinet-maker from Cheltenham, who had come to Ireland in 1838 and was employed by the board of national education. In 1841 he married Caroline Clayton, a daughter of Benjamin Clayton, a wood engraver. Millard's role in the studio at the Rotundo would seem to have been as a provider of capital and as an employer.[10]

The opening of the Rotundo studio marks the beginning of professional and commercial photography in Ireland. Numbers grew slowly in the 1840s, with less than ten professional photogaphers in the country in 1851. Photographers were not classified in the census of 1851 but they were in 1861 and numbered 101. Some studios expanded quickly and in 1866 a Dublin studio being sold off had a stock of 'several thousand negatives' which was probably built up in the previous five years. In 1901 in the cities of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford the numbers of photographers ranged from 13 to 28, but none compared in size with Belfast or Dublin. Belfast had 150 photographers in 1901 among whom was Robert J. Welch who specialised in antiquarian and scientific photography. The Dublin region dominated the profession in numerical strength, 262 in 1901, and in the reputation of two of its photographers: Lawrence's, well-known in Ireland for their landscapes, and

* All plates are in vol iii.

Lafayette's, who specialised in portraiture and illustration work and whose reputation was very high in Britain in the period from 1885 to 1900.[11] * (appendices A to F, ii, pp 143-51).

About March 1842 the Rotundo studio seems to have changed hands and on 5 March the Chevalier Doussin Dubreuil sought the patronage of the public at the Rotundo studio. It is possible that Dubreuil had been a senior camera operator there from October 1841 to March 1842 and then made an agreement with Millard to purchase the studio. Dubreuil had competition from an itinerant daguerreotypist, a Monsieur Champeaux, who had taken rooms at 7 Bachelor's Walk, Dublin. Champeaux wished to be taken seriously by the public: he claimed to have been an assistant operator at Antoine Claudet's Adelaide Gallery Studio in London and that his equipment was designed by N. P. Lerebours of Paris. Champeaux soon sold off surplus equipment and left Dublin in early April.[12]

Dubreuil does not appear to have been without competition for long, as, in the summer of 1842, a Scottish daguerreotypist, H. W. Treffry came to Dublin. He was obviously a first-class daguerreotypist familiar with the latest improvements in the process. He invited the representatives of six newspapers to his rooms to comment on his work. He daguerreotyed the journalists. Reports in the six newspapers could not have praised his work more highly. <u>Saunders's Newsletter</u> found that in his daguerreotypes 'the figure stands out in fine relief' while the 'dress is most strikingly accurate'. The <u>Morning Register</u> found the daguerreotypes 'a faithful representation of the features' and could not speak 'in terms sufficiently laudatory' while the report in the

* Below, i, pp 44-8.

Freeman's Journal noted that the 'minutest lines' in the 'pattern of a fancy vest worn by an acquaintance' had been recorded with 'as much precision' as the features and expression of the subject's face. The Dublin Monitor strongly recommended the public 'to pay him a visit and judge for themselves'. A number of the newspaper reports indicated that the authors were familiar with daguerreotypes of poor quality, the Dublin Evening Post stating that 'Treffry's portraits exhibit a distinctness of outline which we have not seen in similar productions'. The daguerreotypes most likely to have been seen by these journalists would have come from Dubreuil's studio. Dublin World praised Treffry's work and made a direct criticism of the quality achieved at Dubreuil's studio:

> The improved method of taking portraits by the truthful system of Daguerre, as adopted by Mr Treffry, very far surpasses the plan pursued at the Rotundo. All the objections to the original plan have been remedied by the new process, and the miniatures taken with it are not only likenesses true to nature, but they are also divested of the harsh and death-like light and shadow which formed just grounds for complaint by all who wished to hand their 'human face divine' down to posterity. We are happy to perceive that Mr Treffry is meeting with the extensive patronage he so well merits.[13]

Fortunately for Dubreuil, Treffry returned to Scotland and, in correspondence with Talbot, investigated the idea of purchasing a licence for using the calotype process of photography for commercial portraiture in London.[14] This process provided a paper negative from which any number of paper positives could be made. Calotype portraits were grainy in appearance and were never serious commercial rivals to finely detailed sharp daguerreotype portraits.[15]

Dubreuil was the only resident professional daguerreotypist in Dublin until 12 November 1842, when an established miniature portrait painter, Horatio Nelson, who exhibited regularly at the Royal Hibernian Academy, announced that he had begun to practise the daguerreotype commercially.

His 'new daguerreotype rooms' were open to the public at 95 Grafton Street, he announced. In a roof-top studio the sitting time for portraits was stated to be of one minute duration and the finished portraits were to be 'in all the colours of nature'. Dublin now had two photographic studios whose owners argued regularly in newspaper columns that their artistry could overcome adverse weather conditions. Both establishments offered to take coloured portraits. Nelson regularly mentioned that he was an artist and therefore had an advantage over the 'mere mechanic' in the arrangement of the subject. For whatever reasons, Nelson was the one who survived. He, perhaps, could rely on the dual nature of a business based on miniature painting and photography. Dubreuil's technique cannot have remained as poor as reported in 1842. Thomas M. Ray, a follower of Daniel O'Connell, remarked that he possessed a daguerreotype of O'Connell taken by Dubreuil 'in Richmond bridewell'. Ray regarded the daguerreotype portrait in his possession as 'a really fine one'. Dubreuil last advertised in March 1844 and on 4 July his photographic studio and daguerreotype equipment were auctioned off by order of the city sheriff to pay his debts. He was not the first daguerreotypist in Ireland to be insolvent. Robert McGee who had practised the daguerreotype in Derry had been reported as insolvent in October 1843.[16] With Dubreuil's bankruptcy Dublin again had one daguerreotypist but this changed later in the year.

On 19 December 1844 Leon Glukman, a Hungarian, opened a studio at 13 Lower Sackville Street (plate 2) with the announcement:

> Mr Glukman has the honour to announce to the nobility, gentry, and public that his establishment is now open. Daguerreotypes, price 12s. 6d. each. A respectable lad will be taken an apprentice.[17]

In the new year the rivalry between Glukman and Nelson began, for Nelson informed the public that his establishment was Dublin's 'original daguerreotype rooms'. Glukman's prices for the season ranged from 12s. 6d. to £10 but Nelson replied with an offer to the public to have daguerreotypes taken at 5s. each. He also offered to copy the 'daguerreotypes of other professors' for the same fee.[18] In reply to Nelson's challenge Glukman retorted:

> Prices are as usual from 12s. 6d. to £10. Parties who intend to purchase a daguerreotype likeness for 5s. cannot possess a real daguerreotype picture. No man likes to work without profit; small remuneration comes slow but sure. An article professed to be sold under its value is a humbug, and he who humbugs the public may succeed for a while, but only for a while, until the quackery comes to be known.[19]

Glukman obstinately refused to be drawn into price-cutting. The rivalry continued on other issues. When Glukman offered to teach daguerreotyping to interested amateurs, Nelson offered to do the same. Nothing was regarded as too insignificant to be the subject of contention and competition. Glukman stated that his hours of business were from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.: Nelson replied almost immediately that his premises were open for business from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.[20]

It seems that there was enough business in the city

for both daguerreotypists as the two continued to trade. It is likely that Nelson still had some demand for miniature painted portraits and possibly lessons in photography and painting. Glukman was also engaged in print-selling in the 1840s and published a number of lithographic portraits taken from daguerreotypes. Glukman was sufficiently successful as a daguerreotypist at his Lower Sackville Street rooms that he acquired the lease on an entire building, 24 Upper Sackville Street. He transferred his business there in April 1847, subletting parts of the building which he did not require. With exposure times down to two or three seconds in ideal conditions, the roof-top studio, which Glukman had used, was not as necessary as it had been. He informed the public that it would be unnecessary to go to the top of the building at his new premises. Glukman claimed to be aware of new developments in photography, going to Germany in 1845 and to London and Paris in 1848. In fact, no significant innovation occurred in the daguerreotype process in the 1840s once a commercial procedure was established at the beginning of the decade. However, it was probably good for business to publicise visits to continental countries and European capitals where the best cameras, lenses, and chemicals were manufactured. Horatio Nelson, Glukman's old rival, last advertised early in 1849 and soon ceased working in Dublin.[21]

Photography was now ten years old. A city the size of Dublin was capable of supporting more than two professional photographers. In fact there had been three daguerreotypists in Dublin in 1848: Glukman, Nelson, and a Professor Blumhe who had taken over Glukman's old roof-top studio at 13 Lower Sackville Street. With Nelson's

disappearance in 1849 the number of daguerreotypists was reduced to two, but by the following year the firm of Barratt & Stanley, established at Nelson's old address, and Joseph H. Pinkney, an American, in Lower Sackville Street, brought the number of daguerreotypists in Dublin to four.[22]

2. The wet-plate collodion process

In 1851 an English sculptor, Frederick Scott Archer, described, in the March issue of The Chemist, a new photographic process whose principal innovation was that a glass plate coated in collodion was sensitised while still wet, and in that state exposed in the camera and developed immediately. Manipulation of the plate was more complicated than the daguerreotype and greater speed and dexterity were required, but the reward of shorter exposures attracted both the amateur and professional. Exposures for landscapes and architectural photographs ranged from ten seconds to one and a half minutes, while small portraits could be taken in two to twenty seconds depending on conditions. It was expensive and complicated to take out a patent in England in 1851 and Archer allowed his process to go patent-free. The new process, collodion wet-plate photography, was a major advance and was to dominate photography for about thirty years. It helped make photography cheaper, and more popular, and started a trend in the expansion of professional photography which was to bring the numbers engaged in professional photography in Ireland to 677 in 1901.[23] (appendices A to F, ii, pp 143-51).

The publication of Archer's process in 1851 had an almost immediate effect on some of the studio owners in Dublin. Barratt & Stanley of Grafton Street appear to have quickly adopted the new process and offered 'finely

finished coloured photographic likenesses, such as cannot otherwise be obtained out of London'. Although by early June 1851 they had decided to leave Dublin and establish a studio in London, Barratt & Stanley did not in fact cease trading in Dublin until April 1852. By then they had set up a studio which was to be officially opened on 1 May at 44 Regent Street, Piccadilly. The firm sought the continued patronage of 'the Irish public who may visit the metropolis'.[24]

Glukman took a more cautious public approach to the new process. Three months after Archer's announcement in The Chemist Glukman advertised in Saunders's Newsletter. His advertisement was entitled 'The daguerreotype'. This was understandable as he had built up a good business and reputation based on that process. He was known to have daguerreotyped 'most eminent persons', protestant and Roman Catholic bishops, Sir Edward Blakeney, commander-in-chief of British forces in Ireland, and a number of Young Ireland leaders.(plates 3, 142). He was unlikely to allow his reputation to be damaged by quickly adopting a new process which might not be an improvement on the daguerreotype. He thanked the 'Irish public for eight years of steadily increasing patronage' of his daguerreotype business but balanced this with the statement that he always kept 'au courant with the progress of scientific discovery'. Striking at Barratt & Stanley's efforts with the collodion wet-plate process, he warned the public against 'the experiments of itinerant practitioners, who have no further interest than to secure a temporary bonus on what is too often no more than a bungling travesty, if not a downright imposture'. When Pinkney returned from Paris, London, and Birmingham to his studio in Sackville Street in June 1852,

he still used the term 'daguerreotype', even though he must have been familiar with the new collodion wet-plate process.[25]

In Belfast there were few daguerreotypists at the beginning of the 1850s.* There were at least two working in Belfast in the summer of 1851: Steinfeld, a German, in York Street, and M. Emile Orange at 2 Castle Buildings. In August 1851 Orange offered to take photographs by either of two processes, the daguerreotype and the calotype. Talbot licensed professionals to use his calotype process about this time and it is possible that Orange was licensed. On the other hand he may have ignored this formality in the hope that Talbot and his legal advisers would not hear of his activities in Belfast. While Orange claimed to use the daguerreotype process, it is possible that in the summer of 1851 he actually supplied portraits made by the new collodion wet-plate process. Oranges's description of his portraits suggest this. The portraits were said to be free of 'dulness and haze' and were in a style 'hitherto unattainable out of Paris'. The flesh tints were 'clear, rich, and warm, as they are in life', and, priced at 5s., could be taken 'in a few seconds'. The claimed quality, newness, short exposure time, and price of the portraits suggest that Orange may have been using the collodion wet-plate process, five months after its announcement in March.[26]

The population of Belfast seems to have been able to support a number of photographers in the mid-1850s. In 1856, Richard Hooke, an artist, offered to make portraits in oils of clients, using 'daguerreotypes, photographs, and other small likenesses' as a starting point for a portrait. Clearly, Hooke was copying photographs and painting in oils

* Above, i, pp 1-2, for Belfast's first daguerreotypist.

over the copies so that the finished works were 'equal in point of truthfulness to those taken from the living subject'. Hooke was prepared to do business through the postal service, with 'persons living at a distance from town'. James Scott Stewart, Castle Place, Belfast, also offered to use 'the new process of oil portraits by photography'. He also claimed that the 'truthfulness of the photograph' was retained in the painted portraits. By the end of the decade, Oliver F. X. Sarony, who had come to Ireland from Quebec in 1843 and had 'travelled the country with his apparatus', had established a photographic studio in Belfast. He was also working seasonally in Britain. From 1857 he began to visit Scarborough for short periods and informed the citizens of Belfast in 1859, for example, that he was leaving the city, but would return 'at the close of the Scarborough season'. He spent the first half of 1861 in Belfast doing studio portraits. Sarony advertised regularly in the first half of 1861 that it 'was positively [his] last season' in Belfast. He became a rich man in the carte-de-visite era* and was reputed to be the wealthiest provincial photographer in Britain.[27]

It would appear that in 1851 the city of Cork did not have a resident photographer. In the year in which the daguerreotype was being superseded by the collodion wet-plate process, the citizens of Cork seemed not to be interested in photography. An artist named Uvedale offered to paint portraits at 21 Old George Street, and Guy Brothers, artists' suppliers, who were later to become the principal photographers in Cork, had 'extensive stocks of artists' and drawing materials' and 'a variety of new works on sketching from nature'. Neither firm mentioned photography, nor did Guy's mention photography later in

* Below, i, pp 20-28.

June and July.[28] However, at the end of the summer season, Leon Glukman came from Dublin and announced that he would stay for a week, taking 'likenesses'. Business was slightly better than he had expected and he stayed to the end of the month, advertising on three further occasions:

> Professor Glukman returns his thanks for the liberal patronage bestowed upon him by the citizens of Cork, which induces him to remain for a short time longer in this city, previous to returning to his residence, 24 Upper Sackville Street, Dublin.[29]

Perhaps Glukman had considered opening a branch studio in Cork and came to test the market. He may have been encouraged initially by the fact that Cork did not appear to have a permanent photographer. Glukman's return to Dublin and the lack of response from any local photographer, full-time or part-time, to the challenge of Glukman's advertisements in the Cork Examiner, suggest that there was not enough business in the city at this time to support a photographer.

Cork may have had only one professional photographer in the latter half of the decade. No photographer advertised in the Cork Examiner in 1856, for example; this may suggest that there was one photographer operating without opposition in Cork or that the city had no photographer. By 1861 there were four professional photographers in the city of Cork. This suggests that Cork may have had two studios, with one person in each studio free to attend to clients in reception, while the other worked in the darkroom. While it would be possible to manage a photographic studio single-handed, the nature of darkroom work, the working of a chemical process and procedures involving the use of corrosive and staining

solutions in a closed darkroom inaccessible to the public, demanded at least two people.[30] (appendix B, ii, pp 144-5).

In the next few years the wet-plate process superseded the daguerreotype in Dublin. James Robinson, an optician at 65 Grafton Street, informed the public that he had a large stock of fresh chemicals to work 'the collodion process of photography' and that he was 'in constant practice'. A year later, in 1854, Robinson pointed out the virtues of a portrait taken by the new process. He correctly stated that the image was not reversed left to right, as in a daguerreotype image, nor did portraits now have 'the painful expression so remarkable in daguerreotypes on account of the time of exposure'. Portraits could be taken, he said, 'in a few seconds', and were 'indestructible' and much cheaper than any other process.[31]

The retail price of photographic portraits dropped in the 1850s and this seems to have contributed to a rise in the popularity of studio photographs. Early in the decade Robinson's took glass photographs ranging from 5s. to one guinea. In 1858 James Simonton and Thomas Millard, who had opened up the first studio in Ireland in 1841, were in partnership at 39 Lower Sackville and sold 'exquisitely finished and coloured vignette portraits in silk cases' at 5s. each, 'glass pictures' ranged upwards from 2s. 6d. and paper photographs, larger than the glass photographs, were 5s. each. Their nearby rivals, Lauder Brothers, offered to take coloured portraits and present them in 'shut-up cases'. These ranged upwards in price from 1s. 6d. each and portraits similar to ivory miniatures were available from 2s. 6d.. A. M. Sullivan had a paper portrait, priced 5s., taken at Millard & Robinson's in the summer of 1859.

In England also in the mid-1850s a paper photograph cost 5s..[32]

The wet-plate process was versatile. It could provide glass and paper photographs. A negative image on glass, when backed by black paper or varnished black at the back of the plate, produced a positive image. Portraits made by this method replaced the daguerreotype and became very popular in the 1850s in Britain, the continent, and the United States. They were often called ambrotypes. Glass negatives could be used to provide paper photographs, of both portraits and landscapes. In July 1853 Robinson's of Grafton Street offered 'a great variety of pictures on glass' of objects in the Dublin International Exhibition and a year later offered 'magnificent specimens of photography on paper and on glass'. The following year James Robinson succeeded in taking 'eight beautiful photographs' of Donnybrook fair, 'this celebrated annual scene of amusement and fun'. The process was sensitive enough to allow him to take scenes there instantaneously and to make prints 17" x 12". Robinson continued to advertise both 'portraits on glass' and 'paper portraits' in the decade from 1850 to 1860.[33]

Studio photographers in the 1850s adorned their premises with photographic views and portraits of public figures. Initially this may have been done for promotional reasons. James Robinson used 'portraits of the most celebrated men of our city' to attract business from locals and visitors to Dublin. The portraits of eminent citizens do not appear to have been offered for sale on these occasions. In April 1860, however, Simonton & Millard announced that they had photographed Captain Sir Francis McClintock R.N., whose portrait was then added to 'their

gallery of distinguished personages'. He had returned from the Arctic in 1859 and confirmed that the explorer Sir John Franklin had died there some years previously. Simonton & Millard photographed 'the elite of this country distinguished in the clerical, legal, medical, and scientific professions'. Their patrons included 'most of the lecturers and divines who have appeared in the Metropolitan Hall' in Dublin. Simonton & Millard's most distinguished patrons included the solicitor general, the lord lieutenant, Field Marshal Lord Seaton, and Inspector-General Sir Henry J. Brownrigg, C.B.. In the late 1850s the cost of paper photographs of leading citizens was 5s.[34]

In the 1850s there was an extensive demand in Dublin for prints and cuttings suitable for preservation in scrap-books. These would be pasted into albums or scrap-books, or framed and hung to adorn a room, according to the personal taste and requirements of the purchaser.(plate 4). Lesage's, at 40 Lower Sackville Street, was one firm that sold such material. Lesage's regularly received 'all the newest engravings, coloured scraps, and lithographs from London and Paris'. Ten years later, Lesage carried on a similar business of print-seller, stationer, and artist's provider, with the significant difference that he now stocked photographs. By 1857, for example, Lesage was importing 'several cases of photographs from Paris' for the summer season. At the beginning of the 1860s he sold a 'great variety of photographs' imported from Rome and Paris, as well as stocking Irish photographic views. One other firm, Robinson's of Grafton Street, was also seriously interested in this trade.[35]

The trade in photographic views was stimulated by the commercial development of the stereoscope. The refracting

stereoscope, perfected in 1849 by a Scot, Sir David Brewster, was a hand-held viewer fitted with twin lenses which enabled two almost identical photographs of the same scene to be viewed simultaneously, thus creating a three-dimensional effect. This device became commercially available in 1851. Its particular attraction was that scenes taken in foreign lands could be viewed three-dimensionally, giving the person viewing a sensation of being actually present at the scene. In 1852 Barratt & Stanley offered to take 'likenesses for the stereoscope' of visitors to London.[36]

Collecting and viewing stereoscopic photographs of people and places became popular in Ireland in the 1850s. The interest in single photographs also continued. Throughout the 1850s there were therefore two types of customer for photographic prints, the purchaser of single prints, usually made to an enlarged size, and the purchaser of small stereoscopic pairs of photographs. The former would paste up the photographs in albums or frame them to adorn a room.(plate 5). In 1855 James Robinson sold some photographs at 1s. each. The other form in which photographs were available, the stereoscopic pair, was viewed in a stereoscope held in the hand or mounted on a table. Initially the device was expensive but by the end of the decade Richardson's of Capel Street were selling stereoscopes at 6s. 6d. and stereoscopic pairs of photographs at 7d. a pair. Robinson spoke of the arrival of an 'immense number of stereoscopes and stereoscopic pictures' to his premises in 1856. The subject matter included 'objects of art, statuary, views of Italian, Swiss, and other foreign and home scenery'. In one consignment he received a hundred dozen of stereoscopic

slides. Continental photographic views were also available in Belfast, Magill's of Donegall Place offering 'very fine photographic views of Rome'.[37]

The very best contemporary photographs of British and Continental views could be bought in Dublin in the 1850s and early 1860s.(plate 6). Lesage's kept stocks of photographs by some of the best-known French photographers: the Bisson brothers, Auguste and Louis, who had a reputation for large paper photographs of architectural and Alpine views. Lesage also kept stocks of the work of Edouard Baldus who was noted for his photographic views especially of mountains. The work of the Bisson brothers and Baldus included photographs of 'statues, landscapes, monuments, and subjects from paintings'. The Stereoscopic Warerooms at Lower Abbey Street stocked the views of George Washington Wilson of Aberdeen, and Francis Bedford, an English landscape and architectural photographer. Wilson had a growing reputation as a landscape photographer and Bedford's reputation was such that in 1862 he was commissioned to accompany the prince of Wales's tour of Egypt. In 1866 Guy's of Cork claimed to have 'the finest, cheapest, and largest selection of photographic views of Ireland'.[38]

3. The carte-de-visite era

As the 1850s progressed a number of photographers considered ways in which costs could be reduced. André Adolphe Disderi, a well-known Parisian photographer, devised a method by which eight portraits could be taken on one glass negative. Each photograph on paper, known as a carte-de-visite, was 2¼" x 3½". It was mounted on a card of slightly larger dimensions. Disderi patented his

technique in November 1854 but his idea did not become fashionable until May 1859, when Napoleon III, about to campaign in northern Italy, halted his troops in the Boulevard des Italiens and went into Disderi's studio to be photographed. This set a fashion in Paris and other European cities. The carte-de-visite was known in England in 1857 but only became popular when John J. Mayall photographed Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and their children in May 1860. These photographs were published three months later and made it fashionable in Britain to be photographed in the carte-de-visite style, to exchange cartes with acquaintances, and to collect such photographs and the cartes of celebrities.[39]

John Lavery, photographed in a Glasgow art and photographic studio where he worked in the mid-1870s, described the experience of being photographed in the carte-de-visite style. He posed with a young lady friend in the same manner as Victoria and Albert had posed for John J. Mayall, the gentleman sitting and the lady standing.(plate 7). Lavery was twenty years of age and in love:

> Soon I took her to be photographed at McNairn's studio, I sitting on a papier mâché rock, and she standing by my side with a hand possessively on my shoulder, with a distant view of the Clyde on a painted screen in the background. She had on her Sunday frock for the occasion, and I a fashionable short-tailed tweed suit buttoned up to the neck showing tie and cameo-pin. My thumb was in my trouser pocket, slightly drawing back the coat that I might display my silver watch-and-chain.[40]

In 1861 the carte-de-visite photograph was promoted vigorously in Dublin. George Mansfield advertised early in January that he would devote 'special attention to the

carte-de-visite photographs which will be found fully equal to the productions of the first continental artists'. Mansfield had invested in new dressing rooms, workrooms, and 'every modern improvement and recent suggestion' expected in a contemporary studio. Later that year his rival in Grafton Street, Robinson, took *cartes-de-visite*, as did Thomas North at 71 Grafton Street. By the following year Edgar Adolphe, Forster & Scott, James Simonton, and other photographic firms in Dublin also promoted the *carte-de-visite* personal portrait. By the mid-1860s Nelson & Marshall, Upper Sackville Street, claimed to produce '*cartes-de-visite* and large photographs equal to Disderi's and Mayall's finest specimens'.[41]

The 1860s was a time of expansion for professional photography in Ireland. In 1861, the first year photographers were classified in the census, there were 101 photographers in Ireland, compared with fewer than 10 in 1851 and 1 in 1841. In 1871 there were 243 professional photographers in Ireland. The city and county of Dublin had 103 photographers, the city of Cork had 11, and Belfast had 32. In the first summer season of the *carte-de-visite* being available in Dublin, three Grafton street studios looked for extra staff: North's, Lawrence's, and Robinson's. The advertisers sought experienced persons. North's wanted a 'respectable youth to assist in the printing and finishing department'. Knowledge of the art was 'indispensable'. Lawrence's sought 'a lad who has had some practice at printing, mounting, &c. of paper photographs', while Robinson's business had expanded sufficiently to employ a number of 'photographic printers'.[42] (appendix F, ii, p. 151).

Opportunities for employment in photographic studios

increased throughout the 1860s. In 1864 in a four week period in May-June nine jobs were advertised by the Dublin studios. These included senior and junior cameramen or operators, photographic printers and mounters, and a receptionist. Occasionally Dublin studios employed continental cameramen. Allen's of Westland Row employed a 'French operator' from the studio of Bellor in Paris and Lesage's employed an operator from the highly esteemed Reutlinger's of Paris. Employment opportunities in photography in Dublin continued through the 1860s with situations being available in 1867 as camera operators, and photograph printers, mounters, and framers. The following year Chancellor's required two printers at the beginning of the summer season. There were opportunities for inexperienced persons, with Morganti's of Lower Sackville Street seeking an apprentice and Schroeder's of Grafton Street offering a situation to a 'smart boy from 15 to 17 years of age'.[43]

The carte-de-visite portrait was also available in Belfast in 1861.* Oliver Sarony offered to take portraits 'in the new style' in January 1861 but the price mentioned, £1. 1s., was much greater than the contemporary price for cartes in the British Isles. Sarony advertised regularly in Belfast from January to June without mentioning 'cartes' or 'cartes-de-visite'. Nevertheless, when he offered 'ten [photographs] for one guinea' in March, it seems certain that the carte-de-visite had arrived in the north of Ireland. Later, other photographers offered to take photographs at prices similar to the contemporary price for cartes: J. Robinson at the Crystal Palace, Queen's Island, Belfast, would take coloured likenesses at 1s.. The following year James Magill, Donegall Place, made

* Above, i, pp 13-14, Belfast studios in the 1850s.

'extensive improvements' to his studio and offered to take fifteen '<u>carte-de-visite</u>' portraits for 21*s*. or six for 10*s*. 6*d*.. By May 1862, he had taken <u>cartes</u> of the lord lieutenant, the viscountess Masserene, the Dowager Lady Dufferin, Lord Lurgan, and others.[44]

In Belfast in the mid-1860s rivalry between new photographic firms also occurred. In 1866 James Magill offered to take portraits in the <u>carte-de-visite</u> style. He would also supply photographic 'novelties' and copy by photography the oil paintings, drawings, daguerreotypes, plans, maps, and 'articles of vertu' of clients. Magill offered to send out a photographer to photograph a client's 'horses, dogs, and cattle' in 'any part of Ireland'. His work could be seen in the 'spacious and recently enlarged reception and show rooms'. Adams & Dowling were also in Donegall Place and they were also prepared to travel to clients and photograph them at home and at leisure. They would photograph 'noblemen's and gentlemen's residences ... cricket, croquet, pic-nic, or wedding parties' and aged persons at home 'without leaving their rooms'. To these clients, outside Belfast, they would send specimen work 'on application'. Ward & Co. were also in Donegall Place and they invited the public to view their work 'in the reception rooms'.[45] (appendix G, ii, pp 152-4).

The practice of buying photographic portraits of well-known persons, which had begun in the 1850s, now continued and expanded. In 1861 James Robinson advertised:

> Just received a very large and beautiful collection of photographs of his royal highness the prince of Wales, and other members of the royal family; also portraits of Lord Campbell, Count Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, &c., together with a magnificent assortment of photographic albums.[46]

Robinson's stock was not unrivalled in Dublin. There was competition. Austin's of Westmoreland Street offered portraits of 'members of the royal family of England, all the crowned heads of Europe, the emperor of China, eminent statesmen, divines, &c.' at 1s. 6d. each or seven portraits for 10s.. In Cork in 1861 a carte-de-visite of Pope Pius IX could be bought for 1s. or would be sent by post on receipt of thirteen stamps. The Stereoscopic Warerooms in Lower Abbey Street had 'carte-de-visite portraits of eminent personages in great variety' for sale. In Belfast in 1867 Ward's of Donegall Place showed photographs painted in oils of local personalities, to attract patrons. The subjects of the exhibited portraits were Lord and Lady Cairns and Lord and Lady Dufferin. Ward's also offered for sale a 'new portrait' of Anthony Trollope. As the decade progressed other types of firm entered the trade: in 1864, Smith's, picture-framers in Anglesea Street, Dublin, kept stocks of 'an immense variety' of carte-de-visite celebrities; towards the end of the 1860s, Reilly's, stationers, 24 Grafton Street, had a catalogue listing 'carte-de-visite of over 1000 celebrated characters'.[47]

The cartes-de-visite on sale in Dublin were not only of famous foreigners and scenes from abroad. The rival firms of Robinson's and Cranfield's, both in Grafton Street, sold a carte-de-visite of a Dublin surgeon, Francis Rynd, in 1861. Burke's of Lower Ormond Quay published a number of cartes-de-visite which included Most Rev. Dr Richard Whately, archbishop of Dublin, Oliver Plunket, Henry Grattan, and Daniel O'Connell. Clearly, the cartes of Plunket and Grattan were photographic copies of paintings or drawings. John Gough of Eustace Street, book-

seller and stationer, could supply cartes of statuary and works of art shown in the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865, and Forster & Scott offered for sale a carte of Sir John Gray. Cartes-de-visite of fenian leaders were sold in Dublin in 1867 by a number of retailers. Chancellor's of Lower Sackville Street were appointed photographers to the princess of Wales in July 1868 and to the lord lieutenant, Lord Spencer in May 1869, and would have sold cartes of both persons. In 1863 James Magill of Donegall Place, Belfast, was also 'photographer to the lord lieutenant'.[48] (plate 8).

Photographers specialised within the genre of portraiture. In 1863, Gibson's portrait studio of Castle Lane, Belfast, stocked 'portraits of the leading clergymen of Belfast and neighbourhood'. Almost ten years later William Lawrence of Upper Sackville Street was given permission by the 'loan portrait' committee of the Dublin International Exhibition of 1872 to photograph the 'national historical portraits' displayed in the exhibition. Lawrence published 336 such portraits, the copying of some of which required permission from the governors of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham.* In 1869 Lesage of Sackville Street, employing his newly acquired studio photographer from Reutlinger's of Paris, had photographed most of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland. The collection of portraits included 'cardinals, archbishops and bishops' and other clergymen. Print dimensions of 14" x 11" were possible while quality was still retained. The editor of the The British Journal of Photography was very impressed with this work from Lesage's studio. Lesage's photographer was confronted by the technical problem of having to calculate an exposure which

* Below, i, pp 124-5.

would adequately render two contrasting tones: the bronzed skin texture of the face and hands of the subject and the fine detail of white lacework in vestments. A portrait of Dr Lawrence Gillooly, bishop of Elphin, was adjudged by the editor to be a 'fine example of softness and harmony', while the face of Dr Thomas Furlong, bishop of Ferns, was 'full of fine detail' notwithstanding the 'great sharpness' of the lacework. The portrait of Dr David Moriarty, bishop of Kerry, 'taken in a black soutane' was found to be 'more pictorially graceful' than the portraits of the bishops with ornate dress. It is likely that these portraits of the Irish hierarchy were included in a presentation album, made up by Lesage, and presented to the Pope when the Irish bishops attended the Vatican Council. Cardinal Cullen, when in Rome in March-April 1870, was concerned that an album by Lesage had 'not arrived'. He wrote on four occasions to Dublin about the matter. On the last occasion he wrote rather sadly that 'Lesage's book arrived whilst I was away and Father Maher took it off to the exposition. I suppose the Pope will get it afterwards'.[49]

The introduction of the carte-de-visite to Dublin brought about a further drop in the retail price of photographic prints. In 1862 Edgar Adolphe of Grafton Street charged 2s. for the first carte supplied, and 6s. a dozen for subsequent copies. Cartes-de-visite coloured in water colours cost 1s., and 1s. 6d. if finished in oils. In Belfast in 1863 prices were similar: Gibson's of Castle Lane offered to supply personal portraits at 8s. for six copies or 12s. for a dozen cartes-de-visite. At the same time Magill's rate was eight cartes for 10s. 6d. or twenty cartes for 21s. The following year a lady photographer charged similar prices at her Sackville Street studio.

Adolphe's halved the price of the first *carte* purchased and offered subsequent copies at 4*s*. 6*d*. for seven *cartes*. The keenest prices in Dublin for *cartes-de-visite* in quantity were offered by a branch of the London Metropolitan Co., which would supply the first *carte* at 1*s*. and a subsequent dozen at 4*s*. 6*d*.. Forster & Scott's offer, in the early 1860s, of ten *cartes* for 10*s*. does not seem competitive but they did offer to supply twenty-four subsequent *cartes* at one guinea.[50]

Studios retained negatives in the hope of getting repeat orders but could not be sure of getting such business as other studios were prepared to copy *cartes* at 3*s*. per dozen. Burke's of Nassau Street and Ormond Quay openly advertised for such work. A number of London firms regularly advertised in the Irish newspapers in the 1860s offering to make copies from a supplied *carte*. The rate for six *cartes* was 1*s*. 8*d*., a dozen *cartes* cost 2*s*. 8*d*., and twenty four *cartes* cost 5*s*. The practice of London firms advertising in Irish newspapers for this type of work continued into the 1870s. A firm in Cheapside, London, regularly advertised in the *Belfast Newsletter*, for example, in 1867 and 1872, seeking this type of work.[51]

Ready-made *cartes-de-visite* of royalty and other public figures were also keenly priced as compared with prices for photographic prints in the previous decade. In 1861 Austin's of Westmoreland Street offered *cartes* at 1*s*. 6*d*. each or seven *cartes* for 10*s*.. They also offered to send seven *cartes* 'free by post' for the same price. The Stereoscopic Warerooms in Lower Abbey Street had a slightly better offer at 15*s*. per dozen. In the second half of the decade prices for *cartes* of personalities remained similar, Chancellor's, for example, offering a *carte-de-visite* of an

actress in the role of Mary Queen of Scots at 1*s*..[52]

From 1861 albums suitable for the collection and display of *cartes-de-visite* were available at different prices. In that year a number of retailers in the city, Robinson's, Mansfield's, the Stereoscopic Warerooms, Greene's of Clare Street, Austin's, and Lesage's had all received stocks of new album designs including those suited to the collection of *cartes-de-visite*. The Stereoscopic Warerooms offered five different albums, at prices from 5*s*. to 16*s*., capable of holding from ten to fifty *cartes*. A year later in 1862 an album to hold fifty *cartes* was advertised at 7*s*. 6*d*. As the decade progressed albums at lower prices were offered to the public. In 1867 Carson Bros., 7 Grafton Street, offered an album to hold 100 photographs at 8*s*. 6*d*. and one to hold 200 photographs at 10*s*. 6*d*.. In 1866 in Cork, Ross & Co. offered albums for sale from 6*d*. to 25*s*.. These albums had a capacity ranging from 20 to 200 photographs. Reilly's, stationers, 24 Grafton Street had keener prices in 1868 with albums to hold 200 photographs at 9*s*. each. There were also de-luxe albums available in the 1860s ranging in price from £2. 10*s*. to £6.[53]

4. The *carte-de-visite* and the employment of women

The 1860s provided opportunities for the employment of women in photographic studios in Dublin. Generally speaking women were not employed as camera operators. *Carte-de-visite* photographs were taken 'by a lady' at Mrs O'Neill's Gallery in Lower Sackville Street in 1863 and in the early 1870s a Miss Allen specialised in photographing children at Allen's studio in Westland Row. Miss Allen probably inherited the firm that had traded as M. Allen &

Co. since the 1850s. Allen's had been artists' suppliers and picture-frame makers. They included photography in their business from about 1865. Advertisements claimed that Miss Allen specialised in child photography but it is clear that she employed a Mr Fox for a number of years to do this work. By 1873 the firm seemed to be solely engaged in professional photography, and portrait painting was being done in the same building by Margaret Allen.[54]

The nature of the carte-de-visite, a small paper photograph, and the rising demand for copies in quantity provided opportunities for retouching prints and negatives, trimming prints and mounts, and mounting and water-colouring photographs. Most of these jobs were offered to girls and women. The position of studio receptionist was also offered to women. In 1862 Adolphe's of Grafton Street 'wanted two girls used to a [photographic] gallery to mount cartes-de-visite'. Adolphe's hoped that the applicants would have 'a slight knowledge of printing' so that, perhaps, they could be usefully occupied in the darkroom also. Schroeder's, in the same street, also expected a 'young lady' to perform a number of tasks: 'to tint and touch pictures and attend in reception, keep books &c.'. This pattern was repeated in Dublin in the first half of the decade with Millard & Robinson seeking 'a young lady of good manners and address', for 'mounting photographs and to assist in the reception room'. Later in the decade William Lawrence also sought women employees for framing and mounting photographs, and Robertson & Co. of Grafton Street advertised two positions for women, one of which was 'for a young lady to take charge of a photographic reception room'. The other situation advertised was for 'a young girl to cut and mount pictures'. Women who had no

experience of 'painting photographs' advertised for tuition and occasionally classes offering instruction in how to colour photographs were advertised in newspapers. By 1871 there were 34 women employed in photography in Ireland. Of these, 19 were in Dublin, 2 were in Cork city and 2 were in Belfast. From 1871 to 1901 women were to have an increasing share of the jobs in photography: 1871 (14%), 1881 (20%), 1891 (31%), 1901 (34%).[55] (appendices D and F, ii, pp 147-8, 151).

5. Competition and rivalry in the 1860s

When studio photography expanded in the 1860s a number of firms, already established in other businesses, set up photographic departments on their premises: Mansfield's was a furniture suppliers; North's, jewellers; Robinson's, opticians; Lesage's, stationers and print sellers; Cranfield's, picture framers and print publishers, and Lawrence's was a fancy goods firm. In Belfast in 1856 James Magill was a printseller, gilder, picture-frame maker, and a restorer of oil paintings. By the 1860s he had included photography in his business. Ward & Co. of Belfast promoted the photographic section of their business in the 1860s; originally in the 1850s they had been stationers, binders, and artists' providers.[56]

One of the problems for these studio owners in the 1860s and for firms solely devoted to studio photography was that there was a tendency for camera operator employees to resign and open up their own studio or to go into partnership. James Simonton and Thomas Millard were in partnership from 1857 to 1862, Millard probably being the owner, Simonton being the studio manager and senior camera operator. Simonton left in 1862 to establish his own

business in Grafton Street, later worked for Edwards & Co., and then traded as Edwards & Simonton. Millard then went into partnership with John Veda Robinson and they traded as Millard & Robinson for twenty years. T. F. Haskoll had been six years with Mansfield's but left in 1864 to form a partnership with Willian C. Forster who had been in partnership in the late firm of Forster & Scott.[57] The firm of Forster & Haskoll continued to trade under that name when Forster emigrated to Canada. David D. Hodgens and W. D. Samuels had both been involved in photographic work at Chancellor's, the former as a partner of John Chancellor, but they opened their own studios in the 1860s. In 1873 Lawrence's of Upper Sackville Street announced that they had secured for child photography 'Mr Fox for many years principal operator at M. Allen & Co'. Rudolf Mayer of Castle Place, Belfast, had worked for two Belfast firms, Ward's and Magill's, before setting up his own studio. Hembry's of Donegall Place, Belfast, stated that their photographer was 'late with Mr Magill', and Adair's, in the same street, were proud to announce that Mr Mavius, a silver medal winner in the Royal Photographic Society exhibition, had come from a rival studio in Ann Street, Belfast.[58]

6. Outdoor photographic work

Dublin professional photographers did not confine their work to studio portraiture. In the daguerreotype period Dubreuil photographed Daniel O'Connell in Richmond bridewell and Horatio Nelson offered to take photographs of prize cattle at the annual R.D.S. agricultural show. Outdoor work was continued in the 1850s, when, for example, James Robinson photographed Donnybrook fair in 1854.* The

* Above, i, p. 17.

following year, a professional photographer, 'Mr Franks', of 39 Lower Sackville Street, offered to take photographs between Kingstown and Howth. All professional studio advertising in the 1860s sought portraiture work in the studio but some photographic studios did seek other work. In 1862 Forster & Scott were 'prepared to photograph wedding parties and family groups'. At that time such photographs may have been taken in the studio in Westmoreland Street but by the end of the 1860s Lawrence's of Upper Sackville street were prepared to attend and photograph wedding parties 'in any part of the Kingdom'. Lawrence's employed 'special outdoor artists' for this work.[59]

Other firms did outdoor work also. Millard & Robinson offered to photograph machinery. 'The study and attention we have given this extensive branch of our profession and the photographs we have produced have made us pre-eminently noted for this branch of our profession' they claimed. The firm was prepared to photograph 'every kind of engineering and mechanical work' and mechanical drawings, designs, and models. Some of this work could be handled in the studio but some would necessitate photography on the customer's premises. This aspect of the firm's business was probably influenced by the different backgrounds of both partners. Thomas Millard was a building contractor and 'clever mechanic' while John V. Robinson, the studio manager, was an inventor who regularly corresponded in the photographic press and was to take out a number of patents in his lifetime.

The editor of the <u>The British Journal of Photography</u> was very impressed with five photographs taken by the firm in the banqueting hall of Dublin castle. The hall was

prepared for a banquet on St. Patrick's day. In a 'beautiful view of the room' the lighting was found to be very satisfactory' and 'the definition remarkably good'. Photographs of gold and silver plate were found to be 'soft and rich in detail' but 'not wanting in brilliancy'. Another photograph of the 'massive silver chandelier and central table ornaments' was found to be 'the most technically beautiful'. Millard & Robinson were capable of taking a 'most attractive' view of the dining hall and its furniture. The presentation of the photographs was remarked upon. The prints, which were of a 'neat fresh appearance' mounted by india-rubber according to the method of John V. Robinson, were bound in a large album of blue and gold. The editor congratulated Millard & Robinson on the 'beauty and finish of their prints' and their 'artistic taste'. Clearly, Millard & Robinson was a fully equipped photographic firm, capable of very high-class photographic work, who had the confidence of the lord lieutenant, the marquis of Abercorn, who had invited them to photograph the scene of 'St. Patrick's banquet and hall' when the prince of Wales came in April 1868.[60] *

In the period 1869-72 a number of the Dublin professional studios, Lawrence's, Lesage's, and Chancellor's, looked for outdoor work more vigorously than formerly. In 1869 Lesage's announced that 'special arrangements' were being made for 'outdoor photography'. Lawrence's sought business in the same year from 'military groups and regiments' in any part of the kingdom and would also call on the proprietors of 'residences and demesnes' to do photographic work as required. Chancellor's may have been the best organised of the Dublin studios for this type of work. They were watchmakers and jewellers with a

* Below, ii, pp 105-06.

photographic department and the proprietor, John Chancellor, would almost certainly not have done photographic work himself but employed a man to do it. In May 1870 Chancellor's was 'commissioned by one of the largest publishing houses in London to produce a series of views in all parts of Ireland'. For this reason, Chancellor's 'fitted up with all the latest appliances an ingenious travelling operating room, in the shape of a covered wagonette'. It was Chancellor's intention 'to photograph the residences of the nobility in the neighbourhood visited'. John Chancellor opened a registry at his premises to receive the names and addresses of patrons 'who wish his artist to call upon them during his tour'. Chancellor's most vigorous campaign to do with this proposal was in the summer of 1871. Edwards & Co., Grafton Street, offered to take outdoor photographs in 1878 and at the end of the decade Robinson's were willing to do outdoor photography, including photographing weddings. As the decade progressed more professionals became established in the provinces and handled such work. By 1881 every county in Ireland, with the exceptions of Longford and Mayo, had a professional photographer.[61]

7. Frederick Holland Mares

One of the outstanding Dublin firms of the 1860s was Mares's of Grafton Street. The proprietor, Frederick Holland Mares, had been a member of the Dublin Photographic Society and had opened his Grafton Street studio in about 1856.* When the commercial printing of paper photographs came into vogue Mares took and published a wide variety of photographs. Mares took many outdoor views in Ireland in the established tourist areas: Dublin, Wicklow, Killarney

* Below, i, pp 225-7, for his work in prison.

and the Giant's Causeway.(plate 9). In each case he published a number of views. He also published sets of views from outside Ireland, e.g. in Scotland, in North Wales, of Westminster Abbey, and twelve interiors of Buckingham Palace. Mares also specialised in making photographs using drawings of donkeys in various poses. Humorous remarks were included in the photographs and occasionally spoken words were attributed to donkeys. He also took a number of portraits of the prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra.[62] Mares also took photographs or created photographic montages of a wide range of political figures: Jefferson Davis, president of the confederate states of America (1861-65), Abraham Lincoln, 'Italy's Friends and Foes', 'Heroes of Waterloo', 'Statesmen of the American Civil War', 'Reigning Sovereigns', and 'Poland's Patriots'. Under the Copyright (Works of Art) Act of 1862 Mares registered his photographs at Stationers' hall, London.(plate 10). In the period August 1862 to May 1863 he registered over 150 photographs of which he was both author and copyright owner. In the second half of the 1860s Mares's photographs were published in books of Irish views. Many of these views were exhibited at the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865. A reviewer spoke in praise of Mares's landscape work:

> Amongst the Irish professional photographers in landscape work, Mr Mares of Dublin stands pre-eminent. His pictures of Killarney and views in the county of Wicklow are very beautiful, and give evidence of a cultivated eye and artistic taste in the selection of his subjects and points of view.[63]

Mares worked hard at building up his business. He does not seem to have advertised very extensively in

Ireland in the 1860s. He used a London agent, Ashford, Brothers, & Co. of Newgate Street, as a distributor to the trade. They sold his photographs in large quantities and also protected his interests. Ashford's discovered in May 1867 that a photograph taken by Mares was being sold by Thomas Wilson, a stationer, of High Street, St. John's Wood. The photograph was entitled 'Eminent persons' and was a piracy of Mares's original. Mares tried to get his solicitor to settle the matter firmly but quietly. Wilson did not respond to this. An Ashford's assistant bought two copies of 'Eminent persons' on two occasions at Wilson's shop and Wilson was warned in writing twice that he was 'laying himself open to a prosecution under the copyright act' of 1862. Wilson was not the manufacturer of the pirated photographs but in the Marylebone police court it was revealed that he was making inroads into 'a very valuable source of profit to Mr Mares' by his sales of the photograph, which was extremely popular. Ashford's, Mares's agent, 'was selling the print at the rate of seventy to one hundred dozen per day' according to the prosecuting counsel. Mares's counsel also stated that his purpose was 'not to press for punishment' but rather 'to let the trade know' by imposing a nominal fine, that Wilson had no right to sell the prints. Mares won the case with a 1s. fine and costs being imposed on the defendant.[64]

8. Commercial photographic prints, 1870-1884

In the 1870s the keeping of photographs in albums continued to be popular. Collectors could always be attracted by the variety of subject matter available, by the newness of a photograph, and by the fact that some photographs were taken by well-known photographers. Reilly's of Grafton

Street was probably the leading photographic print-sellers in Dublin in the 1870s. Reilly's stocked photographic views taken by Francis Frith of Reigate, some of which included Egyptian subjects such as 'temples, colossi, sphinxes, ... columns, tombs, obelisks'. Reilly's stocked a total of five thousand different titles, some selling for as little as 4d. each. The firm reached customers outside Dublin by offering a catalogue at 2d.. Early in the 1860s a catalogue was sent gratis to enquirers. 'Selection parcels' were sent free on request. By 1872 Reilly's stocked '3000 [Frith] views in all parts of the world' and had '300 views of the English cathedrals'. In response, probably to a rival's idea, Reilly's offered to arrange, mount, and name photographs in an album for customers. Two years earlier, Donovan & Co., trading in the same street, made an offer of a 'handsome scrap album free of charge' to purchasers of scrap photos. In the late 1870s Reilly's regularly had thirty thousand photographs in stock.[65]
In the 1870s a number of Dublin photographic studios and retailers offered to 'attend evening parties, schools, hospitals, and other institutions' during the winter months and entertain the audience with lantern shows. Some of the images shown would have been drawings but others would have been photographs. Robinson's included 'instructive, humorous, and miscellaneous subjects' in their repertoire. Clients outside Dublin could hire 'lanterns and slides post free'. Chancellor's and Robinson's offered a lantern and slides for sale at 7s. 6d.. Chancellor's slide subjects included 'fairy tales, natural history, astronomy, [and] illustrated travels through the world'. This firm would supply a lantern and slides and send a member of the staff to organise a show 'in town or country'.[66]

In the 1870s and 1880s photographic print-sellers began to sell an increasing number of photographs that had a topical or news value. In July 1871, for example, Reilly's of Grafton Street, in response to the contemporary cause célèbre, offered for sale 'portraits of the original Sir Roger Tichborne, the Dowager Lady Tichborne, the present claimant, and a sketch of the claimant made in court'. These were priced at 1s. each, post free. Early the following year Reilly's added a portrait of a member of the Tichborne jury to their list. Photographic piracy or the suggestion of piracy was never far away from the photographic print trade and Reilly's fought to clear their name in early January 1877, in pantomime season, when it was rumoured in Dublin that they had sold a portrait of Dick Whittington:

> Mr Thomas H. Reilly, printseller, 24 Grafton Street, Dublin, begs to intimate in reply to numerous inquiries and assertions that he never published, sold, or exposed for sale in his establishment any photographic portrait of Dick Whittington in character.[67]

Reilly's continued to stock photographs of theatre personalities and, while the actress Mary Anderson was appearing at the Gaiety Theatre in Dublin in a number of musical shows, Reilly's advertised daily that they had 'new photographs, all sizes, of this famous actress, in various characters, just received'. The Fitzwilliam tennis club was founded in 1877 and its championship tournament was first organised in 1879. In the 1880s photographs of the Fitzwilliam tennis tournament in Dublin could be purchased in the last week of May. These were not action photographs but 'group photographs of the competitors and committee'

and participants in the championship doubles and singles. Photographs commemorating sports events were not new; Marcus Ward's, Donegall Place, Belfast, offered for sale photographs of cricket teams, England and North of Ireland, in 1867. In 1880 a Belfast photographer offered to take group photographs at 'cricket, lacrosse, football, and rowing clubs'. Lawrence's and Robinson's both offered tennis tournament photographs in 1884 when the tournament was still newsworthy. Percy French commemorated the tournament in a poem illustrated by ink drawings, published in pamphlet form, and available through Messrs Elvery's, suppliers of sports goods. Ye tale of ye tournament, 1884 was illustrated by R. C. Orpen. Three years later Robinson's put 'photographs of players' in the tennis tournament of that year 'on view' at their premises.[68]

In June 1879 Lauder Brothers offered photographs of the unveiling of Sir John Gray's statue in Sackville Street. One view was of the 'statue unveiled', the other was of 'His Grace the Most Rev. Dr McHale leaving [the] platform to enter [his] carriage after the ceremony'. The two views could be purchased for 1s. 6d. the day after the unveiling. The ceremony began at 3 p.m. and the Irish Times carried an advertisement for the photographs the following morning, which was repeated for another five days. A number of Irish photographers photographed members of the royal family on visits to Ireland and issued portraits on these occasions.* Mansfield's had published a photograph of the prince of Wales when he had visited Ireland in 1861. When the prince and princess of Wales came to Ireland in 1868 they were photographed by Chancellor of Dublin. These photographs were not advertised until 18 May, three weeks after the departure of

* Below, ii, pp 102-110.

the royal couple, the delay being caused possibly by the photographs requiring to be 'graciously approved by their royal highnesses'. Reilly's of Grafton Street, and McDowell Brothers of Wellington Quay, Dublin, also offered for sale carte-de-visite portraits of the prince and princess of Wales. When the prince came to Ireland in 1885 at least three Irish photographers published photographs of his highness: Chancellor's, Lafayette's, and Thompson's of Omagh.[69] Photographs directly connected with reports in the newspapers could be published quickly; within a few days of the murder of T. H. Burke and Lord Frederick Cavendish in the Phoenix Park in 1882, for example, a number of Dublin photographers had photographs for sale. The murders took place on 6 May: Chancellor's offered portraits of Burke on 15 May at 1s. and 2s. each; on 17 May James Gerrard offered a cabinet size photograph of Lord Frederick Cavendish at 2s. post free.[70]

9. Studio aspect and location

From the beginning of professional photography studio owners were compelled for technical reasons to have the sitting area of their establishment in a room brightly lit by sunlight. The top floor of a building or a room with a southern aspect was often chosen. The most important consideration was availability of daylight.(plate 11). The next consideration was that the studio would be located on one of the better retail shopping streets patronised by those who could afford photography. The first site to be used by professional photographers in Dublin was the flat roof above the entrance to the Rotundo at the north end of Sackville Street. A wooden building was constructed there in which to conduct business and carry on processing, but

the actual portrait sittings took place in a circular glasshouse. It was an ideal site receiving sunlight all day in summertime. It had an unobstructed view of the sun in the middle hours of a winter day. Horatio Nelson, the daguerreotypist, also seems to have used a glasshouse studio on the roof of his premises at the corner of Wicklow Street and Grafton Street. Joseph H. Pinkney had his daguerreotype studio on the top floor of 13 Lower Sackville Street. Slates had been removed from the roof and replaced by panes of glass to admit the maximum light. Aspect would have been a factor in the selection of this location as it was only two doors from the quays and the unobstructed area of the river and Carlisle Bridge. In Belfast in October 1842 Francis Beatty located his studio on the roof of 22 Castle Street to obtain the best lighting.[71]

With slow exposure times being the norm in the 1850s and 1860s studio owners continued to seek similar south-facing elevated sites. In Cork in 1863 a photographer with rooms at 15 Patrick observed that his studio was located 'at the only place where [I] could obtain uninterrupted light'. At the end of the 1860s Lesage's studio had a south-westerly aspect with both roof and sides being made of glass. As late as 1874 Schroeder moved his studio to 54 Grafton Street 'facing Stephen's Green'. He believed this site to be 'unrivalled in Dublin for that necessary light for the production of fine arts'. The making of 'solar photographs' was popular in the 1860s. This was an enlarging process by which prints were made from negatives using sunlight as a light source. Ideally, the equipment was located on a flat roof at the top of a building, with photographic workrooms located on the top floor. Nelson & Marshall offered this service in the 1860s and probably had

the use of either a flat roof or a very large south-facing window at the rear of 11 Upper Sackville Street. In 1863, they offered to make life-size 'solar photographs', 84" x 60". North's of Grafton Street also offered to make solar photographs in the 1860s and would have required similar roof-top facilities.[72]

Studio proprietors were conscious that their patrons had to climb to the top of the building and they attempted to solve the problem in a number of ways. Allen's of Westland Row had a ground-floor studio suited to children, elderly persons, and animals. This firm sought such business when William Allen wrote to Lord Naas in 1867 seeking his patronage and mentioning the facility of a ground-floor studio suited to photographing a rider on horseback. Blunt & Wise of Grafton Street also offered a similar facility. When Leon Glukman moved to Upper Sackville Street in 1847 he pointed out to patrons that his photographic rooms were built below drawing-room level and that it would be unnecessary to go to the top of a lofty building in order to be daguerreotyped. A number of studios claimed to be able to provide a similar facility. Proprietors of photographic studios lacking a display window at street level tried to compensate for this. In 1885 in Cork, M. Sauvy, at 64 Patrick Street, had examples of his work on view at street level 'in Mr. Hunt's window'. It seems that the owners of the Paris studio in the Grand Parade in Cork may have placed a portable display case at street level each morning to attract patrons. Perhaps the only firm in Dublin that solved satisfactorily the inconvenience of upper floor studios was Chancellor's, who, in the 1880s and 1890s, brought their patrons to the studio in a 'movable boudoir'.[73] With the increasing use of

electrically powered studio lights from the 1880s onwards, location was no longer primarily decided by factors of elevation and aspect.(plate 12).

10. Lafayette of Dublin

The 1880s saw the development of a new studio in Dublin. The new firm was owned by two brothers, James Stack Lauder and Edmond Stanley Lauder, but was carried on under the style of 'Lafayette'. Whenever the firm advertised or got publicity in periodicals the Lauder brothers were never mentioned by name as proprietors; what was promoted was the existence of M. Lafayette, a skilled photographer from the continent, who had been an art student. In 1885, on official copyright documents, James Lafayette was named as the firm's photographer, perhaps indicating that at this time James Stack Lauder was the principal photographer of the firm. Monsieur J. Lafayette claimed to have come to Dublin in 1880. He then took over the firm of Forster & Scott. He had originally studied art in 'France and Germany' but found that 'the gods had denied him that supreme gift of genius without which excellence is impossible'. As a young man he was driven to 'work for his living in a Berlin photographic studio when [his] father stopped supplies'. Within four years of coming to Dublin he had improved his business to such an extent that he regularly required about 2,600 photographic plates in three sizes from half-plate to 10" x 12".[74] By 1890 he had photographed royalty and nobility and his reputation was 'by no means confined to Dublin or to Ireland'.(plate 13). In the 1880s he photographed the prince and princess of Wales and Prince Albert Victor, their eldest son. Prince Albert Victor visited Ireland in 1887 and may have been

photographed by Lafayette then. Queen Victoria engaged Lafayette to attend at Windsor, Osborne, and Buckingham Palace. His portraits of the queen on the occasion of her jubilee were very popular and a photograph of the princess of Wales in her robes as a doctor of music was very successful commercially, Lafayette claiming that 'something like 60,000 copies of it have been sold'. This would have given Lafayette a turnover of at least £1,500 from one negative. In Ireland Lafayette was patronised by successive lords lieutenant in the 1880s, the archbishops of Dublin, the duke and duchess of Leinster, the earl of Donoughmore, the marchioness of Ormond, and many of the nobility and gentry of Ireland.[75]

Lafayette enthused about how helpful royalty were as sitters. He believed the public would be surprised to know 'the trouble that they will take to assist the photographer' and 'the quickness they display in helping' at a portrait session.(plate 14). Lafayette did not find the kaiser, Friedrich Wilhelm, as easy to photograph as other royalty because he 'simply hates being photographed'; but the duke of Connaught helped Lafayette to take a photograph of the kaiser at Buckingham Palace one Sunday morning after chapel by leading him into a photographic 'ambush' in a room in which a camera had been set up. Lafayette found fault with royalty 'because they won't come to a proper studio to be photographed'. On one occasion he went to Marlborough House, by appointment, to photograph the prince of Wales; Lafayette was dependent on 'natural light' but this was not of good quality as there was a heavy thunderstorm in progress. Only by chance was his problem solved when 'the clouds broke, the sun came out and the light was almost perfect'. The anguish suffered by

photographers in situations like this was, in Lafayette's view, unnecessary, if royalty would come to the studio, and not make the photographer 'go to them just when they please and take them, whether the light is good or bad, and whether the surroundings are suitable or not'.[76]

By the end of the 1880s Lafayette had opened new studios in Glasgow and Manchester. Both were substantial undertakings. No Irish photographer had attempted expansion to Britain on this scale before. The studio in Glasgow was built in 1890. To do this 'the roofs of six houses had to be removed' in Gordon Street. An eminent Glasgow architect, John Hamilton, was engaged to design the new studios. The premises included 'reception rooms, drawing rooms, and dressing rooms'. The floors were 'inlaid with oak and teak' while the 'panellings of the walls and ceilings are in walnut'. Furnishings and draperies to adorn the newly designed premises had been tastefully chosen. The move to Manchester was taken equally seriously. A corner site was chosen 'in the most prominent and fashionable part of the city' at Deansgate. As in Glasgow, the studio extended through several houses.[77]

In the 1880s Lafayette practised a style of art photography with which his name was henceforth associated. This style of photography was generally characterised by posed girls and young women making votive offerings in classical scenes, or floating through the sky - singly or in pairs - as zephyrs, or wandering through woodland settings.(plate 15). Set pieces, in which handsome young men of the swashbuckling type wooed coy maidens, were also included in the genre. A very young Lord Kildare, about three years of age, was posed naked with a bow and sheaf of

arrows. 'Arbour of Roses' was another Lafayette creation, in which two girls gathered roses in a bower, with sunshine playing down on them through branches. In the late 1880s Lafayette photographed a number of young ladies in mildly sensual poses. A Miss Murphy was posed as a ballet dancer and a Miss Oldham was posed in an 'After the Bath' scene in which she was dressed in gracefully flowing Greek dress against a background which included a fountain, pavements, and marble pillars.(plate 16). 'After the Bath' gained a gold medal in the Paris Exhibition of 1889. Miss Julia Neilson was posed in a different type of photograph, as St. Cecilia, her face lit by light streaming through a stained glass window. The photograph showed her face 'beaming with celestial rapture'.[78]

In his studio work Lafayette used actual objects for the foreground: foliage, tables, chairs, baskets, and delphware.(plate 17). Backgrounds were painted by Lafayette himself at his 'headquarters' in Westmoreland Street, Dublin. On the top floor, 'above his studios in Dublin, he [had] a room under the roof' which was 'a scene painter's studio'. There, at any given time, a number of new studio backdrops could be seen 'in all stages of progress'. Lafayette's 'An Evening Zephyr'is a photograph of a female apparently floating in the sky. When first exhibited 'all the photographic world wondered how such a miracle of illusion had been accomplished'. The model posed by lying on a sheet of clear plate glass. A painted scene of a city viewed from above was placed underneath the plate glass at an appropriate distance and angle and then lit. The camera was 'poised aloft in the roof of the studio' in order to obtain the required angle.[79](plate 18).

Lafayette used electricity in his three studios. By

1891 'the fickle sun [was] practically supplanted' by electric studio lights in his Westmoreland Street studio. Natural lighting remained in use, for, in 1893 he advertised his studio as being 'electric and daylight'. In the Glasgow studio electric light was obtained from sixty-two accumulators charged by a dynamo driven by a gas engine. The illumination was equivalent to 60,000 candlepower. In Dublin, Glasgow, and Manchester, Lafayette found that, when it was foggy, the light from electric reflectors was scattered and tended to illuminate the fog in the studio. He installed an electrically operated device 'invented by a German engineer' which dried the atmosphere in a 'hermetically sealed studio'. Air was admitted into the studio sitting area but was first filtered through a water-spray, then heated and circulated to the studio 'with all the freshness and purity which characterises the atmosphere one is accustomed to on a summer's morning'.[80]

Some years after Lafayette began using electricity William Abernethy, 29 High Street, Belfast, used it for lighting in his studio. He claimed in June 1895 that his studio was possibly 'the only studio in the north of Ireland where electric light is used'. He offered to take photographs using 'Houghton's celebrated electric light lamp' and he would supply his 'now popular midget photographs' at 5s. a dozen. Abernethy was confident that patrons could be photographed 'up till ten o'clock at night' and that daylight was 'unnecessary' for portraiture.[81] (appendix H, ii, p. 155).

11. Late nineteenth century specialist photographers

Alfred Werner's photographic studio was another that became

well-known at the end of the century. While the owners had a knowledge of art, as Lafayette had, their artistic training was not used as heavy handedly as at Lafayette's. Werner's produced an orthodox style of photographic portrait in the 1890s. The firm was established in Grafton Street in 1888, having been transferred from South Leinster Street where Louis Werner, a portrait painter from Alsace, had established a painting and photography business in the 1870s. Louis gave his son Alfred 'an artist's training' which was of practical use to him when he took up photography professionally. In 1894, when Alfred Werner's reputation as a portrait photographer was well established and when he was enjoying the glory of winning a gold medal in the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, he insisted that a photographer should continue to read and to study art. He found the works of John Burnet 'of great value' and the lectures of Sir Joshua Reynolds useful. Werner believed in devoting time to posing the human figure 'with grace and elegance'. The arrangement of hands and arms was the most difficult task for a portrait photographer, he believed. The problem was to obtain 'a correct balancing of the arms'. The long axis of the hand should be shown at right angles to the camera. Werner wished to preserve the 'life-like appearance' and 'anatomical structure' of his sitters and for this reason was strongly opposed to the contemporary use of elaborate negative retouching. He considered retouching, as carried on in the 1890s, a 'travesty', producing 'wooden and woolly' results.[82]

One professional photographer stood out among his peers not only in his native north of Ireland but in the country as a whole. He belonged, like Lafayette and Werner, to the second generation of Irish photographers.

Robert J. Welch was born in 1859 when photography was twenty years old. He learned photography from his father who took it up professionally in 1863. By 1868 he was assisting his father on photographic trips in the countryside around Newry. His mother helped by painting cartes-de-visite. After the death of his father, the family moved to 49 Lonsdale Street, Belfast, where his mother attempted to keep on the business. Welch was sixteen years old then and worked for a short time for the photographic firm of E. T. Church, Donegall Place, Belfast. As a boy he had been interested in nature and collected wild flowers and fossils. In his teens he gained diplomas in drawing, geology, and physiography. He was also interested in archaeology. All these interests gave his photography direction and he did very little of the typical professional photography of the day: portraits, houses and demesnes, wedding groups. Welch specialised in photographing Irish scenery and antiquities, and geological, botanical, and zoological sites and specimens. When he died in 1936, 5,300 plates survived as a collection, 1,200 of which were of scientific interest. Learned and scientific bodies purchased or accepted Welch's photographs around the turn of the century: his sales or presentations to the National Museum of Ireland, the Geological Survey of Ireland, and the geology and anthropology sections of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, are discussed below.[83] *

William Lawrence's of 5 and 7 Upper Sackville Street continued to expand their photographic business in the 1890s. There were many other Dublin photographic firms at this time not all of whom were as successful as Lawrence's.(appendix I and J, ii, pp 156-8). Lawrence's

* Below, i, pp 174-5; ii, pp 70-71, 82-3.

were also involved in jewellery, fancy goods retailing, and toy importing. The photography was done at 5 Lower Sackville Street. The studio, then in the days of electric lighting, was on the first floor and the patrons had not, 'as in other studios', to climb to the top of the house. There were 'spacious and comfortable dressing and reception rooms' for the use of those seeking to have their portrait taken. Lawrence's specialised in taking photographic views of Ireland including scenery and antiquities. About 1890 'the view negatives of Irish scenery alone [numbered] 10,000'. Lawrence's shop windows displayed photographs of the leading politicians, actresses, and clergymen of Ireland. These could be supplied as prints or as lantern slides. Lawrence's had also photographed the Irish parliamentary party in 1890 and a set of sixty lantern slides of evictions that had taken place between 1886 and 1890 was available. This set included evictions on the Vandeleur estate in County Clare, and at Coolroe, Coolgreany, Gweedore, Glenbeigh, Bodyke, Woodford, and Clongorey. Some lantern slide sets were made up for tourists in Ireland. Two lecture sets of places of scenic interest were available and there were almost seventy photographs entitled 'comic sketches of Irish life and character'. Some titles in this series, for example, 'Paddy and his pig' and 'A Tipperary boy going a coortin' were identical to those used by Mares of Grafton Street thirty years before.[84]

In Cork, Guy's, 70 Patrick Street, was the principal photographic studio. While the firm took studio portraits they specialised in supplying photographs of Ireland and especially of the south of Ireland to tourists. In 1866 they offered for sale 'Irish views on notepaper, in books,

and as scraps'. In 1870 they continued to sell 'photo views of Ireland' and ten years later they published an illustrated tourist guide to the south of Ireland. Guy's continued to seek portrait and landscape work. Examples of the latter were used in 1898 in a pamphlet entitled Relief of distress in the west and south of Ireland. In 1900 they published a volume of photographic views of the south of Ireland.[85] (appendix K, ii, p. 159).

1. Early days, 1839-53

William Henry Fox Talbot gave the details of his process of photography to the Royal Society in January 1839 and the details of the daguerreotype process were announced in Paris in August 1839. From that time it was technically possible for amateurs to practise the art of photography. Daguerre had released the details of his process patent-free to all amateurs, while Talbot, sometime in the early 1840s, was to set up a licensing system for his process.[1] This licensing system was neither rigidly operated nor expensive in the 1840s and so was not a deterrent to amateurs who wished to practise Talbot's process.[2]

One of the first Irishmen to practise Talbot's calotype process of photography, as it was then being called in the 1840s, was William Holland Furlong. In the 1850s he lived in Dublin and may have been a wine agent, trading as Furlong & Lyster. Furlong was a student at St. Andrews in Scotland in the early 1840s and assistant to the professor of chemistry. He came under the influence of Sir David Brewster in whose class he was enrolled and became part of a small circle of calotype enthusiasts. Brewster mentioned Furlong in a letter to Talbot in October 1841 as being 'successful' at photography and that he had 'executed an admirable portrait of a relative in Ireland'.[3] Furlong had also taken, presumably sometime in the summer of 1841, an outdoor view in Wicklow, which was not successful. Brewster sent the negative, which Furlong had difficulty in printing, to Talbot who was 'kind enough to positive' it and send the finished print directly to Furlong. He wrote

to Talbot in March 1842 seeking advice on improving the tone of his prints as they were 'a disagreeable red colour'. Furlong continued to practise photography in Scotland, taking, for example, a photograph of St. Regulus's Tower and St. Andrew's cathedral, and, in 1843, a panoramic view of the town of St. Andrews from St. Regulus's Tower looking west towards New College and St. Salvator's College Chapel.[4]

Furlong seems to have known Dr John Adamson, an early Scottish calotypist. His brother, Robert Adamson, collaborated with David Octavius Hill in portrait photography in Edinburgh. Both Furlong and John Adamson appear in a photograph, 'Bridge on the Kenly', taken in late 1842 or early 1843. In 1843 Furlong discovered a method of 'preparing iodised paper by the single wash' and told Brewster about his discovery. On 3 April his innovation was communicated by Adamson to the Literary and Philosophical Society of St. Andrews. It reached a wider audience in the 1848 edition of Chambers's information for the people, where, in the section entitled 'photography, the calotype', an abstract of his memoir appeared. Later, in 1856, Furlong described Adamson as 'my friend and co-experimentalist, Dr Adamson of St. Andrews'.[5]

Another Irishman, Michael Pakenham Edgeworth, was also involved with the group of early calotypists working in Scotland. Brewster knew the Edgeworth family and had visited Edgeworthstown about 1827 or 1828. Edgeworth went to India as a civil servant in 1831 and returned home on leave in 1842 when he married Christina McPherson of Aberdeen. Between 1842 and 1846, he practised the calotype process, taking a number of views at Edgeworthstown: general views, a view of the church, and a view of a beech

tree. In late 1843 Edgeworth 'showed' and 'left with' Brewster 'one of Sir John Hershel's cyanotypes made by Sir John'. The cyanotype was one of a number of somewhat similar photographic processes that were discovered in the 1840s. Edgeworth continued his interest in the various processes of photography and 'saw at Parsonstown' the work of a local man, 'Dr [Thomas] Woods's Katalysotype: (sic), a variety of photograph giving excellent pictures in a second or two and made less troublesome than Mr Talbot's process'.

In September 1844 a paper on Woods's process had been read at the York meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. It was a photographic process which produced paper negatives from which positives could be made. Negatives were successfully exposed in times ranging from two to thirty seconds. Woods later acknowledged that his process, on 'general principles', was similar to Talbot's calotype in the way it worked, i.e. the decomposition of silver salts, but he claimed his process had the advantage that the image developed spontaneously 'without requiring any second wash'. Woods was not aware until 1845 that Talbot's process provided 'camera pictures without using any second wash'. Talbot did not attend the York meeting, but Brewster, who had 'received account of' the process 'from Lord Rosse' told Talbot about the process at the time. Brewster, in his letter of 4 March 1845 to Talbot, indicated that he 'certainly had no pretension to such merit as now claimed by Edgeworth at the time'.[6] Within a week Talbot wrote to Woods stating that Woods's process appeared to be 'strictly analogous' to his own calotype process. Talbot was obviously concerned that Woods's process was reputed to give good photographs with short exposures, but argued that a quick-acting process was

not necessarily a new process. 'I believe it is not affirmed that any process on paper has been discovered more rapid or more certain than the calotype; I am not aware of such having been as yet described', Talbot stated. Knowing that Woods had already sent a paper on his catalysotype process to Dr Romney Robinson, to be read at the Royal Irish Academy, he requested that his two letters to Woods be read on the same occasion, and said he was happy to leave to the 'scientific judgement' of the academy 'whether a new principle is involved or not in your experiments'.[7]

With the publication of the details of the daguerreotype process in the Freeman's Journal in August 1839 and later in the year, and the publication in Dublin of an instruction manual on the process, it was possible for amateurs to practise the daguerreotype in Ireland.(plate 19). Few early Irish daguerreotypists have been identified. Edward King Tenison, a County Roscommon landlord, practised the daguerreotype process 'from its first introduction by Daguerre on the silvered plate' and may have recorded views in Egypt in the mid-1840s. The third earl of Rosse purchased a daguerreotype outfit from Clarke's of the Strand, London, in July 1842, and again a month later purchased further photographic materials. The Dublin Mechanics Institute provided a forum in which instruction on the daguerreotype process was imparted and the Dublin Journal reported in April 1842 that 'specimens produced by members of the Dublin Mechanics Institute ... would not be discreditable to the early experiments of Daguerre himself'. The journal also published a detailed account of how to produce daguerreotypes.[8]

While the earl of Rosse had purchased his photographic requisites in London and, no doubt, other members of the

Irish nobility and gentry did likewise, early in the 1840s it became possible to purchase these in Dublin.(plate 20). The professional daguerreotypists in the city and the itinerant daguerreotypists offered photographic equipment for sale. Chevallier Doussin Dubreuil at the Rotundo studio advertised in March 1842 that 'amateurs can always be supplied at this establishment with the best of everything' relating to the art of photography. Dubreuil was the first in Dublin to seek the custom of the amateur market which must have been small. At the close of 1843 Dubreuil advertised that 'everything concerning the art may be purchased and lessons are given in every branch of this most wonderful discovery'. Professor Leon Glukman also offered instruction in the daguerreotype process in 1845 and, as a result of a recent visit to France and Germany, was able 'to supply all necessary apparatus and chemical compounds'. Glukman's rival, the daguerreotypist Horatio Nelson, taught daguerreotyping at a fee of three guineas.[9]

In 1851 an important technical change was introduced into photography by Frederick Scott Archer.* This was the introduction of a photographic process known as collodion wet-plate. It was a process which, though not patented by Archer, was claimed by Talbot as coming within the terms of his 1841 calotype patent. In his discussions with Robert Hunt, in 1852, about the setting up of a photographic society for amateurs, it became clear that Talbot wished each amateur in the new society to be individually licensed. A number of amateurs resented Talbot's claims to the calotype process and to what many regarded as Archer's wet-plate process. Amateurs felt that, as they were not involved in commercial photography, they should be allowed to use these processes freely. Talbot actively claimed the

* Above, i, pp 11-18.

collodion wet-plate process in 1852-3, though this campaign was primarily aimed at professional photographers. Talbot's attitude probably had a slight retarding effect on the development of organised amateur photography at this time.[10] (appendix L, ii, pp 160-61).

The collodion process was being worked by professionals in Dublin in the summer of 1851 but retailers of chemicals in Ireland seem to have been reluctant to advertise the availability of the necessary chemicals by name, which may have been because of Talbot's attitude. This situation changed dramatically. In May 1852 discussions continued about the renunciation of Talbot's patent rights as regards amateurs. A solution to the problem was agreed. Letters were exchanged between Lord Rosse and Sir Charles Eastlake on the one hand and Talbot on the other and were published in The Times on 13 August 1852. Talbot offered his patent, with one exception to do with its commercial exploitation, 'as a free present to the public'. The move to set up a photographic society continued and the inaugural meeting took place in London in January 1853.[11]

In the summer of 1853, even before the publication of the letters in The Times, wholesalers and retailers in Dublin began to promote openly the collodion wet-plate process. On 6 July James Robinson of Grafton Street advertised 'the collodion process of photography'. He wished to inform 'amateurs and practitioners of this new process' that he had a 'large stock of the chemicals' for sale. Bewley & Evans of Sackville Street, Dublin, also had the 'chemicals necessary for the different modes of sun-painting' and drew particular attention to 'the collodion process'.[12]

The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853 helped promote photography, the art being 'well represented in the exhibition'. Specimens of the daguerreotype and calotype processes were on view. Edward King Tenison showed 'remarkable examples' of his calotype views taken in Spain in the previous two years. This work, done in Toledo, Madrid, Leon, Valladolid, Cordoba, and Burgos showed the Irish public the variety and quality of photography that could be achieved by a gentleman amateur photographer. The exhibition also had examples of the collodion wet-plate process done by P. H. Delamotte of London and James Robinson of Grafton Street, Dublin, who had 'helped very much to popularise' the collodion wet-plate process in Dublin.[13]

2. The Dublin Chemical Society and photography, 1854-5

By 1854 interest in photography in Dublin had expanded further. On 9 May 1854 the Dublin Chemical Society announced that it was forming a photographic group 'on the principles of the London and Liverpool photographic societies'. Later that month, Dr William Lover in the course of delivering a series of lectures on light at the Dublin Mechanics Institute, gave a lecture on 'photography and the collodion process'. Some studio photographers sold photographic goods and were prepared to give 'full instructions' in photography to those who would 'favour [them] with orders for cameras'.[14] Clearly there was an interest in amateur photography in Dublin and a demand for organised tuition in camera technique and darkroom procedure.

By 1855 Alfred Nelson and Charles A. Cameron were members of the Dublin Chemical Society and a new

photographic society, the Dublin Photographic Society, the expansion of which will be discussed below.* Other members of the D.C.S. photographic group were also members of the D.P.S.: Dr William Lover, Dr John Aldridge, and Gilbert Saunders. Nelson's and Cameron's position in the D.P.S., however, may have been invidious in that they were actively involved in organising the rival photographic group in the Dublin Chemical Society. Within a short time this group held weekly evening meetings. It was set up six months earlier than the D.P.S. and was the first organised photographic group in Ireland. It is surprising that in March of the new year, in view of the existence of the newly formed D.P.S., the Dublin Chemical Society went ahead with its policy to perfect plans 'for the formation of a section of the society for the cultivation of photography'. The committee had plans to seek 'the services of a qualified teacher to instruct the students in the art' of photography. 'The chemical part' of the planned instruction was to be studied under Professor Charles [A.] Cameron. By 6 June 1855 the committee of the Dublin Chemical Society had 'made arrangements with Mr A. Nelson, Dame Street, to instruct the members in photography with practical illustrations'.[15]

The photographic section of the Dublin Chemical Society appears to have had a very successful year in 1855 despite the existence of the well organised D.P.S.. In the annual report of the D.C.S. it was reported:

> During the past summer a class for the study of photography was established by the council and placed under the charge of Mr Alfred Nelson of Dame Street and it is gratifying to refer to the progress which its members have made in this fascinating and beautiful department of chemical science; a success

* Below, i, pp 62-72.

> which in great part must be attributed to the able guidance of their teacher. At the evening practical classes of the society the members of the photographic section were employed in preparing the requisite chemicals; thus securing purity of materials, while gaining a thorough knowledge of the chemistry of this valuable discovery.[16]

Despite its initial success this photographic group does not seem to have survived beyond 1856. Perhaps it specialised too much in the chemistry of photography and did not provide a programme of winter lectures on a sufficient variety of topics for its members to retain their interest and membership. Also, the D.P.S. reorganised itself in August 1856 after staging a very successful photographic exhibition of members' work in May.[17] The D.P.S. would seem to have been more successful in attracting photographers than its sister society in Dame Street.

3. The Belfast Photographic Society, 1854-60

A photographic society was also set up in Belfast in the 1850s. One of the forums in Belfast for the communication and exchange of ideas was the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society. There, on 15 November 1854, Thomas Andrews read a paper entitled 'Photography'. Clearly there was an interest in photography among the members, the timing of the paper reflecting the easing of patent restrictions on Talbot's calotype in 1853. The premises of a Belfast pharmacist, Richard Pring, Cornmarket, who had joined the D.P.S. when it was established, was probably one of a number of locations in Belfast where photographic chemicals and advice could be had. Belfast amateur photographers would have exchanged ideas and obtained

advice at the meetings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, at some retail pharmacies, and by obtaining books and periodical literature on photography. In October 1855 W. M. Macartney wrote from Belfast to the The Journal of the Photographic Society on the subject of a camera shutter he had designed; he had cut the blades of the shutter from 'thin board' and these were opened and closed by means of a milled head. Macartney had used the shutter regularly since about October 1854. J. W. Murphy, College Square East, also wrote to the same journal on the subject of spots on collodion negatives; he had discussed the problem with a 'practical chemist in Dublin' who informed him that a professor of chemistry in one of the Queen's Colleges was also aware of the problem. In May 1857, in Belfast, it was believed there was sufficient interest in photography to sustain a photographic society and the Belfast Photographic Society was founded. Like many of the early photographic societies in the British Isles the Belfast Photographic Society met for only a few years. Its last meetings were held in March, April, and May 1860.[18]

4. The Dublin Photographic Society and the Photographic Society of Ireland (1854-60)

On the evening of 1 November 1854 twenty men met at Leinster House, Kildare Street, Dublin, the premises of the Royal Dublin Society. Their purpose was to form a photographic society. Among the group were some members of the Dublin Chemical Society. Those present were drawn from a variety of professions and walks of life: Lord Otho Fitzgerald, a son of the Duke of Leinster, was of the landed class, as was Sir John Coghill and his brother-in-

law William C. Plunket. A number of businessmen were also present: John G. Rathborne (manufacturing chandler), Samuel Bewley Jr. (tea and coffee importer), James Robinson (scientific instrument maker, optician, and photographer), Horace Yeates (scientific instrument maker and optician), William Allen (pharmacist), and Thomas Grubb (engineer and manufacturing optician). The medical profession was represented by Michael Harry Stapleton and John Barker; painting was represented by Michael Angelo Hayes and Frederick Sanders, sculpture by Joseph Robinson Kirk.* These were all educated men of substance and many had an interest in or a good knowledge of natural science or painting.(plate 21). It was apparently agreed that Lord Otho Fitzgerald should act as chairman, and rules were proposed. It was decided to put these proposals to the first meeting proper of the society to be held on 8 November. At that meeting, chaired by Fitzgerald, the rules 'were read and finally approved of', a number of members were enrolled, and an executive was elected. Fitzgerald was elected chairman, Coghill was elected honorary secretary, and Bewley was elected treasurer.[19]

The officers of the new society formally thanked the governing body of the Royal Dublin Society for permission to use their premises 'for the present'. This privilege had been given to the D.P.S. at the R.D.S. meeting of 2 November when James Haughton had 'requested permission for the photographic society to hold its meetings in the society's house'. Thus began a close relationship between the D.P.S. and the R.D.S. that was to last until 1858 when the D.P.S., renamed the Photographic Society of Ireland, was incorporated in the fine arts section of the R.D.S. Grateful for the facility of having the use of a premises

* Below, i, pp 104-37, for photography and art.

in which to conduct meetings, the D.P.S., through its secretary, wrote to the R.D.S. stating that the society had resolved 'that all gentleman members of the R.D.S., becoming members of the D.P.S., shall be admitted free of entrance fee' and that 'the several professors of the R.D.S. be elected honorary members of the D.P.S.'. These proposals were accepted by the R.D.S.[20]

At the next meeting of the D.P.S. on 3 January, Lover outlined what he believed to be the purpose of the society. He saw photography as a 'practical art' based on chemistry, and believed that 'a society called photographic' should be a forum in which members would learn the various processes: 'daguerreotype, vitrotype, collodion or talbotype'. Lover informed the members that he had examined the photographic journal published by the London Photographic Society and noted the degree of importance which that society attached to discussing innovations in photography, but he insisted that this 'should not be made exclusively the business of the evening meetings'. The provision of practical lessons would 'induce many members to join' as they would be aware of a 'photographic school' within the society. He hoped that a 'corps of volunteers would offer its services on a rotational basis'. Among the practical activities in which he believed the society could engage were instruction in such diverse subjects as the preparation of collodion and calotype paper, the collodion process performed in artificial light, copying microscopic objects in artificial light, the exhibition of portable tents, management of the camera, and instruction in the 'chemistry of photography'. Difficult as the task might be, Lover hoped that the society would 'steer between Scylla and Charybdis' and so organise its affairs 'that all tastes would be

gratified'.[21]

By February 1855 there were eighty-two members enrolled. Among the membership a range of knowledge and skills was available in optics, chemistry, and art. Dr Aldridge was supervisor of the chemical department of Bewley & Evans, apothecaries, of Lower Sackville Street, who were interested in expanding the photographic side of their business. Edmund William Davy, professor of chemistry at the R.D.S., took up the offer of honorary membership and Charles A. Cameron, professor of chemistry at the Dublin Chemical Society, also joined the society. Dr Lover, also a member, was a man of science and an experienced lecturer at the Dublin Mechanics Institute. Thomas Grubb, one of the twenty founding 'original members', was a respected theoretical and manufacturing optician, who was to design and patent photographic lenses. A number of physicians and chemists also joined the society, so there was no shortage among the membership of persons familiar with chemicals and proper laboratory procedure so essential to the practice of successful photography at this time.[22]

In the formative months of the D.P.S. a number of Dublin opticians became members: Horace Yeates of Grafton Street, Thomas Mayne of Wellington Quay, and one of the Spears of College Green. These were 'scientific instrument makers' who probably stocked cameras or would manufacture cameras to order. Yeates's had an interest in photography as early as 1851 when they made a camera to the design of Thomas A. Dillon. By 1853 Yeates's stocked the best cameras and quality photographic chemicals. Alfred Nelson of Dame Street, an optician and scientific instrument maker, also joined the D.P.S. He had experience in giving

instruction in photography. In the early days of the society knowledge of cameras and lenses could be had from Yeates's, Spear's, Mayne's, and Nelson's. James Robinson of Grafton Street was a founding member of the society and was committed to promoting photography in Ireland. His knowledge of photography was extensive. In 1853 at the Irish Industrial Exhibition he 'exhibited a number of cameras of French make' which had 'an extensive sale among amateurs throughout various parts of Ireland'.[23]

Very few professional photographers joined the society in its first year. Perhaps this is not so remarkable as it was essentially a society for gentlemen amateurs. In the first year of the society's existence Alfred Nelson and James Robinson were its only professional members. Thomas Millard also joined early but perhaps should be regarded as a businessman with a special interest in photography rather than a professional photographer. Only two other professional photographers became members: Frederick H. Mares and Leon Glukman.[24] *

The D.P.S. lasted for six years, including a two year period when it was incorporated in the R.D.S., with monthly meetings held between November and May. The annual general meeting at which the officers and incoming executive council were elected took place at an early date in the calendar year. The executive council of the D.P.S. included persons of proven administrative, academic, business, photographic, or artistic skill. Lecture themes in the society's programme included photographic optics, photographic chemistry, camera technique, and darkroom procedures. Other recurring themes were travel photography and the relationship between art and photography.[25]

The first exhibition to which the D.P.S. members

* Above, i, pp 9-10, 12, 15.

probably submitted exhibits was the 'Patriotic exhibition of amateur art and Crimean curiosities' which was on view in March 1855 at the exhibition gallery in College Street, Dublin. Sir John Coghill had reminded members about the exhibition a month earlier and some of the more experienced members who had photographs prepared for exhibition presumably responded.[26] (plates 22, 23). The first exhibition promoted by the D.P.S. was its first annual exhibition in 1856. It was shown at the Royal Irish Institution, College Street, throughout May. It was open from eleven till six o'clock daily, admittance one shilling. A catalogue was available listing over 200 exhibits some of these being frames of photographs. This meant that there were probably at least 400 photographs on exhibition.

The exhibition seems to have been very successful if measured by the 'interest taken in it by the public'. The photographs on display were characterised by 'beauty and variety', one critic observed. Material considered photogenic by exhibitors included 'snatches of rural scenery', river and woodland views with 'shady brakes ... luxuriant ferns, and tall rank herbage'. Photographers also chose 'old time-worn cliffs' for subject matter. Architectural subjects were on view 'embracing many of the chief ecclesiastical structures of the Continent'. It was noted that these 'venerable edifices' bore the 'pleasing sunny tones' in which they were seen by tourists, not the 'cold and hard styles of copperplate or steel engravings'. There were photographs on exhibition taken in Petra, Egypt, and Greece. These may have been taken by John Shaw Smith whose photography in the Middle East is discussed below.* Captain Richard Wilson Hartley of Clonsilla, County Dublin,

* Below, i, pp 178-83.

showed 'interesting views taken in India'. Other D.P.S. members whose work received favourable reviews included Grubb, Robinson, Coghill, and Lady Caledon from Co. Tyrone. Grubb showed photographs 'of high merit' and his views of Conway Castle were regarded as 'remarkable'. Robinson specialised in scenes in Dublin and surrounding districts: Arran Quay, the Four Courts, and Drimnagh Castle. The work of Coghill, views taken in Ireland and on the Continent, was 'well deserving of notice'. Lady Caledon showed a number of architectural views taken in London around Carlton Terrace, the views being 'unsurpassed by any photographs of similar subjects in the exhibition'. English and foreign photographers also exhibited, Francis Bedford and Bisson of Paris being the best known.[27]

In 1857 the D.P.S. set out to mount a special exhibition to coincide with the British Association for the Advancement of Science's meeting in Dublin. A seven-man committee 'was appointed with adequate powers and funds for making the necessary arrangements' to promote a photographic exhibition. Despite the efforts of the society, however, The Liverpool and Manchester Photographic Journal reported that a photographic exhibition was 'not held owing to the small number of contributions'. The same report expressed surprise 'that amateurs did not more abound' in Dublin. The amateurs having failed to mount an exhibition, the apothecaries, opticians and photographic retailers, Bewley & Evans's, Yeates's, and Robinson's, stepped in with exhibits.[28]

The experience of 1857 and the general tendency of the D.P.S. to move closer to the Royal Dublin Society may have prompted the D.P.S. membership to decide at their annual general meeting in March 1858 to have an exhibition of

photographs in conjunction with an exhibition of decorative art which was to take place under the auspices of the R.D.S.. Francis Bedford was the only photographer outside Ireland to respond to a notice in The Journal of the Photographic Society to support the exhibition. It was an impressive exhibition comparing well with the exhibition of 1856 but lacking the variety of the earlier show. There were contributions from members Andrews, Fenton, Glukman, Grubb, Hayes, Mansfield, Robinson, and D.P.S. group exhibits. Again, on this occasion, as in 1857, the professional firms of Glukman, Mansfield, and Robinson, helped swell the number of exhibits. Without their assistance the exhibition might not have been staged.[29]

The D.P.S. became defunct in early 1860. It was not unusual for some of the early photographic societies to go out of existence, nine societies, including the D.P.S., doing so in the United Kingdom by about 1860. The D.P.S., being an exclusive society, did not advertise openly for new members but acquired them by personal contact and recommendation. There were a number of occasions when the society did come to the notice of the general public, through its involvement in exhibitions in 1855, 1856, and 1858. The society appealed for donations to the Scott Archer fund in 1859 and in this way came to the notice of the public and to photographers in particular. The society was not listed as a learned society in any contemporary directories. It seems that the system of acquiring new members was insufficient to keep up the membership. The society was unable to hold on to the 130 members on its register, 53 being crossed off as early as August 1856. Meetings scheduled for the early months of 1860 were not reported in contemporary journals.[30] Possibly the

proceedings of these meetings were insubstantial and not of general interest, or the meetings may not have taken place.

From its foundation the society was identified with the R.D.S.. This was of benefit to the society at the beginning. It had the use of rooms in which it could meet and it enjoyed the prestige of having some of the professors of the R.D.S. as members: Davy, Kirk, Robert D. Lyons, and John Scouler. The society became more closely associated with the R.D.S. in March 1858 when it decided to exhibit members' work in conjunction with the R.D.S. art exhibition. Later, in May, a proposal was put to the members at a general meeting to amalgamate with the fine arts section of the R.D.S.. This was accepted as was a proposal to change the name of the society to the Photographic Society of Ireland. Another society of the same name, founded in 1879, will be discussed below.* The P.S.I., now working within the fine arts section of the R.D.S., produced the best season of lectures in its six year history in the period Jan.- May 1859. However, the P.S.I. was loosing its identity in the new arrangement. A system operated at meetings where a photographer initially chaired the meeting but was replaced later in the evening by a fine arts chairman. Despite this, the P.S.I. continued to send reports on its proceedings, under its own name, to photographic journals. In March and April 1859 Henry McManus R.H.A. delivered two lectures to the 'fine arts and photographic section' of the R.D.S. In his lecture 'On art education', delivered in April, he expressed strong views on art and photography. Coghill chose to disagree with McManus's ideas then. Later, after the summer recess, a period of five months, Coghill maintained that there was an 'implied challenge' to

* Below, i, p. 88

photography in McManus's lecture, and he believed photography needed 'to prove herself worthy of the association with the fine arts'. Coghill's lecture 'On the mutual relations of photography and art' drew attention to a topic which was not new and which had been exercising the minds of artists and photographers since photography was discovered. It also pointed out the underlying tension that must have existed in the fine arts section of the R.D.S. as then constituted.* Ironically, the report on Coghill's lecture was the last to be published on P.S.I. activities.[31]

The factor of personality may have played a part in the decline of the D.P.S.. The society, even in decline, was able to attract members who were both able administrators and skilful photographers. Thomas Marcus Brownrigg and Henry Thomas Vickers are two obvious examples. Both were honorary secretaries following Grubb's retirement. Coghill was, however, the key figure in the society. He was the first honorary secretary, then became president, and was subsequently elected vice-president for three consecutive years. He read four papers and had communicated to the society all he had learned on his 'photographic rambles' in some six European countries. When he announced in November 1859 that he was leaving Dublin, the membership can only have received this with deep disappointment. Coghill's loss to the D.P.S. was incalculable.[32]

Changing fashions based on technical progress would have had some bearing on the decline of early photographic societies and the D.P.S. in particular. Many early photographers were interested in obtaining good portraits and topographic views. When Shaw Smith photographed in the

* Below, i, pp 118-121.

Middle East and Tenison photographed in Spain in 1850-52 they returned to Ireland with photographs of outstanding quality.[*] As the 1850s progressed photographs became more numerous and familiar. Professional photographers and print sellers offered 'all kinds of photographic views' and 'views of home and foreign scenery' for sale. It was no longer necessary to have knowledge of cameras or chemicals to possess a comprehensive selection of photographic views of Europe in one's scrap-book or album. Equally, as the 1850s progressed, the collodion positive portrait on glass became available and, as discussed above, it supplanted the more expensive daguerreotype portrait.[+] The portrait on glass was followed by the introduction of an inexpensive paper photograph, the carte-de-visite, discussed above, which was available in quantities.[**]

Irish amateurs continued to practise photography and obtain instruction and advice from a number of sources outside club photography, from photographic periodicals and their correspondence columns, and from the increasing numbers of books and pamphlets on photography that were published in the 1850s. Those who regarded membership of a photographic society as important joined societies in Great Britain.[++] By 1859, perhaps aware of the decline of the D.P.S., a number of D.P.S. members had joined the Photographic Society in London, and some Irish amateur photographers, hitherto unattached, also became members of this society.[33]

5. Unattached amateurs, c. 1853-1900.

Irish amateur photography was not confined to Dublin and Belfast nor was it confined to membership of photographic clubs and societies. Nineteen members, about 15 per cent

* Below, i, pp 178-183; + above, i, pp 11-12;
** above, i, pp 20-29; ++ below, i, pp 78-81.

of the D.P.S. membership, had addresses outside Dublin. There were four members from Ulster: two from Belfast and one each from Armagh and Tyrone. There were three members from County Wicklow and one each from Louth, Kildare, Offaly, Westmeath, and Wexford. There was one member from County Waterford and two from County Galway. The groundwork for that interest around the country had been laid by James Robinson who by 1853 was reported to have had an 'extensive sale [of cameras] among amateurs throughout various parts of Ireland'.(plate 24). That summer, in a city with many visitors from outside Dublin, Robinson sought the custom of amateurs and reminded them that he always had 'a large stock of the chemicals for photographic manipulations both on glass and paper'.[34]

In the 1850s a range of photographic equipment and materials was offered to the Irish public. In 1850 James Robinson of Grafton Street advertised cameras for sale suitable for the calotype and daguerreotype processes and in 1853 he exhibited 'cameras of French make' at the Irish Industrial Exhibition. While this exhibition was open Yeates's of Grafton Street offered 'a large assortment of cameras by the most improved makers' for sale. Their stock would probably have included a range of models from Horne, Thornthwaite, & Co. of London who had their cameras on show at the exhibition. One of their 'sets' for taking calotype views, complete with lens and stand and, in addition, darkroom dishes, rods, lamps, chemicals, brushes and paper, 'the whole packed in a deal case', could be purchased for an outlay of £4. A similar 'set', which included a camera to take views 7" x 6" with the better achromatic lens, cost £8 to £10. Horne, Thornthwaite, & Co. offered their no. 5 and no.6 sets to tourists and for use abroad, drawing

attention to their completeness and resistance to climate. These sets cost from £17 to £35.[35]

By 1855, James Robinson had an 'immense stock of folding and rigid cameras, double and single achromatic lenses, stands, baths, dishes, and every photographic requisite'. There was no limit 'as to the number of lessons' available to customers at James Robinson's, and 'the beautiful photographic pictures which cover[ed] the walls of his gallery', many of which were the 'work of amateurs', indicated the growing interest in photography and the success attainable by amateurs through proper tuition. The following year Bewley & Evans stocked lenses by Lerebours of Paris and cameras by Ottewill of London. They also stocked glass, earthenware, and gutta percha baths and dishes, 'Mansion's colours', 'Chance's glasses', and 'every other material used in the art'. By 1858 Robinson's stocked cameras to suit all photographic needs: folding, sliding, and rigid models. The best lenses were offered for sale: Ross of London, Lerebours of Paris, Voigtländer of Brunswick.[36]

Towards the end of the decade, Simonton & Millard produced five thousand pamphlets on the various photographic processes including a 'catalogue of cameras, apparatus and chemicals'. The pamphlet was available by post. It is clear from the letter columns of The Photographic Journal and The Photographic News that a number af unattached provincial Irish amateur photographers were active in the 1850s: Edward B. Fennessy (Limerick), 'a Kerryman', M. M. D. (Carlow), Sir Denham Jephson Norreys (Mallow), who identified himself by the letter 'N', W. M. McCartney (Belfast), 'an amateur' (Ballybofey), and Dr Thomas Woods (Birr). Dr William Despard Hemphill practised

photography very successfully in the Clonmel area in the mid-1850s without resorting to the assistance of organised or club photography.[37](plates 25, 26).

By the beginning of the 1860s Ireland was without an organised photographic society either in Dublin or Belfast. Nevertheless many amateurs continued to practise photography without the assistance of lectures, papers, and informal meetings.(plates 27, 28, 29, 30). A number of photographic journals were available in the British Isles, The British Journal of Photography and The Photographic News for example, by which photographers could obtain information, exchange ideas, and be aware of innovations in photography. The British Journal of Photography, a fortnightly periodical, was advertised in Saunders's Newsletter in 1860. On request it would be sent by post from London or Liverpool at 4d. per issue. Arthur McMurrough Kavanagh photographed in the Mediterranean in the mid-1860s; he did all processing in a darkroom fitted out in his yacht. He appears to have been self-taught in photography, probably gaining his knowledge from published handbooks which began to appear more regularly in the 1860s than in the 1850s. The Hon. Robert Edward King also photographed in the mid-1860s around Boyle and Manorhamilton in the west of Ireland. He probably learned photography from a family member or relative, for example, Edward King Tenison of Keadue, Roscommon. Amateur photographers were still active in Belfast despite the disappearance of the local society and, in 1866 in Belfast, James Magill offered to print the negatives of amateurs 'on reasonable terms'.[38]

On his return to Clonbrock from the diplomatic service, Luke Dillon (later Lord Clonbrock) took up

photography.(plate 31). He was helped by his sister Georgiana and by his friend Lord Dunlo with whom he did a 'good deal' of photography. Luke Dillon fell in love with the Hon. Augusta Crofton of Mote. She was 'a better photographer than he was', having been given a camera in 1851 when she was twelve on her father's return from the great exhibition in London. Augusta had learned photography from her parents or a tutor presumably and, much later, in 1865 had a successful year in the Amateur Photographic Association. Some years after they were married, Augusta and Luke planned and had built a photographic room in the grounds at Clonbrock and their interest in photography continued for many years. In the 1870s, without the benefit of an Irish photographic society, Irish amateurs continued their interest in photography: the families of Coghill, Dillon, Lawless, and Mansfield, for example. Those photographers who had problems that could not be answered by their photographic supplier wrote to the editor of a photographic journal, photographers from Newry and Larne, for example, writing to the editor of <u>The British Journal of Photography</u> in 1877 and 1879.[39]

In the 1880s dry-plate photography was introduced. It was simpler than the wet-plate process and made an important contribution to popularising photography. Nevertheless membership of clubs and societies continued to be a very small fraction of the total number of amateurs interested in photography. Numbers were never very high in the Irish clubs, the membership of the Photographic Society of Ireland, founded in 1879, in its early years being : 67 (1882), 77 (1883), and 73 (1884). In the north of Ireland the Ulster Amateur Photographic Society had 75 members in

1886, its first year. In the 1880s Robinson's of Grafton Street advertised their comprehensive stocks of photographic equipment and materials to a much wider public. The convenience and cheapness of cameras and the dry-plate process were emphasised in advertising. A tourist camera was offered at 21s. in 1882. Dry-plates manufactured by reputable firms like Wratten or Swan were available. Instruction was available to beginners who purchased photographic goods from Robinson's. Quarter plates cost 1s. 6d. per dozen while one dozen half plates cost 3s. 6d. Eastman's bromide paper could be bought at 8d. per packet of one dozen sheets in quarter plate size. In 1885 a complete service of printing, retouching, and mounting was offered to amateurs who did not want to get involved in darkroom work and the final finishing and presentation of the photograph. Robinson's sought business outside Dublin from 'country photographers [and] amateurs'. They would attend to orders 'per return parcel post on receipt of cash'. The firm had 'new patent cameras' for sale and offered to buy or exchange 'second-hand cameras and lenses'. Amateurs who wished to have 'enlarging lanterns' with which to do their own printing could purchase one at 50s. In the late 1880s Robinson's kept the following brands and equipment in stock: Lancaster cameras, Dallmeyer and Ross lenses, plates by Ilford, Albert, and Paget, Vergara films, and Eastman's 'negative and positive papers'.[40]

In the 1880s and 1890s the tradition of the unattached photographer, not participating in club photography, continued. William F. McKinney, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim, took up photography in the 1880s and photographed family, friends, and everyday life on his farm. He was a scholarly

man, a member of the Belfast Naturalists Field Club, and an antiquarian. He took and carefully labelled 600 photographic plates. Mary Alice Young, Galgorm castle, Ballymena, Co. Antrim, was a contemporary of McKinney's and took more than a thousand plates between 1890 and 1915. The subjects she chose were to be found around Galgorm estate: her family, estate workers, the castle and grounds, and outdoor pastimes: croquet, tennis, and fishing. In 1894 T. W. Rolleston returned from London to Dublin to work as secretary of the Irish Industries Association. He had already taken up photography in 1893 and probably brought his camera home from London. He photographed family and friends but specialised in pictorial photography. The subjects of his photographs included 'the sea, the wild cliffs and rocks of western Ireland, ... majestic old trees, a river in flood, a waterfall'. Rolleston used a plate camera in the 1890s and developed and printed his work in a home dark-room. In London in 1898 George Bernard Shaw took up photography and bought a Kodak rollfilm camera. He was an enthusiastic photographer and remained so until the end of his life.[41]

6. Irish amateurs and exchange clubs in the 1850s

In the 1850s a number of small closely-knit photographic groups were formed in Britain. Their purpose was to exchange photographs so that members could build up a comprehensive collection of photographic studies. One such group was the exclusive Photographic Society Club founded in 1856. It was composed of twenty-one members drawn from the membership of the Photographic Society in London. One Irish photographer, Charles B. Vignoles, was a member. Another exchange group existed in the Photographic Society

known as the Photographic Club. This group made formal exchanges of photographs in 1855 and 1857. A number of Irish photographers took part in the 1855 exchange: Willian C. Plunket, his brother-in-law Sir John J. Coghill, Lord Otho Fitzgerald, and Francis E. Currey, agent of the duke of Devonshire. Plunket and Coghill used photographs they had taken in September 1855 in Switzerland whereas Fitzgerald and Currey used photographs taken in Ireland. These Irish amateurs had been accepted into a group consisting of some of Britain's best amateurs and professionals: Francis Bedford, Roger Fenton, Dr Hugh Diamond, John Dillwyn Llewelyn, and Oscar G. Rejlander. For the 1857 exchange, Coghill submitted his view of 'The Castle of Chillon' taken in Switzerland in 1855, while Fitzgerald again submitted an Irish view, 'The Meeting of the Waters, Killarney'. Plunket submitted a print entitled 'The Woodland Stream', and an Irish newcomer to the Photographic Club's exchange, Captain Robert J. Henry, submitted a view taken in Scotland. Currey seems to have been the only Irish photographer to have participated in the Photographic Exchange Club or Photographic Exchange Society which was announced as established in February 1855. Towards the close of the 1850s, a number of Irish amateur photographers, some on the register of the D.P.S., others unattached, joined the Photographic Society in London: Currey, Henry, Tenison, Sir Denham J. Norreys, Captain R. W. Hartley, Pakenham Edgeworth, and James P. Sheridan, then resident in Buenos Aires.[42] (plate 32).

7. Irish amateurs and the Amateur Photographic Association

In May 1861 a number of gentlemen got together in London to establish a more comprehensive photograph exchange

association than had previously existed. It was to be called the Amateur Photographic Association and its purpose was 'the interchange and publication of the productions of amateur photographers'. By July 1861, Arthur J. Melhuish, the honorary secretary, reported that the association was established, that negatives should be sent in, and that prints would be adjudicated and prizes awarded towards the end of the year. Membership was obtained by the submission of six negatives and one guinea annually. In return, members received two guineas worth of photographs. Members could purchase additional prints at half-price and could share in a proportion of the profits accruing to the print publishers. This commercial element in the association's affairs was questioned by some members at the time but was allowed by the organisers on the basis that it would make the 'amusement' of a gentleman's photography 'self-supporting' financially. Some years later, in June 1865, the commercial aspect of the association's activities was done away with.[43]

From its inception Irish photographers were involved in the A.P.A.. The marquis of Drogheda, Henry Francis Seymour Moore, of Moore Abbey, Co. Kildare was a member of the first committee.(plate 33). In 1862, the prince of Wales having accepted the invitation to be president of the association, Lord Drogheda was one of the four vice-presidents elected. Lieutenant Colonel Dudley Fitzgerald de Ros, Old Court, Co. Down, was a member of the same executive. A number of Irish amateur photographers became members of the A.P.A. in the early 1860s: Captain R. J. Henry (July 1862), Francis E. Currey, Thomas Woods M.D., Robert Staples (September 1862), The Hon. Lewis Wingfield (November 1862), The countess of Rosse (March 1863), Thomas

M. Brownrigg (July 1863), Lady Staples (April 1864). Sir John Coghill, Dr William D. Hemphill, and the Hon. Augusta Crofton were also members of the A.P.A. at this time.[44]

Throughout the 1860s, the Irish members of the A.P.A., though in a minority, acquitted themselves very well in the annual competition organised by the association. From the beginning of the organised competitions in 1863, photographers were graded into classes from grade one to four. Currey and Hemphill competed from 1863 onwards, Coghill from 1864 and Brownrigg from 1865. De Ros competed in 1863 and 1864 while the countess of Rosse and Robert Staples competed for one year only in 1864. The Hon. Augusta Crofton competed in 1865 only and her photographs were placed in class two and three. Some Irish members did not particiate in the competitions: Lord Otho Fitzgerald, the earl of Bantry, the earl of Rosse, the Hon. Lewis Wingfield, the marquis of Drogheda, Lady Staples, Captain Robert J. Henry and Dr Thomas Woods. This perhaps may be explained by the fact that there were two types of membership: 'members' and 'subscribers'; subscribers were interested in acquiring photographs by exchange, which was the raison d'être of the association, and may not have been very interested in taking photographs for competition.[45]

The most consistent and successful Irish amateur photographer working within the A.P.A. in the 1860s was Dr William Despard Hemphill. He was strongly committed to the ideals and objectives of the association and he joined probably in 1862. The council of the association formally recognised the work of Hemphill and another member, S. H. Maugham, 'for their great and disinterested exertions in behalf of the association, and for the large numbers of members and subscribers who had joined the society through

their efforts'. Hemphill had acceptances in class one and two annually between 1863 and 1870 inclusive, being awarded a prize every year from 1863 to 1867. A report on the 1868 competition noted that 'Dr Hemphill, for the first time for five years, had failed to carry off a prize'. In these years Hemphill did not confine himself to one genre, but experimented in figure studies, topographical views, and still life. In 1864 he was awarded a prize for an interior view: 'Drawing room at Newtown Anner', while in the next two years he continued to win awards with his view of 'Kilmanahan Castle' and a landscape entitled 'Lady Blessington's Bath'. The still life study 'White currants, the prize of prizes' for which Hemphill was awarded a prize in 1867 was a composition using white currants, leaves and a trophy awarded to Hemphill by the association the previous year. Hemphill also received certificates of honourable mention in five consecutive years from 1864 to 1868.[46]

Irish amateurs took twelve prizes in the A.P.A. competitions in the 1860s, the awards being made to Brownrigg, Coghill, Currey, and Hemphill. The best year for Irish photographers in the association was 1865 when Irish members were awarded four prizes and were honourably mentioned four times. That year Coghill was awarded a silver goblet for a pair of photographs, 'Views near Castletownsend'. The successful Irish work that year was comprised totally of views taken in Ireland: Hemphill's 'Kilmanahan Castle', Currey's 'Ouinshade Glen', and Brownrigg's 'Druid's Glen'. Currey joined Hemphill in the prize list in 1866 with his 'Irish Cross at Kilkieran' and the following year Coghill's 'Cromwell's Bridge, Glengarriff' earned him a place in the prize list with

Hemphill. The year 1870 was a successful year for the Irish photographers in the A.P.A. with Brownrigg, Coghill, and Currey taking awards.[47]

8. Irish amateurs exhibit internationally in the 1860s

Irish amateur photographers active in the 1860s also exhibited at international level. Coghill, with 'a chosen band of enthusiastic amateurs', was deeply involved in organising the photographic department of the Dublin International Exhibition, 1865. A correspondent in The British Journal of Photography was agreeably surprised to find that the photographic department had been placed in three rooms on the ground floor in an 'accessible and reasonably well-lighted portion of the building' close to the entrance hall. He was aware 'that much of the position which the photographic art [held] in the present exhibition [was] due to the unwearied exertions of Sir John Coghill' and his committee. The jurors in the photographic section were Antoine Claudet, an experienced and very successful London photographer whose connection with photography began in the days of the daguerreotype process, and Peter Le Neve Foster, secretary of the Society of Arts and an amateur photographer of considerable experience. The jurors in the section on 'philosophical and photographic instruments' were Humphrey Lloyd, an experimental physicist, George Johnstone Stoney, physicist, and Davenport Crosthwaite.[48]

Coghill, Currey, Brownrigg, Hemphill, the countess of Rosse, John Shaw Smith, and Lewis Wingfield had acceptances in the exhibition. Shaw Smith showed work from paper negatives, for which he was honourably mentioned. His work was probably based on prints prepared from his collection of negatives made in the Middle East.* The countess of

* Below, i, pp 178-83.

Rosse also showed photographs made by an early process, the waxed paper negative, but she also had photographs on view made by the collodion wet-plate process. Brownrigg, Currey, and Coghill received honourable mention awards for their work. Brownrigg showed an astonishing twenty-five frames of photographs which showed 'a true feeling for the beautiful'. 'A Hawthorn tree in blossom in Phoenix Park, Dublin', 'The bridge on the Nore', and 'Torc Lake, Killarney' were particularly noticed by one critic. The same critic was very impressed by the work of Coghill:

> By far the most beautiful of the productions of amateurs are the views in the neighbourhood of Castletownsend, by Sir J. J. Coghill. These charming pictures are all that could be wished for, possessing in a high degree pictorial excellence and mechanical skill, besides a brightness and freshness of effect seldom met with in the usual run of photographs.[49] (plate 34).

Hemphill was awarded a medal for his work in the exhibition. He contributed to a group exhibit prepared by the A.P.A. in London but he also exhibited in his own right for which he received his award. He was the only Irish amateur photographer to be awarded a medal and found himself in good company: O. G. Rejlander, H. P. Robinson, Francis Bedford, William England and J. E. Mayall. Hemphill's award was 'for excellence of manipulation and artistic choice of subject'. He exhibited 'some groups of an ambitious character, showing a knowledge of grouping'. One reviewer noted that his 'landscapes and figures' had a distinguishable 'delicacy and beauty'. Many of Hemphill's photographs were of the scenery of Waterford and Tipperary, 'View at Glenpatrick', 'Kilmanahan Castle', and 'View from the dining room at Newtown Anner' being considered among

his best work.[50]

In 1867 a number of Irish amateur photographers entered and had acceptances in the Paris Universal Exhibition. Eight silver medals and fifteen bronze medals were awarded in the British section. No Irish photographer was awarded a medal, though Brownrigg, Coghill, and Hemphill were honourably mentioned. There were 124 such awards in the exhibition, one being made to Julia Margaret Cameron of the Isle of Wight. Hemphill exhibited 'portraits and views' and his landscapes were impressive. His '<u>portraits artistiques</u>' did not compare with his landscape work and one reviewer found these portraits to have 'a somewhat blotchy, dirty look'. The same reviewer was very impressed with Brownrigg's work and particularly noted three photographs the subject matter of which were a waterfall in Queen's County, an old oak, and a view taken on the River Dargle. He was surprised that 'the producer of these three pictures' had not been awarded a medal.[51]

9. Irish amateurs in the 1870s

In the 1870s amateur photography was still regularly practised by the members of landed families. Coghill had a darkroom in his West Cork home, Laputa, at Castletownshend. He also taught photography to the next generation of his family and to other relatives and indirectly was responsible for introducing photography to Edith Somerville, and to her sister Hildegarde, who was Coghill's daughter-in-law. He continued to take and make photographs and to exhibit abroad. Coghill exhibited in the A.P.A. in 1870 and 1871 and exhibited finally in 1874 when he had fifteen photographs accepted, nine of which were in class one, and was awarded a prize. In the west, Luke Dillon and

his wife Augusta Crofton continued their interest in photography, taking and making photographs and compiling sentiment and remembrance photograph albums. The Lawless family continued their interest in photography, the Hon. Frederick Lawless being on the photography sub-committee of the Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures, 1872.(plate 35). George Mansfield of Morristown Lattin, Naas, Co. Kildare, son of George Mansfield of the now defunct D.P.S., began to exhibit successfully in the Photographic Society in London in the 1870s. The fourth earl of Rosse and Colonel the Hon. Dudley Fitzgerald de Ros (Lord de Ros from 1874) both continued to officiate at A.P.A. meetings in London through the 1870s. Lord de Ros was elected vice-president of the A.P.A. in 1874.[52]

Brownrigg continued to exhibit in the A.P.A., in the Photographic Society in London, and in international exhibitions. He had over thirty photographs accepted in the A.P.A. in the 1870s, twenty of which were accepted in class one. He was awarded six prizes and was honourably mentioned.[53] Brownrigg also exhibited his work at the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society in London. He continued to use Irish subjects but also used English and Scottish scenes. His photograph 'Lough Katrine' appeared in 1870 and 'Borrowdale' in 1872. 'The Dargle' was liked by a reviewer in 1872 and 'A Wicklow Glen' in 1875 was described as 'one of the finest this artist has ever contributed to any of the annual displays of the London Photographic Society'. The same reviewer continued: '... there is no fear of Ireland's photographic reputation suffering as respects the <u>quality</u> of work produced, so long as Mr Brownrigg is a contributor'.[54] In the 1870s

Brownrigg had a high reputation for 'landscape photographic art'. His works were 'warm in tone and full of detail'. He exhibited internationally at Dublin (1872), Vienna (1873), and Brussels (1875). At Vienna, he exhibited 'views of mountain scenery, with admirable study of foliage and excellent general effect', for which he was awarded a medal. Among the British medal winners were Colonel Stuart Wortley and Julia Margaret Cameron. Brownrigg was a bronze medal winner at Brussels.[55]

10. The dry-plate process and new clubs in the 1880s

From the introduction of the wet-plate process in the early 1850s experimenters had tried to find a substitute for collodion which would have equal sensitivity and yet could be used in a dry state. Dr Richard Leach Maddox, an English doctor and microscopist, used gelatine silver bromide as a substitute for collodion in 1871, but the sensitivity of his plates was almost 200 times slower than wet collodion plates. John Burgess made further improvements and in 1873 began small scale commercial production of his improved gelatine silver bromide dry plates. Other Englishmen made further improvements in dry-plates in the 1870s. In 1878 Charles Bennett published a method of increasing the sensitivity of gelatine emulsions by prolonged heating at a temperature of over 90° F. The following year George Mansfield of Morristown Lattin, Co. Kildare, tried his 'first emulsion ... according to the formula of Mr C[harles] Bennett and heated for three days'. By April 1878 four British firms were mass producing gelatine dry-plates.[56] In his 'Hints for beginners' in <u>The British Journal photographic almanac</u> for 1878 Mansfield wrote:

The dry process has the great advantage of entailing much less baggage when travelling, and enabling the operator to secure many more views in a given time. For high mountains and bad roads it is the only process that can be practised with any amount of comfort. As to the choice of a dry process: I think that in the present state of photography there can be no doubt that one of the many emulsion processess should be selected, as it saves an inconceivable amount of trouble and labour in preparing the plates, and gives results equal at least to any of the older processes.[57]

With the availability of dry-plates in Ireland many persons were attracted to photography who might otherwise have found its procedures complex. 'Swan's dry plates' were available in Dublin in 1879. Robinson's of Grafton Street were wholesalers of these plates.[58]

With increasing numbers interested in photography it was inevitable that photographers would establish a society. There was no photographic society in Ireland since the early societies in Dublin and Belfast had become defunct in about 1860.* The first photographic society to be established in Ireland in the dry-plate era was the Photographic Society of Ireland. The first meeting took place on 9 July 1879 at the Queen's Institution, Molesworth Street, Dublin, with Professor James Emerson Reynolds in the chair. Reynolds was pleased 'to see such a large gathering of members'. The numbers had already 'much exceeded their expectations' he said. John Veda Robinson, a professionsl photographer and self-taught man of science communicated his experience of the gelatine process 'which for some time past' in his practice, had entirely taken the place of collodion. Those present were very interested in Robinson's remarks and they discussed their 'experiences

* Above, i, pp 59-72.

and results' in working the gelatine process.[59]

Other photographic clubs and societies were founded in Ireland in the next twenty years. The second society to be founded was the Ulster Amateur Photographic Society, whose inaugural meeting took place on 14 December 1885 in the Museum, College Square North, Belfast. In 1889 another club was founded in Belfast: the Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club. It met for the first time on 19 April. A photographic club, known as the Munster Camera Club, was founded, probably in Cork, in 1891 by Major J. D. Lysaght, who became its first president. The same year the Cork Literary and Scientific Society heard a lecture on photography at which there was 'an exceedingly large attendance of members'. Dublin Y.M.C.A. began a photographic club in 1891 and in Wexford amateur photographers were sufficiently organised to put on an exhibition in 1897 and to affiliate with the Royal Photographic Society in 1899.[60]

Many of the members and officers of the photographic societies of the 1880s and 1890s were involved in scientific pursuit, either professionally or as amateurs, or had previous experience of some aspect of photography. A number were innovators and original thinkers in their chosen field. In the north of Ireland the first president of the Ulster Amateur Photographic Association was Professor E. A. Letts. Present also at the inaugural meeting were the following: William Swanston, secretary of the Belfast Naturalists Field Club, Thomas Workman, an entomologist, and William Gray, a pioneer member of the B.N.F.C. In Dublin the P.S.I. was fortunate to have James Emerson Reynolds, professor of chemistry at Trinity College, Dublin, as president for the first decade of its

existence. From the beginning, the P.S.I. also had the benefit of the knowledge and experience of Howard Grubb, whose firm in Dublin had a world-wide reputation for the manufacture of lenses and observatory telescopes.[61] One professional photographer in Dublin, John Veda Robinson, manager of the firm of Millard & Robinson of Sackville Street, was strongly committed to the P.S.I. from the inaugural night. He had twenty years' experience in photography and involved himself in the P.S.I. in council and in giving lectures and practical demonstrations at the society meetings.[62] George Mansfield, a member of the P.S.I. from its beginning, was an experienced amateur photographer who had photographs accepted in exhibitions abroad in the 1870s. Mansfield had also viewed and reviewed exhibitions in Britain and the Continent and had written a number of articles for The British Journal of Photography and The British Journal photographic almanac.[63] In the south of Ireland, the Munster Club, founded in 1891, had the benefit of the knowledge and experience of Major J. D. Lysaght whose membership of the A.P.A. in Britain went back to the 1870s.[64]

The meetings of new photographic societies often included informal print criticism and appreciation sessions for the guidance of members, but as members became more competent at photography it was decided to hold public exhibitions. The P.S.I. did not hold an exhibition until 1884, five years after the society was established. Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club, founded in 1889, arranged to hold its first exhibition in 1890 and had held four exhibitions by 1894. The Ulster Amateur Photographic Society held its first exhibition in 1887 about one year after its foundation.[65]

11. Photographic exhibitions, 1884-1897

The organisers of the P.S.I.'s first exhibition of photographs and photographic apparatus in 1884 invited international participation from professionals and amateurs. It was held 'in the fine rooms of the Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts'. The opening of the exhibition on 18 November was a great social occasion, although the lord lieutenant and Countess Spencer, who were to be present at the opening, did not turn up. An exhibition of this type and scale was 'a novelty in Dublin'. There were 739 exhibits contributed by 135 exhibitors.(plate 36). The 'most famous English artists' sent entries: H. S. Mendelssohn, Frank M. Sutcliffe, Herbert B. Berkeley, W. F. Donkin, and the Autotype Company, for example. Sutcliffe exhibited a frame of photographs, characteristic of his work, the subject of which was 'fishing boats'. Donkin showed 'alpine views' for which he was awarded a silver medal. Thirty three members of the P.S.I. exhibited and nearly 8,000 persons visited the exhibition, which was open for almost a month. The exhibition committee's report to the society indicated that 'expenditure had somewhat exceeded income' but that, nevertheless, 'the exhibition had been a very great success'. The report concluded that 'it was desirable to hold such every three years', but the decision to hold a second large international exhibition towards the close of 1887 was not made formally until November 1886.[66]

The P.S.I.'s second triennial exhibition opened on 1 November 1887 in the gardens of the Royal Hibernian Academy. The exhibits numbered almost 600 and in general were 'of very high merit'. The exhibition was patronised by

the lord lieutenant and the marchioness of Londonderry. The prince and princess of Saxe-Weimer 'visited the gallery on two occasions'. Many frames of photographs had already been seen at other recent British exhibitions, at Pall Mall and Falmouth, for example. To the general public in Ireland, interested in photography, this was not a disadvantage but a unique opportunity to view original photographs by the best British photographers. Frank M. Sutcliffe's 'Water Rats', which won a bronze medal, was on view. H. S. Mendelssohn and Richard Keane exhibited and won bronze medals for large portraits and interiors respectively. T. M. Brownrigg, an Irishman then living in the south of England, was able to show 'some excellent work' to his fellow countrymen. Most exhibitors were either English or Scottish, but there was an increase in the number of Irish exhibitors compared with the 1884 exhibition. George Mansfield of the P.S.I. won a bronze medal for large landscapes, thus repeating his achievement in the 1884 exhibition.[67]

Exhibitions were staged in Belfast also, two of the most important in the 1890s being the Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club exhibitions of 1894 and 1898.(plate 37). No public exhibition seems to have been held in the intervening years. The fourth annual exhibition of the club was held in 1894 and included an open amateur and professional section. The Lord Mayor opened the exhibition which was held in the hall of the Y.M.C.A. building, Wellington Place, Belfast. It was 'certainly one of the best photographic shows ever held in the city'. There were 120 frames of photographs entered including 'many exhibits sent from a distance'. A number of entrants sent photographs from Albany, New York, but it would seem that

the non-Irish exhibitors in the open sections of the exhibition were mainly from England and Scotland, for example T. F. Floyd of Liverpool, J. Kidson Taylor of Buxton, and S. L. Coulthurst of Manchester. In the lantern slide section, T. M. Brownrigg, then living in Guildford, was awarded the silver medal 'for a set of beautiful landscapes'. In the 'landscapes and seascapes' section, a bronze medal was awarded to J. C. Oliver of Glasgow. 'In the meadow' by William Warneuke of Glasgow received favourable comment from one exhibition reviewer. The local exhibitors who won medals or whose work was favourably reviewed were A. R. Hogg, C. M. Barry, William Swanston, F. F. Bell, James M'Cleery, David Simms, J. J. Macauley, and James Leslie. Four years later the Y.M.C.A. Camera Club held another open competition. It was stated to be 'the best photographic exhibition ever held in Belfast'. William Swanston, A. R. Baker, and Robert Welch of Belfast acted as judges. In the 'champion class' an American photographer, Pirie McDonald, was awarded a gold medal for a portrait, while C. F. Inston's 'Storm Lifting' was awarded a silver medal. Local exhibitors who attracted the notice of reviewers included Hugh Hill, William M'Lean, H. Rew, R. McGahey, and James M'Cleery.[68]

A provincial exhibition was held in Wexford on a Saturday and Monday in August 1897. It was judged by Alfred Werner a Dublin professional photographer. Clearly, there was a local interest in photography at this time, with a number of Wexford amateurs exhibiting work. There were eleven classes for local exhibitors and one open class. Classes included landscape and marine, figure and animal studies, instantaneously photographed subjects on land or water, interiors, lantern slides, and landscapes.

The open class seems to have had good support from a number of photographers from Kingstown, County Dublin, some of whom were members of the P.S.I.: A. M. Geddes, R. Simpson, and R. Colles. First prize in the open section was awarded to R. C. Robbins, Seacombe, Cheshire. In the confined sections W. H. McGuire of Wexford was awarded a silver medal for 'Early Spring' and a bronze medal for 'Neddy the Donkey'. Eva Wisdom of Wexford won a bronze medal for 'Woodland Scene'. Nina Wisdom and George and Robert Hadden also exhibited. In the 'figure and animal studies' class Miss Jefferies of Newbay was awarded a silver medal for 'Female figure in Grecian costume'. George Hadden was second in this class. Both works were considered to be 'exceptionally clever and pretty groups, artistically arranged and composed'. Local photographers who also won awards or were reviewed favourably included: J. E. Shannon, J. B. Pettigrew, F. J. Owens, M. A. Ennis, and C. E. Vize.[69]

12. Excursions and lantern slide shows, 1879-95

The bigger societies organised photographic excursions to photogenic locations. The first P.S.I. excursion was to Powerscourt waterfall in late August or early September 1879. In subsequent years an 'annual field day' was incorporated in the activities of the P.S.I. This was done throughout the 1880s with the exception of 1884 when it was 'thought advisable to hold several short excursions on Saturday afternoons instead of the annual field day'. The locations for the annual field day were usually reached by rail. Excursions were made to Trim in 1880 and to Drogheda in 1881. The annual excursions continued and the following locations were visited: Glendalough (1885), Leixlip and

Celbridge (1886), Lugala and Lough Dann (1887), and Drogheda (1888). In 1886 'wagonettes' were used for transport as the group made its way from Phoenix Park Gate to Lucan, St. Wolstan's demesne, the Celbridge area, the grounds of Castletown, and homewards by Connolly's Folly. On the Glendalough excursion members boarded the train 'at various stations' to muster at Bray by 8.30 a.m. The party then proceeded by rail to Rathdrum 'where wagonettes and cars were in readiness' to take them to Clara Bridge, Laragh, the Seven Churches at Glendalough, and Poulanass waterfall.[70] In the north of Ireland the Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club also organised excursions to scenic areas such as the Giant's Causeway and Glenariff.(plate 38). Members travelled by rail to a number of locations: 'by fast train' to Newcastle (1889), to Antrim town and its neighbourhood (1891), and by the 6.30 [a.m.] train' to Glenariff and Cushendall on Easter Monday, 1895. Having photographed during the day between Parkmore railway station and Cushendall, the return journey to the station at Parkmore was made by car 'along the high mountain road, a distance of some eight miles'.[71]

The purpose of club and society excursions was to explore the photographic possibilities of a region. In general, the P.S.I. tended to go to known scenic places of public resort, whereas in the north of Ireland clubs tended to seek the permission of owners to visit their lands or demesnes for photography: at Newcastle (Lord Annesley), Shane's Castle (Lord O'Neill), Bryansford (Lord Roden), Laurencetown, on the River Bann (W. D. J. Walker), and at Scarva (J. T. Reilly). On the P.S.I.'s annual field excursion of 1886 'the back entrance to St. Wolstan's demesne [was] kindly thrown open by the proprietor'. Later

the group entered the grounds of Castletown, 'Mrs Connolly having courteously permitted the party to pass through' the property.[72]

One of the classes of subject matter which photographers sought on organised excursions was the historical, architectural, and antiquarian. On an excursion in 1880 'the celebrated ruins' of Bective Abbey in Meath were visited where 'a large number of plates were exposed'. The party then moved to Trim, 'another centre of ruined churches, silent witnesses of past power and grandeur'. The remainder of this excursion was spent at King John's Castle, Trim, Co. Meath. In 1885, on the P.S.I.'s annual excursion, 'some hastened on to the seven churches' of Glendalough to photograph the ruins. On this excursion eighteen camera operators made 155 exposures. Plate sizes ranged from quarter plate to 15" x 12". In 1888 an excursion which had begun at Drogheda moved on to Monasterboice, the 'ruins of Mellifont Abbey', and to Newgrange and Knowth. At Newgrange a 'curious vaulted subterranean' tomb was illuminated by magnesium light and sundry pictures taken'. About 130 photographs were taken on that excursion, one photographer taking thirty-six photographs. On the excursion to Shane's Castle 'cameras were soon at work on the old castle, picturesquely situated on the shores of Lough Neagh', while on another occasion 'the old moss-grown bridges' on Lord Roden's estate attracted photographers.[73]

Photographers in the 1880s and 1890s often organised excursions to coastal, river, and lakeside locations. Still or moving water in the right lighting conditions were deemed to be photogenic. Pastoral scenes were also sought by photographers. The first excursion by P.S.I. members

was to Powerscourt waterfall near Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow. In 1885, in Glendalough, the party of photographers scattered in various directions, the lakes and Poulanass Waterfall being found attractive. The following year, on the Leixlip and Celbridge excursion, some of the party photographed 'cattle standing in a stream'.[74] On the next excursion to Co. Wicklow, Messrs Conan, Pim, Meldon, Semple, and others photographed for about two hours at Lough Tay. It was 'a small sheet of water embosomed in rocks and woods'. Cameras used here ranged in size from quarter plate to 14" x 10". The party moved on down the valley to Lough Dann. It was 30 June and a very hot summer's day. A report to The Amateur Photographer by one of the participants waxed metaphorical:

> There was but little shade to be had en route, and the sun was scorching; however on reaching the lake, most of the party adopted the bath process, the water from the amount of peat in the district, resembling a pyro developer, in which sulphite was conspicuous by its absence. The water, fortunately did not possess the staining properties of the pyro'.[75]

Ten cameras were in use on the excursion. Seventy-six exposures were made, one gentlemen taking eighteen photographs on 10" x 8" plates.[76] In the north of Ireland, seascapes were taken on a visit to 'Newcastle, a watering place on the County Down coast'. At Belvoir Park, Lord Deramore's demesne, 'some fine old trees' attracted the attention of several photographers, while others found 'scenery along the river banks' used up all the plates at their disposal. 'Cattle and sheep on the pasture grounds' and 'panoramic views' also received the attention of photographers. On Lord Roden's demesne, photographers were aware that recent rain had given the river 'a full head of

water, which [had] added greatly to the beauty of the cascades which abound on its course'. On the same occasion 'cattle and sheep in the pastures', an old saw mill, river scenery, and 'the old moss-grown bridges' provided subject matter for photographers. On the Reilly land at Scarva, 'sheep and lambs [were] effectively placed, with the aid of a shepherd and his dog'. The members of the Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club took advantage of this rare opportunity 'to expose many dozens of plates'.[77]

There was a social aspect to photographic outings. Numbers in attendance could be as small as a dozen but a 'large attendance of members' contributed to the P.S.I.'s Bective and Trim excursion being a 'complete success'. It seems that members could bring friends or members of their family on club excursions. There were eighteen 'operators' on the Rathdrum-Glendalough excursion but twenty persons present.[78] On the northern Ireland excursions, organised in the late 1880s by Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club, 'members turned out in great force' and 'members and their friends' attended. On the 1895 Glenariff-Cushendall excursion the members availed of 'the pretty Swiss cottage ... at the end of the Glen' for 'excellent refreshments'.[79] P.S.I. members had time to pose with their photographic equipment at 'a huge beech tree blown down by some former storm'.(plate 39). A number of members photographed this group at Castletown. A photograph was also taken of the members on the Bective-Trim excursion using 'the old entrance steps [of Bective abbey] as accessory for a group' photograph. The P.S.I. excursions usually concluded by having dinner at a local hotel, as in Trim, Drogheda, Glendalough, and Roundwood. At Glendalough the group stayed for dinner for one and a half hours at Marshall's

Hotel before returning to Rathdrum railway station. The dinner provided at Roundwood was preceded, not only by a swim in Lough Tay, but by a 'pleasant row down' Lough Dann. On the Leixlip-Celbridge excursion the participants returned to Dublin to have an 'excellent dinner' at Morrison's Hotel. The Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club, having visited Lord Roden's estate, returned to Newcastle and partook of a 'substantial tea' at which they discussed 'the work of the day'.[80]

One of the great social occasions in the calendar of the photographic clubs and societies was an evening meeting in which the principal activity was the showing of lantern slides on a screen. The earliest P.S.I. lantern exhibition to which members could bring their friends took place on 9 April 1880. For the occasion Howard Grubb had loaned 'his splendid pair of lanterns'. The exhibition of slides took place in the lecture theatre in the Royal College of Science, Stephens Green East. The event was to become an annual one. For the first few years, the first half of the entertainment consisted of the showing of views taken by members of the society, and the slides from the second half came from other sources. In 1882 almost all the slides shown were by members of the P.S.I.; this 'gave additional interest to members and their friends and resulted in a large and influential gathering'.[81] There was 'an [invited] audience of about 450 visitors' at the P.S.I.'s fourth annual lantern meeting and the following year, 1884, there were 'nearly 400 ladies and gentlemen' present. 'Many ladies' attended in 1886 and a 'considerable number' of ladies came in 1888. On these occasions the slides were commented upon by one of the members present: Thomas A. Bewley in 1882, John L. Robinson in 1883, and Greenwood Pim

in 1885, 1886 and 1887. The practice in the P.S.I. of having a 'public lantern exhibition' still continued in the early 1890s.[82] In 1890 Belfast Y.M.C.A. Camera Club exhibited 'Illustrated Boston', a set of slides accompanied by lecture notes, before an audience in excess of 200, and showed '<u>The Amateur Photographer</u> 1890 prize slides' in February 1891 'before a large audience'. At the end of the year '<u>The Amateur Photographer</u> 1891 prize slides' were shown in the hall of the Belfast Y.M.C.A. 'to a very large assemblage'. Audiences in the 1880s and 1890s in Dublin and Belfast showed their appreciation of good lantern slides by 'hearty applause' and 'well merited applause'.[83]

13. The A.P.A., Brownrigg, and the Linked Ring, 1880-1901

In the 1880s Lord de Ros and Lord Rosse continued to be involved in the administration of the Amateur Photographic Association, founded in London in 1861, in which Irish amateurs had always participated.* Lord de Ros chaired the meetings of the Association from 1882 to 1886. The Hon. Denis Lawless became a member of the association in 1883 and members of other Irish landed families may also have joined the association. T. M. Brownrigg continued to have success at 'class one' level in the association's annual competition. He had acceptances in this class and was honourably mentioned every year from 1880 to 1885. Lord de Ros was honourably mentioned three times and won a bronze medal and two silver goblets in the same period. Dr Peter Emerson, an English photographer, participated in the A.P.A.'s competitions in 1884 and 1885. In 1884, de Ros and Brownrigg had acceptances in 'class one', with Emerson having five acceptances in 'class two'. The following year de Ros and Emerson had seven photographs each accepted in

* Above, i, pp 79-82, 86.

'class one'. Brownrigg and Lord Rosse had four photographs each accepted in the same class.[84]

T. M. Brownrigg also exhibited in the 1880s at venues other than the A.P.A. annual competitions and exhibitions. At the beginning of the 1880s, Brownrigg experimented with the new gelatine dry-plates, but one reviewer did not find this work 'quite equal' to some of Brownrigg's better-known wet-plate work. Brownrigg took some photographs 'instantaneously' on the new plates, his subjects including a train travelling at forty miles per hour, the firing of an artillery gun, and a bather plunging into water. The subject matter of many of his photographs in this period was drawn from the English landscape of rivers, lakes, mountains, and woodland, in Surrey and the Lake District. He also photographed in Switzerland, Italy, and Spain.[85] Brownrigg seems to have favoured exhibiting prints of large size, at least 12" x 10" in dimension. By the end of the 1880s Brownrigg was established as a 'prolific amateur', an 'indefatigable exhibitor' and a 'careful manipulator'.[86]

Parallel with this success and reputation was a different evaluation of some of Brownrigg's work. As early as 1882 Brownrigg was developing an impressionistic style in his photography. He was criticised that year for a 'tendency to too great softness' in his photographs. Again, in 1885, a reviewer found Brownrigg's photographs at the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society, London, beyond objection 'in selection and execution' with the exception of a 'tendency to over-softness'. Undeterred by the critics, Brownrigg continued to develop this new style, not unique to him, and, in 1886, was rewarded by one reviewer who found that the 'softness in the treatment' of his 'Eashing Bridge' suited the subject 'admirably'.[87] In

1891 Brownrigg was criticised for the quality of 'flatness' which his photograph 'The Break of Day' was deemed to have. It was also 'rather wanting in detail'. His 'Portinscale Bridge, Keswick' exhibited the following year at the Photographic Society, London, lacked 'distance' and appeared in tonal range to be 'too flat and uniform'. Five photographs, taken on the River Wey and at Derwentwater, were criticised as being 'excessively soft'.[88]

A few months earlier in May 1892, a group of photographers, known as The Linked Ring, had been formed. They had seceded from the Photographic Society, London. The members of the group believed in an aesthetic rather than a mechanical approach to the taking and making of photographs. They believed in an impressionistic approach to photography, and wished, for example, to introduce degrees of softness into photographs by means of differential focussing. The father of this movement in photography was an Englishman, Dr Peter Henry Emerson.[89] At the Crystal Palace photographic exhibition in 1893 Brownrigg stood alone for the impressionists:

> Mr T. M. Brownrigg's 'Winter Sunset', 'Derwentwater', and 'Morning on the Wey' are especially evident in an exhibition singularly free of impressionistic pictures.[90]

The following month, on 30 May, he was elected to membership of The Linked Ring. His pseudonym was Magician, and he remained a Link until his death on 12 June 1901.[91]

14. Rollfilm, commercial developing and printing, 1888-1900

In the 1890s, in Ireland, photography became more popular. As the technical advance of the dry-plate had made

photography cheaper and more convenient, so the introduction of the rollfilm accelerated that tendency. Cameras capable of being loaded with rolls of film began to appear in the 1880s. The convenience of being able to take many photographs without reloading the camera proved attractive to the public. H. J. Redding, who was associated with the firm of James Robinson of Grafton Street, Dublin, patented the Luzo camera in 1888. It could take forty exposures. Complete specification for his photographic rollfilm holder was not accepted until 4 May 1889. One year later, Robinson's, now with a retail shop also in Regent Street, London, offered a Luzo model that was capable of taking 100 negatives on one roll of film. Robinson's claimed to be the 'inventors and patentees' of this camera, the only such British camera at that time. The previous year, Eastman's, later to be known as Kodak, introduced a gelatine rollfilm backed by protective opaque paper. 'New Kodaks' were offered by Robinson's in 1893 at 26s. each. By the end of the decade, Robinson's offered a developing and printing service for amateurs, and developed 'Kodak rolls and plates'.[92]

1. The camera, painting, and drawing, 1550-1850

The first mention of the use of the camera as an aid to drawing was in the sixteenth century. It was known as the camera obscura. Gradually this instrument became more widely known among artists and may have been used by Vermeer. Robert Boyle was probably the first in England to construct a portable camera obscura, which he demonstrated to the Royal Society. In 1669, some years later, he wrote an account of it in Of the systematical and cosmical qualities of things. Boyle described a box with a lens at one end and a sheet of paper 'at a convenient distance' from it. There was a viewing hole by which the image could be seen.[1]

Sir Joshua Reynolds owned a camera obscura though there is no direct evidence that he used it for drawing. While on tour in the Netherlands he noted that the paintings of Jan van der Heyden had a quality suggestive of the use of the camera obscura. He wrote to Edmund Burke stating that 'Dutch pictures are a representation of nature, just as it is seen in a camera obscura'. Reynolds believed that an artist with powers of selection could make a better representation of a scene than an artist using a camera obscura on the same scene.[2]

Another artist who probably used a camera obscura in the eighteenth century was Canaletto. If he used a camera obscura he did not use it slavishly, as he appears to have manipulated proportions and the positions of buildings in his paintings. In the 1720s, Owen McSwiney, an Irishman, was working in Italy as an agent for London theatre

managers and a small number of art collectors. He had commissioned Canaletto to produce accurate views of Venice for the English market. Canaletto may well have deluded McSwiney into thinking that his work represented actuality, showing 'things that fall immediately under the eye' of the camera obscura.[3]

It is not known with certainty why Daguerre pursued the idea of photography. He had a background in stage designing and the presentation of panoramic paintings in semi-darkened theatres. Between 1807 and 1816 he worked for Pierre Prevost, renowned as a painter of panoramas, and almost certainly must have used the camera obscura or seen it used in the preparation of sketches and finished paintings. Daguerre began his photographic experiments in 1826. The connection between sketching and photography is quite clear in the case of Talbot, the discoverer of the calotype process of photography. In 1833, while on honeymoon in Italy, he was dissatisfied with his attempts to sketch a scene at Lake Como with the aid of the camera lucida. This device used a prism, which, when pointed at a view, presented a reflected image on paper. It was not an easy instrument to use and Talbot's results were 'melancholy to behold'. He had difficulty using the camera obscura in 1823 and 1824. In 1834 he began his experiments to fix the image of the camera obscura on paper.[4]

From photography's earliest appearance in Ireland there was a clear connection and tension between art and photography. Some early daguerreotypists were miniature portrait painters. Bernard Mulrenin, whose technique is discussed below,* exhibited portraits painted over photographs in 1839 and 1840, but the artist in Ireland who adopted most enthusiastically the daguerreotype as an aid

* Below, i, pp 110-12.

was Horatio Nelson who worked as an artist and daguerreotypist in Dublin in the 1840s and whose work is discussed above.* Nelson had painted in Dublin since about 1833 and first advertised the daguerreotype in November 1842. He claimed that 'being an artist' gave him 'a decided advantage over the mere mechanic in the arrangement of the light and shade so essential to the perfection of a likeness'. He continued to offer 'miniatures on ivory, portraits in oil and water colours'. Leon Glukman was Nelson's rival in Dublin and in his advertising drew attention to the 'science of photography'. Sarcastically, he turned around Nelson's advertising phrases, stating that he did 'not profess to give daguerreotype pictures on ivory or on silver plates or to do impossibilities'. In May 1847 an itinerant art teacher, J. C. Constable, offered classes in Dublin in drawing, painting, and the daguerreotype.[5]

The first photographs exhibited in Ireland were seen at the Royal Dublin Society in June 1847 in an exhibition of Irish manufacture, produce, and invention. There were few photographs because there were not many professionals in Ireland and amateurs were not yet organised. Leon Glukman was awarded a silver medal for daguerreotype specimens. In 1849 David Octavius Hill of Scotland presented '126 calotypes executed by himself' to the school of arts of the Royal Hibernian Academy and these presumably would have been seen by academicians and students. In July 1850 daguerreotypes were shown at an R.D.S. exhibition similar in content to the 1847 exhibition; it included work by Glukman, Joseph H. Pinkney, and the firm of Barratt & Stanley. John B. Mayall, an American daguerreotypist who worked in London from 1847 to 1860, exhibited twenty-two daguerreotypes including views of Niagara Falls and

* Below, i, pp 8-10.

Stratford-on-Avon, a number of portraits, and a group portrait, 'The five English chemists: Faraday, Graham, Grove, Brand, Miller', which was presented to the R.D.S.[6]

2. The London Photographic Society and art, 1852-3

The first all-photographic exhibition held in Britain was opened in London in December 1852 at the premises of the Society of Arts. Early in the new year the London Photographic Society held its first meeting on the same premises. Its first president was Sir Charles Eastlake, president of the Royal Academy, who, in collaboration with the earl of Rosse, had encouraged Talbot to relax his patent rights to the calotype. At the first meeting of the society, Sir William Newton, a miniature painter, read a paper entitled 'Upon photography in an artistic view, and in its relations to the arts'. Newton believed that 'at <u>present</u>' photography was inferior to the best work of artists: 'it is vain to look for that true representation of light and shade in photography, which is to be found in a fine work of art'. He exhorted photographers to work in the laboratory at producing 'pictures still more minute and perfect in detail'. He believed that this type of photography could be 'applied to buildings for architectural purposes' with all the detail 'as sharp and clean as possible'. The artist, he said, did not require this fine detail. Newton advised that the artist could produce by suggestion a 'picturesque effect' in subjects taken from nature. This could be achieved by the 'whole subject being a little <u>out of focus</u>'. Newton advised the art student 'not to take up the camera as a means of advancement in the profession' but rather to acquaint himself with the 'true principles of his art' and to learn

'to draw with ease and correctness'. He warned the art student 'in the earlier part of his studies' not to be diverted from his principal object by the 'seductive nature of the practice of photography'. In a discussion later in the year the two types of photography were defined and named: the 'Pre-Raphaelites' who wanted sharpness and detail in photographs, and the 'modern school' which favoured photographs with portions slightly out of focus.[7]

3. D.P.S. members, artistic photography, and painting

Of the twenty original members who met at the first meeting of the Dublin Photographic Society in November 1854, two were painters, Michael Angelo Hayes and Frederick Sanders, and one was a sculptor, Joseph Robinson Kirk.* Sir John Coghill, an amateur artist who had exhibited at the R.H.A. exhibition in 1849, was also present. He had originally taken up photography in 1852 as an aid to painting. He continued his interest in art, being president of the Dublin Art Union in 1856. In November 1854, George Sharp, a portrait and figure painter, who had a special interest in teaching elementary drawing, became a member of the D.P.S.. John Skipton Mulvany, an architect, George F. Mulvany, a painter, and John McCurdy, a civil engineer and architect, became members at the same time. Bernard Mulrenin and William Brocas, a member of a family of Dublin painters, had joined the society by February 1855. Rev. John Dopping joined the society but allowed his membership to lapse by August 1856. His interest seems to have turned towards painting as two years later he showed paintings entitled 'Sunshine', 'Shadow', and 'Storm' at an art exhibition at the R.D.S. Other members had an interest in art: Edward King Tenison was an 'annual subscriber' to the

* Above, i, pp 62-3.

Irish Institution which mounted art exhibitions, and Stewart Blacker had written about the fine arts in Ireland.[8]

The first all-photographic exhibition in Ireland was mounted in Dublin at the Royal Irish Institution, College Green, in May 1856.* It was not expected 'that a first exhibition of the kind ... dealing exclusively with photographic art' would so soon gain a comparable 'share of favour' usually given to 'other fine art exhibitions'. The attendance at the exhibition compared well with the attendance at contemporary fine art exhibitions; in May 1854 a fine art exhibition at the Royal Irish Institution was viewed by over 2000 visitors and almost 500 catalogues were sold. The early photographers imitated painters in the selection of subject matter and the exhibition reflected this. Photographs included such subjects as:

> old time worn cliffs with all their rents and stains ... snatches of rural scenery ... river and woodland views ... shady brakes with their ferns and tall rank herbage ... subjects that produce and leave behind them impressions of much force and feeling.[9]

Contributions made by Irish photographers to the London Photographic Society exchange albums in 1855 and 1857 have been discussed above in the context of Irish amateurs exhibiting work outside Ireland.+ The subject matter they chose was in the tradition of the picturesque, the historic, and the antiquarian and was similar to subjects chosen by painters. In 1855 Coghill contributed a photograph entitled 'Gorge of Gondo, Switzerland', while Lord Otho Fitzgerald and Francis E. Currey, agent of the duke of Devonshire, contributed photographs of an old monastery and a river scene, with 'The monastery belonging

* Above, i, pp 67-8; + above, i, pp 78-9.

to the castle of the Desmonds' and 'The River Blackwater'. Two years later photographs by Fitzgerald and William C. Plunket featured rivers, while photographs by Coghill and Captain Robert J. Henry were taken at lakeside locations. Coghill's photograph, 'Castle of Chillon', taken in Switzerland, was a traditional view of a castle at a lakeside location.[10]

A number of artists in the Dublin Photographic Society appear to have used photography as an aid to their work as painters. Michael Angelo Hayes photographed a number of his paintings about 1858. Besides showing 'several photographs', a 'frame of photographs', and a photograph entitled 'The Bold Soldier Boy', he also exhibited a photograph of his painting 'The 16th Lancers breaking the square of Sikh infantry at the Battle of Aliwal'. On 28 Jan. 1859 Hayes read a paper to a meeting of the D.P.S. on the value to artists of 'securing copies of their own pictures' by means of photography. He explained how 'certain colours' did not copy well in monochrome photography as he had experienced in copying his painting 'The Kildare Hunt'. He was, however, able to show a 'successful photograph of this fine picture' to his audience.[11]

On the same occasion Bernard Mulrenin also spoke to the D.P.S.. He had exhibited small portraits in 1839 'painted upon a faint impression from a photograph transferred to marble'. Mulrenin did a portrait of George Petrie, possibly in the early 1850s, by painting over a photograph.(plate 40). At his lecture, Mulrenin's main purpose was to show how 'bona fide miniature paintings' could be made with the aid of photography, but he also spoke about other ways in which the work of the artist and

photographer came together. Mulrenin believed that, because of the complex preparation necessary for photography and the subtlety of chemical operations, 'a faultless work of photography' would not often be produced. Colour could be added to the finished photograph, he suggested, 'to hide accidental defects' and to provide 'those beauties which colour is allowed to impart'. The chemical reduction of dark areas in the photographic image often caused a loss of image in the 'lighter shades', Mulrenin pointed out. He believed the restoration of these tones 'must depend on the skill of the artist' working in watercolour. Mulrenin was aware that 'photographs painted with oil colours are entirely painted over, so as to leave no portion of the original visible'. If a 'considerable number' of impressions of a portrait were needed, 'a highly finished drawing in light and shade should be made', he advised. This drawing could be 'based upon a good positive photograph'. An 'almost faultless negative' of this drawing would then have to be produced which would then 'yield impressions requiring no amendment from the pencil'.

Mulrenin then described a method by which photography could be used as an aid to the miniature portrait painter. Firstly, a photograph should be obtained on a glass photographic plate. Then, a preparation whose main ingredient was glycerine or honey, was to be 'passed over' the general outline and shading of the photograph on the reverse side of the plate. This image, still retaining a 'degree of moisture' was then to be placed in contact with the marble or ivory surface to be painted, and' by a moderate pressure is transferred ... and ready to receive colour'. Mulrenin envisaged a future in which a 'good photographer' would provide the photographic image and the

artist would provide 'the more attractive qualities of colour, joined to a graceful and picturesque arrangement, exemplifying true principles of art'. This 'division of labour' would facilitate , Mulrenin said, 'the production of many paintings susceptible of the highest degree of finish in a novel style, extending the utility of photography into new realms of taste'.[12]

4. Mulready and Brett use photography

One Irish painter working abroad came into contact with photography in a number of ways. William Mulready, an Irish landscape and genre painter, resumed landscape painting in the early 1850s, having abandoned it in 1813. He had been prompted to paint landscapes again after successfully exhibiting three finely detailed rustic scenes, some of which had been rejected from exhibitions thirty years before. In 1851 he painted 'Blackheath Park' which was shown at the Royal Academy the following year. In 1855 it was shown in Paris at the Exposition Universelle, critics comparing it to a '<u>daguerreotype transporté dans la peinture</u>'. Mulready may well have been influenced by photography. He had had a one man exhibition in 1848 at the Society of Arts, at whose premises a few years later the first all-photographic exhibition was mounted. In 1853, Mulready's brother-in-law, Cornelius Varley, who had an interest in photography, wrote to his friend John Linnell saying that the London Photographic Society had an 'exhibition of excellent sun pictures'. Varley was a painter in watercolour who also had scientific interests. In July 1853 he had 'fitted up several sets of [photographic] apparatus for others' and two of his sons 'were making themselves acquainted with it'. Mulready

himself also collected photographs. In the studio sale after his death there were several categories of photographs: landscapes, portraits of artists, figures, and photographs from pictures and drawings.[13]

John Brett, a Pre-Raphaelite painter, whose family was Irish, also used photography in his work as a painter. His sister Rosa was also a painter but she does not seem to have used photography as an aid to painting. Brett, who was born in 1831, sketched when young but these landscape drawings are juvenile in quality. A painting of his dated 1852 is not regarded as very remarkable. However, between 1853 and 1855 he showed increasing 'care and accuracy of draughtsmanship'. He entered the Royal Academy Schools in 1854 after having had some preliminary instruction in drawing in Dublin. He went to Switzerland in 1856 during which he painted the 'Glacier of Rosenlaui'. This was a turning point in his career. He met John Inchbold in Switzerland and saw him at work. Later, back in England, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, whom Brett knew, showed the 'Glacier of Rosenlaui' to John Ruskin who 'praised the picture unreservedly'. It was shown at the Royal Academy in 1857. The following year Brett made his reputation with 'The Stonebreaker' when it was exhibited at the Royal Academy. It was praised in glowing terms by Ruskin and he encouraged Brett in his next undertaking, the painting of the 'Val d'Aosta', a valley of peaceful agricultural life enclosed by mountains. It was hung in the Royal Academy in 1859. Ruskin was disappointed by it and from about this time largely abandoned his active encouragement of contemporary artists. Brett took up photography some time after this when he was no longer under the influence of Ruskin and also had to face the prospect of earning a

living as a painter. His notebook for July-October 1870, for example, shows a drawing and a photograph of 'The Lion Rock from Asparagus Island'. These lay in his notebook for almost twenty years before being worked up into a large oil painting, 'The Lion, the Lizard, and the Stags'. In 1869, one year before he acquired the photograph of the Lion rock, he sailed along the coast in the north-west and west of Ireland. He sketched at Blacksod Bay, Clew Bay, Achill Island, and the villages of Newport and Westport. Brett also sketched some portraits of a Dr Scott, a Mr and Mrs Brice, and a man name Boycott, believed by a modern researcher to be 'the Irishman Boycott'. There is no evidence that Brett had or used a camera on this cruise.[14] Later, Beatrix Potter, author of children's stories, got to know him and his method of working:

> He was such a nice hearty little man, stout and with dark red whiskers. He was very kind and told us a great deal of interest. He goes sailing about the west coast of Scotland in his sailing yacht in the summer, making small oil sketches which he uses for the colour in his pictures which he paints in the winter months, chiefly from memory, though also assisted by photographs, for he is a successful photographer.[15]

In 1889 Brett read a paper to the Camera Club in London entitled 'The relation of photography to the pictorial art'. He dealt with many aspects of art and photography but did not discuss the fact that he himself used photography.[16]

5. Copyright, painting, and photography, 1859

In 1859 an interesting legal case was heard in Dublin in which the relationship of photography to art was examined.

In the mid-1850s Henry Wallis, a Pre-Raphaelite painter, had executed a painting called 'The Death of Chatterton'. Thomas Chatterton, the subject of the painting, had been a young Bristol poet who had not been a success in London and who had died by self-administered arsenic poisoning in his rooms in August 1770. The painting was hung in the Royal Academy in 1856, in Manchester in 1857, and in Dublin in 1859. The painting was bought by Augustus Egg, a Pre-Raphaelite painter, who sold the copyright of the picture to Robert Turner who wished to publish an engraving of the work. Meanwhile, quite independently, James Robinson, a Dublin professional photographer, announced his intention of publishing a series of photographs based on the life of Chatterton, one of which would be a re-creation in a photographic studio of Wallis's painting.

Turner believed his copyright was being infringed and he applied for an injunction. He argued that Robinson had printed, published, and sold 'piratical imitations' of the painting. Turner's representatives requested an injunction barring Robinson from exhibiting, publishing, or selling the advertised photographs and they desired an account of Robinson's profits from any sales he had made. Robinson argued that stereoscopic pairs of photographs could not be compared to a painting, as they produced an effect when seen in a stereoscope 'which could not be produced by any painting'. His representatives argued that copyright in a painting could not be assigned to another person, as Egg had done. They also argued that the picture had been published before, by its sale to Egg, by a reproduction in the <u>National Magazine</u>, and by its exhibition in London, Manchester, and Dublin.

On 30 June 1860, the Master of the Rolls held that

'the fact of piracy' by James Robinson was 'beyond all doubt'. He advised that the injunction be granted 'only for the period for which the painting is hired to the petitioner'. After that period, if Robinson should sell photographs of 'The Death of Chatterton', Egg, if he wished, could file a new petition. The lord justice of appeal made the injunction perpetual.[17]

6. Photography and etching: cooperation

Lady Clementina Hawarden, living at Dundrum, County Tipperary, was an active photographer in the late 1850s and during the first half of the 1860s. There were connections between her work as a photographer and plein air etching. Scottish born, she came to Dundrum in 1856 when her husband succeeded to his inheritance and his title. In a seven year period she produced approximately 850 photographs, 'many of her photographs [being] taken at the family house' in Tipperary. In 1859 the Hawardens moved to Princes Gardens, South Kensington, though they returned to their Irish home quite regularly. Hawarden began photography in Dundrum in late 1857 or early 1858 where she had the necessary time, space, and money. She may have learned photography from books and pamphlets or had tuition from gentlemen or lady photographers in the area: William Despard Hemphill (Clonmel), Lady Rosse (Birr), Francis Edmund Currey (Lismore), Sir Denham J. Norreys (Mallow).

Sir Francis Seymour Haden, an etcher and surgeon, and brother-in-law of James McNeill Whistler, worked as an artist at Dundrum. His association with the Hawardens probably arose initially from the fact that he was Lady Hawarden's obstetrician. Seymour had etched in Italy in the 1840s but there was an interval of fourteen years

before he took up etching again. By about 1860 he began plein air landscape etching. Seymour and Hawarden may have worked alongside each other at Dundrum. Some of Haden's most renowned prints, on which his reputation as an etcher rests, are Dundrum landscapes which correspond with Hawarden photographs of the same scenes.(plates 41, 42). He also borrowed directly from her photographs of her daughters, to produce genre scenes.(plates 43, 44). Haden never acknowledged his use of photography which would have harmed his reputation as an artist etcher.

In her London house Lady Hawarden photographed her daughters. She began by taking photographs using conventional props and poses composed around tables, chairs, and drapes. She used daylight streaming through windows or available on open balconies. From about 1862 she often photographed her daughters in costume tableaux or gesturing rhetorically. She sometimes took photographs of her daughters in pairs or used a mirror to create a twin for the subject, the intention being, possibly, to convey the idea of self-contemplation. Courtship was explored with one of her daughters playing the part of the wooing male lover. She also photographed women in languid poses. In doing so, Lady Hawarden struck out into a new area in photography, and managed to evoke mood and atmosphere in a setting of romance, unrequited love, and perhaps, repressed sexuality. Modern critics see Pre-Raphaelite influences in her work but her contemporaries did not. In 1863 and 1864 at the London Photographic Society exhibition she won silver medals for this type of work. Lewis Carroll saw her photographs at the 1864 exhibition, the year before she died, and said: 'The best of the life ones were Lady Hawarden's'.[18]

7. Photography and art: disagreement

In 1858 the Dublin Photographic Society decided for a number of reasons that it would amalgamate with the fine art section of the Royal Dublin Society.* Since its beginning in 1854 the D.P.S. had always met on the premises of the R.D.S. Now, however, in 1858, membership numbers were down and did not compare favourably with the membership level reached in the early months of the society's existence, when there were eighty members. It was agreed that the photographers would amalgamate with the fine arts, and also, oddly, that the photographic section would be known as the Photographic Society of Ireland. Joint meetings of the two groups were to be chaired by a system of rotating chairmen, one chosen from each group. It was an uneasy alliance. The underlying tension surfaced a year later.[19]

Early in 1859 Henry McManus, headmaster of the school of art in the R.D.S., gave 'two addresses' to the 'fine arts and photographic section' of the R.D.S. He had been exhibiting as a painter since 1835 and had been headmaster of the Glasgow School of Design before coming to Dublin.[20] One of the lectures was entitled 'On art education' and in this lecture he spoke about the importance of drawing and design. McManus believed that a 'coming higher taste' would demand 'a greater extension of a knowledge of design' and its application to the 'highest purposes of art'. He believed that photography would 'ultimately benefit the arts, as it produces withour labour, what has kept hundreds of artists mere labouring machines'. He also emphasised the point that there was more to art training than 'repeating certain stereotyped mental images'.[21] He continued:

* Above, i, pp 68-9.

> ... if this were all the art necessary to the artist, his craft would be superseded by mechanical means, as shown by the wonders of photography. But, thanks to the pressure of circumstances, fine art takes up its true position in the stronghold of design, within which it may bid defiance to innovations injurious to its existence.[22]

McManus included photography among such 'innovations'. He believed that the 'grand in art' could be achieved only by the application of 'mathematical laws' in order to realize 'abstract ideas of form'. These could only be executed by the 'human hand guided by human intelligence' and was impossible and 'beyond the power of machinery however ingeniously contrived'. Coghill disagreed with McManus on this occasion and continued to think and read about art and photography during the summer recess.[23]

Coghill returned in November 1859 to deliver a detailed analysis of art and photography in his lecture entitled 'On the mutual relations of photography and art'. McManus's paper had provoked Coghill to 'pay a closer attention to the subject'. Coghill was clear that 'an implied challenge was thrown out to photography to prove herself worthy of the fine arts'. He believed that through 'study and reflection' it would be possible to attain 'a moderate but very satisfactory amount of art perfection'. The photographer would have to adhere to 'certain tangible, practical, and invariable rules of art'. He did not see photography as a 'mere servile copyist' but rather an art form in which 'the brain, the taste, the judgement' would have to be brought into play. The lens of the camera observed, but the photographer would have to select. Coghill showed a thorough knowledge of the 'laws of composition' as expounded, for example, by James Duffield

Harding.[24] Coghill believed it was essential for photographers to acquaint themselves with these principles:

> ... without a knowledge of the elements and principles of art, photographers will never give their favourite pursuit a fair chance or raise it from that second-rate position in the kingdom of art to which it had been naturally, but not altogether fairly, consigned by many of the best theoretic artists.[25]

McManus was apparently unmoved by Coghill's arguments, as, in 1862, in the course of delivering a series of lectures on architecture, sculpture, and painting at the Mechanics Institute in Dublin, he attacked photography again:

> Photography, at best, is but a stern chronicler of facts, mere episodes; but it is not art, it is the combined result of chemistry and mechanism, and it is wonderful in its effects, but it is not art, nor painting, nor sculpture, nor architecture. Painting is the expression of our sympathy with what we represent, our partiality and love suggest the treatment; it is not wholly objective, like photography, but takes the bent of our individual feelings, modifying these with our inventive associations, a condition of mind, the privilege only of thinking beings.[26]

Coghill's knowledge of the principles of art composition gives an indication of how he and his disciples in the D.P.S. and P.S.I. approached art photography in the 1850s. He was influenced no doubt by art exhibitions he attended and, in particular, by the published work of James Duffield Harding, with which he was familiar. Harding wrote a number of books on art but the two that Coghill is likely to have consulted are The principles and practice of art (1845) and Lessons on art (1849) He was aware that the subject of composition would need 'many a lecture' and

that photographers would have 'to read and think for themselves'. He knew that photographers suffered from certain disadvantages: photographic plates were unable to record the difference in contrast between white clouds and a blue sky; the photographer could not substitute an uninteresting foreground for another as a painter might; nor could the photographer insert shadows over 'superabundant detail' or 'make away with an obnoxious tree or house'. 'Our brethren of the brush' can make mountains 'elastic' or make pictures 'directly into the sun's eye' which the photographer could not do, Coghill said. He summarised the restrictions on photographers by saying: 'We must take things as we find them'.

He advised his fellow photographers to 'avoid a repetition of forms' in their photographs. Removal of the camera some few yards to the right or left would probably remedy the defect. He also advised against having any of the 'leading features of a view' perpendicularly over or horizontally level with each other. He believed that all parts of a photograph should contain some interest for the viewer. A photograph should always be 'well balanced' with the 'principal object' being placed 'near' the centre, with 'some object of sufficient importance to catch the eye' in subordination to the principal object. He gave the example of a composition which contained 'a fine castle crowning a rugged hill'. If this principal object was on the right of the picture it could be balanced 'by the distribution of foreground figures' or objects such as 'a stranded boat', 'a group of peasants', 'a cart and horse', all of which could be placed by the photographer in a left foreground location, in 'the proper place for his composition'. Coghill knew that photographers were accused of having a

'want of air and distance' in their photographs and he felt this could be solved by having 'near objects' and the 'most distant portions' of the photograph pass across 'all the different planes of distance'. If possible, the photograph should have 'one principal light and one principal shadow'. He advised 'caution in the employment of all that great variety which nature affords'. He explained:

> The variety which should be striven for in a picture is not to be found in this or that spray of foliage, the readableness of a poster on a dead wall, the accuracy of each link in a watch-chain, or any such puerilities. The variety that an artist seeks for is the variety of contrast. The contrast of action with repose; of rounded forms with angular; of the rugged with the smooth; of the flexible with the firm; of the curved with the straight; of the regular with the irregular.[27]

8. Art reproductions, including Irish art, 1851-1872

When the wet-plate process of photography was announced in 1851 it was then possible for paper photographs of good quality to be made from glass negatives. Portraits, views, and works of art were offered to the public.[28] In 1855, for example, James Robinson advertised:

> Unequalled collection of photographed engravings and works of art. James Robinson invites public attention to his immense collection of photographs on sale, including copies of paintings, engravings after the old and modern masters, and groups of statuary ....[29]

With the popularisation of the carte-de-visite photograph in the early 1860s the paper photograph became more popular and the collecting of photographs became fashionable. Art photographs were offered to the public. In 1863, Burke's of Lower Ormond Quay and Upper Sackville Street offered 'a

splendid collection of photographs from Landseer, Delaroche, Schleffer, Winterhalter, &c.' Three years later, John Gough, a photographic agent in Eustace Street, Dublin, offered cartes-de-visite and stereographs 'of all the choice statues and works of art in the late Dublin International Exhibition, 1865'. The photographs had been taken by the London Stereoscopic Company. By 1867 the photographers Millard & Robinson of Dublin offered to copy the art drawings and sculpture of clients. The following year Reilly's of Grafton Street had 'photo scraps' for sale 'of celebrated pictures in the Florentine and Roman galleries'.[30]

Some nationalists were unhappy that Irish art and monuments were not represented in the photographic collections advertised. In 1866 one writer, 'Young Ireland', who may not have been aware of the 'home scenery' offered by Robinson in 1855, or the 'Irish views' offered by Lesage in 1861, looked at photography 'from a national point of view' and found it wanting. He believed there had been a 'dereliction of national duty' by the managers, proprietors, and artists working in photography. They had neither loved nor cherished nor promoted 'the scenery and monuments and objects of art of their native land'. 'Young Ireland' did not believe he was being unreasonable in asking Irish photographers to take photographs of Irish art objects. He had examined 'one of Lesage's trade lists' and in it he had found 'lists of photographic cartes, copies of oil paintings and statuary, both French, English, and European generally'. There was a 'paucity' of photographs of Irish subjects: 'photographic views of Irish scenery ... [and] copies of Irish pictures or statues'. A week later a

correspondent agreed that 'our Irish printers of sun pictures' were guilty of neglecting the photography of native Irish art. He had some faith in 'our enterprising English photographers' that they would 'manufacture photographs of statues and such other monuments of Irish genius still at home' and that they would not object to 'sending an artist specially to do them'. He attempted to rouse Irish photographers into action:

> Where are our Robinson's, Gluckman's (sic), Simonton's, Millard's, Lauder's, Miller and Richard's, and a host of other excellent photographers? Are they still in Dublin? If they are they should bestir themselves.[31]

The most significant single project involving the use of photography with art in Ireland at this time was that undertaken by the firm of William Lawrence, Upper Sackville Street, Dublin, at the Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufactures, 1872. Lawrence had been made 'official photographer to the exhibition'. A collection of over 300 paintings of Irish historical portraits 'formed an important feature' of the exhibition. The collection had been put together and arranged by a loan portrait committee under the presidency of Lord Dufferin. The collection was restricted to those who were 'Irish by birth or connected with the public transactions of Ireland'. Pictures were loaned by the lord lieutenant, Lord Spencer, and the nobility and gentry of Ireland. Lawrence realised that the collection of portraits was 'such a collection as it is not probable will ever be brought together again'. He seems to have had no difficulty in obtaining permission to photograph from the owners. Lawrence announced that the owners 'with kind liberality, have allowed them to be

photographed and published'. The purpose of copying the portraits was to form 'a permanent record of the collection for historical information and instruction'. There were 336 works involved and they included work by 'Hogarth, Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Lawrence, Lely, Holbein, Van Dyck, Kneller, and others'. A 'complete set of photographs' could be seen at Lawrence's in Upper Sackville Street. Each cabinet size photograph was 1s. 6d., and photographs 10" x 8" in size were 3s. 6d. each. When seeking permission from the governors of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, Dublin, to photograph a portrait on loan, Lawrence intimated that he would forward a copy of the photograph to the governors.[32]

9. Painters use photography, 1874-1900

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Irish artists used photographs in a number of ways. In 1874 Frank Reynolds painted portraits of John Christian, Abraham Brewster, and David R. Pigot, all of whom were dead at the time Reynolds painted their portraits. It seems likely that Reynolds worked from photographs or lithographs derived from photographs. In 1879 Sir John Lavery exhibited a work entitled 'Pious Reflections'. Many years later he was so impressed with the 'accuracy of the drawing' on which the painting was based that he intimated that he 'must have got help from the photograph of a girl in the same position'.[33] About ten years later he got the opportunity to paint Queen Victoria. He was to work from an officially supplied painting. Lavery was unhappy with this arrangement but

... could not very well tell [the Queen's private

> secretary] that a good untouched photograph would be better to work from than a painting by an artist, however good, because while a painting expressed the opinion of the artist, the photograph expressed no opinion at all and gave me solid fact.[34]

At the close of the 1880s John Brett reported that 'the chief practical use of photography in the painter's studio' was the provision of copies of drawings by great artists. He had in his 'own collection of photographs' drawings by 'Michael Angelo, Leonardo, Holbein, and others'. He believed that the photographic copies represented the artists 'nearly as well as the originals' yet they 'cost only a few shillings'. Helen Mabel Trevor painted on the continent from 1880 to 1900. She studied art in Paris and travelled with her sister Rose, and painted in Normandy, Brittany, and in Italy. In this period Trevor wrote a number of letters to E. Halse and these were often accompanied by 'pen and ink sketches' or 'by photographs of works in progress'. Roderick O'Conor also painted in France about this time. His pictures were influenced by Cézanne at a time when the name of Cézanne was not well-known. While O'Conor knew 'most of the more interesting French painters of his generation' and may have been influenced personally by them in his art, it is also possible that photography may have played some part in O'Conor developing the technique of parallel hatched brush strokes associated with Cézanne. O'Conor's 'spacious but gloomy studio' in Paris was filled with pictures, books, music, drawings, and 'mostly' photographs of works by El Greco and Cézanne.[35]

10. Eadweard Muybridge and animal locomotion

Artists had long been interested in the actual positions of animal limbs in the course of locomotion. They were especially interested in establishing the correct positions of horses' legs as they walked, trotted, cantered, and galloped. From the mid-century onwards a number of books were published by veterinary surgeons, cavalrymen, and physiologists on animal locomotion. Their interest in this ranged from the scientific to the artistic. In Ireland in 1877 Michael Angelo Hayes, a painter of horses and military subjects, published an illustrated pamphlet entitled The delineation of animals in rapid motion. Meanwhile, in America, Eadweard Muybridge had begun experiments to take photographs of horses in their most rapid gaits. He began his work in May 1872 but did not produce a comprehensive collection of equestrian gaits until 1877 and 1878. The results of Muybridge's work were published internationally in many journals in 1878 and 1879. Muybridge came to France in 1881 and met Jean Louis Ernest Meissonier, a French artist who had a great reputation for artistic fidelity.

Meissonier had constructed a miniature railway parallel to a race track by which he could keep pace with a galloping horse in order to more accurately observe the subtleties of its movements. Meissonier was shown Muybridge's work. In March 1882 Muybridge appeared before a special meeting of the Royal Institution and showed a series of consecutive photographs 'as one continuous movement'. He also showed his photographs at the Royal Academy in London using a zoopraxiscope, a specially designed projector which could show a series of photographs in quick succession. He returned to America and between

1883 and 1887 he expanded his work which led him to publishing in 1885 and 1887 his complete work entitled: Animal locomotions, an electro-photographic investigation of consecutive phases of animal movements. A smaller work on a narrower aspect of his research, The human figure in motion, was published in 1901.[36]

Muybridge was back in London in 1889, giving illustrated lectures to the Royal Society, the Royal Academy, and other distinguished groups.[37] John Brett was an associate of the Royal Academy and appears to have seen Muybridge's demonstration at the academy. He was deeply appreciative of his work:

> The chief direct use of the camera to the artist lies in its power of securing images of rapidly moving animals. I think that painters owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr Muybridge for his photographic investigation of this subject, and the splendid demonstrations he has given of the footfall of galloping, trotting, and walking horses; and we ought also to offer our hearty thanks to the University of Pennsylvania which has so handsomely forwarded his work.[38]

Muybridge came to Dublin in mid-February 1890, presumably at the invitation of the Royal Dublin Society. He gave two afternoon lectures to the society on the subject of 'The science of animal locomotion in its relation to design and art'. The second lecture was, in truth, a continuation of the first, rather than a separate independent lecture. While he was in Dublin the Photographic Society of Ireland also promoted one public night lecture by Muybridge called 'The science of animal locomotion'. Admission was 1s. and tickets could be had in Dublin from two shops long associated with photography and scientific equipment: Robinson's, 65 Grafton Street, and

Yeates's, 1 Grafton Street. McGee's, 18 Nassau Street, booksellers and publishers, also sold tickets. The P.S.I. advertisement announced that the lecture would be

> Illustrated by his instantaneous photographs, projected by oxy-hydrogen limelight and the zoopraxiscope which exhibits with amazing realism the movements of the limbs of animals, exactly as made by the living animals.[39]

Muybridge's first lecture in the R.D.S. proved to be a very exciting affair. The attendance was 'exceedingly large' and 'throughout the proceedings the lecture and admirable illustrations supplied were loudly applauded'. Muybridge illustrated his lecture by showing 'the consecutive phases incidental to the movement of animals and birds'. These series of pictures were shown on a screen and synthesised into a moving image by the zoopraxiscope. Throughout the afternoon it would seem that the audience saw moving sequences of the elk, the ox, the goat, the buffalo, the American hog, the sloth, and a child crawling, and for each sequence seen they burst into enthusiastic applause. The horse was seen to amble, canter, and gallop in the most vivid and realistic manner. The sequence of limb positions in equine quadrapedal motion was shown, and the audience saw the following limbs landed in succession: left fore foot, right hind foot, right fore foot, left hind foot. The quadrapedal motion was seen to be similar in walking and cantering.

Muybridge then examined the way artists had expressed quadrapedal motion in the past. He referred to Greek, Egyptian, and medieval art. He believed that 'the expression of motion' in some of the early Greek drawings 'was perfectly accurate'. He was quite certain that the

statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome was 'the great source of modern error in the matter of the movements of a horse'. As a result there was 'a great absurdity in the conventional gallop as expressed at the present time on canvas'. Landseer, Rosa Bonheur, and other artists 'had drawn animals in impossible positions having regard to their gait', Muybridge said. Some of these works, he said, were highly prized. The artists who had attempted to break free of conventionality and paint closer to nature, were Verrochio, Jean Louis Ernest Meissonier, and Miss Elizabeth Thompson (Lady Butler). Muybridge was satisfied that the 'equestrian position' shown in her painting 'Roll Call' was 'perfectly accurately represented' but had some suspicions that the position bore 'a resemblance to some of the works of Meissonier'. Artists and 'sporting men' had laughed at these artists, but the evidence now showed, Muybridge said, that a galloping horse did have 'all its feet off the ground at the same time'.[40] In his resumed lecture two days later at the R. D. S. Muybridge introduced a closer analysis of the equestrian gait. There was a 'very large attendance' including the vicereine, the countess of Zetland, Lady Hilda Dundas, Lord and Lady Rossmore, Lady Newport, Lady Helen Stuart, Lord Clonmell, and Lady C. Stewart. At the conclusion of this lecture Muybridge expressed the hope that artists would pay more attention to the actual positions which animals occupied and he 'trusted that the new science would do much to advance the system of animal painting'.[41]

11. Walter Osborne and photography

One artist who seems to have used photography over a twenty year period is Walter Osborne. He went to Antwerp in 1881

and spent two sessions at the Antwerp Academy. By the end of 1882 he went to Brittany where he painted and sketched at Dinan, Quimperlé, and Pont-Aven. There were many painters working in northern France at this time, including a number of plein air English painters. It is possible that Osborne met some of these, though he himself was not strictly a plein air painter, preferring to work up a painting in the studio using the fruits of his sketch-book as an aid to memory. By 1884 his student days were over and he returned to Ireland to live with his parents in Dublin. He made regular trips to the south of England until about 1891. When in England, he went to art exhibitions but spent most of his time painting, sometimes working with other artists: near Evesham, with Nathaniel Hill and Edward Stott (October 1884); at Wherwell, near Andover in Hampshire, with Stott (1885); on the Norfolk and Suffolk coasts, at Walberswick notably (1884-5); on the River Kennet, and at Newbury (1887-8); at Romsey, Winchester, and the Hampshire Downs, probably in 1889; further along the coast, at Rye and Hastings (1890-1). From about 1889 he 'took seriously to portrait painting' though he continued in the 1890s to sketch and paint Irish outdoor subjects.[42]

Throughout his career Osborne collected photographs of the places he visited and these total about 100 prints. Of these, fifty-five are in an album and are of European, English, or Irish locations: Antwerp (9); Bruges (8); Brittany (15); southern England (11); Dublin-Wicklow (12). The subject matter of the Antwerp photographs includes street scenes, cathedral architecture, a harbour scene, and a high-angle view of the city and river. The Bruges photographs also include views of a church and church

details such as a belfry, pulpit, and doors. The Brittany photographs were taken at Dinan, Auray, Quimperlé, and Pont-Aven. The subject matter of these photographs includes old houses, a cathedral, street scenes, an old man, a little girl with white bonnet, a coastal scene, and two river scenes, in one of which is a broken boat. Photographs of English localities include Lincoln, Stratford, Romsey, Salisbury, Rochester, and two views on the coast at Southwold, Suffolk. There are twelve views taken in south County Dublin, the subjects consisting of combinations of the following: trees, saplings, undergrowth, waterfalls, streams with rocks, and a road through a forest. These photographs were taken at locations at Shankill, near Dundrum, in the Devil's Glen, in Bird Glen, in the Dargle Valley, and near Newrath Bridge, County Wicklow. These good quality photographs may have been taken by Osborne, or more likely by an amateur photographer with a sense of the aesthetic.

There are forty-six loose and unmounted photographs, principally of subjects at European (15), English (10), and Dublin city locations (13). Some locations have not been identified. The continental photographs include subjects such as draught oxen, fishermen and their families, including children wearing clogs, street scenes, and a view at St. Malo. The English photographs include locations at Rye and Clovelly, a canal scene, children playing on a beach, fishing boats under sail, and a view at Llanberis. The Dublin photographs include views of the clock tower and of Trinity Church in the grounds of Dublin castle. There are two views of laneways in Dublin and there are photographs taken in Patrick Street. There are two views of the Four Courts taken from different angles.[43]

There are a number of possible reasons why Osborne kept a photograph collection. Some photographs may have been kept as mementoes of places visited, Antwerp, Bruges, and Brittany in particular, locations which he might not visit again. He may also have kept photographs as aides-memoire, not so much to recall details of a scene which he would have in his sketch-book, but perhaps to recall the general scene. Osborne regularly incorporated old material from his sketch-books into paintings. On one occasion he wrote home from England to his parents seeking drawings he had made of farm-yard fowl in Brittany a year before. It is possible that photographs were used in a similar way. He sketched and painted cattle on a number of occasions and there is a close-up view of cattle in his photographic collection. Osborne painted 'The Lock Gates' around 1888 and there is a photograph in his collection which includes a number of elements of this painting: a canal, lock gates, tiled roofs, and wooden fencing. In 1887 he painted 'In St. Patrick's Cathedral'. While presumably Osborne sketched in the cathedral in preparation for this painting, he had many photographs of cathedrals in his collection including some interior views, on which he could rely for Gothic architectural detail. Osborne included two young girls with white bonnets, and a local church, in a painting depicting apple gathering at Quimperlé. Photographs in his collection, almost certainly of locations in Quimperlé, record the local church and young girls wearing the local characteristic white bonnet and clogs. 'Cherry Ripe' was painted around 1889. He also made a pencil sketch and a fully finished water colour of this street scene, which is an actual street, the High Street, Rye, in Kent.(plate 45). In his collection there is a commercially taken photograph

which could have been bought by visitors to Rye.(plate 46). Osborne may have recalled better the fine detail of roofs, windows, and building facades, by the use of this photograph.[44]

Osborne seems to have used in a number of ways photographs taken in Ireland. In the late 1880s and 1890s he sketched and painted in the streets around St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. His painting 'Near St. Patrick's Close, an Old Dublin Street' was painted in 1887.(plate 47). The view is actually along Patrick Street. There are three photographs of this street in Osborne's collection, all taken from different positions in the street. For each photograph the photographer moved closer to the cathedral, one photograph coinciding remarkably in composition with the finished painting. The photographs are of good quality but are untrimmed and show the marks of plate clips in the camera.(plate 48). The prints may be unfinished commercial photographs or, more likely, were taken by Osborne or by an amateur photographer working under his instruction. In the early 1890s Osborne sketched and painted around the Dublin street markets. In his collection there are two photographs of lanes in Dublin, taken by Lawrence's of Dublin, showing shop fronts, a man with a bowler hat and apron, and meat and vegetables for sale in the open. These photographs contain some elements of Osborne's sketches and paintings of the markets area of Dublin.[45]

Osborne may also have used photography as an artist's aid in a more direct way. He did a number of drawings in the St. Stephen's Green area of Dublin in the second half of the 1890s.(plate 49). One such pencil sketch includes a horse-drawn coach which may have originated from or been influenced by a photographic

source. Osborne had a Lawrence photograph entitled 'St. Stephen's Green West, Dublin', which includes two horse-drawn coaches.(plate 50). Accurate tracings were made of the coaches on the reverse side of the photograph and these were sketched out more loosely, in Osborne's style, alongside the tracings.(plate 51). A number of photographs in Osborne's collection were worked over in detail with a sharp fine-pointed instrument, the intention being, apparently, to obtain an impression of the image on a sheet of paper in contact with the photograph. This procedure was followed on architectural photographs only: 'Clock Tower, Castle Yard', 'Trinity Church' Dublin Castle, both by Lawrence's of Dublin, and a view of the Four Courts, Dublin, looking upriver, the latter view being loosely similar to Osborne's 'The Four Courts, Dublin', painted about 1901. Annotations on the reverse side of two small photographs of the clock tower and Trinity Church suggest that Osborne was not satisfied with the size of the prints and ordered larger half-plate versions on which the 'etching' was done.[46]

12. George Moore criticises artists' use of photography

At the close of the century George Moore was critical of painters who used photography as an aid to art. He expressed concern that it had become 'a growing habit among artists to avail themselves of the assistance of photography in their work'. It was well-known that 'many artists of repute do use photographs', he said. Artists were moved to do this by a number of considerations, Moore contended: 'to save themselves trouble, expense, and in some cases to supplement defective education'. He believed that the training ground for the artist was 'daily and

hourly observation' and that he, the artist, must be prepared 'to see his skin brown and blister in the shine' and feel pain 'with icy chills in the biting north wind'. Great landscape painters had forsaken the society of drawing rooms and clubs and lived the solitary life for the sake of art, Moore said, but 'artists in these days' were not prepared to suffer hardship:

> But artists in these days are afraid of catching cold, and impatient of long and protracted studentship. Everything must be made easy, comfortable, and expeditious; and so it comes to pass that many an artist seeks assistance from the camera. A moment and it is done; no wet feet; no tiresome sojourn in the country when town is full of merry festivities; and above all, hardly any failure, that is to say, no failure that the ordinary public can detect, nor, indeed, any failure that the artist's conscience will not get used to in time'.[47]

Moore named artists who were guilty of using photography as an art assistant. Edward John Gregory made 'habitual use of photography', he said, and as a result his art was in decline. Hubert Von Herkomer had his sitters 'photographed on to canvas' using the 'ingenious instrument' of the camera. Moore did not approve: ' ... surely we must recognise all the cheap realism of the camera in Professor Herkomer's portraits'. Moore believed that William H. Bartlett 'makes habitual use of photographs' but could not understand his need for photograpy because Bartlett 'can draw, when occasion requires, very well indeed from life'. He found the use of photography by Mortimer Menpes to be the 'most flagrant'. He rarely if ever drew from nature and his entire work was done from photographs, Moore said. Menpes's work showed 'the mechanical aid more and more every day'. Moore

alluded to a painting by Menpes, which was 'not lacking in charm'. This work had been based on a photograph but the finished painting was a 'charming but hollow mockery' because the 'exact shape and value of the shadows was not to be gathered from the photograph'. He called on Menpes to 'put away his camera' and go out 'into the streets or the fields, and then let him lose himself in the vastness and beauty of nature'. Moore did not believe that the camera could capture the subtleties of nature:

> But the insinuating poetry of chiaroscuro the camera is powerless to reproduce, and it cannot be imagined; nature is parsimonious of this her greatest gift, surrendering it slowly, and only to those who love her best, and whose hearts are pure of mercenary thought.[48]

13. Photography and commercial illustration, c. 1890-1906

In the 1890s photography was used by commercial illustrators, and it became more important as the decade continued. Edith Somerville, who, with Martin Ross, was author of An Irish cousin (1899), The Real Charlotte (1894), and Some experiences of an Irish R.M. (1899), was also a painter and illustrator. She had had a thorough training in art at South Kensington, Dusseldorf, and Paris. This was to prove useful later in illustrating her books and periodical articles. She was apparently often under pressure to finish drawings for publication deadlines in London. Relatives and friends were used as models for life sketches. Another way of recording material which could be worked up later into illustrations was to use a camera. In the 1890s the least complicated camera was the rollfilm Kodak. By 1894 Edith Somerville was using a Kodak camera at a race meeting to record crowds and character studies.

Photographs could be kept in stock and used as a source for ideas for commercial illustrations. A year later she wrote from the Aran Islands to her sister Hildegarde asking for a Kodak camera as the islanders did not like her use of the sketch-book. As an aide-memoire the great advantage of the Kodak was its speed in use. Old stocks of photographs were searched for ideas: a photograph taken in 1890 on board Sir John Coghill's yacht was used by Somerville as a basis for an illustration in an article in The Badminton Magazine in July 1899.[49]

While photography was proving useful to artists and illustrators it was also making life difficult for them. John Butler Yeats emigrated in 1877 to London and sought work from editors and publishers as a black-and-white artist. He worked for Dent, illustrating the works of Defoe, and did a series of drawings for Tennyson's 'In Memoriam' in the Leisure Hour. Further work on The Sphere did not materialise because of improvements in photography and its application to commercial illustration work. In 1906, Yeats wrote from Dublin to his son, William Butler Yeats, saying that he had had a letter from Paget, an artist friend; he told William that 'The Graphic is turning off all its artists having determined henceforth to work with photographs. Paget is in despair, ... '. John Butler Yeats's views about this trend are predictable: 'Photography is superseding black-and-white drawings, being so much cheaper and better liked by the stupid people'.[50]

ANTIQUARIAN AND MUSEUM PHOTOGRAPHY

1. Introduction and early years

Organised antiquarian photography in Ireland began in the 1850s with the Royal Irish Academy setting up a dark-room in 1854 and attempting in 1857 to produce a museum catalogue illustrated by photography. From the late 1860s the academy renewed its interest in photography by having national treasures, such as the Cross of Cong and the Tara Brooch, photographed and copies made available to scholars. Photography was also used by the academy in the publication of ancient manuscripts such as the Book of Ballymote published in 1887 and the Yellow Book of Lecan published in 1896. Earlier, facsimile transcription and lithography had been used in the publication of manuscripts. No national collection of antiquarian photographs was set up until the 1890s although good photographers were available and noted antiquarians encouraged such a scheme. William Despard Hemphill of Clonmel photographed antiquarian sites in the 1850s and William A. Mercer of Dublin specialised in this and other antiquarian photography in the 1860s and 1870s. Encouragement to use photography in the 1860s came from antiquarians such as Rev. James Graves, editor of the Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society, and in the 1870s came from the antiquarian, Samuel Ferguson.[1]

From the earliest years of photography photographers had recorded buildings of antiquarian interest. Richard Calvert Jones, a Welshman, photographed at Pompeii in the mid-1840s and John Shaw Smith from Dublin photographed Roman, Greek, and Egyptian ruins extensively in the 1850s.[2]

Both were amateur photographers. There were practical and legal difficulties why antiquarian photography was not engaged in seriously and officially until the 1850s.

One method of photography, the daguerreotype, while producing an image of high quality, had some drawbacks that must have discouraged museum officers and academic antiquarians. Each daguerreotype image was unique in that it was a direct positive having no negative. As a result the image was transposed left-to-right and could not easily provide duplicate images. Finally, the surface of all daguerreotypes was extremely delicate and the image was normally mounted behind glass and set in a leather-bound case.[3] Storage and filing of many of these cases, as well as the factors mentioned, seems to have discouraged their widespread use by antiquarians in the 1840s.

The various negative-positive processes available in the 1840s were attractive to antiquarians but they were subject to patent-restriction. The quality of the images ranged from good to excellent and an infinite number of copies could be made relatively cheaply. The filing and storage of paper photographs was not a problem and being able to send lightweight photographs by post was an added attraction. By 1852 a number of negative-positive processes of photography, using glass or paper negatives, were available patent-free.[4]

2. Photography and the Royal Irish Academy, 1854-97

The executive council of the Royal Irish Academy first considered using photography on antiquarian subjects on 18 July 1853. Its consideration of the topic was part of a wider pattern in the British Isles in the early and mid-1850s. In the previous month the trustees of the British

Museum discussed the setting-up of a photographic unit and by September they had purchased equipment and had decided to appoint a photographer on a temporary basis. Some years later, in July 1856, Henry Cole, who was in charge of the department of art at the South Kensington Museum, discussed with Charles Thurston Thompson, a wood engraver who had learned photography, 'the terms for making negatives and positives officially'.[5]

In Dublin, at the R.I.A., a long-standing problem, the preparation of a museum catalogue, was being considered by a museum catalogue committee, which stated in its report to the council of the academy on 18 July 1853 that 'the talbotype [calotype] process affords the best means of making a perfect pictorial catalogue'. The committee was conscious that this photographic process had the advantage 'of obtaining an almost unlimited number of copies of the pictures'.

The museum catalogue committee based their assessment of the calotype process on 'specimens prepared for them' by two members of the academy, Edward King Tenison, a landed gentleman and amateur photographer, whose photography in Spain is discussed below,* and Dr Charles Graves, a professor of mathematics in Trinity College, Dublin. The committee further recommended that the council 'procure the necessary apparatus with a glass chamber for working'. They believed that the 'most economical' and 'satisfactory mode' of completing the illustration of the proposed catalogue was to do so photographically. They further reported that for a 'small outlay' a photographic unit could be set up in the academy.[6]

The committee recommended that a 'proper person' take the photographs at the 'reasonable remuneration' of £20.

* Above, i, pp 183-8.

Aware that roof repairs were needed at the academy's house, the committee suggested that an 'application be made to the board of works to erect the glass chamber' in conjunction with the necessary repairs. Later in 1853, at a council meeting on 21 November, it was agreed 'that the council do recommend to the academy to authorise the expenditure of a sum not exceeding fifty pounds for the purchase of photographic equipment for the use of the academy'.[7]

In England Roger Fenton's appointment as a photographer at the British Museum was confirmed on 11 March 1854. He was to provide his own chemicals, plates, and papers while using the museum's equipment; he was allowed £180 for the purchase of equipment.[8] On the same day in March 1854, the council of the academy met and recorded that:

> ... we shall be able at a trifling cost to produce pictures of our antiquities, which we may communicate to all foreign and sister societies and which will be of the utmost value in disseminating amongst antiquarians of other societies, a knowledge of the contents of the museum ...[9]

The photographic experiments of Dr Charles Graves and Edward Tenison, whose travel photography is discussed below, had been seen by the council and had been deemed so satisfactory 'that a photographic apparatus has been purchased'.[10] While the original motivating factor in adopting photography at the academy had been catalogue illustration, the council now looked to the application of photography on a wider front.

The matter of setting up a photographic room was a slower procedure. On 5 November 1855 the board of works informed the academy that provision had been made 'in this year's estimates for a photographic closet at the academy'

and the board accordingly sought a description of the work required. Thomas Grubb, a lens manufacturer and a member of the Dublin Photographic Society, and Tenison were requested to advise the board on the design and construction of the photographic room and their recommendations were with the board by March 1856. By July the board's architect had selected 'another site for the photographic room' at the academy's house and, if the latter agreed, the board was ready to proceed 'at once'.[11] The work was completed in 1857.[12]

The academy's antiquities committee considered a number of related topics in 1854 and 1855. They had been asked by the council in April 1854 'to consider the best mode of carrying on the photographic delineation of the objects in the museum'. A year later, Dr William Wilde, surgeon and antiquary, had been asked by the committee 'to examine the present state of the catalogue of the museum and to report on the best mode of completing it'. In March 1856 the council regretted that there had been 'much delay in the arrangement and cataloguing of the articles in museum'. Finally, in 1857, when the British Association was to meet in Dublin, Wilde proposed at the council meeting of 16 February that he 'arrange and catalogue' the museum collection.[13]

He knew there was little time to lose if the catalogue was to be ready in August for the British Association's meeting. The catalogue could not be illustrated by photography, he declared, but neither would photography be totally ignored. Illustration would be done by woodcut, he said, the many woodcuts in the academy being used in the first instance. Gerald du Noyer, the artist with the geological survey, 'might be borrowed' to make 'typical

illustrations directly on wood' from the 'great number of photographs' in the academy. Conscious that the academy had a 'photographic house' built from public money Wilde felt that some effort should be made to use photography in the academy in the way originally intended. He suggested that 'each tray of articles', when arranged, 'could be photographed at a moderate expense' and in this way the academy would carry out 'the intention of the government'. Wilde kept his promise to have the catalogue printed 'in time for the meeting of the British Association'.[14]

The R.I.A.'s enthusiasm for photography seems to have waned after its great interest in the late 1850s. However, in March 1868, Margaret Stokes's application to the council to have about twenty photographs taken of objects in the museum marks a new phase in the history of photography at the academy. She was an antiquarian and the daughter of William Stokes, a member of the academy. The antiquities committee advised the council to allow Stokes's request; she had suggested that she be allowed to bring in a professional photographer, William A. Mercer, and that she be allowed 'to point out' the articles she wished to have photographed. It would seem from her letter and the academy's reply that Mercer was already known to the committee and council members as a competent, responsible person in whose hands gold torcs, bronze vessels, the Cross of Cong, and the Domhnach Airgid were safe and secure. At this time Mercer would have already done photographic work in the field for Lord Dunraven and the quality of his work would have been known also to William Stokes. Mercer did his work in the academy's house in the photographic room built in the 1850s.[15]

In 1869, a year after Margaret Stokes's request, the

antiquities committee suggested to the council that Mercer should photograph 'a selection of the articles in the museum'. William Stokes, Samuel Ferguson, and Dr William J. O'Donnavan, members of the academy, were selected by the antiquities committee to act as a sub-committee 'to carry out the arrangements for photographing antiquities'. In April 1869 Mercer photographed the Cross of Cong and the Tara Brooch and took six different views of the Cathach book shrine. It was agreed that 'all negatives [were] to be the property of the academy'. Mercer continued his work and his statements of account for May and June came to £75. The antiquities committee decided in July 1869 that Mercer should complete the 'proposed series of photographs', the further cost of which was estimated to be £60'. At the same meeting, although the series of photographs was incomplete, it was agreed that the 'collection of photographs' should be 'placed for exhibition in the library' and that visitors be admitted to inspect them daily.[16]

In 1870, the academy, through its museum committee and photographic sub-committee, investigated a number of photographic and photography-related methods of reproducing images of museum objects. In March, Mercer quoted for the standard silver-based photography: he could supply, at 15s. per dozen, prints 15" x 12" in size. Prints with dimensions of 10" x 8" would cost 9s. per dozen. He stated that he could provide prints untinted at half-a-crown per dozen less than his quoted prices.[17]

The museum committee expressed an interest in a permanent form of photography-related printing known as carbon printing. Mercer had little choice but to name the Autotype Company in England as 'the only people working the

process now' and indicated that another firm, the Woodbury Company, also in England, which had handled a carbon printing process, was in liquidation.[18] It was decided to write to both.[19] Mercer must have been worried by this new development. There was now a risk that the work he had been doing for the academy would go to England or perhaps to the photographic firm of William Lawrence of Lower Sackville Street, which became 'sole agents in Ireland' for the Autotype Company about this time. For the present, however, the crisis for Mercer passed. He was written to in November 1870 'to the effect that if he be desirous to conduct the operation of printing from the photographic negatives of the objects in the academy's museum' the museum committee were ready to hear his proposals.[20]

The academy kept up its interest in having photographic copies made from objects in the museum 'with a view to early publication'. In February 1873, a sum of £25 was put at the disposal of Ferguson, John T. Gilbert, the librarian at the academy, O'Donnavan, and Dr W. K. Sullivan, secretary at the academy, to obtain prints from the negatives of objects photographed in the museum'. At the end of the year the question of producing photographs by a permanent process arose again. In December 1873 John Forster wrote to the academy asking to be given work. He offered to print, for the purpose of providing an estimate, 'one of the negatives of objects' in the museum 'in a form of autotype that will be permanent'. He had written on behalf of Forster & Co., Crow Street, Dublin, a firm in which he had worked with his brother, William C. Forster, as an engraver and lithographer. William had a reputation for being a clever artist in chromolithography and had been a founder partner in the photographic firm of Forster &

Scott, Westmoreland Street, Dublin, forerunner of the Lafayette photographic studio in the same street.[21]

By 1874 it seems that while Mercer was still taking the negatives of objects in the academy these were being reproduced in autotype by another firm. The autotype process was a printing process which produced an image by the action of light on paper coated with a mixture of bichromate of potash and gelatine. The bichromatised gelatine became soluble on exposure to light 'in proportion to the degree in which light is shut out from or let in to the coating'. The soluble parts of the prints were floated away in a washing process. Colour could be obtained by using one colouring matter or tint incorporated with the gelatine. Contemporaries recognised that while it took 'some time to describe' the working of the process, in practice it was 'both easy and simple'. It was a permanent printing process and as such seemed then to be a serious rival to photographic processing.[22]

The subject matter of one series of photographs taken at the academy was philological and more of interest to specialised scholars than the public at large. These were photographs of ogham inscriptions. A sum of £40 was transferred to the publications committee to assist in 'bringing out a series of autotype reproductions of ogham inscriptions'. In March the academy had 'one hundred and thirty four photographic negatives of ogham inscriptions representing about eighty different texts'. It was the council's intention to print these in autotype and in this way to be able to present to enquirers in this branch of study 'authentic copies of considerably more than half the whole number of such inscriptions known to exist'. Autotype reproductions were also made from negative plates

of the Tara Brooch, the Domhnach Airgid, and the Soiscel Molaise. These were to be sold at 1s. each or 10s. a dozen, the trade being given twenty five per cent discount.[23]

Under the terms of the Irish church act of 1869 much of the property of the established church was transferred to the commissioners for Irish church temporalities. Some buildings handed over were of great antiquarian interest and antiquarians saw that they would be neglected. Samuel Ferguson, poet and antiquary, in his presidential address to the R.I.A. in December 1875, drew attention to the lack of a coherent policy in relation to the national monuments of Ireland. William Gillespie of Kingstown wrote to Ferguson outlining his ideas as to how best the problem should be solved. Besides suggesting that a list be compiled of objects or buildings most worthy of being preserved, and that this list be sent to the church temporalities commissioners, he also suggested that the board of works should:

> ... obtain photographs showing the various aspects of the monuments in their present state and capable of being multiplied at a cheap rate for general publication, that [so much] per annum be allocated for this purpose so as gradually to accumulate accurate delineations of all existing monuments of every kind. Thus to interest the public in the matter as well as to protect the board and the academy hereafter. Large photographs of breaches etc. to accompany and elucidate all estimates of proposed expenditure.[24]

By December 1875 Mercer had lodged 159 glass negatives with the academy. These negatives would represent considerably fewer objects than this number, as some objects required two or three views to illustrate their characteristics, and occasionally six photographic views

might be required to make an adequate visual record of an object. Photographs were sold to visitors to the museum and special orders were accepted from academy members, non-members, and from institutions. In 1881 Margaret Stokes was given permission to have certain bronze objects in the museum photographed and in 1885 Whitley Stokes's request to have two folios of the Book of Lecan photographed was granted. He was a celtic scholar, Margaret's brother, and son of William Stokes, physician and antiquarian. In 1884 the academy agreed to provide photographs from its negatives to a Cardiff museum.[25]

In the 1880s the board of works began a survey of ecclesiastical ruins under its care. The academy naturally wanted to obtain copies of any photographs 'taken of national monuments throughout Ireland'. The board replied encouragingly in June 1882 stating that they would present copies of the photographs of the ecclesiastical ruins in their charge when the set of photographs had been completed within a few months. The academy and the board were still corresponding about the matter eighteen months later.[26]

T. H. Thomas of Cardiff, had written to the academy in November 1883 and complained that while in Dublin, though he had enjoyed viewing the Ardagh Chalice, the Cross of Cong, the Tara Brooch, and other objects of Celtic antiquity, he had been 'unable to obtain any [photographic] copies' by which to remember the objects. He believed this inability was a loss to himself as a serious scholar, to the wider public, and in particular to other museums which would wish, for example, to do comparative work on Irish and Welsh antiquarian objects. Clearly, the photographic collection was not as it should be and the antiquities committee appointed a sub-committee composed of John Ribton

Garstin, William Frazer, and Rev. Maxwell Henry Close, members of the academy, 'to consider and report on the photographs' in the academy.[27]

The sub-committee was appointed in November 1883 and reported to the council the following February. Its report confirmed what was known: that stocks of photographs were totally run down and that something must be done to replenish them. The report recommended that photographs of three objects, the Shrine of St. Molaise, the Domhnach Airgid, and the Tara Brooch be reissued and sold at 1s. each. It also recommended that photographs of the Cross of Cong, the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell, and a group of Irish croziers should be prepared, and that £20 be set aside for this purpose. A week after the report was presented to the council, the museum curator, Major Robert McEniry, reported to the antiquities committee that two negatives from which prints were to be made were not in the academy's collection. It was agreed that the treasurer should write to the Autotype Company to find out if they held the academy's missing negatives. It appears that some negatives may have been found to be damaged at this time, because the antiquities committee required a number of new negatives to be made of the Tara Brooch, the Dalread Brooch, the Shrine of the Stowe Missal, and the Ardagh Chalice. At the end of 1884 the academy published a new photograph, the Lachteen Reliquary, twenty copies of back and front views each being put into stock. Photography in the academy was now re-established and the system worked even more efficiently when it was decided in June 1885 that McEniry be given authority, in consultation with at least one officer of the academy, to obtain positives of any photographs in his charge in order to supply applicants.[28]

Late in 1885 Mercer copied four pages of The Book of Lecan. It was probably the last time he worked for the academy, as William George Moore took over the academy's photographic work sometime in 1887. Moore was a professional photographer with a studio premises at 11 Upper Sackville Street, Dublin. In February 1888 the conditions governing requests for 'special photographs' of objects in the academy's collections were set out. Any object or item could now be photographed provided applicants paid for the negatives and the negatives remained the property of the academy. With the exception of proof photographs all prints were to be paid for. By June 1888 'a copy of the new list of museum photographs on sale' was available for inspection to visitors. The employment of Moore as photographer initiated a more commercial approach to photography at the academy. In the late 1880s he had photographs of Irish antiquities on display at his Sackville Street premises, thus promoting further sales.[29]

It was agreed in June 1891 that Moore 'should be permitted to have charge of the photographs' in the academy. This was formally agreed in June 1893 when he wrote that he was 'willing to take over charge of [the academy's] photo-negatives and supply copies of same as may be required from time to time'. Moore was required to furnish a yearly report 'as to the state of the negatives under his charge'.

As the negatives would in future be kept at 11 Upper Sackville Street the academy was anxious to have a bound set of photographs of objects in the academy's museum placed in the library. Frazer, a council member, was asked to investigate this and Moore supplied a quotation for the

necessary photographs and mounting. This was accepted by the council in November 1893. In a brief report to the academy in 1897, Moore indicated routinely that he still held the academy's negatives, that they were in a good state of preservation, and kept separate from his other collections of negatives.[30]

3. W. D. Hemphill and antiquarian photography, late 1850s

Antiquarians in Britain were interested at this time in adopting photography as an aid to archaeological and architectural study. An advocate of this use of photography in Britain was Rev. F. A. S. Marshall who took photographs of the cathedral and city of Canterbury in 1853 and exhibited them at a combined meeting of archaeological societies in Northampton in 1854. In his book, published in 1855, Marshall urged his fellow antiquarians 'to use your influence with the guardians of the different public buildings and ruins of interest in their several districts, to procure large and well-executed photographs of them especially before any important repairs and alterations'. Thomas Keith, a Scottish surgeon and amateur photographer, went on holiday to the island of Iona in September 1856 and took a series of photographs of the ancient buildings there, neglected and roofless at that time.[31]

John Shaw Smith, whose travel photography is discussed below,* had photographed classical Roman and Greek subjects in 1850-52, but, in the summers of 1857 and 1858, the first comprehensive series of historical and archaeological photographs taken in Ireland was taken by William Despard Hemphill, a medical doctor living in Clonmel, Tipperary. He went about south Tipperary recording architecture, antiquities, scenery, and country seats.[32] (plates 52, 53,

* Below, i, pp 178-83

54). Hemphill was not the only photographer in Ireland specialising in antiquarian photography in the summer of 1857. A Scotsman named Innes paid a visit to Dean Richard Butler at Trim in County Meath and 'brought his photographic apparatus with him'. Innes took many views of 'the church and the ruins in and about Trim' and on his return to Scotland sent specimens to Dean Butler who 'much prized' the photographs.[33] Hemphill was aware when he wrote the preface to his book in 1859 that soon after his own photographic visit to Cashel and Holycross in 1857 'the Stereoscopic Company of London and others' had visited the same sites and published photographs taken there. He was clear that the object of his rivals 'was solely to procure pretty and saleable pictures'. He, on the other hand, claimed to be a photographer of antiquities and 'the first to photograph' in the richly endowed Clonmel area.

Hemphill's purpose in publishing his photographic work was largely antiquarian, for he insisted that 'many of my subjects were chosen more for their historical and archaeological value, than for mere qualities that would render them more attractive to the admirer of picturesque beauty'. In this instance he drew particular attention to his photograph of the sedilia in Holycross Abbey and the interior of Cormac's chapel at the Rock of Cashel. Hemphill was proud of the beautiful scenery to be found within a day's return journey of his home town of Clonmel but felt that for a number of technical reasons there was 'great difficulty' in 'adequately representing by photography' the scenery of the region. It was his intention to describe and illustrate the beauties of Clonmel and the surrounding country 'particularly the antiquities of which Cashel stands preeminently head'.[34]

Hemphill was clear about his role. He was an amateur antiquarian and his readers need not expect 'any very original archaeological information'. His text was compiled, he said, from 'the most authentic sources' and his description of buildings was the result of 'personal examination' and the comparison of that information with the 'works of those who have written on the subject'. Hemphill consulted 'numerous works' of an historical, topographic, and antiquarian nature and drew attention to the 'great work of Dr [George] Petrie's Round towers and ancient architecture of Ireland'. Hemphill acknowledged that his own work was 'chiefly pictorial' and that 'many of the antiquities, well-known both to the tourist and the archaeologist have been much more ably and minutely described by others, although not so fully illustrated as by the unerring pencil of the sunbeam'.

Hemphill was encouraged by ecclesiastics, noblemen, and scholars. Among the scholars who supported the publication of his book were George Petrie, antiquary and painter, William Stokes, the physician, and Rev. James Graves, the honorary secretary of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society and editor of its journal.[35]

The 1850s represented only a beginning of the application of photography to antiquarian studies. Drawings were still important to antiquarians and would be for many decades. In September 1857, the British Association held its annual convention in Dublin. The ethnology section, seventy members strong, visited the Aran Islands and examined the many antiquarian objects there. Dr William Wilde led the group over the islands. In a speech he drew attention to a number of personalities present including the artist Frederick William Burton

'whose pencil has so exquisitely portrayed the living generation of the islands, and whose present visit, we may hope, will tell its own tale'. There were other artists present among the visitors including three amateur photographers from Dublin: Francis W. Brady, a lawyer, James Foulis Duncan, a medical man, and Rev. Charles Graves.[36]

4. James Graves, photography, and periodical illustration

Rev. James Graves, editor of the Journal of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society, who had supported Hemphill's photography in the 1850s, continued this interest in the 1860s, encouraging the members of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society to use photography as a tool of antiquarian scholarship. Graves's support for photography in 1862 was prompted by the presentation to the society by William Hartford of 'several excellent photographs of Kilkenny antiquities'. On that occasion James Graves said that 'nothing could be of greater importance towards the carrying out of the objects of the society than the presentation of photographs'. He further suggested that members of the society who were photographers 'would do much service to the society' by following the example set by Hartford.[37]

Graves, in his capacity as editor of the society's journal, also encouraged antiquarian photography in January 1863. He was particularly impressed by the quality of one of five photographs presented by Francis Currey, the duke of Devonshire's agent at his Lismore estate, and sufficiently angered by the lack of official support for photography to state:

These ancient Irish inscribed stones are so admirably represented that it makes one long to see a record formed by means of photography of the invaluable collection at Clonmacnoise, and other ancient Irish ecclesiastical establishments. In any other country but Great Britain this would be effected at the expense of government. Here, if done at all, it must be by the exertion of private zeal, and the expenditure of private funds.[38]

The Kilkenny Archaeological Society did not, however, formally set up a photographic collection at this time in response to Graves's call for photographs, nor did the government intervene to assist antiquarian photography in the field until the 1880s. However, throughout the 1860s and in subsequent decades antiquarians did present photographs to the society and these presentations were formally acknowledged in the published proceedings of the society. Also, through the editor of the journal, correspondents raised topics for discussion aided by reference to accompanying antiquarian photographs and in this way photography was popularised as an aid to the antiquarian.[39]

One member of the society, Arthur Gerald Geoghegan from Derry, responded enthusiastically, regularly, and imaginatively to Graves's call. On six occasions between 1862 and 1865 he sent photographs accompanied by correspondence. The objects photographed included urns, crania, spearheads, manuscripts, swords, numismatic objects, and a chalice. In April 1863 Geoghegan presented to the society six photographs of a variety of artifacts including an urn, an urn fragment, and a mould for casting a spoon.(plates 55, 56, 57). The photographs were accompanied by detailed descriptive correspondence. In July that year Geoghegan presented seven photographs of

bronze fibulae, bronze spearheads, portion of a harp, and two ancient bells. Ayton, a professional photographer in Derry, had taken this series of photographs.[40]

By January 1864 photography was being used by biblical scholars as a means of exchanging information. Geoghegan had reported to the society that he had been given permission by Rt Rev. Dr Francis Kelly, Roman Catholic bishop of Derry, to examine an ancient manuscript Bible. He subsequently had a number of pages photographed and sent to Rev. James Graves who was sufficiently impressed with the quality of one photograph that he sent it to Dr William Reeves, secretary of the Royal Irish Academy. He was able to supply a translation from the excerpt in question. Reeves, reported Geoghegan, was so 'much taken with the beauty of the manuscript as it appeared in the photograph' that he arranged a personal examination of the original folios which he named 'Codex Derensis'.

In 1865 Geoghegan sent photographs and a description of two coins or medals to the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. He was careful to point out that one object 'is in size the same as the photograph' and in the case of the other he was sending 'photographs, of the size of the original'. He described both objects but the society forwarded the photographs to a numismatic expert, Aquila Smith, to seek further information. While making little progress with an object he had identified as a medal, Smith, working from one of the photographs, identified the other object as one of three medals struck in 1630 to commemorate the birth of the future Charles II.[41]

The society in the 1860s was presented with photographs taken by both amateurs and professionals. In January 1863 Hemphill presented five 'large and beautifully

executed photographs of the ruins on the Rock of Cashel' while Thomas R. Lane of Cork presented in October 1867 'several very interesting photographic views' of buildings of historic interest taken in Kilkenny. The photographs of Charles Budds of Thomastown, taken by himself and presented to the society, exhibited views and details of the abbey at Jerpoint in Kilkenny. A number of Arthur Gerald Geoghegan's photographic presentations to the society were taken by Ayton of Derry, and the society's journal reported in July 1864 that it had commissioned a professional photographer in Kilkenny, St. George Geary, to take two photographs.[42]

Occasionally in the 1860s photographs were sent from abroad to the society. In 1865 'several photographs of Celtic remains' near Saumur, France, were presented by Le Viscomte O'Neill de Tyrone, a French nobleman of Irish descent. One of the photographs was of a dolmen and was accompanied by a description. In July 1869 Rev. E. S. Campbell sent a photograph of an ancient carved stone near Stackpole Court, Pembrokeshire, so that some information might be sent to him in respect of carved lettering on the stone.[43]

Some members of the society had small private collections of antiquarian objects and it was possible for them, through photography, to share such normally inaccessible material with fellow members. In July 1871 A. Knight Young J.P. presented 'a collection of very beautiful photographs of numerous antiquities preserved in his own cabinet'. In July 1870 Edward Benn of Belfast sent photographs and a description of stone instruments which had recently come into his possession. His notes, accompanied by engravings made from the photographs,

appeared in the journal of the society. Other photographs sent to the society appeared as engravings in the proceedings in respect of presentations made in July 1865, July 1871, and July 1872. A 'series of most beautifully executed photographs' of cromlechs in County Waterford was presented by Ernest H. Goold in October 1870 and would have been available for inspection by members at the society's rooms. In July 1873, R. Malcomson, a fellow of the society, undertook to have photographed a vessel of baked clay on exhibition on the society's premises and to have the photograph reproduced in the proceedings of the society.[44]

In 1860 Hemphill had expressed the opinion that in the future books would be illustrated by stereo pairs of photographs. This did not happen on any large scale. The book on Adare manor published in 1865 by the third earl of Dunraven, who was enthusiastic about photography, was illustrated with engravings. Three illustrations out of sixteen were 'from a photograph'. In Marcus Keane's book The towers and temples of ancient Ireland, published in 1867, 186 engravings on wood were used; ten illustrations were taken from photographs. In 1870 Arthur Hill produced three slim volumes on ancient Irish architecture. He drew the plans and elevations, but a photographer, Hudson of Killarney, was commissioned to take photographs, thirteen of which were used. A reviewer in the Art Journal knew Hudson's work and spoke of the 'esteemed and excellent photographist of Killarney, Mr Hudson, to whom we have ourselves been indebted for aid'.[45]

5. Dunraven, the Stokes family, and William Mercer

Twelve years after Rev. James Graves, editor of the Journal

of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society had stated that a proper photographic survey of antiquarian sites should be done using government funds, Gillespie repeated this call.* Again, a survey remained undone. The academy had the inclination to have such a survey begun but did not have the funds. The antiquities committee, in reply to a query to photograph one outdoor site in 1875, replied 'that the funds at their disposal do not justify their entering on a project for procuring photographs of ancient buildings'. Ironically, Graves's claim in 1863, that systematic antiquarian photography would probably be done only 'by the exertions of private zeal and expenditure of private funds', remained true. The earliest antiquarian national photographic survey took place in the late 1860s and the photographs were published in 1875 and 1877 in the two volume work Notes on Irish architecture edited by Margaret Stokes. The work contains 286 illustrations of which 125 are photographs reproduced in autotype. The photographs were taken by Mercer, the academy's photographer, instructed by Edwin W. W. Quin, the third earl of Dunraven, who did not live to see his work published. The subject matter of the photographs was not as specialised as that envisaged by Graves in the early 1860s but the funding was private as predicted.[46]

Margaret Stokes, who had a strong interest in archaeology and had been on a number of Dunraven's autumn tours, was invited to edit Dunraven's papers after his death. It was a difficult task. She had to put order on a mass of 'photographs, sketches, ground plans and sections with measurements mentioned but not yet drawn to scale, rough notes, fragments of manuscript, voluminous but in great disorder'. When only the first volume of her work

* Above, i, p. 147.

was published she was made an honorary member of the R.I.A..[47]

Dunraven's son, Windham Thomas W. Quin, said of his father that in 'the later years of his life he devoted himself with ever increasing assiduity to archaeology'. The third earl was involved in the foundation of a number of learned societies: the Irish Archaeological Society in 1840 and the Celtic Society in 1845. He presided at the annual general meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Society in 1849 and in 1869, and in 1871 'accepted office under the Royal Archaeological Institute'. His great work was that of 'observing and mapping, photographing and otherwise studying, and endeavouring to preserve the architectural remains and other antiquities of Ireland'.

Dunraven was intimately acquainted with most of the great Irish antiquarian scholars: Rev. Charles Graves, the mathematician, Rev. James Graves, Dr. Reeves, secretary at the academy, Rev. James Henthorn Todd, Celtic scholar, librarian and tutor in Trinity College, Dublin, and William Stokes. When George Petrie died in 1866 Stokes encouraged Dunraven 'to complete the work too long left unfinished [by Petrie] on Irish ecclesiastical architecture'. Dunraven's innate interest in the subject and the encouragement of his acquaintances spurred him on to renewed activity in the late summers and autumns of 1866 to 1869.

In the summer of 1866 he invited a number of friends to accompany him on antiquarian fieldwork. He was bitterly disappointed when Reeves wrote to say that increased duties forced him to '[give] up archaeology'. He told Reeves that he 'never calculated for a moment on your deserting us':

Had yours arrived a fortnight ago, I should neither

have arranged with the photographer, nor indeed undertaken the work, even upon any terms, but I am in for it now.[48]

Nevertheless, an archaeological expedition did take place that autumn and in subsequent years down to 1869.

On these occasions Dunraven carefully went over the ground 'with which he was previously acquainted' and also investigated ecclesiastical remains of 'localities new to him'. He 'generally took with him a photographer, William Mercer, who most effectively seconded his efforts'. William Stokes and his daughter Margaret frequently accompanied Dunraven on these archaeological expeditions.

Dr Stokes accompanied Dunraven and his party in August and September 1867 on an 'archaeological tour through Galway, Sligo and Mayo, visiting islands along the coast'.(plate 58). Mercer accompanied the group. Dr Stokes, now sixty years of age, found the going across country somewhat exhausting. A letter to his eldest son, Whitley Stokes, a Celtic scholar, conveys how difficult such work was for the party:

> We spent nine days on the island of Aran. I found it very hard work, from early morning till night trudging over the limestone rocks and throwing down dry stone walls every hundred yards. But we have done great work, and we have measured, drawn and photographed almost every object of interest in the three islands ... We are now waiting here at Letterfrack for the sea to go down, to allow us to land on High Island, where you have to jump on to the cliff with the rise of a wave. How our photographic apparatus is to be got on shore, seems a puzzle.[49](plate 59).

In the autumn of 1869 Dunraven, accompanied again by Stokes and Mercer, 'proceeded to examine and photograph the antiquities of Kerry'.[50](plate 60).

Considering the inaccessibility of many of the sites in which he had to work, Mercer's achievement is considerable. He was a photographer of the highest calibre. In his photograph of Trinity Church, Glendalough, stone-work texture is effectively recorded in a semi-interior view. He used available sunlight to advantage in order to record stone work on the west door at Killeevy.(plate 61). Light coming through a doorway at Dulane church, Co. Meath, was used to heighten the sense of the three-dimensional.(plate 62). Contemporary restoration work, in particular the pointing of stone-work, are clearly obvious in a church view at Tuamgraney, Co. Clare.[51](plate 63).

It is clear, however, that given the nature of the antiquarian sites visited, Mercer often worked in difficult conditions. A number of antiquarian sites were located in hill country, on islands, or were inaccessible through being overgrown with vegetation. Despite this, he photographed successfully in the Aran Islands, for example, at Dún Aengus. His photograph of the ascent to the monastery at Sceilg Mhicil is remarkable. There were obviously times when Mercer had to take photographs when conditions were not good. His photograph of the belfry at Killala, Mayo, is tonally flat and lacks the brilliance normally required in a monochrome photograph. At Staigue fort, Kerry, two photographic views clearly suffer from camera shake, which may have been caused by strong winds.[52]

6. Photography and the Irish codices, 1867-96.

Scholars in Ireland and abroad recognised the value of photography in making available for examination the contents of medieval and ancient manuscripts. Many Irish

manuscripts were fragile and damaged; the less they were handled the better. Facsimile transcription of such manuscripts and lithography of the transcription was one solution. In May 1869, Whitley Stokes wrote from India to Gilbert, the librarian at the academy, stating that he was 'delighted to hear of your project to lithograph Leabhar na hUidhri and am really looking forward to receiving the proofs which you promised to send me'.[53]

Another approach was to use a photography-related printing process. One such process, photozincography, was known in 1859 to Sir Henry James, the director of the Ordnance Survey at Southampton. About two years earlier three staff members using the new process under James's direction reduced over 30,000 acres from the 1:2,500 map to the six-inch scale and produced three copies of forty-five map sheets in six days. James stated that 'one hundred draughtsmen' could not have produced as much. Stokes was aware of the process when he wrote to Gilbert in 1869 and, in reference to a transcript of Leabhar Breac in Trinity College Library, by Eugene O'Curry, historian and antiquarian, enquired: 'could not this be photozincographed as Domesday Book has been done at the ordnance office, Southampton?'. James, had produced, on government orders, 500 copies of Domesday Book in 1864. He then suggested to the government that a series of national manuscripts should be published in facsimile. A four volume series on English historical manuscripts was completed in 1869 and a Scottish series was completed in 1872.[54]

As early as 1867, Todd, librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, expressed to James 'a strong desire that an Irish series of national manuscripts should be printed in facsimile' under James's direction. In 1867, Gilbert, the

librarian at the academy, who had been made secretary of the new public record office in Ireland, began selecting specimens of early Irish writings. James wrote to him expressing his pleasure that Gilbert had 'undertaken to make out a list of the national manuscripts of Ireland which we can copy'.

In 1870 Gilbert was formally appointed by Edward Sullivan, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, to select and edit the documents which were to be published as facsimiles of the national manuscripts of Ireland. Gilbert went to England in 1871 and 'began to superintend, at Southampton, the process of the photozincographing of his selections' for the first part of the proposed work, Facsimiles of the national manuscripts of Ireland. The first volume appeared in 1874 and the entire work was completed by 1884.[55] (plate 64).

The R.I.A. continued to publish manuscripts by lithographing facsimile transcriptions. This was the method used throughout the 1870s and into the 1880s. Leabhar na hUidhri was published in 1870, Leabhar Breac in 1876, and The Book of Leinster in 1880. Gilbert, in a preface to Leabhar na hUidhri claimed that the book was 'printed from an exact lithograph of the original by Mr Joseph O'Longan'. Gilbert further claimed that 'every line corresponds with the original; contracted words and symbols of abbreviations are faithfully reproduced'.[56]

Whitley Stokes was disappointed with Leabhar na hUidhri and the first phase of Leabhar Breac. He had encouraged the lithographic reproduction of old Irish manuscripts in the past. In 1875 he noted 'twenty inaccuracies of transcription' in Leabhar na hUidhri and pointed out to the officers of the antiquities committee

that the first half of Leabhar Breac as published had ninety corrigenda; he also suggested that there were a number of 'unverified errata', offering to submit three sample disputed points to arbitration:

> Let the committee have photographs made at my expense, of the pages of Leabhar na hUidhri in which these three occur; let them send, at my expense, a copy of each of these pages to Professor [Herman] Ebel, Mr [Henry] Bradshaw, Chevalier Nigra, Professor [Ernst] Windisch, and Mr John Rhys; and let them agree, as I will agree, to be bound by the decision of these accomplished scholars.[57]

In the 1870s Stokes was clearly aware of the value of photography to the philologist. In the late 1880s he became an ardent exponent of its use in providing photographic facsimile editions of old manuscripts.

Meanwhile the R.I.A. produced The Book of Leinster in 1880 by lithography based on the transcription of O'Longan. Robert Atkinson, the secretary at the academy, wrote in the introduction 'that great care has been taken in the reproduction of this invaluable MS'. Atkinson knew the text as published was not 'free from errors' but believed that the number and nature of the errors did not 'seriously ... impair the value of the work'. Interestingly, Atkinson provided a photograph by the autotype process as a frontispiece. By this means he hoped that 'scholars will thus have the means of forming a pretty accurate judgement of the general correctness of the transcription'.[58] (plate 65). This was the last academy publication using lithographed transcription as a means of illustration.

Professional librarians also saw photography as an essential element of any important library. Richard Garnett of the British Museum read a paper entitled

'Photography in public libraries' to a meeting of the Library Association in Dublin in September 1884. He pointed out that Celtic scholars in England had to 'repair to Dublin to consult what they might have seen in London'. He was specifically referring to the 'Irish portion of the Ashburnham MSS' recently transferred from the British Museum to the R.I.A.. He believed that if photographic facsimiles of original manuscripts were made, similar to the photographic facsimiles made under the direction of Gilbert, 'it would be almost indifferent whether the original reposed upon the shelves of London or in Dublin'. On the same occasion he suggested the establishment of a photographic department in the British Museum; in this way he hoped that a salaried employee photographer would provide photographs more cheaply than a professional photographer. Fifteen years later, Garnett regretted that 'not a single step has been taken' to introduce photography 'as a department of the regular work' of the British Museum library.[59]

In 1880, when The Book of Leinster was being prepared for publication, O'Longan was ill. When he died, the academy was without what Samuel Ferguson called 'our scribe, the last of our hereditary class'. In his address to the academy in November 1882, Ferguson made it clear that 'we have been obliged to abandon the pen <u>facsimile</u> and [to] resort to the slower and more difficult process of photography, for the smoke-darkened and much thumbed vellum of the Book of Ballymote'. Ferguson believed that there was a serious difficulty in photographing the Book of Ballymote successfully due to the dark appearance of the vellum. It was in this context that he spoke of photography as being 'slower'. He foresaw no such

difficulty in photographing The Book of Lecan, whose vellum was 'comparatively clean'. Ferguson believed both manuscripts could be published by 1886.[60]

The Book of Ballymote was published in 1887, representing a change in book production methods, while the Book of Lecan did not appear until the 1930s. The editor of the earlier book, Atkinson, paid tribute to the late 'respected scribe who laboured so faithfully on the earlier volumes'. With O'Longan's death, Atkinson stated it was now 'necessary to adopt photography as the only available means for the speedy publication of this great manuscript'. He was aware of photography's great advantage in providing the reader 'with a faithful representation of the ipsissima verba'; he also conceded that the 'photographic facsimile' was 'fatiguing' to read. This may have been due to two factors: the dark colour of the vellum, as mentioned by Ferguson, and the quality of the photographic reproduction, which could have been better, according to Whitley Stokes, if the process at the Clarendon Press had been used.[61]

In January 1888 Whitley Stokes wrote to Gilbert recommending that the academy should spend its available funds 'in bringing out a photographic facsimile of The Book of Lecan'. Aware of both the capabilities of the photographic process and the relatively good condition of The Book of Lecan he wrote to Gilbert recommending that 'the whole of The Book of Lecan could be successfully photographed' as could the 'legible parts of The Yellow Book of Lecan' in Trinity College, Dublin. Stokes informed Gilbert that there was a better photographic process than that used in the academy's version of the Book of Ballymote. The method used by the Clarendon Press was 'very superior' to that employed in producing the facsimile

of the Book of Ballymote and he recommended that the academy adopt that method. He believed the process to be inexpensive, the results 'clearer and sharper than your Ballymote volume', and had 'no doubt your Dublin photographer could easily learn' the process. Kuno Meyer, a Celtic scholar, also regretted at this time that The Book of Lecan and The Yellow Book of Lecan 'are not photographed'.[62]

It was agreed by a number of the scholars involved that the Irish manuscripts in question should be published by photographic facsimile. The Yellow Book of Lecan was published in 1896. Robert Atkinson noted in the preface to The Yellow Book of Lecan that 'some of the pages [give] a very poor photograph' and 'some [resist] the process altogether'.[63] Whitley Stokes and Ferguson, two exponents of the practical application of photography to things antiquarian, would have agreed with Atkinson that photographic reproduction had its limits.(plates 66, 67).

7. A national antiquarian photographic collection, 1890s

In November 1891 it was announced in the Proceedings and papers of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland that a 'collection of photographic negatives' of antiquarian Irish interest was 'about to be formed' by Julian Wandesford Butler, a member of the society. It was intended that Butler's scheme would put photographic negatives at the disposal of any of the society's members who might wish to have copies made. This initial collection of photographs had been taken by Butler on the occasion of the society's Munster meeting in August 1891.

Butler, lived in Scotland and he lodged his negatives with a photographer, David Whyte of Inverness, 'a

photographer of many years' experience and the highest attainments in the art'. Whyte would print positives, to order. Sixty-six subjects were listed in nine categories based on their location: Dingle, Killarney, Skelligs, Limerick, Adare, Quin, Holycross, Cashel, and Athassel. This list was described as provisional, but a general catalogue of photographs to be prepared for publication in the society's journal early in 1892 was proposed.

Neither the society nor Butler was directly involved in the commercial side of the scheme. Prices per photograph were 7d. or 8d. respectively for cabinet-size prints or prints measuring seven inches by five inches. The complete series could be purchased for £1. 16s.. The internationally known Scottish photographic firm of George Washington Wilson of Aberdeen was also involved in Butler's scheme. Members could have lantern slides made, through Wilson's, at 2s. each.[64]

The society recognised that the scheme supplied 'a want which has been long felt in connection with the R.S.A.I.'. Members were invited to add to the photographic collection by presenting 'good negatives of any object of archaeological interest' to the society. In practice a photographic print was to be sent in the first instance to Butler who decided on whether to add the subject to the society's collection. The editor of the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland hoped that in a few years 'the society will possess a photograph of nearly every object of antiquity throughout the country'.

At the annual general meeting of the society, on 12 January 1892, Butler supplied a written report on the origin of the society's photographic collection and its practical working. He presented to the society 200

negatives of 'antiquarian remains' taken in Ireland which were to be the nucleus of the collection. Arrangements were already in hand to compile a series of albums produced from the society's negatives with the honorary secretary of the society being in charge of the albums. The first album accompanied Butler's report. He also said that a set of lantern slides was being made up which would be available 'for use at the various evening meetings' and also 'for loan to any member'.[65]

Despite this apparently well-organised beginning it seems to have come to nothing. The reason why Butler's scheme foundered is not absolutely clear but the factor of distance may have had some bearing on the matter. He lived in Edinburgh and would not have been a frequent attender at meetings at which he could have promoted the use of the photographic collection. The method of registering a photograph, as discussed above, was cumbersome. Many of the members of the society lived in Dublin and, for those who wished to purchase photographs, few specimens were available for inspection. The society's journal makes no detailed reference to the collapse of the Butler scheme to provide a comprehensive set of antiquarian photographs. A new honorary curator of the photographic collection, John L. Robinson, R.H.A., M.R.I.A., Great Brunswick Street, Dublin, who took over in the spring of 1893, hinted somewhat vaguely 'that a photographic collection was started' some years previously 'but owing to different circumstances little progress was made with the work'. Butler's name was not mentioned then nor was he listed as a member of the large committee selected to set up a photographic collection.[66]

When Robinson was made curator the council of the

society nominated a committee of twenty to deal with the subject of making a 'complete photographic survey of the antiquities of Ireland according to counties'. The honorary local secretaries of the society were requested to promote this new phase in the compilation of a photographic collection. Photographer members of the society were requested to submit photographic work 'already done by them'. The committee hoped that members would come forward and offer to specialise in photographing their respective localities and suggested that the ordnance survey maps be used 'for information as to the situation of antiquities'.[67]

Included in Robinson's committee were a number of well-known professional photographers. Three were from Dublin: Thomas Mayne, Thomas H. Mason, and Thomas F. Geoghegan. The fourth was Robert J. Welch of Lonsdale Street, Belfast. In both Welch and Mason particularly, Robinson had the assistance of two individuals who had a special blend of knowledge of the Irish landscape and of photography.[68]

In autumn 1893 Robinson's committee was aware of the 'marked success' of a photographic survey of Warwickshire and had obtained a list of rules under which the survey was conducted. A similar list of rules was drawn up by his photographic committee in the R.S.A.I. and approved by the council. Robinson worked to secure the active cooperation of the membership. Wisely he decided 'to collect as many existing photographs as possible' before 'parcelling out certain districts' to photographic members. In July 1893 he sent circulars to the members and soon received over three hundred photographs.[69]

He was acutely aware of the value of drawings and

photographs to the antiquarian. He specifically drew the attention of members to the rich archive of drawings by Gerald du Noyer in their own society and in the R.I.A.. Nevertheless, he was clear that photography was a superior medium, stating that 'it is an acknowledged fact that no two artists, no matter how careful or conscientious, can see or draw the same object so as to produce the same results'. He was correct to say that 'the photographic camera', provided its lens did not cover a greater viewing angle than 60°, 'is free from this reproach' and he hoped that members would 'now enter enthusiastically into this work'. On 16 July 1894 Robinson exhibited 'six volumes of photographs of the archaeological survey'. Further photographs were added to the collection.[70]

8. Photography in museum work, 1890-1900

In the 1890s, the Science and Art Museum in Dublin, later the National Museum of Ireland, used photography in a variety of ways in the course of its work. The museum, had a technical assistant in the 1890s, McGoogan, who did photographic work. He was a competent photographer who was expected to handle all the normal photographic indoor and outdoor assignments. In February 1896 the director of the museum, G. T. Plunkett, who also had responsibility for the Metropolitan School of Art, the National Library of Ireland, and the Royal Botanic Gardens, Glasnevin, Dublin, required 'a set of large photos of trees in their winter and summer state, taken from the same spot for each tree'. McGoogan was to be advised by Dr Thomas Johnson who was in charge of the botanical collections in the museum.[71]

In October 1895 Lord Powerscourt wrote, stating that a carriage 'which belonged to Grattan the statesman' was

available for sale locally at Enniskerry, Wicklow. The museums's funds were exhausted at the time and the museum authorities were reluctant to begin a collection of carriages, which by their nature were bulky and would take up a lot of space. It was decided that it would be worthwhile to have 'a large photograph of it' or alternatively to 'send out our photographer' in order 'to take photographs of the carriage from different points of view'.[72]

McGoogan also photographed three dimensional objects, such as St. Patrick's Bell, for use in a proposed work on on the Irish church by J. Macbeth of Enniscorthy. His photographs of cuneiform inscriptions were of such quality that a researcher at Leiden University, who had acquired copies, could read and translate from the photographs. McGoogan photographed drawings from a R.I.A. file. He prepared lantern slides and on one occasion a small number of slides were supplied to Fr Eugene O'Growney of Maynooth. However, the provision of lantern slides to members of the public does not seem to have been a standard service in the mid-1890s and the museum was unable to supply 'slides for the lantern' to Hippolyte J. Blanc of Edinburgh, who was preparing a lecture on 'art work in the monastery'. In July 1898 Robert B. Armstrong of Edinburgh wrote to the museum seeking a photograph of the Dalway harp and asked if the museum authorities would allow the museum photographer to undertake the work because 'his work is exceptionally good'.[73]

Enquirers who applied to the museum for photographs of museum objects could nominate a professional photographer to take photographs in the museum. The director of the museum, Plunkett, favoured James Robinson & Son, Grafton

Street, Dublin, on one occasion, but George Coffey, superintendent of the Irish antiquities collection, strongly recommended Thomas F. Geoghegan, Sackville Street, a professional photographer experienced in handling and photographing museum objects and 'who is the photographer employed by the [Royal] Society of Antiquaries'.[74]

Museum staff were aware not only of the services offered by professional photographers in Ireland but also of those offered by British and foreign photographers. When Robert Lynch Blosse enquired in October 1897 about casts on view in the museum, Coffey, knowing the casts had been taken from Lynch's Castle in Galway, suggested that 'photos of the castle can probably be had at Lawrence's' of Sackville Street, Dublin. In October 1895 the museum purchased three photographs of statues from the professional photographers Bourne & Shepherd of Calcutta. In 1899 museum staff were aware of the architectural photographs stocked by the best photographic publishers in Britain, such as the Photochrom Company of London, Valentine's of Dundee, and George Washington Wilson of Aberdeen. Some purchases were made from these firms.[75]

The photographer who did most business with the Science and Art Museum, was Welch of Belfast. His commercial transactions do not appear to have been spread through the decade but were concentrated in the first quarter of 1894. Early that year he offered about 180 photographs, on approval, to the museum. The majority of his photographs were of ancient monuments: monasteries, early crosses, beehive cells, inscribed stones, gallauns, cromlechs, and stone circles.[76]

Welch was a professional photographer but was also scholarly in his approach to a number of his interests:

ethnology, wild life, geology, and archaeology. He informed the museum in February 1894 that he hoped that summer 'to get other early monuments' within the range of his camera.[77] He was proud of his series of photographs on Inishmurray, Co. Sligo, and was conscious of their comparative value to antiquarians. He wrote to the museum:

> The Inishmurray series you will find show much more of the structure of the building than those you have in Lord Dunraven's set. Grass was very long when he was there but I had it carefully moved before each view was taken. His set, however, shows perfectly the then condition of the cashel interior and exterior, mine that of it as conserved by the board of public works.[78]

The museum purchased eighty-eight photographs taken by Welch.[79]

In the 1890s the museum in Dublin often received photographs with correspondence as a matter of course. Correspondents offered items for sale, loan, valuation, or assessment. Often photographs or rough drawings accompanied the correspondence but, if not, the museum might insist on the supply of a photograph. In February 1895 a letter arrived from South Kensington Museum offering plaster casts from a tomb in a Milan church. The offer was accompanied by 'a photograph ... which is sent herewith for your inspection and which should be returned to this department'. The previous month Thomas H. Longfield, an assistant in the art and industry department in the museum, was offered glass objects found at Mount Carmel in the Middle East. As the offer was not accompanied by a sample object, Longfield considered seeking advice from South Kensington Museum and suggested that if he and his colleagues 'saw photographs we could select a few specimens

if the prices were reasonable'. In December 1896 the executors of the English sculptor, William Calder Marshall, offered plaster models of some of Marshall's work for sale. His son, Charles J. Marshall, sent a photograph which 'may give you an idea of the figures'. This offer was turned down but in September 1898 the director of the museum, Plunkett, accepted the offer of a cast of Florentine bronze from South Kensington Museum. The offer to sell had been accompanied by a photograph.[80]

Photographs were recognised by museum staff as an aid in assessing an object's worth. Longfield wrote in 1894 about oriental statues offered to the museum and stated that as far as he could 'form an opinion from the photographs they would appear to me to be genuine and very interesting but of course it would be well to have an expert's opinion on them'. Offered Indian carvings in April 1893, Longfield wrote: 'I cannot form any opinion of the art qualities of the specimens without a photo'. Museum staff in Britain also used photographs as aids in forming a professional judgement of an art or antiquarian object. In January 1895 Valentine Ball, the director of the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, passed an enquiry about a slab found in a field in Jamaica to the British Museum in London. A. Wolleston Franks, who replied, was 'very unwilling to say anything definite about it without a photograph'.[81]

1. Travel photography in the 1840s

On 6 January 1839, a journalist writing in the Gazette de France, anticipated by one day an announcement at the Academy of Sciences in Paris that the daguerreotype process of photography had been discovered. It was reported that the daguerreotype would be useful to the traveller:

> For a few hundred francs travellers may perhaps soon be able to procure M. Daguerre's apparatus and bring back views of the finest monuments and of the most delightful scenery of the whole world. They will see how far their pencils and brushes are from the truth of the daguerreotype. Let not the draughtsman and the painter, however, despair - the results obtained by M. Daguerre are very different from their works, and in many cases cannot be a substitute for them.[1]

Some years later daguerreotype views were taken by British travellers. Dr Alexander John Ellis, an English philologist and mathematician, took whole-plate daguerreotype architectural views in Rome and Florence in 1840 and 1841. The Scotsman Dr George S. Keith took about thirty daguerreotypes in 1844 in the near east.[2] It seems that no Irish daguerreotypist practised photography abroad at this time, though Edward King Tenison and William Parsons, the third earl of Ross, had daguerreotype equipment in the early 1840s.[3] Henry Talbot, used the calotype process abroad, as did a Welshman, Rev. Calvert Jones in Naples, and Rev. George Bridges in Sicily, both in 1846.[4] It seems that no Irishman using paper processes photographed abroad before 1849.

2. Irish calotypists, Shaw Smith and Tenison, 1850-52

The first Irish person known to have photographed outside Ireland was John Shaw Smith. He was born in 1811 in Cork, the fifth son of a small landlord at Clonmuth, County Cork. While he did not inherit his father's estate he seems to have been well-off, residing at Fairy Hill, Blackrock, Dublin, from 1854 to 1864. When he died in 1873 he was living at Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin. He had married his cousin, Mary Louisa Richardson, in 1839 and they had two children, John Augustus born in 1840 and Florence born 1844.[5]

Shaw Smith first photographed outside Ireland in 1849 when he visited Paris and took eighteen views. A skyline view including Tour St. Jacques was taken on 25 August. Other views taken that year include an unidentified 'bridge over the Seine', the Arc du Carrousel, and Notre Dame. It is not clear whether the Shaw Smiths returned to Ireland from Paris in the autumn of 1849 or continued on a continental tour. In any event they had both their children with them in Switzerland at the end of 1850. The boy, John Augustus, was left with a tutor at Lausanne and the rest of the family proceeded to Rome where they sought accommodation about mid-December. Shaw Smith continued his photographic activities taking twenty-six views of a variety of subjects including St. Peter's, the forum of Trajan, the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, the arch of Septimius Severus, and the Colosseum.[6]

The Shaw Smiths left Rome for Naples on 27 March 1851 and on the way, at Terracina, he 'took some views with the camera'. Impatient with official searches of his luggage in Neapolitan territory he preferred to pay 'several persons to prevent my luggage being examined'. In Naples

the Shaw Smiths initially took lodgings for one month. Occasionally their sightseeing in the Naples area involved going on horseback or on foot over rough ground and, on one occasion, at the 'majestic ruin of the temple of Diana', Shaw Smith regretted not having his camera with him: 'How I wished for my camera; it would have made such a beautiful picture'. They were 'so delighted with Sorrento' that they decided to 'take a villa for four months' from June to September. Little photography seems to have been done in this period.[7]

On 1 July Shaw Smith headed northwards by steamer and railway to Milan to bring his son to Naples for a one month holiday. Mary was uneasy while he was away and occupied herself with domestic chores, long walks, and going down to the sea shore. Her husband and son were never far from her thoughts. She speculated regularly on the progress of his journey and, as the possible date of their return neared, she noted on 9 July that 'they may be sailing' from Genoa to Naples that night. She kept herself busy by making strawberry jam and marmalade, washing clothes, and making a chair cover. In less busy moments she would sit with her daughter Florence 'at her lessons' or examine John's photographs. The day before he returned she noted: 'Looked over John's views, many of them are beautiful'.[8]

By 1 September the Shaw Smiths had 'arranged to start for the east' in October 'after many talks, misgivings, and cogitations'. Earlier, Augustus, accompanied by his father, had set out for Lausanne on 18 August but 'he fainted in Naples and John thought it better to bring him back'. On 9 October Mary noted that she and John were 'low and dejected' and 'almost resolved to give up our plan'. They 'were both quite unnerved about parting from Floy'.

However, having spoken to a family friend about her misgivings 'many of [her] doubts' were removed and she felt 'quite consoled by his visit'.[9]

They sailed out of Naples on 13 October 1851 and thus began a tour which included Athens, Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, Cairo, the Nile, Sinai, Petra, Jerusalem, Beirut, and Damascus.(plate 68, 69). When they returned in the summer of 1852 they were reunited with their daughter at Naples on 24 June and with Augustus on 6 July at Lausanne. From the beginning they had made a record of their tour in Italy by keeping a diary and taking photographs. These were continued on the tour of the Middle East. On 18 December 1850 he had begun the diary at Rome but she took charge of it at Naples and made most of the 450 entries. He used a camera throughout the entire tour recording a total of 306 views.

In both Italy and the east Mary was conscious of the need visually to record the tour. Near Naples on a very hot day in August she saw a 'glorious view of Positano and its surrounding rocks, bounded by the gulf of Salerno', noted how 'enchanting' the scene was and 'longed for the painter's art'. Later that year, in November, in the Nile delta she saw 'one or two pretty pictures which [she] should like to have sketched'. The subjects which attracted her were a 'village and palm grove' and boats with 'their immense picturesque sails glittering in the sun'. At Baalbek a number of local women visited Mary. She was struck by the beauty of the 'lovely group' and wished that she 'could have painted them as they sat there'.[10]

She was intensely interested in the progress of her husband's photography, referring in her diary to John's

photographic activities on thirty occasions. She was interested but perhaps uncritical of his work, speaking of his 'beautiful views', 'exquisite views', 'pretty views', and 'some good views'. When Shaw Smith took four views at Abu Simbel, Mary noted that 'one in particular of the colossal Rameses, is admirable'. On 26 January 1852 she noted for the first time that he had a photographic problem: 'John's views have failed, why we cannot imagine'. The problem of failed photographs continued for one week. Very high daily temperatures seem to have caused the problem. While it lasted, Mary decided to be philosophical about the difficulty: 'It seems the reason is the sheikhs don't like their tombs to be taken and so the views don't succeed'. On the last occasion when Mary mentioned photographic failure she observed that the 'sheikhs [were] still angry no doubt'.[11]

A day devoted to photography required planning. Shaw Smith spoke of iodised papers being made sensitive or 'excited' in the morning, and, after exposure, being developed the same evening. Normally, Shaw Smith seems to have prepared paper negatives with dimensions of 9" x 7" in sets of four. He was prepared to take as many as four photographs on a given day as he did at Philae and at Abu Simbel in December 1851. Often he seems to have taken two photographs a day, at selected sites, though he was equipped to take more than this daily rate. Quality did not deteriorate with quantity. Mary wrote on 21 October 1851: 'John took six beautiful views, the best I think he has'. Shaw Smith spent entire days at photography, Mary noting that 'John [was] out all day taking views' or, that 'John spent the day at Karnak and took some admirable views'.(plate 70). At Philae a day devoted to photography

was broken by John returning to their boat on the Nile having obtained a number of views.(plate 71). After the break he 'went out again', she recorded, and 'took some beautiful ruins of Philae'. It seems that Mary had alternative plans on days when John was photographing. She would 'wander over the ruins', go 'for a ramble', go 'for a walk' or 'not go out'.[12]

Shaw Smith used a modification of the calotype process. He sensitised Whatman's paper for the 'lowest temperatures' he experienced in 'eastern climes'. For temperatures between 70° F to 80° F he used Canson's paper. He discovered that on a day with temperatures above 85° F 'these papers would not keep during the day; they became spotted'. This was the problem first reported by Mary Shaw Smith on 26 January 1852 and on a number of subsequent days when she described John's views as 'bad'. The problem was overcome. He substituted four drops of bromure d'iode for one grain of solid iodine in an iodising solution in which eight papers were iodised instead of four. In this way, while the time of exposure in the camera was increased, it caused 'the papers so prepared to keep well during the whole day under the highest temperatures'. He was aware that this method of working was novel. Exposure time under the modified method required to be increased from 'about five minutes' to 'about seven minutes' using 'a three quarter inch aperture with fourteen inch focus'.[13]

There is no record of Shaw Smith exhibiting his photographs in the 1850s. He was a member of the Dublin Photographic Society in the second half of the 1850s and he may have entered internal competitions in the society. If so, he was not listed among the medal winners. There were photographs of subjects taken in the eastern Mediterranen

shown at the first exhibition of the Dublin Photographic Society; some of this work may have been by Shaw Smith. He did exhibit photographs in the Dublin International Exhibition in 1865, which included the work of a number of respected contemporary photographers: Julia Margaret Cameron, O. G. Rejlander, Russell Sedgefield, and Francis Bedford. The judges, who were from London, were Antoine Claudet and Peter le Neve Foster. Shaw Smith was honourably mentioned for 'good productions from paper negatives'. These were probably a selection of prints from his middle eastern tour.[14]

A contemporary of Shaw Smith, Edward King Tenison, photographed on a two year tour in Spain between October 1850 and October 1852. Tenison was a large landowner in Co. Roscommon and had been educated at Eton and Cambridge where he obtained the degree of M.A. in 1845. He was elected to membership of the Royal Irish Academy in 1846, and in the 1850s, as discussed above, he examined the feasibility of using photography to illustrate a museum catalogue.* In 1838 he married Lady Louisa Mary Anne Anson eldest daughter of the first earl of Lichfield. Tenison became a magistrate in Roscommon and Leitrim in 1846 and for one year served as high sheriff of Leitrim (1846). He served as a magistrate for over thirty years in Leitrim and Sligo and was M.P. for Leitrim from 1847 to 1852. His wife's account of their experiences in Spain suggests that, despite his duties as an M.P., he appears to have been present on the entire two year tour, or certainly from the spring of 1851 to October 1852.[15]

Lady Louisa and her husband enjoyed travelling and she liked to sketch while abroad. In 1846 she published Sketches in the East, a volume of thirty sketches drawn by

* Above, i, p. 141.

her in Egypt at Philae, Luxor, Karnak, and Mount Sinai. Other drawings were made at Damascus, Petra, Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Beirut.(plates 72, 73, 74, 75). Tenison was 'familiar with the daguerrotype method of photography' from its first introduction by Daguerre but there is no evidence to show that he practised it abroad at this time.[16]

Their Spanish tour began properly in early October 1850 as they crossed the Bay of Gibraltar en route for Malaga. They toured for two years in Andalucia and Castile. It seems that they and a number of Irish friends travelled by steamer to Gibraltar and while in Spain the group travelled by coach or on horseback. Lady Louisa was aware of the potential of Spain as a tourist area and believed that it would become more popular in the future. 'Malaga' she said was a 'favourite residence for invalids' because of its climate which was 'mild and genial'. She was somewhat shocked by the Spaniard's lack of appreciation of 'the beauties of nature' and the 'charms of the country'. She appreciated 'beautiful views' and was prepared to go to some trouble to find them, but she was aware that the Spanish regarded such pursuits as one of the 'eccentric fancies of the very mad English'. She knew Spain would interest others for different reasons. Travelling through the sierras on one occasion she was conscious that the 'character of the vegetation [became] more alpine'. 'Those who delight in collecting wild flowers and studying the botany or the geology of the country in which they are residing will find a rich harvest in its wild sierras' she wrote.[17]

Lady Louisa spent a considerable part of her time sketching in Spain. At a disused Carthusian monastery she and her companions 'spent a whole day there sketching and

wandering about its deserted halls and cloisters'. Other objects and scenes attracted her: a street scene, a mill, or a patio. 'The artist', she wrote, 'may ... while away many a pleasant day' at the sketch pad. Speaking of Spain generally, she wrote: 'To the artist it is a mine of wealth'.[18]

Edward Tenison brought a photographic camera and all the necessary chemicals and equipment with him. He avoided carrying glass bottles if at all possible 'thus avoiding all danger of breakage'. This equipment proved awkward to carry for a number of reasons. The Tenisons had an 'immense quantity of luggage' because of the 'size of Mr Tenison's talbotype apparatus'. On arrival at any large town 'all the boxes' in their luggage were inspected by government officials. Lady Louisa felt 'tormented' by the bulk of the photographic luggage and was conscious that as a group their luggage drew attention to them as 'very suspicious-looking personages'. Normally they had enough room wherever they stayed and setting up a darkroom was not a problem. On one occasion, however, they had only one room and two alcoves but they discovered 'a small closet' for the 'photographic apparatus'.[19]

They attracted notice when drawing or photographing and occasionally it could prove difficult. Generally, however, Lady Louisa recalled that she had 'never been prevented drawing whenever and wherever' she pleased, nor had she 'ever heard in Spain that permission from the authorities was requisite for the purpose'. One exception to this freedom was 'cathedrals and churches' in which case she accepted that special leave [was] necessary'. She surmised that perhaps there were restrictions on artists during a recent civil war 'but in the present day artists

may sketch all through the peninsula without meeting any interference from officials'. It would seem that this freedom applied equally to photographers.[20]

One problem that the Tenisons did suffer from was a curious audience. As she sketched, 'inquisitive visitors' would come to watch. Some wished to know would she 'sell [her] drawings' while more often she was plagued by urchins wishing to act as models or to protect her from the gathering crowds. Lady Louisa claimed that, on one occasion, as she worked on a street scene she 'attracted the attention of the crowd' and eventually the street became impassable. On such occasions an artist would be happy to accept the help of officials who would protect the artist from 'the annoying pressure of the too curious crowd'.[21]

Edward Tenison's 'talbotype apparatus' also attracted an audience making the Tenisons 'the general subject of attention wherever [they] went'. Whenever the 'mysterious looking machine was set up' it attracted an 'immense crowd in the streets'. Townspeople were curious as to the purpose of the camera. 'Es musica?' asked one little urchin. The Tenison's servant caused further confusion by suggesting that it was 'a new machine for roasting chestnuts'. In one town a small number of people 'were particularly indignant at the talbotype apparatus blocking up the streets'.[22]

Generally Tenison met with co-operation wherever he worked with his camera. He was interested in securing a 'good view of the edifice' of Leon cathedral but the plaza in front of the cathedral was not wide enough for this. He then sought the cooperation of the owner of a house in order to 'put up his instrument on the balcony of a

chemist's shop' opposite the cathedral. 'Nothing could equal the civility of the master of the house' recalled Lady Louisa. At another building a soldier on duty suprised the Tenisons when he did not make 'the slightest objection to Mr T. placing his camera inside the railings to take a view'.[23] (plates 76, 77, 78).

Tenison exhibited his photographs at the earliest opportunity. In the Irish Industrial Exhibition, 1853, he showed a number of examples of his photographic work in Spain. At least nine photographs were accepted and reviewed. Tenison also had some of his Spanish photographs accepted at the first exhibition organised by the Photographic Society in London, which was shown in January-February 1854. The following year he showed ten photographs at the second exhibition of the Photographic Society in London. On this occasion all his photographs had been taken in France. The bulk of Tenison's photographs were done by Le Gray's waxed-paper process with the exception of five calotypes made according to Baldus's process. The latter were shown in London in 1855.[24]

One reviewer, who had seen Tenison's work at the Irish Industrial Exhibition 1853, was impressed, although he found fault with 'several of these photographs'. In the shadow areas of two photographs, the portal of Leon cathedral and the Chamber of Deputies, Madrid, doorways were judged to be 'too black' or the foreground was 'absolutely black'. The reviewer believed the problem of handling architectural subjects with contrasting areas of light and shade could be overcome by weakening the negatives according to the Blanquart-Evrard process. Otherwise, Tenison's photographs were 'certainly remarkable examples'. Tenison's view of Toledo was his 'finest and

most effective specimen' and a number of views taken of Burgos cathedral, Valladolid, and Madrid were admirable'. The reviewer noted that Tenison also produced two charming views of Cordoba with an 'exceedingly agreeable warm yellow tint'.[25] Tenison was not the only amateur Irish photographer working abroad at this time but is unique in having his photographic work, of an undoubted high standard, regularly accepted in contemporary exhibitions in the first half of the 1850s.

3. Lord Dufferin and photography in Arctic regions

Irish photographers in the 1850s did not confine their activities to accepted tourist subjects and regions. In 1856 Lord Dufferin organised a voyage to Iceland, Jan Mayen Island, and Spitsbergen. Dufferin was navigator and artist and the crew also included surgeon Charles E. Fitzgerald as botanist and photographer. The photographic process selected for use was wet-plate collodion which had become increasingly popular with many photographers since 1851. Fitzgerald was Irish but was assisted by a 'cape colonist' valet named William Wilson.

Some of the problems they encountered were not new to travel photographers. Dufferin found that the 'photographic apparatus caused us the greatest trouble and had to be distributed between two beasts'. Further problems were caused at Reykjavik in June by the guides who 'packed the nitrate of silver upside down' causing an 'outrage' which Dufferin felt could only be fully appreciated by those who had seen the result. At Hammerfest in July an 'attempt had been made to take a photograph of a mountain' but it had failed due to an enveloping mist. These were problems experienced by all

photographers, whatever the climatic conditions.[26]

There were photographic problems peculiar to Iceland and high latitudes. They found it difficult to photograph the country's geysers. Unsuccessful attempts were made to photograph them at the moment of eruption. Dufferin was 'anxious to have one more trial at photographing' the geyser named 'Strokr'. The problem was one of timing: having a wet-plate prepared and sensitive just at the moment of eruption. Two or three cart-loads of turf were administered to the geyser as an emetic but after twenty minutes 'no symptoms of any result had as yet appeared'. 'Strokr' had been selected for photographing because it was possible to 'tell within a certain period when the performance will take place'. Nevertheless, on their last attempt to photograph it, 'Strokr' remained inactive 'so much longer than is usual that the collodion became quite insensitive, and the eruption left no impression whatever upon it'.[27]

In late August 1856, the photographer's assistant, William Wilson, was 'busily occupied in taking photographs' alone onshore and did not see a bear coming towards him. A warning signal was made to him from the ship and, with the bear still some distance away, he had time to consider the situation. Dufferin, some distance away and helpless, realised Wilson had no weapons 'unless the chemicals' could be regarded as such. He wondered could 'the influence of chloroform' be tried on the bear or could Wilson 'launch the whole photographic apparatus at his grisly head, and take to his heels?'. The bear scuttled off and the potential danger passed.[28]

4. Sir John Coghill advises travel photographers

The photographic periodicals of the 1850s carried a steady stream of advice on travel photography. Articles dealt with cameras and equipment suitable for the tourist while others advised on the photographic potential of some countries such as France or Algeria. A number of articles appeared on the topic of photographing in hot climates: one for example by W. H. Stanley Crawford, and another by John Shaw Smith, an abstract of whose talk to the Dublin Photographic Society was printed in two journals.[29] The advantage of many of these articles was that they were based on the practical advice of photographers who had experience in the field. In the 1850s, in Ireland, one photographer above others fitted this role: Sir John J. Coghill.

Coghill was one of the most travelled members of the Dublin Photographic Society, having been to Switzerland (plate 79) on two photographic tours in 1855 and 1857, to Spain and Portugal in 1858, and to Germany, probably in 1855. Coghill learned from the experience of his several trips abroad. In November 1857 he advised his fellow photographers in the Dublin Photographic Society to keep their baggage with them as they travelled and not to trust to promises of it 'being forwarded quickly and safely'. His experience in Switzerland that summer was that his baggage was 'delayed several weeks' and when it did arrive was in an 'injured state'. Cases had been 'wrenched open for examination' by officials without using the keys provided and a chemical solution was spilled. He warned 'that all the chemicals required for the trip should be taken to the continent and not bought locally where occasionally exorbitant prices are demanded'.

While in Coruña in 1858 Coghill and fellow-photographer Captain Robert J. Henry were confronted by a policeman under whom 'all photography was interdicted' because the town was being fortified. Coghill, using that sense of humour which he recommended all photographers to have, acted 'with [such] a distressing want of comprehension' of the policeman's instructions that he was able to finish the negative on which he was working. At Gibraltar Coghill had no problem with officials and 'completed [his] series of stereographs under the sanction of a permit from the governor'.[30]

Coghill was an enthusiastic amateur photographer who was a founder member of the Dublin Photographic Society and served on all the executive committees of the short lived D.P.S., as president, vice president, and honorary secretary. He regularly participated in the proceedings of the society and lectured on a number of occasions. In January 1859 he lectured in Dublin on 'Photography as adapted for tourists', in which he imparted the sum of his photographic experiences abroad. The editor of _The Photographic Journal_ reprinted the lecture in full.[31]

He had a very commonsensical approach to travel photography. He was fully aware that the brightness of daylight differed from country to country and from subject to subject. In some countries he was aware that 'the views most worthy of note consist principally of buildings or street scenes'. In other countries 'the interiors of cathedrals and other public buildings tempt the photographer' (plate 80), he observed, while 'nature unhampered by human art' attracted the photographer in Norway, Switzerland, the Tyrol, and parts of Italy. Coghill believed correctly that the reflecting power of

subjects varied and had to 'be thought over and prepared for or disappointment would follow'. Apart from this consideration, there was, Coghill believed, 'actinic differences' between the sunlight of different countries. These 'vary so considerably' that 'one universal system is impossible', he said. He warned the photographer, who photographed on his home ground only, against complacency. He should not expect that methods that were successful at home would produce a 'like success' abroad.

Coghill was aware that he must not criticise 'a photographer's pet process' or the photographer would be 'at once in arms'. Playing safe, he advised: 'Fix upon a process and stick to it'. The photographic process he preferred was 'my favourite wet-collodion', which he considered to be 'peculiarly well adapted for the amateur photographic traveller'. He believed the process gave 'living reality to scenery' when used in a stereographic camera and the resulting photographic pairs were viewed in a stereoscope. 'The apparatus is more portable' than that required for larger negatives, he noted. Coghill would not recommend paper processes for the traveller because 'they can rarely produce proofs of sufficient detail' to withstand the 'magnifying ordeal of the stereoscopic lenses'. The wet-collodion process, being especially sensitive, allowed Coghill to introduce 'living figures' into the picture which he wished to do for compositional reasons but which was 'next to impossible' with a paper process that required a long exposure. One of the 'principal enjoyments' he derived from photography was 'finishing my picture on the spot'. This he could do in the field with the wet-collodion process and he enthusiastically recommended it to the traveller.

Coghill had definite ideas about 'the travelling photographer's' equipment. The first requirement was 'simplicity' and he advised that while all 'factotums and multum-in-parvos' were 'enticing' to the photographer, such cameras were 'complicated in detail' and liable to break down. 'Strength and sufficiency of size' were his next priorities and were of 'even greater importance than portability'. The travelling photographer must not make the mistake of lightening his load by using 'rickety inefficient apparatus'. He advised the traveller 'to have an eye to weather-worthiness'. His equipment must be made of the 'best seasoned timber' because, to the photographer who at all times must avoid stray light in his camera, 'a warp is often fatal'. He took precautions against stray light entering his equipment by gluing canvas over the outside and covering it with a couple of coats of paint. Portability he put last. It was a consideration, but he could not see how the weight of a day's requirements could be reduced 'very far below thirty pounds'. Such a load he would divide between two porters. In Switzerland one could 'increase this weight without extracting a complaint or a remonstrance'. Sailors that Coghill engaged on his voyage to Spain in 1858 were only employed on condition that they would 'carry the photographic traps when required'. He recommended dividing 'travelling kit' into four parts: dark chamber, stock-box, which would also hold the camera and chassis, camera legs, and a store chest which formed part of the heavy baggage. He advised that the stock-box should be so fitted out as to carry everything needed for six days' photography. This guarded against the photographer being inactive while he awaited replenishment chemicals and materials from a store chest delayed in transit.[32]

Finally, he insisted that the travelling photographer needed 'any quantity of good temper'. A photographer as experienced and as knowledgeable as he was could still say in 1859:

> The public eye is not as yet sufficiently familiarised with the sight of street photographers, and the erection of a camera soon obtains for you a cortége as numerous and respectable as if you were the proud proprietor of a Punch-and-Judy establishment.[33]

He seems to have met people who had nothing else to do but 'gratify their curiosity'; he found it trying to be the 'cynosure of the many-headed and the butt of its witticisms'. Any photographer who dreaded having an audience, said Coghill, would have to conquer that weakness because crowds would gather whenever the photographer set up his apparatus. The way to handle 'King Mob', he advised, was not to 'treat him disrespectfully' but rather 'take him pleasantly and good humouredly'. If this is done he will not 'stand deliberately in your light' or 'meddle with your apparatus' but will keep the space clear around the photographer's working area, fetch water, and generally become the photographer's slave'.[34]

5. Jephson and Reeve: an illustrated travel book

Travel photography was not to remain confined to the private collections of the wealthy and the annual exhibitions of photographic societies. There was a wider audience for travel photographs and publishers began to produce books illustrated by tipped in or slip-in photographs. Joseph Cundall, Lovell Augustus Reeve, and the firm of Sampson Low, all in London, published photographically illustrated books from the 1850s. Lovell

Reeve was a talented man: a highly respected self-taught conchologist, a publisher, and editor of the Literary Gazette. He was committed to the idea of photographically illustrated books and in a ten year period beginning in 1858 he produced 'four books, two serial publications, and three sets of stereo views' illustrated by photographs. Stereoscopic pairs of photographs were in vogue in the 1850s and Reeve published the 'first stereoscopically illustrated book' in 1858, Charles Piazzi Smyth's Teneriffe(sic), an astronomer's experiment. The text of Reeve's second stereoscopically illustrated book, Narrative of a walking tour in Brittany, published in 1859, was written by an Irishman, Rev. John Mounteney Jephson.[35]

Jephson was born in 1819, the son of Rev. John Jephson, of Mullabrack, Armagh. The emoluments of his father's living from 'a prebend attached to the cathedral of Armagh' were computed at £2,500 a year. John Mounteney Jephson entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1837, graduating in 1843. He was ordained in the Church of Ireland the following year and went to England where he spent the early years of his ministry in Norfolk. He was an Anglo-catholic and a friend of John Henry Newman, both being received together into the Roman Catholic church. Jephson, however, returned to the Church of England and to parish work. He also had other interests, being a fellow of the Society of Arts. In 1858 he became editor of the Literary Gazette, replacing Reeve who had given it up.[36]

Jephson's 'original purpose' in embarking on a 'walk in Brittany' was to dissipate 'many prejudices' and furnish himself with a 'stock of physical and mental vigour' that would help him face 'the demon of ague and the small cares of a remote parish'. He was rector of Hutton in Essex in

the late 1850s and, while 'thinking over [his] scheme and making [his] preparations', he mentioned it to his neighbour 'Mr Lovell Reeve, who was amusing himself in our village with photography'. Reeve's immediate reaction was that 'an account of [the] walk, illustrated with stereoscopic views, might prove interesting'. Jephson and Reeve discussed the idea in detail and how best it could be adopted. A plan was agreed.

Reeve crossed over to Brittany in the company of a professional photographer, Henry Taylor. Both travelled in a hired carriage, stopping at the principal towns and making stereographs of any object of interest to be met on the road'. Jephson took 'the same or nearly the same route' on foot. He worked independently of Reeve and Taylor, though they occasionally crossed each other's paths. Jephson was not bound to wait while the process of photography 'was going forward', nor was Reeve expected to follow Jephson 'through the bye ways' which he wished to explore.[37]

The camera used on this tour was a 'small double-lens camera by Ross'. The process used was wet-collodion. Reeve and Taylor took with them a 'black tent about four feet square and seven feet high', fitted with a table and sink, 'the whole folding up into a moderate-sized portmanteau'. In addition the chemicals and glasses to work the process were also brought. Reeve gave priority to economising on 'hours of travelling' so that 'the fairest weather and the best description of light' would be available for photography. Photographic factors governed decisions about where and when to stop on the tour. Reeve was constantly guided by two considerations about where exactly to stop on arrival in a town or village. The first

was to observe 'the position the sun would be in, with respect to the objects selected, at the time we should be prepared to photograph them, the points of view to be taken, and the most effective arrangement of foreground'.

The second factor was also photographic, but of a more practical nature, with Reeve selecting 'a place for our tent in the nearest proximity to two or more views together'. Halts at towns and other localities necessitated pitching their tent 'about a hundred times' on the tour 'within the space of thirty days'. It was time-consuming work with 'evenings being fully occupied in looking over the day's harvest' and 'preparing plates and chemicals for the next day's work'.[38]

Jephson was modest about his part in the production of the book. He felt the subject of a holiday tour in a province of France was 'trite' and was aware that the area had been covered before by a number of authors; he was probably familiar with the works of Robert Bell and Charles Richard Weld. Jephson's book was published with a stereoscopic frontispiece. Issued separately were ninety pairs of stereoscopic views in a box with a lock and key. Jephson saw his text 'as a friend and assistant of its more attractive colleagues, the stereographs'. He believed the work 'to be the best illustrated book that has ever yet appeared'. It received good reviews in the Observer, Morning Post, and Saturday Review.[39]

6. North American photographers; H. L. Hime in Canada

In North America a number of persons with Irish connections became photographers in the period 1840-1865. In the United States, Matthew B. Brady, born of Irish immigrant parents in New York state, became a prominent early

daguerreotypist and was to photograph many distinguished Americans. His greatest achievement was to organise and take into the field nineteen photographers to document the American civil war. Brady took only a comparatively small number of photographs himself, some being taken by Timothy H. O'Sullivan, who was born in Ireland and brought to the United States as a very young child. O'Sullivan became apprenticed to Brady about 1855, when he was fifteen, and the following year assisted Alexander Gardner in opening Brady's new Washington studio. O'Sullivan worked with Brady at the Battle of Bull Run in 1861 and 'was present at most of the major battlefields of the war' either working with Gardner or as an independent photographer. After the war, O'Sullivan joined an expedition led by Clarence King, which surveyed along the fortieth parallel in Colorado and California. Setting out from San Francisco in July 1867 the group spent two seasons exploring an area of 5000 square miles. On this expedition O'Sullivan took the first photographs of the many places of great natural beauty in the region. Later he was appointed official photographer to the expedition exploring the Isthmus of Panama in 1870. His published photographs attracted wide attention in the 1870s and his photographic ability was given the highest official approval when, in 1880, he was named 'chief photographer to the U.S. Treasury'. Sadly, he died two years later, of tuberculosis, at forty-two years of age.[40]

In Canada a number of Irish immigrants also became involved in professional and government photography. Samuel McLoughlin, born in 1824, came to Canada from Ireland 'as a young man' and settled in Quebec, where he worked as a watchmaker and book agent. McLoughlin published the first Canadian photographic prints in 1858-

60. Each issue of The Photographic Portfolio: a monthly review of Canadian scenes and scenery consisted of one or two photographs in a wrapper with descriptive letterpress. At least ten parts were published. McLoughlin was commissioned to photograph work-in-progress on the new parliament buildings at Ottawa. His work so impressed the prime minister, John Sandfield Macdonald, that McLoughlin was appointed 'government photographist' in 1861 and he moved with his family to Ottawa. The top floor of the west block of the parliament buildings in Ottawa 'was built and planned to meet his requirements' and he retained his official post until he retired in 1893.[41]

One of the more important photographic firms in Toronto in the mid 1850s was Armstrong & Beere known later between 1857 and 1861 as Armstrong, Beere, & Hime. The three partners were Irish-born. William Armstrong was born in Dublin in 1822. Daniel Beere, a relative of Armstrong, returned to Dublin about 1866. Humphrey Lloyd Hime was born in Moy, County Armagh, in 1833.[42] Armstrong's training and background was in civil engineering, having been sent 'to the celebrated engineer Thomas Jackson Woodhouse to learn engineering'. He emigrated to Toronto in 1851. His work as a railway engineer allowed him to use his skill as a water-colourist in parts of Canada not yet settled by Europeans and while working for one engineering firm on the Grand Trunk Railway, he was given 'facilities for the introduction of photography'. He produced a series of views of Niagara Falls in 1858. In 1862 he made a trip to the Lake Superior district where he took stereoscopic views and he contributed forty-one of these to the Dublin International Exhibition, 1865.[43]

Humphrey Lloyd Hime was the junior partner in

Armstrong, Beere, & Hime, 'engineers, draughtsmen and photographists'. At the age of fifteen he had crossed to England from Armagh to obtain a business education and learn textile manufacturing. He came to Canada in 1854 and soon got employment in surveying the Bruce peninsula, north west of Owen Sound, Lake Michigan, under the direction of W. H. Napier. Hime worked under Napier until January 1856. A year later, he had joined Armstrong & Beere as a junior partner and the firm became Armstrong, Beere, & Hime.[44] In joining such a partnership Hime was in a position to improve his skills as a surveyor and photographer.

Hime's opportunity in photography came through Henry Youle Hind, professor of chemistry at Trinity College, Toronto, who had been a geologist on a Canadian government expedition to the Red River territory in 1857. The purpose of this expedition was to 'examine the country between Lake Superior and the Red River to the north' for the purpose of opening up a route between the lake and the Red River settlements. Photography was not used. Hind had been closely involved with the establishment of the Canadian Institute, 'a loose association of engineers and surveyors'. Through this he would have been associated with William Armstrong, Hime's partner. He had also worked alongside the engineer W. H. Napier, for whom Hime had worked in the Bruce peninsula. Hind was put in charge of a new expedition, the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan exploration expedition of 1858. Though he received no specific instructions to document the expedition through photography, he decided to select, as photographer and surveyor, the ambitious twenty-five year old Hime, whose talents he would have known about through his professional association with Armstrong and Napier. In a letter on 10

April from Hind to T. J. Loranger, the provincial secretary in Toronto, Hime was listed as a photographer to be paid £20 per month.[45] Hind wrote:

> Mr Hime is a practical photographer of the service of Armstrong, Hime, & Beere, Toronto. In addition to the qualification of being an excellent photographer, he is also a practical surveyor. It is understood that when his services are not required for the practice of his particular department, he is to assist in the surveying operations. Mr Hime will furnish a series of collodion negatives for the full illustration of all objects of interest susceptible of photographic delineation, from which any number of copies can be taken to illustrate a narrative of the expedition and a report on its results.[46]

Hime was officially taken on the staff of the expedition on 14 April 1858 at £20 per month plus expenses.[47]

The four principal members of the expedition were Hind, who was 'in charge of the expedition', James Austin Dickinson, surveyor and engineer, John Fleming, assistant surveyor and draughtsman, and Hime, surveyor and photographer. Hind had been involved throughout April in 'hiring the professional staff', securing the services of fourteen Iroquois indians 'to serve as canoemen to Red River', and reported that he would purchase canoes, camp equipment, and 'probably photographic apparatus'.[48]

The expedition set out from Toronto on 29 April 1858. Hind, his assistants, and the Iroquois canoemen travelled by rail to Detroit with their baggage. They then travelled by steamer to Lake Superior and reached Grand Portage on 5 May. By 11 May the expedition was making the arduous canoe journey along the rivers and lakes to Red River. It was a twenty-eight day journey involving steady travelling from dawn until dusk. Baggage weighed six thousand pounds. The weather was frequently foul. Hime must have soon realised

that he would not have much opportunity for photography on this phase of the expedition. Photography was more likely to take place on a full day's halt, such as occurred on 24 May at Fort Frances, or in the final days of the approach to the Red River settlements when Hind, seeing that the group had made good progress, allowed longer rest periods. The expedition reached the settlements on 2 June.

On 24 May Hime had taken two photographs of Ojibway Indians at Fort Frances, one of which was reproduced as a lithographic drawing in the Illustrated London News. On this occasion he first came up against the Indian fear of the camera. Women ran away with the children so that neither could be photographed and many of the men 'carefully moved out of reach of the camera'. Camping near the mouth of the Red River, one day's travel from their distination, the group halted. The Iroquois canoemen had done their work. Hime had the opportunity to set up his equipment and record the indians in action. He also photographed the officers of the expedition. These photographs were carefully composed and showed evidence of intelligent use of lighting and adequate processing. It is clear that Hime, if allowed the conditions necessary to work the wet-collodion process, could produce photographs of good quality.[49]

On 15 June 1858 the journey into the interior began. The territory surveyed in the following five months included land and lakes enclosed by the rivers Souris and Assiniboine to the south (within U.S. territory), the junction of the Qu'Appelle and South Saskatchewan valleys to the west, the Saskatchewan river to the north, and Lake Winnipeg to the east. For the first three weeks the expedition was plagued by thunderstorms which severely

limited Hime's opportunities to take photographs. Three days after setting out they were conscious of entering Sioux indian territory. This tribe were distrusted and dreaded by the hunters in the Red River settlements and on 24 June the group were 'alert at all times for signs of the Sioux'. Nevertheless, Hime was able to set up his equipment in early July, close to the frontier with the United States and in the Little Souris valley take his first photograph of the official part of the expedition. He also took a view of the group's encampment at the Little Souris river on 3 July. The Indian threat persisted and that very evening the Sioux tried unsuccessfully to stampede the expedition horses but without success.[50]

Hind split the expedition into four working groups, to meet later at a named site. Hime was put in charge of one group and all groups were under way by 20 July. As leader of a survey party, he was obliged to keep a note-book on the flora, fauna, and topographical features encountered along their route. In the following week Hime experienced 'very bad' mosquitoes, 'stinking pools', and 'swarms of grasshoppers'. On 27 July, after breaking camp soon after 6 a.m., Hime's group had to cross the White Sand river. He described the episode:

> The bank here is steep and high, about fifty feet above water, whitish clay, wood with small poplar and willow. On the other side the bank is low, wooded with low willow bushes. The river here is rapid running at the rate of about five miles an hour and about eleven and a half feet deep. On account of the unusual deepness of the water [we] had to go about sixty yards higher up river than [the] old crossing, where the bank is low similar to [the] opposite ... [we] staged up [the] carts and with another rope before and men on [the] other side to haul, proceeded across. The first cart upset in the rapid and I had

> the satisfaction of seeing my photographic apparatus, my gun, my clothes, and all my penates submerged. Fortunately they were tied tight and did not get out of the cart. After about ten minutes struggling the horse was loosed from the cart and swam down the river while the cart was dragged ashore. Got all the other carts across safely before 10 a.m..[51]

Hime had completed his work in seven days and arrived at Fort Pelly on 27 July. The weather had been bad most of that week and Hime had given priority to surveying. Despite the mishap crossing the river, Hime's camera worked well at Fort Pelly, where he took a number of views. Dickinson met Hime's group on 1 August and this group, continuing to survey, rejoined their leader Hind at Fort Ellice on 23 August. This reassembled group was back in Fort Garry in the neighbourhood of the Red River settlements in early September after an absence of three months.

Hime's photographs on the June-September phase of the expedition did not represent his best work. They lacked clarity and sharpness, and processing could have been better. Lenses in the 1850s had their limitations. In a report of an exploration of the Great Basin of Utah in 1859 in the United States, Captain J. H. Simpson found that 'the camera is not adopted to distant scenery'. William Despard Hemphill, working in Ireland at about this time, also found difficulty in recording distant scenery adequately.[52] Local water supplies on the Canadian expedition may have contained impurities and reduced picture quality.

Hind, Fleming, and Dickinson continued to survey, using the Red River settlements as a starting point. Their tours of duty extended from four to eight weeks. All exploratory work was completed by the end of October. Hime was not involved in this phase of surveying. He remained

at Red River 'executing a number of photographs of scenes, churches, buildings, Indians, etc., which will form an interesting collection'. He now had, at last, the necessary time to devote to photography, to think about subject matter and how to approach it, to wait for good lighting conditions, to prepare chemicals carefully, and set up his apparatus in favourable locations. He took at least thirty-six photographs at this time. Most were taken in and around the Red River settlements and along the banks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. They were properly processed and well composed. As a record of the settlements, the surrounding territory, and the inhabitants of the area, they represented excellent photographic work. Topography, architecture, inhabitants, and Indian culture were included in his collection of photographs. It was Hime's most successful phase as expedition photographer.[53] (plates 81, 82, 83, 84).

Hime's photographs were taken for government purposes but were seen by a wider contemporary audience. At the suggestion of Hind, an arrangement was made with a representative of Illustrated London News 'to have published in Illustrated London News, a series of sketches of the forts belonging to the Hon. Hudson's Bay Co. and of Indians and scenery, either drawn by hand or taken by photograph, during the proposed exploration of the valleys of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan under [his] charge'. This was done. Hime's photographs were also seen in the fine arts section of the provincial exhibition held in Kingston (Canada) in September 1859. When Hind brought out his two volume work on the two expeditions in which he had been involved, seven lithographic and seven woodcut illustrations were copied from Hime's views. In 1860 a

portfolio of thirty of his photographs was published in London.[54]

7. Travel sketching and painting, 1855-65

In the late 1850s the Irish landed gentry, while they had taken to photography as a means of recording views in distant lands, had not abandoned drawing and painting. A number of Irish visitors to the Mediterranean countries had an interest, in varying degrees, in both painting and photography. Emily Anne Beaufort, daughter of Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, travelled in the eastern Mediterranean and the Adriatic. She was reputed to be 'held in high personal esteem in the east'. On her tour of Egypt, Syria, and the Lebanon, the starting point of which was Valetta harbour, Malta, in December 1858, she sketched regularly. Early in this tour she 'contrived to find something for a sketch every day'. When she experienced 'unusually bad weather' her artistic output was affected. She sketched her Nile boatmen and they told her approvingly that the result was 'very good and pretty'. Emily requested a friend to photograph one man 'in his gala attire ... of Damascus silks and embroidery' but he was 'grievously disappointed at finding his rich dress metamorphosed into one dull grey colour' and often said later that he preferred Emily Beaufort's 'rough coloured sketches'. On a later tour in the Mediterranean, beginning in Corfu in May 1863, she would spend 'most of [her] day in sketching' or an 'afternoon in sketching'. Yet, she knew the potential of photography. Admiring the pillars and capitals of the cathedral at Parenzo, she wrote: 'I longed to sketch them, but I could only hope they may one day be photographed'.[55]

Other Irish travellers in the 1860s continued to

sketch even though they were competent photographers. The Hon. Lewis Wingfield, the youngest son of the sixth Lord Powerscourt, had taken a number of photographic views in the British Isles, which were accepted in the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865, yet, at the end of the following year, while on tour in Algeria and Tunisia, he does not seem to have used a camera. Wingfield did have sketching materials with him in Algiers and 'sketched one of the quaint streets of the upper town'.[56]

8. The remarkable Arthur McMurrough Kavanagh

Equally, some travellers who were able to sketch, seem to have favoured photography as a means of recording views and portraits. Photography was later to be used regularly by Wingfield in Asia in the late 1880s but in the 1860s the traveller from Ireland who was both artist and photographer, but favoured photography, was the remarkable Arthur McMurrough Kavanagh. He was born in 1831 at Borris House in Carlow. He was severely physically handicapped from birth, having only the 'rudiments of arms and legs'. Nevertheless he was to triumph over his defects and learned to do 'almost all that the normal man can do'. The stumps of his arms could meet across his chest and he learned to hold reins and ride from a very early age. He learned to fish, shoot, draw, and paint. He was an enthusiastic traveller who, in the company of his mother and his tutor, went as far south as the third cataract on the Nile in the 1840s. In 1849 he set out to travel with his brother to India by way of Russia and Persia. He eventually returned home in 1853 and succeeded to the family estates.[57]

McMurrough Kavanagh was a keen yachtsman who acquired his own yacht in 1857. In 1860 he had a thirty-ton

schooner built, which he named Eva, and sailed to Malta in December 1860, remaining in the waters around Corfu until July 1861. He had an active interest in photography on this voyage. When he set sail again from Ireland to Corfu in October 1862 he brought a camera, tripod, and all the necessary equipment, glass plates, and chemicals to work the wet-collodion process. His purpose in going to the Adriatic was to improve the health of his son Walter and to hunt on the Albanian coast.[58]

Most of McMurrough Kavanagh's recreational time on tour was spent hunting but he did use his camera on a number of occasions and on a variety of subjects. In order to work his camera on a tripod he needed help in getting into a position to use the camera controls. It would have been essential, for example, to get his head under a black focussing cloth so that he could view his subject, compose it, and focus it sharply. As he was 'in general carried on the back of his servant' this would have given him the height required. It would seem that in darkroom work on board his yacht he performed alone all the stages of the photographic process. On one occasion, for instance, when the ladies went ashore and he 'had the ship to [him]self', other than the mate who was on deck, he took the opportunity 'of overhauling [his] photographic chemicals and testing them after their voyage out'. While he was below, and 'in the middle of one of the most important tests', he was informed by the mate that the ladies were returning earlier than expected. He had 'visions of crinoline capsizing [his] nitrate bath', his 'precious light-abhoring mixtures' being spilled and the 'yellow shades' on the deck lights being upset to the detriment of his light-sensitive materials.[59] Apparently unaided, he

had to move quickly:

> Lightning was slow compared to the expedition with which I packed up my traps and opened all the skylights, to get rid of the prevailing smell of ether. I got on deck in time to see them approach.[60]

McMurrough Kavanagh specialised in taking photographs of the local people. In doing so he had to use every ruse of which he could think. After breakfast one morning, he had no difficulty in taking a photograph of a hunting group, 'with the Albanians sitting with the dogs in front'. He was 'fortunate enough to get a very good negative of the whole party' and the next day was able to produce the print 'as a bait for the Albanians' to allow not only themselves to be photographed but also 'their women kind, whom they are rather shy about showing'. It would appear that the reluctance of the men to show their women was an expression of a protective attitude though it could have been an attitude based on religious taboo in an Islamic society; the men being 'highly pleased at the picture' they sent for their women 'of their own accord'. When the women arrived 'their excitement and pleasure far exceeded the men's' but unfortunately the 'novelty of the picture wore off'. Denis Lawless came across a similar resistance to photography in Morocco in 1880, which is discussed below.*

McMurrough Kavanagh had 'purposely disposed for view' the trappings of photography in order 'to [mystify] their minds and [excite] their curiosity': the camera 'standing on a tripod, with a black cloth thrown over it', the square developing tank 'covered also with black calico', and the many 'odds and ends of queer-shaped uncanny-looking articles'. The women then proposed that he should make a picture of them and when he suggested that 'the sun ...

* Below, i, pp 213-15.

would never make pictures of any but pretty ones' they all 'became clamorous to be taken at once'. Finally, he created a light-hearted atmosphere by allowing the group of women to see an image of one of their number in the ground glass screen of the camera, the image being, as is usual, upside-down. This procedure was repeated and one woman, being teased by the others that her clothes would be 'over her head' in the finished photograph, 'instinctively clutched them round her knees'. He found that 'this merriment banished every symptom of shyness that had existed' and he was able to begin taking photographs.

He was also interested in recording local scenery 'as reminiscences of the place'. He spent 'his last two days' of the tour going about the island of Corfu finding many photographic subjects: old harbours, bays, scenery, and 'the deep blue sea below'. With hindsight he realised that 'the shooting monopolised all our thoughts' and that 'a month would have been a more suitable period to apportion to such an object' as photographing Corfu.[61]

9. Commercial travel photography, 1845-81

McMurrough Kavanagh sailed home in April-May 1862, a man interested in photography, but unable or unwilling because of other interests to commit the necessary time to the subject. A year later Emily Beaufort also visited Corfu and the Adriatic coast. She was interested in sketching and painting, was familiar with photography, and was not averse to acquiring photographs of buildings which interested her. Mary Shaw Smith, unable to paint, was fortunate in having a husband who could take photographs, but there were also travellers who could not master the technique or could not afford the equipment required for

taking and making photographs. Clearly there was a market for travel photographs among those who, for whatever reasons, aesthetic, economic, or practical, were attracted by a commercially-produced photograph.[62]

The commercially made travel photograph became very popular in the 1860s.* Its origins and development can be traced back to the 1840s. The Welsh photographer, Rev. Calvert Jones, took photographs in Italy and Malta in 1845-6 and these were subsequently duplicated at Talbot's Reading establishment and sold in quantity through print sellers. The next significant phase in British professional travel photography was the work of James Robertson and Felice Beato who collaborated on taking photographs in Turkey around 1853. The premier entrepreneurial photographer of the late 1850s was an Englishman, Francis Frith, who was born in 1822 in Chesterfield, in which the Friths had lived for generations. He made three separate expeditions to the Holy Land and Egypt and his photographs could be seen in a number of works published in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Another English photographer, Francis Bedford, took several hundred photographs in Egypt in 1862 and published 172 photographs the following year. English-born photographers also worked further afield. The 1866 catalogue of Bourne & Shepherd of Simla offered 1,500 photographic views. Captain Edmund David Lyon, who had married into an Irish family and had been a member of the Dublin Photographic Society in the 1850s, took over 300 photographs for the government of Madras between 1865 and 1870, his descriptive notes on the photographs being published in 1870.[63]

When Arthur Molloy of Dublin made an eastern tour in

* Above, i, p. 20.

1869, calling at Gibraltar, Valetta, Constantinople, Smyrna, Cairo, the Pyramids, Naples, and Rome, he does not appear to have taken photographs in these localities but seems to have bought them from print sellers. In his privately printed Reminiscences of an eastern tour, 1869 he used thirty-one photographs. Ten were of Constantinople and nine were of Cairo. He also used photographs of other places including Gibraltar, Malta, and Rome. Molloy probably bought photographs in the towns he visited though he could have bought them in Dublin on his return, for photographs of European scenes were available in Dublin at this time. Three years earlier, in 1866, Lesage's, stationers and print sellers in Lower Sackville Street, listed 'views in England and Scotland' and photographic 'copies of oil paintings and statuary, both French and European generally'. Molloy travelled again, in 1870, to Sweden and Russia, avoiding western Europe because of the Franco-Prussian war. Again, the majority of the twenty-three photographs he used to illustrate his book, Recollections of a short trip to Sweden and Russia, 1870, appear to have been bought from commercial producers.[64]

Ten years later photographs were much in evidence wherever tourists went. Richard Webb, an 'Irish protestant' who had lived in Nevada and California for many years, left Dublin on a European tour in September 1881. He travelled to Frankfort, Leipzig, Prague, Vienna, Venice, Pisa, Rome, and Naples. At Weimar he visited Schiller's house where there was no admission charge but instead 'one was expected to buy photographs'. He was conscious of the marketing of tourist mementoes wherever he went, the 'number of shops in Pisa devoted to the sale of marble and alabaster statuettes ... [being] truly astonishing'. In

Venice, photographs and trinkets were 'displayed most temptingly' and in Rome, where Webb saw a fair at a piazza, he 'bought only a few photographs for one lira'. At Pompeii he was fleeced by an official guide who was not allowed to accept money but did lead Webb 'into the photographic room where the photos were sixty per cent above Naples prices'. In this way the guide 'more than got even'. Webb, for all his interest in commercial photographs, including his use of thirty-one photographs in his journal of the tour, was aware that photography, in duplicating works of art, also rendered them less exclusive, less unique. In Rome he got into the privately-owned museum in Rome, the Torlonia Museum (Museo Torlonia), 'accessible only through an introduction to Prince Torlonia' or by permission 'obtained through the ambassador of the country to which the visitor belongs'. The museum contained 'the most extensive collection of antiquities in Rome after those at the Vatican and the Capitol'. He examined 'beautifully arranged' statues set off by 'dark curtains behind them', the works being described in 'good Italian catalogues'. He observed: 'It in some ways rather added to the interest of an inspection that none of the works of art had apparently been photographed'.[65]

10. Denis Lawless: photography in an Islamic society

From the beginning of commercial travel photography, photographs of foreign places could always be bought either as separate items or in sets mounted in albums or in books. In the earliest phase of book illustration by photography, 1840-70, books were illustrated by actual photographs. That phase of illustration was followed by the use of lithographically reproduced photographs. By 1880

reproduction of a high quality was possible. Philip Durham Trotter illustrated his book, Our mission to the court of Morocco in 1880, by using thirty-one photographs reproduced by a halftone process. In his preface he thanked the Hon. Denis Lawless 'for placing at my disposal the negatives he took during our tour'. Lawless was a brother of Valentine Lawless, Lord Cloncurry, and of the novelist and poet, the Hon. Emily Lawless.[66]

Early in 1880 the British government decided to send an envoy extraordinary to the court of Morocco. The British minister at Tangier, Sir John Hay, was selected to lead the delegation to visit the Sultan, Mulai Hassan, and his court residing at Fez. Hay suggested to the Foreign Office that a telephone and set of heliographic instruments would be a suitable present. Trotter was invited to accompany Hay in order to 'undertake the task of explaining their use at the court'. The photographic equipment was brought along with Hay's knowledge, but Lawless, who was in charge of it, though he accompanied Hay, travelled 'in a private capacity'.

Lawless photographed a variety of subjects including architectural and topographical views, and portraits of members of a harem. He also attempted to take a photograph of a snake charmer but, owing to the 'ceaseless movement of the man' who was manipulating the snake to the incessant accompaniment of drums, the result was 'rather a failure'. While Trotter found the 'collection of photographs' taken by Lawless 'most interesting', it did lack portraits of the indigenous population. Trotter believed that 'some useful contribution towards the ethnology of the various tribes through which we passed' might have been made 'but for the tiresome scruples of the natives against allowing

themselves to be taken'.[67] McMurrough Kavanagh experienced resistance to photography by the people living along the Adriatic coast, which, in Albania, may have been due to a Islamic prohibition on photography.*

The reluctance of the people to sit for a portrait had been Lawless's greatest difficulty in Morocco. This attitude was found at all levels of Moroccan society. The British contingent was 'very anxious to obtain a photograph of His Majesty' and, while visiting the Sultan on one occasion, 'the camera had been placed in a corner of the room'. The intention was to take a portrait while the Sultan was listening to Hay's description of a phonograph. His Majesty saw the camera and, knowing its use, 'the look he gave it was one of anger and fear combined'. The Sultan absolutely declined to have his photograph taken, the explanation being that the 'process of portraiture [was] forbidden by the laws' of Islam. The Sultan had a sense of humour and on a later occasion sent three female slaves to be photographed. He allowed these victims 'to be sacrificed on the altar of art' while he, 'laughing quietly at the scene', retired a little for fear of being included in the group.[68]

11. Elizabeth Burnaby, alpinist and photographer

An Irish woman photographer, Elizabeth Burnaby, specialised in alpine and snow photography in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The Swiss Alps had become popular with tourists and climbers in the nineteenth century, the Alpine Club having been founded in 1857 and Thomas Cooke having organised his first excursion to Switzerland in 1863. Elizabeth Burnaby of Killincarrig House, Greystones, Co. Wicklow, was not the first Irish woman to climb in the

* Above, i, p. 209.

Alps. The Hon Frederica Plunket and her sister Katherine walked and climbed in the Alps in the early 1870s. Their father was the second Baron Plunket, and their first cousin, William Conyngham Plunket, the fourth Baron Plunket, was a member of the Dublin Photographic Society; his contributions to the London Photographic Society exchange albums have been discussed above.* In the summer of 1873 Frederica spent a week 'wandering through the exquisite valleys south of the Monte Rosa chain'. The following year she and her sister tackled a mountain over 10,000 feet high. The sisters relied on John Ball's alpine guide-book. Frederica Plunket was clear about her rating as an alpinist; she felt she did not belong to the 'vast multitude' who came to 'do' the Alps in a cursory way, nor did she include herself amongst the 'adventurous few' who undertook the most difficult challenges in the Alps. She and her sister were one-day excursionists and would not sleep overnight in mountain huts or caves. They did not set out to be involved in 'hair breadth escapes or startling adventures' but rather 'what can be done easily by ladies of active habits'. They were both water-colourists and worked together on botanical and landscape subjects; Frederica reported that on one occasion they devoted a day 'to sketching and idling about the neighbourhood'.[69] Frederica, perhaps aware of her own limitations as an artist, and that of her sister, appreciated paintings, possibly pre-Raphaelite in style, they had seen:

> Mountains are to the artists a never-ending source of pleasure and profit, and those lords of the pencil and the brush have brought their art to such perfection, that they can reproduce on paper or canvas the scenes which they behold, with a degree of fidelity and

* Above, i, pp 78-9.

vividness which almost startles us ...[70]

Elizabeth Burnaby was a more ambitious alpinist. She was born in 1860, the only child of Sir St. Vincent Bentinck Hawkins-Whitshed of Killincarrig, and christened Elizabeth Alicia. The baronetcy granted to her great grandfather Sir James Hawkins-Whitshed became extinct in 1871 when her father, the third baronet, died. She was made a ward in chancery and had a 'happy childhood in the country at Killincarrig House, Greystones'. Though she had no inclination as a child to be a climber, her mother 'used to read out bits of Edward Whymper's Scrambles among the Alps to her. 'The subject of climbing never really gripped me', she recalled. At nineteen, she married Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Burnaby, a soldier, adventurer, baloonist, and author. It was to be the first of three marriages, her other surnames by the new marriages being Main and le Blond.[71]

Elizabeth Burnaby came to Chamonix in Switzerland for the first time 'in the summer of 1881'. She was in 'bad health' and 'knew nothing of' and 'cared less' for mountaineering. In the very recent past she had gone to Algiers because 'a warm climate was considered advisable for [her]'. While there she had 'so sharp an attack' of 'congestion of the lungs' that she bore traces of the attack for the rest of her life. Her doctor, Sir Richard Quain, ordered her to go to Switzerland but she was on 'no account to go to a high place', Interlaken being considered 'suitable'. In the summer of 1881 her health improved and she accompanied friends on to a glacier and attempted 'to ascend Mont Blanc', though unsuccessfully.[72]

When Elizabeth Burnaby returned to Switzerland in June 1882, she had no intention of getting involved in

mountaineering but the desire to climb grew too strong to be resisted and, before the winter had set in, she had climbed Mont Blanc twice, one attempt being from the Italian side. Her second climb on Mont Blanc involved negotiating 'rocks glazed with ice' and 'an endless amount of step cutting on the slopes'. By November 'bad weather' had driven her to Montreux but she returned to Chamonix by December. She then began a number of winter ascents. It was her policy 'to always employ the very best guides' when climbing but this did not protect her from the hardships of high-altitude alpine climbing. On one occasion she was nearly killed when an ice bridge, on which she had been standing, gave way. She suffered frostbite while climbing with the Italian climber, Vittorio Sella, an acknowledged expert in alpine photography, and, in freezing conditions, 'fled down the slopes'. She successfully climbed the Matterhorn in August 1883. She lived 'almost entirely in Switzerland' after the death of her husband at the battle of Abu Klea in the Sudan in 1885, and was to spend almost 'twenty years mountaineering' in the Alps, leaving St. Moritz in 1900.[73] Elizabeth Burnaby's greatest interest was mountaineering and she continued this interest throughout the early decades of the twentieth century as a committee member of the Ladies Alpine Club in London, of which she was president in 1910.[74] She wrote a number of books on mountaineering, including The high alps in winter, High life and towers of silence, and My home in the alps.[75]

'Next to mountaineering my greatest interest was photography' she observed. In the early 1880s she used 'a very cumbersome' camera loaded with dry plates that had 'only been just introduced'. Very few climbers took photographs at this time and she received her earliest

advice from 'the Chamonix photographer'. It was difficult to set up and manipulate a camera with 'half frozen hands', to 'hide one's head under a focussing cloth which kept blowing away', and to adjust 'innumerable screws in a temperature well below freezing point'. In the first half of the 1880s a guide seems to have brought her camera and tripod up the slopes and regularly left them on ledges while attending to other tasks. Some years later her equipment was light enough for her to carry it while climbing. By 1887 she was taking some photographs on film negatives. In the mid-1890s, she used Wratten & Wainwright plates, Lumière plates bought direct from the makers at Lyons, and Fitch's films. She normally did her own processing.[76] (plate 85).

Elizabeth Burnaby used her photographs in a number of ways. Her book, High life and towers of silence, carried ten of her photographs. The Alpine Journal also reproduced her photographs occasionally, one being a view of three neighbouring summits taken from the summit of Ulrichshorn. In 1888 Oscar Eckenstein and August Lorria published a work entitled The alpine portfolio: the Pennine Alps. The one hundred mountain views included work from a number of amateur and professional photographers. Burnaby's photographic work was accepted for inclusion in the portfolio along with the work of the three acknowledged contemporary masters of alpine photography: Sella of Italy, W. F. Donkin of England, and Beck of Strasbourg.(plate 86). By 1889 Burnaby was actively cooperating with August Lorria in preparing a second publication in the same style as the work on the Pennine Alps. In 1894 she had over one thousand views on sale at Spooner & Co., Strand, London. The areas covered included the Engadine in summer and

winter, the Zermatt district, Saas, the Bernese Oberland, Chamonix, Dauphiné, Lake of Geneva, and the Tyrol.[77]

She continued to photograph into the twentieth century, using her camera in Spain, in Italian gardens, and in Russia, Morocco, and China. Her speciality was alpine and snow photography and she described her methods in a small illustrated booklet published in 1895, Hints on snow photography. In this work she strongly recommended slow plates for the 'reproduction of snow-covered landscapes'. She believed, correctly, that 'fineness of detail' was essential in snow photography because of the uniformity of its colour. Her technique was to calculate exposure based on the highest lights in the chosen scene and, if possible, to use a small aperture. Her object was to obtain a negative with a good range of half tones. Photographs should be taken, she advised, at an early hour in the morning, if possible, 'thus giving variety by means of the shadows'. She also suggested that snow could be trampled 'to break the uniformity of the foreground'.(plate 87). Her landscape technique was directed at rendering the 'clearness of atmosphere' of Swiss scenery and the 'hardness of its outlines' against the 'deep blue of the sky'. She had been advised to adopt techniques to soften the images she produced but she declined to do this because it would not have been true to her experience of Swiss scenery.[78]

She exhibited her work regularly in the 1890s in the annual exhibitions of the Alpine Club. Although photographs had been taken in the Alps in the 1860s, Beck, a recognised expert in alpine photography, could write as late as 1879:

> Alpine photography is yet in its infancy; and the combination of local knowledge, technical skill, and artistic feeling necessary for the production of first-rate work is not likely to be often met with ... An alpine exhibition of alpine photography might do something to stimulate photographers.[79]

Exhibitions were organised and by 1884 a reviewer noted that while 'every season sees an advance in the art of alpine photography' it was difficult 'to imagine anything finer than the views taken by Donkin, Sella, and Beck'. In 1887 an exhibition reviewer noted Elizabeth Burnaby's 'very good platinotypes of views in the Engadine', the reviewer having seldom seen better results obtained from film negatives. The photographic section of the Alpine Club's annual exhibition increased 'both in size and importance' over the next few years because, it was believed, 'the camera is becoming a more and more ordinary part of the normal climber's equipment'. Burnaby continued to exhibit, showing 'exquisite winter views' in 1895. By the end of the decade she was still showing 'interesting photographs of the sort one has learnt to expect from her - studies of winter scenes in brilliant sunshine'.[80]

12. Travel photography: evaluation by Mahaffy and Wingfield

About 1890, two Irishmen offered their personal evaluation of travel photography. Lewis Wingfield, traveller, artist, photographer, and author, had used a camera for over thirty years, yet, for him there was no substitute for the excitement of travel itself:

> What is there more entrancing than landing for the first time on a new shore? ... You have long had a sketch pictured on your mental retina of India, China, what not - the sketch which has been made a more or less accurate one by the conning of traveller's tales

and the examination of photographs. But what a delightful and bewildering series of new visions it is that assails your eye on setting foot ashore; one for which no photograph and no description can have prepared you ... Of buildings and landscapes, photography gives fair impressions; but what of the passing crowd, the ever-moving bustle of a new sea-port, with its unfamiliar costumes and ornaments?'.[81]

John Pentland Mahaffy had a different perspective on photography. In 1890, he found it difficult to acquire photographs of Greece in preparation for a book, Greek pictures drawn with pen and pencil.[82] Much had been photographed in Europe by professionals and was listed in their catalogues, yet in Mahaffy's view, the work was not complete, there was more to do:

> The terror of Greek brigands seems to have hitherto prevented the artist and the professional photographer from travelling far afield in Greece. Notwithstanding what has been done in recent years ... there is much yet to be done in the way of making the fine scenery of Thessaly, Laconia, or Arcadia as familiar by means of sketches and photographs as Norway or Russia or Spain.[83]

1. Walter Crofton and convict photography, 1857-1865

The three individuals who were most active in the promotion of prison photography in Ireland in the 1860s were John Lentaigne, Sir Walter Crofton, and Patrick Joseph Murray. Lentaigne was a director of convict prisons when photography was in its infancy in the Irish convict prisons but it was in his capacity as inspector general of prisons in the 1860s that he promoted and encouraged prison photography in the county and borough prisons. Patrick Joseph Murray, who had practised as a barrister in the 1850s, was a civil servant by profession, who, in his capacity as registrar of habitual criminals, was deeply involved in promoting the use of photography in the local prisons. He was made registrar in late 1869.[1]

Undoubtedly the most significant personality involved in instituting prison photography in Ireland was Sir Walter Crofton who came to the Irish convict prison service in 1854 and was appointed chairman of the three-man directorate of convict prisons. He had strong views on how convicts should be treated and was not slow to go into print to expound his ideas. He believed convicts were redeemable provided they were treated according to his methods. He believed convicts should be confined separately on first entering the convict prison, this being a type of probation period at the start of a prisoner's sentence. Crofton and his fellow directors insisted on keeping proper prison records and prisoners were to be classified and graded while in custody. Crofton was especially proud of a unique type of prison associated with

his period as chairman of the government prisons office - 'intermediate prisons' - where prison convicts were prepared for release into society through employment at a trade or farming, in an environment with a measure of freedom. When released, such convicts were subject to police supervision. Under Crofton's chairmanship the directors of convict prisons in Ireland reduced the convict population from 3,932 (1854) to 1,314 (1861). Crofton saw photography of prisoners as an important element in the control and supervision of former convicts.[2]

Prison photography in Ireland has its origins in a letter sent by Crofton to the chief secretary on 13 August 1857, proposing that 'photographic likenesses of convicts' be taken. A few days later Crofton was informed that 'His Excellency would not object to photographs of convicts being taken' and that any expense incurred should be 'defrayed out of the contingent fund of the prisons'. Almost nothing is known of the extent of convict photography in its first years. The annual reports of the directors of convict prisons for the years 1857-9 do not mention it. It is possible that those early years were experimental for Crofton himself spoke of the difficulties of his early efforts in which he met with resistance to photography from prisoners who pulled faces when being photographed.[3] Whatever convict photography occurred in the period August 1857 to April 1860 reports on its progress did not officially come to the notice of either the government prisons office or the chief secretary's office.

In April 1860 a new phase began in convict photography. The directors of convict prisons made a similar request to that made in August 1857 that permission

be granted to take photographs of convicts in Mountjoy. As before, approval was granted: 'His Excellency approves of photographs of convicts being taken at a cost of £20 per annum'. On this occasion photography was put on a proper footing. Later in the year the governor of Mountjoy requested permission 'to purchase a book to hold the convict photographs'. This was approved and an album was purchased from Pettegrew & Oulton for £1. 10s. 6d. The professional photographer, Frederick Holland Mares, whose later success as a commercial photographer is discussed above,* and who had been appointed to photograph convicts on a contract basis, forwarded his account for photographing 334 convicts at 1s. each. Photography was extended to Mountjoy female prison and approval was given to purchase a 'photographic machine' for that prison. Mares continued his work, furnishing another statement of account in December, this time for 49 photographs at 1s. each.[4]

In the directors's annual report for 1860, the chairman, Crofton, and his co-directors briefly explained the principles which guided the directors in controlling convicts. These principles were simplified under three headings: the necessity of training convicts in small numbers, the requirement of having 'the cooperation of the public in the absorption and reclamation of the liberated convict', and the use of 'appliances for the obstruction of crime', among which were included the use of photography. The directors also explained what they meant by the term 'convict'; it included prisoners in convict prisons, convicts who had been released into society under a licence scheme, and liberated convicts who through further crime and conviction were in local prisons where the regime was

* Above, i, pp 35-7.

relatively easy.

One of Crofton's principles which helped control convicts was the use of 'appliances' for preventing the commission of crime. The report for 1860 explained: 'police supervision, photography, constant communication with the governors of county prisons, and systematic proof of former convictions against the criminal will assuredly in any country cause the diminution of crime before any length of time can elapse'. Later in their report the directors explained further where photography fitted into their system:

> Constant and systematic correspondence is preserved with the governors of the county and borough gaols, and also with the police and constabulary throughout the country, in order that criminals formerly in the convict prisons may be identified and former convictions systematically produced against them. When necessary, photography assists identification and every male prisoner entering the Irish convict establishments has his photograph taken.

The co-directors, Crofton, Lentaigne, and Whitty described the penal record system as it operated in Mountjoy in 1860:

> As all offenders condemned to penal servitude are immediately after conviction removed from their county prisons to the Mountjoy Depot, we are enabled to have in this prison a complete registry of all male convicts so sentenced, to which is appended, in addition to the particulars of sentence, antecedents, etc., a photographic likeness of each prisoner, which is found of much value in facilitating the necessary surveillance, which the system requires for the after treatment of the individual.[5]

Edward B. Wheatley and his companions visited Mountjoy in preparation for their book, Observations on the

treatment of convicts in Ireland, published in 1862. They were impressed with an album of portraits which they examined and their remarks indicate the realism and quality of the convict photographs at Mountjoy at this time:

> Photographs have been taken of the prisoners on their admission, and certainly, making every allowance for the well-known fact that the photograph does not flatter, a series of physiognomies expressing more unmitigated ruffianism, than the volume of portraits which we saw, presents, it were difficult to conceive.[6]

The photographic collection became so large at Mountjoy by early 1861 that the governor considered having boxes or cases made 'for holding the photographs'. He suggested that these be made in the prison by juveniles and that the finished products would be less expensive than those offered by the photographer. Crofton pointed out that while it was not desirable to employ the prisoners at this trade 'boxes should be made', and, conscious of security, he directed that 'locks and keys had better be purchased'.[7]

Mares submitted what proved to be his last statement of account for £11. 12s. 0d. to the governor of Mountjoy in August 1861. A little over a year later Mares wrote to the government prisons office stating that he would not be continuing with 'the photographing of prisoners in consequence of want of time'. Whitty made enquiries 'as to a person to succeed Mr Mares'.[8]

There may have been some difficulty in finding a suitable person to replace Mares as three months later in early February a Mr Thomas Dillon was being referred to as the 'new photographer'. There were problems with Dillon's photographic work from the beginning. He did not keep up

to date in the provision of convict photographs. Whitty became aware that Dillon's photographic work was 'uncompleted' and was 'falling so much into arrear'. Dillon was watched closely in regard to 'replacing the defective photographs' and concerning 'the backwardness of the work'. Under this very close and constant scrutiny Dillon offered to resign and this 'offer to give up the photography of the convicts after completing existing ones' was accepted in July. Michael Kiernan was given the contract for convict photography within a few days.[9]

Later in the year Dillon wrote to the governor of Mountjoy about the security and confidentiality of the convict photographs. He claimed 'that copies of the negatives of the prisoners' photographs were in circulation through the city'. He gave particulars and a copy of a photograph of 'convict 6525, H. Holmes', which he claimed he had acquired outside the prison service. The governor forwarded Dillon's letter to Whitty who decided that Kiernan be requested 'to understand that his employment at the work of taking the prisoners' photographs should be confidential on his part and that he should use every precaution to prevent any instance of their passing thro' any hands except those of the prison authorities'. It is possible that Whitty believed Kiernan was guilty of the leakage of photographs but the matter was closed by this warning.[10]

Crofton had retired in May 1862 and had moved to England where he became a magistrate in Wiltshire. He was called to give evidence in 1863 to a select committee on prison discipline. The committee was mainly concerned with prison discipline but heard frequently, during the course of its work, of the problem of identifying previously

convicted prisoners. The committee was satisfied that although the matter of proof of former convictions was not directly involved in the question of prison discipline, they should indicate the extent of the problem and suggest a remedy. Suggestions as to how a prisoner could be identified with certainty, essential to any system concerning proof of former convictions, ranged from the careful observation and recording of natural marks on the body to actually marking the body with the words 'Bristol gaol' for example. Major-General Sir Joshua Jebb K.C.B. and English prison governors Shepherd and Keene gave evidence as to the value of intercommunication between governors of prisons and senior police officers in discovering the antecedents of prisoners. Photography was also discussed as a means of identifying a prisoner and discovering his previous criminal life.[11]

A number of those questioned about the value of photography in identifying criminals as former convicts were critical. Jebb, who was questioned by the committee on the usefulness of photographing a man 'when he comes a second time into the hands of justice', replied: 'In some cases it might lead to detection on the second offence, and it is practised in some places, but I do not attach much importance to it'. Governor E. Shepherd was asked about identifying prisoners and he explained how prisoners, when they entered prison, were stripped and natural marks on the body were recorded in a book as a method of identifying them. Questioned on the value of photography as a method of prisoner identification, Shepherd replied: ' ... considering the extent to which it is used now in prisons it has been instrumental in but few cases'.[12]

Governor J. A. Gardner gave evidence of his use of

photography in prison. He claimed to have used daguerreotype portraits of prisoners in the past and that he was the 'first who introduced them'. At the time of his interview by the committee his method was to take a stereoscopic pair of photographs of a prisoner because these twin images when sent to various authorities would show a 'man before them standing out in relief'. Gardner explained that he did not take every prisoner's portrait but rather those whom he did not know: strangers to his prison, railway thieves, and pick-pockets. He was questioned on whether he thought if photography were more extensively carried out along with communication between prison governors that a vast number of previously convicted prisoners would be identified. Gardner agreed, adding that 'if it was well carried out, I think it would be almost impossible for a man to escape'.[13]

Crofton appeared before the committee and was questioned as to whether he had given any attention 'to any better system for the identification of prisoners after previous conviction'. Crofton affirmed that he had done so, but before offering photography as an element of the solution, he proceeded to outline the core of the problem. Through absence of records and knowledge of the antecedents of prisoners in the county and borough prisons, these institutions, Crofton said, held habitual offenders to the detriment of their internal discipline and the discipline of the young offenders there who were beginning a criminal career. It was important that the criminal should know, Crofton continued, 'that the end of a criminal career must infallibly be a long sentence of penal servitude, terminating with a civil disability, in the shape of supervision after liberation'. Crofton stated that 'one

arrangement' for conveying the idea of certitude of conviction in the mind of the criminal 'is the institution of photography'.

Crofton then proceeded to talk freely about prison photography as already established in Ireland. He said that 'for many years' every man who entered the convict prisons in Ireland had been photographed. If he was convicted a second time his photograph would be sent 'to the head of police'. A contract photographer from outside the prison service came into the prison, he explained, and provided a set of three photographs at 1s. per set. Extra photographs could be had at 4d. each. In the initial few weeks of convict photography in Ireland, Crofton reported that he had met resistance, with prisoners making face 'contortions', but afterwards prisoners accepted the use of photography. Crofton then informed the committee that the directors of convict prisons in Dublin had an 'arrangement' with all the county prisons in Ireland whereby the governors of such prisons who held an offender whom they suspected or knew to be a convict would send the descriptive particulars of the suspect on an agreed form, form 47, to the prisons office in Dublin castle. A photograph was attached to this form. Asked if there would be a difficulty in applying photography in the county prisons Crofton disagreed; he went further and claimed that the extent to which photography had 'enabled Irish county gaols to be cleared of old offenders who have been convicts has been very great'.

When further questioned by the committee Crofton made a number of suggestions concerning the extension of photography in the prison system and the greater use of photographs. 'I would carry [photography] further' he said

'and use it for men under short sentences, and in conjunction with the police when a man comes a second time back to prison'. He saw no difficulty in extending to the county prisons an enquiry system like the descriptive form with accompanying photograph as operated in the convict prisons. Equally, a similar enquiry system between county prison and county prison could be developed, he said, as easily as this had been done by the directors of convict prisons. He would not exchange photographs at county level in England but proposed instead that prisons with large numbers of the criminal classes, such as at Liverpool, should exchange photographs with each other and that a county prison should send its photographs to 'one or two of the surrounding gaols perhaps, and to the head of police'. Crofton, one of the few witnesses at the enquiry who had anything to say about photography was very clear about its advantages.[14] He emerged as a strong advocate of prison photography and to him largely can be attributed the committee's recommendation that photography should be encouraged in prisons:

> Sir W. Crofton states, with great clearness, the prejudicial effect which the difficulty of identifying previously convicted prisoners has had in Ireland, and he has indicated photography as a simple means by which it has been in a great measure obviated ... The governors of Bristol, Wakefield, and Leeds gaols, corroborate the advantage of the use of photography, and the committee strongly recommend the further extension of this system, which is inexpensive, effective, and wholly free from objection.[15]

In Dublin in May 1864, Kiernan, the photographer at Mountjoy, asked to be allowed to have his assistant, Mr J. Boshell, with him in the prison 'to aid in the photography of prisoners'. Pressure of work does not seem to have been

the reason for this request but rather to seek a training period for Boshell before Kiernan's retirement. The request was approved provided no inconvenience was caused in the prison 'and that the contractor [photographer] is responsible for him'. Kiernan asked, and it was agreed, that he be paid monthly instead of quarterly. At the beginning of 1865 Boshell asked to be appointed 'photographer to the prison on the resignation of Mr. Kiernan' whose assistant he had been. Boshell's application was accepted subject to any changes that the director might wish to make in the photographic arrangements and subject to Boshell furnishing a proposal containing his list of charges.[16]

2. The fenians, photography, and ordinary crime, 1866-77

Clearly, photography was well established in Mountjoy by the mid-1860s and available to the authorities in time to deal with the fenians. Following many arrests made under the habeas corpus suspension act of 1866, fenian suspects were photographed if they did not object. Convicted fenians were guilty of high-treason or treason-felony and as such were automatically photographed in Mountjoy. Copies were supplied to authorised individuals, such as senior police officers, or to official establishments such as English prisons, the Home Office, or the Irish Office in London.[17]

Hundreds of fenian suspects arrested in 1866 were classified as 'untried political prisoners'. When the chief secretary was satisfied that such prisoners were no longer a threat to society they were released and ordered to return home. In June 1866, the under secretary, R. H. Matheson, informed the directors of convict prisons that:

> in all cases of prisoners in custody under the habeas corpus suspension act, and ordered to be discharged on condition of returning to England or Scotland, a description of the prisoner's person, accompanied if possible by a photograph and the names of the places from which he came and to which he states his intention of going, be transmitted to the [chief secretary's] office.[18] (plate 88).

A few days later a minute directed that untried prisoners 'should not be compelled to sit for their photograph while in prison'.[19]

Crofton wrote to Lord Naas from Winchester on 24 November enclosing a six point plan on how photography could be used in the fenian crisis, partly as a means of recording in the prisons but mainly as a device for surveillance by police of liberated fenian suspects. Naas passed on Crofton's memorandum to Murray at the prisons office with an appended question: 'What has been done about photographing f[enian] prisoners?'. Murray replied in a seven point memorandum to Naas on 28 November. The reply is valuable as a comprehensive description of how photography operated at the end of 1866 in relation to fenianism. 'All the points referred to in the accompanying paper [Crofton's proposals] have been long since carefully considered' he said 'and arrangements made with the sanction of the Irish government'. Murray then stated that the convicted fenians were photographed as ordinary convicts but that he had 'no authority' to compel an untried political prisoner 'to sit if unwilling'. He further reported that 'whenever an untried prisoner is discharged on condition of proceeding to England or Scotland' he was required to send a photograph, 'if such exists', to the under secretary. These photographs were

then sent to the Home Office. If requested, photographs could be sent to the Irish constabulary and the Dublin police, Murray reported.

Photography at Mountjoy at this time was done by a warder, a schoolmaster-photographer named Purcell. He probably succeeded Boshell, who had been an outside contractor photographer. Despite having to fulfil duties as schoolmaster and photographer, Purcell generally had little difficulty in satisfying the requirements of his superiors. School was suspended for two days, 'so that Mr Purcell can finish the photographs of the political convicts', it was reported to the prisons office in June 1867. Later in the year there was a complaint from the directors of convict prisons 'as to Mr Purcell not having photographs of prisoners ready when required'.[20] Otherwise the photographic department within the convict service ran smoothly at this time.

Photography of untried fenians continued to be of interest to the directors and a memorandum of instruction was issued to the governor of Mountjoy in early November 1867. The Irish government finally took a firmer attitude with the untried fenians who could still refuse to be photographed. The government wrote to the prisons office 'requesting to be furnished with copies of the photographs of all the untried prisoners who are now or at any time have been in custody under H[is] E[xcellency]'s warrant together with a description of the person of each'. In the new year John Barlow, a director of convict prisons, instructed Governor Robert D. Spread at Mountjoy to have work begun on the descriptive particulars and to have Purcell forward the necessary photographs to the chief secretary's office. Spread was able to forward Purcell's

photographic work to the prison office on 9 January. A total of 394 photographs and descriptive particulars of untried prisoners were in Dublin Castle by 10 January 1868 which suggests a production rate of over fifty photographs a day since the request was first received. The Mountjoy authorities honoured their commitment to supply the remainder of descriptive particulars and photographs 'when completed'. This was done by 20 January.[21]

At this time Mountjoy was not the only location of fenian prison photography. County prisons were used to handle the hundreds of prisoners arrested under the habeas corpus suspension act, and Kilmainham, the Dublin county prison, was one such location. Deputy-governor Flewitt supplied photographs of all the Kilmainham prisoners sent to England and America in 1866 and 1867.(plate 89). When in January 1868, Lord Mayo, as Lord Naas had become, 'directed photographs of every fenian prisoner to be sent to the Irish Office', Samuel Lee Anderson, a crown solicitor and brother of Robert Anderson of the Irish Office, stated that 'a very large proportion of these was supplied from Kilmainham gaol'. Writing to Sir Thomas Larcom in March 1868, Anderson sought a payment of £10 for Flewitt in respect of 'a large number of photographs supplied by him to the government' over a two year period. While the cost of photographic materials had been met by the board of superintendence at Kilmainham, the work-load had fallen on Flewitt who had 'exclusive charge of the photographic department at Kilmainham gaol', Anderson stated.[22]

Despite the continued and expanding use of photography at this time, the traditional method of identifying prisoners continued to be used. In 1867, for example, in

Mountjoy, a soldier attended at the prison to identify a deserter, and, in a separate case, detectives were able to identify a prisoner. A Mountjoy warder successfully identified a political prisoner at Richmond prison in Dublin. The methods of course were not fool-proof and an interesting episode occurred in late 1868 which highlighted the inherent weakness of relying solely on the powers of recall of a few prison officers in identification cases. In December 1868 the prisons office heard that convict John Reilly had been identified on reception in Mountjoy as a former convict, yet two warders from Mountjoy 'had failed to identify' him when they attended at Richmond bridewell on an earlier occasion. As a result the directors suggested that 'in all cases of prisoners suspected of having been convicts, their photographs should be sent from Richmond bridewell or Kilmainham gaol in order that they might be seen by <u>all</u> the officers' at Mountjoy.[23]

As the fenian crisis passed and the amnesty movement and public opinion assisted in clearing the English and Irish prisons of fenian convicts the photographic department within the convict service settled down to routine business. Murray, the registrar of habitual criminals, continued to maintain what was described in the prevention of crimes act of 1871, as a 'register of criminals'. The original title of the office holder, registrar of habitual criminals, still survived. The first registrar, Murray, died in February 1873 and later in the year Barlow was appointed registrar of habitual criminals and sole director of convict prisons in Ireland.[24]

In March 1873, Barlow directed the governor of Mountjoy that 'in all future cases a copy of the photograph [taken] on discharge' will be sent to the government

prisons office in respect of released prisoners. Prison authorities had been aware for a long time that a prisoner's physiognomy could change significantly while in prison. Using a photograph of a prisoner taken some years previously could only cause confusion in the prison and police services. Indeed, the prevention of crimes act of 1871, recognised this and empowered prison authorities to take photographs at prescribed times and with prisoners wearing prescribed dress. Many of the Mountjoy prisoners were released from a prison farm at Lusk, Co. Dublin, where they were sent to finish their sentence, and the bulk of the photographic work in the prisons arose from Barlow's requests to be supplied with photographs of prisoners due for release. Invariably these prisoners were released on licence and were subject to the supervision of the police. It appears that in the mid-1870s Barlow operated the habitual criminals register from the government prisons office, he being registrar of the former and sole director of the latter. In Murray's period the register was administered and maintained from a separate office with its own small staff of clerks. Barlow's practice merely anticipated the requirement of the general prisons (Ireland) act of 1877, which empowered the new prison board to administer the habitual criminals register.[25]

3. Photography in local prisons, 1860-68

The early years of photography in local (county and borough) prisons was less organised than in the convict prisons. While two separate and distinct authorities governed the convict and local prisons in Ireland, photography in the local prisons did not develop in isolation from photography in convict prisons. There

Crofton had instituted photography in 1857, and certainly from 1860 he had encouraged correspondence and the circulation of photographs between the government prisons and the prisons under the control of the inspector general of prisons. Indeed, correspondence between governors, accompanied by photographs of prisoners, was an element of one of Crofton's principles for controlling convicts.

The first local prisons to employ photography as an aid to identifying habitual criminals were Derry (1862), Clonmel (1863), Kilmainham (1863), and Richmond prison in Dublin (1864). The governors of these prisons were praised in the annual reports of the inspectors general of prisons for showing such initiative in adopting photography. Governors elsewhere were expected to adopt photography by example. No directive to use photography was given to governors at this time.[26]

The earliest instance of a local prison governor's initiative in using photography occurred in Derry in 1862. The governor there received into custody in June a prisoner whom he later suspected of being a hardened criminal. He sent photographs of the prisoner to the prison at Armagh, the county of origin of the prisoner, and to the police at Glasgow, a city in which he knew the prisoner had lived in the early 1850s. The Glasgow police were able to inform the governor that the prisoner had been convicted in 1851 of burglary and stabbing a constable and had been sentenced to transportation for life but had later been released. The inspectors general of prisons pointed out in their report for 1862 that photography could be successfully used against such criminals but that success with it would require a watchful and alert governor to identify hardened criminals among the inmates of his prison.[27]

Its use as a tool in the identification of hardened criminals was an obvious way of using photography in prisons. Its usefulness was shown when Price, the governor of Kilmainham, identified nineteen old offenders among the prisoners in his charge in 1864, the facts being established by photography and accompanying correspondence with governors of other prisons. Two of the Kilmainham prisoners so identified had thirteen previous convictions each.[28]

Prison photography was, however, found to have other uses. In Kilmainham in the same year the inspectors general reported a prisoner being set free through the alertness of prison officers. A prisoner, who had been accused of stealing a mare, was recognised from his photograph by the authorities at the city of Limerick prison. The governor there, who had knowledge of the character of the accused, took an interest in his case, which eventually led to the prisoner being set free. In Derry in 1863 the prison governor found yet another use for photography. A prisoner exempted from hard labour at the prison was discovered through the circulation of his photograph to various prisons to be a 'malingerer' and 'imposter', who had 'learned to slip his shoulders out at will' to avoid work.[29]

The year 1865 is of special significance in the development of prison photography in the local prisons. Formerly the annual reports of the inspectors general of prisons praised those governors who had begun to use photography in their prisons. Of the forty institutions of which the inspectors had charge only five had adopted photography by 1865: Enniskillen, Derry, Clonmel, Kilmainham, and Richmond. Now the inspectors entered on a

new campaign, however tentative and uneven, to encourage governors to use photography. In a number of reports in respect of county prisons attention was drawn to the fact that certain prisons did not use photography. In 1866 five prisons were so named: Carrick-on-Shannon, Sligo, Mullingar, Ennis, and Cork. The next year the inspectors named eight prisons which did not use photography, with the clear implication that photography should be adopted there: Ennis, Tralee, Naas, Castlebar, Sligo, Mullingar, Cork, and Waterford. By 1869 the inspectors' reports indicated that fourteen prisons were using photography and the authorities in nine prisons were strongly recommended to adopt photography. The authorities at one prison, Sligo, were encouraged in four successive reports to use photography but for whatever reason did not do so until required by law under the habitual criminals act of 1869.[30] (appendix M, ii, pp 162-3).

While the convict prisons employed professional photographers the very earliest photographers engaged in prisoner photography in local prisons in Ireland were persons in the prison service or connected with it. Photography in the mid-1860s was done by the governors of Derry, Clonmel, and the Richmond, while the sons of governors were photographers in Lifford and Enniskillen prisons. Of the twenty-seven known persons who photographed for the prison service in 1870, 11 were professionals called in from the towns in which the prisons were situated: Armagh, Clonmel, Cork, Drogheda, Ennis, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Maryborough, Mullingar, and Roscommon. The members of prison staff who took photographs that year included a number of governors and deputy-governors, head-warders, warders, a store-keeper

warder, and a schoolmaster-warder.[31]

The introduction of professional photographers was first reported by the inspectors in respect of Roscommon in 1866 and in annual reports they occasionally offered boards of superintendence a simple solution to the problems of introducing photography: employ the local photographic 'artist'. Having encouraged the use of professionals the inspectors reversed their policy in the reports for the years 1870 and 1871. They were influenced in this by the greater interest being taken in the cost of photography by civil servants at Dublin Castle, particularly Patrick Joseph Murray, the registrar of habitual criminals. Also, in 1871, the prevention of crimes act was passed which required that photography expenses in local prisons would be chargeable against local ratepayers. Very occasionally the inspectors voiced their apprehension about outside photographers being employed and having access to prisoners, as they saw this as a security risk, but this was not seen as a major problem by the inspectors general nor was it seen as a reason to get rid of outside or professional photographers.[32]

4. The Habitual Criminals Act, 1869

During 1869 Parliament debated the habitual criminals bill. It was a United Kingdom bill and would, if passed, apply in Ireland. Sections of the bill had implications for the introduction of photography both at local level and in central offices. The sections in question included proposed legislation on the licencing of convicts-at-large, habitual criminals, and the setting up of a habitual criminals register.[33] Lord Houghton, speaking at the second reading of the bill in March 1869, had this to say

about the origins of the bill:

> What is the bill? I venture to say it is not the bill of the present government or of any government at all; it has come to them from without ... Now I must say I think the author of this bill ought to be named. The real author of this bill is Sir Walter Crofton. It is the embodiment of the principles on which that gentleman consistently acted in his Irish practise and which he has urged very strongly upon England for some years at public meetings and otherwise ...[34]

Lord Houghton was referring specifically on that occasion to the sections in the bill concerned with supervision of convicts set free under a licencing scheme. The promotion and extension of such a scheme was not new and certainly not the exclusive preserve of one man, Crofton. Nevertheless the section entitled 'convicts at large on licence', the preoccupation with habitual criminals, and the section entitled 'registration of criminals' bear Crofton's hallmarks.[35]

Two sections, the fifth and sixth sections in the part of the bill entitled 'registration of criminals', required that registers of convicted criminals should be kept in London and Dublin and that regular returns should be made by prison and police authorities in order to complete the registers. The registers and returns were to include _inter alia_ 'such evidence of identity' as might be prescribed from time to time. This was interpreted by those involved in implementing the act as requiring photographic evidence of identity, i.e. a photographic portrait. Strangely, photography and its use was not mentioned in the parliamentary debates on the bill.

The habitual criminal bill received the royal assent in August 1869. The fifth section required that a register

of all persons convicted in Ireland

> shall be kept [in Dublin] under the management of the commissioners of police for the police district of Dublin metropolis or of such other person as the lord lieutenant ... may appoint in such form, with such evidences of identity and containing such particulars and subject to such regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by ... the lord lieutenant ... All expenses incurred with the sanction of the commissioners of the treasury in keeping such registers shall be paid out of monies provided by Parliament.

The sixth section of the act required that in Ireland

> in order to make such register complete and to make the supervision over criminals effectual, the gaolers or governors of county and borough prisons and the chief officers of police in every county borough and other place in the United Kingdom which maintains a separate police force, shall from time to time make returns ... if the same be situate in Ireland, to the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland or to such person as they may respectively appoint, in such manner and at such time and containing such evidence of identity and other information with respect to persons convicted of crime, as they may from time to time respectively direct. All expenses incurred in any place in carrying this section into effect with the sanction of the authority authorised to allow charges on the funds for the maintenance of the police in that place shall be deemed to be part of the expenses of such police, and be defrayed accordingly.[36]

Patrick Joseph Murray was appointed by the Irish government to be registrar of habitual criminals in October 1869. Earlier in the year he had been asked to take over Mountjoy male and female, but now in this letter of appointment there was notification of a change: John Barlow was to be director of Mountjoy female prison. Murray had also held the post of inspector of reformatories but it was

announced in October that John Lentaigne had been appointed to this position.[37] The government was determined that Murray would not be overburdened with other responsibilities as he set about establishing the administrative framework by which a complete register of criminals would be kept, based on regular returns made to a central office in Dublin.

By late November Murray had completed a survey of the use of photography in all thirty-eight prisons. His figures give an indication of the use of photography in the local prisons one month before the implementation of the habitual criminals act of 1869. Interestingly, the survey gives a more optimistic view of the state of prison photography than the inspector general's annual report for the same year. The survey sought to discover 'whether there is a photographic apparatus in the prison or not'. Fifteen affirmative replies were recorded with eight governors reporting that when necessary a photographer was brought in from outside the prison service. Murray noted that twenty three prisons used photography but was determined that the remaining fifteen should adopt photography also.[38]

Murray wrote to the under secretary, T. H. Burke, informing him of these facts and pointing out in particular the 'balance of 15 gaols in which [photography] is not employed in any form'. He put his case for photography as strongly as he could, being very conscious of the fact that 'photography' was not actually mentioned in the act:

> I think it my duty to call your attention to these facts, in order that steps may be taken to ensure the use of photography either from within or without, in all the Irish gaols, in order that no obstacle may interpose to prevent the thorough working of the

habitual criminals act, 1869, so far as relates to part II, registration of criminals.[39]

Burke consulted Sir Walter Crofton who replied predictably. Crofton stated in unequivocal terms that if the authorities wished to secure a 'complete identification of habitual criminals' it was absolutely necessary that this suggestion should be carried out. He concluded: 'No description of a prisoner is now considered complete without photographs'. Burke accepted this and directed the inspectors-general of prisons 'that photographs should be taken in all gaols' and that the various boards of superintendence should implement this directive. Charles Fowler Bourke, an inspector-general of prisons, in a memorandum to the under secretary, Burke, stated that he believed the lord lieutenant was empowered to make a prison bye-law requiring the practice of photography and that, subject to the approval of law advisers, the inspectors-general could draw up such a bye-law if required, and enforce it throughout the prisons. The inspectors-general were directed to draft an appropriate bye-law. Meanwhile, Burke, the under secretary, made it clear to Murray that the Irish government had no intention of issuing 'any order on the subject' until the manner in which photography expenses were defrayed in England was established. The inspectors-general for their part were prepared to frame a bye-law but wished to know whether photographic expenses would be paid for locally or from central funds. Finally, and belatedly, a circular was issued on 7 April 1870 by the lord lieutenant directing the prison governors to initiate photography for the purposes of the habitual criminals act.[40]

Murray also entered into correspondence with the

commissioners of the D.M.P. on how the commissioners proposed to communicate effectively with the office of the registrar of habitual criminals. The commissioners believed that they would have reliable weekly figures and could make returns 'every Monday' in respect of summary convictions, but that, in their opinion the most reliable source of convictions secured in sessions or commission courts was the respective governors of the county and city prisons.

In December 1869, Murray wrote to the under secretary enclosing copies of the forms which would be used to report convictions for an offence specified in the Habitual Criminals Act, 1869. The following would report to Murray: the Royal Irish Constabulary, the Dublin Metropolitan Police, the governors of county and borough prisons, the governors of Dublin county and city prisons, and the governors of convict prisons. Murray pointed out that governors of county and borough prisons were required to forward 'two copies of a photograph on paper of each criminal reported'. One was attached to the report to the registrar, the other, Murray added, 'will be pasted in its proper place in the general register of this department'. He had earlier drawn Burke's attention to the fifteen prisons that did not practise photography. Now, he did not miss the opportunity of reminding him of the 'paramount necessity for enforcing the use of photography in the 15 Irish gaols in which as you are aware it is not at present employed'.[41]

The circular of 7 April had hardly been issued when a dispute arose in Richmond bridewell, which came to the notice of the government. The governor of Richmond had, on a number of occasions, brought prisoners before the board

of superintendence 'for refusing to submit to be photographed'. He had wished to know by what law he could compel prisoners to be photographed. His board of superintendence decided they had no power to interfere and the matter remained unresolved. The governor concluded that these prisoners were guilty of disobedience in refusing to be photographed and he had them put on bread and water for three days. He also suggested to the government that a bye-law be issued on the matter making it 'compulsory on each prisoner to sit for his likeness or be liable to substantial punishment on refusing to do so'. Apparently, the matter was not simple from the legal viewpoint. The government law officers carefully examined what powers if any the Queen's Bench, the boards of superintendence, and the lord lieutenant had to make or approve prison bye-laws and regulations. Summarising, they stated 'that no bye-law can be lawfully made to provide for this case nor can the l[ord] l[ieutenant] dealing with the Dublin prisons under the acts, or generally exercising the powers formerly in the Q[ueens] Bench, deal with this case by any rule or regulation he may make'. The law officers concluded by stating they had made enquiries at the Home Office and were 'fortified in this opinion by the fact that in England it is considered that this matter must be dealt with by legislation'. In short, the habitual criminals act of 1869, was judged to be poorly worded, and the matter, it was believed, could only be put right by the introduction of a new bill.[42] The problem was resolved by the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1871, which will be discussed below.*

Murray's insistence on the use of photography in local prisons was successful. Throughout 1870 all the county and

* Below, i, pp 254-5.

borough prisons adopted photography. Routine claims for expenses were sent to the registrar of habitual criminals and generally these claims were accepted by Murray without question. Within days of the circular of 7 April being communicated to the prisons Murray became aware that the Maryborough board of superintendence might not co-operate and he wrote to the government asking 'that steps be taken to compel the board of superintendence of Queen's County gaol to have prisoners photographed'. Murray was authorised to 'ascertain if the board of superintendence refuse the introduction of photography'. The reply when it did come from Maryborough a month later, after a board of superintendence meeting, made no reference to any letter from Murray, but only to a circular. The board agreed 'to employ a photographer' in response to receiving the circular. Murray was able to report that the board 'have sanctioned the introduction of photography'.[43]

Payments for photography under the habitual criminals act created problems. The section dealing with the keeping of the register in Dublin read:

> All expenses incurred with the sanction of the commissioners of the Treasury in keeping such register shall be paid out of monies provided by parliament.

The section of the act dealing with expenses incurred in making returns to the Dublin registrar read:

> All expenses incurred in any place in carrying this section into effect with the sanction of the authority authorized to allow charges on the funds for the maintenance of the police in that place shall be deemed to be part of the expenses of such police, and be defrayed accordingly.

Photographic expenses and how they would be paid for

was first raised in December 1869 by the two inspectors-general of prisons, John Lentaigne and Charles Fowler Bourke, in a memorandum to the under secretary, Burke, in which the inspectors agreed to draft a bye-law requiring prison photography. They wished to know 'whether it is intended that the counties shall bear the expenses of the photography or whether an allowance will be granted by the Treasury under the habitual criminals act'. Murray believed that the expenses of photography to do with both the register and the returns 'can be defrayed' by central funds 'but I would respectfully suggest' he continued 'that as the matter is one in which the public of each locality is peculiarly interested (certainly in the detection of criminals) the expenses should be borne by the ratepayers'. Burke agreed that photographic expenses appeared to be 'properly chargeable on the funds of the several gaols' but directed Murray to write to the Home Office so that the lord lieutenant would be informed as to the practice in England on this point.[44]

As photography was established in the prisons and as returns were made to the registrar of habitual criminals in Dublin the loose wording of the act was exposed in relation to the charging of expenses. In April 1870, Grangegorman board of superintendence sought approval for the expense of buying a camera. This claim was not allowed by Murray, but the board of superintendence, he advised , should 'make an arrangement with a photographer' to do the work. In a follow-up to this in January 1871, it seems that the Grangegorman board attempted to claim expenses from the commissioners of police in Dublin, not only for photographs for which they were entitled to claim under the act, but also for the 'cost of a photo apparatus'. Murray did not

think the Grangegorman board was entitled to make a claim for apparatus. Later in the year, at a Grangegorman board meeting, a letter from the commissioners of police was read, declining to pay £12 for photographic apparatus for Grangegorman prison.[45]

There were other inconsistencies to do with claims for expenses. Murray approved a request from Ennis prison that a photographer be brought from Limerick to photograph prisoners. An annual payment of £18 to the photographer was sanctioned, yet when Sub-inspector Raleigh of the prison inspectorate enquired whether 'charges may be allowed for teaching photography to a turnkey' at Carrick-on-Shannon, Murray decided that the '£1. 1s. 0d. for tuition cannot be allowed'. Murray's interpretion of the act was that claims for expenses for photographs would be allowed by him, whether calculated at so much per photograph or charged as an annual fee to an outside photographer. He would not allow expenses incurred on equipment or tuition nor was he prepared to grant allowances for extra non-photographic work performed by prison staff in the course of making returns. The government was conscious of photographic costs and directed, in October 1870, that 'governors of prisons should be informed [that the] rate for each photograph is too high'. Murray challenged the cost of sets of photographs supplied to him by a professional photographer from Kilkenny. He believed that a rate of 2s. per set of three photographs would be 'reasonable and fair' but as the sets were 'particularly good' he accepted for payment the figures as furnished and informed the inspector-general of constabulary of his decision and of his views on high charges for photographic work. The Kilkenny photographer,

St. George H. Geary, stated that it was 'utterly impossible to take the photos of the prisoners cheaper' than he was doing and added that 'even so it is not at all a paying transaction'.[46]

A substantial amount of paperwork needed to be done in the course of preparing and making returns on prescribed forms accompanied by photographs to the registrar of habitual criminals. It soon became clear that the implementation of the act would increase prison officers' work. Was this work, not photographic, to be compensated under the act? In Dublin a case arose on which Murray had to adjudicate.

The local inspector of the Dublin prisons, Ormsby, wrote to the under secretary, in May 1870, stating that the board of superintendence at Richmond bridewell, being aware of the 'increased duties' imposed on the chief clerk, Rothe, in carrying out 'in all details' the habitual criminals act, were 'unanimously of opinion' that he should be paid for the 'large amount of extra labour thus imposed on him' which had frequently to be done during his recreation hours. Rothe was not a photographer but handled photographs and forms in the course of making returns to Murray. The board of superintendence was seeking a fixed annual sum to be paid to him, 'in accordance with the provisions of the sixth section of the act'. Murray told the under secretary that 'the duties of certain prison officers may be increased through the working of the habitual criminals act, 1869', but added, 'remuneration for such services cannot be looked for from any fund at the disposal' of the registrar. Murray rejected the suggestion that the prison authorities could claim expenses from a central fund under the fifth section of the act. As

Ormsby's original enquiry referred only to the sixth section, the under secretary's reply dealt only with that section and rejected the claim.

The board did not let the matter rest there but wrote again in September restating their case and making firm proposals. They asked that authority be given to the commissioners of police to pay at least 'ninepence per prisoner for all the labour connected with the forms etc.' furnished to the habitual criminals office. The rate for a photograph of a prisoner at this time was about sixpence. The board was in fact claiming administrative expenses of threepence per prisoner. Murray rejected the claim again, unmoved by the fact that Rothe was 'sacrificing his hours of recreation' and that in the period April-September 1870 Rothe would have returned 219 forms to the registrar. Rothe's case was not an isolated one; a Grangegorman officer had made 200 returns in the same period. Murray knew this and was aware that the duties of certain officers in Cork, Belfast, and large towns in Ireland 'have been considerably increased'.[47]

Murray's greatest problem as registrar was to convey the correct interpretion of the act to prison governors and local inspectors. The full extent of the misunderstanding of the act did not emerge until the publication of the annual report of the inspector general of prisons for 1870. Shocked at what he had read therein, Murray wrote in May 1871 to the under secretary pointing out at least nine instances of misconceptions, blunders, and errors in law concerning what constituted a 'habitual criminal' within the meaning of the act. It was not simply that prison governors, perhaps untrained in the law, were misinterpreting the act. The act was badly worded. A

legal opinion offered to the under secretary, Burke, on 22 May 1871 read:

> The habitual criminals act is (so far as regards Ireland) full of mistakes and drafted in a loose and inaccurate manner, and it was not unnatural that in the report of the inspectors general of prisons for 1869, the habitual criminals act, 1869, should not have been throughly understood or explained.

Burke attempted to assuage Murray's impatience and in June he informed Murray that 'the prevention of crimes bill which has been introduced into the House of Lords, will if it passes, dispose of this question'. This law, the prevention of crimes act of 1871, came into operation on 2 November 1871.[48]

5. The Prevention of Crimes Act, 1871

Within that act, the section entitled 'register of criminals' attempted to resolve many of the problems that had arisen in relation to the correct procedure as to the registering of criminals at a central office, the photography associated with such registration, and the claiming of expenses. Unlike the earlier act, this new act mentioned photography and the lord lieutenant's powers were clearly defined:

> In Ireland the lord lieutenant may make regulations as to the photographing of all prisoners convicted of crime who may for the time being be confined in any prison in Ireland and may in such regulations prescribe the time or times at which and the manner and dress in which such prisoners are to be taken, and the number of photographs of each prisoner to be printed and the persons to whom such photographs are to be sent.

Experience of the habitual criminals act had shown that the lord lieutenant's powers to make by-laws for prisons in Ireland were defective. This was now remedied by stating that 'any regulations made by the lord lieutenant as to the photographing of prisoners in any prison in Ireland shall be deemed to be bye-laws duly made by the lord lieutenant and shall be binding on all persons' as if made under an act of parliament. The act also made clear that any prisoner in Ireland refusing to obey any regulations made for the registration of criminals would be guilty of an offence against prison discipline. Under the new act the Treasury could pay for keeping the register but the cost of photographing prisoners was to be paid by local ratepayers and not as formerly by the local police force.[49]

When Murray died in 1873, he was succeeded by Barlow who now combined the offices of registrar of habitual criminals and director of convict prisons. True, the inspectors general of prisons had responsibility in the 1870s for the implementation of the photographic provisions of the the habitual criminals act of 1869 and the prevention of crimes act of 1871 in the local prisons. Barlow, however, since he was both registrar of habitual criminals and director of convict prisons was in the unique position of being able to set and maintain photographic standards in both the local and convict prisons.[50]

6. Photography and the prison board

The de jure merging in one authority of responsibility for all prison photography occurred in 1877 when the General Prisons (Ireland) Act was passed. It abolished the directors of convict prisons, the inspectors general of

prisons, the boards of superintendence, and the registrarship of habitual criminals. Their powers were now vested in a new prisons board, composed of a chairman and not more than three other members. All prisons in Ireland were placed under the board and the prisons were to be paid for by the Treasury.[51] Prison photography in all prisons would now, for the first time since its inception in 1857, be controlled by one authority and this authority was to take a deep and sustained interest in prison photography over the next twenty years.

There was a transition period as the new board was set up and took over its duties. In 1878 John Lentaigne agreed to serve as an unpaid member of the board. Early in 1879 Barlow agreed to be vice-chairman, and W. P. O'Brien agreed also to be a member of the board. The full board in 1879 was composed as follows: the Hon. Charles Fowler Bourke, chairman; John Barlow, vice-chairman; Sir John Lentaigne, C.B., and W. P. O'Brien, members.[52]

The board, in assuming the powers and responsibilities of the various abolished authorities that had heretofore managed the prisons in Ireland, also inherited the rules and regulations of the former bodies. One such set of regulations, which it was the board's duty to implement, was the Rules for local prisons, Ireland, published in 1878. The fourteenth rule required the photographing of prisoners:

> Every prisoner may, if required for purposes of justice, be photographed on reception and subsequently; but no copy of such photograph shall be given to any person except those officially authorised to receive it for the purposes of identification.[53]

In its early years the prison board promoted

photography, issuing at least three circulars to prison authorities between 1879 and 1884. In February 1879 Richard Clegg, chief clerk at the prisons office, reminded all governors of local prisons of the rule about photography and encouraged them to use photography if they thought it might lead to the discovery of 'previous crime'. One year later, Clegg was directed by the board to write again to the prison governors. In this circular the board required that in future when prisoners awaiting trial for felony or larceny were suspected of having been previously convicted, 'photographs and descriptive particulars of such should be transmitted for identification to the criminals registration office' at the prison board in Dublin castle.

In 1884 the board became aware of a number of instances at the quarter sessions of prisoners being tried and convicted whose previous criminal records were not forwarded to the sessional crown solicitor in time to have them charged against the prisoners. In March the board directed that, in all cases of prisoners awaiting trial and who were suspected of having a criminal record, governors should be careful to make every inquiry to discover their criminal antecedents and 'when practicable, the particulars of previous convictions accompanied, if necessary, by a photograph of each prisoner, should be furnished to either the crown solicitor or sessional crown solicitor' at least seven days before the trial.[54]

7. Prisoner resistance to photography

In general the board's requirement that prisoners be photographed was complied with by prisoners. A relatively small number of prisoners did, however, resist photography in the period under review. In 1879 in Wexford prison a

number of prisoners refused to be photographed and were punished. In November 1879 it was reported from Drogheda prison that two prisoners, Patrick and Bridget Reilly, would not allow themselves to be photographed. As a result the board met and heard a report from the governor at Drogheda 'as to the punishment imposed by him on untried prisoners for refusing to allow themselves to be photographed'. The board decided to seek the legal opinion of the Crown's law officers 'as to the power to punish prisoners refusing to be photographed under rule 14'. A legal opinion on the photography of untried prisoners was made available, the opinion of John Monroe Q.C. being read at a prison board meeting:

> I think there is ample power to photograph all prisoners whether tried or untried and that a person refusing to be photographed may be punished for breach of discipline.[55]

On this occasion this legal opinion, with its threat of punishment, secured what the authorities required: a photographed prisoner. The Reillys it seems gave in and allowed themselves to be photographed.[56]

The problem however did not go away and from time to time over the next twenty years prisoners did occasionally resist photography. Generally the prisoners who resisted were ordinary rather than political prisoners. Prisoner John Kearns, aged 27, serving six months hard labour in Dundalk for assault, resisted being photographed in October 1885, before his release. He used improper language and resisted so much that he had to be held by three warders. The governor, on advice, called a magistrate who sentenced Kearns to six days in the punishment cell on punishment

diet.[57] The following year Thomas Boyle, aged sixty-six years, a prisoner in Omagh, who had been returned for trial on a charge of robbery, resisted having his photograph taken. Boyle did not deny resisting but rather claimed he resisted 'in consequence of being an untried prisoner'. His version of the events that followed is different to the governor's report to the board. Boyle said he was compelled to have his photograph taken by order of the governor, who ordered, according to the prisoner, 'to have me tied or strapped' if he refused to be photographed. Boyle claimed a warder was placed on each side of him and held him by the whiskers while a third warder held him by the throat. In a memorial to the lord lieutenant the prisoner stated that he was 'firmly held until [he] allowed it to be taken'. In his memorial Boyle petitioned that a copy of the memorial be given to his friends and to Patrick O'Brien M.P. for north Monaghan. The governor had previously written to the board stating that 'there was no violence used by any of the officers who were present at the time'. When the attorney general's advice was sought, he advised that the matter 'should be determined according to ordinary prison regulations'. Finally the board sent the governor of Omagh prison a copy of a legal opinion on the fourteenth rule of the rules for local prisons, extracted from the board's records. This opinion had been offered in 1881 in connection with a case of resistance to prison photography in Belfast. The question raised then and in the Boyle case now was this: could force be used against an untried prisoner if he refused to have his photograph taken? The legal opinion was clear and unequivocal:

The prisoner may be photographed and the necessary force made use of for the purpose.

Boyle's photograph had been taken on the day he resisted being photographed. The matter was now closed with him receiving a caution.[58]

In a further case of resistance to photography in Belfast prison in May 1887 the Monroe legal opinion of December 1879 and the Nash opinion of October 1884 (identical to the opinion offered in the Boyle case) were both offered to the governor of Belfast prison. The earlier opinion forced the prisoner to be photographed by the threat of punishment while the Nash opinion was more direct in advising that physical force sufficient to enable a photograph to be taken could be used. The chief secretary, Michael Hicks-Beach, was told of the Belfast case of resistance and he was advised by the board's chairman, Bourke, that while it might be desirable to photograph prisoners in confinement awaiting trial it was a power which should be seldom exercised. The chief secretary agreed.[59]

An interesting case, from the photo-technical viewpoint, occurred in Tralee prison in September 1893. Robert Scott was charged with picking pockets at Listowel races. He gave a Dublin address though the authorities were satisfied that he was from London. He refused to say where his friends lived. The constabulary at Listowel and Cork wished to establish if Scott had a previous conviction and they were satisfied that acquiring a photograph of the accused in addition to the usual descriptive particulars would be of great value in attempting to establish his criminal antecedents outside Ireland. Stringer, the governor of Tralee prison, when seeking permission from the

board to supply the district inspector of the R.I.C. at Listowel with Scott's photograph, remarked that Scott had 'refused to allow his photograph to be taken and force had to be used '. The official form bearing the prisoner's descriptive particulars and a number of photographs were sent to the board. One photograph of Scott showed him with a restraining harness and being steadied by the hands of a number of warders.(plate 90). The chairman of the board advised that a 'Kodack' (sic) camera should be used so that a photograph 'could easily be taken while the prisoner is at exercise or elsewhere without his knowing'. Stringer replied that there was 'not a Kodack (sic) to be had in Tralee' but agreed that such a camera 'would be very useful in such cases' and he submitted a demand. The chairman suggested that perhaps a local person could photograph Scott 'instantaneously'. This was done and the results sent to Dublin, but of the two photographs taken in the exercise yard Stringer rightly stated that 'neither of them are very good'.[60]

8. Prison board regulations and photographic standards

The prison board concerned itself with photographic standards. In the first instance the board was concerned that the photographic portraits taken in the prisons complied with the regulations made from time to time under the various acts of parliament requiring prison photography. When the board was set up in 1878 the regulations in force required that a prisoner's portrait should be a head and shoulders frontal portrait with the palms of the subject's hands resting on his chest. Under the regulations issued on 20 June 1877, before the board was set up, the name of the prisoner and the date the

photograph was taken were to be marked reversed on the negative so as to appear in the portrait. Throughout the 1880s all prisoners' portraits carried the name of the prisoner written on a slate.(plate 91). On 3 September 1891 the board issued a circular in which it requested that prisoners should be photographed so as to produce a frontal and profile portrait; this was done by the judicious placing of a mirror at an angle behind the prisoner.(plate 92). Regulations issued on 30 March 1897 required that 'the photograph to be taken shall include a photograph of the full face, and a photograph of the true profile of the prisoner'. A circular was issued by the board on 22 January 1898 requiring that 'in future each photograph taken must contain a double portrait of the prisoner, one showing the full face, the other the side face in exact profile'. The hands of the prisoner were no longer to be shown in the photograph. The use of a mirror to produce a prisoner's head-profile gradually went out of use from this date. The circular of January 1898 still required that the 'name and number of the prisoner and the date on which the photograph is taken should be written on a strip of wood and photographed with the prisoner'.[61]

Some governors were unable to provide photographs of prisoners (for reasons other than resistance to photography by a prisoner) and these came to the notice of the board. In October 1883 a prisoner, Samuel Tucker, was transferred from Mountjoy to Wexford prison. Warburton, the governor at Wexford prison, claimed he did not have Tucker photographed because he believed Tucker's violent character was so well-known in Mountjoy that he would have been photographed there. The chairman of the board wrote a stiff letter to Warburton in which he stated that had

Tucker been photographed at Mountjoy 'this would be no valid reason for your neglecting to do so at Wexford'. No photograph had been taken at Mountjoy as Tucker was a 'local military prisoner' and the taking of his photograph was not obligatory. It is possible that Tucker's reputation may have been the reason why he was not photographed; it had been reported that he was a prisoner who should not be visited alone in his cell and Warburton believed that Tucker was a 'dangerous character'. This may have led him to take the easy course of action and not take Tucker's photograph, presuming him to have been photographed in Dublin.[62]

Governor Morrow of Castlebar was reprimanded in May 1887 for not photographing prisoner Martin McDonagh before his discharge. Morrow acknowledged that he had, 'through an oversight', not taken note of the prisoner's previous convictions and was therefore unable to provide a photograph of the prisoner. The board gave a gentle admonition, reminding the governor that he 'must be careful to photo in the future'.[63]

As photography was so important in identifying prisoners it was essential that each photograph should be clearly and correctly named. Warburton of Wexford prison was queried by the board in March 1888 as to why a prisoner's name was 'incorrectly given on the photo'. Warburton's blunt reply, 'occurred through oversight', did not satisfy the board which replied that there was no 'reasonable excuse for carelessness of this kind in furnishing important records'. The prisoner in this case, police supervisee Patrick Thompson, had an alias, and it may be that this had appeared on the photograph. That is what happened in a case in Armagh prison in 1894. S. H.

Douglas, the prison board's secretary, was instructed to write to the governor at Armagh asking why the photograph of prisoner Jane McGivern bore the name 'Jane McNeill'. Foster, the warder who took the photographs in Armagh, explained to the governor that he had taken the photographs 'without looking at the book' as he 'always knew her as Jane McNeill coming into prison'. As a result he had, without checking, written the name 'Jane McNeill' on the slate and not 'Jane McGivern'. Foster promised 'to be more careful in future and look at the [photo] book before taking the photo'.[64]

A complaint of a more general nature concerning the clarity of names on photographs was brought to the attention of the governor of Belfast prison in May 1893. No specific instance of negligence was cited but it was made clear that the vice-chairman of the board required that in 'photographs of prisoners transmitted to this office the name at [the] top of [the] picture be made more clear and distinct than in those recently received'. When a photograph with an unclear name was sent to the board from Armagh prison in October 1894, clerk-warder Thomas Furlong gave an undertaking that he would 'be careful in future that the names appear well-developed'.[65]

The prisons board was concerned also with the technical merit of prison photographs. Should photographs be incorrect in tonal density, unsharp, stained, faded, or damaged in any way, they would not serve the purpose intended: the identification of prisoners and freed convicts. While a regular system of checking the technical standard of prison photographs was not set up until 1898, the board did check photographic standards from time to time. Warder Flood of Waterford prison was trained in

prison photography in Mountjoy in October 1885. Bourke, the chairman, requested the governor at Waterford to instruct Flood, on his return from Mountjoy, to send a sample of his work. Bourke was pleased with the sample sent. The sending of a sample to the board at the end of a period of tuition in photography was unusual at that time.[66]

The board's officers correctly identified an example of camera-shake in a photograph of prisoner John Cronin of Maryborough prison in March 1894. The photograph was returned to Maryborough from the office in Dublin, being described as 'bad' because the camera was shaken 'when the photograph was being taken'. The governor argued that the general indistinctness of the prisoner's face was due to a number of related factors: that Cronin was a 'nervous subject' who could not keep himself 'quite steady' nor keep his 'eyes properly opened at any time'. It was quite clear from Cronin's photograph that both he and the slate bearing his name and number were indistinct in the manner consistent with camera-shake and the governor was so informed.[67]

Normally prison photographs came to the attention of the board when accompanied by convict forms and returns sent to Dublin. One other way in which standards were checked was through the inspectorate of the board. In March 1896 Inspector Pierce Joyce was on routine inspection at Waterford prison. He reported that at Waterford he had 'observed two photographs of J. M. and M. H. sent from Tralee for identification but for which purpose they were quite useless'. Joyce speculated, correctly as it turned out, that the photographs might have faded in transit, though he expressed the hope that the photographs had not

been sent in a faded state. As a result of Joyce's report, Stringer, the governor at Tralee prison, was written to and clerk-warder Enright, the photographer, explained that as he had been busy fixing and toning photographs on the day in question and 'getting ready for post' he must have forgotten to fix the two photographs in question. Stringer agreed that the two photographs were 'quite good and clear when despatched' from the prison. This was consistent with Enright's explanation and he was cautioned to be more careful in future.[68]

In December 1894, in a letter to the governor at Kilkenny, the board summarised briefly the qualities they required in a prison photograph. The photographer should seek to obtain 'negatives of such a density as would produce bright vigorous prints'. The board therefore sought photographs with a full range of tones from dark rich tones to the brighter highlights at the other end of the monochrome tonal scale. The board furnished photographs supplied from other prisons illustrating the required standard.[69]

9. The introduction of the dry-plate process

The process of photography used in Irish prisons when the prison board took over in 1878 was the wet-plate process. It was the most commonly used photographic process since its discovery in the early 1850s. In the first few years the board facilitated the training of warders in photography, warders from Nenagh, Tullamore, and Mullingar being sent to Dublin for training. In 1879 and 1880, Kilmainham, Richmond, and Mountjoy prisons were used as instruction centres. A total of seven warders were instructed or received further instruction in photography

in 1880. Professional photographers were still being used by the board at this time: at Monaghan and Trim prisons in 1879 and at Kilkenny in 1880. Despite the board's understanding of the importance of photography in prison and police work the governor at Downpatrick prison reported in 1879 that he had no one on the staff who could photograph prisoners.[70]

The year 1882 is another turning point in the development of prison photography in Ireland. In November the prison board met to consider a report from the governor at Richmond prison on the dry-plate process of photography. Bourke, Barlow, Lentaigne, and O'Brien were present and they decided that the dry-plate process which used sensitised commercially pre-packed photographic plates should be adopted throughout the prison service. This decision meant the end of the use of the wet-plate process begun by Sir Walter Crofton in 1857. The appropriate circular was not sent until 16 April 1883. George Sproule, superintendent of stores, was told to include a book on photography with the circular and to mention the section on the dry-plate process.[71]

The decision to change to a new process of photography did not usher in large-scale re-training in photography. This may be because the new method was much simpler than the wet-plate process and any warder already engaged in photography would have had little difficulty in changing over to the new system. Inspector Pierce Joyce, writing to the board in 1884 in regard to the selection of a warder for training in photography, wrote that 'the method is, I am informed, now very simple'.[72] Simple as the process was it was soon discovered that sending out a book on photography was not enough to produce the desired standard.

In order to have prison officers competent in photography the board took a number of steps: the identification of a local need, the recommendation of a candidate or candidates, the selection of a trainee, the allocation of the trainee to an agreed prison and at an agreed time, and the trainee's appointment to a prison when instruction was complete.

The selection of a warder for training as a photographer arose out of a number of situations. Poor-quality photographs occasionally started the tuition sequence. In June 1884, Clegg, the chief clerk at the prison board wrote to the governor at Belfast prison and returned a number of photographs 'which are so indistinctive as to be useless'. In reply to Clegg who sought a better set of photographs of police supervisee Ellen Donnelly, Governor Sheehan sent a set and was forced to admit that the photographs were not a very great improvement, 'but I have no one here capable of doing them better' he insisted. A week later Clegg informed Sheehan that the board 'considered it necessary to have an officer on the staff of Belfast prison capable of taking good photographs'. As a result warder James Pinkerton at Belfast prison was selected for training, the tuition to take place at Mountjoy prison.[73]

In a somewhat similar situation in 1888 the prison board drew the attention of the governor of Maryborough prison to the quality of photographs he supplied. It appears that this was a second recent instance of sub-standard photographs coming from this prison, the photographs being 'very indistinct' and 'almost useless'. The governor explained on two occasions that the photographer, warder Patrick Colgan, appeared 'to have got

very stupid in the art of photography' and had 'become incompetent to do the photography of this prison'. The governor had earlier approved Colgan's application to be reduced to the rank of warder. When this was done he had to be replaced. The governor at Mountjoy was asked to submit names and conduct-sheets of officers capable of filling the post of schoolmaster and photographer. Neither of those he recommended understood photography. Warder Patrick Egan, one of the suggested officers, was selected, trained at Mountjoy, and declared 'fit to practise' photography, orders being issued for his transfer to Maryborough.[74]

10. Training in photography

The qualities sought in candidates for training in photography were intelligence, a willingness to learn, and some indication that the candidate had something more than a basic education. On this last point governors frequently recommended and the board often selected prison officers holding the post of clerk-warder, storekeeper, or schoolmaster to take on photographic duties. The prison board, for example, requested the governor of Castlebar prison to submit the name of an officer 'eligible for receiving instruction in photography' and suggested that 'the storekeeper would probably suit best'. The storekeeper, warder William Boyd, was selected and instructed in Mountjoy. The governor at Sligo when asked by the board in March 1886 'whether the clerk-warder is capable of being instructed in photography' replied that he was 'capable of being instructed' and 'most anxious to learn'. At Kilkenny prison in April 1886, chief-warder Hessian expressed his 'willingness to learn' photography to

his governor when that prison was without a photographer. He was trained in photography at Mountjoy. Governor Sheehan of Belfast recommended warder Pinkerton for instruction in photography in response to the board's request in June 1884. Sheehan believed that Pinkerton would 'learn photography more quickly than any other officer of this prison'. Tullamore prison was without a photographer in October 1891. Fetherstonhaugh, the governor, explained that this had arisen as a result of staff changes but he could recommend a trades-warder to be instructed at Mountjoy, stating that 'he is a very smart intelligent officer and I feel certain he will learn quickly'. The board wrote on numerous occasions to the governors of the prisons requesting that a name or names of suitable warders for training in photography be submitted. In one isolated instance, in May 1884, the governor of Mullingar prison replied that he had 'no officer on my staff who (sic) I think capable of learning photography'. The chairman of the board asked Inspector Pierce Joyce who submitted the names of two warders at Mullingar, one of whom was selected for tuition. Eliza Rothe, the superintendent at Grangegorman prison wrote to the board in September 1884 requesting 'additional lessons in photography' for Miss Gallagher who was 'very intelligent and most anxious to do the photographs well'. Miss Gallagher was sent for instruction outside the prison service to James Robinson & Son, photographers, Grafton Street, Dublin.[75]

In the period under review the prison board had an <u>ad hoc</u> policy of training in photography. No school was set up specifically to train warders in camera work and dark-room procedures, though the facilities at Mountjoy were

more regularly used for this than at any other prison. Other Dublin locations such as Kilmainham were also used for photographic training. In time the board used provincial locations for photographic tuition: warders from Nenagh and Galway were sent to Limerick; warders from Derry and Omagh went to Belfast; a warder from Clonmel was sent to Waterford for tuition and a warder from Castlebar was sent to Tullamore.[76]

When the board selected a warder for tuition the chairman normally informed the governor of the prison in which the selected trainee was employed that one of his men had been so chosen and told him to send the warder to a named prison. The warder was not to travel until the governor at the place of instruction was informed. This was both courteous and practical and ensured that the tutor in photography would be available and ready to provide instruction for the period agreed. Bourke, for example, wrote to Governor Lloyd of Sligo in March 1886, instructing him to send clerk-warder Aherne to Omagh to learn photography 'but first put yourself in communication with the governor at Omagh prison as to when it will be convenient to have him instructed', he advised.[77]

The normal period of instruction in photography was four days up to a maximum of six days. Chief-warder Thomas Hessian of Kilkenny prison was required to use his day of arrival and departure for tuition 'as per chairman's instructions', which gave Hessian only two full working days in a four-day period of instruction. In 1884 warder Pinkerton of Belfast prison had five instruction days. In July 1893, Governor McMurray of Dundalk prison wrote to the board when the transfer of his photographer-warder George Donaghy was imminent. Dundalk prison was to receive warder

Whittle as a replacement for Donaghy, and McMurray suggested to the board that Whittle be instructed in photography. The board did not accept this suggestion but proposed to McMurray that his present photographer should instruct a warder in photography in his remaining time at Dundalk. Donaghy had four days at his disposal to instruct the clerk-warder in photography; the board seems to have been satisfied that this period was sufficient for adequate tuition. Some trainee photographers did enjoy tuition sessions spread over a six-day period; warder William Boyd was instructed for six working days at Mountjoy prison in July 1890 and clerk-warder John Walsh who was Boyd's tutor reported that he had 'made good progress and I beg to report that he is now sufficiently proficient to take photographs without further instructions'. Governor Sheehan of Mountjoy wrote in very similar terms in April 1888 about Patrick Egan who had been instructed for six days. The governor stated that at the end of the instruction period Egan 'will be fit to practise [photography] without further instruction'. The instruction of Miss Gallagher from Grangegorman prison was different from the usual pattern of instruction for male warders. The board accepted the view expressed by Miss Gallagher's superiors, that she should have further instruction in photography by way of six lessons for the sum of one guinea, the tuition to be given by a long-established Dublin photographic firm, James Robinson & Son.[78]

Governors whose staff members were selected for instruction at a named prison did not always send their men immediately. Should a prison be short-staffed for any reason or be especially busy the board was understanding

and lenient. In July 1884 Governor Sheehan could not release warder James Pinkerton for instruction in Dublin 'until after the assizes, as three officers are on the sick list at present' and he reported that he 'must provide for attendance at assizes both in Downpatrick and Belfast'. Three weeks later Sheehan told the board that Pinkerton could be spared to learn photography in Dublin. The governor of Castlebar prison also told the board in July 1891 that he had had to retain his storekeeper-warder at Castlebar during the assizes as it had been a busy time. With the assizes over, he reported that 'the storekeeper can be spared to go up to Mountjoy for instruction in photography'. This was accepted without question. Writing to the board in May 1884 the governor at Clonmel recommended warder Byrne as a trainee photographer and insisted that should Byrne be temporarily removed to another prison for instruction 'a warder would be required here for duty in his place during his absence'.[79]

It is clear that generally speaking prison staff valued being instructed in photography and getting an appointment as a prison photographer because it brought promotion and responsibility. In the early years of the prison board no special allowance was paid to photographer-warders but this arrangement was later changed. A small number of warders were not interested in receiving instruction or continuing with prison photography. Warder Patrick Colgan of Maryborough clearly lost enthusiasm for photography, being reported as 'incompetent' by his governor. In 1884 warder Patrick Daly was being trained as a photographer in Richmond prison. He was instructed occasionally between his other duties over a two week period, his instructor reporting that Daly was 'still a

long way from being qualified' and that he showed 'little interest or willingness to learn the photography required by a person likely to succeed'. Daly's reluctance to learn photography stemmed from the fact that on completion of his instruction he would have been sent to a provincial posting at Clonmel. The governor informed the board that he believed Daly was 'not anxious to leave Dublin, which may explain his inefficiency'. Later in the year Daly resigned from the prison service to follow a career elsewhere. In March 1886 Governor Morrow of Castlebar recommended his clerk-warder as being 'capable of being instructed in photography' but the clerk, John Elliott, was not interested for health reasons. He told the governor that, as he was not strong or robust, he feared the 'smell of the chemicals would be injurious to his health'.[80]

11. Photographic equipment

Photographic supplies, cameras, materials, and chemicals were obtained from an appointed prisons board contractor. In the early 1880s the contractor was William Allen, Mary Street, Dublin. This firm handled camera repairs for the board in 1880 and was still the official contractor when it was agreed by the board in November 1882 that the dry-plate process should be introduced. 'Chemicals [were] to be obtained from the board's contractor, Mr Allen', it was agreed. About this time the governor of Richmond prison wrote to the superintendent of stores and said that he understood that Allen was dead. The superintendent promptly made it clear that Allen was 'alive and carrying on his business'. Despite this, early in 1883, the firm of James Robinson & Son, Grafton Street, Dublin, supplied Richmond prison with chemicals, and later in the year

Robinson's supplied a new dry-plate camera to Dundalk prison, and repaired a camera for the same prison. Messrs Allen did not supply photographic goods to the board during 1883 or subsequently. For the next four years Robinson's continued to supply photographic goods directly to individual prisons on foot of the usual requisition order. Then in 1887 the firm of Yeates & Son, Grafton Street, Dublin, supplied cameras to the prisons at Dundalk and Galway, but Robinson's regained their position as official contractors, being sole suppliers of photographic goods to the board throughout the 1890s.[81]

The prison board was prepared to purchase new cameras when necessary. Usually the governor of a prison would explain that the camera in use was no longer capable of doing the work required of it and that a replacement was needed. On the advice of governors the board sometimes decided to buy new equipment, while on other occasions the board insisted on the photographic contractors making an assessment of old and well-used cameras. In 1884, the governor of Richmond prison wished to replace the prison camera, describing it as being 'very old' and as being 'almost unfit for taking photographs'. The camera had been supplied in 1859 and 'with frequent repairs' had seen twenty-five years service through the wet-plate era. It was replaced by the board. In 1885, Gildea, the governor at Naas prison, wished to replace a 'much repaired' camera which had been bought second-hand in 1867. Samuel Bollard, the warder-photographer, said that the camera was 'leaking the light in several places' and as a result he claimed 'the dry-plates [which] are so sensitive are very easily spoiled'. Robinson's were requested to replace it with a new camera. The clerk at Galway reported in March 1887

that the sides of the prison camera were 'warped', that it was almost impossible to get 'proper focus' and that 'light was admitted into the camera from small apertures in the sides'. The board required the camera to be sent for examination to Yeates & Son in Dublin who informed the board that they had examined the camera and found it 'not worth repairing'. They were instructed to forward a new camera and lens costing £3 to Galway. Robinson's supplied a camera, lenses, and a stand to Cork prison (male) and Omagh prison in 1884 and 1885 at a fixed rate of £6. 7s. 6d. When tendering for the camera to be supplied to Cork prison Robinson's estimate noted that the firm had supplied the same 'on former occasions to other prisons for the sum of £6. 7s. 6d.'. The new cameras at Cork and Omagh replaced old cameras beyond repair.[82]

The prison board approved repairs to cameras with charges ranging from 5s. to £2. Normally the contractors, Robinson's, handled repairs when such requests were sanctioned by the board. In a departure from the norm a camera and stand were repaired at Mountjoy in February 1892, the apparatus having been sent from Wexford prison and being described as 'very old and almost useless'. Urgent repairs to a camera at Clonmel were done by a local firm in September 1884.[83]

12. Prison board photographs used by other agencies

A number of agencies outside the Irish prison service used the photographs of the prison board. The Irish police forces, the R.I.C. and the D.M.P., made the most frequent requests for photographs. Requests for photographs could be counted in single figures per annum in the 1880s. In the early 1890s police requests for photographs numbered as

many as twenty per annum, but from 1896 onwards, police requests for photographs, together with the new anthropometric measurements and fingerprints, increased very dramatically, and in 1900 numbered almost 250 requests. Police officers in Britain also sought photographs from the board which were sent to the London Metropolitan Police, Scotland Yard, and to police officers in Stockport, Manchester, and Yorkshire County constabulary.[84]

The prison commissions of England and of Scotland sent photographs of prisoners about to be released and destined for Ireland to the prison board. This practice operated in the 1890s and the board was requested to send twelve photographs of any prisoner destined for Scotland to the prison commissioners of Scotland.[85]

Photography was used for the identification and surveillance of politically active ex-prisoners. One serious drawback of photography was that photographs became dated. O'Donovan Rossa grew a beard all his active political life, but, when photographed in Mountjoy in 1865, he was photographed clean-shaven. This is the photograph of him that remained in the board files, and clearly, if called upon by the authorities in the 1880s as an aid to identification, would have been almost useless. In 1883 the government required photographs of John Devoy who was involved with O'Donovan Rossa's 'skirmishing' dynamite campaign in Britain. The photograph of Devoy in the board files was then about eighteen years old. Any photograph, detectives presumably thought, is better than none. In May 1884 a confidential request was made to Sligo prison to supply twelve copies of photographs of P. N. Fitzgerald, presumably for surveillance work by special detectives.

Fitzgerald and Fred Allen of the Freeman newspaper group had been set free in 1884 when charges of treason-felony failed to stand up in court, but presumably Fitzgeralds's photographs were used for further surveillance of his activities. In 1885 in separate applications to the board, both the Home Office in London and the commissioners of police at Scotland Yard sought photographs and descriptions of treason-felony prisoners in Ireland, the Scotland Yard request seeking 'photographs of all convicts sentenced [for] treason and treason-felony'. The greatest amount of photography used in one 'political' case was that used in the investigation following the Phoenix Park murders of 1882. E. G. Jenkinson, an assistant under secretary at Dublin Castle, with special responsibilities for police and crime, sought three copies of photographs of each of the twenty-one prisoners at Kilmainham. Jenkinson wanted photographs of five 'approvers' in the case who had agreed to give evidence for the Crown. He then ordered a total of six photographs each of all those involved and these 156 photographs were in his office by 19 March 1883, within ten days of his original request. The nature of Jenkinson's work suggests that the photographs were used for further investigative work by detectives. Perhaps one set of photographs was sent to the new special crimes Irish Branch within the criminal investigation division of the Metropolitan Police in London. This bureau was being formed at that time.[86]

Before photography was used in prisons to assist the better identification of prisoners, the authorities relied solely on a description of prisoners under established headings: sex, height, build, hair colour, eye colour, shape of face, etc.. These headings were collectively

called 'descriptive particulars'. When photography was introduced formally into the prisons in the 1860s it quickly became an essential tool in the identification of prisoners. It had its drawbacks: occasionally photographic negatives were lost or broken, prisoners were not photographed through error or resistance, photographs were unclear or were incorrectly named.[87] Generally, however, photography was highly regarded as an aid to identifying prisoners and as a vital tool in detective and surveillance work.

13. Anthropometry and fingerprinting, 1895-1900

In the 1890s the introduction of a new system of identification, anthropometric measurement, which included the taking of fingerprints, was considered by the prison board.(plate 93). In July 1895, the chairman, J. S. Gibbons, wrote to the under secretary, Sir David Harrel, recommending that Dr John George Garson of Scotland Yard should come to Ireland and instruct warders in the technique of the proposed new system. Gibbons reported that he had been to Scotland Yard in London and to Paris to study the way in which 'measurements and fingermarks' were taken and he believed that, although the French system had recently been adopted at a prison congress with delegates in attendance 'from every part of the civilised world', nevertheless, for the moment, the prison board in Ireland should adopt the English system, similar to the French in almost all respects, in order to preserve 'uniformity throughout the United Kingdom'.[88]

A decision was taken to introduce the anthropometric system into the Irish prison service. Warders were selected and trained in April 1896, instruments were bought

in London in May and it was decided to set up the new system of measuring in five prisons in Ireland. Prison records would in future provide objective scientific measurements of the human body including the face. The new method of 'describing' the face by accurate scientific measurement was both complementary to and a rival of the photograph. Contemporary experts believed that the photograph would become less important as an aid to identification.[89] By the turn of the century one element of the anthropometric system was to oust photography from the primary position it had held for almost forty years. The technique of taking fingerprints did not do away with prison photography, but it did make available a method of identifying prisoners which it was claimed was objective, accurate, easy to use, and, above all, provided a method by which prisoners could be definitively and absolutely identified in a way which photography could not claim to do.(plate 94).

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THE USES OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN IRELAND, 1839-1900

Photography was introduced to Ireland in 1839 and studio photography began in 1841 contemporaneously with British trends. Expansion was related to technical advance: wet-plate, carte-de-visite, dry-plate. Photography expanded geographically and aspects of the social composition of the work force are examined.
Amateur photography was related to the beginning of photography in Scotland. Woods's catalysotype and the establishment of early amateur groups in Ireland are parallel to British trends. Irish photographers were members of British photographic groups. Brownrigg exhibited internationally and was a member of the Linked Ring. Ireland had photographic societies, 1880 to 1900.
Artists used cameras in pre-photography days. The relationship with art was sometimes uneasy. Works of art were reproduced by photography for sale in print shops. Artists used photography as an aid, notably Walter Osborne. Muybridge showed his work in Dublin. George Moore was critical of painters who used photography. Photography had application in commercial illustration.
Museum photography was begun contemporaneously with Fenton's work. Hemphill was a pioneer antiquarian photographer and one learned society used photography extensively. The photographing of sites and book illustration are examined. Early MSS were copied by photography when transcription was abandoned. A national photographic collection was set up and in the 1890s museum officers valued photography.
A number of Irish persons were early travel photographers: Shaw Smith, Tenison, Coghill. Irish persons photographed for governments: Hime in Canada and Lawless in Morocco. Elizabeth Burnaby used alpine photography commercially. Mahaffy noted that work remained to be done.
Convict photography was established nationally in 1860 and used in the fenian crisis. The Habitual Criminals Act, 1869, required photography in county prisons. The prison board controlled photographic standards from 1877. Prison photographs were used by outside agencies. Fingerprinting, introduced in 1895, began to supersede photography.
Police forces and government used prison photographs for surveillance of released fenians and in the search for James Stephens. Threatening letters were photographed for investigative purposes. In the 1880s and 1890s photographs of nationalist M.P.s, land leaguers, and fenian suspects were kept by the Irish government. Police forces set up their own photographic departments in 1890.
Astronomical drawing was used at Birr. The work of the Grubbs is described, in particular Howard Grubb's part in the astrographic survey planned in 1887. Wilson's photographic work at Daramona is evaluated. Anatomical drawing was used from 1860. Medical photography was used as an educational tool through reproduction by wood-cut, lithography, and the halftone process. Drawing was sometimes superior to photography. Fraser, an anatomist, did pioneering work. X-ray photography was used in orthopoedic cases. Geological photographs were seen to have an educational value. Northern geologists Welch and Andrews, and southern geologists Cole, Ball, and Watts saw the value of photography. The Irish Geological Survey adopted photography in the 1890s. Ethnological drawings and photographs were used in the 1850s and 1860s. The B.A.A.S. had photographs of British types and promoted an ethnological survey of Britain. Browne and Haddon used photography in ethnology. The naturalists Pim, Joly, Green, Swanzy, and Henry used photography.
Political leaders were photographed and reproductions sold: O'Connell in the 1840s, the fenians in the 1860s. Photographs of royalty were sold from 1861. Church leaders were photographed in the 1860s and portraits sold. This was continued in the 1880s. Photographs were taken which conveyed loyalist and nationalist sentiments. Photographs were used with correspondence to convey affection between family members or lovers separated by distance. Social problems were photographed and used for publicity. The Irish landscape and people were photographed by visitors and articles on Ireland were published in photo journals.