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The Commodification of the Celebrity Portrait: An Analysis of Photographic Business Practice in Relation to Image Mass Production in London c.1857-1880

Thesis

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THE COMMODIFICATION OF THE CELEBRITY PORTRAIT:
AN ANALYSIS OF PHOTOGRAPHIC BUSINESS PRACTICE
IN RELATION TO IMAGE MASS-PRODUCTION IN
LONDON C. 1857-1880

(two volumes)

The OPEN UNIVERSITY
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Dr. Donna Loftus

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ABSTRACT

The mass-produced carte de visite was a new kind of celebrity portrait. It was affordable and available to a wide middle-class market, and it was hugely popular in the 1860s and 1870s. The cartes are extant in large numbers today and offer a valuable Victorian archive ripe for investigation, yet they have, so far, been deemed of little historical value, and consequently have been under-researched in the history of photography. This thesis is centred around a large collection of over one thousand celebrity cartes de visite in the author's possession. Patterns running through the archive have been identified, and show that a great deal can be learnt about photographers' business strategies and middle-class society from the images. The first half of the thesis explores the structure of the new carte de visite business in two chapters: in its commercial organisation and in the construction and presentation of the product to a target middle-class market. The establishment of a new profession is highlighted in which commercial activity was displayed more openly on the product as the century progressed, and in which widened middle-class interests were presented in content. Three following case studies provide a deeper investigation in relation to particular subject areas, those of monarchy, government and Church, chosen especially as they were traditional portrait areas used to define the British constitution. These case studies show that studios adapted their output to meet collectors' changing views on the role of celebrity whilst retaining an underlying representation of the 'character' of a new enlightened society. The thesis spotlights a new archive through which a clearer understanding of mid-Victorian business and society can be gained: the research therefore not only fills a gap in photographic history, but adds to knowledge on mid-Victorian middle-class culture.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS					
CHAPTER ONE					
IMAGE NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	ARCHIVE NUMBER
1	Your Likeness Sir? No White Eyes'	none	stereocard (colour)	c.1861	1059
2	Mary Queen of Scots	The Photoglyptic Co.	cdv	c.1870	674
3	unidentified clergyman	The Revolving Studio	cdv	c.1862	683(A)
4	H.R.H. The Princess of Wales'	Worthlytype	cdv	c.1863	831
5	Mr. C.W. Dunford'	London Photo Copying Co.	cdv	c.1882	389(B)
6	London Stereoscopic Co's studio	London Stereoscopic Co.	stereocard	c.1860	1059(A)
7	Prince Leopold	Jabez Hughes	cdv	c.1865	355
8	Marie de la Ramee	Adolphe Beau	cdv	c.1868	39
9	Lord Palmerston	Herbert Watkins	cdv	c.1857	722
10	Lord Shaftesbury	G.T. Millichap	cdv (colour)	c.1862	656
11	Mrs. Jordan	Heath & Beau	cdv	c.1863	40
12	Duchess of Wellington	C. Silvy	cdv (colour)	c.1861	712
13	Paul du Chaillu	A. Claudet	cdv	c.1862	120
14	Princess Alice	John Watkins	cdv	c.1863	782
15	Lord Stafford de Radcliffe	H. Hering	cdv	c.1861	334
16	General William Codrington	Mayall	cdv	c.1857	639
17	unnamed lady	John Tredray	cdv	c.1862	743(A)
18	W. & D. Downey autograph book	W. & D. Downey		c. 1883	
19	Stereoscopic Co. Dublin Exhibition	none	stereocard	c.1865	1059(B)
20	Studio envelope	A. & G. Taylor	envelope	c.1894	XA79
21	Samuel Wilberforce	Herbert Watkins	cdv	c.1860	770
24	Wilkie Collins	Herbert Watkins	cdv	c.1860	769
25	John Bright	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1864	230
26	Princess of Wales	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868	185
27	Princess of Wales	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1880	183
28	Sir John Herschell	Mayall	cdv	c.1857	635
29	George Peabody	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	640
30	Miss Maude Millet'	Mayall	cabinet card	c.1890	1060(A)
31	Queen Victoria	Arthur Melhuish	cdv	c.1870	652
32	unnamed lady	McLean & Haes	cdv	c.1863	650
33	Michael Faraday	A. Claudet	cdv	c.1861	121
34	Lord Stanley	Clarkington & Co.	cdv	c.1864	117
35	Lord Macaulay	Mauil & Polyblank	book illustration	c.1860	XA1
36	Madame Lind Goldschmidt'	H. Murray	cdv	c.1863	662
37	Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning'	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c.1868	295
38	Napoleon'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1874	451
39	Charles Kingsley	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	631
40	Lord Palmerston	C. Silvy	cdv	c.1862	705
41	Prince Arthur	none	cdv	c.1860	895
42	Duchess of Cambridge'	none	cdv	c.1861	995
43	Princess Louise	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1870	201
44	H.R.H. Prince of Wales'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1880	395
45	unnamed lady	W. Portbury	cdv	c.1862	676
46	unidentified celebrity	A.L. Henderson	cdv	c.1870	321(A)
47	John Bunyon's chair	Mr. Downes	cdv	c.1868	137
48	Eliza Cooke	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1864	422
49	W.E. Gladstone'	Nelson & Emmens	cdv	c.1874	667
50	Prince Albert	London Photo Copying Co.	cdv	c.1860	859
51	Thomas Sidney Cooper	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c.1862	522
52	J.L. Tooke and Paul Bedford	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1862	766
53	Prince Leopold	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1866	194
54	Sothorn as David Garrick	Sarony & Co.	cdv	c.1865	694
55	Lord Stanley	Clarkington & Co.	cdv	c.1864	117
56	Prince Edward	Ghemar Freres	cdv (colour)	c.1863	310
57	Princess of Wales	Ghemar Freres	cdv (colour)	c.1863	311
58	Prince Arthur	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	568
59	The Opera Box' Lydia Thompson	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1863	764
60	Prince Leopold	none	cdv	c.1861	891
61	Prince Albert	none	cdv	c.1861	860
62	The Royal Family	none	cdv	c.1863	912
63	Disraeli	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	614
64	Rt. Hon. John Bright'	Mayall	cdv	c.1868	619
65	James Anthony Froude	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c.1861	797
66	Charles Kingsley	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1861	796
67	Charles Spurgeon	Poulton	cdv	c.1861	XA2
68	Lord Lansdowne	H. Hering	cdv	c.1861	328
69	H.R.H. The Prince of Wales'	Mayall	cdv	c.1863	595

IMAGE NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	NUMBER
70	Captain Coles	P.E. Chappuis	cdv	c.1866	115
71	Bishop of Lichfield	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c.1860	515
72	Mr. Sothern	Bassano	cdv	c.1863	32
73	Emily Soldew	Fradelle & Marshall	cdv (colour)	c.1870	300
74	Bismark	(hidden)	cdv	c.1865	670
75	Christopher Teesdale	C. Silvy	cdv	c.1861	718
76	Musical & Vocal Celebrities'	Ashford Bros & Co.	cdv	c.1863	17
77	Antonio Guiglini	Mayer Brothers	cdv	c.1861	644
78	Five Hundred Portraits'	Ashford Bros & Co.	cdv	c.1863	21
79	Great Sensation Card'	Ashford Bros & Co.	cdv	c.1863	22
80	Captain M. Webb'	Fradelle & Marshall	cdv	c.1880	302
81	Mr. W. Rignold as Sir George Wilson'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1880	440
82	J.L. Toole	Barraud	cdv	c.1880	28(A)
83	J.L. Toole	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1880	439(A)
84	Miss M. Moore'	Barraud	cdv	c.1880	29
85	H.R.H. Prince of Wales'	Downey	cdv	c.1870	171
86	Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone'	Walker	cdv	c.1870	744
87	H.R.H. Princess of Wales'	W. & D. Downey	lantern slide	c.1868	XA81
88	envelope	London Stereoscopic Co.	envelope	c.1893	XA80
89	Colonel Ridsdel'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1865	424(B)
90	Letter	London Stereoscopic Co.	letter	c.1906	XA82
91	unnamed lady	J. Hopwood	cdv	c.1862	354(A)

		LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS			
CHAPTER TWO					
IMAGE NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	ARCHIVE NUMBER
92	Queen Victoria & daughter	J.T. Corbyn	cdv	c.1860	128
93	Illustration in Henry Peach Robinson's <i>Pictorial Effect</i>		book illustration	published 1869	XA16
94	Prince Albert	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	556
95	Lord Napier	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1875	445
96	The Imperial Family of France'	Ashford Bros. & Co.	cdv	c. 1868	10
97	Mrs. Windham, actress	John Jerrard (depot)	cdv (colour)	c. 1861	983
98	Prince Edward	Ghemar Greres	cdv (colour)	c. 1863	310
99	Princess of Wales	Ghemar Freres	cdv (colour)	c. 1863	311
100	W. Bartholomew	T. Coleman	cdv	c. 1864	126
101	Rev. C. Prince	H.J. Whitlock	cdv	c. 1874	810
102	William Powell Frith	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1862	523
103	Sir Roundell Palmer	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1863	512
104	Dr. Livingstone	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1858	XA9
105	Joseph Banks	Joshua Reynolds	oil painting	1771-3	XA10
106	Napoleon'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1872	449
107	Napoleon III	London Stereoscopic Co.	stereocard (colour)	c. 1863	1056
108	Duke of Wellington		print	published 1830	XA3
109	Duke of Wellington	Ashford Bros. & Co.	cdv	c. 1863	15
110	Lord Byron		print	published 1830	XA4
111	Byron'	A.W. & H. Cox	cdv	c. 1865	129
112	George Peabody	Henry Rigge	cdv	c. 1864	687
113	Prince Consort'	Mayall	cdv	c. 1860	554
114	Lord Granville	Caldesi Blanford & Co.	cdv	c. 1861	83
115	Edwin Landseer	L. Caldesi & Co.	cdv	c. 1861	104
116	Professor Willis	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1863	527
117	H.R.H. The Prince of Wales'	Mayall	cdv	c. 1863	595
118	Mr. Ledger	none	cdv	c. 1861	1008
119	George Patten	W.B. Watkins	oil on canvas	1850	XA7
120	J. Forster	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1863	525
121	David Brewster	C. Silvy	cdv	c. 1861	715
122	Sir William Fairburn	H.N. King	cdv	c. 1864	382
123	Charles Dickens	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c. 1861	799
124	John Leech	C. Silvy	cdv	c. 1861	711
125	Lord Brougham	Mayall	cdv	c. 1861	621
126	Lord Justice Turner'	none	cdv print plasted onto album page	c. 1862	XA74
127	Mr. C.W. Dunford	London Photo Copying Co	cdv	c. 1862	389(B)
128	Colonel Ewart	Lambert Weston & Son	cdv	c. 1863	384
129	Lord Brougham and child	none	cdv	c. 1861	943
130	William Powell Frith	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1862	523
131	Sir Roundell Palmer	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1863	512
132	Dr. Livingstone	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1858	XA9
133	Lord Stanhope	Caldesi Blanford & Co.	cdv	c. 1862	81
134	Charles Gilpin	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c. 1868	288
135	John Ruskin	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c. 1865	293
136	Thomas Carlyle	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c. 1870	294
137	Isambard Brunel	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1857	XA11
138	Isambard Brunel	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1857	XA12
139	The Late Sir Edwin Landseer'		newspaper illustration	1873	XA13
140	General Gordon	none	cdv	c. 1880	1013(A)
141	"The Derby Day"	Vanity Fair	print (colour)	1873	XA13
142	Daniel Maclise	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1863	521
143	Thomas Sidney Cooper	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1862	522
144	William Dyce	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c. 1863	801(A)
145	John Millais	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c. 1862	NPG collect.
146	John Millais	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c. a866	NPG collect.
147	Mr. Holman Hunt'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1862	417
148	Mr. Holman Hunt'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1862	NPG collect.
149	Professor Seeley	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1861	529
150	Professor Malden	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1863	528
151	Lord Macaulay	Mauil & Co.	cdv	c. 1858	524
152	J. Forster	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1863	525
153	William Thackeray	Caldesi Blanford & Co.	cdv	c. 1862	106
154	W.M. Thackeray'	Cundall Downes & Co.	cdv	c. 1863	133

IMAGE NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	ARCHIVE NUMBER
155	Charles Dickens	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c. 1861	799
156	Charles Dickens	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c. 1861	798
157	Alfred Tennyson	Mayall	cdv	c. 1862	295(A)
158	Alfred Tennyson'	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c. 1862	295
159	Albert Smith	none	cdv	c. 1862	974
160	Franz Liszt	W & D Downey	cabinet card	c. 1883	1056
161	City of London Literary and Scientific Society'	City of London	printed card	1836	XA78
162	Michael Faraday	Caldesi Blanford & Co.	cdv	c. 1863	102
163	David Brewster	C. Silvy	cdv	c. 1861	715
164	Dr. Whewell	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1861	534
165	Professor Owen	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c. 1861	535
166	Charles Darwin	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1862	NPG collect.
167	The Late Charles Darwin'	Elliott & Fry	cabinet card	c. 1881	NPG collect.
168	Darwin'	La Petite Lune'	magazine illustration	unclear	XA80
169	Charles Robert Darwin'	not recorded	magazine illustration	unclear	XA81
170	Captain Knowles'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1872	464
171	The Late Captain Knowles'	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	newspaper illustration	1872	XA79
172	Mr. Stanley'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1871	443
173	Theodore'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1868	455
174	King Theodore as he lay dead in Magdala'	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	newspaper illustration	1868	XA82
175	Franz Muller'	A.L. Henderson	cdv	c. 1862	321
176	Dr. Pritchard'	A.L. Henderson	cdv	c. 1863	320
177	Dr. Pritchard and Mr. Muller		cdv prints stuck onto album page	c. 1864-65	XA18
178	Madame Rachel'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1872	465
179	Mrs. Borrodaile	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1872	466
180	Roger G. Tichborne'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1872	471
181	The Alleged "Rightful Heir" '	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1872	470
182	The Gentlemen of the Tichborne Jury'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1872	469
183	The Tichborne Jury'	Watkins & Haigh	cdv	c. 1873	805
184	The Last Man on the Tichborne Jury by George Cruikshank'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1873	805(A)
185	The Great Fight for £40,000 a year'	Albert Mendelssohn	cdv	c. 1873	655
186	Sir Roger C.D. Tichborne'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1873	470(A)
187	Sequah'	Fred. G. Smith	cdv	c. 1870	718(B)
188	Blondin	Negretti & Zambra	cdv	c. 1860	664
189	Blondin	Negretti & Zambra	cdv	c. 1861	664(A)
190	The Pigmies in Piccadilly'	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	newspaper illustration	1880	XA83
191	General Mite and Millie Edwards	W & D Downey	cabinet card	c. 1881	1057
192	Marian as the Giant Amazon Queen	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c. 1880	472(A)
193	Maximo and Bartello	W & D Downey	cdv	c. 1874	XA19

		LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS				
ROYALTY						
IMAGE						ARCHIVE
NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE		NUMBER
194	Queen Victoria	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA26
195	unnamed lady	none	cdv	c.1860		XA77
196	Victoria and Princess Beatrice	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA25
197	The Prince Consort	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA27
198	Princess Alice	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA30
199	Princess Louisa	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA34
200	Prince Edward	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA28
201	Prince Alfred	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA31
202	Victoria and Albert	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA24
203	Royal family group	none	cdv print on album page	c.1861		906
204	The Royal family	A. & G. Taylor	cdv	c.1862		742
205	Victoria	Mayall	cdv	c.1861		550
206	Her Majesty'	Mayall	cdv	c.1861		549
207	Queen Victoria	Mayall	cdv (colour) in frame	c.1861		552
208	The Kings and Queens of England'	H. Hering	cdv	c.1865		322
209	Her Majesty and the Chief Ministers of State'	Ashford Bros & Co	cdv	c.1861		11
210	The Source of England's Greatness'	Ashford Bros & Co	cdv	c.1865		6
211	Her Majesty the Queen'	C. Clifford	cdv	c.1861		125
212	Prince Albert	none	cdv	c.1858		856
213	H.R.H. The Prince Consort'	Mayall	cdv	c.1861		555
214	Prince Albert	Poulton	cdv	c.1861		679
215	Prince Albert	C. Silvy	cdv	c.1860		699
216	Prince Albert	none	cdv	c.1860		862
217	Queen Victoria and Prince Albert	Messrs. Day	cdv	c.1860		139
218	Queen Victoria and Prince Albert	Mayall	cdv	c.1861		XA41
219	Queen Victoria and Prince Albert	Mayall	cdv	c.1861		XA42
220	The Queen and Prince Albert'	Mayall	cdv	c.1861		NPGAx128901
221	Princess Helena & Princess Louisa	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		XA32
222	Her Majesty the Queen'	Southwell	cdv	c.1860		720
223	Prince Arthur	Mayall	cdv	c.1861		568
224	H.R.H. The Prince Arthur'	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		565
225	The Late Prince Consort'	none	cdv	c.1861		862
226	Prince Albert	none	cdv	c.1861		860
227	Souvenir of His Late Royal Highness Prince Albert'	none	cdv	c.1861		866
228	Prince Albert	none	cdv	c.1861		865
229	Prince Albert	none	cdv	c.1861		863
230	The Death-bed of Prince Albert'	Leopold F. Manley	cdv	c.1861		480
231	Key to the Photograph'	none	cdv	c.1861		481
232	Queen Victoria	none	cdv	c.1861		845
233	Her Majesty' Queen Victoria	Mayall	cdv	c.1860		548
234	Queen Victoria	none	cdv	c.1861		844
235	Queen Victoria	none	cdv	c.1861		846
236	Prince Edward and Alexandra	none	cdv	c.1863		869
237	May You be Happy'	none	cdv	c.1863		868
238	Prince Edward	Ghemar Freres	cdv	c.1863		310
239	Princess Alexandra	Ghemar Freres	cdv	c.1863		311
240	T.R.H. Prince & Princess of Wales & Prince Victor'	Hills & Saunders	cdv	c.1864		340
241	Prince & Princess of Wales & children	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868		188
242	Queen Victoria	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868		161
243	Queen Victoria	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868		159
244	Queen Victoria	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868		163

IMAGE NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	CATALOGUE NUMBER
245	Queen Victoria	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868	166
246	Queen Victoria	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868	158
247	The Nation's Wave of Suspense'	London Stereoscopic Co	cabinet card	c.1871	1054
248	H.M. The Queen'	W. & D. Downey	cdv (colour)	c.1872	165
249	In Remembrance of the Thanksgiving Day'	Albert Mendelssohn	cdv	c.1871	653
250	Princess of Wales, children & pony	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868	187
251	Princess of Wales	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868	185
252	Princess of Wales	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1865	173
253	H.R.H. The Princess of Wales'	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1871	178
254	Princess of Wales	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1870	180
255	H.R.H. The Princess of Wales'	none	cdv	c.1870	888
256	H.R.H. The Princess of Wales'	Preston and Poole	cdv	c.1865	683
257	Princess Alexandra	not recorded	cdv print pasted onto album page	c.1863	XA76
258	Wedding family group	Mayall	cdv	c.1863	589
259	Wedding family group	Mayall	cdv	c.1863	591
260	Wedding family group	Mayall	cdv	c.1863	591(A)
261	H.R.H. The Prince of Wales'	Mayall	cdv	c.1863	594
262	Victoria, Edward, George and baby	W. & D. Downey	cabinet card	c.1893	1060
263	The Royal family	William Luks	cabinet card	c.1880	1055
264	Prince Edward	none	cabinet card	c.1885	1060(B)
265	Prince and Princess of Wales	none	cdv	c.1870	874
266	A Read German Defeat'	P.E. Chappuis	cdv	c.1870	113
267	Her Imperial Majesty Victoria'	London Stereoscopic Co	cdv	c.1880	391

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS					
STATESMEN					
IMAGE					ARCHIVE
NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	NUMBER
268	Earl Derby'	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	613
269	Lord Granville	Caldesi Blanford & Co.	cdv	c.1861	83
270	Benjamin Disraeli	Kilburn	cdv	c.1861	370
271	John Roebuck	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1860	217
272	Lord Grosvenor	Caldesi Blanford & Co.	cdv	c.1862	82
273	Earl Derby'	Mayall	cdv	c.1862	612
274	John Roebuck	Albert Mendelssohn	cdv	c.1862	951
275	Lord Aberdeen	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c.1860	506
276	Lord Derby	S.A. Walker & Co.	cdv	c.1865	746(B)
277	Sir G. Cornwall Lewis	L. Caldese & Co.	cdv	c.1862	79
278	The Man We All Have Confidence in'	none	cdv	c.1874	NPGx197099
279	I am a working man myself' Lord Brougham	none	cdv	c.1862	942
280	The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Derby'	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c.1870	285
281	Lord Westbury	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c.1861	789
282	Sir Roundell Palmer	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c.1863	512
283	Baron Westbury, the New Chancellor'	<i>Illustrated Times</i>	newspaper illustration	1861	XA50
284	Lord Hatherley 'Statesmen No.7'	<i>Vanity Fair</i>	print	1869	XA52
285	The Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1875	408
286	Lord Westbury 'Statesmen No.15'	<i>Vanity Fair</i>	print	1869	XA49
287	Lord Westbury	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1863	750
288	Lord Westbury, the new Chancellor'	Illustrated London News	newspaper illustration	1861	XA51
289	Lord Campbell	Caldesi Blanford & Co.	cdv	c.1861	96
290	Lord Chief Baron Pollock	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c.1866	513
291	Lord Elgin	none	cdv	c.1858	1027
292	Viscount Falkland	Caldesi Blanford & Co.	cdv	c.1862	90
293	Ashe Windham	Messrs. Day	cdv	c.1861	140
294	Lord A. Paget	Southwell Bros.	cdv	c.1862	727
295	Duke of Buckingham	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c.1861	787
296	Earl Granville 'Statesmen No.6'	<i>Vanity Fair</i>	print	1869	XA54
297	Sir John Lawrence	W.E. Debenham	cdv	c.1864	142
298	Sir John Lawrence	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c.1862	791
299	Rajah Brooke	Mauil & Polyblank	cdv	c.1860	509
300	seven cdv prints incl. Rajah Brooke	none	carte-sized prints stuck onto album page	c.1862	XA55
301	Lord Mayo	none	cdv	c.1860	1029
302	Sher Ali	none	cdv	c.1872	1010
303	seven cdv prints	none	carte-sized prints stuck onto album page	c.1862	XA56
304	Lord Palmerston	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1862	748
305	Lord Palmerston	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1862	746
306	Lord Palmerston	H. Hering	cdv	c.1862	323
307	Lord Palmerston	C. Silvy	cdv	c.1862	705
308	Viscount Palmerston'	Mayall	cdv	c.1860	615
309	The Coalition Ministry'	Sir John Gilbert	pencil, pen and ink	1855	XA58
310	Lord Palmerston	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1863	223
311	Lord Palmerston	P.E. Chappuis	cdv	c.1863	114
312	Lord Palmerston	<i>Baily's Magazine of Sports</i>	magazine illustration	1860	XA61
313	Turf Celebrities. No.1'	Ashford Bros. & Co.	cdv	c.1863	22(A)
314	The Treaty of Commerce 1860'	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	newspaper illustration	1862	XA60
315	Gladstone, Cobden, Bright & Palmerston	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1865	231
316	John Bright	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1864	230

IMAGE NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	ARCHIVE NUMBER
317	John Bright	none	cdv	c.1862	945
318	John Roebuck	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1862	227
319	Francis Crossley	H. Hering	cdv	c.1862	327
320	Sir Robert Peel 'Statesmen No.44'	<i>Vanity Fair</i>	print	1870	XA59
321	Richard Cobden	none	cdv	c.1861	948
322	John Bright and Richard Cobden	none	cdv	c.1861	946
323	William Gladstone	Mayall	cdv	c.1866	616
324	William Gladstone	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1865	815
325	William Gladstone	Mayall	cdv	c.1868	617
326	William Gladstone	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1870	239
327	William Gladstone	William Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1862	NPGx29292
328	William Gladstone and wife	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1862	747
329	Mr. & Mrs. Gladstone'	none	cdv	c.1889	929
330	Gladstone & grandson'	none	cdv	c.1874	930
331	William Ewart Gladstone'	<i>The Graphic</i>	newspaper illustration	1889	XA62
332	Mr. Gladstone Reading the Lessons'	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	newspaper illustration	1880	XA63
333	The Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone, M.P.'	none	silk stevengraph	c.1875	XA64
334	Benjamin Disraeli	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868	XA68
335	Benjamin Disraeli	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1868	234
336	The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.'	Jabez Hughes	cabinet card	c.1878	XA69
337	The Earl of Beaconsfield'	Mayall	cdv	c.1868	XA67
338	The Earl of Beaconsfield: Visit of the Prince of Wales'	<i>The Graphic</i>	newspaper illustration	1881	XA65
339	The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli'	Alexander Charles Ewald	book	1881	XA66
340	The Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone'	J. Russell & Sons	cabinet card	c.1898	XA70
341	Hughenden Primroses in Memoriam'	none	cdv	c.1881	936

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS					
CLERGYMEN					
IMAGE NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	ARCHIVE NUMBER
342	Bishop of Manchester	Mayall	cdv	c.1857	627
343	Bishop of Winchester	Mayall	cdv	c.1857	624
344	Henry Villiers, Bishop of Durham	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1860	491
345	Bishop of Ripon	Mauill & Plyblank	cdv	c.1863	516
346	Rev. Thompson, Archbishop of York	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1862	497
347	Archibald Tait, Bishop of London	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1862	758
348	Archbishop of Canterbury	Kilburn	cdv	c.1862	372
349	Bishop of Rochester	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1862	493
350	Bishop of Lichfield	Mauill & Plyblank	cdv	c.1860	515
351	John Lonsdale, Bishop of Lichfield	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1862	490
352	Bishop of Gloucester & Bristol	C. Silvy	cdv	c.1862	709
353	Archbishop of Canterbury	Kilburn	cdv	c.1862	373
354	Dr. Stanley	Hills & Saunders	cdv	c.1862	349
355	Dr. Colenso Lord Bishop of Natal'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1862	411
356	Bishop of Oxford	Kilburn	cdv	c.1860	374
357	Bishop of Exeter	H. Hering	cdv	c.1862	329
358	The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Exeter'	P. E. Chappuis	cdv	c.1862	630
359	Bishop of Exeter	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1862	761
360	Bishop of Exeter	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1862	762
361	Rev. Jackson, Bishop of London	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1864	494
362	Rev. A. Machonochie	W. Walker & Sons	cdv	c.1864	757
363	Dr. Cumming	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1863	375
364	Rev. John Henry Newman	McLean & Haes	cdv	c.1864	NPG.Ax7503
365	Pope Pius IX	none	cdv (colour)	c.1862	969
366	His Eminence Cardinal Manning;'	Elliott & Fry	cdv (colour)	c.1870	290
367	Cardinal Wiseman	Moira & Haigh	cdv	c.1863	658
368	The Very Rev. Monsignor Capel'	London Stereoscopic Co.	cdv	c.1872	415
369	Archibald Tair, Archbishop of Canterbury	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1873	XA73
370	Dr. Stanley	John & Charles Watkins	cdv	c.1868	794
371	Samuel Wilberforce	Barraud & Jerrard	cdv	c.1868	27
372	Archibald Tait, Bishop of London	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	628
373	Bishop of Chichester	Southwell Bros.	cdv	c.1862	728
374	Dr. Manning	none	carte-sized print stuck to album page	c.1870	1030
375	Dr. Pusey	Mason & Co.	cdv	c.1861	697
376	Samuel Wilberforce	Mayall	cdv	c.1862	629
377	Rev. J.R. Mursell	John Burton & Sons	cdv	c.1864	72
378	Rev. Binney	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c.1868	291
379	Ira Sankey	W. & D. Downey	cdv	c.1873	242
380	Rev. E. Parker	Appleton & Co.	cdv	c.1865	3
381	W. Hay Aitkin	Lock & Whitfield	cdv	c.1870	811
382	Rev. Morley Punshon	Fredk. Jones	cdv	c.1864	362
383	Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown	Abel Lewis	cdv	c.1865	387
384	Charles Spurgeon	none	cdv	c.1861	963
385	Richard Weaver	E. Wormold	cdv	c.1863	XA72
386	Richard Weaver	Bingham	cdv	c.1865	49
387	Martin Luther	Elliott & Fry	cdv	c.1870	292
388	Rev. E.A. Telfer'	Arthur Debenham	cdv	c.1870	143
389	Charles Haddon Spurgeon'	none	cdv	c.1885	413
390	Baptist Noel	C. Silvy	cdv	c.1861	710
391	Portraits of Wesleyan Ministers'	Geo. J. Stevenson	cdv	c.1875	739

IMAGE NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	ARCHIVE NUMBER
392	Rev. J.R. Mursell	John Burton & Sons	cdv	c.1864	72
393	Rev. E. Parker	Appleton & Co.	cdv	c.1865	3
394	Bishop Llanduff	Mayer Brothers	cdv	c.1861	642
395	Samuel Wilberforce	Mowbray	cdv	c.1861	661
396	Charles Spurgeon	none	cdv	c.1861	963
397	Cardinal Wiseman	Moir & Haigh	cdv	c.1863	658
398	Rev. W. Newton, Vicar of Stevenage	Samuel A. Walker	cdv	c.1864	754

		LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS			
CONCLUSION					
IMAGE					ARCHIVE
NUMBER	SUBJECT	STUDIO/ ARTIST	MEDIUM	DATE	NUMBER
399	Prince Albert	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	553(A)
400	Earl Derby'	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	613
401	Bishop of Carlisle	Mayall	cdv	c.1861	625
402	John Keble and wife	Preston & Poole	cdv	c.1863	XA90
403	Richard Spurgeon and wife	Richard Smith	cdv	c.1862	XA75
404	J.P. Drony	Mellis	cdv	c.1865	XA91
405	Lord Randolph Churchill	Hills & Saunders	cdv	c.1880	345
406	Unnamed man and woman	J. Raine	cdv	c.1862	XA78
407	The Queen & Prince Consort'	Mayall	cdv	c.1860	559

INTRODUCTION

A NEW PORTRAIT PRODUCT

This thesis addresses a new celebrity portrait medium that appeared in Britain in the late 1850s, the carte de visite photograph. The carte de visite was a system of photography which utilised a new type of camera that could produce multiple images off a single negative. This meant that portraits could be circulated in affordable units to a large market: the *Photographic Album of Literature and Art* described the carte de visite as a 'novel occurrence' in providing the portraits of well-known personalities to 'the million'.¹ This new method of publishing portraits presented huge business opportunities, with volumetric output generating huge profits for the aspiring professional photographer. There was a great demand for the product too. Indeed the *Photographic News* noted in 1862 that demand was far greater 'than can be supplied'.² Sales were recorded in the millions in the 1860s and 1870s.³ For example the *British Quarterly Review* stated that by 1866 sales of the cartes of the Prince and Princess of Wales alone had exceeded 2 million copies,⁴ and the same publication noted profit margins reaching £1,000 off one negative, with a run of

¹ 'Princess Frederick William of Prussia', *The Photographic Album of Literature and Art*, No.1 (London, 1858), Prospectus. This was published as a monthly collection of photographic portraits of well-known personalities with accompanying two-page biographies.

² A. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visite', *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.104.

² A. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visite', *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.104.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.104-5.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.104-5.

⁴ John Plunkett, 'Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte-de-visite', *Journal of*

⁴ John Plunkett, 'Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte-de-visite', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 8.1 (April 2003), pp. 74.

40,000 copies.⁵ By mass-producing photographs of well-known personalities, the studios could earn a lot of money: a 'celebrity' portrait product. One leading London photographer J.J.E. Mayall was purported to have earned around £12,000 per annum from his celebrity cartes.⁶ The *Art Journal* wrote in 1861 that the cartes of the Royal family would find their way into 'every quarter of our Sovereign's wide dominions, and into every city and town, both at home and in the colonies, and into families innumerable', and the writer went on to say that 'everybody' was anxious to form a collection of these '*Cartes-de-Visite*'.⁷ The *Photographic News* described a carte de visite 'rage' and a 'card mania' emerging in 1862⁸ and, although much rhetoric was undoubtedly circulated to build interest, the large number of remaining celebrity cartes indicates a significant business activity centred around this new portrait medium.

The Development of the Carte de Visite Portrait Medium

A short description of the development of the carte de visite medium and its market helps to establish a clear context for the thesis. The earliest methods of portrait photography were very different from the reproductive processes of mass-production. The daguerreotype portraits in the 1840s (produced on silver-coated copper and covered with glass) had been delicate one-off images. They were

⁵ 'Mason v. Heath', *Photographic News*, 7 March 1862, pp. 115. Profits of 6d per image were described, and it has been calculated that on 40,000 cartes, profits would have been consequently £1,000.

⁶ Elizabeth Heyert, *The Glass-House Years: Victorian Portrait Photography 1839-1870* (London. 1979), pp. 86.

⁷ 'Cartes-de-visite', *Art Journal*, Vol VII (1 October, 1861), pp.306.

⁸ 'Photographic Exhibition at Edinburgh', *Photographic News*, 31 January 1862, pp.56. 'British Photographic Department', *Photographic News*, 4 July 1862, pp.316.

placed inside cases for protection, and were expensive to produce and buy. Richard Beard and Antoine Claudet are credited with setting up the first professional studios in London in 1841, working in the daguerreotype process, but the true age of reproductive photography began with Fox Talbot in 1841 when he devised his 'talbotype'. In this process multiple prints were taken off a single negative, but it was a method which produced poor quality and transient results, and it was only in 1851 that Frederick Scott Archer made a particularly significant breakthrough in using a glass negative combined with wet collodion. From this, multiple paper prints were taken using albumen for printing, and a far more durable product resulted. Exposure times were reduced, and thus the mass-production of portrait photography blossomed. Full-plate prints were produced (often referred to as 'albumen prints'). They were 6" x 8½", but they were relatively expensive and only affordable by the upper-middle-classes. However in 1854 Disderi devised a carte de visite camera in France which could take multiple images – between four and twelve - on a single plate.⁹ The prints were cut out and sold as small pictures – of 2¼" x 3½". They could be sold in this form for attachment to an album page or mounted (by the studio) onto a slightly larger card mount – of 2½" x 4" – and called a carte de visite.¹⁰ This pattern of production increased the output many-fold in a single operation and at a similar outlay to the photographer, and it enabled practitioners to reduce prices whilst retaining a good profit. Whereas the early daguerreotypes had cost 1g each, and the albumen prints between 3/- and 5/-, the cartes retailed at around 1/- to 1/6d

⁹ T.R. Williams had used one lens 'and a back with three repeats, taking three portraits in succession on a whole plate'. 'Card Portraiture', *Photographic News*, 20 November 1863, pp.553-4. Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disderi and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven & London), 1985.

¹⁰ The size of the prints and cards can vary slightly from one studio to another.

each. They were then sold in the studios' own showrooms, or circulated to shops (such as stationers) and retail outlets around the country.

CARTE DE VISITE PRODUCTION AS A BUSINESS

Supply

The lucrative commercial potential of photography was noted by Robert Hunt in 1841 when he proposed that the medium's future lay in the field of publication,¹¹ and it was an aspect recognised by the earliest practitioners. In the early 1840s Richard Beard acquired the patent rights from Daguerre, and he exercised these in England to restrict competition.¹² Fox Talbot followed a similar policy in claiming that his talbotype patent rights included the collodion process. Some, such as William Kilburn, paid for the licence to practise, but J.J.E. Mayall moved to America between 1842 and 1846, possibly in an attempt to avoid such constraint. Sir Charles Eastlake wrote to Fox Talbot in July 1852 asking him to open photographic practice to all, but he refused to lift his claims over commercial portraiture.¹³ However, in December 1854 the courts ruled that Talbot's restriction was invalid,¹⁴ and thus anyone who wished to do so could set up in business and trade freely in the

¹¹ Robert Hunt, *A Popular Treatise on the Art of Photography* (Glasgow, 1841), pp.72. Quoted in Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography* (London, 1981), pp.7.

¹² He acquired the patent rights from Daguerre through his British agent, and demanded payment for a licence to practice, but Claudet was one photographer who set up in opposition, having purchased his own licence directly from Daguerre.

¹³ 'The International Exhibition. Report of the Jury on Photography and Photographic Apparatus. Progress Since 1851 – The Printing Committee', *Photographic News*, 9 January 1863, pp.20. *Photographic Society Journal*, 3 March 1853, pp.3.

¹⁴ And Beard's patent restrictions had run out.

occupation of portrait photography.¹⁵ This was an enormous impetus to trade: indeed John Werge describes how, on hearing the news in 1854, Mayall was 'quite jubilant'.¹⁶ The *Photographic News* noted that photography 'at once took a commercial standing, and photographers multiplied in all directions.'¹⁷ London trade directories reveal a huge rise in the number of commercial photographic studios between the years 1854 and 1863,¹⁸ and the new business of photography was aided by improving road and rail networks across the country which meant that stock could be circulated quickly and efficiently to meet a wide national market demand as interest arose.¹⁹ Indeed the *Photographic News* described the photographic process's 'ease' of production and 'cheapness' of sale reaching its highest development in the carte de visite'.²⁰

Demand

The supply of an affordable portrait product was thus established, and there was a growing demand to meet the supply. A burgeoning middle-class had surplus cash to spend on non-essentials: the historian Ian Bradley has pointed out how the thirty

¹⁵ Fox Talbot's claims were removed in a court case in 1854 between Laroche and Talbot, and Beard's patent restrictions on the Daguerreotype expired in 1854.

¹⁶ John Werge, *The Evolution of Photography* (New York, 1973), pp.54.

¹⁷ 'British Photographic Department', *Photographic News*, 15 August 1862, pp.388.

¹⁸ Numbers show two periods of particular rise in studio numbers, from ten to one hundred and fifty between 1854 and 1856, and rising to two hundred between 1861 and 1863. An analysis of the reasons for such expansion at these particular dates is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it can be conjectured that it was firstly due to the lifting of patent restrictions, and secondly due to the popularity generated by Mayall's cartes de visite in his Royal Album published in 1860.

¹⁹ Newspapers could be widely circulated, carrying the latest news and illustrations of celebrity personalities to a large and diverse population.

²⁰ 'The Photographic Art a Blessing to the World – Cartes de Visite', *Photographic News*, 12 September 1862, pp.443.

years between 1850 and 1880 witnessed a 'virtual doubling in the country's Gross National Income'.²¹ David Bebbington claims that between 1860 and 1900 the middle-classes enjoyed a surplus income rise in Britain of 'more than 60%'²² and, even if adopting W. Hamish Fraser's lower estimate of 32 per cent,²³ a ready flow of money for non-essentials is indicated. The size of market also grew. Gary Firth highlights the great rise in middle-class population during the nineteenth century, especially in urban areas. He says that between 1801 and 1851 Bradford had grown from 13,264 to 103,778,²⁴ and that London's population rose threefold from 1815, reaching over three million by 1860.²⁵ Alan Kidd and David Nicholls have argued that it was a period of exceptional middle-class expansion²⁶ and, although it cannot be assumed that the entire middle-class enjoyed the affluent position described above, it suggests that more people had more to spend than ever before.²⁷ The *Art Journal* in 1865 succinctly summed it up when it stated that a 'constantly' expanding population and a 'corresponding accumulation of wealth in the hands of individuals' had resulted in a growing number of men 'of money'²⁸ –

²¹ Ian Campbell Bradley, *Enlightened Entrepreneurs* (London, 1987), pp.8.

²² David Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* (Leicester, 2005), pp.15.

²³ Between 1850 and 1874. W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914* (London, 1981), pp.39, 67-80.

²⁴ Dr. Gary Firth, *Images of England: Bradford* (Stroud, 1995), pp.6.

²⁵ Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "London History – a Population History of London", *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 28 August 2011).

²⁶ Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, 'Introduction: The Making of the British Middle Class?', *The Making of the British Middle Class?*, eds. Alan Kidd & David Nicholls (Stroud, 1998), pp.xxxii.

²⁷ W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914* (London, 1981), pp.ix.

²⁸ 'Reviews', *Art Journal*, 1 April 1865, pp.128.

and it was an increasingly knowledgeable and informed population, generated by widened educational opportunities and the large number of press publications circulated across the country.

Taxes had been lifted on published information in 1855 (and on advertising in 1853), and this facilitated cheaper news-print. Increasing numbers of affordable newspapers circulated constantly-updated information (and illustrations) on national and international events and the personages involved in them, and a shared public interest and recognition was generated. As Dawson, Noakes and Topham claim, press and periodical publication 'played a central role in creating a mass culture' in the nineteenth-century,²⁹ but they also particularly provided a boost for the commercial photographer's celebrity portrait product.

A Product for the Era of Mass Publication and Mass Market

Simon Morgan has described a 'mass' society characterised by urbanisation, consumer capitalism, political democracy, and widened literacy, and one that enjoyed a growing range of affordable published material,³⁰ and this was the environment within which the commercial venture of the carte de visite portrait emerged and prospered. It was an age of 'mass' experience, in production and in consumption, and references to volume and turnover in the publishing genre are repeatedly found in contemporary literature. For example, it was claimed in 1846 that steam presses could turn out five-to-six thousand copies of a newspaper in an

²⁹ Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, and Jonathan R. Topham, 'Introduction', *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical*, ed. Gillian Beer (Cambridge, 2004), pp.17.

³⁰ Simon Morgan, 'Celebrity', *Cultural and Social History*, Volume 8, Issue 1 (March 2011), pp.98. Economic policies opened the market in the nineteenth-century which helped trade in published media to expand and reduced prices – for example the lifting of taxes on published information in 1855 and on advertising in 1853.

hour,³¹ and the Revd. Owen had recognised how the cheap price of one of his books had placed it 'within reach of THE MILLION', also specifying that this was the market 'for whom it is written'.³² New publishing patterns were devised to address a mass market, for example Mary Poovey points out, in reference to literary publications, that instalment issues 'almost single-handedly' transformed the novel into a valuable commodity, appealing to 'a nation of individual buyers': indeed she cites the instalment issue of Dickens's *Pickwick Papers* as increasing sales from four hundred to forty thousand copies of the book.³³ The *Wesleyan Times* similarly noted that for just 1d a week, instalments of Cassell's *Illustrated Family Bible* encouraged 'thousands' of families to purchase the publication.³⁴ The business of photography formed a part of this era of small-unit publishing. Maull & Polyblank issued their photographs in affordable monthly part-work instalments to compile their *Photographic Portraits of Living Celebrities* (published between May 1856 and October 1859), and a similar pattern was adopted by the *Stereoscope Magazine* when it included several cards in each edition. The *Photographic News* pointed out in 1863 that imagery was produced 'for the people at large, not for a few',³⁵ and the affordable carte de visite suited middle-class incomes.

For the professional photographer it was the volume of sales that determined his business success. In selling a product in low-priced units, turnover was vital. As with other areas of publishing, it was 'only by means of an enormous circulation' that

³¹ W. Hamish Fraser, *Op. Cit.*, pp.227-8.

³² Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes* (London, 1994) pp.125.

³³ Poovey, *Uneven Developments* (London, 1989), pp.104.

³⁴ Cassell's *Family Bible* (London, 1860).

³⁵ 'A Photographers' Relief Fund', *Photographic News*, 11 December 1863, front page.

an enterprise would succeed.³⁶ Constant reference is made to volume in photographic output in contemporary literature. For example one studio stated that it could take ninety-seven negatives in eight hours (just under five minutes each),³⁷ and Arthur Melhuish proudly proclaimed that he could print around two hundred photographs per day from just one negative.³⁸ This amounts to nineteen thousand four hundred prints per day which may seem excessive, however it highlights the attention given to output in the photographic business.

As discussed earlier, photographers' target market was the comfortably-off middle-classes, but in accounting for one-fifth of a family's weekly surplus income, the portraits would have constituted a considerable outlay, and a purchase once or twice a month might seem likely. The exceptionally high celebrity carte de visite sales which were reported in the contemporary press can therefore be misleading and, instead of suggesting numerous purchases every week, the large sales volume can perhaps be explained by the numbers of buyers, rather than the number of their purchases. Some photographers, however, widened the market by offering cartes at vastly reduced prices. These were the 'pirate' studios who re-photographed originally-photographed work and sold the images at around one-third of legitimate authors' prices. Thus the market was again shaped through the product's price structure.

The Product's Unique Selling Point

In 1858 the *Photographic Album of Literature and Art* described the 'circulation of

³⁶ Cassell's *Family Bible* (London, 1860), (issued in instalments).

³⁷ Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography 1850-1880* (London, 1987), pp.198.

³⁸ 'Mr. Melhuish's Rapid Printing Process', *Photographic News*, 28 March 1862, pp.154.

affordable imagery of well-known personalities' as a 'novel occurrence',³⁹ and mass-produced photography did indeed present a unique experience of the celebrity. The medium's automated reproduction apparently reproduced an undeniable truth. *The Illustrated News of the World* said that viewers could be sure they were 'not looking upon fancy sketches, but upon the exact transcript of the features and expression of the originals' as they lived and moved in the world.⁴⁰ In addition, the portraits were available in a wide subject-range. As the *Art Journal* noted:

'Whatever our special taste in Art, or literature, or science', we can select *cartes de visite* which will form for us our own collection of the portraits of the artists, the authors, or the philosophers whose names to us are as "household words". It is the same in politics – a *carte-de-visite* is equally ready for us, whether we prefer Derby or Palmerston, Lyndhurst or Brougham, and in either case the portrait sets before us the very man'.

The writer continued that 'loved, and esteemed, and honoured' celebrities could be found who frequented 'every possible department of public life' who 'signally adorn the professions, whether of the church, the bar, or of medicine'.⁴¹ This facilitated a personal selection which was very different from the pre-formed collections presented in biographical publications or gallery displays. Sold in small cardboard units, cartes were accessible and affordable when compared to oil paintings. But they were substantial enough to collect in albums, being less flimsy than newspaper

³⁹ 'Princess Frederick William of Prussia', *The Photographic Album of Literature and Art* No. 1 (London, 1858), Prospectus.

⁴⁰ *Illustrated News of the World. Drawing Room Portrait Gallery*, Vol.1 (London, 1859), Preface.

⁴¹ 'Cartes-de-Visite', *Art Journal*, Vol. VII (London, 1861), pp.306. This again underlines the traditional biographical categories which have been discussed.

cuttings.⁴² They could be compiled in changing arrangements to suit a personal outlook, and they related to modern life. They presented personages who were involved in the latest news-worthy events, and who could be read about in the latest press publications. This provided a way for consumers and collectors to participate in the social and political issues of their society, and to share in a public discourse on the current events of the world – but through monetary exchange. It was ‘business’ that facilitated such participation, and this thesis sets out to examine commercial strategies devised to sustain such social activity and support a new professional livelihood.

Carte de visite photography developed as a popular form of representation in the late 1850s. This followed the initial aristocratic, and rather exclusive, amateur experimentation of the early-nineteenth-century, and preceded the readily available Kodak photography of the late-nineteenth-century that encouraged and promoted personal photography.⁴³ Mass-produced carte de visite photography was largely undertaken by an emerging class of entrepreneurs and experts as a business venture in the 1860s and 1870s to support a living, leading to the development of a new ‘profession’ of photography. The volumetric photographic output of this new professional cadre ran in tandem with the more ‘artistically’ produced portrait work undertaken by such photographers as Julia Margaret Cameron and Lewis Carroll who aimed at a far smaller audience.⁴⁴ For the professional photographer volume

⁴² Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, and Jonathan R. Topham, ‘Introduction’, *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical*, ed. Gillian Beer (Cambridge, 2004), pp.2.

⁴³ The carte de visite also preceded the half-tone plates that were introduced in the late-nineteenth-century that facilitated magazine illustration. Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (New York, 1996), pp.68-86.

⁴⁴ Although selling their work, these amateur photographers’ main aim was to produce work in limited volume rather than to enter the mass market as a ‘business’. They were

was of paramount importance, and the same image was circulated across the country in huge numbers. Commercial success depended upon attracting the interest of as wide a public opinion as possible, and encouraging the collection of the small photographs of the notable personages of the day. To this end photographers published images that they hoped represented their market's shared social interests and outlook. It was the 'document' value that secured commercial needs and sales firstly, supported by an aesthetic aura that suited a social context.⁴⁵ This was the approach that ensured a strong trade in celebrity carte de visite photography in the mid-to-late nineteenth-century, and which was very different from the developments of twentieth-century portrait photography when the exploration of one particular individual's most intimate and personal emotions became fashionable and desirable by the dominant collecting market.⁴⁶

THIS RESEARCH

Where the Research Fits into Current Literature

This strand of mid-nineteenth-century mass-produced celebrity photography has been overlooked in current scholarship. The photographic historian William Darrah has pointed out that even eminent photographic historians such as Helmut

not working in photography primarily to support a living, and depending on volume of market turnover to provide profit.

⁴⁵ Steve Edwards discusses the nineteenth-century debates around the mechanical copying value of the photograph as opposed to what was viewed as the intellectually and individually-produced, aesthetically pleasing fine art portrait, each fulfilling the needs of a different audience. Steve Edwards, 'A "Pariah in the World of Art": Richter in Reverse Gear', Green, D. ed. *Where is the Photograph?* (Brighton, 2003), pp.31-46.

⁴⁶ As was admired, for example, in the work of Giselle Freund. Giselle Freund, *Gisele Freund Photographs* (Munich, 2008). Freund's expression of the inner emotions of people involved in the historical events of the early twentieth-century gained her a high reputation as a portrait photographer in the twentieth-century.

Gernsheim and Bernard Newhall have 'deprecated' cartes de visite as 'crude, conventionalized, unimagative, imitative, uninspired' and 'cheap in every sense of the word'.⁴⁷ The National Gallery's Colin Ford similarly described the photographs as 'charming' and 'pretty', and a 'craze' which offers little historical or social interest.⁴⁸ Such opinion has discouraged investigation, and consequently little is known about their production, producers, nature of demand, strategies for securing sales, or patterns of consumption. In photographic histories there is often a brief chapter on commercial photography.⁴⁹ For example Helmut Gernsheim's awards the carte de visite just fifteen out of two hundred and seventy pages in his *The Age of Collodion*,⁵⁰ and it is sandwiched in between chapters on 'Landscape and Architectural Photography' and 'Some Famous Portrait Photographers', these being amateur practitioners. There is a 'separation' of commercial activity in such publications, with chapters on technological advances, early practitioners such as Louis Daguerre, Henry Fox Talbot and Frederick Scott Archer, the subjects they photographed, and the work of amateur photographers such as Julia Margaret Cameron and Lewis Carroll⁵¹ accompanied by one disjointed section on the carte de

⁴⁷ William C. Darrah, *Cartes de Visite* (Gettysburg, 1981), pp.3 and 24.

⁴⁸ Colin Ford, *National Portrait Gallery People In Camera* (London, 1979), pp.15.

⁴⁹ John Hannavy, *Masters of Victorian Photography* (New York, 1976). Elizabeth Heyert, *The Glass-House Years* (London, 1979). Bevis Hillier, *Victorian Studio Photographs* (London, 1973).

⁵⁰ Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography 1850-1880 The Age of Collodion* (London, 1988).

⁵¹ Gernsheim favoured what he believed to be the 'more artistic' output of Julia Margaret Cameron and Lewis Carroll. Helmut Gernsheim, *Creative Photography: Aesthetic Trends 1839-1960* (New York, 1962). Other works adopting this approach include Mike Weaver, *The Photographic Art* (London, 1986), Grace Sieberling and Carolyn Bloore, *Acting the Part*, ed. Lori Pauli (London and New York, 2006).

visite.

A few researchers have however undertaken valuable work on Victorian professional photography. William Darrah self-published a book on cartes de visite in 1981, however he himself describes it as a 'survey' of British and American cartes, and he covers all subject categories undertaken in the medium. There is only random reference to celebrity portraiture in the work and it is, as he emphasises, aimed at the American reader with an 'American emphasis' in content.⁵² Anne McCauley has highlighted the significance of commercial activity around cartes de visite, and she provides a detailed account of the pioneer of the carte de visite A. A. E. Disderi as well as a factual and statistical work on the organisation of commercial studios. However she examines the French output with little reference to British market activity.⁵³ Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves have examined the carte de visite medium and have compared the different style used in scientific and policing purposes with those aimed at the domestic market, but little attention has been given to studios' commercial strategies.⁵⁴ Studies on photography by Steve Edwards, Juliet Hacking, Gertrude Mae Prescott and Janice Hart provide an important framework for this research. Edwards has conducted valuable investigation into the early struggle to establish a new profession of mass-produced photography in the 1850s, and this thesis builds on his investigation and continues the theme into the following decades.⁵⁵ Juliet Hacking's *Photography*

⁵² William C. Darrah, Op. cit., Preface.

⁵³ Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris 1848-1871* (New Haven & London, 1994). Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disderi and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven & London, 1985)

⁵⁴ Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned* (Aldershot, 2001).

⁵⁵ Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* (Pennsylvania, 2006).

Personified: Art and Identity in British Photography 1857-1869 again focuses on commercial output and provides a useful background to the photography of one commercial practitioner, that of Camille Silvy. Hacking uses this study in tracing change from 'realism' to aestheticism to in British society and culture.⁵⁶ However, in focussing on just one photographer who cultivated an upper-class image to attract an aristocratic clientele, the work provides a limited view of the mid-Victorian commercial photographic industry. This thesis undertakes a wider analysis of carte de visite activity in the mid-nineteenth-century, with the examination of a large number of studios' work, to provide a more comprehensive view, and to help in identifying shifts in business practice over time. Prescott's work, in its examination of the commercial publication of celebrity photographs, is perhaps most closely associated with this thesis. However Prescott's study focuses on collections of full-plate portraits issued in pre-arranged volumes in the 1850s: and although some of the photographers she discusses went on to work in the carte de visite medium, the format of published collections was very different from the free-standing cartes offered as affordable units for individually purchase and compilation.⁵⁷ Hart's thesis, entitled *Method and Meaning in Mid Victorian Portrait Photography in England c. 1855-1880*, is a fact-based account of working conditions and techniques.⁵⁸ Again it provides a rich source of information and useful reference material, but the study offers no analysis of the relationship between photographic practice and market and,

⁵⁶ Juliet L. Hacking, *Photography Personified: Art and Identity in British Photography 1857-1869*, PhD thesis (London, 1998).

⁵⁷ Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900*, PhD Thesis (University of Texas at Austin, 1985).

⁵⁸ Janice Carol Hart, *Method and Meaning in Mid Victorian Portrait Photography in England c. 1855-1880*, Phd Thesis, (London, 1987).

as such, it does not situate business activity within a social context. These studies demonstrate the wide interest in commercial carte mass-produced photography in the mid-nineteenth-century, but they were undertaken over ten years ago, and little attention has been given to the extensive range of images that has become available.⁵⁹ This thesis therefore aims to increase our understanding of mid-Victorian commercial photography through a detailed analysis of mass-produced cartes de visite.

Professional mass-produced photography was a business of output and turnover with the volume of sales determining success, but the product had to meet the market's expectations in order to sustain viability: commerce and culture had to be successfully linked in order to meet demand and to establish a successful career in commercial portrait photography. This thesis situates the carte de visite industry in the context of mid-Victorian culture. It examines commercial strategies in an increasingly competitive field that depended on the construction of an image that appealed to a wide range of public taste and social interest. To provide a framework for interpreting and understanding carte de visite images and industry it has been necessary to draw upon a broad range of scholarship on Victorian business, art history, and social history.

Research on Victorian commercial history has provided a starting point. Economic historians such as Paul Johnson, Charles Sabel and Jonatham Zeitlin, and Stana Nenadic, R.J. Morris, James Smyth and Chris Rainger highlight the significant number of successful smaller Victorian firms across a range of manufacturing

⁵⁹ As estates are administered, nineteenth-century photographic albums are found. Both the albums and cartes de visite are increasingly placed in antique shops and given to photographic dealers.

sectors that used processes of mass-production, but also employed craftsmen to add personal touches to the standardised objects.⁶⁰ Mid-Victorian photographic enterprise fits this business form. Studios were small-to-medium-sized undertakings that combined automated reproductive technology with personally-arranged lighting, pose and props.⁶¹ Such scholarship provides a useful basis for understanding studio set-up in the mid-Victorian era, however the focus of this thesis is the mass circulation of the celebrity images of well-known personalities to a wide audience and, as such, also requires an understanding of Victorian celebrity culture and industry. Pamela Pilbeam has researched a similar trade, that of Madame Tussaud's waxworks.⁶² Tussaud's early nineteenth-century business was based on the exhibition of waxwork models as a new form of entertainment aimed at the middle-class market.⁶³ Tussaud deployed similar strategies to the photographic studios to attract the target market, such as using royal association for reputation and for self-promotion. However, although there are similarities with the photographic business, there was also difference. Studios had to compete with many others all offering a similar product, and as such it was their professional

⁶⁰ Paul Johnson, 'Economic Development and Industrial Dynamism in Victorian London', *London Journal*, Vol.21, Issue 1 (June 1996), pp.27-37. Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, 'Historical Alternatives to Mass Production: Politics, Markets and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Industrialization', *Past & Present*, No. 108 (August 1985), pp.133-176. Stana Nenadic, R.J. Morris, James Smyth and Chris Rainger, 'Record Linkage and the Small Family Firm: Edinburgh 1861-1891', *Bulletin*, John Rylands Library.

⁶¹ Ranging from single traders to family concerns, and companies which employed a large workforce.

⁶² Pamela Pilbeam, 'Madame Tussaud and the Business of Wax: Marketing to the Middle Classes', *The Emergence of Modern Marketing*, Eds. Roy Church and Andrew Godley (London, 2003), pp.6-22.

⁶³ There had been other waxwork displays, but targeted at a working-class audience. Tussaud set out to introduce the medium to a middle-class market.

reputation and the quality of their workmanship that determined success rather than building a 'brand' around their own name, as in the case of Tussaud. This research therefore provides a different view of the celebrity business in the nineteenth-century, and it highlights how the commodity came to be used as an advertising tool itself. Thomas Richards claims that, after the Great Exhibition of 1851, a commodity culture emerged in which advertisement was intimately entwined with the object,⁶⁴ and the carte de visite provides an example of this shift in business culture where wide advertisement to a mass market was a primary concern to aspiring businesses. As this thesis shows, professional photographers devised a wide range of marketing ploys to increase their turnover.

Photographers targeted a core middle-class market, and this is indicated in the pricing structure adopted. Sold at 1/- to 1/6, a portraits would have been accessible to the middle-classes, accounting for around one-fifth of a household's weekly surplus income.⁶⁵ Pamela Pilbeam provides a useful comparison when discussing the commercial strategies of Madame Tussaud. As Pilbeam says, Tussaud used ticket-price to establish her business as a 'middle- and upper-class entertainment'.⁶⁶ Similarly the mid-Victorian middle-class market was met through pricing and images that reflected their values and interests. A considerable amount of research has been undertaken by historians such as Stefan Collini, Simon Gunn, Dror Wahrman,

⁶⁴ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (Stanford, 1990).

⁶⁵ Hamish Fraser has argued that disposable income in the mid nineteenth century was around 10d per week for the lowest working classes, 1/3d for the middle working classes, and around 3/- for the higher working class. Employing similar calculations to those used by Fraser in working out disposable income from the figures of earned income, the surplus income of the middle classes might be considered to be in the region of 7/- to 8/- per week, being 1/10 of their total income. W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914* (London, 1981), pp. 66 quoting W.A Mackenzie's model budgets.

⁶⁶ Pamela Pilbeam, *Op. Cit.*, pp.19.

Asa Briggs, and Davidoff and Hall into Victorian middle-class culture,⁶⁷ and their scholarship has identified a number of values that came to represent the British middle-class: a domestic ideology of character, intellect, learning and self-making. Moreover their work has shown how these values became central to national culture and identity in the nineteenth-century. This literature on the middle-classes has provided a background framework for understanding the portraits' potential market value, and has been particularly used in Chapter Two and in the three case studies. Reference has also been made to seminal studies on the huge upheaval effected by the mass-production of art for a wide and unknown market. For example Walter Benjamin's *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* still reminds us today of this radical change from unique work for a single patron to a shared market experience, and Roland Barthes's work on semiology establishes a grounding for understanding image value and interpretation in these mass market contexts.⁶⁸ Although little research has been carried out into the relationship between Victorian public opinion and the mass media, Patricia Anderson has examined what she terms a 'transformation' of public culture through widely-circulated illustrated publications in the first half of the nineteenth-century, however she particularly explores those

⁶⁷ Stefan Collini, 'Character and the Victorian Mind', *The Victorian Studies Reader*, eds. Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam (Abingdon, 2007), pp.223-233. Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (Harlow, 2006). Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class* (Manchester, 2007). Dror Wahrman, "'Middle-Class" Domesticity Goes Public: Gender, Class, and Politics from Queen Caroline to Queen Victoria. Making the English Middle Class, ca. 1700-1850', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.32, No.4 (October 1993), pp.396-432. Asa Briggs, 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', *Past & Present*, No.9 (April 1956), pp.68-9. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes* (London, 2002).

⁶⁸ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (London, 2008), pp. 14-15. Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text* (London, 1977).

aimed at the working-class market.⁶⁹ This thesis continues Anderson's theme of visual presentation to a mass audience but specifically examines the production of a personally-collectable form aimed at a middle-class audience.

Approach and Methodology

Two major themes form the basis of this research, those of visual economy and 'celebrity'. It is a study of combining business interests with cultural mood in order to sustain commercial advantage. The thesis employs them in critically examining the commercial organisation of a new mass-produced portrait product to a British mid-Victorian middle-class public. As studies of visual culture and celebrity have shown, images reflect the social interests and cultural values of a group.⁷⁰ As such this thesis has to ground the study of images in an understanding of middle-class society. The methodology adopted here differs from the majority of works on photographic history where a survey of technological developments and a focus on particular amateur photographers has been popularly adopted.⁷¹ Images, as Elizabeth Edwards and Deborah Poole highlight, are produced to meet the society in which (and for whom) they are produced. They tell a visual self-reflexive story of a culture's ideals: they signal the social values, preoccupations, and conventions of a particular era, race and class, and this has been borne in mind throughout the

⁶⁹ Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture 1790-1860* (Oxford, 1991).

⁷⁰ *Anthropology & Photography 1860-1920*, Ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven & London, 1992). Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (Princeton, 1997).

⁷¹ John Hannavy, *Victorian Photographers at Work* (Princes Risborough, 1997). John Hannavy, *Masters of Victorian Photography* (New York, 1976). Anne McCauley, *A.A.E. Disderi and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven & London, 1985). Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness* (New Haven & London, 1994). Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography 1850-1880 The Age of Collodion* (London, 1988). The research will particularly be informed by work undertaken by Deborah Poole in such works as *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (Princeton, 1997), and Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London, 2001).

thesis.⁷² A wide range of contemporary sources has been used to help align images to the social interests of the day, such as newspapers, magazines and collectables. Commercial photographers utilised the advantages of their period, they navigated and overcame the social difficulties of their era surrounding their professional status,⁷³ and they organised commercial working practices that would maximise output and return. At the same time they identified the portrait symbolism and a visual language, through props and pose, that would reflect the values and interests of their market, and that would secure volumetric sales of their celebrity product.⁷⁴ The photographs, pasted onto small mounts, are evidence of how a visual economy emerged around the Victorian middle-class: the designs found on the backplates tell us of practitioners' commercial strategies, while the prints pasted onto the fronts of the cartes were composed to reflect the interests and preoccupations of photographers' target market.

The product's essential attraction was its 'celebrity' meaning and symbolism. As Simon Morgan says, celebrity was not new in the nineteenth-century,⁷⁵ but what was new was its wide circulation as a commodity to a mass audience, collectable 'celebrity' was now available for monetary exchange. The social value of celebrity has been the focus of recent research, especially in relation to its central role in our society today. Studies have explored the attraction of celebrity: in its use as

⁷² *Anthropology & Photography 1860-1920*, Ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven & London, 1992). Deborah Poole, Op. Cit.,

⁷³ Long-established British conventions of class and public occupation generated prejudice towards those wishing to make their living in a photographic trade of mass-produced, mechanically-produced 'art'.

⁷⁴ To a market that was gaining in confidence and authority, and that had set views on the issues defining its identity in terms of gender, race and class.

⁷⁵ Simon Morgan, 'Celebrity', *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 8, Issue 1, (2011), pp.95-114.

personal inspiration, for example where celebrities acquire the importance of a religiously-styled 'relic', or as a way of advertising personal and national identity and inclusion.⁷⁶ Recent scholarship has provided useful insights on the motivation of collectors, and the portraits' attraction and value to a target market. However it has to be remembered, as Rojek highlights, that a celebrity beacons the 'ideals' of a society rather than serving as an indication of its reality. As David Giles and David Marshall argue, images represent a society's aspirations in terms of class and race.⁷⁷ However such values, as Rojek again points out, change over time, and this in turn affects the collector's requirements of celebrity.⁷⁸ Celebrity expression shifts, and with it the visual language required to communicate its value to a wide market. This thesis charts the shift.

The topic at the heart of this thesis is the 'explosion' of celebrity carte de visite sales: the commodification of the celebrity portrait in the mid-nineteenth-century. This new era in photography was characterised by the involvement of, and incorporation of, a mass audience in public life through visual imagery. In its most immediate form carte de visite photography provided a perceived immediacy and reality to the stories of the day that were circulated in press publications. As John Tagg says, the automated process of photography suggested an undeniable 'truth' in representation. However, as Tagg points out, photographs could be manipulated in

⁷⁶ David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power*, (Minneapolis and London, 2001). Chris Rojek, *Celebrity*, (London, 2001). Graeme Turner, *Understanding Celebrity* (London, 2004). Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown* (New York, 1986). Simon Morgan, 'Celebrity', *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 8, Issue 1 (2011).

⁷⁷ David Giles, *Illusions of Immortality: A Psychology of Fame and Celebrity* (Basingstoke, 2000). David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power* (Minneapolis and London, 2001).

⁷⁸ Chris Rojek, Op. Cit., pp.17 & 120. Leo Braudy, Op. Cit. Simon Morgan claims that the appearance of uniqueness is a 'prerequisite of celebrity'. Simon Morgan, Op. Cit., pp.95-114.

visual effect in the studio, and celebrity carte de visite production offers a clear example. Commercial photographers worked hard to publish a portrait that might illustrate a contemporary issue in a manner suitable for domestic display. They utilised the tools available to them in the studio, adjusting light sources, backgrounds and props for picture composition. In targeting their middle-class market they addressed popular themes and published portraits of those involved in them in an aesthetically-pleasing manner for domestic consumption:⁷⁹ the celebrity portrait was now issued in a capitalist era as an attractive market 'commodity'.⁸⁰

This construction of collectable value was effected in the photographic studio.⁸¹

However the studio became a locus of differing power tussles. While the photographer's primary aim was to secure sales, the celebrity subject was anxious to exploit the wide audience address offered by the medium to establish a desired public image – but both were governed by the demands of their target middle-class

⁷⁹ Plain, unadorned images could be produced as factual records for policing requirements or scientific research, whereas adjustments to composition, light, pose and camera attachments could re-cast portrait address and appeal: a gentler and more 'artistic' aura could be achieved that was more suited to display in a social context. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation* (London, 1988), pp. 34-102.

⁸⁰ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (Stanford, 1990). Karl Marx argued that commodities in a capitalist society become fetishized in 'value', and for the celebrity carte de visite collectable 'value' was constructed to attract the photographer's target bourgeois market. 'Marx and the Idea of Commodity, www.scholarblogs.emory.edu/postcolonialstudies/2014/06/21/marx-and-the-idea-of-commodity.com 'How Does Marx Explain "the fetishism of commodities"?' Accessed March 2019. www.owlcation.com/social-sciences/Analysis-of-Marx-The-fetishism-of-commodities Accessed March 2019.

⁸¹ Steve Edwards highlights the importance of an examination and consideration of the 'site' of photograph production Steve Edwards, 'The Machine's Dialogue', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 13, Issue 1 (1 January 1990), pp.63-76.

market.⁸² The celebrity cartes de visite themselves reveal the entwined power strategies and 'games' taking place between the different market factions involved in this new portrait medium,⁸³ and this will be explored throughout the thesis. For both the Victorian photographer and the celebrity it was the bourgeois body that constituted the product's saleable essence. This ensured sales across the widest possible market. Images that represented widely-shared ideals of middle-class self-fashioning – in the guise of Victorian middle-class 'character' - generated the greatest interest: frequently the construction of 'serious males' in public roles and of domestically supportive females.⁸⁴ As Suren Lalvani says, mid-Victorian cartes had to be 'moral icons' that evoked the bourgeois cultural ideal, with the surface of the body raised to the visibility of a text.⁸⁵ The pictures reveal the mid-nineteenth-century 'value' of celebrity: a representation of a social ideology rather than of a personal address. However, as the thesis will show, the cartes de visite also reveal

⁸² As will be discussed, contemporary reports suggest that the final appearance of the photograph was established through a mutual discourse between photographer and celebrity.

⁸³ Steve Edwards, 'The Machine's Dialogue', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 13, Issue 1 (1 January 1990), pp.63-76. Jessica Evans, 'Introduction', *The Camerawork Essays*, ed. Jessica Evans (London, 1997), pp.11-35. There was however, as will be discussed in the thesis, a further 'power' issue present in the celebrity carte de visite. As the nineteenth-century progressed, it provides illustration of Anandi Ramamurthy's discussion of commodities themselves acting as representatives of commodity culture. This is seen in the cartes' exploitation by businessmen in advertising another enterprise's product. Anandi Ramamurthy, 'Spectacles and Illusions: Photography and Commodity Culture', ed. Liz Wells, *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (Oxon, 1996), pp.193-244.

⁸⁴ Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (New York, 1996), pp.43-69. This also reflects Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argument of a gendered separation of spheres in mid-Victorian domestic ideology. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes* (London, 2002).

⁸⁵ Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (New York, 1996), pp.43-69. Photographers drew on the popularity of physiognomy and phrenology in reading visual bodily signs of character.

a shift as the century progressed, when the appeal of the bourgeois body diversified into, and often became entwined with, a reference to individual personality.

Jessica Evans argues that a successful portrait actively engages the viewer. It is not a static visual entity standing alone, but one that intimately relates to the aspirations and emotions of the spectator. The popularity of celebrity cartes bears witness to this concept, of a successful construction of 'subjective' interaction between photographer, celebrity, image and audience.⁸⁶ However, in order to achieve this engaging dialogue, commercial photographers used conventions that had already been established by early aristocratic amateur experimentalists in the new photographic medium, but changed the topics and symbolism of their product to issue a commodity for middle-class consumption.⁸⁷

As will be discussed in the thesis, photographers drew upon the traditions of fine art painting to convey meaning. Long-established iconographical forms were used in cartes de visite, conveyed through pose and props. These were combined with new tools available in the studio such as cut-and-paste and vignetting – together with hand-applied colour - to establish a new portrait language that suited market recognition. Traditional use of lighting, pose and composition built the foundations

⁸⁶ Steve Edwards, 'The Machine's Dialogue', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 13, Issue 1 (1 January 1990), pp.63-76. It was an era of combining arts and manufactures – for example Art Manufactures Exhibitions took place in 1856-57 in Edinburgh, the International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures in Dublin in 1865, and the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce received its royal Charter in 1847 (established in 1754). The carte de visite business, in its construction of aesthetic value through technology, is an example of such contemporary preoccupation.

⁸⁷ Seiberling points out, for example, that topics referring to upper-class interests such as archaeology and travel were replaced by portraits of bourgeois ideology. Grace Seiberling and Carolyn Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago, 1986), pp.68-90.

of image meaning. This established the characteristic 'unrelieved consistency' of direct and serious gazes in cartes de visite at this period that was key in engaging middle-class attention,⁸⁸ but they also exploited mechanical attachments and practical modes of image manipulation to re-enforce picture value for their target middle-class market.⁸⁹

Professional photographers drew upon a new visual language that, as highlighted by Deborah Poole, developed at a time of significant scientific and anthropological research and investigations - theories that generated new ideas of race.⁹⁰ She argues that mid-Victorian visual patterns constructed a way of defining the British at the height of civilised development, and the celebrity cartes de visite examined in this thesis offer an example. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, they presented a visual form that served to legitimise a hegemonic approach to other cultures that were deemed 'savage' and uncivilised.⁹¹

Celebrity cartes de visite offer a major contribution to the study of the issues at the heart of a period of great change. Their visual organisation reveals cultural

⁸⁸ Their stiffness was a vivid contrast to the earlier asymmetries of aristocratic pose. Patterns indicated middle-class values of serious dedication to work and industry, separating them from the 'leisured' aristocratic class. Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (New York, 1996), pp.43-69. Photographers drew on the popularity of physiognomy and phrenology in reading visual bodily signs of character.

⁸⁹ Steve Edwards notes the use of hand-applied colour in nineteenth-century commercial photography, and how it increased the debates around the photograph as intellectually-produced fine art or mechanically reproduced document. He highlights the contemporary view that colour could be seen as frivolous as opposed to the European fine art traditions that prioritised line and chiaroscuro. Steve Edwards, 'A "Pariah in the World of Art": Richter in Reverse Gear', Green, D. ed. *Where is the Photograph?* (Brighton, 2003), pp.31-46.

⁹⁰ Such as those proposed by Charles Darwin in his *On the Origin of Species* of 1859.

⁹¹ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (Princeton, 1997).

preoccupations related to an evolving capitalist society: they offer a new insight into middle-class outlook during this era of significant social upheaval in British history.

The Primary Resource

The research in this thesis is centred around the large volume of London-produced cartes in the author's possession (the author's 'archive') together with a small number of cartes which have been seen at dealers' displays⁹² and at the National Portrait Gallery's collection in London. The large volume examined has facilitated an identification of recurring patterns and shifts in emphasis over time. These have been analysed to construct an understanding of studio activity and the visual language used to reflect changing interests. Although addressing a volumetric resource, a qualitative approach to the large archive has been adopted to form an interpretative framework and understanding of business practice. The volumetric nature of the resource has therefore been exploited to signal routes for qualitative investigation. Although the patterns identified are supported by multiple examples, only a representative few have been included in the thesis to illustrate the argument, with exceptions and unusual instances highlighted, addressed and discussed.

The author's own archive consists of over a thousand celebrity cartes dating from the late 1850s to the 1880s, found in a local antique shop many years ago and acquired as a new way of pursuing an interest in Victorian social history. The collection was compiled with the view of amassing examples from as wide a cross-section of subjects, poses, and studios as possible. As the collection developed, patterns were recognised which generated questions on their production. For

⁹² For example Paul Frecker at 'Nineteenth Century Photography' in London.

example early photographs replicated fine art portraiture in pose, but changed in appearance over the later 1860s and 1870s. The thesis fore-fronts the carte de visite as a photographic print pasted onto a slightly larger mount, and it recognises the product's front and back as areas offering an insight into different aspects of commercial activity. The cartes and their mounts have been considered firmly within their period, and contemporary literature has been particularly drawn upon to achieve an understanding their production and appearance. *The Illustrated London News*, *The Illustrated News of the World*, and *Vanity Fair* have proved particularly useful as they were widely-circulated publications aimed at a similar middle-class audience to the carte de visite.⁹³ The *Photographic News* has also provided much background information as a professional publication and as a forum for studios' own views, experiments and plans to increase turnover and occupational status. A strict process of fore-fronting the cartes as the main source has been followed, and contemporary literature and existing scholarship has been repeatedly refereed to in reading and testing their messages to avoid 'fitting' the images to contemporary references, or of over-reading their symbolism.

The archive around which the research is based is arranged according to studio name, these being identified through printed annotations to the cartes, and they are organised in alphabetical order, with two further sections containing firstly cartes with no studio credits, and secondly miscellaneous photographs such as the un-mounted prints (sold before stuck to the cartes). There is also a small selection of stereocards and cabinet cards. The photographs are numbered, and have been

⁹³ The shared market targeted by professional photographers is indicated for example by adverts placed by such practitioners as J.J.E. Mayall in *The Illustrated London News*. Newspapers aimed at a middle-class market frequently used London studios' images to illustrate their stories.

arranged according to subject category within each section, with royalty appearing first, followed by statesmen, clergymen, and the representatives of the arts, science and miscellaneous subjects. This arrangement roughly follows the volumes of cartes de visite produced, and it also conforms to traditional patterns of biographical presentation. An index accompanies the archive and lists the studio name and reference number in the resource. This facilitates quick and easy reference to the large number of images, and additional volumes are placed at the end of each chapter and case study to preserve the continuity of the thesis itself.

The fronts and backs of the cartes are shown for each image, together with a short description of the subject, the format, the colour, the studio, the publisher, and an approximate date of execution of the negative. No location has been detailed for London studios as these form the majority of examples, however the studio locations of those working outside London are recorded. Subjects have been identified through hand-written annotations to the cartes, both contemporary and modern, from pictures in contemporary publications, and through dealers' research. Although the annotations are not always reliable, they provide a starting point for further research. Background information has been gained on photographers' careers and reputations through nineteenth-century literature and through data-bases such as the DNB. The dates given to the images refer to the year the picture was first photographed. This is, on many occasions, difficult to identify accurately as there is little contemporary information to draw on. Some were re-issued as cartes de visite in the late 1850s and early 1860s from earlier albumen negatives, taken in the mid-1850s, and others were re-issued on special occasions, for example on an important public appointment, or death. Dates of studio operation provide a guide to dating, and reference has been made to nineteenth-century trade directories, and to

Michael Pritchard's list of London studios which is valuable in listing studio addresses and dates of occupation,⁹⁴ as is Roger Taylor's work on exhibition participation in signalling the photographs shown and dates.⁹⁵ The style of background and pose also provide pointers as to the original date of execution as they changed over the period examined, for example, full-length poses are also indicative of earlier output, as the carte de visite camera for head-and-shoulder images was not developed until the mid-1860s. The age of sitters can also help in dating the pictures, as can the type of mount as thicker card was used later in the period.

Thesis Layout

The thesis is divided into two chapters, followed by three case studies. Chapter One will explore the logistical aspects of the new celebrity carte de visite business, and demonstrate the importance of establishing a studio identity and reputation that would secure the most saleable stock. It also considers the various strategies employed to effect volumetric trade in a new kind of portrait product. The chapter establishes a commercial framework for understanding the mid-Victorian celebrity carte de visite, and it sets up the investigation in Chapter Two on the presentation of the product: the way visual language was used to create a celebrity image. Here the focus is placed on the print pasted onto the carte mount, using it to explore the construction of the picture's worth to a target middle-class market. The chapter tests N.N. Feltes's claim that the market determines what a business of mass-production

⁹⁴ Michael Pritchard, *A Directory of London Photographers 1841-1908* (Watford, 1994).

⁹⁵ Roger Taylor, *Photographs Exhibited in Britain 1839-1865* (Ottawa, 2002).

produces,⁹⁶ and the study confirms that the images' attraction lay in the social interests and values of the period. Three case studies follow the two initial chapters, and provide an opportunity to examine the issues raised in the first two chapters in more detail in relation to output in traditional spheres of celebrity portraiture: of the monarchy, the government and the Church. All three areas were subject to considerable conflict and turmoil in the mid-Victorian period. The strategies devised by studios to retain market interest and a high turnover, from a public often very divided in its views, will be examined.

Difficulties

A resource over a hundred years old necessarily presents problems. For example, many cartes have been destroyed, and we do not know for certain how representative the selection we have today is of contemporary interests. However, when considered alongside contemporary publications such as newspapers and magazines, the photographs in the archive share enough themes, topics and characteristics to suggest they are typical. Another difficulty is the separation of the photographs from their original album compilations. This separation is done repeatedly by dealers who find more profit in selling the photographs individually than as a collection.⁹⁷ But this disadvantage applies mostly to an analysis of the market's collecting patterns, and does not majorly affect the focus of this thesis on studio business practice. The archive cannot tell us about the numbers produced of

⁹⁶ N.N. Feltes, *Modes of Production of Victorian Novels* (Chicago and London, 1986), pp.3. John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria, First Media Monarch* (Oxford, 2003), pp.174-5.

⁹⁷ Although unnamed portrait cartes de visite sell for a few pence in many instances, certain famous names of today, such as Dr. Livingstone, can fetch hundreds of pounds, and this gives a misleading impression of their contemporary commercial value, where they seem to have been sold at a standardised price in the mid-nineteenth-century, difference only found in hand-painted portraits sold at higher prices.

each category or of each sitter, or of the exact dates of production, or provide information on employees, workroom organisation or copyright registrations, but it can provide a valuable insight into a range of other issues related to business practice. In showing a large number of studios' work, trends in image construction and company self-presentation can be gleaned, as can changes in such activity over time. The depth and breadth of the archive weathers changes in market demand, and signals commercial responses to that demand over the 1860s and 1870s: oft-repeated celebrity subjects, and high volumetric output in specific subject areas, signal shifts in middle-class interests and values over the two decades,⁹⁸ and these patterns, with their focus on certain personalities and topics, match corresponding attention found in contemporary middle-class publications. Thus the cartes appear to provide a reliable view of trends in contemporary outlook. Personal annotations found on the cartes also present a rare insight into collectors' own motivation in purchasing the images, and of the portraits' value to them, however these have to be treated with caution as they may be particularly personal or idiosyncratic views, and not indicative of broader public opinion.

Terms Used in the Thesis

Throughout the thesis certain terms will be used. 'Mass-produced commercial photography' refers to the automated mechanical reproduction of multiple paper copies off a single negative, offered for sale. The word 'celebrity' refers to what Geoffrey Cubitt describes as a man or woman 'endowed by others' with a special 'meaning and symbolic significance' which makes them the object of a 'collective

⁹⁸ Information in contemporary publications helps to inform analysis in this respect.

emotional investment'.⁹⁹ The term has been used in this thesis to refer to a publically-recognised figure whose market attraction changed according to shifts in social outlook. 'Commercial' photographer has been used to describe one practising photography for a living, whilst the term 'professional' carries an added status-notation of achieved expertise and recognised through high quality and service. The carte de visite was seen by a wide social spectrum and this is referred to as their 'audience', but this is different from the 'mass market' whose intention was purchase and collection.

The professional photographers examined in the thesis aimed their output at the 'middle-classes', a section of society, as described by Dror Wahrman, 'above want but 'not exposed to luxury'.¹⁰⁰ They encompassed a wide spectrum of public occupation, from modest land-owners and clerical workers to highly-educated professionals in legal and medical spheres, and in its expanding population the Victorian middle-class has been considered as emerging itself as a 'mass' market. 'Collectable value' and 'saleable value' have been used to describe the attraction of, and enticement to, purchase an image, this constituting 'collectable' value to the purchaser and 'saleable' value to the photographer. The portrait's symbolism and visual language was the core element that determined sales and turnover for the photographer, and is therefore called 'value' or 'worth' in the discussion.

⁹⁹ Geoffrey Cubitt, 'Introduction: heroic reputations and exemplary lives', *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, eds. Geoffrey Cubitt & Allen Warren (Manchester 2000), pp.3.

¹⁰⁰ William Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness* (London, 1824), pp.173. Quoted in: Dror Wahrman, "'Middle-Class" Domesticity Goes Public: Gender, Class, and Politics from Queen Caroline to Queen Victoria. Making the English Middle Class, ca. 1700-1850', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol.32, No.4 (October 1993), pp.396-432.

Geographical Location of Research

A tight focus has been placed on the output of London-based studios due to the constraints of thesis length.¹⁰¹ This location has been chosen because it was here that leading studios set up their businesses, and that the most prominent celebrities of the day were to be found. London provided excellent opportunities for photographic commissions. As Simon Gunn says, London was the nation's 'undisputed centre of national cultural life' in the mid-nineteenth-century.¹⁰² Cartes issued between 1857 to 1880 form the over-riding focus of investigation as this was the main period of production and sales, but photographs issued outside these dates have been used as a comparison and expansion of portrait analysis. The research addresses the carte de visite portrait rather than other kinds of mass-produced photographs such as stereocards or cabinet cards. This is because the volumetric output of cartes de visite facilitates analysis compared to the relatively small production of celebrity portrait stereocards, and cabinet cards which appeared in the latter 1860s but never achieved the high turnover of the carte de visite.

Value of Research

There has been no previous comprehensive 'mapping' of celebrity carte de visite production, and this research sets out to shed light on a huge photographic activity that occurred in the mid-to-late nineteenth-century. In using visual economy and celebrity to explore the visual organisation of collectable value to a target market, the thesis aims to establish a framework for the portraits' understanding, and to

¹⁰¹ Reference has been made to studios outside London in certain instances, where relevant to the discussion.

¹⁰² Although Gunn also points out that provincial cities challenged London's claim in this respect in the nineteenth-century. Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class* (Manchester, 2007), pp.7.

construct a basis for further investigation. In its wide address, it contributes to current knowledge not only on photographic history but also to Victorian business history and social history. As Simon Morgan says, little has been explored on the Victorian commodification of celebrity.¹⁰³ This study views the celebrity *carte de visite* of the 1860s and 1870s first and foremost as a business venture, and one on which volumetric turnover was of paramount importance in securing and sustaining a practitioner's success. As such the research highlights an extant under-researched resource, a body of primary material that played a major role in the diffusion of celebrity to a wide Victorian audience and that, in consequence, can tell us a lot about mid-Victorian business and middle-class social outlook.

¹⁰³ Simon Morgan, 'Celebrity', *Cultural and Social History*, March 2011, Vol.8, Issue 1, pp.95-110.

CHAPTER ONE

THE BUSINESS of CELEBRITY PHOTOGRAPHY

The nineteenth-century underwent a huge upheaval in technological advances, communication networks and patterns of living, and a new middle-class emerged that had enough time and money to pursue diverse leisure interests related to both public and cultural life. Newspapers and journals engaged attention in newsworthy events and encouraged a market for related trinkets. As Hamish Fraser points out, it was a period of capitalist expansion, when astute businessmen identified and exploited the economic potential of a huge interest in current affairs.¹⁰⁴ The *carte de visite* business was a part of this commercial explosion in the 1860s and 1870s. Businesses provided small affordable images of current celebrities that enabled a participation in the topical events of the modern world. Profits could be high for those photographers who successfully organised their commercial enterprise to meet demand. Hart has noted that it was possible to achieve an income of £12,000 a year in the early 1860s.¹⁰⁵ With low set-up costs and a strong demand, establishments sprang up with great speed. Indeed the *Photographic News* said in 1863 that 'the rapid growth of photography, as a trade or profession is, perhaps, unprecedented in the annals of industry'.¹⁰⁶ The writer noted that in 'just little more

¹⁰⁴ W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914* (London, 1981), pp.ix-x.

¹⁰⁵ Janice Carol Hart, *Method and Meaning in Mid Victorian Portrait Photography in England c. 1855-1880*, Phd Thesis (London, 1987), pp.48.

¹⁰⁶ Michael Pritchard highlights a report which appeared in the *Photographic News* that stated that London's Baker Street was known as a 'photographic resort' mainly due to the studio of Southwell Brothers keeping 'three studios going all day long', and securing an average income of 'from seventy to one hundred pounds daily'. *Photographic News*, 10

than the last decade of years' it had grown into 'an important branch of the industry of the world', and that 'tens of thousands' of persons were now dependent upon 'its different branches for bread in this country alone'.¹⁰⁷ But the competitive business environment produced many challenges. Roy Church describes the numerous small-to-medium Victorian enterprises that went out of business in the mid-nineteenth-century: it was imperative to establish a strong commercial structure in order to succeed.¹⁰⁸ Supply and demand had to be balanced in producing a product that fulfilled the expectations of as wide a middle-class market as possible, as quickly as possible. As discussed in the Introduction, many studios were successful. They forged high professional reputations, achieved mass sales and secured a good income. This chapter sets out to explore the strategies that generated such success. It investigates the organisation of celebrity image production as revealed on the cartes de visite themselves through text, artwork and annotations on the mounts. It shows how contemporary prejudice against the practice of photography as a trade was overcome, and how issues of increasing competition and rapidly-evolving celebrity value were confronted. The portraits examined show a new profession of mass-produced celebrity imagery gaining in confidence as the century progressed. The chapter charts a change in approach to business in mass-produced photography. A chronological approach will be used, and the research will be divided into three parts. Part One examines the logistics involved in setting up a new enterprise dealing in the mass-produced celebrity

April 1884, pp.232. Quoted in Michael Pritchard, *A Directory of London Photographers 1841-1908* (Watford, 1994), pp.106.

¹⁰⁷ 'A Photographer's Relief Fund', *Photographic News*, 11 December 1863, front page.

¹⁰⁸ Roy A. Church, 'Problems and Perspectives', Ed. Roy Church, *The Dynamics of Victorian Business*, (London, 1980), pp.36-38.

photograph, together with the difficulties encountered. Part Two considers ploys devised to overcome these difficulties in order to sustain a successful business. It is divided into two parts, the first addresses the development of practitioners' own professional image, and the second examines photographers' promotion of self-worth in the commercial world. Here an increasing trend towards market-place self-advertisement and product-worth upon the carte de visite itself is examined. Part Three explores the development of the new portrait product taking its place as a part of the later-nineteenth-century commodification of public life. There is little primary material to draw upon beyond the cartes de visite themselves in this area of research as few studio records remain, and thus reading of the images has been enhanced by contemporary publications and journals which provide a useful context on the structure of the industry. Studies by Steve Edwards, Gertrude Mae Prescott and Carol Hart have been indispensable in unpacking the visual economy that emerged in the way the images were composed and sold.¹⁰⁹

PART ONE: BUSINESS ORGANISATION and DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED

Setting up the Business

The new carte de visite camera gave great impetus to photography as a business in the mid-nineteenth-century. This piece of mechanical apparatus effected the reproduction of multiple prints from a single negative and this, in turn, facilitated expanded output, lowered prices, and high profits. The industry was a part of the technological revolution of the late-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth-centuries when new

¹⁰⁹ Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* (Pennsylvania, 2006). Janice Carol Hart, *Method and Meaning in Mid Victorian Portrait Photography in England c. 1855-1880*, Phd Thesis (London, 1987). Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900*, Phd Thesis (University of Texas at Austin, 1985).

businesses, dependent upon mass-production, sprang up to produce large numbers of identical goods. The professional photographer, however, brought a degree of creativity to the automated photographic process. He had to arrange the best possible light sources – with a knowledge of how it changed at particular times of the day and year, arrange the figure to its best aspect, and choose props to suit the desired image for each sitter. The photographic business fits the significant number of small-to-medium-sized Victorian concerns which, as historians such as Richard Crossick, Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin have noted, combined mass-production with elements of hand-craft.¹¹⁰ However, for the photographer there was an essential personal aspect to his work, his relationship with his sitter. A professional reputation of fine workmanship and ethical behaviour was important in securing trust in circulating a celebrity's image to a wide public audience. The commercial photographer had to be adept in mechanical, artistic and interpersonal skills, but he also often sold his own photographs in a showroom attached to his studio, acting as a retailer of his product. Tall buildings in fashionable areas with several stories were commonly chosen. The top floor was used as the studio, with a glasshouse often constructed at the very top of the building to maximise the light source, while the ground floor provided showcase-windows for displaying the photographs.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Geoffrey Crossick, 'The Petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain: the urban and liberal case', Eds. Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1984), pp.62-94. Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, 'Historical Alternatives to Mass Production: Politics, Markets and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Industrialization', *Past & Present*, No. 108 (August 1985), pp.133-176.

¹¹¹ W. Hamish Fraser discusses the new retail forms of fixed premises, prices and window displays to entice passing trade. The professional photographer also shared a need for volumetric sales with the retailer, small unit-profits being the business framework for

A photographic enterprise could be set up with only a small amount of investment and just a small degree of knowledge which could be self-taught and, as such, businesses attracted entrants from a variety of different backgrounds. Michael Pritchard describes how one of the first professional photographers in London, Richard Beard, had been a partner in a coal merchant business. He later developed a patent for colour printing onto fabric, and then pursued contacts he had made in this field to develop a photographic business.¹¹² Other entrants utilised previous experience, already gained in a field related to photography. Arthur Melhuish, for example, was as an optical instrument maker in the 1850s before venturing into photography. He used his scientific knowledge to develop photographic lenses, and registered patents for camera accessories. Paul Emile Chappuis also combined his business of manufacturing photographic reflectors with a carte de visite studio.¹¹³ The royal lithographers Messrs. Day & Son provide another example. They added photographic publishing to their business activities in the early 1860s – and the highly-regarded instrument and optical manufacturers Negretti & Zambra ventured into photography in 1855.¹¹⁴

The photographer had to be, above all, a businessman as it was upon the principles

both. W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914* (London & Basingstoke, 1981), pp.131-3.

¹¹² Steve Edwards, 'The Machine's Dialogue', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol.13, No.1 (1990), pp.63-76.

¹¹³ Janice Carol Hart, *Method and Meaning in Mid Victorian Portrait Photography in England c. 1855-1880*, Phd Thesis (London, 1987), pp.294.

¹¹⁴ 'The International Exhibition. British Photographic Department – Apparatus', *Photographic News*, 31 October 1862, pp.520. Examples abound. Another instance is found in Antoine Claudet's activities. He originally started as a glass merchant. He pursued an interest in science, publishing scientific theories in the *Philosophical Magazine* in 1844, and later employed this knowledge in his commercial photographic output.

of profit and loss that his enterprise would succeed or fail. Practitioners dealt in the new world of 'mass' in production, stock, circulation and sales, and organisation was key to establishing a viable concern. Commercial principles were used in the setting up of the studio. For example a division of labour into different activities was practised by Camille Silvy, as the *Photographic News* of 1862 described. It noted the huge 'industry' taking place at his studio, describing it as 'a counting house, a laboratory, and a printing establishment' where:

'one room is found to be full of clerks keeping the books, for at the West End credit must be given; in another scores of employees are printing from the negative. A large building has been erected for the purpose in the back garden. In a third room are all the chemicals for preparing the plates; and again in another we see a heap of crucibles glittering with silver. All the clippings of the photographs are here reduced by fire, and the silver upon them is thus recovered. One large apartment is appropriated to baths in which the cartes de visite are immersed, and a feminine clatter of tongues directs us to the room in which the portraits are finally corded and packed up. Every portrait taken is posted in a book and numbered consecutively. This portrait index contains upwards of 7,000 cartes de visite, and a reference to any one of them gives the clues as to the whereabouts of the negative.....packed as these negatives are closely in boxes of fifties, they fill a pretty large room.'

Silvy himself took 'from 40 to 50 a day with his own hand' with the printing being done by 'subordinates', and he employed a staff of forty, including a painter.¹¹⁵ The London Stereoscopic Co. also gave careful attention to commercial organisation. It

¹¹⁵ A. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visite', *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.105. Mark Haworth-Booth, *Camille Silvy, River Scene, France* (Malibu, California, 1992), pp.74-5.

was a larger concern than that of Silvy, but its employees were divided into different occupations in a similar manner. The *Photographic News* described people working in albumenizing, printing, toning, fixing, washing and mounting – but the size of their commercial endeavour is indicated in details of the two hundred gallons of albumen, seventy reams of paper, and more than ‘fifty extra persons’ employed for their commission to photograph the International Exhibition in 1862.¹¹⁶ Some photographers set up specific premises for the mechanical aspects of production, separate from the studio where the photographs were taken. For example The London Stereoscopic Co. carried out their printing in Kilburn while their studio was in Regent Street,¹¹⁷ and W. & D. Downey sent their photographs to be printed and finished to their premises in Newcastle. However, not only were such ploys designed to organise the output of photographer’s work, they also served to separate the less artistic and creative aspects of their occupation from public view.¹¹⁸

The capture of the most popular sitters of the day was vital to ensure mass sales,¹¹⁹ but this was not always easy. A large number of letters would be sent out to prospective celebrities. Indeed Boyce, Finnerty and Millim note that celebrities were

¹¹⁶ These employees were ‘not photographers’ but were ‘engaged in the commercial department of the business, as clerks, messengers, young ladies in charge of stalls etc.’ ‘The Commerce of Photography, *Photographic News*, 7 November 1862, pp.533.

¹¹⁷ Janice Carol Hart, Op. Cit., pp.666, quoting Henry Mayhew, *The Trades and Manufactories of Great Britain* (Strand Printing and Publishing Company, 1865), pp.94.

¹¹⁸ The presentation of self-image is discussed more fully later in the chapter.

¹¹⁹ William Downey said that it was ‘impossible to say’ how many ‘thousands’ of his portraits of the actress Mary Anderson had been sold. ‘The Grand Old Photographer X’, *Pall Mall Budget*, 19 March 1891, pp.20.

pestered with requests on a daily basis.¹²⁰ However photographers received many refusals. For example, as Prescott has shown, celebrities' schedules, dates of visits to London, or an unexpected illness all made sittings difficult to organise.¹²¹

Charles Dickens had acknowledged that having one's photograph taken was 'one of the latter-day duties which should not be omitted' but he refused Herbert Fry's request in 1856, saying that promises he had made to other photographers were 'enough in the photographic way to haunt mankind with my countenance'.¹²²

Difficulties often centred around the sitter's own view of himself. The carte de visite circulated a celebrity's face to a huge unknown audience, and set down in sepia (or hand-colouring) a public image. It was therefore important not only that the photographer secured interest in his product, but that the sitter was happy with the image conveyed. There is very little contemporary information on who decided on the final appearance of the portrait before publication, but a few references have been found. For example, the *Photographic News* wondered what the procedure was when Royalty's portrait was "taken": was Her Majesty requested to "look pleasant", or could the photographer 'hazard the opinion' that he did not like the 'expression of the Royal lady's face, or find fault with the colour of her dress' without

¹²⁰ Charlotte Boyce, Paraic Finnerty and Anne-Marie Millim, 'Introduction', Eds. Charlotte Boyce, Paraic Finnerty and Anne-Marie Millim, *Victorian Celebrity Culture and Tennyson's Circle* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp.1.

¹²¹ Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900*, PhD Thesis (University of Texas at Austin, 1985), pp.112-122 & pp.242 quoting the *Photographic News*, 28 August 1863, pp.420, and a letter written from Dickens to Fry on 4 December 1856, National Portrait Gallery, album 39. Cornwall Lewis was willing to give Watkins another attempt at securing a suitable photograph.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp.120.

'being ordered for instant execution'.¹²³ William Downey provides several instances of dealing with celebrities' wishes. He recalled Benjamin Disraeli's determination to wear a velvet jacket in the rain, so much so that an umbrella had to be carefully placed above him to secure the picture. On another occasion the Queen wished her pet dog to be posed on a chair beside her, but the dog wouldn't sit down. Downey records that John Brown managed to 'shake' the dog which caused Victoria to smile, resulting in one of very few images of the Queen smiling. Downey also described Victoria sweeping into a room at Windsor one day and saying "Now, Mr. Downey, I have just five minutes, Lord Derby is waiting for me."¹²⁴ Although only brief, the reports we have suggest that presentation was mutually agreed between sitter and photographer, with the photographer often adapting his working practices to secure a good picture while accommodating the wishes of the celebrity.

However Lord Lyndhurst disliked the final result of his photograph by Herbert Watkins, as did Sir George Cornwall Lewis, both refusing its publication.¹²⁵

Once a sitter had agreed to a sitting, he or she would usually travel to the studio. Even members of the inner royal circle are noted as conforming to this practice. For example, the *Photographic News* reported on the King of Greece and the Prince and Princess of Wales visiting Southwell's studio in 1863.¹²⁶ Similarly Princess Louise

¹²³ 'Photography in and out of the Studio', *The Photographic News*, 19 March 1880, pp.133.

¹²⁴ 'A Grand Old Photographer', *Pall Mall Budget*, 1 January, 1891, pp.20-1.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.121-2.

¹²⁶ 'Royal Portraits', *Photographic News*, 9 October 1863, pp.492.

visited Jabez Hughes's studio in 1863,¹²⁷ and the *Photographic News* described Prince Albert visiting Vernon Heath 'in his studio' on the 2nd July 1861.¹²⁸

Very few records remain which tell us about the time between taking the image and the issue of the portrait. However Prescott cites the example of a photograph of the dramatist and journalist Douglas Jerrold issued in late June 1857. This was taken a few days before he died on 8th June which indicates a 'turn-round' time of about three weeks.¹²⁹ However there is evidence of a longer timeframe. Mayall issued his Royal Album cartes in August 1860, having taken the negatives in May, possibly suggesting lengthy background discussions as to the selection of images for publication. There is also little information on the number of images taken over a period of time. However the *Photographic News* provided a service to those studios outside London who found it difficult to travel to register their work at Stationers' Hall (which had to be done personally). **Appendix 1** shows that W. & D. Downey of Newcastle sent fifty-seven images to Stationers' Hall via the *Photographic News* during 1863 for registration.¹³⁰ Although others might have been registered by the Downeys in person on visits to London, this figure highlights their steady output over the year, and the constant attention to administration in order to maintain up-to-the-

¹²⁷ Janice Carol Hart, Op. Cit, pp.597, quoting the *Photographic News*, 28 August 1863, pp.420.

¹²⁸ 'Mason v. Heath', *Photographic News*, 14 March 1862, pp.131.

¹²⁹ Gertrude Mae Prescott, Op. Cit., pp.109 & 234-5. As short a delay as possible in issuing portraits would ensure the highest possible interest being caught on such sudden events as this.

¹³⁰ *Photographic News*, 22 August 1862, pp.397. The *Photographic News* offered a service to provincial studios who could not attend London regularly to register their work. The chart shows the photographs sent by W. & D. Downey from Newcastle during 1863.

minute publication of celebrity figures in the news.

Difficulties Encountered

Working in photography therefore posed a number of challenges. Some, as noted, were related to the aspirations and expectations of the sitters but others lay in working with the medium itself. For example the chemicals used could cause illness. The highly respected photographer Robert Howlett died at twenty-seven, possibly due to poisoning from the arsenic and mercury used in the collodion process,¹³¹ and some sources suggest that Camille Silvy also suffered from the effects of chemical poisoning.¹³² In setting out the studio, lenses had to be carefully chosen. The early carte de visite cameras determined the depth of field which in turn affected the length of studio floor, and consequently the size of studio needed.¹³³ The dependence on natural light sources presented another difficulty and, even with a glass-house at the top of a tall building,¹³⁴ particular times of day and year were significant in determining the best outcome, and many pre-arranged sittings had to be postponed due to poor light.¹³⁵

Another difficulty arose in balancing income and expense. Profit margins were not always easy to maintain without a robust commercial structure. Employees' wages

¹³¹ Jonathan Jones, 'Appreciation of Image of Isambard Kingdom Brunel by Robert Howlett (1857)', *The Guardian*, 17 June 2000. His death was attributed to 'fever' for twenty days, but the cause was not identified. It could also have been due to typhus.

¹³² www.getty.edu/art/collection/artists/1532/camille-silvy-french-1834-1910.

¹³³ Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Op. Cit.*, pp.82 and 223 quoting an article in the *British Journal of Photography* 15 June 1883, pp.337-338. A certain distance had to be retained between the sitter and the camera.

¹³⁴ Early photography was undertaken before the advent of electric lighting, and dependent upon natural day-light sources. Janice Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.80 & 197.

¹³⁵ Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Op. Cit.*, pp.80-82, 106 & 221. Prescott says that October was best.

had to be met: although few records are available, Hart notes one photographer advertising a wage of £1.5s per week for a competent 'Artist' of 'gentlemanly manners' and photographic ability:¹³⁶ this is a rare reference to contemporary salaries. There is similarly little remaining information as to the payment of sitters. Prescott's cites two contractual patterns that were frequently used. In the first, the photographer was paid for the sitting and the number of negatives taken,¹³⁷ and indeed Hart has found a bill sent by Silvy to Queen Victoria for £12.10s on 1st August 1861, and one sent by Caldesi Montecchi to the Royal family for £142.11s.4d on 10th August 1857.¹³⁸ It would seem that, if sitters paid for the sitting and their prints, then they retained the copyright.¹³⁹ A second pattern existed where sitters were paid by the photographer.¹⁴⁰ Prescott points out that Sarony offered \$1,000 to Madame Patti, but the contract said that she could reject any she did not like, and only one was approved. For this type of arrangement the copyright lay with the photographer. Unfortunately, as Prescott says, few contracts remain, and exact remuneration details between photographer, publisher, wholesaler and retailer are not known. No financial arrangements between the photographer and retailer have

¹³⁶ Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.47. Hart points out that this was the same as a porter's salary.

¹³⁷ Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Op. Cit.*, pp.114 & 124.

¹³⁸ Janice Carol Hart, *Method and Meaning in Mid Victorian Portrait Photography in England c. 1855-1880*, Phd Thesis (London, 1987), pp.611

¹³⁹ Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900*, Phd Thesis (University of Texas at Austin, 1985), pp.65.

¹⁴⁰ Sarah Bernhardt was the first performer to demand to be paid in advance for her sittings. Paul Frecker, photographic dealer, London (e-mail dated 10 July 2006 to Jane Lamb).

been found.¹⁴¹ However Prescott points out a contemporary report that an order of 10,000 prints to a wholesaler would 'put £400 into the photographer's pocket'.¹⁴²

These references highlight the tricky balance between income and outgoings upon which the success of the photographic business depended, and even large, well-established studios went bankrupt.¹⁴³

Photographers developed a range of strategies to secure commercial viability. For example certain locations aided in attracting trade. **Appendix 2** illustrates the locations chosen by the most prominent studios working in celebrity portraiture in London between the late 1850s and 1880s. This shows the number of premises occupied by professional photographers in Regent Street and indicates the targeting of the affluent Victorian middle-class shopper.¹⁴⁴ But such advantage had to be worth the rents that were particularly high for such a location. Indeed Hart notes that they could be doubled. However photographers seem to have viewed it as a worthwhile investment as a way of boosting recognition of their work, their name and

¹⁴¹ Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.604.

¹⁴² Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Op. Cit.*, pp.59 quoting Wynter, "Photographic Portraiture" pp.62-5 & 304.

¹⁴³ For example Frederick Southwell (brother of William Henry and Edwin, trading as Southwell Brothers) was declared bankrupt in September 1877, and Samuel E. Poulton (listed in trade directories as a 'Photographer' in 1858 and 'Photographic Finisher' in 1864) was declared bankrupt on 16 February 1867 in Southwark. However the case of Poulton suggests that some photographers were able to recover and pursue further careers in photography, as he is listed as a 'Photographic Publisher' in Lewisham (with his son Alfred Poulton) from 1871 to 1879. www.photoLondon.org.uk

¹⁴⁴ The chart shows twenty-three studios in business along this popular consumer district of London. The chart also shows a significant drop in numbers towards the end of the century, suggesting that the medium's main popularity only lasted for ten-to-fifteen years, between 1860 and the mid-1870s.

gaining sales.¹⁴⁵ A fashionable address in a respectable area of London could also help to attract the most saleable sitters of the day, instilling confidence in a photographer with professional standards and photographic ability.

Status issues related to occupation, however were particularly tricky. Disputes raged around whether the commercial photographer should be seen as a mindless 'operator' of machinery or whether he used a degree of creativity in producing an 'artistic' product? Volumetric issue was very different from the unique oil painting executed for a single patron by an artist after a long Academy training. Was the photographer exercising a new type of artistry, one in which studio props and lighting were arranged imaginatively to create effect, or was he merely using reproductive technology? And what were his scruples when profit determined his income? As Hart has highlighted, trade was viewed in uncertain terms. For example in the mid-nineteenth-century Ruskin called it 'an affront to the sensibilities of polite society'.¹⁴⁶ Benson and Ugolini have also emphasised contemporary hostility to trade, especially from the middle-classes who formed the celebrity photographer's target market. The middle-classes were concerned to distinguish the respectable tradesman from those regarded as self-interested, driven by greed and opportunism, and who would exploit the consumer for their own advantage.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Claire Walsh, 'Social Meaning and Social Space in the Shopping Galleries of Early Modern London', Eds. John Benson & Laura Ugolini, *A Nation of Shopkeepers* (London, 1984), pp.53. Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.87 quoting the *Photographic News*, 9 January 1863, pp.20.

¹⁴⁶ Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.30. Professions of 'service' were considered respectable, as was business when undertaken in accordance with gentlemanly behaviour.

¹⁴⁷ Indeed, in more severe terms, they might be seen as 'morally-dubious' men and women who threatened the very 'moral fabric' of society. John Benson and Laura Ugolini, 'Introduction: Historians and the Nation of Shopkeepers' and Nancy Cox, "'Beggary of the Nation"', *Moral, Economic and Political Attitudes to the Retail Sector in the early Modern*

The behaviour of unscrupulous practitioners, whose primary aim was to make as much profit in as little time as possible, added to professional photographers' struggle to establish respectability. Press reports detailed clients being molested and physically threatened when unhappy with photographers' work, or of 'bullies on the pavement' causing passers-by 'worry and torment' in trying to attract trade.¹⁴⁸

The stereocard in **Fig.1-1059** shows a satirical 'comment' of the '6d practitioner' where the photographer (in un-gentlemanly attire of patterned trousers, unmatched waistcoat and shirt, and a hat tipped backwards on his head) tugs at the dress of a finely-clad 'lady' who walks past his business premises, whilst at the same time showing a very respectable gentleman (in smart day-coat, top hat and with a walking stick) examples of his work.¹⁴⁹ The price of 6d for a 'correct likeness' is clearly seen above his premises, and the title to the card reads "Your Likeness Sir? No White Eyes".

Another contemporary insight highlights the hurdles faced by commercial photographers in relation to their own social status. This is provided in reports on a court case brought by the publisher Mr. Mason against the aristocratic photographer Vernon Heath in 1862.¹⁵⁰ It spotlights the mid-nineteenth-century difficulties for a

Period', Eds. John Benson & Laura Ugolini, *A Nation of Shopkeepers* (London, 1984), pp.3 and 36-7.

¹⁴⁸ 'Talk in the Studio. Extremes of Comparison', *Photographic News*, 7 March 1862, pp.120. Quoted from the *Daily Telegraph*. 'Photography in the Police Court', *Photographic News*, 2 January 1863, pp.6-7.

¹⁴⁹ The disreputable image is exaggerated further by framed photographs attached to his waistcoat, and other photographs displayed outside his establishment under a large sign saying 'A Correct Likeness 6d' (with a glass of port included).

¹⁵⁰ Vernon Heath's 'friendly reception in the homes of the nobility' was referred to in 1892. This indicates his social acceptance in the higher levels of society. 'Vernon Heath's Recollections', *The Spectator*, 4 June 1892, pp.23.

middle-class practitioner in catching high-level commissions for trading purposes. Mr. Mason had asked Prince Albert to sit for a new publication he had in mind, but the Prince had refused, giving the reason that he did not feel able to 'lend himself to aid the commercial success of any private undertaking'.¹⁵¹ However Vernon Heath, describing himself as a 'photographic artist', was successful in gaining a commission from the Prince. As a publisher, Mason was clearly in 'business', and Albert's refusal to associate himself with the commercial world highlights the barriers that might be encountered in gaining the best commissions. Another example is found in a report in the *Photographic News* of 1863 when the writer expressed certainty that Victoria would never have permitted a photographer 'for his trading purposes' to convey her grief on the death of Albert.¹⁵² Although these examples relate to royal commissions, they provide an insight into the prejudice against trade facing the commercial photographer in the early 1860s.

Such contemporary references illustrate the hurdles faced in establishing a reputable commercial business of photography, and critiques on the standard of work added further difficulties. For example Henry Peach Robinson expressed

¹⁵¹ 'Photography in the Law Courts', *Photographic News*, 7th March 1862, pp.110-111. The Prince wished the highly-regarded photographer Vernon Heath to take the images and let the publisher Mason have a negative. However a disagreement arose when Mason claimed two negatives, and Heath charged the him 15g for one when Mason was expecting to pay the usual price for such an arrangement of around 5g. Heath claimed that he had been annoyed and insulted at Mason's claim that Mason (as a publisher) could have gained a sitting with the Prince Regent himself. Heath thus raised the price to Mason. The Jury's verdict was that 'the Plaintiff (Mason) should receive the one negative on payment of five guineas'. The Chief Justice said that it was in effect a verdict for the defendant (Heath). The *Photographic News* noted that the verdict also stipulated nominal damages of £20 against the defendant. 'Mason v. Heath', *Photographic News*, 7 March 1862, pp.116.

¹⁵² 'Photography and Bad Taste', *Photographic News*, 10 April 1863, pp.174-175.

concern in his publication *Pictorial Effect*. Robinson had studied fine art,¹⁵³ and his book on the aesthetics of photography was typical in criticising carte de visite photographers for showing a lack of knowledge (or regard) for the rules of art.¹⁵⁴ A reputation of fine workmanship and ethical behaviour was essential in attracting the most popular celebrity sitters of the day, indeed this was the essence of the photographer's success. The *Photographic News* noted in 1862 that 'distinguished persons' provided the practitioner's 'capital', and indeed A. Wynter described a particularly good subject as 'an annuity' to a commercial practitioner.¹⁵⁵ He termed some cartes 'sure cards' due to the huge profits they could generate - but he emphasised that it was a photographer's 'agency of position' that attracted the best patronage.

To establish a successful business photographers had to overcome these difficulties.¹⁵⁶ They needed to build a public profile that inspired confidence in their principles and quality of workmanship. However the large number of studios practising in Regent Street between 1862 and 1864 (listed in **Appendix 2**) shows that many businesses were successful in achieving these aims. Photographers devised various strategies to present themselves as Victorian 'professionals' with connotations of ethical behaviour and fine workmanship. The diverse marketing

¹⁵³ Robinson had one painting exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1852.

¹⁵⁴ Robinson complained of misuse of Academy rules of composition, balance and light: this is discussed more fully later in Chapter Two. Henry Peach Robinson, *Pictorial Effect in Photography* (Vermont, 1971) (reprint of First Edition 1869). Henry Peach Robinson also ran a photographic business himself.

¹⁵⁵ 'Copyright in Photographs', *Photographic News*, 30 May 1862, pp.254. A. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visite', *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.104.

¹⁵⁶ The photographic historian Nancy Cox highlights the slow transition from a severe prejudice against retail trade towards acceptance during the nineteenth-century and into the beginning of the twentieth-century. Nancy Cox, 'Beggary of the Nation', Eds. John Benson & Laura Ugolini, *A Nation of Shopkeepers* (London, 2003), pp.26-51.

loys used by commercial studios in the 1860s and 1870s will be explored in Part Two of the chapter.

PART TWO: STRATEGIES TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES

a) Studio and Photographer Professional Reputation

Many London photographers worked hard to establish commercial photography as an occupation of 'professional' standing. They were serious about improving the standard of their work. As reports in the *Photographic News* detailed, they joined societies, displayed their work at exhibitions, and took part in forums and discussions to perfect their photographic techniques. The magazine describes the extensive scientific and chemical investigations undertaken.¹⁵⁷ For example many experimented in adjusting the size of a print. Some negatives could be enlarged up to life-size: Mayall displayed one of his portraits of Prince Albert amplified 'between two and three times' in 1862 which was 'much admired' at the London Photographic Society.¹⁵⁸ Experiments to improve studio lighting were also carried out. T.R. Williams tried various forms of artificial lighting for his portraits in 1863.¹⁵⁹ There are constant references to trials, findings and sharing of knowledge: Williams and

¹⁵⁷ Photographers such as J.J.E. Mayall, the London Stereoscopic Co., W. & D. Downey, Kilburn, T.R. Williams, Lock & Whitfield, Antoine Claudet, Herbert Watkins, Maull & Polyblank, Southwell Brothers, Caldesi Blanford & Co., Camille Silvy, Walker & Sons, Jabez Hughes and Vernon Heath were repeatedly referred-to in the *Photographic News* as energetically participating in debates on photographic methods and displays of work.

¹⁵⁸ 'Proceedings of Societies. London Photographic Society', *Photographic News*, 9 May 1862, pp.224. Mayall also tried to produce photographs that replicated miniatures on ivory from different negatives. *Illustrated London News*, 24 January 1857, pp.61. Similarly the *Photographic News* noted that Claudet had devised a 'new' Camarsac process in which both life-sized portraits and tiny images for lockets and brooches could be produced. 'The Soiree of the Photographic Society', *Photographic News*, 2 May 1862, pp.206.

¹⁵⁹ Including the electric light, the Bengal light, and the Drummond light. Letter from T.R. Williams, 'Electric Light for Portraiture', *Photographic News*, 24 December 1863, pp.617.

Southwell Brothers published their formulae in the *Photographic News Almanac* for the information of other practitioners in 1863.¹⁶⁰ Novelty and innovation were significant business strategies for photographers, and served to signal that their work was of benefit to the wider community as well as to themselves.

A number of photographers developed their reputations over a period of time. For example J.J.E. Mayall took up photography in his late twenties.¹⁶¹ He achieved gained public recognition for his photographs of the Great Exhibition in 1851 when aged thirty-eight: indeed H. Baden Pritchard noted retrospectively in 1882 that the images had brought Mayall 'at once to the front rank'.¹⁶² Mayall then secured his most significant royal commission in 1860 aged forty-seven, the *Art Journal* noting the 'high reputation' gained by him on the issue of his Royal Album in which fourteen images of Victoria and her family were shown.¹⁶³ William Kilburn built his professional reputation from royal commissions from Queen Victoria and Prince Albert as early as 1847 in the Daguerreotype process, before venturing into the carte de visite medium ten years later.¹⁶⁴

Studio Name

These examples illustrate that reputable careers could be forged in commercial

¹⁶⁰ *Photographic News Almanac* (London, 1863).

¹⁶¹ John Jabez Edwin Mayall was born on 17 September 1813 in Oldham Lancashire. He moved to America between 1842 and 1846 and avoided Richard Beard's patent restrictions. He died on 6 March 1901. www.spartacus-educational.com/DSmayall and www.historiccamera.com

¹⁶² H. Baden Pritchard, *The Literature of Photography* (New York, 1973), pp.127 (reprint edition from original of 1882).

¹⁶³ 'Cartes-de-Visite', *The Art Journal*, Vol. VII 1 October 1861, pp.306. This contained fourteen cartes de visite of members of the Royal family, which could also be bought separately.

¹⁶⁴ Elizabeth Heyert, *The Glasshouse Years* (Montclair and London, 1979), pp.78.

photography, but careful attention to both professional standing and commercial structure was essential. One of the most important issues was the type of company setup as this would confer marketplace identity. In 1862 Stephen Thompson identified three kinds of photographic enterprise. They were the street-corner practitioner, the single trader and the partnership or limited liability company.¹⁶⁵ The first of these catered for passing street trade. It did not focus on commissioning celebrity sitters, so it is not relevant to this thesis. However a number of studios' self-promotion reflects Thompson's second category, that of the single trader. Names such as 'A. CLAUDET', 'C. SILVY', 'MAYALL', 'MR. KILBURN' and 'MR. JOUBERT' appear as the only studio name on the photographers' backplates and, although most probably employing several workers, a personal service is implied. The focus is on a social address in these names: the inclusion of 'Mr.' in the last two examples particularly confers a 'gentlemanly' status, moral behaviour and conscientious attention to work suggested without any reference to trade.

Thompson's third category of photographic organisation was the partnership or limited liability company, as a number of photographs demonstrate. Names such as 'SOUTHWELL BROTHERS', 'W. WALKER & SON', 'JOHN & CHARLES WATKINS' and 'W. & D. DOWNEY' show that many were family businesses, the names implying an establishment run according to prevailing standards of middle-class family values.¹⁶⁶ They were presented as trades of handed down and perfected

¹⁶⁵ Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* (Pennsylvania, 2006), pp.98-9. He quotes Stephen Thompson, 'The Commercial Aspects of Photography', *British Journal of Photography*, 1 November 1862, pp.406-7.

¹⁶⁶ The Victorian family was an area of moral and ethical instruction and development.

from one generation to the next.¹⁶⁷ A more specific reference to commercial intent is seen where two names were linked together in a partnership, as found in 'MAULL & POLYBLANK' and 'ELLIOTT & FRY'. But some referenced commercial activity directly when including the word 'Company' as seen, for example, in the studio name of 'CALDESI, BLANFORD & CO.'

A number of studios appear to have been happy to identify themselves as commercial traders, adopting names that directly referred to the process of their output. Examples are found in names such as 'THE PHOTOGLYPTIC COPYING COMPANY'¹⁶⁸ and the 'REVOLVING STUDIO' (the backplates of these examples are illustrated in **Fig.2-674, 3-683**). Another instance is found in the company name illustrated on the backplate in **Fig.4-831** of 'WOTHLYTYPE', this being a process developed by a Mr. Jacob Wothly to prevent photographs fading,¹⁶⁹ and 'THE LONDON PHOTO COPYING COMPANY's backplate in **Fig.5-389(B)** underlines its commercial structure in identifying 'L. Phillips' as the studio 'Manager'. These examples show how mechanism of photography was closely linked to the studio's identity, 'THE LONDON STEREOSCOPIIC CO.' following a similar strategy in referring to their original output of stereoscopic photography in their company name. But this was a large enterprise, and could perhaps be associated with one of the 'Barnhams and Moses and Sons' of photography who were described by Thompson as 'tradesmen or capitalists', trading 'under some generic title which cloaks all

¹⁶⁷ Creating a false impression, as photography was a new medium.

¹⁶⁸ This was a method of increasing the longevity of photographic images.

¹⁶⁹ Jacob Wothly developed the method in 1864 using uranium and salt mixed in collodion and printed onto paper.

individuality'.¹⁷⁰

Studio Location

The photographer's studio address also aided in defining the business status of these enterprises. For example the backplates of Camille Silvy and Mr. Joubert advertised their premises in a particularly affluent residential area of London, at Porchester Terrace (Silvy at No.38 and Joubert at No.36). These addresses helped to define photographers as gentlemen practising photography as a hobby rather than as a livelihood. Some practitioners chose upper-class areas of central London to set up their studios and advertised these on their backplates. For example Caldesi Blanford and Henry Rigge practised in Pall Mall and Bond Street, conveying the impression of well-to-do men, pursuing an interest in photography.¹⁷¹ However those targeting the core middle-class market positioned themselves in fashionable retail areas, such as Piccadilly and Regent Street and took on premises with window-displays at street-level below the studio, attracting the attention passers-by. Regent Street, in particular, was crowded with photographic businesses in the early 1860s (as detailed in **Appendix 2**): indeed Mayall and Kilburn were placed almost next door to each other at 224 Regent Street and 222 Regent Street.¹⁷² Some, such as the London Stereoscopic Co., favoured a lavish window display (the stereocard in **Fig.6-1059(A)** illustrates their studio showroom in Regent Street) with

¹⁷⁰ Stephen Thompson, 'The Commercial Aspects of Photography', *British Journal of Photography*, 1 November 1862, pp.406. Quoted in Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* (Pennsylvania, 2006), pp.98-99.

¹⁷¹ Henry Rigge's studio was at 35 New Bond Street, and Caldesi Blanford & Co. at 13 Pall Mall East.

¹⁷² Regent Street was a fashionable shopping area for the middle-classes. Shops such as Mechi & Bazin were to be found there (at 112 Regent Street). It was, therefore, a thriving business area and environment for the celebrity carte de visite businessman.

extensive displays of their photographs amassed on tall stands and display cases around the doorway.¹⁷³ Henry Mayhew described this particular company's premises as 'handsome' in 1865. Regent Street was a hive of industry for the commercial photographic trade in the 1860s and 1870s, with the *Photographic News* noting in 1863 that 'scarcely a favourable spot is left untenanted'.¹⁷⁴

A few lines added to photographers' backplates could thus subtly shape a commercial identity. Jabez Hughes's backplate in **Fig.7-355** illustrates a particularly imaginative use of such strategy. Here his studio is listed at Ryde on the Isle of Wight. It was a town particularly known for its proximity to Osborne House, the summer residence of the Royal family, and an association between photographer and royalty was construed. This formulation suggested Hughes might be seen as a personal photographer to royalty - and indeed this happened: the *Photographic News* claimed that soon after 'fixing his residence' at Ryde, Hughes had been asked to take photographs of Prince Leopold, Princess Helena and Princess Louise.¹⁷⁵

Claims to Artistry

These company profiles reveal different approaches to company self-promotion related to a target market, and show that some photographers were happy to be seen as traders in the new photographic medium while others worked hard to lift themselves away from mercenary motivation, striving to project a 'gentlemanly-practitioner' image that conferred a 'professional' status, one that emphasised a

¹⁷³ This shows their studio with a royal crest above the door, and large draw-down blinds with the company name in large letters.

¹⁷⁴ Janice Carol Hart, Op. Cit., pp.80 quoting the *Photographic News*, 9 January 1863, pp.20.

¹⁷⁵ 'Talk in the Studio. Royal Patronage', *Photographic News*, 25 April 1862, pp.204.

high-mindedness and serious attention to fine workmanship.¹⁷⁶ One particularly effective method of boosting occupational status was to focus on the creative and artistic aspect of photography and there are many references on practitioners' cartes to this effect. For example Adolphe Beau has placed an imprinted hand-written signature just below his portrait of the actress Marie Louise de la Ramee in **Fig.8-39**,¹⁷⁷ thus aligning himself with a long-established convention of recording artistic authorship. The carte in **Fig.9-772** provides another example where Herbert Watkins has included a similar script-style signature, but this time within the portrait of Lord Palmerston itself. In an even more forceful exertion of artistry, G.T. Millichap describes himself not only as a 'Portrait Painter & Photographer' but also states that he had attended the Royal Academy of Arts in London (his backplate shown in **Fig.10-656**). Heath & Beau have similarly stated that they are part of an 'Art-Photography Union' below their name on their backplate in **Fig.11-40**. These practitioners used such annotations to emphasise themselves as 'photographic artists', but Camile Silvy added an extra dimension to this image by describing himself in Latin as '*Silvis Exiens*' (shown in **Fig.12-712**), this perhaps being a ploy to align his creativity with the high reputation of the classical world.¹⁷⁸ Creativity lifted the occupational status of those whose work necessitated the operation of reproductive machinery. Indeed the artistic aspect of photographers' work was

¹⁷⁶ Penny J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London & New York, 1995).

¹⁷⁷ Appearing as an artist with unique creative overtones lifted the professional status of the practitioner away from connotations of self-seeking profit acquisition.

¹⁷⁸ Backplates containing elaborate artwork of cherubs and easels are also found, but they are mostly used in personal portraiture rather than in celebrity commissions. The exact translation of '*Exiens*' in this context cannot be determined, but serves as an example of a photographer using classical associations to boost his creative ability.

frequently praised in contemporary press publications. For example the *Daily News* praised Herbert Watkins's photographs as 'all that could be desired in the way of artistic treatment' in 1863,¹⁷⁹ and the *Photographic News* described Lock & Whitfield's coloured images as displaying 'the most elaborate skill of the miniature painter' which rivalled 'the best-executed ivory miniatures of the past age.'¹⁸⁰

Royal Commissions Secured

A focus on artistry and creativity helped to raise the status of the photographer, but the capture of a royal commission particularly boost a practitioner's reputation. Associations to the Royal family were extensively advertised on the portraits. Just ten royal warrants were issued by Queen Victoria between 1855 and 1880 for those practising in the photographic field:¹⁸¹ the *Photograph News* referred to "by appointment" as 'magic words' in establishing a fine professional reputation and status.¹⁸² Antoine Claudet,¹⁸³ Hills & Saunders and W. & D. Downey were amongst the few honoured. All advertised the royal appointment on their backplates, and an example is shown in **Fig.13-120** where Claudet places a large crown in the centre of his backplate just below his name, and with the wording 'Photographer to Her Majesty' circled around it. Hills & Saunders include a large royal crest on their backplate with the wording 'By Appointment to Her Majesty'

¹⁷⁹ Reported in 'British Photographic Department', *Photographic News*, 11 July 1862, pp.330.

¹⁸⁰ 'The International Exhibition. Report of the Jury on Photography and Photographic Apparatus', *Photographic News*, 2 April 1863, pp.166.

¹⁸¹ This type of warrant signaled that the Queen had ordered and paid for services from the company over a consecutive three-year period. Janice Carol Hart, Op. Cit., pp.165.

¹⁸² 'Photography in and out of the Studio', *The Photographic News*, 19 March 1880, pp.133.

¹⁸³ Claudet became Photographer in Ordinary to the Queen in 1855.

below, and W. & D. Downey follow a similar pattern with a large royal crown and coat of arms below their name, with 'Patronized by Her Majesty' printed across the crest. Photographers could refer to a royal commission on their cartes even when not honoured with a royal warrant.¹⁸⁴ There are, however, a large number of studios' backplates that display royal crests, and it is doubtful whether so many would have secured royal commissions. Janice Hart says that many photographers claimed royal patronage to boost their status and reputation and it is likely that not all statements were true.¹⁸⁵ One photographer who had achieved extensive royal commissions however, J.J.E. Mayall, chose not to advertise himself in this way. Instead his backplates retain the simple wording that his images were 'Photographed from Life by MAYALL' (illustrated in **Fig. 16-639**), emphasising the uniqueness of photography in its truth to nature rather than boosting his appeal through the approval and status of his sitters.¹⁸⁶

In the 1850s and 1860s photographers used textual annotations to signal

¹⁸⁴ William Kilburn had not gained a Royal Warrant but he had established his royal associations by photographing Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in 1847 at Buckingham Palace in the Daguerreotype process. Elizabeth Heyert, *The Glasshouse Years* (Montclair and London, 1979), pp.78. His cartes issued in the 1860s included royal crests on the backplates. Other studios without a royal warrant, such as John Watkins, also included reference to their royal commissions, Watkins for example stating that he was 'Photographer to the Queen The Prince of Wales & The Ex Royal Family of France' on his backplates (shown in **Fig.14-782**). H. Hering provides another example when describing himself as 'Photographer to the Queen' (shown in **Fig.15-334**).

¹⁸⁵ No references have been found to challenge the claims to royal patronage made on cartes de visite, so further research would prove useful in clarifying the legitimacy of this practice.

¹⁸⁶ Although achieving high royal acclaim through his 'Royal Album' and many royal commissions, Mayall seems to have preferred a plain backplate design. **Fig.17-743(A)** shows a similar design to Mayall's used by John Tredray (a photographer working in private commissions in Hastings). This suggests that Mayall chose his design from a standardized pattern-book issued for commercial photographers, rather than designing a special 'logo' to establish a unique marketplace identity.

themselves as practitioners worthy of a 'professional' gentlemanly occupational status. However as the century progressed competition rose significantly, with large numbers of new photographers taking up the profession seeking the high returns offered by celebrity photography. More forceful statements of personal acumen begin to appear on the cartes de visite with the subtle exertion of professional identity seen in the above examples giving way to an increasing 'self-puffery' on the portrait mounts, as the following section shows.¹⁸⁷

PART TWO: STRATEGIES TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES

b) Studio and Photographer Commercial Self-Promotion

Janice Carol Hart refers to a 'ruinous' competition emerging for commercial photographers in the 1860s and 1870s.¹⁸⁸ Indeed the *Photographic News* noted the difficulties in sustaining trade in 1863, saying that photographers were increasingly 'bent upon under-selling their rivals' to retain turnover and sales.¹⁸⁹ To attract the most lucrative commissions and generate the highest possible income, it was necessary to stand out in the marketplace. As Thomas Richards argues, in this new 'commodity-conscious' era, the advert was an essential tool in marketing a product, and commercial photographers devised various means of drawing attention

¹⁸⁷ To 'puff' was a term often used in the nineteenth-century to signal one who promoted his own worth, as see for example in William Smith, *Advertise: How? When? Where?* (London, 1863), pp.73 & 82.

¹⁸⁸ Janice Carol Hart, Op. Cit., pp.48 quoting Thomas Piper, *The Year-Book of Photography and Photographic News Almanac*, 1865, pp.20-21.

¹⁸⁹ Alfred H. Wall, 'A Few Thoughts about Photographic Societies', *Photographic News*, 9 October 1863, pp.488. Steve Edwards also discusses the huge influx of commercial photographic studios in the 1860s. Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* (Pennsylvania, 2006).

to themselves and their portraits, ranging from a subtle self-promotion to overt claims of excellence.¹⁹⁰

W. & D. Downey compiled a collection of autograph books in which short messages had been left from the leading celebrities they had photographed. These were put on display at the studio, and their entries, many praising the photographers' work and personal attention, boosted the Downeys' reputation. Entries are found from royalty, including Princes George and Victor, and the Prince and Princess of Wales, to theatrical stars such as Lilly Langtry and Jenny Lind. One example illustrated in **Fig.18** is from the American showman P.T. Barnum and reads: 'Messrs. Downey's pictures of me are pronounced by my friends the very best I ever had, and I fully concur'.¹⁹¹ Another entry, from Queen Victoria's first great-grand-child says 'From the English Princess Feodora, with many thanks to Mr. Downey for his courtesy'.¹⁹² The display of such accolades underscored the photographers' status amongst high-profile, fashionable sitters whilst avoiding direct self-promotion, however more forceful ploys were increasingly employed. A particularly wide public appeal could be effected by using the product itself to advertise the photographer's business. The stereocard in **Fig.19-1059(B)**, for example, shows The London Stereoscopic Co. promoting their own activities. It is a stereocard of the Dublin Exhibition of 1865, but it is their exhibition display, with the studio name seen across the top of the stand,

¹⁹⁰ Thomas Richards argues that an essential link developed between the commodity and its advertisement in the nineteenth-century. Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, California, 1990), pp.131.

¹⁹¹ This entry is signed and dated 28 August 1883. A list of the most prominent celebrity autographs in this album is shown in **Appendix 3**. The albums were referred to in contemporary press reports, for example in 'A Grand Old Photographer II', *Pall Mall Budget*, 8 January 1891, pp.20.

¹⁹² She was Princess Vicky's grand-daughter.

that forms the central point of the composition and immediately catches the eye.

The stereocard discussed earlier in the chapter (shown in **Fig.6-1059(A)**) re-iterates the Company's self-promotion in a display of its portraits to a large group of passers-by in Regent Street, with a royal crest above the doorway and the Company name in large letters on the blinds above.¹⁹³

Studio self-promotion to a wide audience is also illustrated in an envelope-cover by A. & G. Taylor shown in **Fig.20-XA79**. This was used to send their photographs to the client, but the photographers have highlighted their own business on the envelope with the wording 'By Special Royal Warrant', accompanied by a royal crest, just above the address area. This royal 'cachet' is re-enforced in further print appearing on the sides and back of the envelope, reading 'From A. & G. Taylor, Photographers to the Queen' and 'Photographers to Her Majesty the Queen, and their Royal Highnesses The Prince and Princess of Wales'. This ensures that the studio name, and its associations with royalty, are seen from whatever angle the envelope might fall, and there is also a list of twenty-nine branches of the company around the world, together with details of their 'Wholesale and Publishing Depot' in London, printed across the back of the envelope. On the backplates of the cartes inside, A. & G. Taylor reiterate that they are 'Photographers to Her Majesty the Queen by Special Royal Warrant' and that they are 'The largest Photographers in

¹⁹³ There is a label stuck onto the back of the stereocard that advertises American wines with prices in U.S. dollars. This suggests that the stereocard was placed for sale in America. Text printed on the left image states that this is '33a Regent St. London' but the studio was located at 110 and 108 Regent Street. But no records have been found of a studio at No. 33a.

the World'.¹⁹⁴ Thus the whole exercise of sending out the product has been used as a marketing tool to underline the Company's excellence, reputation, and authority in the commercial world, to a wide audience.

These examples show the photographer maximising his prominence in the marketplace by using the circulation of his product to address as many people as possible. As Hamish Fraser points out however, commercially-motivated self-promotion was considered vulgar in nineteenth-century society.¹⁹⁵ Laura Ugolini refers to a stigma associated with self-puffery, noting an association with low-class traders who were unscrupulous, greedy for gain, and who would deceive the public to purchase their products through false claims. As she says, aggressive advertising was often associated with untrustworthiness and low quality.¹⁹⁶ But there is a clear increase in the amount of studio advertisement over the 1860s, appearing on the cartes themselves indicating a significant change in approach to business practice.

Growing Studio Crests

An example is found in the size of studio crests. For example Herbert Watkins chose a simple and small three-line description of his occupation on his early cartes (illustrated in **Fig.21-770**), and this assumed just one-seventh of the backplate area, whereas his later design assumed half the backplate with artwork showing a large sun, a scroll, and a dominant and ornate studio name (**Fig.22-769**). A similar

¹⁹⁴ The envelope contains two identical cartes of a man and woman, together with a carte-sized print with a pencil reference number 29083, and an ink inscription reading 'Please return proof if satisfactory.' (the envelope date-stamp is '94').

¹⁹⁵ W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914* (London, 1981), pp.134. He quotes Carlyle's views in this respect.

¹⁹⁶ Laura Ugolini, 'Men, Masculinities, and Menswear Advertising', Ed. John Benson & Laura Ugolini, *A Nation of Shopkeepers* (London, 1984), pp.82-83 and pp.100.

pattern is seen in the case of W. & D. Downey, where the three cartes in **Fig. 25-230, 26-185 and 27-183** show just one royal crest in the mid 1860s, rising to seven in the 1870s, and to eleven towards the end of the century - eventually assuming the entire backplate area, their professional image now cemented as photographers favoured by royalty around the world.¹⁹⁷ A comparison of two cartes and one cabinet card in **Figs.28-635, 29-640 and 30-1060(A)** reveals a similar aggrandisement of studio promotion on the cartes of Mayall. As discussed earlier, this photographer was less forceful than many others in using his royal commissions to boost his occupational status, but these examples show that he too followed the trend of using this royal association to increase his prominence in the marketplace as the century progressed. His early small four-line backplate annotation grew in size to advertise his new studio at 90 King's Road in Brighton after 1864, together with a display of medals won at international exhibitions below.¹⁹⁸ The fourth illustration, of a later cabinet card, advertises Mayall's company in much larger and more ornate lettering, against extensive artwork of crown and medals. He is now

¹⁹⁷ The studio identity in terms of royal favour has been promoted here. The Downeys had purposefully pursued royal patronage, attracting the Queen's admiration when she saw their photographs of the Princess of Wales in 1863. Further royal commissions followed, and in 1896 William Downey stated that they had 'photographed every member of the Royal Family from her Majesty down to Prince Edward of York, as well as their consorts and families singly and in groups'. He also said that they had 'taken almost every crowned head in Europe, and not a few Asian monarchs', and the studio forcefully advertised the large number of royal commissions on their backplates. *London Evening News* (London, 1896).

¹⁹⁸ Mayall opened a new studio in Brighton on 18th July 1864 and traded until 1908. The studio at 164 New Bond Street was opened in 1881 and traded until 1892, and his studio at Kingston upon Thames traded between 1895 and 1908. Leonie L. Reynolds and Arthur T. Gill, 'The Mayall Story', *History of Photography*, Vol.9, No.2, (April-June 1985), pp.89-107. The medals are for prizes won at exhibitions in London in 1862, Dublin in 1865, and Paris in 1867. Mayall's Regent Street address is listed, but his Brighton address at 91 King's Road now appears above that of his London studio.

listed as a limited company with branches at 164 New Bond Street and Kingston upon Thames¹⁹⁹ and there is also an advertisement that he uses 'Instantaneous Photography'. These examples show that Mayall also recognised the growing need to exert marketplace prominence, eventually advertising himself through his royal association.

Advertisement of Special Awards and Expertise

Medals that had been won at international exhibitions served as a further way of boosting a practitioner's reputation, and were prominently displayed on backplates.

Fig.31-652 shows Arthur Melhuish using the middle section, and the largest area, of his backplate of his portrait of Queen Victoria for two large medals gained at the International Exhibition in 1862 and at the Dublin Exhibition in 1865.²⁰⁰ Although medals were often used by tradesmen to advertise their own commercial achievements, a number of high-end professional studios also adopted this method of self-promotion. McLean & Haes have particularly exploited their attendance at the International Exhibition of 1862 to advertise their prowess on their backplate shown in **Fig.32-650**. Here added text states that they had been the 'only' House in London 'Mentioned for the excellence of their Coloured Photographs with one

¹⁹⁹ The first cartes were issued in the early 1860s. The second carte, listed at 90 Kings Road Brighton, would have been issued after 1864: the third carte issued after the Paris Exhibition of 1867. Mayall formed a limited company in 1888.

²⁰⁰ Melhuish held the position of Secretary of the Amateur Photographic Association from 1861 which, as the *Photographic News* noted, was reluctant to admit professional practitioners. 'Proceedings of Societies.....Amateur Photographic Associations', *Photographic News*, 18 July 1862, pp.346. However he also ran a successful professional studio, and a gradual softening of the amateur and professional divisions is suggested. 'Proceedings of Societies.....Amateur Photographic Associations', *Photographic News*, 18 July 1862, pp.346.

exception' at the 'International Exhibition 1862':²⁰¹ the statement now used to lift McLean & Haes's profile above that of the average practitioner.

'Outstanding' ability is also highlighted by Claudet on his carte de visite in **Fig. 33-121**, but expressed in a different way. Here the photographer has used one of his own portraits of the scientist Michael Faraday to advertise his expertise. The backplate to the portrait is covered with a description of Claudet's 'New Process' for renewing old faded Daguerreotypes and Stereoscopic Slides 'to their original perfection'. This statement places Claudet as a pioneer of latest scientific investigation, and he has boosted his association with learning and technology through an example of his own photograph of a particularly renowned scientist.²⁰² The claim of special knowledge and ability might attract both consumer and sitter in specialised markets. For example, Clarkington highlights his attention to 'Parliamentary' photographs in **Fig.34-117**, and adds that the studio had produced a 'photographic series' of members of the British legislature. Such annotation draws attention to an expertise in this distinct sphere of photography and suggests an expertise in the exercise of the photographic art for particular subjects.²⁰³

²⁰¹ They promoted their associations with art through adverts in the press for exhibitions of fine art held at their studios at 7 Haymarket. 'Mr. McLean's Gallery of Water-Colour Drawings', *Art Journal*, 1 December 1865, pp.370.

²⁰² Claudet had been a highly accomplished scientist before venturing into photography and was always keen to experiment to improve the quality and techniques of his output. There are many references to his activities in this respect in the *Photographic News* of 1862 and 1863. There is, however, in the annotation on the backplate of this portrait, the suggestion of a service to the public in restoring their photographs to their original quality, and this confers a 'professional' status in relation to expertise. Penny Corfield argues that service and expertise built a professional status in the nineteenth-century. Penny J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London & New York, 1995).

²⁰³ **Appendix A** provides a comparison of the subjects issued by each of the leading London photographic studios over the period 1857 to 1880, based on the cartes de visite in the author's archive.

Advertisement of Scoops Secured

The capture of an exclusive commission could also boost a studio's reputation, as seen in **Fig.35-XA1**, of a small carte-sized photograph of Lord Macaulay by Maull & Polyblank. This has been tipped into the front page of the biography entitled: 'Macaulay; the Historian, Statesman, and Essayist', and text below states that it is the 'only' photograph taken of the eminent historian.²⁰⁴ The studio has thus increased its commercial prominence by inferring that Macaulay had specially chosen them to fix his public image. A similar example is found in the case of H. Murray, but this time he has advertised his unique commission from Madame Lind Goldschmidt on the front of the portrait, just above her photograph (shown in **Fig. 36-662**), with text reading: 'MADAME LIND GOLDSCHMIDT. The only authorised portrait'.²⁰⁵ Elliott & Fry have adopted a slightly different method of such self-advertisement however. On their carte de visite of Elizabeth Barrett Browning in **Fig. 37-295** they state in text on the front of the carte that the portrait was 'Copied from a Daguerreotype by Permission of ROBERT BROWNING, ESQ.' thus underlining the highly-respected poet's acknowledgement of the studio's work.²⁰⁶ These examples show photographers exploiting recognition from well-known public figures to boost their reputation. An annotation that appears on The London

²⁰⁴ *Macaulay; the Historian, Statesman, and Essayist* (London, 1860). The wording reads: 'with a photographic portrait (The only one known to have been taken) by Maull and Polyblank'. The existence of a formal and binding contract to this exclusivity cannot be established but the printed wording suggests that such an arrangement had been entered into.

²⁰⁵ Texts states that Murray had secured the 'only' authorised portrait of the sitter.

²⁰⁶ W. & D. Downey managed to secure the photographic rights to Sarah Bernhardt's image on her visits to England which was an enormous 'coup' in the light of her contemporary popularity. 'The Grand Old Photographer X', *Pall Mall Budget*, 19 March 1891, pp.20.

Stereoscopic Co.'s cartes after 1862 illustrates the same principle employed, but in relation to a commission gained for a public event. The photographers had been chosen to circulate the images of the International Exhibition of 1862, and this was clearly stated on the studio's backplates from 1862 onwards in a caption reading 'Sole Photographers to the International Exhibition 1862'. The exhibition was one of the major events of the decade and being its only appointed photographers was a huge advertising opportunity for promoting the quality of the Company's work.²⁰⁷

An Up-to-the-minute Product

As demonstrated, studios went to great lengths to advertise their professional prowess as a way of attracting the most popular sitters of the day, and those celebrities at the centre of public attention at a given moment in time provided particular commercial value to the photographer. Contemporary press publications boosted interest, but portrait demand could be short-lived. Securing the market for both enduring personalities and for those enjoying a short-lived celebrity interest was essential. The *Photographic News* pointed out in 1862 that although some images had 'a perpetual sale', others would 'run like wildfire for a day, and then fall a deal letter', this being especially so for theatrical or operatic stars whose portraits provided a strong demand during a successful performance, but were then 'sought

²⁰⁷ The London Stereoscopic Co. exercised clever strategies in securing this valuable advertisement of their work. They were not deterred by stipulations imposed by the organizers of the Exhibition which restricted many from applying. They offered a 'most handsome sum' and made 'a most tempting proposal' of fifteen hundred guineas, together with a share of the profits from the photographs that would be sold. The writer noted that 'the prospect of "going snacks" was too much for the virtue of the Commissioners'. 'The Contract for Photography in the International Exhibition', *Photographic News*, 2 May 1862, pp.206.

no more'.²⁰⁸ William Smith, in his book on advertising in 1863, recommended careful attention to exploiting sudden consumer demand.²⁰⁹ As he said, interest generated by a 'memorable event' such as a royal birthday, a battle won, or the arrival of a distinguished foreigner could offer great rewards. The carte in **Fig. 38-451** illustrates The London Stereoscopic Company exercising such a strategy. It is a portrait issued to mark the French Prince Imperial's eighteenth birthday, but the studio has specifically emphasised this immediacy as the collectable worth of the issue with the inclusion of text under the image reading 'Napoleon (16 Mars 1874)'.²¹⁰

There is, however, a certain carelessness in some celebrity portraits that might be explained by this urgency to place celebrities 'of the moment' on the market quickly. It perhaps reflects practitioners' scramble to get their product to market and maximise their sales and is found even in the work of the most respected studios. For example the prints of Charles Kingsley and of Lord Palmerston in **Figs. 39-631 and 40-705** by J.J.E. Mayall and Camille Silvy have been pasted upside down on the mount. A lack of care is also found in the carte of Prince Arthur illustrated in **Fig. 41-895** which appears to be an unfinished portrait, with the supporting background clamps (used to keep the head steady) seen in the picture alongside the Prince, as if

²⁰⁸ A. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visite', *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.105. Janice Hart cites Vernon Heath who said that nine months after Prince Albert's death there was no more demand for portraits of the Prince. Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.162 quoting Vernon Heath, *Recollections* (London, 1892), Chapter IX.

²⁰⁹ William Smith, *Advertise: How? When? Where?* (London, 1863), pp.97. Janice Hart points out that the boxer Tom Sayers was 'beset by photographers' seeking a sitting after his successful match with Heenan in 1862. Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.607 quoting the *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.104.

²¹⁰ This was perhaps issued in France to meet demand there as the text is written in French.

tossed to the sides of a working studio. The *Daily News* commented that success had no doubt rendered photographers 'somewhat careless of fame'.²¹¹ Another instance is found on the portrait of the Duke of Cambridge in **Fig. 42-995** where the illustrious personage has been issued for sale as the 'Duchess' of Cambridge. Such mistakes suggest a hurried output to maximise sales from a sudden demand. A particularly explicit example of such carelessness in production is seen in the carte in **Fig. 43-201**. Here the highly respectable studio of W. & D. Downey, a studio who prided themselves on their royal patrons, have issued a portrait of Princess Louise with the print pasted half-way over printed wording on the mount stating that it was 'permanently printed in carbon'. It is not clear why this statement was printed, or whether it should have been hidden under the photograph, but its appearance detracts from the quality claimed by a studio aspiring to the highest possible patronage. Jabez Hughes had observed in 1867 that many photographers were attending to 'the tradesman element' whilst neglecting 'the art one'.²¹² Alfred Wall had similarly noted the rapidity with which operators were compelled to do their work in order "to make it pay" and that it could prevent them from doing 'full justice to their abilities',²¹³ and this perhaps explains the careless appearance found on some photographs.

Cartes de Visite Used as Studio Advertisement

These examples have shown that studio self-promotion designed to expand reputation and increase profits was increasingly displayed on the product itself as

²¹¹ 'British Photographic Department', *Photographic News*, 11 July 1862, pp.330.

²¹² Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* (Pennsylvania, 2006), p.p. 123. *Photographic News*, 20 December 1867, pp.608.

²¹³ Alfred H. Wall, 'A Few Thoughts about Photographic Societies', *Photographic News*, 9 October 1863, pp.488.

the century progressed. A further example is seen on The London Stereoscopic Co.'s carte of the Prince of Wales issued in the 1870s (shown in **Fig.44-395**) where whole backplate is taken up with an advertisement for the Company's business. The studio's 'product' is shown as the most prominent lettering, in bold dark type across the entire horizontal area as '**PORTRAITS**'. It dominates the whole backplate, and 'CELEBRITIES' appears in capitals just below. The words 'COMMERCIAL PHOTOGRAPHY' follow as the next heading, and business information is extensively referred to on the entire backplate area. Here it is stated that the Company holds 'the largest stock in the world of any firm since the introduction of Photography', and that 'Every known process' is undertaken by the Company 'for the cheap and rapid production of Photographic subjects for Advertising, Book Illustration, Calendars, Trade Circulars, Legal Purposes, and Facsimile reproduction of documents.' The London Stereoscopic Co. are forcefully aligning themselves with trade on this backplate, and the Prince's portrait seems to act as a sample of the studio's work, his presence on the front of the carte attracting attention to the Company's business activities. This strategy is now very different from his father, Prince Albert's, reluctance to lend his image to furthering a particular company's business interests.

Portraits Increasingly Circulated as a Commodity

As the nineteenth-century progressed a stronger assertion of the product's monetary value is found on the cartes too, with the celebrity portrait appearing openly as a commodity, and the photographer as a trader. For example, W. Portbury states that enlargements, reductions and copies could be had 'at a reduced charge' on his

backplate in **Fig.45-676**.²¹⁴ Examples of this move towards 'trade' on the cartes are numerous. A selection is illustrated on the three backplates in **Figs.46-321(A), 47-137** and **48-422**. Here Henderson advertises his 'burned-in photographs on enamel' on his backplate at prices ranging from 1/- for one copy, to 16/- for an order of fifty,²¹⁵ and Mr. Downes lists the price of his cartes: 'from 7/- per dozen'.²¹⁶ The last image, The London Stereoscopic's portrait of the poet Eliza Cooke, has an advert for the studio's private portrait business on the backplate, with a list of their payment terms reading: '12 PORTRAITS at 10/- or 25 Do. 2 POSITIONS for £1'.²¹⁷ A more explicit attempt to increase trade is found on Prince Albert's portrait in **Fig.50-859**. Here one of Vernon Heath's photographs of the Prince has been set inside an artwork frame of scrolls and crests, and the company name of the London Photo Copying Company (and their address at 304 Regent Street) forming an overriding heading to the portrait. Within this decorative scrolling, text states: '50 Locket size portraits from carte 3/2' and 'Two copies 7/6'. At the bottom of the picture a longer advert reads: '12 copies of carte de visite for 2/8. Send Carte with Stamps & 12 Perfect Copies with Original will be forwarded post free'. On this portrait the London Photo Copying Company are using the Prince to advertise their extensive

²¹⁴ Portbury is placing himself firmly in the market with this statement. He takes ten lines of text to present himself as the 'sole inventor' of the Miniature on Porcelain and Ivory process, and promotes further trade with the enticement of reduced prices, all placed on the back of this portrait mount.

²¹⁵ This was a process where the collodion negative was coated with a chloride powder and fired onto enamel to increase the permanence of the photographic image.

²¹⁶ At the same time advertising his artistry and royal patronage in 'the best Style of Art' as 'Photographers to the Queen'.

²¹⁷ **Fig.49-667** shows another image of William Gladstone where Nelson & Emmens promote their prices 'far below those of any other respectable house', detailed at '5s. Per Dozen' on the backplate.

stock and its price.²¹⁸ Celebrity is now being used to attract business and secure income with a price-tag attached, and indeed photographers seem to be following the recommendation on commercial advertising made by William Smith in 1863 that products be circulated with 'fixed charges appended'.²¹⁹

As this demonstrates, studios began exercising a stronger assertion of their own commercial interests on the cartes as the nineteenth-century progressed, with an increasing reference to their product as a commodity and as an item of monetary exchange. The celebrity photographer was now placing himself in the marketplace as a trader, and the celebrity portrait was beginning to appear explicitly as a commodity. During the 1860s commercial photography established itself as a legitimate part of mid-Victorian British commerce and, as the next part of the chapter examines, it began to be supported by a strong commercial framework of legal protection and supporting businesses.

PART THREE: THE CELEBRITY CARTE DE VISITE AS A LEGITIMATE MID-VICTORIAN TRADE

Photographs Seen as Bulk Turnover

Photography as a bulk trade is increasingly shown on the cartes. For example **Fig.51-522** illustrates a rubber-stamped reference number that has been applied to the backplate of Maull & Polyblank's portrait of the artist Sydney Cooper. It is an ink

²¹⁸ No contemporary information has been found in relation to the use of Vernon Heath's images by the London Photo Copying Company in this way, and so it is not clear whether the Company negotiated a contract with Heath to pay for use of the picture.

²¹⁹ William Smith, *Advertise: How? When? Where?* (London, 1863), pp.27.

re-order number, and reads 'No. 31557'. A clear reference to the organisation of volumetric stock is revealed, conjuring up images of a workroom with staff stamping huge numbers of such portraits one after the other, for distribution to numerous sales outlets: indeed it is an indelible business statement that could not be removed by the collector. Another indication of workroom organisation, and an assertion and expectation of more business, is found on Walker & Sons' carte in **Fig. 52-766** which states, again as an indelible ink imprint, that negatives were 'carefully kept'. In these instances studios' commercial motivation is expressed on the portraits, as permanent as the photographic image itself. These notices on the cartes announce business intentions to expand and increase trade and profit. The celebrity portrait now appears as a commodity to generate income, as seen in W. & D. Downey's carte de visite of Prince Leopold (in **Fig.53-194**) where a list of twenty other celebrity portraits is printed on the backplate again reveals the studio's eagerness to boost its sales. Commercial preoccupation increasingly appears overtly as uppermost in practitioners' minds, and the carte in **Fig.54-694** shows a printed price-tag on the backplate of Sarony & Co.'s portrait of the actor Edward Askew Sothorn (posed as David Garrick) reading: 'Price One Shilling and Sixpence'. Another uninhibited reference to price is found on the front mount, just below Lord Stanley's portrait, in **Fig.55-117**²²⁰ where '1/-' is defined as the statesman's 'worth' in the world of

²²⁰ The price of the celebrity portrait seems to be uniform at 1/4d to 1/6d, irrespective of who is being sold. Fluctuations seem to be related to workmanship. For example the hand-coloured cartes of Prince Edward and Alexandra in **Figs.56-310** and **57-311** are being sold at 3/- (seen on the backplate). This is very different from the prices charged for the cartes today, where it is the renown of the celebrity subject which primarily affects the price.

consumer, retailer and producer.²²¹

Legal Protection of Profit Seen on the Cartes

In 1862 the commercial photographer's original work was given formal legal protection through the Copyright Act.²²² The Act boosted practitioners' professional standing by recognising practitioners' creativity, and it was a great step forward in establishing commercial photography as a legitimate and respected occupation. Such protection was increasingly necessary due to the great number of photographers setting up to copy well-established studios' work. These men were called 'pirates' in contemporary publications.²²³ They did not have the funds, photographic ability or occupational reputation to secure celebrity commissions themselves, but they re-photographed the most popular images issued by well-known and skilful practitioners, selling them at vastly-reduced prices.²²⁴ Henry Hering, for example, found his own portraits of Mr. Southern placed for sale 'at a much reduced price', and indeed one of the managers of Messrs. Southwell had

²²¹ This was probably added by the retailer.

²²² This was passed on 29th July 1862 to protect the creator's profits in his original painting, drawing or photograph. The Copyright Act stipulated that the author of a negative should retain the copyright for his lifetime (and seven years afterwards), but each image had to be registered at Stationer's Hall (a description of the procedure is detailed in **Appendix 4**). The Act covered activities of copying, engraving, reproducing and multiplying the image in any form. However the protection would be lost if the photographer sold the negative, or had undertaken the sitting for someone else, unless there was an agreement specified against this. Generally, if the sitter paid for the sitting, he would hold the copyright, but if the sitting was given for free, copyright resided with the photographer. When a studio and its negatives changed ownership, the new owner would have to obtain permission for re-issue of the images. The new owner would not be allowed to add his name because he did not execute the work, and this perhaps explains some of the uncredited cartes which are found. Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.159, and 164-167. Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Op. Cit.*, pp.65.

²²³ 'Suppression of Photographic Piracy', *Photographic News*, 7 March 1862, front page.

²²⁴ Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.163 quoting the *Photographic News*, 18 December 1863, pp.602.

actually purchased copies of Southwell's own cartes of the actresses Lydia Thompson and Miss Herbert at Messrs. Bickers & Son's premises in Leicester Square for 5d each, when the originals were being sold at 1/6 each.²²⁵ These 'pirate' photographers stole the work of others and caused enormous consternation amongst well-established practitioners: the practice not only affected a studio's income but also its reputation as the pirate copies were often blurred and grainy in appearance.²²⁶ The *Photographic News* provides an insight into contemporary concerns in 1863:

'I believe it is not generally known the enormous extent to which piracy in photography is carried on.....at one wholesale dealer's I obtained his list of no less than 500 various portraits, at a second 559, at a third nearly 700; the stock in the warehouse of the latter must consist of at least 100,000 copies, therefore we may conclude that as many have been palmed on the public as genuine, which of course very seriously injures the reputation and interest of the original photographers'.²²⁷

It was a serious situation for the photographer who had worked hard to establish a profitable business based on a reputation of fine workmanship. John Mayall was one photographer who suffered extensively from pirate copyists in the early 1860s, and he obtained Counsel's Opinion on the position in March 1861, asking whether

²²⁵ 'Copyright in Engravings', *Photographic News*, 14 November 1862, front page. 'The Copyright of Photographs', *Photographic News*, 30 January 1863, pp.55. 'Infringement of Copyright in Photographs', *Photographic News*, 18 December 1863, front page.

²²⁶ Janice Carol Hart, Op. Cit., pp.161 quoting the *Photographic News*, 7 March 1862, pp.109 and the *Photographic News*, 23 January 1863, pp.47.

²²⁷ 'Wholesale Piracies', *Photographic News*, 30 January 1863, pp.59. Although photographers' original work was offered a formal legal protection in 1862, pirating still occurred widely. However many court cases were brought against the culprits.

his photographs of the Royal family, which were intended for publication with the Queen's permission, were protected by Acts of Parliament. Counsel's Opinion was returned, making a suggestion that:

'the name of the proprietor of the photograph, and the date of its first publication, must be placed on the photographic plate or negative from which the photograph or positive print is taken, and on all the prints of it.... As thus- 'J.E. Mayall, proprietor;' 'J.E. Mayall, fecit, 1 January, 1861'.²²⁸

The inscriptions found on many of Mayall's cartes indicate his adoption of the recommendations. For example, **Fig.58-568** shows the wording 'Mayall fecit March 1st 1861' printed within the image of Prince Arthur. After the Copyright Act was passed in 1862, reference to ownership of work appears on many cartes. For example 'copyright' (in small lettering) is seen on the fronts of Southwell Brothers' and of W. & D. Downey's cartes, and 'Ent. Stat. Hall' is printed on L. Caldesi & Co.'s output.²²⁹ A more determined exertion of legal protection however is found on the reverse of the portrait of Lydia Thompson by W. Walker & Sons' illustrated in **Fig.59-764** where text states that: 'Mr. Samuel A. Walker has registered this New Style of taking Photographs at Stationers' Hall, under the Act Vic. 5 & 6, also Act Vic. 25 & 26', and that 'Any person infringing this Copyright will be prosecuted'. This message, grounded in commercial concern of retaining income, is placed upon the portrait's

²²⁸ 'Suppression of Photographic Piracy', *Photographic News*, 7 March 1862, front page.

²²⁹ Mayall stopped using such wording when the Parliamentary Fine Art Copyright Act came into force in July 1862, however other studios continued to print copyright warnings on their portraits.

backplate, and its presence highlights the photographer's concerns as a trader, anxious to protect his profits and livelihood.²³⁰

There were, however, ways around this printed protection, and a 'cat-and-mouse' game is revealed on the portraits. For example, **Fig.60-891** shows how Mayall's inscription has been crossed out by a pirate practitioner (in the re-photographed negative) on the portrait of Prince Leopold, and a further example is found in **Fig.61-860** where the vignette-style framing conveniently excludes the area of restrictive warnings.²³¹ Another ploy was to cut-and-paste elements from negatives and re-assemble them into a new image, hiding the wording referring to the originator's legal protection. An example is shown in **Fig.62-912** where the single portraits of members of the Royal family (taken from Mayall's original negatives) have been placed together and re-photographed within one carte as a family portrait, omitting any reference to authorship. In these photographs the exertion of authorship and legal claim to income – and the attempts to evade them – is clearly displayed upon the cartes themselves, but the celebrity portrait is also highlighted as a valuable business-generating commodity.

Supporting Business Interests Seen on the Cartes

In 1863 the *Photographic News* commented on the huge growth of photography as a profession²³² but, as Gertrude Mae Prescott points out, a business of volumetric turnover needed logistical support in areas of stock supply and circulation to meet

²³⁰ Although the Copyright Act deterred much piracy, some activity remained, and law suits were often reported in the press. Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.597.

²³¹ An attachment to the camera could produce this visual effect.

²³² 'English and French International Copyright in Photographs', *Photographic News*, 20 March 1863, pp.135.

demand quickly and efficiently, wherever it might be.²³³ Photographic publishers and distributors were particularly valuable in this respect. *The Illustrated News of the World* described Marion & Co. circulating photographs 'to the million',²³⁴ and A. Wynter highlighted the huge task faced by distributors in circulating '10,000' copies of one popular portrait in 1862.²³⁵ He also noted Marion & Co.'s organisation, of packing the portraits of 'thousands of Englishwomen and Englishmen' into drawers and shelves whilst waiting to be 'shuffled out to all the leading shops in the country'.²³⁶ John Hannavy says that supporting companies such as photographic publishers 'sprang up almost overnight' to share in the profits generated by commercial photographers,²³⁷ and the number of photographically-related businesses listed in the London Trade Directories rose dramatically in the early 1860s. By 1865 there were eight separate categories appearing alongside that of Photographic Artists, those of Photographic Publishers, Photographic Album Manufacturers, Photographic Apparatus Manufacturers, Photographic Chemical Manufacturers, Photographic Drawing Mounters, Photographic Material Dealers, Photographic Paper Makers and Dealers, and Photographic Printers.²³⁸ Indeed the *Photographic News* described such periphery concerns in 1863 as developing into 'a

²³³ Gertrude Mae Prescott, Op. Cit., pp.14.

²³⁴ *The Illustrated News of the World*, 28 March 1863, pp.202.

²³⁵ A. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visite', *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.104.

²³⁶ Some were identified by labels referring to the category of each, for example of 'literary', 'scientific', or 'theatrical' personages. Gertrude Mae Prescott, Op. Cit., pp.47 quoting Wynter, 'Photographic Portraiture', pp.304-5 and pp.48 quoting *British Journal of Photography* 5 October 1883 pp.589.

²³⁷ John Hannavy, *Masters of Victorian Photography* (New York, 1976), pp.30.

²³⁸ London Trade Directory (London, 1865).

separate branch of trade' altogether.²³⁹ This was now a well-organised commercial network, there to support the professional photographer and to help him to maximise his sales and turnover, and reference to the involvement of these supporting trades is increasingly found on the portraits themselves. For example, J.J.E. Mayall's portrait in **Fig.63-614** includes small wording on the backplate reading: 'Published (wholesale only) by Messrs. A. Marion, Son & Co.'²⁴⁰ Although assuming a very small portion of the backplate area, it shows the strong commercial framework within which the professional photographer now worked and, consequently, re-enforces the celebrity portrait as a traded commodity.

As dependence on these concerns grew, so the balance of power shifted too. Publishing companies exerted a significant influence over portrait issue. As Wynter pointed out in 1862, Marion & Co. knew the market, and which celebrities to accept and which to turn down. He claims that they indeed had 'the pick'. The writer emphasised how 'scores of offers of portraits' were presented each day, but were accepted or not by the company 'according to circumstances',²⁴¹ 'circumstances' determined by market demand. There is, however, evidence of a tension between the photographers and supporting companies on some cartes. For example, a tussle in exerting market prominence seems to be taking place on Mayall's carte of John Bright in **Fig.64-619**. Here the backplate only shows a seven-line printed statement that 'This Portrait may be had as a Permanent Photograph, Size 24 x 18

²³⁹ 'The International Exhibition. Report of the Jury on Photography and Photographic Apparatus', *Photographic News*, 2 April 1863, pp.166.

²⁴⁰ Many photographers used these supporting companies. However The London Stereoscopic Co. branched into photographic publishing themselves. Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.65.

²⁴¹ A. Wynter, *Op. Cit.*, pp.105.

inches and mounted on fine toned boards, Size 34 x 25 inches price £1.1.0. Complete in 3in Oak and Gold flat frame price £2.2.0.’ This is followed by the publisher’s name and address at the bottom of the backplate. Mayall’s name, as the originator of the image, only appears in small lettering on the bottom-front of the carte. The conventional area of studio-advertisement is taken up with an advert for Marion & Co.’s trade through Mayall’s work here, and far more prominence has been gained by the publisher. Other examples are seen on the two backplates in **Figs.65-797** and **66-796**. On the first portrait of J.A. Froude the photographer’s name (John & Charles Watkins) appears above that of the publisher,²⁴² but on the second carte of Charles Kingsley, it is the publisher’s name (Mason & Co.) whose name is placed above the photographer.²⁴³ Each business concern seems to be vying for prominence. On the carte of Richard Spurgeon in **Fig.67-XA2** it is again the publisher (Poulton) who exerts visual advantage. His crest appears as a large and centrally-placed feature on the backplate, while the photographer is credited in much smaller lettering at the bottom of the carte, as: ‘Photographed by the London School of Photography’.²⁴⁴ In **Fig.68-328** the original photograph of Lord Lansdowne by Mayall has been completely hidden by another photographer’s ink

²⁴² The extent of formal contractual negotiations resulting in such an appearance cannot be established, it being the market-place struggle that is explored here.

²⁴³ Such balance in the amount of public advertisement for publishers and photographers was perhaps determined by contracts entered into, but indications are found on the cartes of a background struggle to establish marketplace dominance even if through legal negotiation.

²⁴⁴ No records have been located to show agreements determining such appearance on the cartes, but it can be assumed that contracts were entered into by respectable businesses such as these.

stamp, that of H. Hering,²⁴⁵ and it is only the tiny, and hardly-visible, wording within the image reading: 'Mayall Fecit June 1st 1861' that credits the picture to Mayall.

The carte in **Fig.69-595**, however, reveals a retailer exerting his own commercial authority on the portrait object. This is a carte of the Prince of Wales, and on the backplate there is an ink-stamp reading: 'Sold by Mechi & Bazin 112 Regent St. W'. The retailers are clearly anxious to promote their own business, and in fact this company published their own photograph albums in which to house the cartes that they sold. A collector might therefore amass a whole collection of cartes de visite with Mechi & Bazin's name advertised throughout.

The carte in **Fig.70-115** however indicates a different kind of commercial assertion. Here P.E. Chappuis appears as the photographer of Captain Coles but the stationer selling the portrait, J.W. Walton, has applied his own bright green label to the carte's backplate, and in its vivid eye-catching colour it overshadows the photographer's crest printed simply in black. Another retailer, Eggington of Lichfield, has adopted a similar strategy to promote his own bookselling business on Maull & Polyblank's carte of the Bishop of Lichfield illustrated in **Fig.71-515**, using a label with particularly thick and dark lettering to catch the viewer's eye.²⁴⁶

Retailers also exerted their identity through the size of label. An example is shown

²⁴⁵ Hering's studio name has been applied as an ink-stamp over the crest of Mayall. Again, some form of agreement would probably have been arranged as Hering was a reputable practitioner of long standing.

²⁴⁶ It might have been the photographer's (or the publisher's) strategy to place it in this location of the Bishop's home town to catch local interest, but it is the local seller who is exerting his commercial dominance. A similar relationship between sales location and subject is found on Mr. Lacy's label which describes him as a 'Theatrical Bookseller', stuck to the back of Bassano's portrait of the actor Mr. Southern in **Fig.72-32**. It is again visually prominent in comparison to the photographer's credits, and attracts attention to (and emphasises) the bookseller's market speciality over and above the professional identity of the photographer.

in **Fig.73-300** where Fradelle & Marshall's photograph of the actress Emily Soldew displays W.M. Thompson's label. It advertises him as a 'Photographic Colourist', and takes up three-quarters of the backplate. A similar example is found in J.L. Houghton's label attached to Bismark's backplate in **Fig.74-670**. The label promotes Houghton's stationery business and covers the entire area: it is in fact larger than Bismark's image on the front of the carte.

The professional photographer was engaged in a complex web of commercial aspiration, with different companies vying for financial advantage, but all seeing the celebrity portrait as a method of generating profit. However the carte in **Fig.75-718** indicates one photographer, Camille Silvy, taking control of his own marketing. On the backplate of this portrait of Sir Charles Teesdale an ink stamp has been applied that reads: 'Crystal Palace C. Silvy & Co.'²⁴⁷ The *Times* noted that 'several professional photographers think it in their interest to pay very high rents' to gain sales at the Crystal Palace.²⁴⁸ However the writer also described the 'Palace of the People' as a 'disgraceful bazaar'.²⁴⁹ Claudet called it a place for 'pleasure seekers' on a day out who visited for the singing, concerts, and 'frivolous gaieties'. Such a choice of sales venue seems to conflict with Silvy's own self-promotion as an upper-class photographic artist, but it underlines the ever-present awareness by all

²⁴⁷ This ink-stamp was perhaps a requirement of selling at the Crystal Palace, but no records to confirm this have been found.

²⁴⁸ 'Proceedings of Societies. London Photographic Society', *Photographic News*, 7 March 1862, pp.118. After giving up his stand at the Crystal Palace, Silvy advertised in the *Times* that his photographs could still be bought at Negretti & Zambra's stand at the venue. *Times*, 7 March 1864.

²⁴⁹ The *Times*, 1 September, 1855.

practitioners of the need to seek sales and turnover wherever they could.²⁵⁰

As discussed above, many cartes show supporting companies such as publishers, colourists and retailers using the photographer's product to advertise their own businesses, and one ploy often adopted by publishers was to re-arrange photographs into a composite carte relating to a particular theme. For example **Fig.76-17** illustrates a carte entitled: 'Musical & Vocal Celebrities. (No.1)'. Here Ashford Brothers have compiled small photographs of twenty leading musical personalities from various photographers' work and presented them in five rows, one above the other.²⁵¹ Such a pattern subtly encouraged further purchase: the 'No.1' suggests more in the series, and collectors might be encouraged to complete the 'set'. But the layout also drew attention to further portraits to be had. Ashford's three portraits therefore reveal diverse strategies employed to expand publishers' sales, and the carte in **Fig.78-21** reveals a further ploy. Here the minute images of 'Upwards of Five Hundred Photographic Portraits of the Most Celebrated Personages of the Age' are shown, and text underneath says that 'with a hand magnifying glass every portrait will be seen perfect.' Such presentation introduces the celebrity portrait as a novelty, encouraging participation as a game of identification through close scrutiny – but an even greater emphasis on 'fun' is found

²⁵⁰ Silvy's underlying commercial preoccupations are also revealed in an advert in the *Times* which described how, when giving up his stand at the Crystal Palace, he made arrangements for his photographs to be sold, and his catalogues to be viewed, at Negretti & Zambra's stand at the venue. The *Times*, 7 March, 1864.

²⁵¹ Ashford also issued such collections as 'Operatic Prima Donnas. (No.1)', 'Ecclesiastical Reformers', and 'Principal American Actors &c.' in a similar composite format. The images were often taken from the work of various studios. **Fig.77-644** illustrates the full-sized single portrait of Signor Guiglini by Mayer Brothers as it was issued in the carte de visite format with the studio crest, and that was one of the twenty small images on Ashford's carte. No records have been located which give details of contracts entered into between the publishers and photographers for such use and publication.

on the backplate of the almost-identical carte in **Fig.79-22** entitled 'The Great Sensation Card'. Text suggests it as 'an easy and agreeable source of conversation', and the celebrity image is now presented as a focus for social interaction and entertainment, perhaps at an evening soiree. These portraits show the publisher expanding his product's appeal by changing the format, of expanding his own income by offering a different experience of the celebrity image.

Celebrity Carte Images to Aid another Business

The huge popularity of the celebrity carte de visite profited the commercial interests of businesses related to photography, but many other traders also saw the portraits as a way of boosting profits. An example is shown in **Fig.80-302** where a carte de visite of the cross-Channel swimmer Captain M. Webb by Fradelle & Marshall has been used to advertise John Bennett's watch company. Webb was the first man to swim across the English Channel in 1875 in just under twenty-two hours and his reputation has been used to advertise Bennett's timepieces. A photograph of Webb has been placed above large wording on the front mount stating that this was CAPTAIN M. WEBB, presented 'with Sir JOHN BENNETT'S compliments' who, it would be discovered when turning over the portrait, sold watches in Cheapside. Bennett's advert assumes the whole of the backplate, with the photographers' names appearing in small letters at the base of the print.²⁵² Examples abound of the celebrity carte used to sell another product in the later decades of the nineteenth-century. **Fig.81-440**, for example, shows The London Stereoscopic Co.'s photograph of the actor Mr. W. Bignold 'fronting' an advertisement for the play

²⁵² Although no records have been located, it would seem probable that formal agreements were entered into regarding remuneration of such usage. No reports of legal action against the misuse of imagery have been found which suggests a mutually-agreed contract was established.

Joseph's Sweetheart.²⁵³ Full information is given of the performance on the backplate, with the photographers' identity again recorded in small lettering. The two cartes in **Figs.82-28(A)** and **83-439(A)** show one celebrity, the actor J.L. Toole, used by two different commercial concerns. The first portrait of Toole, photographed by Barraud, is backed by an advert for the 'United Kingdom Tea Company' stating that they 'supply WONDERFUL TEA' with the prices of '1/3, 1/6, 1/9 & 2/- a lb.' detailed below, while the second photograph by The London Stereoscopic Co. is backed by an advert for 'Japanese Camphor Wood Cabinets.'²⁵⁴ The three cartes in **Figs.84-29, 85-171** and **86-744** however illustrate one company, Taunus mineral water, using celebrities from very different occupations such as the actress Miss M. Moore, the Prince of Wales, and the statesman William Gladstone to attract attention to their product.²⁵⁵

Studios Expanding their Celebrity Business

These examples highlight the boost to commodities effected by the celebrity carte de visite, but as the century progressed the photographer himself needed to adapt his output to meet changing ways of viewing the celebrity image. For example W. & D. Downey issued lantern slides of some of their negatives, and one example is shown in **Fig.87-XA81** where this portrait of the Princess of Wales has been offered

²⁵³ In which he played a leading role.

²⁵⁴ Further text states that this would provide 'a most useful and ornamental Christmas Present' and to 'ASK to be shown one at the shop from which you bought this, if none in stock order one.' There might have been contemporary associations between these celebrities and the products but it is lost to us today.

²⁵⁵ W. & D. Downey entered into a license agreement with Taunus. Janice Carol Hart, *Op. Cit.*, pp.122. Thomas Richards has discussed certain celebrities used to attract a target buyer for a particular product, however in this instance the common appeal of such a diverse range of celebrity identities (from the theatre, royal family and government) as an attraction to Taunus Mineral Water cannot be ascertained. Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (Stanford, 1990), pp.73-167.

as both carte de visite and lantern slide. A number of studios remained in business well into the twentieth-century while issuing new forms and services, and the photograph-wallet of The London Stereoscopic Co. dated 1893 (illustrated in **Fig.88-XA80**)²⁵⁶ provides a valuable insight. Here the Company advertises ‘modern’ developments such as ‘free lessons’ that encouraged participation in ‘amateur photography’, this being described as ‘*the fashionable amusement*’ of the day.²⁵⁷ Indeed one of the Company’s letterheads dated July 27th 1906 (shown in **Fig.90-XA82**) shows that the Company’s celebrity carte business only accounted for one-tenth of their services by the early twentieth-century.²⁵⁸ W. & D. Downey also managed to sustain a successful business when expanding their photographic product, this company especially focussing on magazine illustration and postcards.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁶ This one was used to send out the Company’s photographs to a H. Brickwell Esq. at the Grosvenor Club in New Bond Street in 1893 (seen on the postmark).

²⁵⁷ The Company’s offer of tuition and encouragement of amateur photography is reiterated on the carte de visite backplate in **Fig.89-424(B)** where text reads: ‘Free Lessons in Photography’ and ‘Special Studios & Dark Rooms reserved for the use of Amateurs.’

²⁵⁸ It is a letter to W. Albert Hickman, Esq. in Canada, a reminder for payment. The letterhead illustrates the mode of self-presentation for this studio in the early twentieth-century. There is an elaborate artwork scene at the top where a lady photographer takes a photograph of a gentleman who sits on a bench in historical attire. Royal arms are placed at the side, with details of prize medals won for portraiture in London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin and Philadelphia. Down the left side of the letterhead there is a long list of the company’s other services. Although not very clear, the ‘General Manager’ who has written the letter appears to be a woman named I. Lillie Mitchell, indicating the presence of women in responsible jobs in such business concerns at this date. This, together with the female photographer in the company crest suggests a forward-looking company, perhaps targeting the female market. ‘Photographs of Celebrities’ only appear towards the bottom of the list of products on offer, these now including cameras, lessons, photographic materials, photographic services, dressing rooms, and ‘Every requisite for Amateur Photography’.

²⁵⁹ Jane Lamb, *The Business Strategy of W. & D. Downey – How they Met the Demands of the Market for Celebrity Photographic Portraits 1860-1915*, M.A. Dissertation (Southampton Institute, 2005).

The cartes de visite examined here reveal mass-produced photography as a new Victorian profession in which trade gradually sat comfortably with artistry, and commercial practice became less shameful. Indeed the backplate of J. Hopwood (Fig.91-354(A)) illustrates one photographer happy to describe himself as an 'Artistic' and 'Commercial' photographer. Carte de visite photography presented a new kind of celebrity portrait. It was organised around an automated process which replicated the image for a volumetric market for profit. Although facing the difficulties of setting up a new type of business, and of encountering a considerable amount of opposition in turning a previously-aristocratic hobby into a profession and trade, many photographers took on the challenge and secured high profits. They devised strategies to attract the most popular sitters of the day, built solid career paths,²⁶⁰ and succeeded in gaining a level of professional and social status.²⁶¹ For example, Gladys Cooper remembered that William Downey himself would never take anyone 'lower than one of the Princesses, or perhaps a duchess now and then,

²⁶⁰ For example T.R. Williams began his photographic career with Richard Beard. He moved to Antoine Claudet's studio and then set up on his own in Regent Street in the 1850s, establishing one of the most reputable carte de visite businesses in London. Another example is found in the case of Mr. Lock. He was educated at King's College, travelled to the Far East to practice photography, and returned to work for Henneman's studio in London (Henneman had worked for Fox Talbot). Lock established a fine reputation as a photographic colourist and set up his own business opposite Antoine Claudet. He then joined George C. Whitfield in Regent Street and gained a reputation as one of the 'best colourists' executing 'super excellent' work in 1862. He later became a partner in the Woodbury Company. 'The Photographic Department', *Photographic News*, 11 July 1862, pp.330. *Photographic News*, 20 May 1881, pp. 230. Michael Pritchard, *A Directory of London Photographers 1841-1908* (London, 1994), pp.80.

²⁶¹ For example John Mayall was one of the directors of the Grand Hotel in Brighton. He became an Alderman, and later Mayor, of Brighton in 1877-8. He also purchased 'extensive' land around Brighton, including a number of cottages, a sea-front property named 'The Stork's Nest' (which he enlarged substantially) and Yew Tree Farm in Lancing. 'The Mayall Story', Leonie L. Reynolds and Arthur T. Gill, *History of Photography*, Vol.9, No.2 (April-June 1985), pp.89-107.

if he felt in the mood',²⁶² and another contemporary source noted that Downey enjoyed 'a degree of favour' from King Edward which 'was better described as friendship'.²⁶³ Commercial photographers became a significant force in circulating the celebrity face, and they could exert a considerable influence on the careers of public figures: the *Pall Mall Budget* said in 1891 that 'a photographer in Mr. Downey's position' had 'almost as much power as a newspaper, for he can put your photograph into a hundred shop windows'.²⁶⁴ Indeed William Downey himself said that he was in no doubt that 'a great deal' of the actress Mary Anderson's huge popularity was due to the 'many excellent photographs' that he had taken of her.²⁶⁵ Chapter One has traced the business organisation which underpinned the successful production and circulation of the carte de visite, but equally important in establishing this new celebrity business was the production and marketing of an image that would appeal to as wide an audience as possible, and this aspect of the photographer's enterprise will be examined in Chapter Two.

²⁶² Gladys Cooper, *Gladys Cooper* (London, 1931), pp.34-36.

²⁶³ 'Mr. William Downey', *The British Journal of Photography*, 16 July 1915, pp.464.

²⁶⁴ 'The Grand Old Photographer X', *Pall Mall Budget*, 19 March 1891, pp.23.

²⁶⁵ 'The Grand Old Photographer X', *Pall Mall Budget*, 19 March 1891, pp.20.

CHAPTER TWO

CONSTRUCTING THE PORTRAIT GALLERY

Chapter One examined the rise of a new portrait business providing small original images to an expanding British middle-class, but it was only through securing a high turnover that success was achieved. Consistently attracting market attention to the portrait image was vital in sustaining sales, and in exploring this the construction of the celebrity print takes centre stage in Chapter Two. It is argued that a shift in the reading and meaning of 'celebrity' took place over the 1860s and 1870s with a generic portrait sense of 'character' becoming overlaid with individuality – and presented in a widening range of subjects. The chapter will be divided into two main sections. The first will begin by highlighting innovative aspects of this new portrait medium, together with a consideration of the portraits' collectable value when launched in the late 1850s, while the second section of the chapter examines the methods of communicating the product's worth to photographers' target audience. Literary sources will be used to build a picture of studios' strategies in constructing collectable meaning, and this examination of the prints on the front of the cartes will compliment Chapter One's exploration of studios' business organisation on the backplates.²⁶⁶ The two chapters provide a comprehensive analysis of this new product as it took its place in mid-Victorian society, and they lay the foundations for a deeper exploration of carte de visite output in three areas of particular interest to collectors in the second half of the thesis: those of royalty, statesmen and clergymen.

²⁶⁶ Both contemporary publications and current scholarship will be drawn upon.

PART ONE: A NEW PORTRAIT PRODUCT

The mass-produced celebrity photograph was a new kind of portrait that emerged in the mid-nineteenth-century to address a new volumetric middle-class market - and it proved to be hugely popular. Indeed the *Art Journal* said that 'everybody' was anxious to 'form a collection of these *Cartes-de-Visite*'.²⁶⁷ As noted in the Introduction, interest in the celebrity carte de visite was promoted and sustained through several particular features. Firstly the portraits were easily found in studios' showrooms and in a wide range of retail outlets around the country, and their ubiquitous nature attracted a wide market interest: indeed the *Art Journal* noted that they were 'so readily obtainable'.²⁶⁸ Secondly, the medium offered small, affordable pictures not only of past heroes, but also of contemporary characters associated with the making of modern Britain. The *Art Journal* said that celebrity cartes de visite provided an 'unlimited range' of 'celebrities of every rank and order' in 'every possible variety',²⁶⁹ and stressed their modernity, adding that they suited the spirit of an age that looked 'forward with so ardent a gaze'. The writer expanded this view by saying:

'with the past, except with so much of it as has been very recently the present, they have no connection whatever; as we have said, they are contemporary portraits - portraits of the men, and women, and children of the living generation'.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ 'Cartes-de-Visite', *The Art Journal*, Vol. VII, October 1861, pp.306-7.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.306-7.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.306-7.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.306-7.

The portraits encouraged a shared dialogue centred around the people and issues of the day, and they offered a way of participating in modern life, but perhaps most importantly the medium presented people as 'real'. The *Art Journal* praised them as 'true portraits', and *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* similarly enthused that the portraits revealed the very features of the person, and not at an artist's interpretation.²⁷¹ However the images were also intended to be pleasing in appearance. The *Art Journal* described the portraits as 'the most agreeable of reminiscences',²⁷² while a writer in *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* said that they offered 'true' and 'faithful' portraits in a 'thoroughly artistic' manner.²⁷³ They were suitable for social consumption, and could be placed in family albums or in a card basket in the drawing-room as a source of social entertainment. Although published in volume by reproductive mechanical means, the portraits were staged to effect an artistic aura rather than to appear as factual 'records'. The practitioner could not, as in the fine art medium, work and re-work a picture over time according to his imaginative vision as the photograph was set in a few seconds through an automated process, but commercial photographers used cameras, lighting and props as 'artistic' tools. The *Art Journal* said that a photograph should not only be a 'faithful' likeness but should be pleasing to the eye,²⁷⁴ and it pointed out that severely lit faces which appeared harsh and ugly (and bodies in uncomfortable poses) would not suit display in the drawing-room. Although little evidence has been

²⁷¹ *Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages*, (London, 1859).

²⁷² 'Cartes-de-Visite', Op. Cit., pp.306-7.

²⁷³ *Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages*, Op. Cit.

²⁷⁴ 'Cartes-de-Visite', Op. Cit., pp.306-8.

found of photographers' study of Academy rules, the *Photographic News* confirms that practitioners exercised the 'basic rules of pictorial composition' in balancing lighting and 'directional lines', and indeed J.J.E. Mayall knew William Turner, which suggests a shared discourse on the traditional rules of fine art.²⁷⁵

Professional photographers had to communicate the collectable worth of their portraits quickly and clearly to their new middle-class consumers, and they combined traditional rules of fine art with new techniques. One commercial photographer, Henry Peach Robinson,²⁷⁶ however chastised professional photographers for their style.²⁷⁷ He published an illustration in his book *Pictorial Effect* (illustrated in **Fig.93-XA16**), describing it as an 'awful' picture where most of the lines run 'in one direction' with 'no balance whatever', and with all elements positioned to one side rather than arranged symmetrically within the picture space. This picture is almost identical to one of Mayall's cartes de visite of Prince Albert

²⁷⁵ 'A Few Words on Portraiture', *Photographic News*, 19 June 1863, pp.295-96. Turner visited Mayall's premises regularly between 1847 and 1849, www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk accessed on 22 February 2006. The *Photographic News* described the traditional pyramidal form being used in cartes de visite in 1863, and an example is seen in the portrait of Queen Victoria and her young daughter in **Fig.92-128** where Victoria forms the central element with all accompanying parts of the portrait leading into her figure – the composition used here to accentuate the collectable value of Victoria as a loving mother.

²⁷⁶ He ran a commercial photographic studio himself, but favoured an imaginative style of blurred outlines and graded backgrounds conveyed through adherence to Royal Academy rules and the artist's palette.

²⁷⁷ Robinson complained that props were used wrongly, with curtains and tassels suspended in mid-air, and light shining from a variety of sources rather than falling naturally onto the scene from a side window. There seems to be a contradiction in Robinson's approach here, when requiring adherence to Academy rules and also advocating a naturalistic approach. Steve Edwards addresses the debates surrounding this apparent anomaly in his book. Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography* (Pennsylvania, 2006). He also disliked the placement of subjects on a carpet whilst shown in top hats and overcoats. Henry Peach Robinson, *Pictorial Effect in Photography*, first edition (London, 1869), this reprint (New York, 1972), pp.63-6 and 105-6.

(illustrated in **Fig. 94-556**),²⁷⁸ but it was a particularly popular image for Mayall's market, being re-issued many times after its original publication and widely pirated. Creating an artistically-correct picture was not always a priority for the commercial photographer targeting high volumetric sales from the new middle-class consumer, and this example shows Mayall varying the traditional rules of fine art to suit his medium and market. The Prince is seated at a desk and looks out of the picture frame, but his body is positioned in the left half of the picture, with the edge cutting off his legs, and a large empty space is left behind Albert on the right side of the picture. The arrangement disturbs the composition's equilibrium, and it constructs a tension, but it also focuses the spectator's attention on the figure of the Prince, his attire, pose and background – and it was a style that met the photographer's market demand in the 1860s.

A New Portrait Language

Photographers devised a new visual language for their new portrait product. They combined new studio techniques with long-established portrait conventions - for example text could be added to the mount to accentuate an image's reading, as illustrated in the carte de visite in **Fig.95-445**. Here Robert Napier is identified with his exploits in Abyssinia through the wording 'Lord Napier of Magdala' placed underneath.²⁷⁹ This immediately spotlights his successful military campaign as the image's interest and market worth. Another technique extensively used was the cut-and-paste technique. The photographic print-off-negative process facilitated the

²⁷⁸ Although not mentioned in name, Robinson says that this referred to a prominent photographer and a celebrity subject, and with such similarities between Robinson and Mayall's pictures, it would seem likely that this was the one that Robinson had in mind.

²⁷⁹ He was made 'Baron Napier of Magdala' in 1868 due to his military success in that campaign.

extraction of small parts of original negatives to be cut out, re-placed together, re-photographed and printed out to make a new compilation picture. An example is shown in **Fig.96-10** where Ashford Bros. have published a carte entitled 'The Imperial Family of France.' Here eight small pictures from various photographers' work have been arranged around a central larger image of Napoleon III in one new print. The image retains the realism of the automated photographic process, but now presents a composite memento (and concept) of the French Royal family and its lineage.

Colour was also manipulated to construct meaning. For example the tones of a subject's attire signposted meaning, with dark colours used to convey seriousness in images of Victorian professionals.²⁸⁰ Indeed photography's 'natural' reproduction of nature was sepia, and contemporary reports suggest that the Victorians saw the appearance of hand-applied colour to the photographs as 'unnatural'.²⁸¹ The *Art Journal* called coloured cartes de visite elaborately painted 'artistic curiosities' which had 'grown into exotics',²⁸² and the *Photographic News* thought that photography's realism was 'sacrificed' in seeking 'a brilliant display of colour' and 'prettier effect'.²⁸³ Hand-applied colour is often found in royal and theatrical imagery, and was perhaps

²⁸⁰ David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity* (California, 2002), pp.172. He quotes Cobbett's view of people in 'armies' related to moral, political and gendered standards. John Harvey also claims that black and dark attire symbolised rank, gravity and authority. John Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago, 1995), pp.9-20.

²⁸¹ 'British Photographic Department', *Photographic News*, 11 July 1862, pp.329.

²⁸² 'Cartes de Visites', *Art Journal*, Vol. VII, 1 October 1861, pp.306-7. It also suggested that colour was used to align the portraits with earlier finely painted miniatures.

²⁸³ 'British Photographic Department', *Photographic News*, 11 July 1862, pp.329, and 'A Dozen Brief Hints to Portraitists', *Photographic News*, 23 October 1863, pp.509.

used to signify a separation from the reality of everyday life.²⁸⁴ Examples are shown in **Figs.97-983, 98-310** and **99-311** where one portrait of the actress Mrs. Windham, and two of the Prince and Princess of Wales, have been painted in vivid pigments of green, yellow, gold and blue, and the images are lifted away from the 'everyday' sepia – and everyday existence.

Mechanical attachments to the camera could also effect portrait meaning through special effects – a circular spinning fixture, for example, could create a soft vignette affect.²⁸⁵ It could isolate (and throw focus onto) just the head and upper-torso of a subject, and an example is shown in **Fig.100-126** where the librettist Mr.

Bartholomew's personal features are accentuated as the full focus of the image.²⁸⁶ Another technological advance of the mid-1860s however, a carte de visite camera with a shorter depth of field, threw even greater emphasis onto the head and face of the subject. An example is shown in **Fig.101-810** where the face and shoulders of the Rev. Charles Vince (Baptist minister in Birmingham) fills the portrait area, providing a clearer illustration of the facial features, expression and personal grooming of the subject.²⁸⁷

Another technique of visual language found throughout carte de visite portraiture is an aloof positioning between subject and prop. This staging could be used to

²⁸⁴ Collectors could take the cartes to an independent colourist, so those found cannot be regarded as published as they appear. Roland Barthes also acknowledges the manipulation of colour in photography to create different meaning. Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text* (London, 1977), pp.62.

²⁸⁵ There were several ways of executing this effect, but the most common was an attachment which turned in a circular action that was fitted over the lens when re-photographing an image.

²⁸⁶ William Bartholomew translated Mendelssohn's *Elijah* Op.70 and *Elijah's Curse*.

²⁸⁷ The particular value of this emphasis on the head of the subject will be discussed later in the chapter.

emphasise the character of an individual, as the example in **Fig.102-523** demonstrates. Here the artist W.P. Frith sits twisting around to look at the viewer and away from the artwork on his easel, the tools of his trade. He leans back in his chair in nonchalant manner with legs crossed (in gentlemanly fashion), in an impossible position for painting on the canvas. Similarly Sir Roundell Palmer displays a statue-like stiffness in his portrait in **Fig.103-512** where he stares straight ahead of him. There is little personal relationship with his props, as his body leans backwards slightly away from the desk and literature. A similar aloofness is found in the carte of David Livingstone in **Fig.104-XA9**. Here he is dressed in the evening attire (of dark suit and bow tie) worn when giving lectures on his expeditions, but there is no interaction between the explorer and the props signalling his ventures.²⁸⁸ He has a large globe to his right, on which his right hands rests, and he holds a chart in his left hand with a naval hat on a chair placed beside him but he stands stiffly and looks straight in front of him at the viewer.²⁸⁹ There is no bodily animation – or apparent interest in his occupation – conveyed in this portrait. This ‘divorce’ between subject and accompanying props is especially evident when comparing the carte of Livingstone to an eighteenth-century portrait of the explorer Joseph Banks, shown in **Fig.105-XA10**. Here there is a great deal of animation in bodily pose. He sits in a chair in front of a table. Charts and papers are placed on top, with a globe just behind. Banks leans forwards purposefully here, with his right hand on his hip

²⁸⁸ Livingstone attended evening receptions when in England and this perhaps relates to such events, however in choosing to present him in such a way for the collectable photograph there is an emphasis upon the explorer emanating from a Britain of civilized customs rather than upon his act of exploration. A contrast is created through use of prop and pose, between manly bravery (in globe) and the cultured man undertaking such task (in gentlemanly attire).

²⁸⁹ Livingstone was in England between 1856 and 1858, and again between 1864 and 1866 and this was probably taken on the later visit.

and his left elbow and clenched fist bearing down heavily on top of an open map. He is actively engaged with the props of his exploration, and he looks directly and intensely at the viewer, with the forward thrust of his body emphasising his interest in his impending investigations, and it is a complete contrast to the static body of Livingstone. Guilhem Scherf has argued that a globe could symbolise a trip around the world,²⁹⁰ but whereas Banks appears eager to use his prop, Livingstone seems separated from it. Such lack of interaction between subject and prop accentuated attention on the individual. It formed character and stressed the personality of the man or woman on display, suited the messages that photographers wished to convey, and was used extensively in carte de visite output.

Figures and accompanying props were assembled and re-assembled by photographers as 'building blocks' to convey symbolic portrait worth. It was an efficient and time-effective way of communicating character and collectable value to the studios' target mass middle-class market, as Deborah Poole has argued, portraits were staged to reflect a particular society's outlook and ideals at a specific moment in time,²⁹¹ but in what ways did these portraits reflect the values of the day and appeal to their market of middle-class consumers? Before exploring this question, however, it has to be remembered that the mass-produced image set a sitter's reputation in the public sphere, and it would seem probable that there was a considerable discussion and agreement between sitter and photographer on the final appearance. Although little evidence of the negotiations between photographers and sitters has been found, a few references have been located and they suggest that sitters had a considerable say in the issue of their own portrait

²⁹⁰ Guilhem Scherf, 'The Cultural Portrait', *Citizens and Kings* (London, 2007), pp.133.

²⁹¹ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (Princeton, 1997).

style and image.²⁹² *Notes and Queries* gives us one example in the case of Lord Brougham, when it noted that his 'character and expression' had been 'most happily secured' by Maull & Polyblank, but that 'the credit in this case' was most probably 'due as much to the sitter as to the artist'.²⁹³ The final public appearance of the celebrity's image would therefore seem to have been a negotiation, with both photographer and subject aware of the responsibility of fixing an image in the public domain while securing sales.

Celebrity Cartes de Visite Fitting into the Portrait Values of the Nineteenth-Century

The celebrity carte de visite appeared on the market in the late 1850s, in an era of increasing interest in biography. Indeed Benjamin Disraeli had recommended in 1832 that people should 'read no history: nothing but biography',²⁹⁴ and G. N. Cantor describes the lives of eminent individuals as 'streaming' from the presses to meet 'a great thirst' for information on notable personages.²⁹⁵ Joseph W. Reed Jr. claims that biography became 'an independent form of history' in its own right at this period,²⁹⁶ and portraits were often used to provide a greater appreciation of information. People were now able to see the images of well-known Victorian

²⁹² Reference to some disputes between photographers and sitters has been made in Chapter One, but mostly in relation to their appearance in the publication of photographically-illustrated biographical collections.

²⁹³ Janice Carol Hart, *Method and Meaning in Mid Victorian Portrait Photography in England c. 1855-1880*, Phd Thesis (London, 1987), pp.599 quoting *Notes and Queries*, 10 October 1857, pp.294.

²⁹⁴ A.O.J. Cockshut, *Truth to Life: The Art of Biography in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1974), pp.10.

²⁹⁵ G.N. Cantor, *Science in the Nineteenth Century Periodical: Reading the Magazine of Nature* (Cambridge, 2007), pp.216.

²⁹⁶ Joseph W. Reed Jr., *English Biography in the Early Nineteenth Century 1801-1838* (New Haven & London, 1966), pp.16.

heroes in public galleries,²⁹⁷ and portraits were increasingly included in books and magazines.²⁹⁸ Thomas Carlyle said that he often found a portrait 'superior in real instruction to half-a-dozen written "Biographies"', and described them as 'lighted candles' in illuminating the meaning of a biography.²⁹⁹ Celebrity carte de visite portraits met this growing demand, however to fully understand the portraits' first reception in the late 1850s and early 1860s, and their visual worth, a short resume of the evolution of the biographical genre during the nineteenth-century will prove helpful.

Biography had undergone a radical upheaval in the first part of the century to emerge as a popular literary form. The mass-production of published material meant that prices could be lowered. As *Woodrow's Biographical Portrait Gallery* said in 1837, many earlier works had been 'too costly for the generality of purchasers', but they claimed that such literature would now become 'universally accessible'.³⁰⁰ Similarly the *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Persons* stressed that on its first publication the cost had been 'such as to place them beyond the reach of any but the affluent' but now, being published 'at less than half its original price', it would be available to 'every gentleman'.³⁰¹ The *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personalities of the Nineteenth Century* of 1830 advertised its

²⁹⁷ The Dulwich Art Gallery was opened in 1817, the National Gallery in 1824 and the National Portrait Gallery in 1856.

²⁹⁸ Technological advances such as those of powered machines for printing, lithography and chromolithography meant that publications could be mass-produced with illustrations. www.bl.uk/collections/early/victorian/pr_print.html

²⁹⁹ Peter Funnell, *Victorian Portraits* (London, 1996), pp.3-4.

³⁰⁰ C. Woodrow, *The Biographical Portrait Gallery* (London, 1837), pp.vi.

³⁰¹ The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge considered their readership to be 'gentlemen'. *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Persons* (London, 1853), Preface.

publications at a price 'unrivalled' for their cheapness,³⁰² and the instalment pattern of production (as seen in the *Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies* of 1845-6)³⁰³ encouraged interest through its affordable weekly issues. This enabled occasional purchase as desired at a far lower price than the outlay needed for a large complete library work.³⁰⁴ Edmund Lodge noted the commercial explosion taking place when he commented on the numerous '*Portrait Galleries*' which were increasingly appearing with their 'cheapness of manufacture' attracting a 'herd of anonymous and servile imitators' keen to capitalise upon a lucrative market.³⁰⁵ There was also a shift in the production of these publications. Increasingly middle-class men took control of content. Indeed Joseph W. Reed has claimed that biographical publication was controlled by the middle-classes by the mid-century.³⁰⁶ Publications began to reflect a wider British society, with representatives drawn from diverse backgrounds. The 1830 edition of the *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century* had been largely focused on the upper-classes. Portraits included two royal personages, three dukes, three viscounts, four marquises, five earls, and six lords – and two-thirds of all entrants

³⁰² *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 1 (London, 1830), pp.6.

³⁰³ *The Cabinet Portrait Gallery of British Worthies* (London, 1845-6).

³⁰⁴ *Woodrow's Biographical Portrait Gallery*, sized at just 6 ¾" x 4 ½", was small enough to act as a pocket reference book for easy and quick personal perusal, rather than the previously-published heavy tomes which were more suited to a private library.

³⁰⁵ *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* (London, 1835), Vol. 1. Appendix to Preface, pp.11 (written by the publisher & bookseller Joseph Harding London dated 1 August 1835).

³⁰⁶ Joseph W. Reed Jnr., *English Biography in the Early Nineteenth Century 1801-1838* (New Haven & London, 1966), pp. 19-22.

were from the nobility.³⁰⁷ The appeal to aristocracy was underlined in large letters at the front of the book in a proclamation stating that it was 'Dedicated, by permission, to THE KING'. It had, it was stressed, been the 'first and most earnest wish' of the publication's proprietors and editor to obtain the Patronage of a 'NATIONAL KING' in order to give the work 'status' and 'authentic value'.³⁰⁸ The slightly later 1835 edition emphasised the publication's aristocratic theme even more explicitly when stating that 'illustrious birth' had been the primary requirement for portrait inclusion.³⁰⁹ A similar approach was adopted in *Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* of 1835 in which subjects were presented with their full titles – for example Horace Walpole as the 'Fourth Earl of Orford', 'Sir' Walter Scott, and 'Sir' Joseph Banks, with eighteen out of the twenty entries possessing a title, or belonging to the nobility; and an added aristocratic slant was conveyed in the illustrations described as having been engraved from pictures in the galleries of the 'nobility' and from the royal and national collections of the country.³¹⁰ However a significant change is evident in the *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Persons* two decades later when it stated in 1853 that representatives were now chosen with no 'predilection for class'.³¹¹ Similarly the *Lives of Eminent Men*, also published in 1853, emphasised that 'our volume is a cabinet of portraits in which nearly every class finds its

³⁰⁷ *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century with Memoirs* Vol. 1 (London, 1830), Contents Page.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Introductory Address.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI (London, 1835).

³¹⁰ *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* Vol. 12 (London, 1835), Title page. This was different in class status, for example, from the creation of portraits in a professional photographer's studio in the 1860s.

³¹¹ *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Persons* Vol. 1 (London, 1853), Preface.

representatives'.³¹²

Biography moved into the modern era with subjects from various backgrounds, and they also represented the issues of modern life. Many earlier publications had focussed on deceased heroes,³¹³ but the *Third Gallery of Portraits* of 1854 claimed to present 'the men who lead the armies of modern scepticism' through a 'pateness to the moment',³¹⁴ and portraits of Carlyle, Emerson, Bulwer, Thackeray and Macaulay, men who were particularly popular with the middle-classes, were included. Similarly, the *Lives of Eminent Men* of 1853 included 'the lives of some of our most eminent men – not only of the past, but of the present'.³¹⁵

As biographical publications were modernised for a new and broader readership, one of the most significant changes was in how the material was presented and intended to be used. Late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century publications had been issued in large, heavy books destined for the family library as a reference work. One publication of 1837 referred to its function as a

³¹² *Lives of Eminent Men* (London, 1853), pp.viii.

³¹³ Many publications, such as the *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Persons* (London, 1853), were devoted to dead subjects – this one concentrating on those of the 14th to 17th centuries. G. Woodrow described the 'various memorials of departed greatness' that were available, but this edition included a significant number of modern subjects alongside dead heroes *The Biographical Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Persons of All Nations* (London, 1837). Some publications, such as *Old England's Worthies* (London, 1847), were devoted to earlier exemplars but others such as the *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages* (London, 1830-34) focussed on those of the nineteenth-century.

³¹⁴ George Gilfillan, *A Third Gallery of Literary Portraits* (London, 1854), pp.iv.

³¹⁵ *Lives of Eminent Men* (London, 1853), pp.viii. This was a far more pragmatic approach to the public's interests when compared to the newly opened National Portrait Gallery which only included those who had been dead for over ten years – apart from the reigning monarch and her consort.

'remembrancer',³¹⁶ and another described itself in 1835 as an ideal addition to a family's collection of 'historical, biographical, and antiquarian' works.³¹⁷ The primary function of this form of publication was in cementing a family's social status as intellectually informed, but it also provided exemplary inspiration for the children of well-to-do families and their servants. For example *True Stories or Interesting Anecdotes of Young Persons* published in 1810 proposed that the content would engender a lively conviction that 'what has been accomplished, may be accomplished' and that 'the knowledge, virtue, and piety, which man has attained, man may attain'.³¹⁸ Similarly *The National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Persons of the Nineteenth Century* stressed that 'we cannot conceive any work more likely to create a desire in noble and generous youths to "go and do likewise;" thus raising a spirit of emulation that may prove of inestimable service to our country', and the publication's portrait of Lord Brougham was 'to be held up as bright example to those who wished to aim at the 'highest distinctions'.³¹⁹ Similarly *Woodrow's Biographical Gallery* of 1837 stated that the publication's aim was to represent the 'leading characteristics' of the subjects portrayed for 'youthful instruction'.³²⁰ The advertisement of further books listed at the end of these publications indicate their use in instructing employees in correct behaviour. One,

³¹⁶ C. Woodrow. *The Biographical Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Persons of All Nations* (London, 1837), pp.vi.

³¹⁷ *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain* Vol. I (London, 1835), Appendix to Preface, pp.8-9 (letter from Walter Scott to Joseph Harding dated 28 March 1828) (the publication had been planned and worked-on for 20 years previous to publication).

³¹⁸ *True Stories or Interesting Anecdotes of Young Persons* (London, 1810), pp.iv.

³¹⁹ *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Persons of the Nineteenth Century* Vol. IV (London, 1833), pp.12.

³²⁰ C. Woodrow, op cit., pp.vi.

for example, suggested it would make an ideal present ‘from masters and mistresses to their servants’.³²¹ A similar tone is found in the publication *A Friendly Gift for Servants and Apprentices* where sections addressed ‘the Character of a good and faithful servant’, ‘Advice to servants of every denomination’, and ‘Anecdotes of good and faithful servants’.³²² *Lessons for Young Persons in Humble Life: calculated to promote their improvement* was similarly described as improving the ‘Art of Reading; in Virtue and Piety’ and increasing the ‘Knowledge of the Duties Peculiar to their Stations’,³²³ and here its target audience is specifically stated. It was aimed at both ‘the lower classes of society’ and the children of those from ‘the higher stations in life’,³²⁴ and formed a part of the middle-class self-help culture. But a radical change occurred in the mid-nineteenth-century with these biographical publications becoming increasingly used by middle-class adults themselves as personal reference works of life-stories with didactic messages of exemplary value. At the same time, affordable partwork issues and smaller books facilitated purchase, fuelled interest and widened readership and participation. Writers such as Samuel Smiles, Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Emerson published works on the exemplarity of particular public men,³²⁵ and a huge interest developed in the heroes of modern life.

³²¹ Further publications advertised at the back of: *True Stories or Interesting Anecdotes of Young Persons* (London, 1810).

³²² *Ibid.*, pp. 331.

³²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 329. (price 3/6d)

³²⁴ Review in ‘Annual Review for 1808’, *Ibid.*, pp. 329.

³²⁵ Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* (London, 1859), Thomas Carlyle, *Hero Worship, and the Heroism in History* (London, 1841), Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Representative Men* (Boston, 1850), and Geoffrey Cubitt, ‘Introduction: heroic reputations and exemplary lives’, Eds. Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren, *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* (Manchester, 2000), pp.15.

It was to this adult audience that the professional photographer often presented his celebrity portrait, offering a wide middle-class audience small personally-collectable illustrations of those read about in biographical publications.

There was, however, a radical change in the tone of biography as the nineteenth-century progressed. In place of inheritance of position and privilege, it was 'character' that increasingly constituted value - the character of individuals that had effected achievement. Froude said that character was the 'only' education of any value in 1850,³²⁶ and in 1860 the *Cornhill Magazine* described a new social philosophy being 'enthroned amongst us' in which 'by doing the right thing in the right way' the 'great triumphs of life' were effected. It went on to emphasise that those who made 'their way to the front' had indeed achieved this through their own personal character.³²⁷ *Fraser's Magazine* gives a contemporary interpretation of this character in 1858, saying that tenderness, endurance, unselfishness, and 'stubborn truthfulness' constituted Victorian moral fibre.³²⁸ Although reflecting a more radical middle-class outlook, Samuel Smiles became famous for his claim that manliness lay in integrity and honour, and that a 'truly noble' man was, above all, driven by moral principle.³²⁹ A central consensus thus emerged in which character defined middle-class identity.³³⁰

³²⁶ C.I. Hamilton, 'Naval Hagiography and the Victorian Hero', *The Historical Journal*, 23,2 (1980), pp.381. Quoting Froude in *Representative Men*.

³²⁷ 'Success', *The Cornhill Magazine* Vol. II (July to December, 1860), pp.729-30.

³²⁸ 'Charles James Napier: A Study of Character', *Fraser's Magazine* (February, 1858), pp.254-261.

³²⁹ Asa Briggs, 'Samuel Smiles The Gospel of Self-Help', ed. Gordon Marsden, *Victorian Values* (Harlow, 1998), pp.112.

³³⁰ These were publications aimed at a middle-class readership.

This shift to 'character' is seen in a wide range of biographical publications in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Earlier accounts had focussed on public deeds and God-given gifts of exceptional talent. The *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century* of 1830, for example, had praised the princes, statesmen and warriors who had 'achieved the glories of their native land'. It similarly praised manufacturers and merchants for enriching the nation's wealth, those who had added to the 'acquirements and embellishments of that vast and powerful portion of the globe which we call our country'. Pitt, Fox, Liverpool, Canning, Goderich, Wellington, Grey, and Melbourne were praised for working together to protect Britain. The publication highlighted their participation in 'one great circumstance' to overcome the 'turbulence' of the American situation, and the revolutionary war with France – and their efforts in terminating the 'ambitious career' of Napoleon in order to retain Britain's 'national honour and national welfare' were especially praised.³³¹ The same publication also stressed the unique talent of Lord Byron, in his 'fancies' being very different from other bards, and indeed emphasising that he 'stood 'alone' in his creativity.³³² However prominence was increasingly awarded to the way 'character' engendered success and achievement. For example the Duke of Wellington was praised not for his military honours, but as a 'noble', 'gallant' and 'principle-strengthened' warrior in *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrapbook* of 1837, it being the eminent soldier's great 'generosity' and 'bravery' which was cited as resulting in his success. Similarly it was Robert Peel's 'kindness'

³³¹ *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century with Memoirs* Vol. 1 (London, 1830), Address, pp.4-5.

³³² *Ibid.*, 'Lord Byron'.

which was highlighted in the same publication.³³³ These attributes were not inherited, they could be acquired by the middle-classes.

An example of this new approach is found in the *Penny Magazine* in the 1840s.³³⁴

The publication cited the 'purity of principle' in Moliere's works, with the writer reassuringly stating that that sobriety and virtue were never 'ridiculous or contemptible' – and indeed Moliere's work was now recommended for its piercing insight 'into all the varieties of human character'.³³⁵ Certain 'villains' were re-cast in moral terms – for example Napoleon was praised for his sincerity of intention by Carlyle in 1840³³⁶ and, as Patricia J. Anderson points out, Chaucer, Moliere and Shakespeare were awarded new attention for the moral undertones of their tales and character studies.³³⁷ However Lord Nelson's exemplarity suffered when judged against these qualities, being only placed in twentieth place (compared to Wellington's entry at the beginning) in *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain*. It was a publication which claimed to be most useful in its 'moral effects', and the tricky topic of Nelson's private life was referred to as the surrender of his high principles in his 'unsuitable affair of the heart' which indeed cast 'the only blot upon his public character'.³³⁸

³³³ *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book* (London, 1837), pp.32 and 10.

³³⁴ These traits defined middle-class identity, but they were also promoted to a wider audience in publications aimed at a working-class readership, for example in the *British Workman* and the *Penny Magazine*.

³³⁵ 'Local Memories of Great Men', *Penny Magazine*, 7 August 1841, pp.305.

³³⁶ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes and Hero-Worship* (London, 1840), pp.69.

³³⁷ Patricia J. Anderson, 'Pictures for the people: Knight's Penny Magazine, an Early Venture into Popular Art Education', *Studies in Art Education*, 28,3 (1987), pp.133-140.

³³⁸ 'Horatio Viscount Nelson', *Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain*, Edmund Lodge (London, 1835), Vol. 12. pp. 1-11.

Contemporary writers such as Carlyle, Brougham and Smiles, although viewing British society in very different ways, were united in their vision of a new society underpinned by a Victorian 'character' that was shaped by moral principle, intellect and culture, and which could be acquired by the middle-class. As David Kuchta argues, 'characterological traits' dominated heroic exemplarity,³³⁹ and as Stefan Collini claims, a new language of Victorian 'character' replaced the earlier eighteenth-century era of 'sociability'.³⁴⁰ Judith Fisher describes it as the 'appetite of the age',³⁴¹ and indeed Joseph J. Reed Jnr. has proposed that character became virtue, and virtue became the 'sole reason' for the existence of biography.³⁴²

Victorian 'character' was defined by, and exemplified through, various traits. In addition to moral rectitude, the acquisition of a good education and intellectual development formed a central tenet of character and middle-class identity. Thomas Carlyle had stressed the importance of '*thought*' in his writings of the 1840s, emphasising that all a great man does 'and brings to pass, is the vesture of a Thought', and the Man of Letters was Carlyle's most important hero in his ability to unfold the 'God-like' to men.³⁴³ Arnold adopted a similar stance when viewing the

³³⁹ David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity* (California, 2002), pp.169.

³⁴⁰ Stefan Collini, 'Character and the Victorian Mind', *The Victorian Studies Reader*, Eds. Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam (Abingdon, 2007), pp.225.

³⁴¹ Judith L. Fisher, "In the Present Famine of Anything Substantial": *Fraser's* "Portraits" and the Construction of Literary Celebrity; or, "Personality, Personality Is the Appetite of the Age", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 39:12 Summer 2006, pp.98.

³⁴² Joseph W. Reed Jnr., *English Biography in the Early Nineteenth Century, 1801-1838* (New Haven & London, 1966), pp.30.

³⁴³ Thomas Carlyle, Op. Cit., pp.88, 92 and 144-5. Moral rectitude and 'character' was strongly grounded in middle-class religious belief, especially in Evangelicalism.

acquisition of knowledge and the development of intellect as defining middle-class society.³⁴⁴ This view was reflected in a wide range of biographical publications. An example is found in *Fraser's 'Literary Portrait Gallery'* of 1830-8.³⁴⁵ Here, men who had forged reputations in other fields were presented and praised for their literary prowess and admired as men of letters. For example, the scientist Michael Faraday was included as the 'Author of "Chemical Manipulation"',³⁴⁶ and Lord John Russell, even though primarily known as a statesman, was described as the 'Author of the "Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe"'. Another biographical publication of a similar date, *The Gallery of Portraits*,³⁴⁷ again highlighted knowledge and learning, promoting the mild and gentle values of 'philosophy and intellect' of its subjects under consideration, with Dante placed at the beginning of the collection.³⁴⁸ This view was reflected in broader middle-class politics and culture. Lord Brougham spoke of the middle-classes as both the wealth and the 'intelligence' of the

³⁴⁴ J.B. Bullen, *Writing and Victorianism* (Harlow, 1997), pp.6.

³⁴⁵ Eighty-one issues between 1830 and 1838.

³⁴⁶ 'Michael Faraday', *The Maclise Portrait-Gallery of "Illustrious Literary Characters" With Memoirs* (re-printed London, 1883), pp.357.

³⁴⁷ Published in 1833 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

³⁴⁸ John Tosh and James Adams point out a contemporary controversy surrounding the manly identity of polite manners, courtesy and propriety, especially when exercised in cerebral and desk-bound occupations. These, they argue, conflicted with the inert qualities of being a 'man, of bravery, combative defence, strength, bravado and action. John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2005), pp.86-98, and James Eli Adams, *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood* (Cornell, 1995), pp.1-2. John Roebuck said in 1862 that by 'gentlemanliness' no-one need 'fear that it will make men effeminate' which both indicates a contemporary concern over the 'image', and an attempt to retain admiration for the Victorian professional 'gentleman' of morality and intellect. 'Gentlemen', James Fitzjames Stephen, *Cornhill Magazine*, V (London, 1862), pp.328.

country,³⁴⁹ and he worked hard to improve their educational opportunities. To improve oneself and rise in occupational status through one's own endeavours was highly admired, and the fact that a subject had risen from humble beginnings was prominently recorded in the biographies of the 1840s and 1850s.³⁵⁰ An example is found in a description of Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst in 1845 where his promotion and advance was celebrated as a result of his intellectual abilities rather than to any advantages of 'birth or connexion', the account particularly praising the 'unaided force' of one's own industry and vigour.³⁵¹ Hard work was also an important aspect of middle-class identity, and indeed William Landels highlighted the importance of industrious application in a public occupation in 1859 when saying that 'work, work, work – constant, never-ceasing work' would enable people to rise 'into men'.³⁵² Other traits that contributed to mid-Victorian character were a sincerity to one's own point of view, and an independence exercised in a public role. To be a 'professional' was highly admired, especially in occupations that served others such law and medicine.³⁵³ An obituary notice published in *The Morning Chronicle* for the Duke of Cambridge on the occasion of his death in 1850 described his 'character' of 'genuine sincerity of purpose' exercised in a simple and unaffected 'manly' demeanour being the major reason for his great popularity – and that it was this that had caused him

³⁴⁹ Asa Briggs, 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', *Past & Present*, No.9 (April, 1956), pp.69.

³⁵⁰ As seen in the biographies accompanying the portraits published in *The News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* between 1858 and 1860.

³⁵¹ 'Lord Lyndhurst', *The Book of the Illustrious* (London, 1845).

³⁵² John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow, 2005), pp.92 quoting William Landels, *How Men are Made* (London, 1859), pp.43.

³⁵³ Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London & New York, 1995).

to be 'universally held' in 'respectful and affectionate regard'.³⁵⁴

The image was now seen as a mirror of Victorian 'character', and commercial photographers presented their cartes de visite to meet this outlook. Studios used their new visual 'language' of long-established artistic conventions combined with new innovative techniques to communicate this new emphasis on character to a target middle-class consumer, and the methods they employed to achieve as high a volumetric turnover as possible will be examined in Part Two of the chapter.

PART TWO: THE CONSTRUCTION AND COMMUNICATION OF CARTE DE VISITE WORTH

As Biographic Worth

On their first appearance on the market in the late 1850s and early 1860s the celebrity carte de visite was received as a form of illustrated biography. As the *Art Journal* said, the cartes multiplied the portraits seen in national portrait galleries 'ad infinitum' on a miniature scale,³⁵⁵ and they used the visual language of props, pose and text to communicate their worth. For example, biographical text was added to the mount of the portrait of Napoleon in **Fig.106-449** stating that he was 'Born in Corsica, 1769 – Died at St. Helena, 1821'. Another example is shown in **Fig.107-1056** where a considerable amount of life-detail has been printed on the stereocard of Napoleon III. It reads: 'Born April 20th, 1808, Son of Louis Napoleon, King of Holland, and of his Queen Hortense Eugenie; married January 29th 1853, to

³⁵⁴ He had, as acknowledged in the report, been 'illustrious' in securing Britain's victory in war and in consolidating the empire, but the main focus of the article was on his character. 'Death of the Duke of Cambridge', *The Morning Chronicle*, 9 July 1850, pp.4-5. This was just one view for one class of reader, however it gives an insight, and added view, to current scholarship and arguments.

³⁵⁵ 'Cartes-de-Visite', *The Art Journal*, Vol. VII, October 1861, pp.306-7.

Eugenie, Empress of the French, born May 5th, 1826.’ The card is now a portable and self-contained object of illustrated biography. Another link to biography is illustrated in the re-issue (in carte de visite format) of portraits published in earlier tomes. Two examples are shown in **Figs.108-XA3, 109-15, 110-XA4 and 111-129** where the cartes of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Byron replicate the images published in the *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century* (published in 1830).³⁵⁶ This is a direct re-casting of the earlier format into a new carte de visite version, with the photographer’s product aligned with an already well-established genre of portrait publication - and personal annotations found on some cartes confirm the market’s reception in such terms. For example a collector has added the life-detail of George Peabody to the portrait’s backplate (**Fig.112-687**), writing that he was an ‘American banker in London and philanthropist Born 1795 Died 1869’. Examples abound, and another is illustrated in **Fig.113-554** where a collector has compiled a detailed biographical account on the back of the carte de visite of Prince Albert, writing that he was ‘Albert son of Duke Ernst of Saxe Coburg Gotha & Louise – only dau. Of Duke of Saxe-Gotha Altenburg divorced when her son Albert was six’. Here almost the entire backplate has been taken up with the owner’s personal biographical notes on the Prince which, in area, equal the size of the image itself.

Such examples show an explicit alignment with the biographical genre, and suggest that photographers introduced their new portrait medium within already-established portrait convention of biographical illustration. They produced small individually-

³⁵⁶ *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 1 (London, 1830). Both the biographical illustration and the carte de visite were probably executed from prints of the original paintings.

collectable illustrated records of biography. Another example of such alignment is found in the title of Maull & Polyblank's partwork publication issued in the mid-1850s. The photographers entitled it 'Photographic Portraits of Living Celebrities', and through the name an association is made with such publications as 'Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain'. However the photographic version underlines that it is a modern publication showing 'living' subjects through the realism of photography. The pattern of Maull & Polyblank's publication also mirrored traditional biographical layout, with whole-plate albumen celebrity photographs placed alongside several pages of life-worth text. A similar example is found in Ernest Edwards' *Portraits of men of Eminence in Literature, Science, and Art, with Biographical Memoirs: The Photographs from Life* of 1863. This is a carte de visite publication, and again Edwards has included several pages (between four and ten) of biographical text for each portrait - indeed the *Art Journal* noted the publication as a form of biography when describing the book as a valuable edition of 'contemporary illustrated biography'.³⁵⁷

The photographer Claudet offers perhaps the best evidence of a link between biography and carte de visite production, as reimagined for a new market of middle-class consumers. He wrote in 1862 that: 'We have only to stop at certain shops in Regent Street, where are exhibited for sale the most heterogeneous assemblage of "cartes de visite"³⁵⁸ - but the categories he describes correspond to those found in traditional biographical publications: of monarchs, clergymen, statesmen and artists - and Claudet's comment confirms that photographers were drawing on

³⁵⁷ Published in six volumes from 1863 by Lovell Reeve, London. 'Reviews', *Art Journal*, 1 September 1863, pp.192.

³⁵⁸ A. Claudet, 'The New Picture Galleries', *Photographic News*, 2 May 1862, pp. 210.

contemporary biographical culture for the issue of their images. Indeed, the *Journal* summed up cartes de visite as 'faithful and thoroughly artistic portraits' of 'the honoured, the respected, and the admired' celebrities of the period that offered the opportunity to compile portrait collections on a miniature scale, and this is exactly the impression constructed.

As Mid-Victorian Middle-Class Character

A shift to representing 'character' can be seen in the majority of early celebrity cartes de visite, and it required a new visual language. Moral rectitude, intellect, service to others, sincerity to personal viewpoint, and an intense and serious attitude to hard work increasingly constituted portrait worth. They were key elements in securing sales in the early 1860s, and were constructed with new kinds of representation. For example, the Victorian 'gentleman' encapsulated high moral principle and serious application to hard work in a public role. These values were constructed by using props of top hats and walking sticks, together with neat, short hairstyles and clean-shaven faces, or very subtle and perfectly-groomed facial hair. Examples are shown in **Figs.114-83, 115-104, 116-527** and **117-595** where the statesman Lord Granville, the artist Edwin Landseer, the mathematician Professor Willis, and the Prince of Wales all adopt this unified style of self-presentation. They stand in upright but unassuming poses with evenly-balanced weight. There is no bodily affectation, although the men present a confident, purposeful and self-possessed attitude, and props of top hats, walking sticks and dark attire are present in all. There is no clear reference to any particular public occupation in these constructions, and the full force of the portraits' visual appearance is on the men as ideal mid-nineteenth-century 'gentlemen'. They all appeared in dark sombre attire, a style used to convey

a serious 'professional' attitude to a public role.³⁵⁹

A deeper meaning could be effected, however, by a slight change to pose. An example is illustrated in the to carte of the businessman Mr. Ledger in **Fig.118-1008**. Here he faces the viewer squarely and stands with a contrapposto weighting, but it is a far more bold stance than that seen in the previously-discussed images of unassuming, evenly-balanced deportment. Here Ledger's pose effects a more direct address of the spectator. He has one hand placed on an up-tilted hip, and his puffed-out chest is accentuated. Ledger was a businessman who had apparently overcome considerable difficulties introducing alpacas into Australia and establishing a good commercial enterprise.³⁶⁰ Indeed in 1857 *The Illustrated News of the World* wrote that Ledger would be 'remembered in the Australian colonies as one who has contributed perhaps more to the permanent wealth of the country than any other single individual'.³⁶¹ This struggle is represented by the more robust deportment, and a similar pose has been identified by Louise Purbrick as used in the portraits of the 'Manchester men' who were central to the development of industrial manufacture.³⁶² Her example of one of these men, George Patten (in **Fig.119-XA7**), especially mirrors Ledger in his bold contrapposto stance, with hand on hip, and

³⁵⁹ David Kuchta notes the contemporary view that sobriety in attire signalled a serious and professional attitude. David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity* (London, 2002), pp.172, and John Harvey, *Men in Black* (Chicago and London, 1995).

³⁶⁰ Mr. Ledger's struggle was noted in 1865, a contemporary observer writing of his 'frightful dangers and losses' but that he had 'succeeded in introducing llamas and alpacas into Australia.' David Esdaile, *Contributions to Natural History: Chiefly in Relation to the Food of the People* (London, 1865), pp.352.

³⁶¹ 'Mr. Charles Ledger', *The Illustrated News of the World*, 17 September 1859, pp.173.

³⁶² Louise Purbrick, 'The Bourgeois Body: Civic Portraiture, Public Men and the Appearance of Class Power in Manchester, 1838-50', *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, eds. Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (Manchester, 1999), pp.81-98.

broad display of chest. These were men who required forceful leadership to build their businesses and to, in their view, effect change and progress. The adjustment to pose offered photographers a more specific way of representing this particular aspect of 'gentlemanly' character.³⁶³

The eminent nineteenth-century statesman Lord Brougham had stressed (when referring to the middle-classes) that the middle-classes were not only the wealth of the nation, but its 'intelligence',³⁶⁴ and this suggests the display of intellect was an essential constituent of middle-class Victorian manliness. Samuel Smiles' *Self Help* also emphasised the role of energetic education to self-improvement and invention.³⁶⁵ It was, by the mid-century a common trope of middle-class self-help, and was a portrait value extensively constructed in celebrity cartes de visite,³⁶⁶ and communicated through a visual language using the prop and pose. Books placed beside celebrities highlighted their roles as intellectual exemplars, and they can be seen prominently displayed in the portraits of the writer John Forster, the scientist Sir David Brewster and the engineer Sir William Fairbairn in **Figs.120-525, 121-715 and 122-382.**³⁶⁷ Here a huge bookcase dwarfs Brewster, positioned just beside him,

³⁶³ This more bold manly style matches Edward Berenson's argument that a reaction against the effeminate desk-bound male was expressed in energetic and adventurous expansion in the colonies. Edward Berenson, 'Charisma and the Making of Imperial Heroes in Britain and France, 1880-1914', Eds. Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi, *Constructing Charisma* (New York and Oxford, 2010), pp.28-29.

³⁶⁴ Asa Briggs, 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', *Past & Present*, No.9 (April, 1956), pp.69.

³⁶⁵ Samuel Smiles, *Self Help* (London, 1859).

³⁶⁶ Michael Roper and John Tosh, 'Introduction', Eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh, *Manful Assertions* (London and New York, 1991), pp.16-17.

³⁶⁷ Fairbairn was an eminent engineer helping to establish mechanized manufacturing processes, as well as engineering machinery and ship- (and bridge-) building. The usage of traditional portrait language has particularly been drawn on in this last example, with the

and there are nine books arranged on a side table beside Fairbairn - and Forster has a book on his knee, with another on a side-table beside him. Pose has also been used in these three portraits to underline their value in terms of intellectual fibre. For example, Brewster leans in towards the bookcase, and his elbow rests on its ledge appearing to touch the books. Fairbairn sits beside the pile of books with his right elbow almost touching them, and he adopts the head-in-hand pose traditionally used to convey one in deep contemplative thought – and Forster is posed with his fingers slipped inside the open pages of the book on his knee indicating one busily involved in its content (and possibly imparting its content to an audience). With such overt placement of books and literature, and the composition used to draw attention to them, it is intellectual value which appears as the primary collectable value of these gentlemen.

Cultural capital and learning could also be conveyed by adding antique sculptures to the portrait. Guilhem Scherf claims that Italian landscapes and classical statuary had been long-used to infer a cultural heritage rooted in ancient Greece and Rome,³⁶⁸ and two examples are shown in **Figs.123-799** and **124-711** where Charles Dickens and the journalist John Leech have antique figures placed by their left shoulders. A link is made between new kinds of writing and creativity and the classical heritage of Britain. This was also underlined in more traditional areas such as Victorian education and law. For example the portrait of Lord Brougham in **Fig.125-621** shows him facing a huge classical urn. An open book is positioned between Brougham and the urn and thus a classical value is attributed to the quality

head-in-hand pose being a long-established pattern to emphasize thought and imagination in a subject. Ludmilla Jordanova, *Defining Features* (London, 2000), pp.41.

³⁶⁸ 'The Cultural Portrait', Guilhem Scherf, *Citizens & Kings* (London, 2007), pp.130.

of education promoted by Brougham. The carte of Lord Justice Turner in **Fig.126-XA74b** similarly presents him as an agent of a British legal system grounded in the most respected constitutional principles of Western culture.

The presentation of 'service' was another important portrait attraction reflecting middle-class values, and the carte de visite of Mr. C.W. Dunford in **Fig.127-389(B)** illustrates the diverse tools adopted by photographers to construct such collectable worth. Here printed text has been added to the front of the mount, just below the image, stating that he was the: 'Author of "England and its Duty," 1853, originating the Volunteer Movement; Superintendent of the Notting Hill Volunteer Fire Brigade.' Mr. Dunford had performed an outstanding service in increasing the protection of people and buildings, and his collectable value has been underlined in textual addition to the visual portrait. However props and pose underpin the portrait's meaning, with the fireman's uniform clearly seen in his upright pose facing towards the viewer, locating the site of the subject's exemplarity. The portrait methods and visual language of text, prop and pose cement the subject's market worth, as an improvement to British society. Another presentation of 'service' is shown in the carte in **Fig.128-384**, but here meaning is overtly constructed through pose. The portrait presents the soldier Colonel Ewart, who had served extensively in the British army. He had been especially highly decorated for his bravery in the Crimean War and in the Indian rebellion,³⁶⁹ but he lost an arm during active service, and it is this identifying feature which is accentuated in his portrait. Here the positioning of his

³⁶⁹ He was awarded the Piedmontese Medal for Valour, the British medal with five clasps, and recommended for the Victoria Cross (but not awarded). He lost his arm during the Indian Mutiny but received the Mutiny Medal with clasp and made C.B. in 1858 and aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria in 1859. Dictionary of National Biography, Ewart, John Alexander.

body vividly emphasises the qualities of self sacrifice, duty and service. Ewart is shown standing in full dress uniform, with medals on his chest (highlighting his bravery), and he faces the camera squarely, holding his plumed military hat in his right hand - but the empty left sleeve of his tunic (signalling the loss of his arm) is arranged across his upper body. It is explicitly evident, and underlines Ewart's public renown for bravery and self-sacrifice in the service of his country. His collectable value has thus been constructed through the use of compositional prop and pose.

Photographers usually adhered to just a single figure, but the inclusion of multiple figures could construct a message about leadership and community building. This can be seen in the portrait of Lord Brougham in **Fig.129-943**. In this portrait 'service' is again the major theme, but it has been conveyed by Brougham's positioning beside another figure of a small boy. Brougham is seated in a chair with an open book on his knee, but the boy is placed beside him – and here it is the traditional use of pictorial composition that accentuates meaning. The child stands and looks towards Brougham and the book, and focus is thus placed on Brougham's tutorial role. His reputation as one increasing educational opportunities (especially to the next generation) to British society as the image's particular collectable value, but this ability to lead and influence is shown by the multiple figures around him.

Using Props to Accentuate Collectable Worth

These examples show photographers communicating collectable worth by manipulating pose and prop. It was the character that formed the focus of attention in these images in a variety of public roles, however the *Photographic News* highlighted the way a focus on character could obscure occupational identities. It said that:

‘judging only from their external appearance, might you not perchance have mistaken a nobleman for a farmer, a bishop for a schoolmaster....a Russian prince for a commercial traveller, a banker for a tea-dealer, an eminent writer for a toast-master?’

A concern can be detected here over distinctions of rank being correctly (or incorrectly) awarded, but a solution was suggested. The writer proposed that ‘all sorts of things’, which were ‘appropriate to all the different professions’, could be used through visual language to establish a correct interpretation. Thus the re-deployment of Academy-taught use of props to convey meaning was recommended, and professional photographers were encouraged to make full use of props to add definition and meaning to their portraits. The *Photographic News* writer went on to develop his argument in more detail, saying that a ‘piece of complicated wheelwork’ would identify a mechanician - or a ‘pair of globes’ would signal a geographer. A ‘nautical compass’ could identify a mariner, or a ‘pair of compasses’ for the civil engineer. A ‘palette and an easel’ were recommended for the artist, a book for the divine, an empty brief for the lawyer, an hour-glass for the philosopher, and an inkstand and pen ‘with a tremendous feather in it’ for the author.³⁷⁰ The adoption of the artistic use of prop is seen in much photographic output, and the three examples discussed earlier in the chapter in **Figs.130-523, 131-512 and 132-XA9** (to illustrate studios’ objective distancing to emphasise ‘character’) are useful here too. They show the props used to define a location for the reading of character. For example W.P. Frith is accompanied by an easel, painting and palette to underline his public reputation as an artist, while Sir Roundell Palmer’s gown wig, and rolled scroll

³⁷⁰ ‘The Carte de Visite’, *Photographic News*, 9 May 1862, pp.226 (an extract from *All Year Round*).

highlight his legal occupation - and the explorer Dr. Livingstone appears with a globe, naval hat and maps to re-assert his collectable worth in the field of exploration.

Props were used according to Academy-taught rules to establish an occupational context to character, but a special reputation could be signalled by a slight variation in their position. An example is illustrated in **Fig.133-81**, in the carte de visite of the statesman and historian Lord Stanhope. Here he holds a large book in front of him, and it is unusually placed across the front-plane of the picture. The positioning emphasises Stanhope's contribution to the intellectual wealth of England, subtly symbolising his public renown in establishing the National Portrait Gallery in 1856.³⁷¹

New Cartes de Visite Meeting a Change in Ways of Studying Character

As seen in these examples, the use of props to construct market worth was widely adopted, but developments in new photographic technology meant that practitioners could meet new fashions for studying character.³⁷² The two sciences of physiognomy and physiology were especially popular in mid-Victorian Britain, with a study of the body, face and head providing indications of character. The realism that photography provided offered an ideal medium through which to pursue this path, and as the century progressed photographers were able to issue cartes that showed

³⁷¹ Stanhope was also a prime influence in passing the Copyright Act in 1862. Again the collectable value of the portrait is effected through a stiffness, with little personal relationship exerted between Stanhope and the book. He formally 'presents' it to the viewer, and the image underlines the way photographers utilized props and pose objectively as symbols to construct meaning.

³⁷² A new carte de visite camera with a special depth of field was developed in the later 1860s that enabled the mass-production of images with the head and features of a subject filling the picture space.

an enlargement of the head, thus providing an additional way to study celebrities.³⁷³ Physiognomy and physiology had been popular since the publication of the *Constitution of Man* by George Combe in 1828³⁷⁴ and, as David de Giustino points out, they were sciences that were not confined to scholars but had a large following amongst the general public.³⁷⁵ It was recommended that examination should be undertaken when the face and body were still and at rest, when a person was not socially engaged,³⁷⁶ and photography's requirement of several seconds' inaction to secure the negative (as well as its undeniable realism) meant that cartes de visite provided an ideal method of such study. Full-length poses met physiognomists' recommendations that 'every part of the body' revealed the mind, character, and 'human nature' of a subject,³⁷⁷ but the face, expression, and cranial shape of the

³⁷³ Allan Sekula and John Tagg have highlighted the underlying debates surrounding the reception of the scientifically-based mechanism of photography and the human creativity of the photographer when combined together to facilitate the scientific study of physiognomy in a social context (for example in drawing-room album collections). 'The Traffic in Photographs', Alan Sekula, *Art Journal*, Vol.41, Spring, 1981, pp.15-25. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation* (London, 1988), pp.66-103.

³⁷⁴ David de Giustino, *Conquest of Mind* (London, 1975), pp.3 & 74. Indeed in 1836 the book sold 17,000 copies, and David Giustino notes that this vastly exceeded the 16,000 copies of the *Origin of the Species* which were sold over a period of 15 years. Many more editions followed.

³⁷⁵ This was especially so in the early 1860s when even the Royal family employed a phrenologist as tutor to the royal children, arranged by Prince Albert. Ibid., pp.58 & 221.

³⁷⁶ Arthur Schopenhauer, *On Physiognomy* (1788-1860), translated by Thomas Bailey Saunders (cited on www.en.wikisource.org).

³⁷⁷ Arthur Schopenhauer said that 'every joint of intelligent man is eloquent', and that the outer man was a picture of the inner - that both the body and face served as a revelation of the whole character, although phrenology was more inclined towards the form of the head as an indication of the 'character of the mind', Ibid. A long narrow nose was believed to indicate a strong character, and a high and receding forehead signaled intelligence. Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (New Jersey, 1997), pp.160-63, and Hector Maclean, *A Reply to Sir David Brewster's Strictures on Physiognomy and Phrenology*, (Delhi, 2016, reprint. First published in Glasgow, 1863), pp.27-28. In the late 1850s *Fraser's Magazine* stressed that it was the features of an individual that offered the

head also revealed character. The focus on the head began to take on new significance as the century progressed and an interest in spirituality took hold. The late nineteenth-century historian Lionel Johnson said retrospectively in 1897 that the earlier passion for nature turned to an examination the 'spirit, with people 'unlearning the baser doctrines of materialism' and realizing the 'magnalities' of existence.³⁷⁸

Professional photographers were able to meet the trend with newly developed cameras that facilitated the mass-production of enlarged heads that filled the picture space.³⁷⁹

Enlarged-head cartes de visite were issued in great volume from the later 1860s, and **Fig.134-288** and **135-293** illustrate the change of focus effected by the style.

The first shows the anti-slavery campaigner Charles Gilpin, and the second is the art critic John Ruskin. Here the facial features and fine delineations of individual expression are clearly seen, and a glimpse is provided into the mind of the two

most characteristic revelation of 'moral and intellectual' virtue. They were referring to General Charles Napier. 'Charles James Napier: A Study of Character', *Fraser's Magazine*, February 1858, pp.255. Indeed Woodrow's biographical publication underlined the point when it said that one's 'countenance' revealed 'the index of the mind'. G. Woodrow, *The Biographical Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Persons of All Nations*, (London, 1837), Preface, pp.v. These sciences also raised the question of a hierarchy of race. For example the the Norman-Saxon was considered to have 'superior endowments' of intellect. This raised deeper questions on Britain's place in the world (especially in its Anglo-Saxon roots). De Giustino notes that Combe and Cobden agreed that India was 'an immoral appendage of Great Britain' which injured the mother country more than it enriched her. However he also acknowledged Darwin's belief that such theories should be investigated more thoroughly in formal scientific research. David de Giustino *Conquest of Mind* (London, 1975), pp.& 69-71.

³⁷⁸ Johnson stressed that this was a gradual development of ideas and attitude rather than a severe rejection of the past, saying that 'from the stern facts of science' has come 'their enlargement' - and indeed that men 'of all arts, all professions' and all 'crafts' were looking back over the previous sixty years with great 'pride in their forerunners.'Lionel Johnson, 'Victorian Literature', *Sixty Years of Empire* (London, 1897), pp.214-5.

³⁷⁹ This was achieved through the development of a carte de visite camera with a shorter depth of field that could again produce up to twelve head-and-shoulder images on one plate.

personalities. Another example is illustrated in the portrait of Thomas Carlyle in **Fig.136-294** where the philosopher's head and upper body fill the picture space, but his renown as a 'thinker' is particularly accentuated in this instance through the pose of his head as it tilts downwards slightly. Carlyle's concentrated contemplation is clearly evident in his sober and fixed stare, and there is a glimpse of his hands clasped together on top of a walking stick just below his chin, in a pose which accentuates the 'meditative' renown of Carlyle.

Some studios capitalised on their earlier stock by re-photographing just the facial area of their full-length negatives to catch this new trend, and the two portraits of Isambard Brunel in **Figs.137-XA11** and **138-XA12** (the first an original full-length photograph and the second a spot-enlarged re-issue of its facial area) highlights the contrasting effects produced. In the first, earlier, portrait Brunel stands in front of heavy mechanical chains denoting his public occupation, and the pose of his body plays a central role in conveying his gentlemanly character in its upright contrapposto stance and smart attire. But the chains and their reference to his work have been blurred in the later portrait, and form just a patterned background to Brunel's head which now fills the picture area.³⁸⁰ Brunel's face is now thrown into clear definition, and the full force of the portrait falls onto his expression of set mouth and determined eyes – however his large top hat is also accentuated by the enlargement and serves to underline the 'gentlemanly' character of the engineer. The enlarged-head pattern was particularly used to illustrate obituary notices in the press, as a resume of a subject's life-worth, and an example is found in *The*

³⁸⁰ Spot enlargements could be made from carte de visite negatives, however these did not provide the 'multiple' printing of the carte de visite process and consequently did not offer the same profit margins.

Illustrated London News in 1873 where a large, full-face portrait has been used to accompany a report on Landseer's death (shown in **Fig.139-XA13**).³⁸¹ The style was also received in cartes de visite in this role, as illustrated in the portrait of General Gordon in **Fig.140-1013(A)**. Here Gordon's face fills the picture, and the collector has added a hand-written annotation to the mount re-affirming the image's commemorative value, describing Gordon as the 'late' General Chas G. Gordon.

As this discussion has demonstrated, photographers were required to adapt a visual language in the construction of character to sell celerity cartes de visite to a mid-nineteenth-century middle-class market. Character was increasingly the portrait value that secured sales, replacing an earlier emphasis on dates of birth and death and occupational achievement. There was, however a further shift in portrait value, one that emerged in the later 1860s and that accentuated individuality in the study of character rather than constantly-repeated patterns across many representatives. Consumers increasingly wanted a focus on individuals. Professional photographers adapted their portraits to meet this changing demand in celebrity portraiture, and their strategies will be examined in the output of three subjects of particular middle-class interest, those of science, art and literature.

Cartes de Visite Meeting an Increasing Market Focus on Individuality as Portrait

Worth

Science, art and literature were Victorian topics that especially illustrate the shift to individuality in carte de visite portraiture, areas in which quirks and creativity were

³⁸¹ 'The Late Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.', *The Illustrated London News*, 11 October 1873, pp.349.

more acceptable and the visual language of individuality was easier to explore. They were also areas in constant demand with middle-class consumers. The titles of many contemporary publications reflect this centrality in society, for example as seen in: *The Weekly Record of Literature, Science and Art* (of 1825), *The Portfolio of Entertaining and Instructive Varieties in History, Science, Literature and Fine Arts* (of 1825), and *Lives of Men of Letters and Science* (of 1845).³⁸² They were topics that generated a strong market demand for the commercial photographer. Indeed the *Photographic News* noted in 1862 that photographs of scientific and literary men were sure to 'find a constant sale'³⁸³ – and the title of Ernest Edwards' carte de visite publication of 1863 indicates this particular professional photographer exploiting the interest, calling his work 'Portraits of Men of Eminence in Literature, Science, and Art'.³⁸⁴

a) Artists

The working life of the artist underwent a radical upheaval during the late-eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries. Whereas a single patron could secure income and livelihood, this became increasingly determined by appealing to the market in the Victorian era. An elevated professional standing, and occupational respect, had been developed through the new Royal Academy (opened in 1768) with the introduction of a formal classical training in the various forms of fine art, and the

³⁸² A publication of 1853 entitled *Home: A Book for Young Ladies* underlines this approach when recommending a clear categorisation of exemplary material into 'facts' of religion, politics, literature, arts, science and militia, and to study 'principles' and 'sentiments' of truth and morality within these areas. Louisa C. Tuthill, *Home: A Book for Young Ladies* (London, 1853), pp.20 and 219.

³⁸³ A. Wynter, 'Cartes de Visite', *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.105.

³⁸⁴ This was a publication issued in serial parts with three cartes de visite in each instalment, together with short biographical notes for each.

exhibition of graduates' work.³⁸⁵ This was followed in the nineteenth-century by the opening of public galleries that encouraged public perusal, understanding and appreciation of the finest examples of Western art: the first was opened at Dulwich in 1817, the National Gallery opened in 1824, and the National Portrait Gallery in 1856. Artworks that had been a preserve of the aristocracy were now on public view, and exhibitions such as the 1857 Manchester Arts Exhibition boosted interest and attracted large numbers of visitors. However the mass-production of imagery especially encouraged public participation. Prints could now provide an affordable copy of an original artwork, and a large market demand emerged. As the late-nineteenth-century biographer Joseph Pennell noted, the market became an essential part of the modern art world.³⁸⁶ Artists could now secure contract with publishers if their work was commercially popular, and they became caught up in a complex network of dealers, publishers, and engravers. Such businesses were keen to sell their work, but the artists had to please the consumer. To sustain their livelihood they now had to establish themselves in terms of their output, but in the era of mass media reportage, insights into their own personalities and character boosted their renown and increased interest.³⁸⁷ Publicity and public popularity was the key to success, and interest was there to be had. Royal Academy exhibitions were crowded and the latest paintings were eagerly awaited. Art was, *The Illustrated London News* noted, the subject of conversation in polite society during

³⁸⁵ The painter William Collins said that 'If it were not for the Academy, depend upon it, artists would be treated like carpenters.' Jeremy Maas, *The Victorian Art World in Photographs* (New York, 1984), pp.19.

³⁸⁶ Joseph Pennell, 'Art in the Victorian Age', *Sixty Years of Empire* (London, 1897), pp.216.

³⁸⁷ Jeremy Maas describes Frith and Holman Hunt as 'superb publicists', and says that they themselves encouraged press reports on their work in the national press. Jeremy Maas, *The Victorian Art World in Photographs* (New York, 1984), pp.11.

the annual exhibitions³⁸⁸ and Frith, in his memoirs, recalls the opening day of the exhibition in which his 'Derby Day' was exhibited. He describes the scene, saying that:

'never was such a crowd seen around a picture. The secretary obliged to get a policeman to keep people off. He is to be there from eight in the morning. On May 7th 'Knight tells me a rail is to be put round my picture. Hooray!'³⁸⁹

Market attention and popularity secured sales, indeed on occasions it would appear that market approval was prized over artistic excellence. *The Illustrated London News* noted in 1867 'how little public appreciation' was now dependent on 'Academic distinction'.³⁹⁰ Indeed *The Graphic* highlighted that Frith never believed that he would be a 'great' artist, but that he was happy to claim that he was a 'very successful' one³⁹¹ - and the carte de visite portrait was a valuable method of underscoring an artist's identity and public standing to a wide audience.

Commercial appeal was key to success, as a *Vanity Fair* cartoon-print of William Frith dated 1873 highlights. It presents the artist at work in front of his easel – but it is his painting that had attracted the most popularity and publicity that is featured – and underlined on in the print's title, called: "The Derby-Day" (illustrated in **Fig.141-**

³⁸⁸ 'Portraits of Eminent Living painters', *The Illustrated London News*, 10 May 1845, pp.291.

³⁸⁹ Ed. Neville Wallis, *A Victorian Canvas The Memoirs of W.P. Frith, R.A.* (London, 1957), pp.93.

³⁹⁰ 'The Newly-Elected Royal Academicians', *The Illustrated London News*, 6 July 1867, pp.5-6.

³⁹¹ 'An Interview with Mr. W.P. Frith, R.A., C.V.O.' *The Graphic*, 18 January 1908, pp.74.

XA13).³⁹² This illustrates how the celebrity 'image' was increasingly becoming entwined with commercial interests. Here *Vanity Fair* have drawn on Frith's most widely recognised artwork to increase interest in their print of the artist.

Many cartes de visite, however retain an emphasis on exemplary character for their target collector. For example, **Figs.142-521** and **143-522** illustrate two cartes, of Daniel Maclise and Sidney Cooper, and they appear first and foremost as professional 'gentlemen'. They are upright in deportment but with unassuming poses. Maclise is accompanied by a top hat and walking stick, and Cooper has a crayon in his hand. They are both placed beside easels which locates the occupational sphere of their exemplarity, but also highlights them as professional 'workers' rather than inspirationally-inspired 'geniuses'.

The two portraits in **Figs.144-801(A)** and **145** present the Victorian artist associated with another middle-class virtue, that of classical knowledge. Here William Dyce and John Millais are associated with the classical tradition revered in Victorian society as both have been positioned alongside prominently-shown classical statuettes. The carte de visite in **Fig.146**, however, almost replicates the picture of Millais's profile pose, but presents his head as an enlarged feature filling the picture space. This now encourages an insight into his own individual persona and soul, with each facial feature and expression clearly evident for a deeper character study: but it also exerts a stronger alignment with cultural adherence, as the profile pose, now emphasised, was one commonly adopted in antiquity.

The cartes de visite that presented artists upholding the middle-class mores of their market were issued in great numbers, however there is a slight indication of an

³⁹² Frith's long and arduous endeavours were noted in *The Graphic* when it described his 'fifteen months of incessant labour' to get *Derby Day* 'off the easel'. Ibid., pp.74.

unusual and outstanding visual appearance emerging in some portraits, and this is especially seen in one artist who was involved in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, William Holman Hunt. Daniel Gabriel Rossetti, John Everett Millais and William Holman Hunt had caused controversy when pioneering a new form of art that claimed to return to pre-Renaissance styles. The late nineteenth-century biographer Joseph Pennell highlighted the pre-Raphaelites' 'agitation' against the existing artistic style. Much shock and criticism emerged, especially as a vivid realism and modernity was now being applied to Christian subjects - indeed Pennell said that the pre-Raphaelites had waged 'war against the petty, vulgar, pretentious standards of the day'.³⁹³ John Millais, however, moved away from the Movement's more radical approach and aligned himself with the mainstream artistic style of the period, while Holman Hunt remained true to his original views. The contrast in the styles of self-representation between these different artistic approaches has been discussed by Jeremy Maas. He notes the uniform appearance of most Victorian artists - in their 'clean, well-cut, even fashionable clothes' looking 'scarcely any different from clerics' - and he cites John Millais's own observations on artists who chose a different self-styling, describing an 'affectation of the long-haired and velvet-coated tribe, whose exterior is commonly more noticeable than their Art'. Millais added that he could 'see no reason that, because a man happens to get his living by using palette and brushes, he need make himself look like a Guy Fawkes'.³⁹⁴ Pennell himself highlighted a divide in approach between those aligning themselves with the mainstream middle-class market, and others interested in pushing the boundaries of

³⁹³ Joseph Pennell, 'Art in the Victorian Age', *Sixty Years of Empire* (London, 1897), pp.224.

³⁹⁴ Jeremy Maas, *The Victorian Art World in Photographs* (New York, 1984), pp.12-13.

creativity, and identifying themselves as a new creative force,³⁹⁵ however in carte de visite presentation there is only a very subtle exertion of 'difference' and rebellion from the norm. **Figs.147-417** and **148** for example show two cartes de visite of William Holman Hunt, and here he appears as the stereotypical English 'gentleman' in his smart attire (with dark top coat but lighter trousers). He stands with top hat in hand in the first image, and looks through various artworks positioned on a side-table in the second. A very long beard however (extending down to the level of his shoulders) catches the eye in both these images, and is in complete contrast to the clean-shaven Victorian professional artist in the previous examples. This lifts him out of the standardised artist's appearance, and exerts a 'difference' to his portrait image. It is a visual element that stood out from the mainstream, and matched his challenge to the art-world establishment, and it coincided with his more rebellious and independent artistic approach.³⁹⁶

b) Literary Men

A similar pattern is found in the cartes of literary men of the mid-nineteenth-century, where a conventional gentlemanly appearance is gradually joined by an exertion of independence and difference. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the nineteenth-century was a 'transformative' period in the literary world, with mass-production and widened middle-class opportunities replacing the earlier dependency upon aristocratic patronage. As in the case of the artist, success increasingly depended upon the market popularity of a piece of work - and the prominent renown of its author would assist in attracting not only public attention but that of publishers.

³⁹⁵ Joseph Pennell, *Op. Cit.*, pp.224.

³⁹⁶ This suggests a significant liaison between sitter and photographer when deciding on the image to circulate.

Schweizer notes that it was *Dombey and Son* that achieved both 'international fame' and financial security for Dickens.³⁹⁷

Writers were embroiled in the capitalist boom of the Victorian era, and self-publicity contributed to their success, but Fitzsimons identifies an important division in the literary profession – between those who recorded factual information (for example journalists, historians and biographers) and those who drew upon personal creativity and imagination. Indeed the schism was noted by *The Illustrated News of the World Portrait Gallery* in 1859 when it stressed that Dickens's dramatic work was vastly different from that of a 'biographer'.³⁹⁸ Fitzsimons notes a different style of self-presentation that coincided with each strand of literary output.³⁹⁹ He says that historians and journalists preferred anonymity, and expressed themselves with 'gentlemanly' dignity, whilst those who depended upon inspiration (like Dickens) cultivated a 'Bohemian' style, defining themselves against what they saw as the standardised unimaginative writer. They preferred longer hair and brightly-coloured clothes.⁴⁰⁰ One contemporary observer, the late-nineteenth-century biographer

³⁹⁷ Florian Schweizer, 'Authorship and the Professional Writer', Eds. Sally Ledger and Holly Furneaux, *Charles Dickens in Context* (Cambridge, 2011) pp.117-19. The author's popularity (and book-sales) was expanded by Dickens' public readings which drew enormous crowds. Fitzsimons describes two thousand people attending just one performance of 'A Christmas Carol' at St. Martin's Hall in London. Fitzsimons also notes that further readings of this book (and 'The Frozen Deep') returned two thousand pounds. Raymond Fitzsimons, *The Baron of Piccadilly*, (London, 1967), pp.146. Juliet John says that *Bleak House* made Dickens £11,000 profit after agents, publishers, printers and the government had taken their share. Juliet John *Dickens and Mass Culture*, (Oxford, 2010), pp.12.

³⁹⁸ 'Charles Dickens, Esq.', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* (London, 1859).

³⁹⁹ Raymond Fitzsimons, Op. Cit., pp.48-9 & 158. Norma Clarke, 'Strenuous Idleness', Eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh, *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London and New York, 1991), pp.29.

⁴⁰⁰ Raymond Fitzsimons, Op. Cit., pp. 23 & 47.

Lionel Johnson, re-iterated this view. He said of the historian Lord Maclaulay that his 'glitter' was 'not a glory', and indeed underlined historians' and biographers' conformity and lack of any desire to stand out from the crowd for anything other than their writing: indeed being 'untroubled by any stress of the spirit'.⁴⁰¹

In carte de visite portraits, historians, academics and biographers are generally shown in the stereotypical pattern denoting the middle-class Victorian 'professional' man. For example, in the four cartes in **Figs.149-529, 150-528, 151-524 and 152-525** (of professors Seeley and Malden, and of historians Lord Macaulay and John Forster)⁴⁰² there is a conformity in smart dark attire, clean-shaven faces, short hair and erectly-held heads. Their intellectual public roles are underlined by books and papers placed around them, and all have intent expressions - and they appear as standardised examples of the middle-class Victorian professional male.

Representing writers of novels was more complex, as seen in the image of the popular novelist Thackeray. Thackeray is shown in a similar stereotypical style in his cartes. This is illustrated in the two portraits in **Figs.153-106 and 154-133** where, in the first, he stands in smart attire, is pristinely turned-out, and he has an upright pose with hands clasped at his waist. There is no arrogance in his stance but instead a humility is exerted in his pose and facial expression. In the second carte he sits at a side-table, again in gentlemanly attire and appearance and with a top hat at his side. He leans on the table with his left elbow, and his head rests gently on his hand. The pose locates him as a man of imaginative thought but it is exercised within dignified and reticent 'professional' working parameters. The focus

⁴⁰¹ Lionel Johnson, 'Victorian Literature', *Sixty Years of Empire* (London, 1897), pp.196 & 214.

⁴⁰² John Forster (1812-1876) was an English biographer.

of attention in Thackeray's portraits is on the writer as an upholder of middle-class mores, and this choice of self-presentation is perhaps explained by Fitzsimons when he claims that Thackeray was not 'happy in Bohemia'.⁴⁰³ Ernest Edwards seems to have viewed Thackeray in a similar light, when he described his career as 'that of a private gentleman' in 1863,⁴⁰⁴ and Edmund Yates concurs when saying that 'no one' meeting Thackeray could 'fail to recognise in him a gentleman; his bearing is cold and uninviting' with the appearance of a 'cool, suave, well-bred gentleman, who, whatever may be rankling within, suffers no surface display of his emotion'.⁴⁰⁵ Thackeray's portraits therefore reiterate his own view on adopting a 'professional' Victorian attitude to a public occupation and this forms the essence of his portraits' market value.

As discussed earlier, Fitzsimons described Dickens as a 'Bohemian-styled' literary man, and there is indeed slightly more individuality in his carte de visite presentation. In the two cartes in **Figs.155-799** and **156-798** for example he has a small, neat beard and light trousers. Florian Schweizer says that Dickens developed an 'instantly recognisable' image, as a 'dandified', slender and elegant figure with smooth oval face and dressed 'in swallow-tail coat with high velvet collar' with a frothy cravat 'crowned with brown hair artificially curled',⁴⁰⁶ and this is evident in the portraits to a certain extent - but there is also a strong overall conformity to an image of the 'gentleman' in Dickens's calm, dignified and unassuming pose. This is also

⁴⁰³ Raymond Fitzsimons, *Op. Cit.*, pp.49.

⁴⁰⁴ 'William Makepeace Thackeray', Ernest Edwards, *Portraits of Men of Eminence in Literature, Science, and Art, with Biographical Memoirs: The Photographs from Life, Volume 1* (London, 1863), pp.17.

⁴⁰⁵ Raymond Fitzsimons, *Op. Cit.*, pp.152-3.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.47.

seen in his perfect personal grooming and smart attire, and in the walking stick he has in his hand in the first picture, and in the book on his knee in the second – and also in the classical statue in both pictures underlining his cultural intellectual awareness. Schweizer also recognises a certain retention of gentlemanly conformity in Dickens's choice of self-presentation style, and this would suggest Dickens targeting as wide an appeal as possible, in catching market interest in the 'professional' writer as well as aligning himself with those admiring Dickens' own individual creative output.⁴⁰⁷

A unique appearance, however, is particularly evident in one creative writer's cartes de visite, those of the poet Alfred Lord Tennyson. In the two portraits in **Figs.157-295(A)** and **158-295**, for example, he appears with long wiry hair, a long and uncoiffured beard, a big wide-rimmed hat and a large overcoat. Here Tennyson appears to present a public image that was as dramatic as his poetry,⁴⁰⁸ and indeed Queen Victoria noted his unusual appearance in April 1862 when describing him as 'very peculiar looking, tall, dark, with a fine head, long black flowing hair and a beard, oddly dressed, but there is no affectation about him.'⁴⁰⁹ It is a very singular appearance, and it served to attract immediate attention to his persona, and this in

⁴⁰⁷ Florian Schweizer, 'Authorship and the Professional Writer', Ed. Sally Ledger and Holly Furneaux, *Charles Dickens in Context* (Cambridge, 2011), pp.122. This concerted effort to widen his appeal has also been noted by Jeremy Maas and Juliet John. Juliet John points out that Dickens devised various methods of marketing himself, for example in undertaking tours abroad, and giving lectures. Juliet John, *Dickens and Mass Culture* (Oxford, 2010). Jeremy Maas, *The Victorian Art World in Photographs* (New York, 1984), pp.12.

⁴⁰⁸ Tennyson forged a reputation for accentuated drama in his work. Lionel Johnson wrote of the 'awe' and 'thrills of anticipation' which were 'felt on every side of life and thought' on hearing Tennyson's work. Lionel Johnson, 'Victorian Literature', *Sixty Years of Empire* (London, 1897), pp.214.

⁴⁰⁹ www.queenvictoriasjournals.org quoted on www.alcunibooks.com

turn built added public recognition and attention – and indeed profited the professional photographer when selling his photographs in vying for attention in amongst a huge array displayed for sale in a shop window.⁴¹⁰ The second carte, however, provides a particularly intimate study of Tennyson's character. Here an insight into his own individual inner persona is offered in the head-and-shoulders pose. However his unusually-wide-brimmed hat and wiry facial hair fill the picture area, and this style of portrait now profits the photographer in accentuating 'difference' as Tennyson's commercial value as much as fulfilling a new method of studying the subject's character.

A shift towards individuality in creating celebrity renown is seen in these portraits, and the same trend is found in other spheres of arts-related cartes de visite. An instance is seen in the portrait of the explorer and showman Albert Smith in **Fig.159-974**, where he appears in mis-matched and creased attire, and stands in a rural scene.⁴¹¹ The emphasis here is on Smith's adventurous exploits in the open air, especially accentuated in the external setting of the photograph, and in the props of soft hat and large stick (used in treks across uneven terrain) that he holds in one hand, equalling his own height. *The Illustrated News of the World Portrait Gallery*

⁴¹⁰ Boyce, Finnerty and Millim argue that Tennyson's unusual appearance was fostered to increase a publicity which would attract advertisement possibilities and increase his income in the increasing commodity market, and they point out that his image was extensively used on such commodities as calendars and pill adverts. 'Introduction', Charlotte Boyce, Paraic Finnerty and Anne-Marie Millim, Eds. Charlotte Boyce, Paraic Finnerty and Anne-Marie Millim, *Victorian Celebrity Culture and Tennyson's Circle* (Basingstoke, 2013), pp.3-5.

⁴¹¹ Smith staged vivid recitals of his exploits on Mont Blanc which attracted huge crowds in London. He had performed the show four hundred and seventy-one times by the end of August 1853, with one hundred and ninety-three thousand, seven hundred and fifty four people attending. They paid a total of £17,000 to hear him. It was a story of modern life, but accented with excitement, tension and adventure. Raymond Fitzsimons, Op. Cit., pp.126.

said that Smith determinedly set out to construct a 'celebrity' for himself, being a 'well-known hater of conventionalities',⁴¹² and the unusual Bohemian appearance in such cartes as this illustrates photographers exploiting, and profiting from, the immediate and eye-catching recognition that such personalities were carving out for themselves.

An unusual self-presentation is also found in the portraits of the concert pianist Franz Liszt, and it is an image that matched Heinrich Heine's contemporary observation of him in 1841. Heine said that Liszt made concerted efforts to present himself as musically 'unique',⁴¹³ and indeed the present-day researcher, Dana Gooley, notes his self-fashioning as 'highly original' in its 'wild' and 'arrogant' style.⁴¹⁴ Oliver Hilmes claims that Liszt styled himself as a 'Romantic' genius when appearing as a slim figure with pallid features and shoulder-length hair, and giving his performances exclusively in black whilst continually pushing his hair back behind his ears as he played – and he says that this appearance became instantly recognisable as a 'hallmark'.⁴¹⁵ The cabinet card of Liszt in **Fig.160-1056** re-creates this immediately-identifiable image where his long white hair is seen in vivid contrast to his dark attire, and it is the celebrity's individual appearance that constitutes the portrait's main visual recognition, impact and collectable enticement.

⁴¹² 'Albert Smith, Esq.' *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery*, (London, 1859).

⁴¹³ Heinrich Heine, 'Heinrich Heine's Musical Feuilletons' of 1841, *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol.8, No.3 (July 1922), pp.447-457.

⁴¹⁴ Dana Gooley, 'From the Top', *Constructing Charisma*, Eds. Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi (New York & Oxford, 2010), pp.69-76. She says that Liszt did this to increase his box-office profits.

⁴¹⁵ Oliver Hilmes, *Franz Liszt* (New Haven & London, 2016), pp.x and pp.42.

c) Men of Science

A successful career in the arts and literary world increasingly depended upon attracting a wide public interest through individual and unique output, but the scientific world was different. Science emerged in the nineteenth century as a scholarly Victorian 'profession', and success was associated with intense study, experimentation, invention and inquiry, qualities highly admired in middle-class culture.⁴¹⁶ Science itself played a central role in mid-nineteenth-century society. Margaret Jacob argues that the new 'enlightened' Victorian male prided himself on being a 'man of science',⁴¹⁷ and indeed the late-nineteenth-century historian John T. Merz noted retrospectively that science might be considered the 'main characteristic'

⁴¹⁶ Samuel Smiles described men of science in this way in his chapter entitled 'Helps and Opportunities – Scientific Pursuits'. Samuel Smiles, *Self Help* (London, 1859), pp.118-153. Science changed from an upper-class hobby into a respectable Victorian profession in the nineteenth-century, and offered those from diverse backgrounds great opportunities to progress. For example the leading scientist William Whewell's father was a carpenter, Brewster's father was a clergyman and Richard Owen's father was a merchant. *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* particularly stressed a rise in occupational status, for example it noted of Michael Faraday that his father was a 'working smith' and that whilst only receiving an 'ordinary' education, Faraday had, through 'patient' and 'profound' study and 'earnest' exertions, achieved high scientific accolades. Indeed the publication described his awards of honorary doctorate from Oxford, the Prussian Order of Merit, and (from Paris) the appointment of Commander of the Legion. Professor Faraday, D.C.I., F.R.S.', *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1859). Fichman points out that those progressing to the top of their field were awarded the status of 'experts', and were often called on to contribute to debates and discussions at the highest level. Martin Fichman, *Evolutionary Theory and Victorian Culture* (New York, 2002), pp.66-67. The British Association for the Advancement of Science was established in 1831, a Natural Science Honours School begun at Oxford in 1850, and science degrees offered at the University of London in 1860. Ludmilla Jordanova, *Defining Features* (London, 2000), pp.7. William Whewell established the term 'scientist', giving it greater occupational identity and legitimacy. Richard Yeo, *Defining Science* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.15 & 24, and Ludmilla Jordanova, *Defining Features* (London, 2000), pp.104.

⁴¹⁷ Margaret Jacob, *The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Revolution* (New York, 1988), pp. 145.

of the Victorian age,⁴¹⁸ and there was consequently interest in – and portrait demand for - those leading scientific investigation and expanding knowledge.

Cartes de visite of scientists commonly retain the standardised pattern used to denote the ‘professional’ middle-class worker, with the emphasis placed on subjects as gentlemen of character and learning. For example the carte in **Fig.162-102** shows Michael Faraday, and he appears in the dark smart attire and has neatly groomed hair and a clean-shaven face. He carries a book in his left hand and has a dignified but unassuming upright pose. Faraday as a man of character and learning is the key message of the construction, and learning and expertise is especially highlighted in the carte of Sir David Brewster in **Fig.163-715**, where he stands next to a huge bookcase full of books, and leans in towards them. A similar slant on the gentleman of learning is conveyed in the image in **Fig.164-534** where William

⁴¹⁸ Barbara Gates has described a ‘popularising’ of science in the mid-century. Barbara Gates, ‘Ordering Nature: Revisioning Victorian Science Culture’, Ed. Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Science in Context* (Chicago and London, 1997), pp.183-190 and Martin Fichman, *Op. Cit.*, pp.43-4. Margaret Jacob, *The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Revolution* (New York, 1988), pp.151. Richard Yeo, *Defining Science* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.28. Dale describes a new empirical ‘religion of science’ defining the new era against an earlier ‘Romanticism’. Peter Allan Dale, *In Pursuit of a Scientific Culture* (London, 1989), pp.7. An interest in science filtered through middle-class society, and difficult theories were made accessible to a wide public in books, magazines and in classes. Such scientific interest sat comfortably with the religious framework of middle-class society as it was seen as revealing God’s ‘truth’ in the details of the natural world. Joan Richards says that science took a central place in Victorian life as a way of understanding God’s creation. Joan Richards, ‘The Probable and the Possible in Early Victorian England’, Ed. Bernard Lightman, *Victorian Science in Context* (Chicago and London, 1997), pp.59-66, and Dale has argued for a ‘scientific morality’ in gaining an understanding of God through the study of science. Peter Allan Dale, *Op. Cit.*, pp.20. David de Giustino also says that scientists believed that the discoveries of science were compatible with man’s true religious needs, respecting the Divine Plan as it was expressed in the laws of Nature. David de Giustino, *Conquest of Mind* (London, 1975), pp.104. Books and lectures also provided opportunities for women to participate, indicating a widened market for carte de visite interest in scientific subjects. This is seen in the advert illustrated in **Fig.161-XA78** from the City of London Literary and Scientific Institution where lectures were advertised on such topics as Chemical Philosophy, Optics, and the Study of Phrenology. City of London Literary and Scientific Institution card-advert dated 1 July 1836.

Whewell stands beside a desk on which a pile of books appears, and he leans down heavily with his left hand placed on top. In these last two images the subjects adopt a contrapposto stance, and both look directly at the viewer. They thus impart a sense of energy and pioneering spirit in their activity of widening scientific understanding. These images use visual language to present scientific exemplars in various recognizable aspects of character (of a serious gentlemanly endeavour, undertaken with great verve, and grounded in intellectual study), but the carte of Dr. Richard Owen in **Fig.165-535** emphasises the scientist as a scholar in his flamboyant university robes, holding a scroll in his left hand. Self-puffery is not seen in these constructions, there is instead an accent on humility and dedication to a chosen career. Prescott has pointed out that self-puffery was severely discouraged in the scientific and medical professions, as attention-seeking was deemed incompatible with a 'learned' occupation.⁴¹⁹ A humility is performed in the cartes discussed, and in a manner reflected in contemporary newspaper and biographical reports. *The Illustrated News of the World* highlighted Faraday's humility, saying that although he was 'one of the greatest scientists this country has ever produced', he had a 'lowly estimate of himself', his aims being driven by a 'lofty and solemn estimate of his own vocation as an unfolder of the works of God'. The biography went on to describe him as 'plain Michael Faraday' and, it was proposed, this humble attitude was indeed the reason that 'our great Electrician' was so loved and honoured.⁴²⁰

Core middle-class values therefore constituted market interest in the mid-Victorian

⁴¹⁹ Gertrude Mae Prescott, *Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900*, PhD Thesis (University of Texas at Austin, 1985), pp.128-30.

⁴²⁰ 'Professor Faraday, D.C.I., F.R.S.', *Illustrated News of the World Drawing-Room Portrait Gallery* (London, 1859).

scientist, however there is one whose cartes de visite reveal more individuality in their construction, those of Charles Darwin. For example the two portraits (one carte de visite and one cabinet card) in **Figs.166** and **167** accentuate his more unusual personal grooming, where his very long white beard is seen highlighted (in a lighter sepia shade) against his dark jacket. Difference to the stereotype is conveyed in attire and facial hair, with a complete change presented from the clean-shaven scientists in smart dark day-coats discussed above. In the second image Darwin's light-coloured face and white beard are shown in sharp contrast below a dark hat with wide brim, and above a very large dark cape with black collar, which is wrapped around the scientist's body. The beard's rather unkempt appearance (unevenly trimmed around the edges) is also evident, as are his bushy eyebrows and longer hair behind his ears. It is a 'trademark' style that is instantly recognisable and, as Janet Browne argues, an out-of-the-ordinary visual appearance that immediately associated Darwin with his theories of evolution.⁴²¹ The link was commonly constructed in the contemporary media. For example Darwin's broad, deep brow, bushy eyebrows and beard have been drawn in the two newspaper cartoons illustrated in **Figs.168-XA85** and **169-XA86**,⁴²² but with Darwin appearing as an ape hanging from a tree, and sitting in a garden with various forms of nature.⁴²³ Darwin's unusual appearance came to represent his individual 'celebrity' renown in the public

⁴²¹ 'Charles Darwin as a Celebrity', Janet Browne, *Science in Context*, Volume 16, Issue 1-2, March 2003, pp.175-194. The theories in his *Origin of Species* of 1859 and the *Descent of Man* of 1871 caused great controversy.

⁴²² Leo Braudy says that caricatures focused on the visual essence of a celebrity. Leo Braudy, 'Secular Anointings', *Constructing Charisma*, Eds. Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi (New York and Oxford, 2010), pp.176.

⁴²³ This is a front page illustration in *La Petite Lune* published in Paris (date unclear) taking up the whole area with the picture. This was published in France but others were published in the English press.

view,⁴²⁴ thus helping to boost collectable worth for the photographer's visual images of Darwin.

Celebrity Cartes in Widening Topics

This discussion has shown how character was overlain with individuality in celebrity portraits. Outstanding men who increased the nation's cultural and intellectual wealth were presented visually as 'different' to the stereotyped patterns denoting social ideals, and a focus on certain individual personalities was particularly effected through the increasing number of press publications. Newspapers circulated information on people involved in latest news-worthy events, and built interest that generated a wider topic-range for the professional photographer. Increasingly those involved in scandal and mystery constituted portrait worth alongside the exemplary men representing the constitutional and cultural wealth of Britain. As Deborah Poole points out, a society's visual expression reflects a particular society's outlook at a particular moment in time, and the shift in celebrity portrait appeal from character to notoriety found in the later nineteenth-century reflects a growing public interest and participation in current events. Press reports catapulted certain people into the public eye,⁴²⁵ often with only a short-lived public recognition, however even such fleeting interest expanded the market for celebrity photographs.

⁴²⁴ Janet Browne argues that 'difference' was deliberately (but subtly) 'manufactured' by Darwin himself. Browne says that Darwin did not retire from publicity, but organized it carefully to avoid entering into open dispute, choosing to appear as an 'impartial' figure, distancing himself from controversy. Janet Browne, *Op. Cit.*, pp.178-9.

⁴²⁵ A huge audience was addressed in press publication. There were morning and evening editions of the leading daily newspapers, as well as weekly and monthly periodicals, and in 1853 *The Illustrated London News's* circulation was said to be 100,000 copies. 'Saunterings in and about London', Max Schlesinger, 1853
www.victorianlondon.org/publications/newsinlondon.

An example is illustrated in the carte de visite of Captain Knowles in **Fig.170-464**.

This shows Captain Knowles who had not been widely known until his ship was struck by a Spanish steamer late one night with the loss of over three hundred lives, including Knowles. Newspapers reported the event, and the seaman suddenly rose in public notoriety. *The Illustrated London News* reported on the outstanding actions of a Knowles in 1873 described how Knowles had strenuously tried to save the people on board, and had sacrificed his own life in the process⁴²⁶ - and a large picture of him was published alongside the report (shown in **Fig.171-XA83**).⁴²⁷ The studio has added working to the mount of the almost identical carte de visite that accentuates Knowles's worth. This reads: 'Captain Knowles, Lost in the Northfleet off Dungeness, Jan. 22, 1873', and demonstrates that photographers were keen to use events to sell images.

Another example of sensational event used by photographers for sales is illustrated in the portrait of Henry Morton Stanley in **Fig.172-443**. Stanley was the journalist who went to Africa to find the missionary and explorer Dr. Livingstone when he was apparently lost in the wilds of Africa. There was a huge amount of press coverage on the activities of Livingstone and his disappearance, and of Stanley's attempts to find him, with constantly-updated reports published to build suspense and maintain readers' interest. The carte de visite reproduces the suspense. There is an anxiety in Stanley's pose which corresponds to the excitement of press reports. The

⁴²⁶ The article emphasised the chivalrous character of Knowles when it described him threatening to shoot the 'first man who attempted to save himself in the boats before the women'. 'The Great Disaster in the Channel', *Illustrated London News*, 1 February 1873, pp.109-10.

⁴²⁷ It was a picture taken before Knowles became famous, possibly a family photograph taken locally and used by the press and the London Stereoscopic Co. on the event of his death.

journalist crouches down slightly and looks intently and furtively into the distance as if ready for action. Attire indicates the fierce terrain Stanley had to navigate. He wears large boots and a hard hat, and he holds a rifle in front of him as if ready to defend himself. He is shown with foliage at his feet underlining his alien environment, and there is a small African boy at his side in native sarong which reiterates his foreign location. This is a dramatic presentation of Henry Stanley's endeavours, but printed wording under the image subtly exerts a degree of middle-class exemplarity too. It reads: 'Mr. Stanley, in the dress he wore when he met Livingstone in Africa'. Although accenting the exciting event - the very moment of discovery - the text also highlights Stanley's perseverance, and the character that secured Livingstone's rescue.

A more direct link between carte de visite output and press publicity is illustrated in the carte de visite in **Fig.173-455** of King Theodore of Abyssinia. Theodore had asked Britain for military support in uniting Abyssinia. However, not happy with the help offered, he took a number of Britons hostage in 1868. Robert Napier was sent out from India to rescue them at Magdala, and the British overcame Theodore's army, with Theodore committing suicide. *The Illustrated London News* published a large half-page artist's impression (shown in **Fig.174-XA84**) of the violent end to the King's life. This is a picture of the dead Theodore lying flat on his back, with up-turned face and clearly-visible features. He is shown to be surrounded by soldiers with guns in their hands, and a title to the illustration has underlined the drama of his demise, reading: 'King Theodore, as he lay dead at Magdala'. The carte of Theodore appears identical to the newspaper illustration, but for the photograph's market the photographer has accentuated the individuality of Theodore by vignetting his head. This throws emphasis onto the Theodore's facial features, and spotlights

his character rather than the event. However he has also promoted his photographic medium by adding text that states that this is: 'THEODORE Taken at Magdala ¼ of an hour after his death'. The word 'taken' confirms a view of the 'real' person, while the time-line offers a glimpse of his soul just fifteen minutes after death. To underline this photographic advantage the studio has also added a quote from the *Times* which states that this was indeed an "admirable likeness" of the Abyssinian king – and a hand-written annotation added to the carte by its collector confirms the image's reception in terms of its realism, reading: 'Theodore taken a quarter of an hour after death'. The studio has thus focussed on the individual character of the despot and a 'real' insight for its own portrait market, in contrast to the newspaper's emphasis on the brutal and dramatic event of his death to sell their latest editions.

Sensational events taking place in the world provided a rich source of portrait interest for professional photographers, but there was another strand of public attention, again energetically pursued by newspaper coverage, that provided valuable material for the commercial photographer, that of mystery and intrigue. Press publications provided extensive coverage of those involved in crime and deception, of men and women who had appeared in public as upstanding members of society, but who had been traced, caught and tried for their malicious intentions. Photographers, however, chose to retain the subjects' contrived air of 'respectability', and two examples are illustrated in **Figs.175-321** and **176-320**.

They are men who had been sentenced to death for murder in the 1860s, Franz Muller and Dr. Pritchard. Muller had been found guilty of committing the first murder on a train after robbing a man and throwing his body out of the carriage. He was pursued to America and arrested in New York, and was hanged in 1864 - and Dr.

Pritchard received the death-penalty for poisoning his mother-in-law and wife in 1865. The men are, however, seen as exemplary Victorian 'gentlemen' in their portraits.⁴²⁸ They are well-groomed, dressed in smart attire, and adopt an upright deportment. Muller stands in dignified and humble stance against a domestic background, and with his hand resting gently on the back of a dining chair in gentlemanly manner, and Pritchard is seated beside a small table with crossed legs, and he has a top hat beside him. The photographs were probably re-issued at the time of their trials from earlier personal sittings in this exemplary 'gentlemanly' style, with nothing included in the form of textual annotations or artwork to identify their unfolding notoriety, or to convey sensation. There is no sight of a policeman or even of a train here,⁴²⁹ and Pritchard has been awarded his professional status of 'Dr.' below his image. They appear as what Philip Allingham has termed 'gentleman-villains',⁴³⁰ as men presenting themselves as upholding middle-class social values whilst hiding their underlying deceitful character. This adds to the sensation. The style of presentation could have been adopted to meet a market interest in examining a defect of 'character', where some people fostered a respectable public aura to hide an underlying malicious intent. Philip Allingham argues that such study was popular in the mid-nineteenth-century, with many people keen to understand the frailties of the human mind. Indeed Charles Dickens refers to this kind of character-exploration in relation to the murder, trial, and execution of William Palmer

⁴²⁸ These portraits were probably retrieved from family albums before arrest and trial as they are not images taken of the subjects whilst under arrest or in prison.

⁴²⁹ Artwork with such references could have been added to the negative.

⁴³⁰ Philip V. Allingham, 'Dickens's "Hunted Down" (1859): A First-Person Narrative of Poisoning and Life-Insurance Fraud Influenced by Wilkie Collins', *Victorian Web*, Faculty of Education, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario.

in 1856.⁴³¹ He noted that 'the greatest villain that ever stood in the Old Bailey dock' had appeared to be so admirably behaved that it was 'difficult to reconcile' him with his guilt. However Dickens considered that it was Palmer's character – in his control of mind and intellect - which enabled such a crime to be committed. Palmer was no mindless thug, Dickens suggested, but one whose cerebral ability enabled him to plan his crime, his defence and his aspiration of acquittal. Dickens argued that the criminal's physiognomy signalled his underlying character. He said that it was 'exactly in accordance with his deeds', and that in fact his demeanour was 'the natural companion' of his crime⁴³² - and the reality of cartes de visite provided an ideal way of examining devious and evil intent against outward respectability. A further reason for collection is suggested by the layout of an album page illustrated in **Fig.177-XA18**. Here a collector has pasted two carte-sized photographs of Pritchard and Muller alongside columns of newspaper reports on their trials and execution.⁴³³ The cuttings contain the most vivid and detailed accounts of the capture and hangings of the two murderers, and the collector has used the photographs as an illustration of the stories. But there is a particular slant to his or her view, as the printed word 'EXECUTION' in large letters has been prominently positioned below each photographic image. It is the discovery and moral punishment of the true character of these men that is suggested as portrait value for this collector. The founder of *Vanity Fair*, Jehu Junior, claimed that British

⁴³¹ This related to William Palmer who was hanged on 14th June 1856 for the murder of John Cook, and he was also suspected of murdering several members of his family.

⁴³² Charles Dickens, 'The demeanour of Murderers', *Household Worlds*, 14 June 1856, pp.325.

⁴³³ Again they appear as perfect Victorian gentleman, both dressed in smart suits and perfectly groomed. They sit beside side-tables and have upright deportment and are accompanied by props of walking sticks and books.

law was seen by the middle-classes as one of the 'finest institutions of western society' in its fair, impartial and moral execution of justice⁴³⁴ and this album page, in its recording of punishment for the deception of 'character', appears to re-iterate Jehu's contemporary viewpoint as its collectable portrait worth.

Personal annotations added to the two cartes in **Figs.178-465** and **179-466** indicate a similar pattern. They are images of Madame Rachel and Mrs. Borrodaile who had been involved in a bitter legal dispute when Madame Rachel was accused of luring Mrs. Borrodaile to part with a large amount of money. Rachel had told Borrodaile that a Lord Ranelagh had seen her at Madame Rachel's beauty parlour and was so smitten that he wished to marry her – if she continued to spend money at the parlour. A close personal interest in the case is revealed on these cartes through added hand-written annotations, the words 'Plaintiff Mrs. Borrodaile' and 'Defendant Madame Rachel' appearing just above and below their pictures, together with the background setting of their renown, described as the 'notorious swindling case'. But more wording identifies punishment of deceit as the over-riding message (and collectable value) of the cartes here, with 'imprisoned in Newgate' added below the image of Madame Rachel. Thus it is again the execution of British justice that has formed the cartes' collectable appeal in this case.

As discussed here, press publications engaged public interest and provided commercial photographers with diverse topics for their celebrity portraits. It has been shown that the images could be received in various ways, and there is one particular event which engaged a huge amount of interest in the late-nineteenth-century that illustrates this well. It is the Tichborne case and its two trials which took

⁴³⁴ Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini, *In 'Vanity Fair'* (London, 2000), pp.109.

place in the 1870s. Controversy centred around a Mr. Orton from Australia who claimed to be the lost heir to a huge fortune, Roger Tichborne.⁴³⁵ It was widely believed that Tichborne had been drowned at sea in 1855, but Orton claimed that he, as Tichborne, had survived, and was now returning to regain his position and wealth. Roger Tichborne's mother supported the claim of Orton, hoping that her son was indeed still alive, but Henry Tichborne, the next in line to the fortune (and who would consequently be deprived of his inheritance), disputed it. The first legal proceedings lasted between May 1871 and March 1872, eventually ruling that Orton was guilty of deception, but there was considerable doubt as to the decision, and a further trial took place between April 1873 and February 1874, with Orton finally proclaimed guilty and sentenced to jail.

As in the case of Livingstone and Stanley, mystery, speculation and suspense were built up in constantly-updated press reports on the twists and turns of the case (often accompanied by large front-page pictures). A wide public attention was engaged, and indeed the case became a central topic of conversation.⁴³⁶ The length of the dispute, and the focus placed on the main protagonists in the press, generated an on-going 'saga' with newspapers highlighting events as they unfolded. This provided a good source of interest for the professional photographer's collectable images, and many studios capitalised on a divided public opinion as to Orton's guilt or innocence by building uncertainty. For example Roger Tichborne is described as

⁴³⁵ Rohan McWilliam, *The Tichborne Claimant* (London, 2007).

⁴³⁶ William Frith mentions the case in his memoirs, recording one occasion when he engaged in a conversation with someone who knew Orton, and who was convinced of his claim. Frith had also been approached to paint a scene from the trial to raise funds for Orton's defence. *The Memoirs of W.P. Frith, R.A. A Victorian Canvas*, Ed. Neville Wallis (London, 1957), pp.132-34.

'alleged' to have been lost in the "Bella" in text added to his carte in **Fig.180-471**, while the boy is similarly identified as the 'alleged' rightful heir in **Fig.181-470**.

The pattern catered for both views of Orton while capitalising on an air of suspense and mystery generated by the press, however there is also an underlying reference to the 'character' of the British judicial system in some constructions. An example is illustrated in the carte in **Fig.182-469** where the cut-and-paste technique has been used to place small photographic faces of the members of the jury of the first trial within an artwork setting, but the style of presentation asserts a legal judgement undertaken by men of high moral calibre.⁴³⁷ The twelve jurymen sit in unison, and they appear as 'gentlemen'. They all wear the smart, dark attire, and adopt the fastidious personal grooming, that symbolised gentlemanly qualities of honesty, service and sincerity – and indeed they are clearly described as the 'Gentlemen' of the Tichborne Jury on the carte. A respectable social status for the men is also underlined in the key printed on the back of the carte where each is identified with his title, such as 'Captain' and 'Hon.', and the outstanding award of V.C. is noted for Col. Arkman. A second carte de visite (in **Fig.183-805**) presents the jury of the second trial, and it continues the theme of a noble search for truth, but here the execution of justice under great difficulty is implied. There is disarray in pose, and the earlier uniform arrangement of order has been replaced by books and papers tossed around the picture space. Heads have been twisted in different directions, and gazes are absorbed in reading open books and other literature. A frantic (and

⁴³⁷ Rohan McWilliams argues that many people regarded the case as a test of the British rule of law. Rohan McWilliams, *Op. Cit.*, pp.145-49 & 251.

noble) search for truth is now presented in the composition⁴³⁸ - and in this carte, public participation has been especially encouraged by the studio printing the start date of the trial on the backplate (as April 23, 1873), but also leaving a blank space for the collector to fill in the end-date of the trial him- or herself.

Impartiality was fostered in portrait presentation, illustrated in these examples either through uncertainty or through the morality of British justice, and this is further illustrated in the portrait in **Fig.184-805(A)**. This is an artwork figure of a very old juror who is still trying to find the answer to Orton's claim fifty-nine years later. He appears with a long white beard which stretches down to his knees, and he has an ear-trumpet to aid his failing hearing, but he is still striving to secure a final solution with piles and piles of papers behind him dating from 1871 to 1930. The title describes the scene as 'The Last Man on the Tichborne Jury', and the style of carte de visite expands sales through a light-hearted overview of the case – but at the same time accentuating an endless tussle, persistence and determination to find the truth. Thus sensation, character-study and middle-class ideology have been joined by satire in collectable value, as ways of exploiting this very public 'event' to secure volumetric sales.

Another satirical composition is illustrated in **Fig.185-655**,⁴³⁹ where the two figures of Orton and the young boy appear as boxers in a ring, backed by their respective lawyers. The title to the picture reads: 'The Great Fight for £40,000 a Year between "Little Touchbone" the Hampshire Infant and Stoney-Hurst, the Great Australian Slogger', but there is a more defined opinion exerted as to guilt or innocence on the

⁴³⁸ Actual small photographic portraits have been added to artwork showing the court setting in both images.

⁴³⁹ Small photographic images of the main characters have been added to the artwork.

carte. Doubt is thrown onto the valid claim of the Claimant as Orton is referred to as a 'Slogger' which adds a detrimental tone, while a more favourable slant towards 'Little' Tichborne is conveyed, with both text and picture emphasising him as a child taking on the huge figure of Orton. Correct English is used for the boy's lawyer, whereas Orton's representative says 'Keep Cool whatever you do, youre in Bute-e-ful form'. The word 'form' infers a performance being orchestrated by Orton, 'bute-e-ful' suggests an uneducated legal representation, and the insistence that he keeps his 'cool' conveys the idea that Orton might resort to ungentlemanly behaviour when under duress. Thus Orton has been cast as an uneducated bully, lacking middle-class 'gentlemanly' attributes. Rohan McWilliam argues that working-class support emerged for the claimant, as Orton was seen to suffer similar difficulties in challenging the establishment. He points out that there was a suggestion of a 'cover-up' in favour of the prosecution, and this portrait appears to be siding with a middle-class view of the case, the photographer targeting a particular market's social outlook and values for his output – but at the same time 'legitimising' the stance in satire.⁴⁴⁰ Photographers profited from wide-spread news on latest developments, and the portrait of Orton in **Fig.186-470(A)** shows the London Stereoscopic Co. capitalising on the immediacy provided by mass communication. Here the studio has described his image as a 'New' portrait of the claimant, and the wording increases portrait interest as an up-to-the-minute insight into Orton's demeanour, and expands sales.⁴⁴¹

Images were issued to meet press-generated interest and participation in current events. However a particular boost to achieving turnover lay in public figures who

⁴⁴⁰ Rohan McWilliam, Op. Cit., pp.49-52.

⁴⁴¹ No doubt to be replaced with the next 'new' rendition as soon as possible.

developed a unique claim to notoriety. Such image was again spread through mass-produced publications, and resulted in instant recognition and interest. An example is illustrated in the case of the medical practitioner Sequah. Sequah was a self-styled dentist and 'healer' who set up the Sequah Medicine Company in the late 1880s specialising in natural remedies which, he claimed, had originated as native American recipes. He sold them by staging elaborate performances at travelling shows,⁴⁴² and huge crowds were attracted to fairground-style performances with bras bands in which Sequah and his team dressed themselves in Wild West clothes. His performances were staged on top of a 'colossal, golden horse-drawn carriage', the climax of the shows being the extractions of spectators' teeth.⁴⁴³ Sequah's unusual style of self-presentation drew attention to himself and built valuable publicity for the professional photographer's product, and this is seen his individual appearance in the carte de visite in **Fig.187-718(B)**. Here it is his wide-brimmed hat, braided jacket, and striped tie that immediately catch the eye – and text under the image reads 'SEQUAH', cementing his name with the visual image. It was a visual 'trademark' that served as a marketing tool – for himself, for newspapers and for photographers.

⁴⁴² The show consisted of a fairground steam organ, and the company went into liquidation in 1895 and was liquidated on 26 March 1909. James Wynbrandt, *The Excruciating History of Dentistry* (New York, 1998), pp.146-7. This also reflects Chris Rojek's claim for a religious dimension to collectable value, the image of Sequah possibly acting as a relic or 'icon' of hope and inspiration to some collectors. Chris Rojek, *Celebrity*, (London, 2001), pp.51-100.

⁴⁴³ He was, in reality, a Yorkshire-man called William Henry Hartley, and claimed to be able to extract up to eight teeth a minute at his shows, using the spectacle to sell his own remedies to the crowd. Although the original Sequah retired, more than twenty similarly-styled 'Sequahs' continued the performances, but the company dissolved in 1909. James Wynbrandt, *Op. Cit.*, pp.146-7.

Press reports, however, fostered a further kind of celebrity interest, that of spectacle and performance. An example is found in the carte de visite illustrated in **Fig.188-664**, of the hire-wire acrobat Blondin. Blondin had received a huge amount of media attention when crossing Niagara Falls on a tightrope – sometimes on stilts or even blindfolded⁴⁴⁴ - and he also performed exotic and dangerous stage shows which were much-addressed in the press, but with reports angled towards excitement and daring.⁴⁴⁵ For example *The Illustrated London News* detailed Blondin's 'dangerous positions' as astonishing' through their 'agility and daring',⁴⁴⁶ and described a performance 'without accident', but in movements which had 'threatened to be instant death'.⁴⁴⁷ In such accounts it was the anticipation of possible disaster that engaged readers' attention, and a focus on the drama and peril of Blondin's exploits is conveyed in the photograph. Here Blondin stands in the photographer's studio, and he wears the vividly-decorated tunic and leggings seen in many of his acts. However there is no indication of the tension in pose that would be present during his performances – no pole is seen (as used to steady his balance), and there is no reference to the acute concentration needed to avert disaster. Instead he appears relaxed and confident in manner. He stands with crossed legs, and has one hand placed upon his hip, and he leans backwards against a side table at a 45'

⁴⁴⁴ Blondin visited Britain and gave performances around the country in 1861-2, when these photographs were probably taken.

⁴⁴⁵ One, for example, being reported in the *Illustrated London News* in 1862 entitled 'Blondin's Pantomimic Drama at the Crystal Palace: Planter's House on the Coast of Brazil – Blondin, as an ape, nursing the Planter's Child'. The article described his daring feats when seizing ropes suspended from the roof and launching himself across 'the whole width of the transept' to the opposite gallery and landing on the stage. *The Illustrated London News*, 11 January 1862, pp.56.

⁴⁴⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 11 January 1862, pp.56.

⁴⁴⁷ 'Blondin at the Crystal Palace', *Illustrated London News*, 8 June 1881, pp.519 & 537.

inclination, almost falling over. He looks up jauntily, and there is an emphasis on confidence here, of one tackling the dangers of his act with manly bravery, and a determination to overcome any difficulties encountered. Thus the photographer has used press reportage and excitement to attract attention, but there is again an underlying reference to middle-class exemplarity – of Blondin’s courage in the face of great danger.

Another carte however, illustrated in **Fig.189-664(A)**, accents the ‘character’ of Blondin. The acrobat is now presented as a ‘gentleman’ in smart dark day-attire, upright deportment and evenly-balanced weight. There is no suggestion of bravado or of the exotic feats of his daring acts, but instead he appears humble in demeanour, and has a top hat and walking stick at his side. There are medals displayed on his chest, and it is a portrait which spotlights Blondin’s character (through his gentlemanly qualities) as effecting public recognition (in the medals) of manly bravery.⁴⁴⁸

These two examples were both issued by the same studio, Negretti & Zambra, and they illustrate studios expanding their output by issuing images that exploited press-styled excitement as a location for exemplary worth as well as retained the market for a straightforward display of ‘character’. Thus an increasing turnover could be achieved by adapting the product to modern developments in the concept of ‘celebrity’.

Cartes de visite of Blondin’s dramatic performances fitted into the theatrical genre of portraiture, and there is another group of portraits which fall into the same category, those of strangely-sized adults (contemporarily termed ‘dwarfs’, ‘midgets’ or ‘giants’).

⁴⁴⁸ Blondin had been highly decorated for his outstanding feats by governments around the world.

The images, as collectable portraits, sit awkwardly with our values today, but they were issued by respectable studios, and collected in drawing-room albums alongside the heroes of the day in the mid-nineteenth-century.⁴⁴⁹ Indeed highly-regarded studios such as W. & D. Downey and The London Stereoscopic Co. published a significant number of these cartes de visite.⁴⁵⁰ Unusually-proportioned men and women were often contracted by businessmen-promoters and placed on the stage. They drew large audiences and provided their managers with high returns - and again attracted much press attention.⁴⁵¹ An example is found in an article in *The Illustrated London News* entitled 'The Pigmies in Piccadilly' in 1881 which reported on an exhibition at the Piccadilly Hall.⁴⁵² The newspaper described the tiny figures of General Mite and Lucia Zarate as 'the smallest persons, nearly adult, ever seen in London', adding that General Mite was sixteen years old but only weighed 'nine pounds' at 'twenty-one inches' high - while Lucia Zarate stood at 'twenty inches high' and weighed 'much less than an ordinary new-born babe'. In the accompanying illustration (shown in **Fig.190-XA88**) the two tiny figures have been placed on a raised platform beside a miniature drawing-room chair. They stand beside each other, but are posed in gendered British middle-class decorum,

⁴⁴⁹ The author has an album in which a carte of the microcephalic siblings Maximo and Bartola is placed after cartes of the Royal family, and just before those of T.E. Lees (the military hero), Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott.

⁴⁵⁰ W. & D. Downey particularly fostered an upper-class professional image and clientele, achieving many commissions from the Royal family, and other reputable studios such as Mayall also issued cartes of mis-formed human beings.

⁴⁵¹ James Cook highlights the significant role that the American entrepreneur H.P. Barnum played in making the display of strange-looking people into a commercial enterprise, as an entertaining 'show' that would draw large audiences who would pay to attend. James W. Cook, *The Colossal P.T. Barnum Reader* (Illinois, 2005), pp.1-4.

⁴⁵² The exhibition was held every day from 'two to five' and at 'half-past seven o'clock'. *The Illustrated London News*, 27 November 1880, pp.517.

with the girl leaning in towards the man and linking her left arm into his right elbow. They also display the ideal personal grooming of mid-Victorian society in their fashionable hairstyles and attire. On their own they represent an exemplary young middle-class English couple, but the equilibrium is disturbed by the placement of their promoter, Mr. Frank Uffner, standing just behind them. He is a full-sized man and towers over them, being more than three-times their size.

Professional studios published portraits to match this style of press reportage, and an example is shown in the cabinet card in **Fig.191-1061**. Here W. & D. Downey have presented General Mite and another minute girl, Millie Edwards, in an almost identical pose to the newspaper illustration.⁴⁵³ The pair have been placed on top of a table with a miniature dining-room chair beside them. They adopt the same pose as seen in the newspaper illustration, and are again placed beside a full-sized adult, this time the promoter being General Mite's father, E.F. Flynn. Difference is thus accentuated as the collectable value of the portrait, and Leo Braudy offers a possible explanation for such portrait popularity. He claims that Barnum marketed unusual-looking men and women a display of God's diverse creation, as a study of the natural world.⁴⁵⁴ The portraits might therefore have represented an intellectual awareness, and underscored a middle-class interest in humankind for their

⁴⁵³ This cabinet card would have been issued about a year later as Frank Uffner exhibited General Mite and his first wife Lucia Zarate in London in 1880 (they had married in 1879), while Mite's father, E.F. Flynn, exhibited his son and his second wife, Millie Edwards, in London in after their wedding in 1881. General Mite's real name was Francis Joseph Flynn and he was born in 1864. Lucia Zarate was born in Mexico in 1864 and died in 1890. Millie Edwards was born in 1877 in Lancaster and was only 4 when she married General Mite in 1881, but publicized as being much older. No records of a second wedding for General Mite so soon after appearing with Lucia Zarate have been located.

⁴⁵⁴ Braudy claims that Barnum believed that the stage was the correct platform for such display. Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown* (New York, 1997), pp.499-500.

collectors, meeting a pseudo-scientific interest in race.⁴⁵⁵ *The Illustrated London News* noted Lucia Zarate's Mexican nationality, and described her features and dark complexion as an example of the 'Aztec type'.⁴⁵⁶ A link between distant civilization and unusual appearance has thus been made, and a similar association is emphasised in the photograph of another strange-looking girl in **Fig.192-472(A)**. It is a carte de visite of 'Marian' who was taking part in a London theatrical play entitled 'Babil and Bijou' in London.⁴⁵⁷ She was exceptionally tall, and this feature is particularly accentuated in her pose beside a normal-sized man.⁴⁵⁸ She dwarfs him, being one-and-a-half times his height, with his head only reaching the level of her chest. Difference in race is highlighted in accompanying text under the photograph as she is described in her role as the 'Amazonian Queen', and her attire confirms her ethnic representation as she is shown in an ornately-decorated costume, headdress, armour and sword. Here 'difference' in human form and foreign appearance have again been linked⁴⁵⁹ - and especially compared to English social norms here by her placement beside not only a normal-sized man, but one dressed

⁴⁵⁵ The author has seen some albums in which a series of such unusual human cartes de visite form a collection, which suggests a comparative scientific study of nature. Deborah Poole says that deviation from the human ideal is a 'puzzle' to us, in seeming similar (as human beings) but at the same time being 'different', and the study of such anomaly might have reflected a serious middle-class awareness and interest in the aspects of God's nature. Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (New Jersey, 1997), pp.17.

⁴⁵⁶ *The Illustrated London News*, 27 November 1880, pp.517.

⁴⁵⁷ This information is detailed as a 'title' to her photograph on the front mount of the carte. Marian had been born in 1866 in Germany and was 8' 2" tall. She wore extravagant silver armour in the stage show 'Babil & Bijou' (as a giant Amazon queen) which was staged at the Alhambra Theatre in 1882.

⁴⁵⁸ Although not identified on the carte, he was probably the promoter of the show, and Marian's agent.

⁴⁵⁹ Using her role as an 'Amazonian' queen to underline difference in race.

as the perfect English 'gentleman' in dark attire and with short neat hair.

There is, however, a deeper critique of 'difference' in the image in **Fig.193-XA19**, and one related to civilized development. Here the two microcephalic siblings, Maximo and Bartola are shown. They had originally come from St. Salvador but had been acquired by an American promoter called Morris who exhibited and marketed them as an example of an ancient (and almost extinct) race, calling them 'The Aztec Children' and 'The Aztec Wonders'. They were later promoted by Barnum, and a marriage was staged for them in London in 1867.⁴⁶⁰ In the portrait their exotic nationality has been linked to backward human development, with their microcephalic condition causing them to appear unintelligent in Western standards. They have wild hair, a dark complexion and unattentive expressions, and this is vividly contrasted with their poses and props which were aligned with English social customs. They are dressed in respectable Victorian evening wear, in a scene depicting their wedding. A wedding ring is displayed on Bartola's finger, positioned to face the camera - and a sheet of paper held by Maximo symbolises a marriage certificate. The middle-class gendered norms of British civilized society have been stressed, with Bartola appearing to support her husband by linking her arms into his, and standing just behind him. A tension is created here between the ideals of Western civilization and the apparent 'under-development' of unexplored cultures, and the portraits perhaps suggest a value in scientific exploration for the

⁴⁶⁰ Morris suggested said that they had been discovered in an Aztec temple. They toured Europe, met European royalty and were examined by Professor Owen when exhibited at the Ethnological Society in London. A sibling marriage was deemed acceptable due to their Aztec culture). 'Maximo and Bartola', *The Library of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, www.19thcenturyphotos.com and 'Maximo and Bartola' www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maximo_and_Bartola.

photographer's target British middle-class market,⁴⁶¹ of a society re-affirming its own place in God's order of nature.⁴⁶² The constructions again show studios using a new visual language, and the tools of their trade, to explore multiple tensions between respectability and sensation, and conformity and difference, to expand the appeal of their product.

As Deborah Poole says, the development of mass-produced imagery coincided with new Victorian scientifically-based ideas on race.⁴⁶³ She argues that pictorial representation particularly highlighted the shift,⁴⁶⁴ and celebrity cartes de visite provide an illustration.⁴⁶⁵ As has been shown here, middle-class demand for 'other' cultures lay in fetishizing the 'savage' image. This in turn, especially when underlined as a comparison to the British cultural ideal, served to underline Victorian society as 'superior' in terms of race. While presented as theatrical display, undertones of such racial hierarchy were offered for respectable domestic

⁴⁶¹ The couple were exhibited as a form of scientific study and examined by Professor Richard Owen.

⁴⁶² This reflects the contemporary pattern in press publications, theatrical staging and tours around Europe to meet royalty and aristocracy of presenting 'oddity' as a form of sensational and popular (but respectable) theatre.

⁴⁶³ Theorists such as Darwin argued for a hierarchy of biological evolution in the natural world, within which the British had achieved the apex of civilized development. Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species* (London, 1859).

⁴⁶⁴ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (Princeton, 1997).

⁴⁶⁵ This might appear to be an example of the 'objective' representation in carte de visite construction, in which the celebrity's image was used to primarily satisfy the photographer's market aims, with a lesser input from the celebrity him- or herself: in contrast to the 'subjective' dialogue between the interests of the photographer and subject aiming at market popularity. However these unusual stage acts were managed by agents whose primary aims were commercial gain and therefore there might have been considerable dialogue between photographer and agent over the final appearance and presentation of the image. Steve Edwards, 'The Machine's Dialogue', *Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 13, Issue 1 (1 January 1990), pp.63-76.

consumption to boost a photographer's output and sales, and indeed the strong market demand for such images underlines a commonly-held consensus of racial hegemony amongst middle-class society, an outlook that legitimised and boosted colonial and empirical expansion.⁴⁶⁶

The images examined in this chapter show the nature of celebrity portraiture changing over the 1860s and 1870s, with photographers adapting their product and visual language to meet new interests and values, and to create a popular celebrity commodity. Although initially familiarising their portraits in the traditional posterity-portrait value of recording outstanding achievement, studios quickly focussed on the specific interests of their mid-nineteenth-century market – when a culture of 'character' emerged as a dominant preoccupation. However the images also reveal another shift, when a market demand emerged for individual personality, especially fuelled by recurring press reports surrounding certain celebrity subjects.

Photographers 'chased' developing notions of celebrity to sustain their sales, and exploited information issued in other media – especially in the expanding number of newspaper editions.

Celebrity popularity was increased through these easily-available photographs, with interest and recognition generated in the men and women making the news, and a shared discourse fuelled portrait sales. Indeed the *Photographic News* noted in 1860 that 'everybody would stop to look at a collection of portraits in a studio window

⁴⁶⁶ Posts across the British Empire were strongly filled by middle-class men. Antony Wild, *The East India Company: Trade and Conquest from 1600* (Connecticut, 2000). Similarly middle-class missionaries and clerics travelled throughout the Empire to educate and 'help' the natives who were seen as backward in civilized development. Terence Thomas, 'The Impact of Other Religions', *Religion in Victorian Britain, II Controversies*, ed. Gerald Parsons (Manchester, 1988) and Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire 1815-1914* (Harlow, 2008).

as they were 'celebrities of whom everybody has heard',⁴⁶⁷ the mass-production of stories encouraging the celebrity name to emerge as 'the greater attraction' in portrait appeal⁴⁶⁸ - and studios capitalised on this contemporary development to increase their turnover. However, although drawing on press coverage for celebrity interest, there was a significant difference between the two media, related to the particular market targeted by each enterprise. Newspapers depended on a weekly sale to survive, and had to attract a constant attention to their stories – and they often veered towards sensation to achieve their turnover. But the professional photographer's market was different. Collectors chose their purchases carefully, often with the aim of displaying them in a family album amongst family members, and reasons for purchase lay in personal inspiration and the construction of social identity. Thus the photographer's product required more substance, gravitas and meaning, and the constructions that have been discussed in this chapter reflect studios' response to the challenge. They used text, special props and pose to exploit the 'sensational' renown pinpointed in press reports, but at the same time provided the opportunity of reading middle-class exemplarity in the images. The cartes reflect Deborah Poole's claim that a society's pictures express its own racial and cultural identity.⁴⁶⁹ But the portraits also show Victorian society changing in the later nineteenth-century. They suggest a middle-class gaining in social confidence, with peoples' earlier eagerness to align themselves with the 'ideal' turning to a more

⁴⁶⁷ *Photographic News*, 27 January 1860, pp.240.

⁴⁶⁸ Raymond Fitzsimons, *The Baron of Piccadilly* (London, 1967), pp.45. He was referring to this in terms of public attention, however it was also applied to the commercial photographers' portrait demand.

⁴⁶⁹ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (Princeton, 1997), pp.24.

assertive self-positioning in Victorian society, now judging celebrity figures against their own principles and opinions.

CASE STUDY INTRODUCTION

The portraits in this chapter have addressed a wide spectrum of middle-class interests, however three topics that underpinned the nation's constitutional stability and identity - the monarchy, government and Church - suffered particular controversy and dispute when modernising to a new social order. For example tensions arose due to a female assuming the highest authority in the land, in a society that valued a strict gendered framework. It was also an era when a new and wider democratic ethos in Parliament caused a complete upheaval in traditional roles of government with power shifting to public opinion. It was also an era when secular ideas and religious pluralism posed radical challenges to the Established Church of England. However, the volumetric output of celebrity cartes de visite in these areas over the 1860s and 1870s shows that photographers were successful in navigating tricky issues, and indeed that they were able to meet the expectations of a wide middle-class. The three case studies that form the second half of the thesis facilitate a deeper exploration of the ways this was achieved, and provide an opportunity to compare the strategies adopted across the three topics. The case studies will therefore compliment, and add to, the discussion in the first part of the thesis, and provide a more thorough examination of the mid-nineteenth-century celebrity carte de visite business.

CASE STUDY 1: THE ROYAL FAMILY

The royal portrait had been a tradition for centuries. It signalled the authority of an inherited elite and helped define the nation as a monarchy. By the nineteenth-century this royal authority was established in a visual language of regal finery, jewelled crowns, sceptres, and ermine-edged robes. Royal portraits offered a high potential return for the professional photographer of the mid-century, but he had to attract the attention of a new middle-class collector at a time of uncertainty about monarchy. He was faced with popularising an elitist constitution and female monarch to a market imbued with liberal values of domestic ideology, and of privilege and status rewarded for hard work and self-help. It was a philosophy that associated women with submission to the authority of her husband, and added difficulties lay in Albert's Germanic influence over the throne. Across Europe a number of revolutions had unseated monarchs and challenged the authority of hereditary elites:⁴⁷⁰ Victoria herself wrote in 1848: 'I tremble at the thought of what may possibly await us here'.⁴⁷¹ Republicanism was still popular amongst the middle-classes in England in the 1860s, but despite these hurdles royal cartes de visite account for the highest output in the archive over the 1860s and 1870s: indeed the *Photographic News* exclaimed that Her Majesty's portraits sold 'by the 100,000',

⁴⁷⁰ There was considerable upheaval in 1848 across Europe. Amongst others, Napoleon III took power in France, and there were Italian and German moves towards a united country. There was unrest in the Netherlands and in Denmark, and the different nationalities of the Hapsburg Empire also agitated to secure their national identities. John Merriman has described it as a 'People's Spring'. John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe* (New York, 1996), pp.715.

⁴⁷¹ Roger Taylor, 'The Chartist Meeting, 10 April 1848', *Crown & Camera*, Eds. Frances Dimond and Roger Taylor (Harmondsworth, 1987), pp.27.. Dorothy Thompson points out that they were seen as an expensive but useless luxury. Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: The Woman, the Monarchy and the People* (New York, 1990), pp.110-13.

and that royal personages presented the 'chief demand' in carte de visite celebrity portraiture.⁴⁷² Such figures indicate that studios managed to find a way of popularising Victoria and her family across wide divides in public opinion, and this case study sets out to investigate how such turnover and income was achieved and maintained by the construction of prints' meaning. The exploration will be divided into three parts. Part One will examine a central theme of domestic exemplarity that would run throughout royal carte de visite portraiture in the second half of the nineteenth-century. Part Two explores particular royal events that caught public attention, and offered opportunities of exploiting increased portrait demand. Part Three concludes the study by addressing later studio output in which a change in style emerged in the nature of celebrity presentation. The discussion will focus on the construction and communication of collectable value to the middle-class market of the mid-Victorian era and it will follow a chronological path. As in previous chapters, contemporary reports and current scholarship will be drawn upon to interpret the images and to offer an understanding of the commercial strategies that perpetuated royal interest through the 1860s and 1870s.

PART ONE: ROYALTY AND DOMESTIC APPEAL

Portraits of a Family at Home

In 1860 J.J.E. Mayall broke with the traditions of formal royal portraiture and

⁴⁷² *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.104. A photograph of the Princess of Wales with her daughter riding piggy-back issued in 1865 accounted for the highest-ever sales of a single celebrity carte de visite. John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford, 2003), pp.156. The sales of Victoria's cartes alone reached nearly four million. Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned* (London, 2001), pp.45.

published a 'Royal Album' of photographs of the monarch and her family in domestic scenes of home life. The album was called the 'Royal Album' and contained fourteen cartes of the Queen, Prince Albert and their children. These were slotted into the pages, with one carte on each sheet, and there were extra pages at the back for the addition of personal photographs.⁴⁷³ The Album was a completely new concept in presenting the Royal family to the British public, with an emphasis on the character and personal life of the monarchy rather than on their inherited authority demonstrated in formal opulence.

The cartes de visite in the Album (which could also be purchased separately) focussed attention on the monarchy as a well-to-do, but otherwise relatively normal, middle-class family at home – and as upholding the social values of their subjects.⁴⁷⁴ This was the overriding message conveyed in the portraits through its arrangement and visual language. An example is illustrated in the carte de visite in **Fig.194-XA26**. Here Victoria appears in a simple style. She stands against a plain domestic background, with no regal display of grand palace interior behind her, and no crown or lavishly-jewelled gown. Instead she wears a day-dress similar to those worn by respectable middle-class ladies of the period. Victoria presents contemporary female decorum with a humble and evenly-balanced stance, and with her hands clasped at her waist. The simplicity focuses attention on the Queen's character, and presents her as one thoroughly grounded in the gendered mores of middle-class society. The example in **Fig.195-XA77** shows a similar self-presentation in a personal photograph of an unnamed lady. The two share the same style of attire,

⁴⁷³ All Victoria's children were included except for Princess Vicky who was married and had left home when the photographs were taken.

⁴⁷⁴ The full album is illustrated in **Appendix 5**.

hairstyle, background and stance and indicate a shared ideology in the norms of gendered appearance between royalty and middle-class public.⁴⁷⁵ Another example is illustrated in **Fig.196-XA25** where Victoria shows herself as a normal young Victorian mother. The Queen sits with her daughter Beatrice on her knee, and clasps her closely, almost resting her chin on the child's forehead. The pose and presentation accentuates and emotional affection between a mother and her child, re-enforcing the motherly love of the Queen, and representing the epitome of mid-Victorian feminine ideals.

Victoria's husband, Prince Albert, was also presented in the Royal Album as an example of middle-class respectable masculinity. In his portrait in **Fig.197-XA27**, for example, he appears as a typical Victorian 'gentleman'. He stands in upright stance, his head is held high, he has neat short hair, wears a smart dark suit, and is fastidiously-groomed: as discussed earlier in the thesis, he has the walking stick at his side that signalled a 'gentleman' of moral principle. The cartes of the royal children similarly underscored the Royal family's apparent adoption of middle-class culture. The cartes in **Figs.198-XA30** and **199-XA34** show Princess Alice and Princess Louisa in individual portraits as exemplary young middle-class women. They are well-groomed with fashionable hairstyles and neat day-dresses. They are also presented as educated and informed. Alice appears with her head-in-hand in contemplative mood and she has an open book on her knee. The Princess's face is slightly tilted downwards suggesting a serious consideration of the book's content. Princess Louisa is similarly presented with her head tilted to one side as if in deep

⁴⁷⁵ Such shared public self-presentation signals the staging of a monarch attuned to (and sharing) the social values of her people, but it could also indicate an admiration for the Queen, in imitating her royal example.

thought, and she too holds an open book in front of her. The young princesses are humble, demure and reticent, as examples of the social graces expected of accomplished young middle-class ladies. The young males of the family, however, were presented both as gentlemen and in their public occupations. For example, the cartes de visite in **Figs.200-XA28** and **201-XA31** of Prince Edward and Prince Alfred show them in their army and naval uniforms respectively. Edward stands and leans on a plinth with plumed hat in hand, and crossed legs. The portrait of Alfred was taken on the occasion of his first cadetship, and here he stands beside a small side-table with a telescope placed on top, and a naval cap in his hand. The photographs are informal, as if the boys were caught in an off-guard moment, and this re-enforces the domestic 'family' context of the portraits: presenting a son's personal hopes for a future career rather than a stiff and formally-posed record of occupational rank. Clarissa Orr has claimed that Victoria and Albert were keen to avoid references to a 'warrior-kingship',⁴⁷⁶ and these cartes emphasise respectable 'profession' rather than military power for the young royals.⁴⁷⁷

The coupled composition was also used to accentuate domestic exemplarity for the Queen. An example is illustrated in **Fig.202-XA24**⁴⁷⁸ where the interaction between the two figures highlights Victoria's attention to her husband. Albert sits on

⁴⁷⁶ Clarissa Campbell Orr, 'The feminization of the monarchy 1780-1910: royal masculinity and female empowerment', *The Monarchy and the British Nation 1780 to the Present*, Ed. Andrzej Olechnowicz (Cambridge, 2007), pp.84-5. The portrait was used to accompany a newspaper article on Prince of Wales's visit to the Pope in Rome published in *Illustrated News of the World*, 22 January 1859, pp.37, and its usage in such context suggests a royal military presence used to convey national identity and authority when threatened.

⁴⁷⁷ The photographs resemble many personal images of the period, of young Victorian men posed in their military uniforms when pursuing a military career.

⁴⁷⁸ This first portrait was taken at the same sitting as those published in the Royal Album but not included in the book.

a chair and holds an open book, adopting the prescribed manly intellectual lead in a domestic environment. Victoria leans over him, and she touches the back of his chair while looking towards the literature in front of him.⁴⁷⁹ Albert sits in relaxed manly confidence with legs crossed across the front picture plane, while Victoria's body is positioned behind and to the side. A submissive role is conveyed for the Queen, typical of women in the period. As the publication, *The Leisure Hour*, stated in 1864, 'one of the finest scenes ever presented by the domestic economy' was that of 'a sensible woman employing her talents.....to support the authority of ahusband'. The writer added that she should 'submit to an authority which she has both supported and guided',⁴⁸⁰ just as and Victoria seems to do in the picture. There is, however, a deeper message in this portrait. An accent on Victoria's 'duty' to her public role is accented through her unusual pose. Victoria looks down especially acutely towards the book on Albert's knee, to the point of discomfort. Her shoulders are dropped and her upper body is considerably lowered towards the floor, more than is necessary to look at the book. In addition to taking an interest in the literature on Albert's knee, Victoria's stance seems to serve a double purpose. In her square positioning towards the spectator (in contrast to Albert's profile arrangement), it is she who addresses the viewer, and the image appears to present her as serving (in bowing to) her public – but in middle-class values as impressed in the overall gendered composition. Here the studio has used visual language to accommodate a 'Royal' lead in middle-class values.

⁴⁷⁹ In this composition Victoria's left hand is positioned so that her wedding ring is clearly seen, perhaps adding to her gendered exemplarity as the message of the portrait.

⁴⁸⁰ 'Boardman's "Bible in the Family"', *The Leisure Hour*, 1864, pp.815.

The carte de visite presented a monarchy of middle-class values. Indeed Mayall showed all the royal members as fulfilling the gendered norms of middle-class society. As such, the portraits seem to reflect Walter Bagehot's observation of a 'family' occupying the throne.⁴⁸¹ Indeed a number of photographs in the early 1860s appear to underscore the emphasis on the Royal 'family unit', and with all adhering to middle-class gendered ideology. The portrait in **Fig.203** provides an example. This is a carte-sized print in which all members of Victoria's family are placed together in one area. It was compiled from individually-pirated images,⁴⁸² but each has been carefully arranged in a pattern to emphasise the gendered roles of the ideal Victorian family. Albert's figure dominates the composition as he is placed as the tallest figure at the centre back. Victoria stands beside her husband and looks in towards him, while their two eldest sons are placed to either side: and their daughters and youngest children complete the group in a circular arrangement as smaller figures at the front. The collector of this print has pasted it onto an album page and has written below: 'The Royal Family'. The personally-added wording indicates the reception (and collectable value) of the portrait in terms of 'family' exemplarity. Another example, this time from a legitimate studio, A. & G. Taylor, is shown in **Fig.204-742**,⁴⁸³ but here each of Victoria and Albert's nine children occupies a separate oval frame.⁴⁸⁴ They have been placed around a central image

⁴⁸¹ Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: The Woman, The Monarchy, and The People* (New York, 1990), pp.139.

⁴⁸² Re-photographed from individual images of Mayall's work and compiled in this arrangement as a single portrait.

⁴⁸³ The images are from Mayall's negatives, but it is probable that a contract was agreed between Mayall and Taylor for their publication in this carte.

⁴⁸⁴ Except for one image which contains two siblings together.

of their parents (posed together) at the heart of the family. All are shown as examples of gendered decorum, and the separation into individual pictures places emphasis and attention onto each figure; the composition draws attention to each contributing to the domestic family unit.

All the images present members of the Royal family in their own private domestic environment at home. They do not look at the camera and seem unaware of a public gaze. Indeed the *Athenaeum* said in 1860 that Mayall's family album revealed what seemed to be glimpses into royalty's private life.⁴⁸⁵ In this way a sincerity was conveyed, of Victoria and her family as committed upholders of middle-class values even in their most private and intimate lives at home behind the public image. As the *Athenaeum* termed it, the photographs depicted the 'homely truths' of a modern and enlightened Royal family, and this was achieved through composition of pose and attire.

Portraits Relating to Victoria's Constitutional Role

Victoria was also presented in some cartes de visite with reference to her constitutional responsibilities. The carte in **Fig.205-550**, for example, shows the Queen standing with a pillar, plinth and draped curtain at her back.⁴⁸⁶ As Christopher Lloyd says, these were props traditionally used to signal monarchical power and rule,⁴⁸⁷ but here the emphasis is again placed on Victoria's domestic character. She appears as an ordinary middle-class lady in respectable day-attire, and as a humble representative of her inherited responsibilities. She faces the

⁴⁸⁵ 'Mr. Mayall – the Royal Album', *Athenaeum*, 31 August 1860.

⁴⁸⁶ This was not a portrait contained in Mayall's first Royal Album collection, but issued at a slighter later date.

⁴⁸⁷ Christopher Lloyd, 'Portraits of Sovereigns and Heads of State', *Citizens and Kings*, exhibition catalogue: Royal Academy, (London, 2007), pp.60.

spectator squarely, but her head is cast down, and her eyes look directly at the floor. It is a demure feminine pose and she appears both respectful to her audience, and committed to executing her duty. In a more forceful recognition of Victoria's public role, Mayall's portrait in **Fig.206-549** shows Victoria addressing the 'constitution' directly as she is seen in profile pose, facing the pillar and plinth, with draped curtain above. She is again in ordinary day-wear, and has a shawl draped around her shoulders. She leans against the pillar with her head propped up on her right hand, with her elbow resting on the plinth. In this more direct approach to her role in matters of state, there is an emphasis on exercising duty with considered 'thought' in accordance with middle-class domestic values. Victoria's left hand is placed on a book which is balanced on the plinth, and the Queen stares into the distance, appearing lost in deep contemplation. The composition presents a serious monarch who is grounded in domestic values when exercising her constitutional role. The emphasis falls onto a Queen concerned with undertaking her duty in a moral manner rather than of asserting monarchical authority – and the carte in **Fig.207-552** illustrates one collector's admiration for this representation. He or she has placed an almost-identical carte of Victoria (this one a coloured version) in a gilded frame.⁴⁸⁸ The collector has thus elevated the image of Victoria, and has highlighted her domesticity in constitutional role to a special personal importance.

Other studios appear to have followed a similar pattern when presenting their royal portraits in relation to inherited royal privilege.⁴⁸⁹ For example Henry Hering's carte in **Fig.208-322** shows 'The Kings and Queens of England From the Conquest to

⁴⁸⁸ Both images were taken at the same sitting and issued as separate cartes. Here Victoria stands in the same attire and pose but there is a slight change in this portrait where both her hands touch the book.

⁴⁸⁹ Most probably with the Queen's approval and encouragement.

Queen Victoria'. It is a composite carte of the previous kings and queens of England, with Victoria positioned as the present monarch at the centre of the picture as a larger figure. However, whereas earlier kings and queens appear in their formal monarchical attire of bejewelled crowns, sceptres and fur-trimmed robes, Victoria appears with her tiny baby in her arms. Although she wears a crown and evening dress to situate her monarchical role, there is a gentle and tender interaction between mother and infant. The image presents the queen with domestic values at the centre of her intentions, indeed as a modern enlightened inheritor of the royal line.

The composite carte issued by Ashford Brothers (shown in **Fig.209-11**) places Victoria in another of her constitutional roles, that of the head of government. It is again a composite picture with each figure in its own space. Small photographs of leading members of Parliament have been placed around the central, and larger, image of the Queen, with the title 'Her Majesty and Her Ministers of State' printed below. She thus appears at the heart of British government. It is, however, a picture of Victoria, almost identical to the image discussed above in **Fig.206-549**, where she faces her duty (the pillar and plinth) in domestic attire. The composition and attire presents Victoria as leading her parliamentary representatives according to her middle-class values.⁴⁹⁰

Another image that address the Queen's constitutional role is presented in Ashford's carte in **Fig.210-6**. This refers to the Queen's position as head of the Church of England. Here the virtues of piety and duty are extolled. The title to the picture is

⁴⁹⁰ Each statesman (and the Queen) is placed inside an ornately-shaped frame, reminiscent of the architectural (Gothic) style used for the Houses of Parliament, and thus associates them with their public roles in government.

shown in a banner across the top which reads: 'The Source of England's Greatness', and a large bible dominates the centre of the portrait. Victoria appears as a small figure at its base, but the image chosen for the carte is one which was taken by Ghemar Freres on the occasion of Albert's death where Victoria sits with head bowed, appearing to be deeply engrossed in her own pious contemplation. The pose, and Victoria's widow's weeds, add to the sense of religious devotion. The bible dominates the composition and an impression of Victoria as a 'servant' of the Christian faith in her position at the head of the Established Church is conveyed. These pictures directly address tricky issues of royal involvement in governmental matters, but at a time of debate about the legitimacy of the monarchy they show the Queen as a woman keen to exercise her power according to the social values of her subjects. There is one carte however (illustrated in **Fig.211-125**) that seems very different as it presents Victoria in her regal splendour. Here Victoria wears the crown and formal robes signalling royal power. Her head is held high with up-tilted chin in authoritative style. However the purpose of this image explains the difference. This portrait was not primarily intended for the British market: the photograph was commissioned by Victoria as a gift for another monarch, Queen Isabella II of Madrid.⁴⁹¹ Within royal circles, therefore, it seems that images of regal power were retained and exchanged, with her appearance as a middle-class citizen specifically staged to sell to photographers' target middle-class market.

Portraits of Prince Albert

A tricky situation arose for the studios in presenting the Queen as an upholder of gendered middle-class values however. Domestic ideology dictated that a woman

⁴⁹¹ From C. Clifford, a Welsh photographer living in Madrid.

should cede to the authority of her husband, but in Victoria's case her husband was the Consort, not the monarch. He was also German. There was public unease at the extent of Albert's influence over the British crown in the 1850s and early 1860s, but professional photographers employed specific strategies to avert concern and retain their middle-class market for portraits of Victoria and her family. Albert, when shown alone, was especially presented in terms of his manly character, intellect and cultural influence. Two examples are illustrated in **Figs.212-856** and **213-555**. In the first, Albert sits against a plain interior background. He displays perfect manly grooming, wearing a dark jacket and lighter waistcoat and trousers, and he holds a top hat out prominently in front of him. The message of the portrait falls onto Albert as a 'gentleman' of Victorian values. The second image is that discussed in Chapter Two, in which Albert is seen as one busily engaged in intellectual endeavour. Here he is shown in a dark jacket, waistcoat and trousers, with a dark bow-tie above a white shirt. He is pristinely groomed, and is placed against a plain domestic interior. He sits beside a small side-table with quill in hand, and has open books and papers in front of him. The portrait matches a contemporary report published in the *Art Journal* in which the writer described Albert as looking 'the very *beau ideal* of an English gentleman' in his morning attire and easy pose whilst 'in the act of reading some document'.⁴⁹² The *National Magazine* highlighted Albert's 'moral lead' in a display of 'character', values that are focussed on here as collectable value in the

⁴⁹² 'Minor Topics of the Month.....A Portrait of the Late Prince Consort', *Art Journal*, 1 December 1862, pp.241.

portraits.⁴⁹³ They clearly had appeal: the last carte was a particular popular image of the Prince Consort, and was issued in great volume and widely pirated.

Some portraits however do make specific reference to Albert's uncertain authority and status. In the carte de visite in **Fig.214-679** by Vernon Heath,⁴⁹⁴ for example, the Prince sits in front of a constitutionally-symbolic pillar and plinth – but here again it is the gentlemanly character of the Prince that forms the focus of the composition. The pillar is placed as a 'backbone' behind him, mirroring the trajectory (and straightness) of his back. Albert himself is presented as a perfect gentleman with upright deportment, fastidious personal grooming, and serious expression. His left hand rests on top of a book in front of him, and he leans forward slightly. The composition and props emphasise Albert's constitutional role alongside core middle-class values of moral character and intellectual fibre, and thus avoid any reference to contentious contemporary issues of authority over the British Crown. Other images stressed Albert as a man of culture. For example the two cartes de visite by Camille Silvy in **Figs.215-699** and **216-862** present him as a man of culture. The Prince had been intimately involved in organising the Great Exhibition in 1851, and his opening of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition in 1857 had been extensively covered in the press.⁴⁹⁵ He also worked hard to improve educational opportunities for the British public. Drawing on this public image Silvy emphasised Albert's culture and intellect. Albert appears beside the pillar, plinth, and draped

⁴⁹³ This was written in retrospect, after the Prince's death, but it illustrates the contemporary image built around the Prince, with an emphasis on his exemplary manly character - indeed this being cited as the sole reason for the article's publication. 'The Unbroken Circle', *National Magazine*, February 1862, pp.144-146.

⁴⁹⁴ The original negative was taken by Vernon Heath but this one was issued by Poulton.

⁴⁹⁵ Albert opened the Exhibition on 5th May 1857. *The Illustrated London News*, 9 May 1857, pp.431-2.

curtain signalling his high status, but he adopts a confident manly stance with upright deportment and up-tilted chin. There is a classical statue just beside the Prince's elbow in both images, and in addition there is a globe at his feet in the first, and an open book in his hand in the second. The portrait illustrates John Plunkett's claim that the props of statuette, globe and open book were used as symbols of Albert's commitment to 'improve the nation's learning, industrial progress, and enjoyment of the fine arts'.⁴⁹⁶ The images also match a contemporary report in *The Illustrated London News* in 1857 which stated that 'no small portion' of the improvement in public education was due to 'his Royal Highness', in lending the powerful influence of 'his name, station and character' to the cause.⁴⁹⁷ These cartes de visite avert attention from the debates and uncertainties surrounding Albert's role and his Germanic influence. Instead the focus is placed on his moral, intellectual and cultural character, and his presence as a valuable member of the British Royal family for photographers' target middle-class market.

Portraits of Victoria and Albert Together

The number of portraits issued of Albert in this style suggests this was a popular vision of Victoria's consort, but the presentation of the Queen and Albert together posed a more challenging issue. Emphasising the Royal family as a normal middle-class unit, schooled in domestic ideology raised questions: would Albert assume the expected authority over his wife in constitutional matters? In portraits of the couple together a specific pattern emerges, with photographers appearing to construct a clear demarcation between their public and domestic roles. When presented in their

⁴⁹⁶ John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria, First Media Monarch* (Oxford, 2003), pp.172. There is also a Greek key motif on the cloth covering the side-table which emphasises the highly-regarded classical approach to education promoted by the prince.

⁴⁹⁷ *The Illustrated London News*, 9 May 1857, front page.

public duties an equality between Victoria and her husband is presented, and an example is shown in **Fig.217-139**. Here the pair stand in an exterior scene, and are dressed in out-of-doors attire,⁴⁹⁸ but Victoria appears equal in height to Albert by her placement in front of a bush, the colour of which matches the tone of her hat and serves to 'lift' her to Albert's stature. The Prince does not wear a top hat and appears with an uncharacteristically-lowered head, perhaps posed not to overshadow Victoria's status in public. There is also a large classical statue of Urania positioned just behind Albert which underscores his cultural contribution to the monarchy, placing attention on his presence as a virtuous 'aid' to the Queen rather than inference of arrogance or manly dominance.⁴⁹⁹

The two cartes de visite in **Figs.218-XA41** and **219-XA42** place the pair together within a domestic background but it is their public roles that are presented, as they appear in out-of-doors attire. Albert wears a top hat and a formal dark suit, and Victoria holds a hat and an umbrella. Their constitutional status is accented here by the inclusion of a pillar, plinth and draped curtain placed beside them, and Victoria stands beside the pillar underlining her position as 'the monarch'. Their faces are on an equal level, Victoria being placed upon a step. They appear stiff and statue-like, looking past each other, as 'pillars' of constitutional rule. The carte in **Fig.220-XA40** varies this pattern. Although retaining the same background and pose beside the pillar, plinth and curtain, Victoria and Albert are in indoors-wear, and here Albert stands beside the pillar. There is a very different pose here, with a warm interaction

⁴⁹⁸ The image was taken at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight.

⁴⁹⁹ Margaret Homans has also discussed the use of the bush to extend the Queen's height and align her with her husband. Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations* (Chicago and London 1998), pp.46-47. Urania was one of the Greek Muses, a daughter of Zeus, and she symbolized learning in the arts and sciences.

between the two figures which is lacking in the previous two images. Victoria appears shorter than her husband and she faces him, standing sideways to the camera. She looks up at Albert's face and her arms are entwined with his right elbow. In this composition it is the couple's domestic values that are stressed, with Victoria gaining support from the Albert's manly lead in exercising her constitutional duty. These portraits underline the exercise of royal duty with middle-class values, but the first two cartes present its public 'face' with the Queen assuming authority, while the third conveys the monarchy's underlying adherence to domestic ideology.⁵⁰⁰

Status Retained

These images suggest that John Plunkett is right to argue that cartes de visite remade the royal family as respectable middle-class citizens.⁵⁰¹ As we have seen, these carte de visite images presented the Royal family in a very different style from the traditional royal image, and indeed the *Athenaeum* described them as a radical break from the usual 'lineaments of the royal race'.⁵⁰² However on close examination there is a subtle retention of superiority in the constructions. An example is seen in the portrait of Princesses Helena and Louise in **Fig.221-XA32** (from the Royal Album) where the young women have been placed upon a step,

⁵⁰⁰ Margaret Homans has discussed the patterns in this series of photographs, where Victoria's 'rule' appears to be exercised with Albert, but she has not recognised the alternations in pose and attire that effected specific portrait reading: she describes Victoria's parasol as a 'frivolous' accompaniment but has overlooked its exterior-wear signalling a public role. Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations* (London, 1998), pp.53-55.

⁵⁰¹ John Plunkett, *op. cit.*, pp.176 and pp.198.

⁵⁰² 'Mr. Mayall – the Royal Album', *Athenaeum*, 31 August 1860. John Plunkett says that plain backgrounds exaggerated Victoria's moral middle-class values. John Plunkett, *Op. Cit.*, pp.170-1.

using traditional artistic language to lift them 'above' the viewer. Southwell Brothers have similarly placed the Queen upon a platform in her portrait in **Fig.222-720**, but this is concealed by the carpet's pattern.⁵⁰³ Another reference to a high social status is found in the hardly-visible royal crests placed upon the pillar and plinth behind Prince Arthur (**Fig.223-568**), being half-hidden by the drapes of the curtain cutting across it. The usage of exceptionally fine furniture also elevated subjects' status, the gilded French chair beside Prince Arthur, for example, appearing almost as large as his figure (**Fig.224-565**) and establishing him as one of high social standing.⁵⁰⁴ It can only be surmised that such references were included to remind people subtly of the status of the people on show, but they served as an almost-hidden background reference to the main message of middle-class exemplarity being presented in the portraits.

Mayall's informal images of Victoria's family proved exceptionally popular, both in his Royal Album and when sold separately. The *Times* said that wholesalers had received a demand for 60,000 sets in just the first few days of its publication,⁵⁰⁵ and the fact that they were extensively pirated indicates demand from a wide audience.⁵⁰⁶ In 1862 the *Photographic News* described the royals as 'beloved' for

⁵⁰³ This was a traditional method of 'separating' the subject from the sphere of the viewer as was seen, for example, in the oil painting of George IV by Sir David Wilkie in 1833, where the artist placed the king upon a similar elevated platform.

⁵⁰⁴ Christopher Lloyd has argued that columns, curtains with tassels, and pieces of gilt furniture, were used to construct 'royal power' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Christopher Lloyd, 'Portraits of Sovereigns and Heads of State', *Citizens and Kings*, exhibition catalogue: Royal Academy (London, 2007), pp.60.

⁵⁰⁵ John Plunkett quotes a report in *The Times* that said wholesalers had received a demand for 60,000 set in just the first few days of its publication. John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria, First Media Monarch* (Oxford, 2003), pp.152 quoting 'The Royal Album', *The Times*, 16 August 1860, pp.9.

⁵⁰⁶ Mayall's cartes were copied and issued at reduced prices by pirate studios.

their 'domestic virtues',⁵⁰⁷ and indeed in 1844 Queen Victoria had herself recognised the popularity the theme generated when she said: 'they say *no* Sovereign was *more loved* than I am (I am bold enough to say), and *that*, from our *happy domestic home* – which gives such a good example'.⁵⁰⁸ The *Photographic News* considered Victoria brave to publicise herself in cartes de visite, describing it as 'one of the choicest instances of good nature on the part of a sovereign recorded in history' as photographs were 'rarely flattering',⁵⁰⁹ but the image of royalty as 'real' people who shared the values of their subjects forged a strong affection across a wide public spectrum. This is particularly evident in the huge number of cartes issued for two major events that occurred in the monarchy's family, the sudden death of Prince Albert in 1861 and the wedding of Prince Edward in 1863. Attention was thrown onto particular members of the family at these times, and the cartes de visite issued to meet this new market focus will be examined in the second part of the case study.

PART TWO: TWO MAJOR ROYAL FAMILY EVENTS

Royal Tragedy

The public were taken by surprise at the news of Albert's sudden death from typhoid at the end of 1861 and, although there had been suspicion over his German influence on the Crown, there was a huge public outpouring of sorrow. Graham Dawson argues that death encourages a re-appraisal of the person's worth and

⁵⁰⁷ *Photographic News*, 24 January 1862, pp. 38.

⁵⁰⁸ 'The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 and 1861', 3 vols., ed. Arthur C. Benson and Viscount Esher (London, 1908), 2:27. Letter dated 29 October 1844. Quoted in Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations* (Chicago, 1998), pp.6-7.

⁵⁰⁹ *Photographic News*, 6 July 1863, pp.66.

often engenders the desire for a memento to draw one closer to the lost person,⁵¹⁰ and the opinions expressed in the contemporary media appear to provide an example. For example, the *Art Journal* described the Prince's death as a 'national calamity' and 'the common grief of all the land', and that Albert would be 'mourned in every household'.⁵¹¹

Professional photographers capitalised on the interest that was suddenly generated, seeing the market potential in the public's interest in commemorating Albert. This is particularly illustrated in a contemporary quote by Munby, when he described crowds flocking around the Regent Street shops to try and purchase a photograph of the Prince, but with hardly any remaining.⁵¹² Photographers re-issued their original portraits to meet public demand. Helmut Gernsheim notes that 70,000 portraits of Albert were sold in the single week after his death.⁵¹³ Many studios (especially pirate establishments) published images with annotations and artwork that increased the emotion of the event. For example, **Fig.225-862** shows one of Silvy's earlier portraits of the Prince that was re-issued with the added title: 'The Late Prince Consort', and the carte in **Fig.226-860** is an extract of Mayall's portrait of Albert, where his head has been enlarged to fill the picture space within a very prominent black frame. Another black frame has been created for the portrait in **Fig.227-866** which is a copy of a photograph by Rejlander. Here wording has been added to underline the carte's value as a memorial of the Prince, describing it as a 'Souvenir'

⁵¹⁰ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes* (London, 1994), pp.119.

⁵¹¹ 'The Prince Consort' *The Art-Journal*, 1 January 1862, pp.16.

⁵¹² 'Man of Two Worlds', *People in Camera*, exhibition catalogue: National Portrait Gallery (London, 1979), pp.15.

⁵¹³ Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography 1850-1880* (London, 1988), pp.195.

of His Late Royal Highness Prince Albert. A personal annotation, added to a similar image (**Fig.228-865**), indicates a collector's view, and reflects the emotional appeal of the portrait. It reiterates the *Art Journal's* description of the event as a national calamity in reading: 'deeply & universally regretted. a National loss as well as a domestic one.' Another pirate photograph is illustrated in **Fig.229-863** and here the Prince's portrait has been fitted into an ornate art-work tomb-structure – and the carte in **Fig.230-480** reconstructs the very moment of the prince's death. It has been entitled the 'Last Moments of the Prince Consort', and the cut-and-paste technique has been used to create the scene, with small photographic faces placed in artwork of Albert's death-bed.⁵¹⁴ The act of a 'good death' was, as Bebbington has argued, regarded as highly virtuous.⁵¹⁵

It was the image of Albert as aiding Britain's moral, intellectual and cultural 'character' that constituted the 'memorial' portrait, together with his exemplary support for Victoria in her public role. The success of the new royal image is demonstrated through a report in the *Art Journal* when it said that 'the deep and earnest sympathy of every individual in the kingdom' would be 'at this moment' given to the Queen, noting it that 'if to us the loss be great, to her and to her family it is incalculable'.⁵¹⁶ Again studios sought to capitalise on this. Images that accentuated Victoria's sense of loss proliferated, with elements added to original negatives to

⁵¹⁴ A 'key' to the portrait was also published (in **Fig.231-481**) which identifies (through numbers) the 18 figures grouped around the Prince, thus providing a more detailed and personal involvement with the actual scene.

⁵¹⁵ David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* (Illinois, 2005), pp.87. A.O.J. Cockshut claims that deathbed scenes symbolised a 'uniquely significant pointer to the quality of the life', and the indication of exemplary character might have been read in the composition, adding to its collectable value. A.O.J. Cockshut, *Truth to Life: The Art of Biography in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1974), pp.45.

⁵¹⁶ 'The Prince Consort' *The Art-Journal*, 1 January 1862, pp.16.

highlight the Queen's sorrow. This was the market that studios targeted, and pirate studios especially exaggerated emotion in their portraits of the suddenly-widowed Queen. An example is illustrated in **Fig.232-845** where Victoria is shown in a wistful pose. She gazes with upturned eyes into the distance with head on hand, and there is an added shadowy outline of the bust of Albert just to the side of her head. The plain background silhouettes emphasise her widow's headdress, and Victoria appears vulnerable and sorrowful: Margaret Homans describes Victoria being cast as a 'bereft widow' at this time, lost in the memory of her husband.⁵¹⁷ The carte in **Figs.233-548** and **234-844** offers a further example where cut-and-paste techniques have been used to manipulate a previous image of the Queen. Originally the negative had shown Victoria looking down at a fan in her hand, but here a photograph of Prince Albert has been positioned to replace the fan. Victoria's earlier everyday headdress has also been changed into a dowager's headdress, its long ribbons clearly outlined across the front of her dress, and the portrait now presents a sorrowful Queen mourning her husband. Another version of the image is illustrated in **Fig.235-846**, and here a book has replaced the original fan (possibly a bible), and a picture of Albert has been added above Victoria's head, a traditional artistic convention used to convey Albert as the topic of the Queen's contemplation.

These images were issued to capitalise on a wide-felt shock, sorrow and sympathy for the Queen – indeed a writer in the *London Review* noted that the photographer who issued "attractive though sad" memorial photographs was 'probably well assured of his ground', and added that the cartes were 'made to sell, and they *do*

⁵¹⁷ Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations* (London, 1996), pp.xv.

sell'.⁵¹⁸ An annotation added to the back of this carte illustrates its role as a symbol of this collector's sympathy, as the owner has written on the back: 'thinking of you'. The photographs reflected the market's feelings, however sometimes photographers overstepped the mark. Ghemar Frere's portraits were criticised in the *London Review* for their over-emphasis on the sentimentality of Albert's death. Indeed the writer suggested that the photographs were 'made-up'. He believed that the Queen would never have sanctioned intimate and disrespectful displays of 'bad taste' such as the 'very death-bed of Prince Albert'. However an editorial comment in the *Photographic News* pointed out that the Queen herself had approved their issue – and proposed that it was, in actual fact, 'bad taste' to criticise Her Majesty for letting her people share the privacy and 'domesticity of her grief'.⁵¹⁹

Royal Joy

The cartes examined here highlight two issues, an increasing focus on Prince Albert and Queen Victoria in portrait demand, as individual royal subjects – and their own exemplarity. Just a year after the outpouring of grief over Albert's death however another royal family event engaged huge public attention and attracted portrait sales again centred around specific royal personages. In 1863 the Prince of Wales married Alexandra of Denmark,⁵²⁰ and again an especially large number of cartes de visite were issued by both legitimate and pirate studios. Visual language was used to express emotion, with elements added to the negatives to heighten the pictures'

⁵¹⁸ 'Photography and Bad Taste', *The Photographic News*, 10 April 1863, pp.174-5. Reprinted from the *London Review*.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., pp.174-5. John Plunkett notes the contemporary concern over the camera's role in merging private and public existences, and contributing to a fall in moral standards: of a display of 'bad taste' in public. John Plunkett, 'Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the *Carte-de-visite*', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 8.1 (Spring 2003), pp.55-79.

⁵²⁰ Their wedding took place on 6th March 1863.

appeal. Colour, gilding and flowers were shown, replacing the black outlines and sorrowful expressions used for Albert's death.⁵²¹ An example is shown in the *carte de visite* in **Fig.236-869** where cut-and-paste arrangements have highlighted the engaged couple. The pair's heads-and-shoulders have been extracted from original full-length photographs and placed within a frame of ornate gilding and white flowers. The pair look towards each other, conveying the sentimentality of a 'love-match'. Another emotive addition is illustrated in the *carte* in **Fig.237-868** where the wording 'May You Be Happy' has been printed below two small images of Edward and Alexandra positioned on one *carte* to face each other. They are the 'pretty and sentimental' constructions described in the *Photographic News* in 1863,⁵²² but they evoked the joy of a family event that would be recognised by many. Both pirated images and expensive portraits were available as mementoes of the celebration, and an example of the more exclusive product on offer is shown in **Figs.238-310** and **239-311**. Here Edward and Alexandra's separate head-and-shoulder images have been presented in ornate, coloured art-work frames by Ghemar Freres. The pictures have been finely hand-painted in bright colours of blue and red, and gilding picks out royal crests and supporting heraldic emblems. At 3/- each,⁵²³ this is double the price of a normal *sepia carte* – and around six times that of a pirated

⁵²¹ Pirate activity was curtailed by the Fine Arts Copyright Act of July 1862. This was an Act which secured 'to photographers a property in the production of their skill and enterprise, their brains, hands, and capital' that became law in August 1862. 'Copyright in Photographs', *Photographic News*, 8 August 1862, pp.373. The Act meant that court proceedings could be taken against those copying an author's original work. However a number of pirate studios seem to have continued in business for a certain length of time as court cases are reported in the *Photographic News* over subsequent years, challenging continued pirate output.

⁵²² *Photographic News*, 10 April 1863, pp.175.

⁵²³ The price is found in period hand in pencil on the backplates.

image. The price perhaps reflects the quality of workmanship in the painting, but it gives an indication of the market demand there was for images of the royal wedding.

The volume of portraits relating to Albert's death and the royal wedding indicate a strong market interest in the Royal family up to 1863. Studios had developed a sophisticated visual language for representing the Royal family that enabled them to negotiate difficulties of inherited power and monarchical authority in a time of growing interest in republicanism. They devised ways of representing female authority in tune with middle-class values and domestic ideology, with her husband located as a social and cultural asset to, and influence on, the nation. However these foundations were shaken in the mid-1860s when there was growing unease at the behaviour of the Queen and the Prince of Wales. After the death of her husband Victoria was seldom seen in public.⁵²⁴ Indeed Gladstone referred to an 'invisible' Queen.⁵²⁵ Victoria seemed to be abandoning her duty, and her relationship with her Scottish ghillie John Brown added to concern over her moral exemplarity.⁵²⁶ In 1867

⁵²⁴ She was reluctant to fulfill public duties without Albert. David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition" c. 1820-1977', Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.118-20. Margaret Homans notes that Victoria was only seen occasionally, and usually on visits to unveil memorials to Albert. Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations* (Chicago and London, 1998), pp.153.

⁵²⁵ Quoted in Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: The Woman, the Monarchy and the People* (New York, 1990), pp.112.

⁵²⁶ John Brown worked as a personal outdoor servant (ghillie) at Balmoral Castle, and Victoria forged a close friendship with him. David Cannadine points out that Victoria was referred to as 'Mrs. Brown' in the press. David Cannadine, *Op. Cit.*, pp.118-20. Reports of the dissolute behaviour of the young royals – for example the Prince of Wales's involvement in a court case concerning the divorce of Mrs. Mordaunt. Dorothy Thompson, *Queen Victoria: The Woman, the Monarchy and the People* (New York, 1990), pp.112. Jonathan Parry says that the Prince was criticized by radicals and republicans as an irresponsible and idle aristocratic 'libertine' like George IV. Jonathan Parry, 'Family Histories', *Monarchies*, Eds. Tom Bentley and James Wilsdon (London, 2002), pp.71.

Walter Bagehot described the family as led by a 'retired widow and unemployed youth',⁵²⁷ and one contemporary observer commented that all the Princes did was 'shoot game from morn till night' and that 'the Queen's doings were a mystery to everyone'.⁵²⁸ As Thomas Richards and Richard Williams argue, the royals appeared to be in receipt of a large amount of public money but to offer little in return, and this gave impetus to republican calls for the removal of the monarchy.⁵²⁹ A significant shift in presenting the Royal family in the mid-1860s emerged in *carte de visite* output which appears to respond to such unease in the royal reputation. The focus on certain individual royal members continued, but with more formality in style, and the portraiture of this later period will be examined in Part Three of the case study.

PART THREE: A SHIFT IN PORTRAIT STYLE

Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini describe a re-assessment of Prince Edward taking place in the later 1860s. They claim that he was increasingly recognised as a loving husband and father in the national press, and an example is found in *Vanity Fair* which extolled the Prince as a fine example of Victorian manhood. It said that 'there are few men in the Kingdom who have worked so hard or travelled so much as he to attend social gatherings, to lay stones, to open public works, and to preside at Charity dinners' – and that the Prince's 'tact, excellent memory and social graces'

⁵²⁷ Dorothy Thompson, *Op. cit.*, pp.110.

⁵²⁸ Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown*, (Aldershot, 1997), pp.33 quoting *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 30 December 1866, pp.3.

⁵²⁹ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, (Stanford, 1990), pp.81 and Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown* (Aldershot, 1997), pp.33.

were to be 'lauded'.⁵³⁰ Another report suggested that when Edward did assume the throne 'those who have been unjust to him as a Prince will be constrained to recognize his merits'.⁵³¹ Indeed Edward was now seen as 'one of the very best husbands and fathers in England'.⁵³² Photographers appear to have pursued this new exemplary image of Edward in order to capitalise on interest in the heir to the throne by showing him as an exemplary family man. For example **Fig.240-340** shows Edward and his young wife Alexandra as the epitome of middle-class parenthood. The Prince and Princess are placed to either side of their young baby Victor who is positioned on a table between them. Edward perches on the table and appears to support Victor with his arm behind him. However there is a change in portrait presentation here revealing a shift in portrait style. Although gentle in pose, the portrait is formal, with Edward and Alexandra looking directly at the camera and not interacting with their baby. There is a stiffness in this composition not found in earlier cartes de visite of Victoria and Albert at home. Another example is found in **Fig.241-188** where Edward and Alexandra are again presented as parents, sitting with their three children between them. They have their arms around the youngsters in affectionate manner, but all five figures again look directly at the camera, and the image conveys a carefully-staged family record for public consumption rather than an insight into private family life.

There is also a change in the carte de visite portrait style of the Queen at this time, and it was a shift that corresponded with a renewed public assessment of her

⁵³⁰ Jonathan Parry, 'Family Histories', *Monarchies*, Eds. Tom Bentley and James Wilsdon (London, 2002), pp.71.

⁵³¹ Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini, *In Vanity Fair* (London, 2000), pp.41-42.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, pp.41-42.

domestic exemplarity. Dorothy Thompson highlights how Victoria's lack of enthusiasm for undertaking public duties was now being re-cast as highly admirable. She was now seen as displaying an unerring devotion and loyalty to a lost husband, and indeed Thompson cites a quote from the Radical M.P. John Bright who said in 1872 that: 'a woman – be she the Queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men – who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and affection is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy for you'. It was viewed as 'manly' to uphold a woman in her attempts to fulfil her duty, especially in times of difficulty.⁵³³

Professional photographers appear to have capitalised upon this new image of Victoria, with a large number of cartes issued in the later 1860s and 1870s emphasising her as serious in demeanour, engrossed in enduring thoughts of Albert. For example the three cartes in **Figs.242-161, 243-159** and **244-163** present her as a lifeless figure, and very different from the lively and buoyant young woman in Mayall's early portraits.⁵³⁴ Her shoulders are dropped, and there is a mournful expression in the set of her mouth. Her widow's headdress is highlighted in silhouette against the plain background, her body is stiff, and she appears statue-like. She seems lost in her own world in the first image, but absorbed in a photograph in front of her (probably alluding to a picture of Albert) in the second. In the third, family associations are stressed, with added photographs of Alexandra just visible beside her while she looks at a photo of Albert.

⁵³³ Dorothy Thompson, *Op. Cit.*, pp.115-6.

⁵³⁴ These later cartes were by W. & D. Downey who emerged as the major publishers of Victoria's portraits from the mid-1860s.

These images of Victoria as a widow bowed to the memory of Albert were issued in great volume, and reveal a market demand for glimpses into Victoria's own personal emotions; focus was now placed particularly on Victoria as an individual. This interest was especially stimulated by the publication of Victoria's diaries in the late 1860s where attention was drawn to the Queen's personal life, interests and activities. A number of cartes again appear to have followed the trend and presented her in a range of different personal pursuits.⁵³⁵ Two examples are illustrated in **Figs.245-166** and **246-158**. The first shows Victoria sitting at a spinning-wheel, a popular middle-class pastime in the mid-century, while in the second the Queen perches on top of her horse preparing for, or returning from, a ride on her estate, again staged to convey the Queen involved in a private recreational activity, with Mr. Brown holding the horse while Victoria's daughter plays with a pet dog below. But in these pictures a demonstration of Victoria's exemplary behaviour is retained, and she is consistently shown as as a sorrowful widow. While attending to her spinning her hand is suspended in space, and she stares ahead of her seemingly disinterested in her activity. Similarly she sits upright on the horse and stares ahead of her. Victoria is a figure frozen in time compared to the other animated figures around her: for example her daughter bends over to play with the

⁵³⁵ *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* was published in 1868 and its first edition sold 20,000 copies. 'Queen Victoria's Journals', www.wikipedia.org (accessed 7 February 2017). Gail Turley Houston claims that the diaries perpetuated popularity in the Royal family at a time when attention was drifting away. She points out that any reference to Victoria's constitutional involvement was omitted from the publications, and that their appeal lay in her reminiscences of Albert, underscoring her enduring love for him. Gail Turley Houston, *Royalties* (Virginia, 1999), pp.49.

dog and John Brown stands in an easy pose with relaxed shoulders and casual glance towards the camera.⁵³⁶

One event however particularly engendered public involvement in the Queen's personal life. In 1871 her son, the Prince of Wales, suffered a serious bout of typhoid, the illness that had killed his father just ten years previously, and fears arose that a similar fate might befall the future king. However the Prince recovered, and enormous public relief was felt for Victoria, somewhat restoring interest in the fate of the monarchy.⁵³⁷ Some studios were quick to capitalise upon public interest, as illustrated in the cabinet card in **Fig.247-1054** where the London Stereoscopic Co. built upon, and accentuated, the tension felt during the Prince's illness.⁵³⁸ It is entitled 'The Nation's Wave of Suspense' and it illustrates a chart of the Prince's medical journey, with the lows and highs clearly shown. Another carte in **Fig.248-165**, taken by W. & D. Downey at the Thanksgiving Service for the Prince's recovery, adopts a different tone by placing emphasis on the Queen's piety. Here Victoria is shown in the special outfit that she wore to the service, and her hands are placed together as if in 'prayer' above a cushioned stool, positioned to resemble a church pew. This image presents the monarch as leading the nation in an

⁵³⁶ Gail Turley Houston points out that this composition was very similar to an oil painting by Edwin Landseer executed in 1865, however in the painting the Queen's constitutional role was shown, in papers on her knee (while on the horse), more papers on the ground, and through a picture of the royal palace in the background. The carte de visite, issued for middle-class consumption, omitted such references to her involvement in political matters, with no literature to be seen, and a garden background. *Ibid.*, pp.48-49.

⁵³⁷ Dorothy Thompson claims that Edward's illness aided in restoring affection for the monarchy. She argues that the event helped to 'save' the monarchy from overthrow at this time. Dorothy Thompson, *Op. Cit.*, pp.114.

⁵³⁸ The London Stereoscopic Co. favoured a more 'sensational' publication style, especially as the nineteenth-century progressed. This issue might therefore reflect a studio identity rather than a trend in royal portrait pattern.

expression of gratitude to God, but there is still a statue-like aura to the Queen. Added colour in the photograph exaggerates Victoria's lack of life in the very pale-pink tone of the face contrasted with the dark red of the background curtain, and the deep plumb shade of her gown. Victoria's personal relief is constructed as a collectable value, but there is still a lack of animation in her figure and expression, and she retains the aura of a devoted widow in mourning.

A shift to individual celebrity focus in a more formal and 'regal' portrait expression is evident in these constructions, and is particularly illustrated in a carte de visite issued on Edward's recovery, shown in **Fig.249-653**. It was published in appreciation of public sympathy and support during the Prince's illness and consists of three small head-and-shoulder portraits of Victoria, Edward and Alexandra positioned within an art-work background. There is a crown over Victoria, and royal plumes over Edward and Alexandra, but the royal personages seem to 'float' in mid-air. In symbolism, they are separated from their subjects by a banner running across the middle of the carte below them which reads 'In Remembrance of the Thanksgiving Day'. A smaller scroll just beneath says 'to my People', and this introduces a two-page letter which is reproduced below from Victoria, thanking the public for their support during the Prince's illness. A distance has been conveyed here, between the Royal family and its subjects. The monarchy seems to be making an address from an elevated stance, and a large gold-coloured imprint at the bottom of the letter (a royal crest) exaggerates the effect even further.

A Special Focus on Princess Alexandra

The images of the private life of a normal middle-class family that dominated representations of the Royal family in the mid-century were steadily replaced by more formal, public displays of an elite family, who nevertheless shared the interests

and feelings of the population. A new celebrity worth, expressed in formality with reference to royal tradition focussed on the individual. The images of the Princess of Wales proved to be an exceptional case in engaging public interest, and one that provided studios with a huge potential for sales. Alexandra, in her young, modern and fashionable appearance, and in her perfectly-groomed appearance and middle-class decorum, epitomised the ideal of young late-Victorian womanhood, and a large number of cartes de visite were issued of her. The portraits, however, emphasised a strong and close involvement between Princess and viewer. Two are shown in **Figs.250-187** and **251-185**. In the first Alexandra is seen enjoying a pleasant day out with her small children, taking them for a pony ride. In the second portrait she carries her new baby playfully on her back, as a happy and loving young mother.⁵³⁹ They are composed as images to which young women across the country could relate, and Alexandra looks directly at the viewer, engaging a personal connection. In **Fig. 252-173** Alexandra draws the spectator into her persona to a greater extent. Her head fills the picture space but twists around at a 45' angle to look up at the camera, and the viewer. The image in **Fig.253-178** offers a more serious aspect of the Princess's character, revealing something of her religious conviction. She directs a piercing address at the spectator and this catches the eye, but a cross is vividly evident around her neck, highlighted against her dark bodice. The two cartes in **Figs.254-180** and **255-888** offer more insights into Alexandra's character, the first revealing her love of animals where she holds a pet kitten close to her chest, and the second her love of music. Here she appears in university gown, and text

⁵³⁹ This was an exceptionally popular image. Plunkett points out that the photographer, William Downey claimed that it was the 'best-selling photograph so far on record, and that it had sold 'at least 300,000 copies'. 'Notes', *Photographic News*, 27 February 1885, pp.136.

underlines here achievement stating that this is 'H.R.H. The Princess of Wales in her robes as doctor of music'.⁵⁴⁰ One of Alexandra's public visits is also presented in carte de visite form in **Fig.256-683**, where text says that this is the 'Mining dress' that she wore when descending Botallack Mine near Penzance.⁵⁴¹

A celebrity 'cult' developed around the Princess. This is evidenced in the huge amount of contemporary press reports and images of the Princess, and in the very large volume of cartes de visite of he issued in the late-nineteenth-century. Chris Rojek has argued that admiration for a public figure can generate a desire to get closer to the person, or even engender an abstract desire to 'possess' the celebrity.⁵⁴² The market demand for more and more, and the latest, insights into various aspects of the Princess's life, loves and activities seems to indicate the emergence of a celebrity culture around personality, and one collector's arrangement of his or her portrait of Alexandra (illustrated in **Fig.257-XA76**) does indeed elevate her to a person of outstanding importance and interest. Here the collector has pasted a carte-sized print of Alexandra in the centre of a large album page. A wide outline has been drawn around the portrait in red ink, and ornate red lettering below identifies her as the 'Prin: of Wales'. The Princess is awarded a full page to herself here, and has been carefully positioned and 'framed', reflecting a

⁵⁴⁰ Alexandra was awarded an honorary degree for her musical prowess from Trinity College, Dublin when visiting Ireland in 1885.

⁵⁴¹ The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Penzance in August 1865. Alexandra opened a new road named after her there, and the couple then visited the mine at Botallack, an event also reported and illustrated in the press. *Illustrated Times*, 5 August 1865, pp.77.

⁵⁴² As a way of re-affirming the person's 'real' self. Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London, 2001), pp.58-59 & 62-63. The specific market appeal of these images of Alexandra has not been analyzed, but it would seem probable that they appealed to both men and women, the former admiring her gendered exemplarity and the latter valuing her image as a source of inspiration and emulation.

special personal place in the collector's life.

These portraits of Princess Alexandra indicate a new kind of royal portrait emerging and gaining in popularity. Queen Victoria's early images emphasised shared values with her middle-class public. Victoria and Albert's show of domestic ideology had removed them from associations of 'rule' and authority, instead they appeared as leading a country as one with their people. This underlying principle was continued into a new era of royal portraiture for the young royal members, but a continuity of royal exemplarity is evident in many later portraits where Albert's presence is often found. Long after the death of the Prince, his image was placed alongside Victoria to provide a strong exemplary gendered framework to the future royal line. An example is illustrated in the in three cartes in **Figs.258-589, 259-591** and **260-591(A)** of the royal wedding where Albert's presence is prominently included alongside Victoria. In the first portrait the newly-married couple stand (Alexandra in her white wedding dress and Edward in a plain dark suit) behind the Queen who sits in the middle in her dark widow's attire. However she looks to her left, at a large bust of Albert placed upon a plinth, and her glance draws Albert's presence into the group. The second portrait shows Victoria with eight members of her family (these being Princess Louise, Princess Helena, Princess Alice and her husband, Prince Leopold, Princess Beatrice and the Prince and Princess of Wales), and the bust of Albert has been positioned at the centre of the group. The figures are grouped to look in towards him, and Victoria sits with Beatrice beside her, their two heads acutely bowed over a photograph of Albert placed on Victoria's knee, just below his statue. Albert therefore forms a strong central core to the group. The last carte was taken at the same sitting, but this time it is Alexandra (the future queen) who holds the picture of Albert. She looks directly at the spectator, and the composition

conveys the future queen taking Albert's moral code into her own public duty.⁵⁴³

This portrait now formally addresses the monarchy's public, and of the monarchy assuming a new role as a symbol of Britain's nature as a nation.⁵⁴⁴

Albert's influence on his son, Edward, is also constructed in the carte in **Fig.261-594**. Here the Prince of Wales stands in gentlemanly pose, with a pile of books and a classical urn placed just beside his left elbow. A view of Windsor castle is seen to his right through a window framed by a draped curtain attesting to his future monarchical role, but beside his right hand is a small bust of his father, Prince Albert, and thus Albert's influence seems to guide the future kingly duties of Edward. Such images correspond to Jonathan Parry's observation of a continued reference to Albert's moral exemplarity in the national press. Indeed he cites an instance of Edward praised as a paragon of civic dutifulness 'like his father Albert' in 1870,⁵⁴⁵ however the cabinet card in **Fig.262-1060** situates Victoria and Albert's influence extending further down the royal line: a portrait that shows Victoria as the reigning monarch with three future monarchs. Victoria sits at the centre of the picture, and her eldest son (Edward) and his son (George) stand to either side, and on Victoria's knee is her great-grandson (George's son). But a brooch worn over Victoria's heart contains Albert's picture, and it again asserts Albert's manly influence on the future royal inheritance.

⁵⁴³ There is a 'key' printed on the back of this carte which identifies (through numbers) each figure, and this – in its pencil-styled drawing – particularly highlights Albert as the nucleus of the family group.

⁵⁴⁴ David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977', Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.107, 120 & 165.

⁵⁴⁵ Jonathan Parry, 'Family Histories', Eds. Tom Bentley and James Wilsdon, *Monarchies* (London, 2002), pp.71.

Another cabinet card (shown in **Fig.263-1055**) alludes to Victoria and Albert's influence extending into the British state and into the ruling families of Europe.⁵⁴⁶ It shows Victoria at the centre of her family, many of whom had married into the European aristocracy.⁵⁴⁷ Victoria forms the nucleus of the picture in her central positioning and she sits as a matriarchal figure with a family album on her knee and children at her feet, but Albert appears just above her as a shadowy bust. Edward, as the future king, is placed in between them, and the three figures, in being slightly larger, dominate the composition.⁵⁴⁸ The picture presents Victoria and Albert as infusing the crowns of Europe with their enlightened values.⁵⁴⁹

Symbolic Ceremonial Role for the British Royal Family

However in these examples the power of the state is also evident in the presence of men in military uniform. Several of the men wear military regalia. David Cannadine has discussed the fostering of pomp, ritual and ceremony in Victoria's later years,⁵⁵⁰ linking Church, state and monarchy, and an entry in a book published in 1895 helps

⁵⁴⁶ The picture is composed of cut-and-pasted images from other negatives and placed into a background artwork setting, and thus the sizes could be altered.

⁵⁴⁷ Princess Vicky married the Crown Prince of Germany in 1858, Princess Alice married the Grand Duke of Hess in 1862, Princess Helena married Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein in 1866, Princess Beatrice married Prince Henry of Battenberg in 1885, Prince Edward married Princess Alexandra of Denmark in 1863, Prince Alfred married Grand Duchess Maria of Russia in 1874, Prince Arthur married Princess Louise of Prussia in 1879 and Prince Leopold married Princess Helena of Waldeck and Pymont in 1882.

⁵⁴⁸ This is achieved by manipulating negatives to construct a composite compilation.

⁵⁴⁹ Victoria's widow's headdress is particularly evident, attesting to her own lead of gendered ideology in its central and outlined appearance, and in her enlarged figure.

⁵⁵⁰ David Cannadine highlights the fostering of monarchical pomp and ceremony centered around royal jubilees and celebrations in the later decades of the nineteenth-century to signal Britain's illustrious past, and continuation into the future. David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977', Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.107, 120 & 165.

to elucidate how new representations were read. The text accompanied a picture of Victoria in her most opulent royal regalia, and described the picture as conveying: 'the blood of Stuart and Tudor, Plantagenet and Norman, Dane and Saxon' that flowed through England's monarchs' veins with a 'pedigree' descending from the "Good King Alfred the Great."⁵⁵¹ Britain's illustrious heritage and historical continuity was thus conveyed by such portrait presentation in the late nineteenth-century, and used to present the monarchy as head (along with the Church) of the British state: an entity whose longevity singled it out from its European counterparts.

This message helps to explain the popularity of later portraits of the Royal family, when a dual value appears to emerge; of heritage and of domesticity. For example cabinet card of Prince Edward in **Fig.264-1060(B)** shows Edward's head and upper torso filling the picture space in his full-dress braided military uniform, and he has the highest British orders of historical chivalry placed on his chest.⁵⁵² This attests to his inheritance of a British royal line extending back centuries: and a hand-written annotation added to the mount of the photograph reveals an admiration and pride in Edward continuing the long traditions of the British crown in this image. It reads: 'Edward, The Prince of Wales and the next King of England'. The carte in **Fig.265-874**, however, shows the 'compliment' to this popular modern portrait style, in accentuating the future king and queen as exemplars of gendered family norms. In

⁵⁵¹ 'Her Majesty the Queen.', *The Empire: its Royal Personages and Celebrities. The Royal Album*, 1895, pp.1. The booklet included sixteen illustrations taken from W. & D. Downey's photographs of members of the Royal family.

⁵⁵² The medals on Edward's chest appear to be the Order of the Thistle (only the Queen, the Prince of Wales and 16 knights held this order) and the Order of the Garter (this was an order dating back to 1348 and only the Queen, the Prince of Wales and 24 knights could hold it at any one time). They are the highest orders of rank and chivalry in the United Kingdom.

this Edward and Alexandra appear together and they wear everyday attire. Edward sits squarely facing the camera while his wife stands sideways facing him, and leans in slightly towards him. The two ways of presenting the modern monarchy proved popular, signalling a Royal family of long and noble heritage and historical continuity, but modern and enlightened – and it is a pattern that endured into following centuries.

The royal images served as a symbol of the English nation and character – indeed of ‘being English’ in the later-nineteenth-century, but Victoria and her family were in fact from a strong Germanic line. Richard Williams points out that the family were known as Germans, and indeed he cites a report in *Reynolds Magazine* in 1873 that said ‘All the royal family are Germans. There is not a drop of English blood in their veins.’⁵⁵³ There had been unease at Albert’s German influence on the British monarchy during his lifetime⁵⁵⁴ but, as Elizabeth Langland says, activities that appeared to aid Britain’s progress and wellbeing helped to divert criticism.⁵⁵⁵ The composite carte in in **Fig.266-113**, however, suggests that a certain degree of unease remained in relation to the family’s Germanic roots. The portrait refers to the marriage of Princess Louise and the Duke of Argyll in 1871, and here photographs

⁵⁵³ This was a Radical publication, but it highlights a public awareness of the family’s Germanic ancestry. Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown* (Aldershot, 1997), pp.169.

⁵⁵⁴ Richard Williams highlights contemporary unease at Albert’s plans to develop an ‘empire’ led by himself and Victoria that would have authority over the constitutionally-elected government. *Ibid.*, pp.106, 146, and 168.

⁵⁵⁵ Such as his championing of educational opportunities. Elizabeth Langland says that Albert’s role in public life in terms of cultural influence was especially defined after his organization of the Great Exhibition in 1851. Elizabeth Langland, ‘Nation and Nationality: Queen Victoria in the developing narrative of Englishness’, Eds. Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, *Remaking Queen Victoria* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.26. Richard Williams also highlights the construction of Albert’s image as a beneficial presence in terms of cultural and educational help to Britain. Richard Williams, *Op. Cit.*, pp.107.

of the couple's heads have been added to an artwork background. The Scottish Duke of Argyll is shown in his Scottish attire, and small Scottish warrior-figures have been placed behind him. Behind Louise the figures are of military-men in German uniform, and the text below the picture reads 'A Real German Defeat: now Scotland's Chieftan triumphs in the strife, Secures a lovely Princess and a happy wife'. Louise was the only child of Victoria and Albert to marry a British spouse, with Vicky, Alice, Helena, Arthur and Leopold and Beatrice marrying into German royal houses.⁵⁵⁶ Richard Williams points out anti-Germanic feelings continued after Albert's death into the early 1870s, fuelling calls for a republic,⁵⁵⁷ and the composition and wording of this portrait is a reminder that there was still a degree of public concern over a continuing Germanic influence, running below the outward appearance of such huge popularity (and celebration) of the nation's Royal family.

The Royal Image Used in a Commercial Context

Nevertheless a new association between the Royal family and Englishness gained popularity as an advertising tool. For example The Consumers' Tea Company used a photograph of Victoria to 'front' an advert for their product in the carte in **Fig.267-391**. Victoria appears here in a head-and-shoulders pose, and she is seen in her most formal regal attire of beautiful gown, opulent jewels and crown. This presents the Queen in her new imperial status as Empress of India (confirmed by the text

⁵⁵⁶ Princess Vicky married Frederick Crown Prince of Prussia in 1858, Princess Alice married Louis IV Grand Duke of Hesse in 1862, Princess Helena married Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein in 1866, Prince Arthur married Princess Louise of Prussia in 1879, Prince Leopold married Princess Helena of Waldeck & Pymont in 1882, and Princess Beatrice married Prince Henry of Battenberg in 1885.

⁵⁵⁷ Richard Williams, Op. Cit., pp.106 & 168.

below her portrait reading: 'Her Imperial Majesty Victoria'),⁵⁵⁸ and Britain's empirical advantage in its source of tea is inferred through the advert on the carte's backplate, which reads: 'For best value in Teas, Coffees and general Groceries go to The Consumers' TEA COMPANY'. Victoria's appearance as Empress of India highlights the exquisite commodities gained through the nation as an empire, but her unique dowager's crown is clearly evident, silhouetted against a plain background, and at the same time re-asserts Britain's global expansion being undertaken according to the high morals of British society.⁵⁵⁹

Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich have said that Victoria's historical value is 'difficult to categorize',⁵⁶⁰ and several researchers have explored Victoria's manipulation of the new mass media to popularise herself in the mid-nineteenth-century.⁵⁶¹ But this study examines a 'courting' of market popularity to secure middle-class sales at a time of revolt against inherited elites across Europe and uncertainty about the role of the monarchy in Britain. The high carte de visite sales recorded are testament to studio success in identifying an enduring image that would appeal to a middle-class market. The portraits show that it was as upholders

⁵⁵⁸ Queen Victoria was made sovereign of India in the Government of India Act of 2 August 1858. The Proclamation finalised the appointment on 8 November 1858, with the Royal Titles Act of 1876 giving Victoria the title of Empress of India. Ibid., pp.175-76. David Cannadine, *Op. Cit.*, pp.107 & 165. Jonathan Parry, 'Whig Monarchy, Whig Nation: Crown, politics and representativeness 1800-2000', Ed. Andrzej Olechnowicz, *The Monarchy and the British Nation 1780 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2007), pp.52.

⁵⁵⁹ It was specially-commissioned to fit over her widow's head-dress and, in its unique appearance, testified to the Queen's (and the nation's) moral character, possibly seen as providing a justification of annexing foreign lands.

⁵⁶⁰ Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, 'Introduction', *Remaking Queen Victoria*, Eds. Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich (Cambridge, 1997), pp.2.

⁵⁶¹ For example: John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria First Media Monarch* (Oxford, 2003), and Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, *Remaking Queen Victoria*, Eds. Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich (Cambridge, 1997).

of the mores of their subjects that the popularity of images lay – and was retained through changes in public attitudes to the monarchy as the century progressed.⁵⁶² Royal popularity became dependent on being something symbolically rather than doing something constitutionally. Cartes de visite reveal a change taking place over the 1860s and 1870s in perceived public royal role and popularity. Royal celebrity value evolved from self-legitimising royal exemplarity to a confident public symbol of nation. Indeed this new role proved to be a useful political tool to identify party policy, especially in the later decades of the century, and this will be examined in the next case study on the cartes de visite of the Victorian statesman.

⁵⁶² Margot Finn says that even the most hardened republicans could identify with Victoria as a woman, upholding the gendered mores of middle-class society whilst politicians for example could be corrupted by special interests whatever their party allegiance. Margot C. Finn, *After Chartism* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.177-80. Royal cartes de visite are also notable for the numerous pirate copyists who identified a strong market interest amongst those on lower incomes.

CASE STUDY 2: THE STATESMAN

The first case study demonstrated that royal carte de visite sales were secured by linking the Royal family to middle-class values, and shown as a monarchy modernising and moving with the times. However, the challenge for photographers selling images of statesmen, the second most volumetric in output, was somewhat different. Here photographers had to negotiate party political differences around issues that were part of everyday debate. Statesmen were, as such, much more accessible to their middle-class market. The Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867 gave nearly all adult men the right to elect their members of Parliament,⁵⁶³ and this effected a closer relationship between statesman and public: indeed the statesman's job now depended on meeting the expectations of his electorate. As Miles Taylor observes, power moved from the Lords to the Commons,⁵⁶⁴ indeed as early as the mid-1840s Engels described the middle-classes as the main 'governing group'.⁵⁶⁵ Their views were particularly informed by expanding numbers of press publications that kept people up to date with political matters: one reporter observed in 1852 that 'every man' was now a politician.⁵⁶⁶ Increasingly public performance in post determined statesmen's success rather than sheer birth-right. As *Vanity Fair* noted

⁵⁶³ In 1859 *The Illustrated News of the World* identified the nation's political determination lying in 'public opinion'. 'What Becomes of the Money?' *The Illustrated News of the World*, 23 July 1859, pp.34.

⁵⁶⁴ Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847-1860* (Oxford, 1995), pp.7.

⁵⁶⁵ Asa Briggs, 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', *Past & Present*, No. 9 (April 1956), pp.65, and Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.412.

⁵⁶⁶ Richard Brown, *Church and State in Modern Britain* (London, 1991), pp.539. Referring to a contemporary quote by W.R. Greg.

rather cynically in 1869, 'Brains' had usurped the 'divine prerogatives' of 'Property'.⁵⁶⁷ This study examines the portrait images that met the expectations of the middle-class market of the mid-nineteenth-century, that engaged their interest, and that reflected the expansion of a popular political culture. The large number of extant statesman cartes shows how photographers used visual language in appealing to a market for political characters and how it shifted and changed over the later decades of the century. This case study explores the patterns that proved successful in attracting sales. In order to provide a comprehensive overview of carte de visite output across the wide spectrum of government representation, the study will be divided into three parts. The first will examine the professionalization of the statesman in the mid-century, a portrait style that secured sales in parliamentary representation and for those in Civil Service and Foreign Office posts. The second part addresses a key change in the way portraits were composed to give greater emphasis to party affiliation. The third part explores a more defined development of this trend as statesmen became intrinsically linked to the representation of party policy. As in the previous study, the cartes in the accompanying archive will form the basic resource material, and portrait construction and meaning will be analysed against recent research and contemporary literature. However, in this case study *Vanity Fair* proves a help in interpreting the images due to its contemporary linking of image to representational value.

PART ONE: THE 'PROFESSIONAL' STATESMAN

Members of Parliament

⁵⁶⁷ Earl de Grey and Ripon 'Statesmen. No. 16', *Vanity Fair*, 22 May 1869.

The Reform Bill of 1832 transformed British politics. It overturned centuries of tradition which privileged the landed elite as political leaders. With the new franchise opportunities arose for middle-class men to vote and to take a place in Parliament. Change was slow however: in the mid-nineteenth-century the majority of statesmen still came from a privileged upper-class background. As the *Cornhill Magazine* noted in 1862, newly-elected middle-class parliamentarians had to join aristocrats whose ancestors had 'for centuries' taken a leading role in determining Britain's constitution.⁵⁶⁸ Professional photographers therefore had the task of presenting statesmen from upper-class and middle-class backgrounds in a way that would address the recognition, trust and confidence of the middle-class portrait collector, and to attract the interest of a public with greater personal involvement in the political future of their country. This was done by presenting both upper-class and middle-class representatives as sharing the values of their electorate, with a focus on character. Examples are illustrated in the cartes in **Figs.268-613, 269-83, 270-370 and 271-217**. Here the aristocratic Lords Derby and Granville, and the middle-class Benjamin Disraeli and John Roebuck appear in a similar manner, as Victorian professional 'gentlemen', and in consequence as possessing qualities of personal conviction and moral rectitude. In a visual trope now familiar, they wear smart dark day-coats over crisply-laundered white shirts. They have short hair and clean-shaven faces, and are accompanied by top hats and walking sticks. They are evenly-balanced in weight and appear humble in attitude. They have serious expressions, and are placed within domestic backgrounds that underline a reading

⁵⁶⁸ 'Liberalism', *Cornhill Magazine V* (London, 1862), pp.75.

of 'character'. These upper-class and middle-class men are shown in a unifying iconography, denoting all as statesmen of moral fibre and high principle.

The four cartes above show an adoption of middle-class ideas across party divides. In these examples Lord Derby and Benjamin Disraeli were Conservatives, Lord Granville a Liberal, and John Roebuck a Radical Liberal. Their standardised appearance casts them all equally as 'professional' men undertaking work as gentlemen of learning and principle. This representation is seen in a large number of statesman portraits of the early 1860s, with men posed with accompanying books and papers. For example Liberal Lord Ebury's top hat is placed on top of two books in his portrait (in **Fig.272-82**), and the cartes in **Figs.273-612** and **274-951** show Lord Derby and John Roebuck with books at their elbows, with further large tomes shown at the feet of Roebuck.

Serious application to work was a standard representation of 'professional' politicians. The portrait in **Fig.275-506** shows the Conservative Lord Aberdeen with a particularly attentive pose and set of facial features.⁵⁶⁹ He appears sternly-focussed, and his eyes stare ahead with fixed gaze. His shoulders are tense and hunched, and his head projects forwards with determined jaw, conveying fixed contemplation and serious deliberation. A similar intensity is conveyed in the carte of Lord Derby in **Fig.276-746(B)** where a head-and-shoulders image is placed in an oval frame, and this accentuates a determined purpose in the statesman's expression with piercing eyes, furrowed brow and set mouth.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁹ He was a Tory statesman, the 4th Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860).

⁵⁷⁰ He was a Conservative statesman, the 14th Earl Derby (1799-1869).

These images conveyed an image of the new professional statesman of high principle and intellect, of one committed to serving his constituents and reflecting shared middle-class values. This portrait presentation conforms to Walter Bagehot's description of the 'ideal' statesman of the period. In 1863 he cited Liberal Sir George Cornwall Lewis as fulfilling such a role in his humble and unostentatious dedication to political service, as one of 'sober simplicity' in adopting an ordinary demeanour with no hint of 'buoyant' authority, but that conveyed the 'quiet courage' of a 'solid thinker'.⁵⁷¹ These qualities are indeed conveyed in the carte de visite of Cornwall Lewis in **Fig.277-79** where he is posed in gentlemanly humility. There is no affectation or arrogance, instead he stands in a smart, dark day-coat, presents fastidious personal grooming, and looks directly at the spectator conveying a sincerity in his earnest address. His presence and character form the focus of the composition, but he also stands beside a pile of books placed on an accompanying table with his right hand, as a clenched fist, firmly bearing down upon them, underlining the intellectual intensity of Cornwall Lewis's approach to his political service:⁵⁷² he appears as a man whose work would be undertaken first and foremost in accordance with enlightened middle-class values of work and duty.

⁵⁷¹ 'Sir George Cornwall Lewis', *Biographical Studies*, Ed. Walter Bagehot (London, 1895), pp.v, 229-36. Quoting Right Hon. Sir G.C. Lewis, Bart., M.P., *A Dialogue on the Best form of Government* (London, 1863).

⁵⁷² James Vernon claims that a new electorate desired to replace the 'Old Corruption' of a lazy and parasitical privileged aristocracy with hard-working men who were dedicated to serving their electorate and country's interests in middle-class ideology. James Vernon, *Politics and the People* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.268. Jonathan Parry argues that efficiency in political administration was especially valued in rectifying the shortcomings which had been so vividly exposed during the Crimean War, Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London, 1996), pp.179. Parry also says that political adoption of middle-class voters' own social ideals was a concerted effort by statesmen to avoid the unrest that had swept across Europe in the mid-nineteenth-century. Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.92.

The composition of the portraits fitted into the contemporary media presentation of the modern politician. For example Gladstone's 'unblemished character' and 'dauntless courage' in his 'honesty of purpose' were especially highlighted in 1856 in the biographical publication 'Men of the Time',⁵⁷³ and *The Illustrated News of the World* described Her Majesty's Ministers as 'all' honourable, wise and patriotic in 1859.⁵⁷⁴ Much attention was given to stressing the exercise of an unbiased and fair judgement according to personal conviction rather than party allegiance. For example *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* praised an independence of mind and sincere personal conviction, and 'impartial' criticism exercised by Lord Lyndhurst on measures brought forward by 'Liberals and Conservatives alike'.⁵⁷⁵ Similarly Lord Ebury was praised for gaining the 'respect and general confidence' even of those who sat upon the opposite benches to himself⁵⁷⁶ - and the Liberal Earl of Carlisle was noted as supporting every 'enlightened measure' from whichever party it was proposed, his 'fairness and impartiality' being particularly highlighted.⁵⁷⁷ Indeed a *Vanity Fair* print said of Lord Shaftesbury, 'He is not as other men are, for he is never influenced by party motives',⁵⁷⁸ and the biographical publication *Men of the Time* wrote in 1856 that their political entries had been chosen not due to their 'political bias' but for their

⁵⁷³ 'Gladstone, The Right Hon. William Ewart, M.P.' *Men of the Time* (London, 1856), pp.311 and 314.

⁵⁷⁴ 'What Becomes of the Money?' *The Illustrated News of the World*, 23 July 1859, front page and pp.34.

⁵⁷⁵ 'Lord Lyndhurst', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages 2nd Series* (London, 1859).

⁵⁷⁶ 'The Right Honourable Lord Ebury', *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁷ 'The Earl of Carlisle', *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁸ Lord Shaftesbury, 'Statesmen No.35', *Vanity Fair*, 13 November, 1869, pp.274.

'conscientious and patriotic motives'.⁵⁷⁹ The portraits there illustrate an attempt to promote a contemporary view of political representation, to capitalise on ideals for the new British system of government. The currency of this formula is also underlined in some cartes. For example the image in **Fig.278** is made up of artwork, with the photographic heads of Lord Stanley, John Bright and William Gladstone inserted inside. It shows all three as 'gentlemen', in smart suits and top hats. The composition presents a conversation between Bright and Gladstone, and the text shows Bright saying to Gladstone: "You see, Gladstone, honesty is the best policy" but Gladstone replies: "Yes, Bright, but I want to get into office again." A satirical view of Gladstone is presented here, in his suggestion that sincerity is not always the best way to get re-elected,⁵⁸⁰ and it indicates an astute public eye kept on the scruples of politicians in the mid-nineteenth-century, and their claims to principled action. Another cartoon-styled carte de visite (shown in **Fig.279-942**) seems to similarly exert a critique, this time of Lord Brougham's self-presentation. Here Brougham's photograph has been placed inside an artwork body, and the text below reads 'I am a Working Man Myself'. Brougham is shown with a bag of tools over his shoulder, and with workman's overalls – but these are placed over his

⁵⁷⁹ *Men of the Time* (London, 1856), Preface, pp.vi.

⁵⁸⁰ It is not clear in what context this was published – for example it might have been issued during the general election of 1874 when there was a strong Conservative challenge to Liberal government. Leo Braudy argues that caricatures (such as this) drew out the essence of contemporary debates, and the portraits provide a valuable insight into a wider public view than that published in the mass media. Leo Braudy, 'Secular Anointings', Eds. Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi, *Constructing Charisma* (New York and Oxford, 2010), pp.176..

gentlemanly attire which conveys an affectation of work, and the text appears to deride a false, and rather patronising, claim from the statesman.⁵⁸¹

These examples illustrate that political controversy sold portraits, but also that public opinion was quick to judge the sincerity of statesmen's behaviour, and one collector's personal comment added to the backplate of the carte de visite of Lord Stanley in **Fig.280-285** underlines such practice. Here the Conservative parliamentarian appears as the 'perfect' gentleman-statesman with the standardised short neat hair, dark attire and serious expression, but the collector has written the words: 'turn-coat' on the back of the portrait. Lord Stanley had followed his father (Lord Derby) as a Tory M.P., but he gained a reputation for strong Liberal leanings, and the comment offers a rare insight into one collector's judgement and questioning of a claim to political 'character'.⁵⁸²

Civil Servants

The portraits discussed here show that 'character' sold the parliamentary candidate to the middle-class collector in the early 1860s,⁵⁸³ and this was also the case for the images of leading Civil Servants. The reforms of 1854 to the Civil Service following the recommendations in the Northcote-Trevelyan Report opened up entry through competitive examination. Now progress through the ranks depended upon ability

⁵⁸¹ This is an instance where a re-casting of upper-class privilege has not been received as honorable behavior.

⁵⁸² The annotation reveals the collector's opinion of character in terms of sincerity to personal viewpoint valued to a lesser degree than that of a loyalty to party stance.

⁵⁸³ Joseph Butler said in 1844 that 'that which renders beings capable of moral government, is their having a moral nature'. The proposal perhaps adds to the understanding of the contemporary expression of character in legal representation. Joseph Butler, *The Analogy of Religion* (Oxford, 1844), 'Dissertation II. Of the Nature of Virtue', pp.316-7.

and merit, overturning the patronage and purchase system where posts had been primarily filled by upper-class men buying or blagging their way in.⁵⁸⁴ Opportunities were opened up for career advancement and a resulting social elevation: Samuel Smiles noted in 1859 that 'no fewer than seventy British peerages, including two dukedoms' had been achieved in governmental careers by those born into families who had been 'grocers, clergymen, merchants and hardworking members of the middle class'.⁵⁸⁵ By 1869 the *Quarterly Review* stated that the Commission had 'eliminated all dunces' and had established an 'entirely new spirit of economy and industry'.⁵⁸⁶ However here particular emphasis was placed on integrity, honesty and political impartiality to gain credibility and promotion.

The cartes of Victorian civil servants are dominated by the new middle-class men attaining high Civil Service positions, and in the portraits there is an emphasis on a serious 'professional' attitude to work, together with high levels of scholarship. For example the two cartes in **Fig.281-789** and **282-512** show Lord Westbury, Lord Chancellor between 1861 and 1865, and Sir Roundell Palmer, Attorney General between 1863 and 1866. Westbury was the son of a doctor, and Palmer the son of a clergyman. Both had gained their positions through education and hard work, and this narrative is constructed in the images as presented. The portraits show them in

⁵⁸⁴ Stephen Conway, 'Bentham and the Nineteenth-century Revolution in Government', Ed. Richard Bellamy, *Victorian Liberalism* (London and New York, 1990), pp.71. Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London, 1996), pp.3.

⁵⁸⁵ Samuel Smiles, *Self Help* (London, 1859), pp.216-7.

⁵⁸⁶ www.civilservice.blog.gov.uk accessed 27 February 2017. Reform was instigated in the Northcote-Trevelyan Report of 1854. Entry was now to be by exam. Entrants could move between departments, and promotion was on the basis of merit rather than patronage or purchase. Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain*, (New Haven & London, 1996), pp.179 and 182.

their 'working' attire of the wigs and dark gowns used in the exercise of their legal professions rather than in the trappings of their high office such as the of flamboyant robes and ornate chains signalling power and authority. Indeed Penelope Corfield claims that in the mid-century the uniform of legal office, of robes and wig, signalled the acquired knowledge of men who were now charged with maintaining the British legal system.⁵⁸⁷ Poses and expressions were also contrived by commercial photographers to emphasise the serious demeanour of the extensive learning needed for fair judicial decisions. The image was crucial in justifying the legal system. As Richard Bellamy says, the reputation of an incorruptible and fair judiciary was seen as the mainstay of stable government in the nineteenth-century.⁵⁸⁸

The portraits reproduced the tone and style adopted in the national media when reporting on high Civil Service appointments. For example, *The Illustrated News* wrote in 1861 of Lord Westbury's appointment to Lord Chancellor, giving emphasis to learning and character in achieving status. He was also shown in a wig and gown, and indeed his wig fills the picture space (shown in **Fig.283-XA50**). His outstanding intellectual achievements were the focus of attention, and indeed were proposed as warranting his appointment as 'Custodian of the Great Seal'.⁵⁸⁹ A similar association between learning, duty, status and legal attire is found in a *Vanity*

⁵⁸⁷ Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London and New York, 1995), pp.63-94 and 200.

⁵⁸⁸ Richard Bellamy, 'Introduction', Richard Bellamy, Ed., *Victorian Liberalism* (London and New York, 1990), pp.8. Parry notes that Palmerston established belief in an efficient and fair administrative government, and that this helped the more marginalized Radical groups to accept and trust the governmental process. Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London, 1996), pp.178.

⁵⁸⁹ 'Baron Westbury, the New Lord Chancellor', *Illustrated News*, 6 July 1861, pp.12.

Fair print of Lord Chancellor Hatherley (shown in **Fig.284-XA52**). Hatherley was the grandson of a serge-maker in Exeter, and had progressed through the Civil Service career structure to become Lord Chancellor in 1868, but it is again his character and learning that forms the focus of the picture. Hatherley is seen in the foreground in his wig and plain legal robes, but with his props of orb and hat, locating his high office, placed in the background. He sits in humble stance, with knees placed together, legs crossed in demure pose, and hands clasped together on his knee, and he leans forward slightly with an intense and serious expression on his face. The accompanying caption reads: "When he who has too little piety is impossible, and he who has too much is impracticable; he who has equal piety and ability becomes Lord Chancellor".⁵⁹⁰ The presentation of a humble exercise of legal duty is exactly the same as in the cartes de visite, and match the contemporary value accorded to mid-nineteenth-century legal representatives in political culture. Indeed the carte of Sir William Bovill in **Fig.285-408** accentuates scholarly expertise even more forcefully.⁵⁹¹ In the portrait his head-and-shoulders pose accentuates the wig as it now fills the picture space, and the enlarged-head-style accentuates the lawyer's set facial expression, with determined mouth and fixed eyes seen in detail behind a pair of spectacles. Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini claim that intense expressions and wigs conveyed the 'profound thinker' in the nineteenth-century, especially when a 'dour expression' was seen 'peering over glasses',⁵⁹² and this exactly describes the presentation (and collectable value) of Bovill's carte de visite

⁵⁹⁰ 'Lord Hatherley, Lord High Chancellor. Statesmen No.7', *Vanity Fair*, 20 March 1869.

⁵⁹¹ Bovill did not attend university, but worked his way to the top of the legal profession from an initial post as articled clerk. He was appointed Solicitor General in 1866, and was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas between 1866 and 1873.

⁵⁹² Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini, *'In Vanity Fair'* (London, 2000), pp.112.

portrait.

Hugh Cunningham argues that nineteenth-century political culture was 'suffused' with a rhetoric of England as the home of liberty, and as having the constitution to protect it,⁵⁹³ and Roy Matthews and Peter Mellini point out that *Vanity Fair* viewed English justice as 'unique' in the world, and as a system that was renowned for its 'equality and sagacity'. The magazine praised the British judiciary as 'masters' of their profession who 'personified the noblest ideals of English law', being men who were 'learned, incorruptible and above temptation'. Indeed the writer proposed that judicial processes underpinned the entire structure of civilization.⁵⁹⁴ The professional photographer constructed these traits of character, scholarship and moral rectitude to produce collectable worth in his Civil Service cartes de visite, using visual language to identify individuals with a fair and informed legal system.

There are some portraits of legal Civil Servants, however, in which there is no display of professional 'uniform', and here *Vanity Fair* provides a useful indication of meaning. The *Vanity Fair* print of Lord Chancellor Westbury in **Fig.286-XA49** presents him in a smart dark suit, and there is no reference to his legal profession. He stands in well-groomed elegance with papers held in one hand, and the accompanying caption describes him as 'An Eminent Christian Man'.⁵⁹⁵ Here the lawyer's character – this time emphasised as his piety – is conveyed through the image of the Victorian gentleman. An almost identical pose of Westbury is found in

⁵⁹³ Hugh Cunningham, 'The Language of Patriotism 1750-1914', *History Workshop*, 12, (1981: Autumn), pp.11-12.

⁵⁹⁴ Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini, Op. Cit., pp.109-112.

⁵⁹⁵ 'Statesman No.15', *Vanity Fair*, 15 May 1869.

the carte in **Fig.287-750** where Westbury again stands in three-quarters pose with his left side facing the viewer. He is similarly dressed in a smart suit, and holds papers in his hand - and thus a similar character-worth could be attributed to this photograph. An obituary entry for Westbury, which appeared in *The Illustrated London News* in 1873, provides further confirmation of the interpretation. Here a civilian portrait has accompanied text on the Lord Chancellor's character, and it particularly praises Westbury's reforming and humanitarian contributions to the Oxford University Reform Act, the Acts for abolishing the Ecclesiastical Courts, the Fraudulent Trustee Act, the Charitable Trusts Act, as well as his work in establishing the Court of Probate and Divorce, and in improving the Equity and Common Law Courts.⁵⁹⁶ These examples indicate that civilian attire could be used to highlight 'character' in a Civil Servant. There is an added dimension to the carte of Westbury however. With its accentuated upwards camera angle, the Lord Chancellor appears to look down on his viewer from a superior position, and this might be a subtle reference to his high constitutional authority, but his gentlemanly appearance assures the viewer of his adherence to the value of work and duty redolent of middle-class culture.

There is no reference to the power and authority gained and bestowed on those holding high Civil Service office in these cartes de visite – for example of the chains and ornate robes received on appointment to high posts. Instead it is the men's

⁵⁹⁶ 'The Late Lord Westbury', *The Illustrated London News*, 2 August 1873, pp.106. Another instance is found in *The Illustrated London News*, which depicts the new Lord Chancellor in civilian attire on his appointment in 1861. The accompanying newspaper illustration (**Fig.288-XA51**) shows Westbury seated as a 'gentleman', again with no reference to his legal profession, and the text describes his dedication to establishing the ballot and his support of the abolition of church rates. 'The New Lord Chancellor', *Illustrated London News*, 6 July 1861, pp.13.

professional and dedicated exercise of their duty that forms collectable worth.

However a few cartes do refer to the rise in career achieved by some, but in terms of social status gained rather than 'power' of office. For example, the two cartes in **Fig.289-96, 290-513** show Lord Chancellor Campbell and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer Pollock. Both are in civilian attire, and have been placed in an exterior scene. The two men had originated from humble beginnings: Campbell was the son of a clergyman in Fife, and Pollock was the son of a saddler from Charing Cross. They had risen to exceptional heights in their careers; Campbell had been Lord Chief Justice in 1850-59 and Lord Chancellor between 1859 and his death in 1861, and was elevated to Baron Campbell in 1841, while Lord Frederick Pollock was Attorney General between 1844 and 1844, and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer between 1841 and 1868, being made a Baronet in 1866. The men are shown as typical 'gentlemen' through standard visual tropes of smart attire, top hats and walking sticks, and this underlines the moral aspects of their character, but they are recognised through a 'landed' social status constructed in country backgrounds and relaxed nonchalant poses. Pollock is in the mis-matched coat and trousers of a country gentleman and stands in relaxed aristocratic manner, leaning back slightly and with one hand placed in a pocket. He seems to be enjoying a 'country squire' status, but his underlying gentlemanly character is emphasised by the large top hat held out in front of him.⁵⁹⁷

Government Representation Abroad

Carte de visite patterns for British representation abroad, however, are different.

Here it is members of the upper-class who prevail. For example five upper-class

⁵⁹⁷ Pollock's pose in leaning back against a balustrade and plinth highlights his sphere of service, as contributing to the administration of the British constitution.

diplomats are shown in **Figs.291-1027, 292-90, 293-140, 294-727, 295-787**. They are Lord Elgin (Governor-General in Canada 1847-54 and Viceroy of India 1862-63), Lucius Cary (10th Viscount Falkland, Governor of Nova Scotia and Bombay), Ashe Windham (the grandson of Sir William Smith Windham, 7th Bt. who was magistrate in Natal between 1857 and 1867), Lord A. Paget (who was Foreign Ambassador, and Minister Plenipotentiary to King Emanuel of Italy, from 1867 to 1878), and Richard Temple-Grenville (3rd Duke of Buckingham who was Secretary of State for the Colonies 1867-8 and Governor of Madras 1875-80). The aristocratic pedigree of these men is accentuated by a relaxed nonchalance in pose, and this is illustrated in the carte of Lord Elgin where he leans back in his chair with one arm casually propped over its back. The angle emphasises his chest on which his garter-sash and medal are positioned to face the viewer. There is no intensity of purpose or acute reference to intellectual endeavour in the composition. The construction supports Jonathan Parry's claim that an appearance of disinterest indicated an aristocratic background.⁵⁹⁸ The 10th Viscount Falkland displays a similar lackadaisical attitude. He leans back, almost seeming to topple over, and is just supported by a plinth under his left arm to retain his stability. His chest is puffed out and his head is held high, seeming to look down on anyone in front of him. A particularly relaxed pose is also conveyed in the portrait of Ashe Windham who slides down in his chair and elegantly holds his left leg up and across his right leg, with little apparent interest in any work on his agenda. Lord Paget and the Duke of Buckingham also stand with heads held high, exerting a haughty superiority – and both men lean backwards slightly with hands on hips in a casual nonchalance.

⁵⁹⁸ Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.70.

Through pose, the images assert the aristocratic reading of the men. They are distanced from the purposeful middle-class 'work' ethic: while the 10th Viscount Falkland has a small book at his elbow, it is placed on the plinth behind him, and he looks away from it in the opposite direction. More emphasis is placed upon an eighteenth-century-styled gentlemanly sociability in these portraits, rather than on attentive administrative work and bookish affairs. They are presented as upper-class gentlemen but nevertheless there are references to the Victorian 'gentleman' of middle-class culture. For example dark clothes signal a serious application to a public occupation. The upper-classes were associated with refined communication skills, honed over centuries in aristocratic polite society:⁵⁹⁹ and this legitimised British dealings with various foreign authorities around the globe. This representation of upper-class authority is underscored in the *Vanity Fair* print of Lord Granville Leveson-Gower in **Fig.296-XA54**.⁶⁰⁰ Granville's aristocratic status is established by the placement of a crown just above his head, and the caption reads: 'The ablest professor in the cabinet of the tact by which power is kept; it is his mission to counteract the talk by which it is won and lost'. Granville's outstanding social skills are the source of his ability to negotiate important foreign dealings; a man perfectly qualified to meet and deal with kings, commoners, freedom-fighters and 'savages' alike.⁶⁰¹ At the same time he is equally established as a new

⁵⁹⁹ Especially useful in executing delicate foreign negotiations and diplomacy.

⁶⁰⁰ He was Secretary of State for the Colonies between 1868 and 1870. 'Statesmen No.6', *Vanity Fair*, 13 March 1869, pp.236. Published while he was Secretary of State for the Colonies between 1868 and 1870.

⁶⁰¹ With communication skills honed over centuries in upper-class society. A similar link is found in a report in the *Times* which noted of the aristocratic foreign diplomat Lord A. Paget that 'everywhere he won the confidence of Sovereigns and Governors'. 'Death of Sir Augustus Paget', Obituary, *Times*, 13 July 1896.

Victorian 'professional' man through the dark tones of his smart attire, and in his respectful pose.

Aristocratic stock was stressed as an asset in establishing a modern Britain government in many publications. The *Cornhill Magazine* for example said that the stability of nineteenth-century government was due to its previous aristocratic organisation. It proposed that a 'generous and lawful pride' in the achievement of previous generations should be felt, and the 'national greatness' which was now 'the common inheritance of us all.' The writer proposed that a 'splendid aristocracy' should be viewed as a significant asset to a nation in having effected an ages-old national enjoyment of 'peace and concord'.⁶⁰² However Charles Delleheim points out that upper-class pedigree was openly used to sanction the 'quest for hegemony',⁶⁰³ and Lauren Goodlad claims that disinterested Victorian upper-class British governors overseas appeared as the bastions of British 'culture' and defenders of British interests.⁶⁰⁴ Their arguments might therefore provide an explanation of the use of upper-class pedigree in posts abroad.

When found, however, the few portraits of middle-class men in foreign administration adopt a different style. Here there is an emphasis on the middle-class work ethic. An example is shown in the two cartes in **Figs. 297-142, 298-791**, of the colonial administrator John Lawrence. He was the son of an army colonel, and had attended the East India Company College. He had advanced in his career to become Viceroy of India from 1864 to 1869, gaining a knighthood for his services

⁶⁰² 'Liberalism', *Cornhill Magazine* V, (London, 1862), pp.76.

⁶⁰³ Charles Delleheim, *The Face of the Past* (Cambridge, 1982), pp.179.

⁶⁰⁴ Lauren Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State* (Baltimore, 2003), pp.158.

in 1869. Lawrence appears as a serious-minded professional gentleman in his dark smart attire and neat self-presentation, with short hair and upright deportment. Here his industrious application to administrative duties are emphasised through prop and pose. In the first carte Lawrence sits at a desk and leans forward towards open books as if attentively, and deeply, absorbed in his paperwork. In the second portrait he stands with his hand actively engaged with a book, propped up on the side-table next to him. An inkstand and papers are also clearly visible underlining his busy workload, and he appears with an earnest energy, looking directly at the viewer. Lawrence's work ethic was praised in contemporary press reports. For example *The Illustrated London News* wrote that under Lawrence's administration the Punjab had become 'an example of the success of British systems of government and civil institutions'⁶⁰⁵ – and the 'unceasing diligence' which he had 'rendered to the Empire' was noted in *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* in 1857.⁶⁰⁶ Lawrence could make no claim to inherited upper-class pedigree, so his contribution to foreign administration has been presented in terms of the execution of moral endeavour in such posts. They match the contemporary 'value' of Lawrence as circulated in the national press, as an exemplary man working hard to further Britain's imperial interests through the transmission of middle-class values of work, duty, accountability and rectitude.

There was, however there was a certain amount of controversy surrounding many

⁶⁰⁵ 'The New Governor-General of India.' *The Illustrated London News*, 19 December 1863, pp.637.

⁶⁰⁶ 'Sir John Laird-Mair Lawrence', *Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1860). His work was said to have helped in preventing the spread of the mutiny to the Punjab in 1857.

British foreign policies in the mid-century, especially those in the Empire. The country's use of force in winning and retaining sovereignty in distant lands was particularly controversial. Press reports on the Indian Mutiny of 1857 had highlighted the aggression that was frequently used by the British to maintain their rule: as Maureen Moran says, 'imperial experience' was often 'connected with bloodshed'.⁶⁰⁷ But the theme was popular in promoting debate, and was used to sell images. The portrait in **Fig. 299-509** for example shows James Brooke whose actions in Asia placed him at the centre of such controversies. He had become the first white Rajah of Sarawak but exercised considerable force over the natives when retaining power.⁶⁰⁸ In the carte he is presented in gentlemanly iconography of dark attire – and a huge top hat is seen bearing down on his head. It extends down to his eyebrows, and is particularly evident as his figure is placed against a plain background. Brooke stands in a humble stance with slightly rounded shoulders, underlining one committed to middle-class morals in his public role. Although the amount of force exerted to establish Brooke's position as the country's first Rajah was questioned,⁶⁰⁹ the image appears to present Britain's imperial authority exercised in, and led by men of, middle-class ideology (signalled by the 'gentleman')

⁶⁰⁷ Maureen Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (London, 2006), pp.53.

⁶⁰⁸ James Brooke was born in Calcutta, the son of an English judge. He began his career in the Bengal Army of the British East India Company. After a serious injury, however, he pursued a different career path. He purchased a ship and sailed to Borneo where he helped to support certain ruling factions, eventually becoming the first 'Rajah' of Sarawak in 1842.

⁶⁰⁹ A Commission of Enquiry was called to investigate accusations of brutality raised by Joseph Hume M.P. in 1854. 'The Rajahs of Sarawak', *The Spectator*, 19 January 1910, pp.40.

for the domestic British market⁶¹⁰ - and a collection of personally-arranged carte-sized prints in **Fig.300-XA55** suggests a cultural appreciation of Brooke. Here his image has been placed alongside those of Tennyson, Macaulay, Kingsley, Lord Clyde, Dr. Milman and the Rev. F.W. Morris. These men were linked by their literary and intellectual pursuits, and Brooke's positioning beside Kingsley on the page perhaps indicates the collector's acceptance of Kingsley's view that force and aggression were justified and right when maintaining British civilisation against 'savagery'.⁶¹¹ The over-emphasis on Brooke's moral qualities in the carte de visite, however, possibly needs to be seen as a defence of his action in the context of contemporary criticism.

Two other cartes (illustrated in **Fig.301-1029** and **Fig.302-1010**) reveal a similar underlying tension in the public view of British 'rule' abroad. Both relate to a sensational and controversial event when a Pathan man, Sher Ali, murdered the Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo in 1872.⁶¹² The first portrait shows Lord Mayo and, instead of civilian attire, he is seen here in his formal administrative 'authority' in his

⁶¹⁰ There was much support for British force to maintain authority over what were seen as 'savage' civilizations. The *Times* for example thought that Brooke had 'done honour to his country' in maintaining control, even if secured through extreme brutality. *The Times*, 9 May 1859. pp. 5. Thomas Carlyle and Charles Kingsley also viewed Brooke's behaviour as admirable in punishing disloyalty to British 'help' given to an ignorant, uncivilized 'lower order' who were 'enemies of Christ'. Kingsley went further, proposing that: "'Sacrifice of human life?" Prove that it is *human* life. It is *beast*-life. These Dyaks have put on the image of the beast, and they must take the consequence'. Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (New Haven and London, 1957), pp.212 (quoting Charles Kingsley *Letters and Memories*).

⁶¹¹ Catherine Hall claims that the mid-Victorians saw remote civilizations as savage, and approved of the severe measures used to instil Western values. Catherine Hall, *White Male and Middle Class* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 209 & 282.

⁶¹² Sher Ali pounced on him with a knife when the Viceroy was inspecting a penal colony in the Andaman Islands. Lord Mayo later died on the British ship HMS Glasgow. Lord Mayo was Viceroy of India between 1869 and 1872

most ostentatious Viceroy's regalia of fur-trimmed cape, medals and sword. The trappings of power are clearly on display, and the image announces British control over her foreign interests. The second carte shows his assassin, Sher Ali, in the chains of his capture, and the construction underlines British justice being enforced against insurrection. The collector of the carte has added a personal comment supporting British dominance. He or she has pasted the British crest (cut out from the ship's notepaper) at the top of the image, thus re-affirming British control and authority and retribution against insubordination from the 'natives'.⁶¹³ It also illustrates the immediacy and personal involvement in current affairs that the carte de visite medium could offer, in its provision of images which were relevant to the latest news-worthy events. Together these images tell a story about empire.

This study has shown that portrait sales were secured when presenting the British government – of parliamentary, civil, foreign and diplomatic representatives – as an aristocratic inheritance underpinned by middle-class values. Men of character and learning from various social backgrounds were valued as working together to establish the reputation of a highly principled British governance, with upper-class pedigree used to bolster respect for Britain abroad. The cartes illustrate the incorporation of 'enlightened' views reflecting a popular wave of liberalism sweeping through Victorian politics in the mid-nineteenth-century,⁶¹⁴ and a personal

⁶¹³ Clare Anderson says that Lord Mayo's assassination (in being the 'the third most powerful person in the British Empire after Queen Victoria and the Prime Minister') was hidden from the public to avoid concern that there was considerable unrest at British rule in Asia. Clare Anderson, 'The Murder of Mayo: Why Britain Kept Quiet about a Viceroy's assassination', Radio Four, 2011. Accessed through www.le.ac.uk/news/blog/2011

⁶¹⁴ The *Cornhill Magazine* gives a particularly useful contemporary description of liberal philosophy. The words 'liberal' and 'liberalism', it says, were first used on the Continent in

compilation of seven carte-sized prints pasted onto an album page (illustrated in **Fig.303-XA56**) confirms this pattern through one collector's personally-constructed view. It is an album page onto which small carte-sized prints have been pasted, and here the Conservatives Lord Derby and Lord Stanley, and Liberals William Gladstone and Lord Russell, have been arranged around Lord Palmerston who is placed in the middle.⁶¹⁵ The compilation matches a comment made in the *Cornhill Magazine* that said: 'it does not often happen that a title adopted by one party is accepted by their opponents as an appropriate description of them' but in the case of 'liberal' political philosophy it was undoubtedly the case.⁶¹⁶

The Liberal leader placed at the centre of this composition however reflects the significant change that took place in 1859 in the British political landscape with the establishment of a formal Liberal Party to represent middle-class interests. It was a

the early nineteenth-century, and especially came to prominence in England through Lord Byron's periodical the *Liberal*. The aim was to effect change in the 'whole established order of things' and to shift an existing 'narrow-minded and bigoted' attitude to 'larger and more generous principles' in areas of politics, literature and religion. It was a political philosophy that represented 'popular' opinion, striving to increase the power 'of the popular voice' in a democratic manner – and the writer pointed out that a 'liberal' man was a 'gentleman' with principles of morality and intellect underpinning his activities. 'Liberalism', *The Cornhill Magazine V*, (London, January to June 1862), pp.72-73. To be 'liberally-minded' therefore identified one as modern, with an interest in progressive and reforming ideas, dedicated to upholding middle-class values of intellect and moral character, and as one striving to develop the cultural excellence inherent in the British race.

⁶¹⁵ Although the placement of Palmerston in the middle suggests that this was compiled after the instigation of the formal Liberal Party and Palmerston as Prime Minister between 1859 and 1865, the inclusion of portraits of Lord Derby and Lord Stanley indicate a value attributed to the liberal character of British politics rather than any specific party allegiance. The author also has an album in which cartes of Disraeli, Palmerston, Derby - and one of Cobden and Bright together – have been placed alongside each other, again indicating the collector's interest in political change rather than party allegiance. These are mostly pirated images which suggests such interest amongst the wider middle-class market as well as amongst core collectors.

⁶¹⁶ 'Liberalism', *The Cornhill Magazine V* (London, 1862), pp.71.

serious and well-organised political force, led Lord Palmerston as a well-respected statesman of extensive experience - and it was a period when strong Liberal ideology became encapsulated in the image of his own persona: signalling a new era of personality-linked politics. This trend served to attract the attention and interest of voters, but it also boosted sales of the carte de visite portrait, and this shift towards political policy associated with the personality of its leader as collectable portrait value will be examined in Part Two of the case study.

PART TWO: LIBERAL STATESMEN AND PARTY IDENTITY

Lord Palmerston Linked to Liberal Ideology as Carte de Visite Portrait Value

The portraits in **Figs.304-748, 305-746, 306-323** and **307-705** present the new leader of middle-class Liberal Party interests. However they are different from the oft-repeated 'gentlemanly' images conveying moral character. Instead an intensity and animation is presented. In the first carte Palmerston leans over papers on a desk in front of him as if absorbed in his work, and in the second he stands with quill in one hand and papers in the other, and he has a parliamentary box and books to either side. Palmerston faces the viewer with one foot slightly in front of the other which exaggerates animation. The third image shows Palmerston with open parliamentary box and waste-paper basket beside him. One hand is firmly placed on the table beside the box, and he holds a document in his other hand. In the fourth portrait he sits in a chair, with books and inkstand on an accompanying side-table, but here he leans forward as if in the process of getting up to attend to his day's work. Henry Miller has noted such a pattern in Palmerston's self-presentation in the mid-nineteenth-century, and he claims that it was contrived to add strength to

his legitimacy in leading a new party of middle-class interests in terms of a forceful and attentive independence of mind.⁶¹⁷ It was an image much-publicised in contemporary publications: *The Illustrated Times* described Palmerston as a 'brilliant worker' who had toiled in the 'service of his country' for over half a century to achieve 'progressive improvement',⁶¹⁸ and Walter Bagehot called him the personification of admirable 'intelligibility'.⁶¹⁹ Cartes de visite appear to match Palmerston with this published image – and these aspects of middle-class ideology. The images encapsulate Samuel Smiles's proposal that a 'great Minister' or parliamentary leader should appear as one of the 'very hardest of workers' and display an 'assiduous application' and 'indefatigable industry':⁶²⁰ studios have linked Palmerston with this image of middle-class (and Liberal) ideology.

The carte de visite in **Fig.308-615** however illustrates one studio, that of J.J.E. Mayall, expanding their range of Palmerston's portraits by building on an already-established reputation linked to his strength of character. Here Mayall has focussed

⁶¹⁷ Miller says that it was an image to inspire confidence in his commitment to middle-class needs, indicating a forceful and attentive independence of mind, but that it was also contrived to reassure people of Palmerston's fitness to undertake the role of an active statesman at the age of eighty. Henry Miller, *Politics Personified*, (Manchester, 2015), pp.180-185.

⁶¹⁸ 'Viscount Palmerston' *Illustrated Times*, 11 April 1857, pp.231-232.

⁶¹⁹ 'Lord Palmerston 1865', Ed. Walter Bagehot, *Biographical Studies* (London, 1895), pp.370.

⁶²⁰ Samuel Smiles, *Self Help* (London, 1859), pp.20-21. Two researchers, however, offer further explanations of such industrious iconographical patterns. Miles Taylor highlights mid-nineteenth-century fears that a new government might not be 'efficient'. Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism 1847-1860* (Oxford, 1995), pp.7. Jonathan Parry claims that 'middle-class values of practical management' were called for after the poor organisation which led to the Crimean War. Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven & London, 1993), pp.179. The emphasis on administrative detail could therefore have been staged to address such views for some collectors.

particularly on Lord Palmerston's own individual character and public renown by re-issuing an iconic pose of the statesman that had been extensively-circulated in print form in the mid-1850s. It is an extract from a painting showing Palmerston's role in the Crimean War negotiations in which he had secured an exceptionally-high regard (the picture is shown in **Fig.309-XA58**).⁶²¹ Mayall has re-photographed Palmerston's image and placed it against a plain domestic background, and he has specifically re-cast the collectable value for his target market by underlining the statesman in terms of character, using the top hat as a prominent indicator of such worth.⁶²²

The new leader of middle-class interests, however, was an aristocrat.⁶²³ Jonathan Parry says that he was 'adjusted' to fit the party image,⁶²⁴ and cartes de visite that emphasise his commitment to values of hard work and gentlemanly morals concur

⁶²¹ Palmerston's 'honourable' actions in drawing the war to a close had been widely reported in the press. He had, as noted in the *Illustrated Times*, been 'voted the man for the emergency'. 'Viscount Palmerston', *Illustrated Times*, 11 April 1857, pp.231. *The Graphic* noted that Palmerston had successfully (and diplomatically) brought the war to a close. 'Mr. Gladstone's Contemporaries', *The Graphic*, 19 May 1898, pp.14 (special number). Jonathan Parry has claimed that the war against Russia in the Crimea was a war against decaying morals, and Palmerston's actions were therefore seen as especially worthy in the social climate of the 1860s. Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.64. Henry Miller, *Op. cit.*, pp.180. The picture is 'The Coalition Ministry 1854' by Sir John Gilbert (pencil pen and ink). It was an illustration of the coalition government that negotiated the end of the Crimean War, led by Palmerston. Palmerston secured a reputation for securing peace with honour in these negotiations.

⁶²² Palmerston's left hand is still seen as pointing to something, but this is not now seen, it having been the map of the Crimea in the original image. However in its unusual pose, it serves to ignite recognition of the original picture and reputation that caused its original commission and execution. In isolating Palmerston's figure against a plain domestic background Mayall draws attention to the unusual – and instantly-recognized – pose and also underscores the portrait's reading and worth in terms of 'character'.

⁶²³ Henry John Temple Palmerston (1784-1865) was the 3rd Viscount Palmerston and educated at Harrow.

⁶²⁴ Jonathan Parry, *Op. Cit.*, pp.70.

with this view. But there are a number of portraits that appear to refer directly to Palmerston's elitist pedigree. An example is shown in the portrait in **Fig.310-223** where his pose associates him with aristocratic 'dis-interest'. There is a lack of intensity in his body here, and little inference of hard work. Instead he sits with his arms folded across his chest, and leans back in his chair whilst turning to look at the spectator. He is separated from the books on a side-table, and looks directly away from them. He is not 'attached' to administrative paperwork as in the previous portraits, and the pose conveys a relaxed sociability more akin to one of inherited privilege. A similar pose is shown in the carte in **Fig.311-114** where Palmerston sits and looks towards the camera, and the vignetting of the head and shoulders in this construction eliminates any reference to bookish pursuit. This picture was used to accompany an article on Palmerston in *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* (shown in **Fig.312-XA61**).⁶²⁵ It told of Palmerston's interest in racehorse ownership. Henry Miller claims that sporting reference in contemporary portraits of the Liberal leader was staged to confer the manly vigour needed for a strenuous political life,⁶²⁶ but horserace ownership was predominantly an aristocratic hobby, and indeed Palmerston has been included alongside such figures as Lord Derby, the Duke of Beaufort and the Earl of Zetland in the composite carte in **Fig.313-22(A)** entitled 'Turf Celebrities'. Such alignment with upper-class pedigree could have conferred legitimacy on Palmerston - as Jonathan Parry says, many Liberals valued aristocrats as leaders as their experience was seen as an asset and a symbol of

⁶²⁵ The magazine was *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports*, January 1860.

⁶²⁶ Henry Miller, *Op. Cit.*, pp.184-5.

patriotic continuity,⁶²⁷ but it could also have served to make the landed elite a part of the established Liberal landscape.

Wider Representation in the New Liberal Party

The Liberal Party represented a new enlightened approach to British politics, and indeed Richard Bellamy claims that the Party aimed to exercise an ‘assault’ on the wall of privilege that had previously been enjoyed by a self-entitled landed elite.

This was done by combining middle- and upper-class interests in a broad, liberal coalition.⁶²⁸ Statesmen of varying backgrounds worked together to establish a new political landscape within party confines, one that was grounded in middle-class values but, as Eugenio Biagini and Alastair Reid point out, Radical Liberalism also achieved a legitimate place in parliamentary representation under the new Liberal Party’s umbrella.⁶²⁹

A picture that appeared in *The Illustrated London News* in 1862 (**Fig.314-XA60**)

provides an example. It shows the signing of the Treaty of Commerce between England and France in 1860 where statesmen are posed in a circular arrangement

⁶²⁷ Parry says that upper-class men were not considered a separate ‘caste’, but instead as enlightened, and ready and willing to serve a democratic society. Jonathan Parry, *Op. Cit.*, pp.71.

⁶²⁸ Richard Bellamy points out that the Party consisted of properties Whigs, middle-class manufacturers, Radical reformers, and Non-conformists (who were, he says, anxious to end Anglican privilege. Richard Bellamy, ‘Introduction’ and ‘T.H. Green and the Morality of Victorian Liberalism’, Ed. Richard Bellamy, *Victorian Liberalism* (London, 1990), pp. 7-8 & pp.132-3. The Liberal Party offered wide representation. Jonathan Parry has claimed that the party attracted intellectuals, merchants and entrepreneurs, as well as those who had struggled to sustain livelihoods in the change to automation. Jonathan Parry, *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (New Haven and London, 1996), pp.227. Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.70 and 90.

⁶²⁹ Eugenio F. Biagini and Alastair J. Reid, ‘Currents of Radicalism, 1850-1914’, *Currents of Radicalism*, Eds. Eugenio F. Biagini and Alastair J. Reid (Cambridge, 1991), pp.5-10.

around a table stacked with books. But in the picture the Liberal leader, Lord Palmerston, has been placed behind the Radical Liberals John Bright, Francis Crossley and Richard Cobden.⁶³⁰ Palmerston looks over their shoulders and appears not only to support them, but to push them to the forefront of what was described as a 'great epoch' in Britain's history.⁶³¹ The composition highlights the authority of Radical representation within the Liberal Party in the 1860s, and it supports Miles Taylor's claim that the 1840s were not the 'terminal point' of radicalism.⁶³² This view is confirmed in carte de visite output. For example the composite carte de visite in **Fig.315-231** shows Radical representation as an integral part of the Liberal politics. Here Richard Cobden and John Bright have been positioned across the centre of the portrait, while Palmerston and Gladstone appear above and below them. In this arrangement the Liberal Party seems to embrace Bright and Cobden as an integral part of the Party. However there is a particular verve in much Radical portraiture, one that conveys abruptness and downrightness. An example is illustrated in the carte of John Bright in **Fig.316-230** where he assumes a forceful and determined stance, and a confident gaze at the viewer which is different from the standardised unassuming poses adopted in most of the

⁶³⁰ John Bright (1811-1889) was a Quaker. He was born in Lancashire, the son of a cotton mill owner in Rochdale. He was M.P. for Manchester between 1847 and 1857, and for Birmingham between 1857 and 1885. Francis Crossley (1817-1872) was a carpet manufacturer and was M.P. for Halifax between 1852 and 1859, for the West Riding of Yorkshire between 1859 and 1865, and for the North West Riding of Yorkshire between 1865 and 1872. He was made a Baronet of Halifax in 1863. Richard Cobden (1804-1864) was born in Sussex, the son of a farmer. He was M.P. for the West Riding of Yorkshire between 1847 and 1857, and for Rochdale between 1859 and 1865.

⁶³¹ 'Eastham's Picture, "The Treaty of Commerce 1860, between France and England."' *The Illustrated London News*, 1 March 1862, pp. 230-231. This was constructed using photographs placed within artwork.

⁶³² Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism 1847-1860* (Oxford, 1995), pp.8.

portraits discussed. Bright looks straight at the spectator with a serious expression, and his legs protrude forward into the viewer's space. This emphasises a direct approach in public debate. A similar effect is conveyed in his portrait in **Fig.317-945** where he sits squarely on his chair with his legs apart, and he leans forward slightly with his weight pressing firmly down onto the floor. Bright seems to be totally absorbed in debating with someone in front of him here, and again has a tense and concentrated expression on his face. Energy and manly directness is also conveyed in John Roebuck's portrait in **Fig.318-227** where he displays a set and stolid – and rather awkward – pose, sitting with his hands gripping the arms of the chair. His whole body appears tense, rigid and fixed. His back is upright, and he leans forward slightly, but he stares in front of him, seemingly determined to achieve his goals. The statesmen's legs are not elegantly placed to the side in gentlemanly fashion in these portraits. Instead they are used to project and symbolise a force of character that infers the defence of a viewpoint, and a willingness to confront others' opinions where necessary.⁶³³ There is little suggestion of subtle or diplomatic negotiation and, although accompanied by books indicating intellectual professionalism, Radical M.P.s tend to lean away from their literary props, these often being placed in the background. Photographers thus widened their portrait appeal, by posing their images to address a market that valued sincerity to viewpoint and fierce defence of a point of view, even if not specifically supporting the Radical cause.

A similar tone is created in the portrait of Francis Crossley in **Fig.319-327**.⁶³⁴ Here

⁶³³ John Roebuck (1801-1879) was born in Madras, the son of a Civil Servant in India. He was M.P. for Sheffield between 1849 and 1868 and 1874-1879.

⁶³⁴ Francis Crossley (1817-1872) was a carpet manufacturer and was M.P. for Halifax between 1852 and 1859, for the West Riding of Yorkshire between 1859 and 1865, and for

he adopts a brash forceful stance, leaning down on a plinth. He faces the viewer, and his address again dominates the picture, with a pointed gaze towards the camera. The iconography of these images of Radical statesmen matches that published in a *Vanity Fair* print of Robert Peel of 1870 (shown in **Fig.320-XA59**), and this aids in interpreting its contemporary meaning. Peel had been an advocate of straight-talking to effect reform, and he is described in the accompanying text as a 'professor of strong languages' - as an 'energetic and uncompromising' statesman of 'blunt opinion' who was ready to 'do battle' to support his views.⁶³⁵ This reputation is conveyed visually in the print through a bold, forceful stance, extended chest and direct gaze: and the same pose was adopted by commercial photographers for their Radical statesman portraits. Indeed the images fit contemporary ideals of Radical representation. For example *Fraser's Magazine* called Roebuck and Bright enthusiasts in their 'peculiar' opinions in 1858,⁶³⁶ and in 1862 the *Cornhill* magazine described John Roebuck as 'the most caustic speaker of the day'.⁶³⁷ These cartes

the North West Riding of Yorkshire between 1865 and 1872. He was made a Baronet of Halifax in 1863.

⁶³⁵ 'Sir Robert Peel' 'Statesmen No.44', *Vanity Fair*, 19 March 1870, pp.152.

⁶³⁶ 'Lord Derby's Three Months of Power', *Fraser's Magazine*, June 1858, pp.765.

⁶³⁷ Roebuck's 'hard language' was described as a display of a 'genuine interest', pride and 'caring' for the nation and its people. He was praised for his 'honesty' and sincerity in striving to improve the lives of the working-classes. 'Gentlemen', *Cornhill Magazine* V, (London 1862), pp.328-29. Reproduced from a lecture delivered by John Roebuck previously published in *The Times* of 20 January 1862. The portrait pattern also matches Biagini and Reid's claim that radical Victorian politics was characterised by an appearance of 'pragmatism', as well as James Epstein's claim that a 'radical language' emerged in nineteenth-century political imagery where energy and vigour symbolised plain language in pushing the boundaries of long-established policies into new directions. James A. Epstein, 'The Constitutional Idiom: Radical Reasoning, Rhetoric and Action in Early Nineteenth-century England', *Journal of Social History*, Vol.23, No.3 (Spring 1990), pp.553-574. Eugenio F. Biagini and Alastair J. Reid, Op. cit., pp.6.

reveal how photographers recreated this emphasis on oratory and argument to secure volumetric sales.

There is, however, an exception to this bold and 'bulldoggish' pattern in the images of Richard Cobden. Here emphasis is placed on the statesman's individual public renown, as a man of intellectual application to his political role, and he is commonly shown as a more introverted and 'thoughtful' statesman.⁶³⁸ An example is illustrated in **Fig.321-948** where a book is overtly positioned on the table beside him (propped up vertically). This prop establishes a literary reference to the portrait, and a gentler effect is conveyed through the statesman's pose. There is no forceful weight pressing down onto his legs here, or eager forward inclination of his body. Cobden appears relaxed and contemplative with his left hand resting casually on top of the book, just looking up for a moment towards the camera. Walter Bagehot called Cobden a 'sensitive and almost slender man' who was 'anxious not to offend anyone' and nothing like the common image of the Radical Liberal statesman as a 'burley demagogue from the North', or of an 'ignorant' Manchester man 'absorbed in manufacturing ideas'.⁶³⁹ This portrait is composed to match Bagehot's description.

John Bright and Richard Cobden presented different aspects of Radical Liberalism, and professional studios emphasised this diversity as collectable worth. The carte of the two politicians posed together in **Fig.322-946** illustrates the pattern further. Here Bright and Cobden sit together at a small table and, whereas Cobden holds his head in hand with his elbow placed on top of a book in relaxed manner, Bright appears busily and actively absorbed in reading his newspaper, this being *Le*

⁶³⁸ No doubt in agreement with the views of their subjects.

⁶³⁹ 'Mr. Cobden 1865', *Biographical Studies*, Ed. Walter Bagehot (London, 1895), pp.361-2.

Monde. The central positioning of the French newspaper represents the trade treaty between England and France as the underlying value of the composition, but the iconography employed for each Radical M.P. reflects their differing attitude towards the policy. Bright's engagement with negotiation is alluded to in purposefully 'reading' the detail in the document in comparison to Cobden's considered approach, emphasised in his pose which conveys him as one lost in his own thoughts rather than in the practicalities of the proposal. The imagery supports Roland Quinault's argument that John Bright was the driving 'force' behind reform whilst Cobden applied a more 'democratic' attitude akin to a 'philosophic' radicalism.⁶⁴⁰ Anthony Howe has claimed that students of British Liberalism are 'uncertain as to where to place Cobden', but his cartes de visite presented him to a middle-class collector as a 'thoughtful' Radical Liberal who deliberated deeply on political theory before forming considered opinions.⁶⁴¹ James Vernon argues that the identifying feature of mid-nineteenth-century Radical politics was 'struggle',⁶⁴² but the portraits composed to address the middle-class market conveyed an image of middle-class worth: of sincere application to a cause and of a deeply deliberated viewpoint.

The cartes de visite of Palmerston and of Radical Liberals signal a change in statesman portraiture. Stereotypical images of 'gentlemanly' character gave way to individual personality spotlighting political path. Indeed the change in emphasis

⁶⁴⁰ Roland Quinault, 'Cobden and Democracy', *Rethinking Nineteenth-Century Liberalism*, Eds. Anthony Howe and Simon Morgan, (Aldershot, 2006), pp.59-60.

⁶⁴¹ Anthony Howe, 'Introduction', *Rethinking Nineteenth-Century Liberalism*, Eds. Anthony Howe and Simon Morgan, (Aldershot, 2006), pp.2. A number of pirate copies of Radical M.P.s are found, indicative of a wider market interest.

⁶⁴² James Vernon, *Politics and the People* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.9, 206 and 332.

corresponds to James Vernon's claim of political ideology beacons through its main protagonists' identities,⁶⁴³ and the trend was especially developed in the later 1860s when two strong personalities, William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli, rose as champions of Liberal and to public prominence as champions of Liberal and Conservative policy, and the construction of these cartes de visite for a wide middle-class audience will be examined in the third part of the case study.

PART THREE: A STRONGER SHIFT TO PERSONALITY POLITICS

Vernon has described an 'antipathy' towards the concept of 'party' in the mid-nineteenth-century:⁶⁴⁴ indeed the *Saturday Review* wrote of a lack of political combat in 1864, with a mood of 'tranquillity' and 'indifferentism' prevailing. This was, they believed, due to there being 'nothing to fight about'.⁶⁴⁵ However later nineteenth-century cartes de visite reveal a significant change. Lord Palmerston died in 1865, just six years after the Liberal Party had been established, and William Gladstone took over as its leader. Benjamin Disraeli became the leader of a reformed Conservative Party now more attuned to middle-class needs in 1868, and from this time a shift occurred in British politics. Henry Miller claims that the expansion of the electorate effected by the Representation of the People Act of

⁶⁴³ Ibid., pp.252.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid., pp.164 and 258. He argues that a focus on party policy was seen as 'disruptive' in the mid century.

⁶⁴⁵ 'Political Indifferentism', *The Saturday Review*, No.428, Vol.17 (9 January 1864), pp.47-49 January 1864. The issues of Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform and Free Trade were cited as causing this calm environment due to their having been settled.

1867 encouraged each party to clarify its stance in order to attract voters,⁶⁴⁶ and indeed Vernon describes an 'invention' of party in the mid-1860s. David Cannadine argues that there was a growing party consciousness amongst the general public,⁶⁴⁷ and indeed David Thomson says that people were increasingly identifying themselves as *either* Liberal *or* Conservative.⁶⁴⁸ The Liberal Party had won the 1868 election with a large majority, but Gladstone's laissez-faire economic policies proved too radical for many. As Ian St. John argues, Disraeli emerged as an unlikely alternative who would defend the status quo. His plans to 'exalt the Empire and to preserve the country's established institutions' appealed to many disillusioned with what seemed to be a society driven by economic aims, commercial prosperity and capitalist growth.⁶⁴⁹ The Liberals suffered a severe defeat in the general

⁶⁴⁶ Henry Miller, *Politics Personified* (Manchester, 2015), pp.198-202.

⁶⁴⁷ David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual', Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.120. James Vernon, Op. Cit., pp.9.

⁶⁴⁸ David Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century* (Harmondsworth, 1951), pp.119.

⁶⁴⁹ Ian St. John, *Gladstone and the Logic of Victorian Politics* (London and New York, 2010), pp.204-7. John Bright had proposed that the Liberal Party 'failed mainly through want of organisation, arising from the security caused by its great victory five years ago.' *The Illustrated London News*, 7 March, 1874, pp.218. But Jonathan Parry and Richard Bellamy argue for more complex causes. They point out religious tension, with Anglicans afraid of Non-conformists, and Catholics feeling they had little representation. Anglicans were worried at the disestablishment of the Irish Church and at the lack of Anglican instruction in new schools. The Non-conformists wanted the separation of state and school, and were unhappy about 1870 Education Act to sustain Church Schools. Unease also arose over the Licensing Act with brewers uneasy at plans to regulate the drinks trade – and in fact Gladstone himself said that the government had been 'borne down in a torrent of gin and beer' – indeed *The Illustrated London News* commented that "'Gin and Misery'" was 'a cry that had too much sad truth in it'. 'Metropolitan Boroughs Election Sketches' *The Illustrated London News*, 14 February 1874, pp.161. Employers were upset at new power given to workers – but the working-classes disliked the restrictions exerted on drinking. Wealthy landowners were hit by increased taxes, and there was concern over the abolition of purchasing army commissions – and plans to cut military spending conflicted with those who wished Britain to exert more prominence on the world stage. Overall, there was a belief that the Non-conformists, temperance supporters and Irish Catholics

election of 1874,⁶⁵⁰ and the enormous upheaval felt at the result was expressed in contemporary press reports. *The Illustrated London News* stated that 'The English constituencies have most decidedly pronounced for Conservatism'. They even described it as a 'Conservative epidemic',⁶⁵¹ and a later edition summed up the turmoil, saying that 'We may be said to have passed through a revolution during the last month'.⁶⁵² Indeed *The Illustrated London News* called the events of 1874 a 'Parliamentary collision'.⁶⁵³ The result of the election highlighted that there was now a choice to be had in middle-class politics, and the two parties accentuated their leaders' different approaches to attract followers.

Gladstone's image as one driven by religious and moral principle was pitched against Disraeli's more practical focus on re-igniting pride in Britain's illustrious heritage and expanding it into Empire, using the Crown and Anglican Church as

were given too much power, with the Liberal leader ceding to their agitation. Ian St. John, *Gladstone and the Logic of Victorian Politics* (London and New York, 2010), pp.202-05. Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.91. Richard Bellamy, 'Introduction' and 'T.H. Green and the Morality of Victorian Liberalism', Ed. Richard Bellamy, *Victorian Liberalism* (London, 1990), pp.7, 132-5 and 147. *The Illustrated London News* summed up the situation when saying: the 'electorate of the United Kingdom is now engaged in deciding' whether 'the force of political innovation or that of tradition shall be preponderant' and that whether changes should be 'carried into effect more swiftly or more leisurely, or, as some would put it, more rashly or more cautiously and tentatively.' *The Illustrated London News*, 7 February, 1874, pp.118.

⁶⁵⁰ It was the first election at which a secret ballot took place.

⁶⁵¹ This occurred across the country. 'The Elections', *The Illustrated London News*, 14 February 1874, pp.146.

⁶⁵² *The Illustrated London News*, 28 Feb 1874, pp.190. Ian St. John claims that in trying to please the diverse views supporting the Liberal Party the 'enthusiastic backing' of neither was gained. Ian St. John, *Gladstone and the Logic of Victorian Politics* (London and New York, 2010), pp.206.

⁶⁵³ It acknowledged that 'there are honourable men, men of cultured intelligence, of indomitable industry, and of sterling moral excellence on both sides', but that it would be 'puerile to shut our eyes to the fact that the principles by which each side is guided are to a certain extent antagonistic'. *The Illustrated London News*, 7 February, 1874, pp.118.

symbols of his approach. These two dominating characters monopolised the constitutional arena, and statesman cartes de visite, until the end of the century, and provided studios with clear patterns for their portraits. Indeed they profited from extensive media coverage that focussed people's attention on such divisive identities.

William Gladstone

Gladstone's renown was centred around his moral beliefs, these driving his policies.⁶⁵⁴ He had been noted for the 'largeness' of his views in 1856 in *Men of the Time*, with observations of his 'dauntless courage', 'honesty of purpose' and 'unblemished character' appearing early in his parliamentary career.⁶⁵⁵ In the 1860s *The Illustrated London News* continued the trend when writing of Gladstone's 'thoughtful' demeanour, almost to 'sternness' when attending to 'major principles in the House of Commons'.⁶⁵⁶ Focus on Gladstone's seriousness of character continued throughout the 1870s and 1880s. *The Illustrated London News* referred to his 'expression of thoughtfulness' and 'reflective attitude' in 1870,⁶⁵⁷ while in 1874 the same publication noted that Gladstone had a 'disposition to reflect gravely upon

⁶⁵⁴ Bellamy and Jenkins say that Gladstone exercised a 'high-minded morality' in aiming to transform the Liberal Party into a vehicle of political moralism. T.A. Jenkins, *The Liberal Ascendancy, 1830-1886* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp.120. Richard Bellamy, 'T.H. Green and the Morality of Victorian Liberalism', Ed. Richard Bellamy, *Victorian Liberalism* (London, 1990), pp.132.

⁶⁵⁵ 'Gladstone, The Right Hon. William Ewart, M.P.', *Men of the Time* (London, 1856), pp.311-14.

⁶⁵⁶ 'Eastham's Picture, "The Treaty of Commerce 1860, between France and England."' *The Illustrated London News*, 1 March 1862, pp. 230-31.

⁶⁵⁷ 'Statue of Mr. Gladstone', *The Illustrated London News*, 21 May 1870.

themes of deep moral and religious interest.⁶⁵⁸ Middle-class religious values lay at the heart of the Liberal leader's public image: his 'moral earnestness' was described as 'unrivalled' in 1883,⁶⁵⁹ and indeed Tom Collins commented on his intense religious convictions when saying that "One would think no politician ever said his prayers but W.E.G., so absurd is the publicity which attends his devotions"⁶⁶⁰

Gladstone's sincerity to personal belief, informed by religious connotation and deep intellectual study was widely presented in cartes de visite. For example, in the two cartes in **Figs.323-616** and **324-815** the Liberal leader is shown as a man of intense thought. He is seated in both portraits, and he appears absorbed in the content of open books in front of him. He seems lost in his own deliberations, looking down at the literary content in the first and seemingly unaware of the camera in a moment of personal contemplation in the second.⁶⁶¹ Intent deliberation is conveyed, with a great intensity of inner contemplation, and this is accentuated to a greater extent in the two cartes in **Figs.325-617** and **326-239**. Here Gladstone's features are clearer, presented in the enlarged-head style (his head and upper body fills the picture area). The Liberal leader's individual features are now seen in detail, and his expression of thought is emphasised by sight of his down-tilted head with sombre set of the mouth.

⁶⁵⁸ The publication noted his writings on "The State in its Relations with the Church" of 1838 and "Church Principles Considered in their Results" of 1841 amongst others. 'Mr. Gladstone.' *The Illustrated London News*, 7 February 1874, pp.126.

⁶⁵⁹ 'Fifty Years of a Statesman's Life', *The Illustrated London News*, 17 February 1883, pp.182.

⁶⁶⁰ David Williamson, *Gladstone the Man* (London, 1898), pp.94. Tom Collins talking to Sir Stafford Northcote.

⁶⁶¹ This pattern matches the description of Gladstone in *The Illustrated London News* when it wrote of his outstanding and as particularly distinguished for his intellectual 'vigour and activity'. 'Mr. Gladstone', *The Illustrated London News*, 7 February 1874, pp.126.

Gladstone as a man of 'thought' is particularly stressed in the first where his hand held up to his head, and in the second Gladstone looks towards the viewer with a stern expression and furrowed brow, piercing eyes and determined mouth. Intensity is constructed in his pointed address of the viewer, and an earnestness of viewpoint is accentuated in the slight lean forward of his body. Tension and determination are exerted here: they match Robertson Nicoll's description of Gladstone's 'superhuman qualities' with remarkable eyes that resembled 'a bird of prey'.⁶⁶²

T.A. Jenkins says that Gladstone combined policy with moral imperative, seeing himself involved in a great moral crusade,⁶⁶³ and photographs that presented him as a man of deep sincerity were issued in volume, indicating a widespread acceptance of this representation.⁶⁶⁴ Some of the books positioned beside Gladstone in his cartes might represent bibles, thus accentuating his religiosity and his deeply moral approach to his political duties. Some earlier portraits emphasise this aspect of his character – as seen for example in **Fig.327** issued when Gladstone had been Chancellor of the Exchequer⁶⁶⁵ where Gladstone sits at a desk in his Chancellor's robes and holds a bible up prominently in front of him. Later cartes, however, appear more generic in tone showing him with papers and books,

⁶⁶² Robertson Nicoll was a young Oxford essayist of the late nineteenth-century. Christopher Harvie, 'Gladstonianism, the provinces, and popular political culture, 1860-1906', Ed. Richard Bellamy, *Victorian Liberalism* (London and New York, 1990), pp.158 quoting D.A. Hamer, 'Gladstone: the Making of a Political Myth', *Victorian Studies*, 22 (1978), pp.35.

⁶⁶³ T.A. Jenkins, *Op. Cit.*, pp.118.

⁶⁶⁴ The portraits reflect Richard Shannon's observation that Gladstone's own moral convictions signalled the 'Liberal' pathway. Richard Shannon, *Gladstone: God and Politics* (London, 2007), pp.xi.

⁶⁶⁵ He held this position 1852-55, 1859-66, 1873-74 and 1880-82 but this image was probably taken during his second Chancellorship.

perhaps promoting him as intellectually-informed rather than any reference to great piety.⁶⁶⁶ Gladstone as a man upholding middle-class domestic values is particularly constructed in the coupled portraits of him with his family that were published in volume. Two examples are illustrated in **Figs.328-747** and **329-929**. In the first the Liberal leader sits in a chair and appears to be busily engrossed in literary material open on his knee, and his wife stands behind him with a subservient, bowed stance. She leans forward and appears to be taking the lead from his intellectual guidance, resting on her husband's shoulder as she points to the book with her left forefinger. The second carte shows Mrs. Gladstone sitting in three-quarter profile, and she holds a book on her knee, but Gladstone takes a masculine role in the portrait as he faces the camera squarely. He holds a top hat in his hand, and this is positioned alongside the book, thus underlining his manly moral and intellectual lead.⁶⁶⁷

Another carte (in **Fig.330-930**) shows Gladstone posed with his grandson who seems to be sitting on his knee. Here he appears in an informal pose as he holds the child gently, and both are half-smiling as they look together out of the picture, apparently sharing happy family moment together. Such display of extended family members is very unusual in the cartes of public men, and the domestic and gendered ideology constructed through the interaction between family members underscores the upholding of middle-class values as collectable worth for the Liberal leader. Indeed the portraits fit into the widespread image constructed in other visual

⁶⁶⁶ This pattern might have been adopted to avert attention away from controversial religious policies of the Liberal Party, for example dis-establishment of the Church of England.

⁶⁶⁷ Gladstone's portraits are unusual in their emphasis on family and domestic adherence to middle-class gendered ideology. Although no link can be established, there was controversy about his practice of going out at night to help prostitutes to reform, and some of them might have been constructed as a way of underlining the honorable nature of these intentions.

media of the period. For example the full-page picture in *The Graphic* (illustrated in **Fig.331-XA62**) shows him with head-in-hand pose and parliamentary papers at his elbow,⁶⁶⁸ and **Fig.332-XA63** presents Gladstone in another full-page newspaper illustration reading the Sunday Lessons in his local church.⁶⁶⁹ The silk stevengraph in **Fig.333-XA64** describes the Liberal leader as an uncompromising ‘advocate of civil and religious liberty’ and indeed, as Christopher Harvie says, it was difficult to disentangle political ‘Gladstonianism’ from his personality in contemporary publications.⁶⁷⁰ However it was his earnestness, hard work, and conviction that cemented one to the other,⁶⁷¹ and it was this aspect of his identity that professional photographers focussed on as the collectable appeal of their cartes de visite. Gladstone as a ‘family man’, exercising his political duty according to moral principle, sincerity and considered thought, constituted photographers’ key portrait attraction. It was an image that encapsulated the Liberal Party politics of the later nineteenth-century.

⁶⁶⁸ Although this was a picture of Gladstone when he was a young Member of Parliament, it was re-issued at the end of the century. It thus indicates an enduring image of the statesman. ‘The Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, M.P. *The Graphic*, Special Number, 19 May 1898. pp.33.

⁶⁶⁹ ‘Mr. Gladstone Reading the Lessons at Hawarden Church’, *The Illustrated London News*, Supplement, 24 April 1880, pp.409.

⁶⁷⁰ Christopher Harvie, ‘Gladstonianism, the provinces, and popular political culture, 1860-1906’, Ed. Richard Bellamy, *Victorian Liberalism* (London, 1990), pp.155.

⁶⁷¹ Gladstone became the new leader of the Liberal Party in 1865. He was a middle-class man, the son of a successful Liverpool merchant. He attended Oxford University, and in 1832 obtained a seat in the House of Commons for Newark and, although beginning his political life as a Conservative, he changed his allegiance to the Liberal cause in the late 1840s. The family name had originally been ‘Gladstones’. ‘Mr. Gladstone.’ *The Illustrated London News*, 7 February 1874, pp.126. *The Illustrated London News* noted that this early entry into politics was aided by the support of the aristocratic, and ‘ultra-Tory’, Duke of Newcastle. ‘Mr. Disraeli’, *The Illustrated London News*, 14 February 1874, pp.150. Gladstone became Prime Minister on 3rd December 1868.

Benjamin Disraeli

A different image secured sales for the Conservative leader, Benjamin Disraeli.⁶⁷² Disraeli's public reputation lay in his social attributes, and the way he used these in his parliamentary career. For example *The Illustrated London News* wrote of Disraeli's 'consummate social tact', and particularly noted a fanciful style of self-presentation which they said he exercised 'in abundance'.⁶⁷³ Disraeli's wit became an identifying feature of his political character, and he used it to promote his vision of Britain's glorious heritage, and of moving it forward into a modern era of global domination. This was in great contrast to Gladstone's policies of industrious economic progress and religious freedom: the *Cornhill Magazine* noted in 1862 that, while one party sought 'to advance itself by its foreign policy' the other defined itself 'by its advocacy of internal reforms'.⁶⁷⁴ Disraeli fostered upper-class associations to signal his political viewpoint, and contemporary publications help to explain this symbolism. The *Cornhill Magazine* wrote of the nation's past achievements, saying that 'nothing in the history of England is more striking than its continuity', and that this had been proven through its 'eight centuries of greatness and glory'.⁶⁷⁵ *The Illustrated London News* added that it was the country's aristocratic heritage, in its

⁶⁷² Although both men were from middle-class backgrounds, they had very different backgrounds. Disraeli began his career in an attorney's office, but he left to travel and write. He entered Parliament as a 'Dandy Radical' (introduced by Joseph Hume), and later joined the 'Young England' School. This group, in their support of the monarchy, aristocracy and Anglican High Church, came to define his later political approach. 'Mr. Disraeli', *Illustrated London News*, 14 February 1874, pp.150. Like Gladstone who changed from an earlier Tory interest to Liberal, Disraeli changed from the Radical cause to Conservatism.

⁶⁷³ 'Mr. Disraeli', *Illustrated London News*, 14 February 1874, pp.150.

⁶⁷⁴ 'Liberalism', *Cornhill Magazine* 1862 pp.73.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.71 & 83. Publications such as James Froude's twelve-volume *History of England* of 1856-70, Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* of 1855, and Macaulay's *History of England* of 1848-55 increased nationalist interest.

'order of nobility' and 'distinction', that established its 'unique' position in Europe.⁶⁷⁶

Disraeli used this theme to fashion his own image, an image that reflected his political stance. He developed a close relationship with the Queen and appointed her Empress of India in 1876, her status championing Britain's imperial progress but at the same time underlining Britain as a monarchy. Photographers exploited aristocratic connotation and royal association to identify and market Disraeli's portraits. For example the carte in **Fig.334-XA68** presents the Conservative leader in a ribbon-braided dark-coloured velvet jacket, lighter trousers, soft-felt top hat, and monocle around his neck. He appears as a landed 'country squire', and is very different from the middle-class 'professional' statesman's attire of smart dark fabric day-coat favoured by Gladstone.⁶⁷⁷ Disraeli's aristocratic stance is particularly conveyed in the cabinet card in **Fig.336-XA69** as it states in text below the image that the photograph had been taken at Osborne 'by command' of H.M. the Queen.⁶⁷⁸ An upper-class image was also conveyed through his pose. For example in the carte **Fig.337-XA67** he sits in relaxed nonchalance, the style, as discussed earlier, that was used to indicate a privileged pedigree. He leans back in his chair with crossed legs and arms folded against his chest, and there is no intensity of purpose

⁶⁷⁶ 'Literature', *The Illustrated London News*, 29 January, 1870, pp.127. The British Crown was described in 1896 as being 'the most ancient and powerful in Europe' and 'the only crown of a constitutional monarchy' that had descended in regular succession, and 'been won neither by fraud nor force'. *Illustrious Women* (London, 1896), pp.9-10.

⁶⁷⁷ There are not many cartes de visite of Disraeli, compared to the number of Gladstone, as the Conservative leader did not like having his photograph taken. On one occasion, however, Queen Victoria insisted on W. & D. Downey taking a portrait of him and the resulting image, seen in the carte de visite in **Fig.335-234** (again in the velvet ribbon-edged jacket), was much reproduced. 'At Home. Messrs. W. & D. Downey at Ebury Street', *The Photographic News*, 30 April 1880, pp.206-07.

⁶⁷⁸ This infers that Disraeli was on personal terms with – and on an acceptable social standing to – the monarch.

or interaction with books or papers as seen in the portraits of Gladstone. Instead the Conservative leader looks into the distance, and away from a few books placed on a side-table behind his elbow. Ian St. John claims that Disraeli fostered a 'natural calmness' in his public demeanour compared to Gladstone's 'irritable and excitable character' and 'sheer brute energy'.⁶⁷⁹ The disinterested nonchalance constructed in cartes de visite endowed an aristocratic air for Disraeli that defined his image against Gladstone's serious, intense and busy demeanour of a middle-class professional working energetically to execute his plans.

The photographs of Disraeli matched the image of his circulated in other contemporary publications. Many newspapers stressed the link between Disraeli's Conservatism and the British monarchy. Indeed *The Graphic* said that the Conservatives were 'English gentlemen honoured by the favour of their Sovereign',⁶⁸⁰ and they published a series of pictures of the Prince of Wales's visit to Disraeli's home.⁶⁸¹ Another example is found in a book entitled *The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., and His Times* (published in 1881) which had gold crowns lavishly embossed across each corner of the cover (illustrated in **Fig.339-XA66**).⁶⁸² Commercial studios fed into the popular image of Disraeli circulated in such publications, and offered a personally-collectable memento which cultivated this.

⁶⁷⁹ Ian St. John, *Disraeli and the Art of Victorian Politics* (London and New York), pp.214-17.

⁶⁸⁰ 'The Late Earl of Beaconsfield', *The Graphic*, 23 April 1881, pp.405, 408-9 and 414.

⁶⁸¹ It was very rare for a future monarch to visit a statesman's home. One of the pictures is illustrated in **Fig.338-XA65**.

⁶⁸² 'The Late Earl of Beaconsfield', *The Graphic*, 23 April 1881, pp.405, 408-9 and 414.

However Disraeli was not English, he was of Jewish-Italian origin.⁶⁸³ His father was Mr. Isaac D'Israeli, a learned antiquarian scholar who had inherited a moderate fortune from his own father, a London merchant in the Mediterranean, and Benjamin's great-grandfather had come from Venice, the Jewish family having moved to Italy when driven out of Spain in the fifteenth-century. There is reference to Disraeli's Jewish background in some publications of the period, for example *Vanity Fair* did not hesitate to highlight Disraeli's Jewish profile in its caricatures, and one issue even referred to him as a 'Knight sprung from a despised race' with a renown 'once covered with distrust and ridicule'.⁶⁸⁴ However, there is no accent on Disraeli's nationality in carte de visite output, with collectable value firmly constructed in his policies of continuing and furthering Britain's esteemed heritage into modern times.

Party-Leader Image Selling Cartes de Viste

The two party leaders, Gladstone and Disraeli, were as forceful as each other in their individual personalities. Both statesmen had been noted for their exceptional energy and determination in the nineteenth-century, and they were, as described by W.D. Jones, political 'giants'.⁶⁸⁵ Indeed a writer in *The Graphic* stated that 'no man seems ever to have owed less to the influence of his colleagues than Mr.

⁶⁸³ Ian St. John, *Op. Cit.*, pp.154 and 217.

⁶⁸⁴ 'Power and Place. The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., and Mr. Montagu Corry, P.S.' *Vanity Fair*, 16 December 1879. They added that he had, through 'sheer force of intellect', won his 'spurs' and become the 'master of the proudest nation in the world', thus casting him in middle-class virtue. Henry Millar also notes the extensive references in the media to Disraeli's Jewish nationality. Henry Miller, *Politics Personified* (Manchester, 2015), pp.217.

⁶⁸⁵ W.D. Jones, *Lord Derby and Victorian Conservatism* (1956) quoted in Roger Ellis, *Who's Who in British History: Victorian Britain 1851-1901* (Mechanicsburg, 1997), pp.294.

Gladstone',⁶⁸⁶ and *The Illustrated London News* described how his attitude commanded 'the submission of all'.⁶⁸⁷ It was said of Gladstone in 1860 that all were in doubt as to 'what he will do, and what he will think, still more, why he will do it, and why he will think it'⁶⁸⁸ - and of Disraeli, the late-nineteenth-century biographer Justin McCarthy pointed out in 1886 the doubt as to whether Lord Derby or Lord Carnarvon, 'or both combined', could have prevailed 'in strength of will against Lord Beaconsfield.'⁶⁸⁹

Professional photographers recognised the very clear demarcation of public image fostered by each statesman, and used it to accentuate portrait recognition and appeal. Gladstone's sincerity was pitched against Disraeli's 'Romantic' vision of nationhood, and the divisive images that attracted sales are particularly illustrated in two memorial cartes issued on their deaths as a resume of their lives. In the first, illustrated in **Fig.340-XA70**, Gladstone's head fills the picture area, and it is his piercing eyes and set mouth that dominate the picture. He looks directly at the viewer and, even to us today, exerts a powerful determination and intense resolve to follow his own convictions. His head is imposing in its size and steely gaze, but it is his strength of character that overwhelms the viewer. It is in complete contrast to the carte of Disraeli in **Fig.341-936** where the emphasis is not placed on personal character but on political policies. Here Disraeli is seen in a three-quarter-length

⁶⁸⁶ 'Mr. Gladstone's Contemporaries', *The Graphic Special Number*, 19 May 1898, pp.14.

⁶⁸⁷ 'Fifty Years of a Statesman's Life', *The Illustrated London News*, 17 February 1883, pp.182.

⁶⁸⁸ 'Mr. Gladstone', *Biographical Studies*, Ed. Walter Bagehot (London, 1895), pp.92. Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Finance of the Year and the Treaty of Commerce with France delivered in the House of Commons on Friday, 10 February 1860.

⁶⁸⁹ Justin McCarthy, M.P., *A Short History of Our Own Time* (London, 1886), pp.416.

pose, and emphasis thus falls onto his attire. His light-coloured jacket and trousers, with a soft-felt top hat, present him as an English 'landed' country-gentleman⁶⁹⁰ - and a large art-work wreath of primroses surrounds (and frames) Disraeli's figure.⁶⁹¹ When turning over the portrait the aristocratic associations that he so forcefully contrived are underlined through text that states that these flowers were indeed given by Queen Victoria herself - and a personal inscription from Her Majesty is reproduced, reading: "His favourite flowers from Osborne, "A tribute of affection from "QUEEN VICTORIA".

Just after the General Election of 1874 one reporter in *The Illustrated London News* wondered how many of the elected M.P.s would 'become celebrities',⁶⁹² but it was not the emergence of 'celebrity' appeal that concerned professional photographers, but the change in style that was required to secure sales. Their earlier market for standardised 'character' across class and political divides developed into a demand for 'leader-individuality' signalling 'Party' as the century progressed.⁶⁹³ The nineteenth-century was a period of radical change in the structure of British government: indeed *The Illustrated London News* said in 1874 that 'the period in which we live is recognised by all as one of transition' with old institutions adapting to 'new wants and new manners',⁶⁹⁴ and such re-adjustment is reflected in the

⁶⁹⁰ St. John describes Disraeli as presenting himself as 'a pillar of county society'. Ian St. John, *Op. Cit.*, pp.217.

⁶⁹¹ The Primrose League was set up in 1884 to symbolize the Conservative Party. It used Disraeli's favourite flower (the primrose) to identify Conservative principles.

⁶⁹² 'The New Parliament' *The Illustrated London News*, 28 February 1874, pp.206-207.

⁶⁹³ James Vernon also recognizes the emphasis on personality 'performance' developing in later-nineteenth-century British politics. James Vernon, *Politics and the People* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.290.

⁶⁹⁴ *The Illustrated London News*, 7 February 1874, pp.118.

statesmen portraits that proved saleable. A changing portrait style met the demands of a newly-enfranchised electorate,⁶⁹⁵ with policy leaders heralding differing visions of 'being British' increasingly constituting portrait worth. The domination of Disraeli and Gladstone in later nineteenth-century cartes de visite signals a public requiring strong political leadership to navigate issues and debates on the nation's future, and to provide a clear focus on the choices available. But the images also highlight the complex inter-relationship between constitutional spheres, with the monarchy and Church becoming 'pawns' in political policy:⁶⁹⁶ indeed they played a central role in determining electoral support.⁶⁹⁷ The Church was another area that experienced radical upheaval in modernising to meet the requirements of new living and working patterns. However carte de visite output shows that studios managed to steer a successful path through the tricky issues and sustain sales for their clergyman images across widely varying outlooks: indeed the category accounts for the third in volumetric output in the archive, and the next case study completes the examination

⁶⁹⁵ Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man* of 1791. This was referred to in James A. Epstein, 'The Constitutional Idiom: Radical Reasoning, Rhetoric and Action in Early Nineteenth-century England', *Journal of Social History*, Vol.23, No.3 (Spring 1990), pp.553-574.

⁶⁹⁶ Miller highlights the religious issues that were central to general elections in the later decades of the nineteenth-century: for example Gladstone was accused of 'Popery', while Disraeli was seen as defending Britain as a Protestant nation with the monarch at the head of an Established Church of England. Henry Miller, *Politics Personified* (Manchester, 2015), pp.202.

⁶⁹⁷ The retention of the monarchy and the Established status of the Anglican Church was, the Conservatives claimed, under threat of dismantle from the Liberals. Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.82. Henry Miller says that issues surrounding the status of the established Church determined the outcome of the General Election of 1874. Henry Miller, *Op. Cit.*, pp.202. St. John quotes Disraeli saying in 1861 that 'The Church of England is part of our history, part of our life, part of England itself'. Ian St. John, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 159 & 106-8. James Vernon points out that Protestantism was seen as a defining identity of England, only Protestant monarchs being allowed to assume the throne from 1688. James Vernon, *Op. Cit.*, pp.296-300.

of this constitutional 'triangle' by exploring the cartes de visite of the Victorian clergyman that secured such turnover.

CASE STUDY 3: THE CLERGYMAN

Religion lay at the heart of middle-class identity in the nineteenth-century middle-class life.⁶⁹⁸ Indeed Maureen Moran writes of a society 'framed and interpreted by religious ideas and systems'.⁶⁹⁹ Religious affiliation formed part of the visual language of Victorian culture and clergyman images therefore constituted a valuable genre for many carte de visite studios targeting the middle-class market. Clergymen portraits account for third place in volume in the archive after royalty and statesmen, and this position highlights the significant potential for a studio's sales and turnover when marketed successfully. Great difficulties had to be overcome however in appealing to a middle-class deeply divided by sectarian differences. The Church of England was struggling to meet the needs of an expanding population moving into new urban areas in the mid-century and, added to this, many local clergymen had gained a reputation for being lazy, corrupt, and of putting their own self-interests above those of their parishioners. A new evangelical slant in the Anglican Church proved particularly popular in offering a new interpretation of God as kind and forgiving, and as favouring redemption rather than punishment.⁷⁰⁰ This appealed to a middle-class striving to establish itself within a rapidly changing modern society,⁷⁰¹ but it also caused friction within the Church of England, its gentler Low-Church

⁶⁹⁸ William C. Lubenow, *Liberal Intellectuals and Public Culture in Modern Britain, 1815-1914* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.72.

⁶⁹⁹ Maureen Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (London, 2006), pp.25.

⁷⁰⁰ Boyd Hilton, *Age of Atonement: the Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785-1865* (Oxford, 1986).

⁷⁰¹ Several researchers agree that there was a softening of the image of God at the mid-century. Michael Bartholomew, 'The Moral Critique of Christian Orthodoxy', Ed. Gerald Parsons, *Religion in Victorian Britain, Vol.II Controversies* (Manchester, 1988), pp.171.

approach conflicting with traditional High-Church practices. A schism emerged, with a group of clergymen establishing the Oxford Movement to retain High-Church principles. Their activities fuelled fears of a growing inclination towards Catholicism, and its threat to the Established status of the Church of England.⁷⁰² In addition to this ecclesiastical disruption, new scientific theories appeared to throw doubt on long-held religious beliefs, and a group of Broad-Churchmen within the Anglican Church set themselves the task of investigating such research and trying to establish truth in biblical interpretation.⁷⁰³ Although Anglicanism retained its Established status, Catholicism and Non-Conformism grew in influence over the nineteenth-century, and there were increasing demands for pluralism in Britain's religious constitutional framework. Parliamentarians responded, trying to allay fears and address differences. For example Disraeli favoured keeping Anglicanism as the Established Church with the monarch at its head while the Liberal Party was more inclined towards disestablishment.⁷⁰⁴ Added tension arose with the influx of Catholics after the famine in Ireland which encouraged Pope Pius IX to appoint new

⁷⁰² Some prominent Anglicans, such as John Henry Newman, left the Church of England to join the Catholic Church. Maureen Moran notes the huge shock this caused Britain as a Protestant nation. Maureen Moran, *Maureen Moran, Victorian Literature and Culture* (London, 2006), pp.29.

⁷⁰³ Scientists such as Charles Lyell and Charles Darwin published works that questioned long-held ecclesiastical beliefs in the creation of the world and of man. This will be discussed more fully later in the study.

⁷⁰⁴ J.P. Parry says that Gladstone seemed to favour Non-Conformists and Catholics as much as Anglicans. J.P. Parry, *Democracy & Religion* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.57. James Bentley points out Victoria's grave concerns over this situation. James Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1978), pp.6-7, 93.

Catholic bishoprics across England in 1850,⁷⁰⁵ while Non-conformists increasingly campaigned for more representation in government policy.

The mid-century therefore experienced great turmoil in religious outlook, both in people's viewpoints and in Church and government response. Indeed the disruption was noted in press publications: *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* described a 'colossal' upheaval as Protestant Great Britain rose 'en masse' to oppose 'Papal Aggression'⁷⁰⁶ while *Vanity Fair* wrote of Protestants 'protesting against Protestants' and of a 'profound dissatisfaction' shaking 'the foundations' of the Church.⁷⁰⁷ These internal ecclesiastical disputes affected their congregation: as will be discussed in the study, people not only aligned themselves with a particular creed, they strongly identified with their religious representatives. The professional photographer had to navigate this complex situation of ecclesiastical confusion and fragmented religious allegiance in order to retain a strong volumetric turnover of his clergymen cartes de visite.

This case study examines studios' strategies in issuing portraits in an era of 'religious quarrels'⁷⁰⁸ when, as Anthony Trollope wrote, clerics seemed intent on 'fighting' each other.⁷⁰⁹ The Study will be divided into three parts. Part one will examine the construction of a 'professional' Church of England cleric, while part two

⁷⁰⁵ 'The Papal Aggression', *The Illustrated London News*, 1850.
www.victorianweb.org/religion/catholicism.com

⁷⁰⁶ 'The Rev. John Cumming', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages 2nd Series* (London, 1859).

⁷⁰⁷ 'Statesmen. No.82.' 'Lord Ebury' *Vanity Fair*, 15 April 1871. 'Men of the Day. No.51. The Reverend Thomas Binney.', *Vanity Fair*, 12 October 1872.

⁷⁰⁸ 'Men of the Day. No.51. The Reverend Thomas Binney.' *Vanity Fair*, 12 October 1872.

⁷⁰⁹ Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers* (Harmondsworth, 1983, reprint of original publication of 1857), pp.183.

will explore the portraiture related to religious tensions raised by scientific and archaeological research in the Anglican Church. Part three considers the threat to Established Anglican status in increasing Catholic and Non-conformist following. As in the previous studies, the cartes will form the central research material, and contemporary literature and current scholarship will be used to interpret the images. However, unlike the preceding two case studies, the examination does not follow a chronological progression but instead adopts a thematic approach that matches the plurality of mid-Victorian religion.

PART ONE: A 'PROFESSIONAL' CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Confidence in the religious leadership of the country's established Church of England in the nineteenth-century was severely challenged. Many Anglican clergymen were criticised for being lazy, dishonest and corrupt, willing to enjoy a comfortable and trouble-free lifestyle, and intent on pleasing the local squire but doing little to help their parishioners adjust to the challenges of modern-day life in an increasingly urban society. The Church seemed out-of-touch with the troubles of ordinary people, and indeed the census of 1851 confirmed that Protestant church-going was on the decline.⁷¹⁰ A wave of evangelism, however, swept through the Church in the nineteenth-century in which, according to Boyd Hilton, God was recast as a kind and benevolent presence offering redemption rather than punishment, and support for those willing to help themselves. The evangelical emphasis on qualities of industry, temperance and thrift particularly addressed the interests of a

⁷¹⁰ The Religious Census of 1851 undertaken by Horace Mann recorded that out of a population of nearly 18,000,000 only 7,261,032 persons had attended Sunday worship on a specifically-selected date for the survey. James Bentley, *Ritualism and Politics in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1978), pp.9.

new upwardly-mobile Victorian middle-class. Indeed Boyd Hilton says that evangelism became the 'bedrock' of nineteenth-century middle-class culture and consciousness, and helped to shape its mentality.⁷¹¹ This evangelical Protestantism, however, caused friction within the Church itself, between supporters of the traditional High Church and Low Church. Whilst religious controversies generated interest in cartes de visite of clergymen, professional photographers had to navigate this turbulent ecclesiastical debate to attract sales from those with widely differing viewpoints.

The Core Evangelical Church of England Clergyman

When addressing the Evangelically-inclined cleric studios particularly focussed on the character of the clergyman rather than on any liturgical representation. For example the cartes of the Bishop of Manchester, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Bishop of Durham in **Figs.342-627, 343-624** and **344-491** place an emphasis on the clergymen as everyday gentlemen. They are presented with neat short hair and clean-shaven faces.⁷¹² They are well-groomed, and they wear their everyday ecclesiastical attire. There is no display of the opulent robes of high ecclesiastical status, but instead they are accompanied by the top hats and walking sticks that signalled them as Victorian men of moral principle, and their placement against plain domestic backgrounds underlined their presentation and collectable worth in terms of their character.

⁷¹¹ David Englander, 'The Word and the World', Ed. Gerald Parsons, *Religion in Victorian Britain, II Controversies* (Manchester, 1988), pp.18. Boyd Hilton, Op. Cit., pp.7 and David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* (Leicester, 2005).

⁷¹² James Prince Lee (1804-1869) was appointed the first bishop of the new diocese of Manchester founded in 1847. He served there between 1848 and 1869. Charles Richard Sumner (1790-1874) was Bishop of Winchester 1827-69. Henry Montagu Villiers (1813-1861) was Bishop of Carlisle 1856-60 and Bishop of Durham 1860-61.

The images match Trollope's description of his Low-Church clergyman Mr. Slope in his 'ordinary black cloth waistcoat', being 'punctiliously shaven' with hair 'brushed with admirable precision',⁷¹³ and it is an image that was energetically cultivated in a range of contemporary press publications. For example *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* wrote of the gentle character of the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Bird Sumner, in 1859, and praised him as a 'sound, temperate and reliable Churchman'.⁷¹⁴ It was Sumner's character, in particular his fairness, that was stressed, even when faced with controversies such as the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. His moderate views had, the writer said, won the respect of all, and his tolerance and understanding had even evoked 'the praise and sympathy' of those 'most opposed' to him.⁷¹⁵ These new clergymen were 'offensive to none',⁷¹⁶ and Bishop Carr was 'held forth as a pattern' in *The Illustrated News of the World* due to his courteous and affable humanitarianism, exercised with an unostentatious lack of 'display', and exerting a dignified 'moral peace'.⁷¹⁷ The mid-Victorian clergyman was cast as one of humility and sincerity, as considerate of others' views, fair in judgement and tolerant of other points of view. This widely-promoted image of the evangelically-inclined Church of England clergyman was presented in cartes de visite through the established trope of

⁷¹³ Anthony Trollope, *Op. Cit.*, pp.25 and 40.

⁷¹⁴ John Bird Sumner (1780-1862) was the brother of Charles Richard Sumner, and was Archbishop of Canterbury 1848-62.

⁷¹⁵ 'His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1859 2nd Series).

⁷¹⁶ 'The Rev. Lonsdale, Bishop of Lichfield', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* July-December (London, 1860).

⁷¹⁷ 'The Late Right Rev. Bishop Carr, Rector of Bath', *The Illustrated News of the World*, 24 September 1859, pp.180.

'gentlemanly' iconography, signalling qualities of moral and humanitarian character. Indeed commercial photographers secured core Church of England sales when presenting churchmen upholding the social values of their congregation, as honourable, seriously-devoted 'professionals', sharing in the social aims of their flock, understanding the difficulties they faced in their everyday lives, and intent on serving their needs.

A strong emphasis was placed on the work ethic of the new kind of professional clergyman in contemporary publications. For example, *The Illustrated News of the World* praised the 'industry' displayed by the Rev. Villiers and the Rev. Maguire (both clergymen were of Low-Church evangelical inclination), and the 'zealous' and 'indefatigable' verve in carrying out their ecclesiastical service: Maguire was particularly noted for throwing himself 'heart and soul' into his work.⁷¹⁸ There was much to be done in meeting the spiritual needs of a growing population moving into new urban areas. New parishes with new churches were needed, and *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* noted the Rev. Prince Lee's hard work in consecrating sixty-four new churches in Manchester to meet an expanding diocese of 1,395,484 'souls'.⁷¹⁹ As Brian Heeney claims, by mid-century the earlier eighteenth-century parson was a 'fish out of water', unable to deal with the needs of modern life: in contrast to the new professional clergyman as an industrious worker who could not

⁷¹⁸ 'The Hon. and Right Rev. Henry Montagu Villiers', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages 2nd Series* (London, 1859). Henry Montagu Villiers (1813-1861) was Bishop of Carlisle 1856-60. 'The Rev. Robert Maguire, M.A.', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1859).

⁷¹⁹ Making it the second largest urban community to London with a total of 342 churches. 'The Right Rev. Prince Lee, D.D. Lord Bishop of Manchester', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages 2nd Series* (London, 1859).

be criticised as 'idle'.⁷²⁰ Cartes de visite presented ecclesiastical 'work' through busy and attentive poses, and with props of books and papers. Examples are shown in the three portraits in **Figs.345-516, 346-497** and **347-758**. In the first carte, the Bishop of Ripon is seated at a desk, and he has an open book in front of him. He leans over the desk with quill in hand.⁷²¹ He looks up at the camera but, in leaning forwards slightly, seems intent on returning to the work in hand. The second carte shows the Archbishop of York standing beside a sideboard.⁷²² He has his right hand placed on a pile of papers on the sideboard, and there is another document in his left hand. His head is bowed downwards, and he studies the document intently. There is also a large top hat placed just behind the papers which re-iterates the clergyman's gentlemanly qualities whilst undertaking his ecclesiastical work. The last portrait shows the Rev. Tait who sits at a desk with his left hand placed beside an inkwell and on top of a pile of papers. In his other hand he holds more papers, and there is a book placed on a small table just behind him, suggesting a considerable amount of work ahead.⁷²³

Cartes de visite were issued in quantity of Low-Church Church of England clergymen as neatly groomed professional gentlemen in plain everyday attire rather than ecclesiastical robes, and engaged in serious attention to their work. But there is also a defined emphasis on their learned attributes. Jonathan Parry claims that

⁷²⁰ Brian Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman* (Hamden, Connecticut, 1976), pp.96 and pp.41.

⁷²¹ Charles Thomas Longley (1794-1868). He was appointed the first bishop of the new diocese of Ripon in 1836 and served there until 1856.

⁷²² William Thomson (1819-1890) was Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol between 1861 and 1862, and then Archbishop of York 1862-90.

⁷²³ The Rev. Archibald Campbell Tait (1811-1882). He was Bishop of London 1856-68 and then Archbishop of Canterbury 1868-82.

an 'intellectual' Church emerged in the nineteenth-century,⁷²⁴ and extensive attention is given to clergymen's university education in *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery*.⁷²⁵ In cartes de visite books are included in a large number of photographs, and two examples are shown in **Figs.348-372** and **349-493**. In the first, a large bookcase has been positioned beside the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Bird Sumner. Another open book is seen on his lap, and he holds a pair of spectacles as if just looking up from serious intellectual study. A book is also placed on a side-table beside the Bishop of Rochester, placed just by his left elbow.⁷²⁶

The Bishop of Lichfield, John Lonsdale, was described by Lord Chesterfield as the 'ideal' Church of England clergyman in 1860, and indeed as an instance of 'human perfection on this side of religious and moral duties'.⁷²⁷ This was due to, Chesterfield said, his 'gentleness of manners' and firmness of mind',⁷²⁸ and the cartes in **Figs.350-515** and **351-490**, one issued by Maull & Polyblank and the other by Mason & Co., show two studios' interpretation of the 'ideal' in portrait form. Both studios have placed Lichfield against a plain domestic background, and he is accompanied by a top hat, books and papers. His legs are not elegantly crossed,

⁷²⁴ Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.100. Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class* (Manchester, 2007), pp.108.

⁷²⁵ 'The Rev. John Cumming', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages 2nd Series* (London, 1859).

⁷²⁶ Joseph Cotton Wigram (1789-1867). He was Archdeacon of Winchester 1847-60, and Bishop of Rochester 1860-67. Books and papers in cartes de visite conveyed scholarly and intellectual application, with some appearing to resemble bibles to underline the subject's cerebral worth in a religious role.

⁷²⁷ 'The Right Rev. John Lonsdale', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* July-December (London, 1860).

⁷²⁸ George Stanhope was the 6th Earl of Chesterfield (1805-1866). He was a British Tory statesman.

instead the clergyman appears humble, dignified and gentle with a slightly lowered head. The photographers have therefore used pose, setting and accompanying props to present an image of humility, character and learning for the middle-class collector of this Church of England bishop.

The Low-Church Church of England clergyman was presented as a professional man of character and scholarly expertise, pursuing his chosen public occupation.⁷²⁹ Indeed Brian Heeney argues that the image of a 'highly cultivated' and liberally-educated gentleman proved far more effective in engaging public interest than any overt display of piety.⁷³⁰ As shown, the large number of cartes de visite issued with an emphasis on the character of the priesthood confirms his argument. However, as Penny Corfield claims, the Church of England priesthood was considered a 'special' profession, one elevated above other public occupations due to its spiritual demands.⁷³¹ An article written in 1858 in *Fraser's Magazine* illustrates this well. A unique 'privilege' of priesthood was described, which could ease the pain of unwelcome 'visitations from God'.⁷³² This was, it was claimed, the priest's job, and it was one to be defended 'at all hazards' as, if deprived of such special roll, the clergyman's occupation would be 'gone at once'.⁷³³ Although perhaps cynical in

⁷²⁹ Alan Haig, *The Victorian Clergy*, (Abingdon, 2016), pp.15-17.

⁷³⁰ Brian Heeney, Op. Cit., pp.31.

⁷³¹ Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850* (London & New York, 1995), pp.103.

⁷³² A contemporary expression often used to refer to traumas and sorrows that occurred in people's lives.

⁷³³ This was cited as the reason for the lack of support from the clergy for new policies of health reform, as they were proposed after a recent outbreak of cholera. The lack of support was possibly due to necessary contributions from congregations that might, in turn, reduce Church attendance and lessen the Church's income from pew rents. 'A Mad World My Masters', *Fraser's Magazine*, January 1858, pp.133-134.

tone, the opinion highlights the special spiritual status claimed by clergymen, and in some cartes there is reference to a separation from worldly affairs. For example the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (the Rev. Baring) is accompanied by a clearly-visible pointed Gothic arch motif both on the chair-back behind the clergyman and on a card by his elbow (**Fig.352-709**).⁷³⁴ The *Art Journal* argued that the Gothic was the 'only' style which a 'true Christian' would use for furniture decoration.⁷³⁵ In relation to this statement, the inclusion of gothic elements in a portrait could be seen as lifting the clergyman into a spiritual sphere. Although perhaps mostly associated with the High-Church Oxford Movement, the Gothic motif used here for a Low-Churchman might have conveyed a 'Godly' contemplation. In a second example (**Fig.353-373**), a vignette-effect has been constructed for the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Bird Sumner), and this lifts the clergyman out of the material world. Full focus is placed onto Sumner's head with accompanying physical props eliminated from sight, and the gradation of background appears not only to show Sumner's head 'floating' but, in its darker outer circle, a halo-effect is also conveyed. These images, in stressing separation from the material world, seem to indicate studios expanding their output to interest those valuing religious and spiritual inspiration.

A specific kind of manliness is found in these images. Although all appear in standardised 'professional' iconography, when examining the portraits closely a certain lack of attention to personal presentation can be detected. The clergymen's clothes often appear shapeless and un-pressed when compared to the statesmen in

⁷³⁴ Charles Thomas Baring (1807-1879) was Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol 1856 to 1861, and then Bishop of Durham 1861-79.

⁷³⁵ 'Gothic Furniture', *Art Journal* (London, 1867), pp.25.

the last case study. Similarly, hair is slightly less coiffed, shoulders are dropped, and chins are lowered towards concave chests rather than the haughtily-held heads and perpendicular backbones seen for royals or parliamentarians. Less attention to personal appearance is suggested, lifting them away from airs of vanity or self-puffery: for example as seen in the thrust-forward hips and elegant sinuous gentlemanly poses constructed for many other celebrities.

Photographers presented the Low-Church evangelical clergyman as a man of moral rectitude and professionalism in pursuit of ecclesiastical service, and as a man who upheld the values of his middle-class congregation. This was the image that proved popular for studios marketing images of Low-Church Church of England clerics.

However controversy was hard to avoid. There were significant disputes within the Church itself. New theories on the interpretation of the bible, based on archaeological and scientific research, fuelled debate as to traditional interpretations of religious writings, with some churchmen favouring a wider tolerance of religious paths. Added to this, severe disputes arose within the Church of England due to what seemed to be (to evangelicals) Catholic ritual: many reports emerge of disturbances between those of High- and Low-Church preference. However commercial photographers managed to secure wide clergyman sales, and Part Two of this study will examine the strategies employed to sustain turnover.

PART TWO: TENSIONS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Cartes de Visite Addressing Science and Secularism in the Church of England

One of the main challenges to religious belief in the nineteenth-century emerged with the publication of new archaeological and scientific research, in theories that seemed to question long-held biblical beliefs. In 1830, for example, Charles Lyell

published 'The Principles of Geology' in which he proposed that historical events deemed acts of God, such as the Noah's Flood, were in fact naturally occurring.⁷³⁶ In 1859 Charles Darwin adopted a similar argument in his 'The Origin of Species' in which he claimed that evolution was governed by natural forces rather than God's Will.⁷³⁷ Religious tension provoked debate about unquestioning acceptance of traditional Christian interpretations of the bible, with difficulties arising when reconciling religious belief with new middle-class interests in scientific investigation. Further disruption occurred within the Church when some clergymen proposed a broader and more tolerant attitude towards different faiths, especially when exploring diverse religious histories. New progressive ideas published by a group of Broad-Churchmen in a series of essays in 1860 entitled 'Essays and Reviews', with the overall recommendation being that the bible should be studied as an historical text that provided symbolic meaning rather than fact. The publication caused a huge amount of controversy, especially as a re-assessment of long-held beliefs now seemed to be taking place within the Church itself, and the authors were castigated as 'The Seven Against Christ'.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁶ The full title was 'The Principles of Geology: Being an Attempt to Explain the Former Changes of the Earth's Surface, by Reference to Causes now in Operation'. It was published in three volumes between 1830 and 1833. Charles Lyell was a scientist and geologist, and a member of the Geological Society, and gave lectures on how to reconcile the biblical account of the Flood with geological findings. www.victorianweb.org/science/lyell.com Accessed 29 January 2018.

⁷³⁷ Published in 1859.

⁷³⁸ This was published in March 1860 and included writings by Frederick Temple (who later became Archbishop of Canterbury), university professors, and one layman-contributor (Charles Wycliffe Goodwin who was an Egyptologist and barrister. It attracted enormous interest, selling 22,000 copies in two years, more than Darwin's 'The Origin of the Species' had sold in its first twenty years. www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Essays_and_Reviews quoting

Debate and argument was much reported,⁷³⁹ creating a demand for news and images, however in meeting this demand photographers again focussed on the character of those involved in controversy. An example is illustrated in the carte de visite of Arthur Stanley in **Fig.354-349**.⁷⁴⁰ Stanley was described in *The Illustrated London News* as one of the 'pioneers' of liberal opinion,⁷⁴¹ and in his portrait an intense and earnest attention to study is accentuated. Stanley sits at a table and leans over an open book at an acute 45' angle, with his nose almost touching the open pages. Books are scattered on the floor, not being arranged in an ordered pile but randomly tossed around, and a mortar board is placed just beside the books underlining the intellectual depth of his research and investigation. His unusual pose, in being seated across the back of his chair and twisting around in an exaggerated manner towards his literary focus, matches the contemporary reputation of intellectual enquiry assumed by Broad-Churchmen, and fulfils middle-class ideals of a high scholarly investigation to establish truth.⁷⁴² Another Broad-

Desmond, Adrian; Moore, James (1991), Darwin. London: Michael Joseph, Penguin Group. Accessed 27 January 2018.

⁷³⁹ For example a discussion in 1860 between the High-Churchman Samuel Wilberforce and the scientist Thomas Huxley on theories of evolution was much-publicized. Alastair Redfern, 'Wilberforce and Pastoral Theology', *Ambassadors of Christ*, ed. Mark D. Chapman (Aldershot, 2004), pp.66.

⁷⁴⁰ Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-1881) was a churchman and academic of liberal views. He travelled extensively in Europe, Russia and in the Holy Land, and published a number of works investigating wider ecclesiastical views. He was Dean of Westminster 1864-1881.

⁷⁴¹ 'The New Dean of Westminster', *The Illustrated London News*, 30 January 1864, pp.112.

⁷⁴² The unusual crossed-slat decoration of Stanley's chair is often found in relation to ecclesiastical portraiture in cartes de visite.

Churchman, Dr. Colenso, is shown in the carte de visite in **Fig.355-41**.⁷⁴³ He was appointed as the first Bishop of Natal but caused great controversy when he proposed that the bible should be read and understood symbolically rather than literally.⁷⁴⁴ The carte of Colenso again adopts an unusual pose for a clergyman in sitting side-ways on his chair.⁷⁴⁵ His left elbow is propped up on the chair's back and supports his forehead. His legs are crossed and protrude into the spectator's space, but it is his pose of head-held-in-hand that dominates the picture. There is a pile of books just beside his right arm and his hand is placed on his brow which presents Colenso as deeply involved in his consideration of their content. As such, a sincere personal questioning of literary texts forms the collectable attraction and value of these two portraits.

Broad-Churchmen attracted much criticism in the mid-century, and especially from one High-Church clergyman, Samuel Wilberforce.⁷⁴⁶ Wilberforce objected vehemently to Darwin's theories: indeed Alastair Redfern describes Wilberforce battling for the 'essence of the Anglican tradition' against 'the forces of science and subjectivism'.⁷⁴⁷ However here again those involved in ecclesiastical controversy

⁷⁴³ John Colenso (1814-1883). He was an intellectual, having studied mathematics and theology, and published widely on his work and travels in Africa. He was Bishop of Natal 1853-83. Peter Hinchliff, 'Colenso, John William', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5875.

⁷⁴⁴ Bishop Gray (Bishop of Cape Town 1847-1872) attempted to have Colenso removed from his Church of England post due to his progressive ideas on the rights of his African congregation. Peter Hinchliff, 'Colenso, John William', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5875.

⁷⁴⁵ This pose, in 'difference' to the normal seated pose, is often found in cartes de visite for subjects whose views challenged a widely-accepted stance on a particular topic.

⁷⁴⁶ Samuel Wilberforce (1805-1873). He was Bishop of Oxford 1845-69, and Bishop of Winchester 1869-73. Arthur Burns, 'Wilberforce, Samuel', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29385.

⁷⁴⁷ Alistair Redfern, 'Wilberforce and Pastoral Theology', Ed. Mark D. Chapman, *Ambassadors of Christ* (Aldershot, 2004), pp.66.

have been presented by photographers in terms of middle-class character. For example, the photograph of Samuel Wilberforce in **Fig.356-374** shows him in unassuming gentlemanly pose. He is dressed in plain, everyday ecclesiastical attire, and has a top hat in his left hand while his right hand rests gently on a pile of books. This image was published by Kilburn, but **Fig.357-329** shows the same photograph (now issued by Hering) with a huge bookcase full of books behind the clergyman.⁷⁴⁸ It dominates the picture, almost dwarfing Wilberforce, and emphasises the High-Church clergyman as a 'gentleman', but as one adopting a particularly scholarly approach to developing his personal conviction.

Cartes de Visite Addressing High- and Low-Church Disputes in the Church of England

These images of Broad-Churchmen in exaggerated poses match John Wolffe's description of a 'mid-century soul searching' in the Church.⁷⁴⁹ They reflect the contemporary uncertainty and search for truth of a group of churchmen keen to explore wider issues in religious belief. They were portraits of those striving to reconcile scientific and archaeological discoveries with traditional biblical interpretation, and of those favouring a deeper and wider understanding of faith. Such clergymen were involved in tensions related to tradition and progress, but there were also great disputes between those of High- and Low-Church belief. In 1833 a group of Oxford University students who supported High-Church practices in

⁷⁴⁸ This has been added to the original negative before re-printing the picture.

⁷⁴⁹ John Wolfe, 'Introduction: Victorian Religion in Context', Ed. John Wolffe, *Religion in Victorian Britain, V Culture and Empire* (Manchester, 1997), pp.14.

the Anglican Church established the Oxford Movement.⁷⁵⁰ Followers of the Movement favoured the retention of Catholic ritual in Anglican services. The movement came at a time when Catholics were gradually assuming more prominence in English society. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 allowed Catholics to become M.P.s., and in 1850 Catholic influence was significantly re-asserted when Pope Pius IX appointed twelve new Catholic bishoprics across England, installing Nicholas Wiseman as the Catholic Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster. Great consternation was felt within the Church of England as Catholicism seemed to pose a challenge to the country's national identity as a Protestant nation, and to the 'established' status of the Anglican Church.⁷⁵¹ Fear was fuelled by a letter issued by Wiseman entitled "From without the Flaminian Gate" in which he proclaimed that 'we govern and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford and Essex.....'⁷⁵² In this context considerable unease and controversy was generated: High- and Low-Church advocates became embroiled in bitter disputes, not only within the Church itself but amongst the general public too. Riots took place in 1859 and 1860, especially at the church of St.

⁷⁵⁰ The Oxford Movement was led by John Keble, John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie Pusey, and adopted a philosophy called Tractarianism, due to a series of tracts they published between 1833 and 1841. The Movement championed a return to pre-Reformation High-Church practices in the Anglican Church, in opposition to an increasing Low-Church evangelical trend. Members believed Anglicanism to be one of three strands of the original Christian Church (the other two being Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy). The Oxford Movement later developed into Anglo-Catholicism. www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Catholicism\Liturgical_practices

⁷⁵¹ This was also due to a rise in Catholics in England, especially arriving after the potato famine from Ireland. *The Times* called it 'Papal aggression'. Professor John Wolffe, 'Papers given at a seminar to mark the 150th anniversary of the Ritualism Riots 1859-60 St. George-in-the-East Church, 18 March 2010. www.victoriancalendar/september-29-1850-from-flaminian-gate

⁷⁵² The letter went on to list five other counties, those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire and Hampshire. www.branchcollective.org/the-papal-aggression-controversy

George's in the East in London, and press reports describe 'catcalling, cockcrowing, yelling, howling, hissing, shouting of the most violent kind' occurring weekly during services aimed at clergymen who seemed intent on adopting Catholic-styled ritual in their services. On other occasions 'pew-doors were slammed, lucifer-matches struck' and even dogs were let loose in the church, together with the singing of 'profane' and 'ribald' songs, calls for the demolition of the altar, and objects thrown around the church to disrupt proceedings. This 'terrific uproar' was due to the use of Catholic-styled candelabrum, hassocks and crosses, and the wearing of surplices and white robes – on one occasion the priest having 'a red cross woven into his stole at the back of the neck.' Such appearance was, as the newspaper reported noted, 'the signal for a violent demonstration of feeling' attracting shouts of "No Popery" and "Rule Britannia". The clergy were chased and attacked on some occasions, and the police were constantly called to calm these 'denunciations of Popery and Puseyism.'⁷⁵³

Such reports illustrate the turmoil surrounding religion, especially in communities where clergymen failed to fulfil their congregations' expectations. An example of the strength of feeling is provided by Anthony Trollope in his 'Barchester Towers', published in 1857. He describes his evangelical clergyman Mr. Slope as 'tolerant of dissent', but adds that his soul trembled 'in agony' at the iniquities of the High-

⁷⁵³ *Illustrated London News*, 24 September 1859, 1 October 1859, 12 November 1859, 19 November 1859, 4 February 1860, 11 February 1860, 28 April 1860, 'Religious Differences', *The Times*, 30 January 1860. Such was the furore and turmoil that in 1874 a Public Worship Regulation Act was passed which limited Anglo-Catholicism in England. Professor John Wolffe, 'Papers given at a seminar to mark the 150th anniversary of the Ritualism Riots 1859-60 St. George-in-the-East Church, 18 March 2010. www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_Worship_Regulation_Act_1874. www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Catholicism\Liturgical_practices.

Church Puseyites.⁷⁵⁴ Similar tensions are described in a report in the *Art Journal* in 1865. The article reported on the service led by Dr. Tait, Bishop of London, to consecrate St Michael's Church in Shoreditch. It said that:

'The Bishop of London has recently shown his hostility to ecclesiastical decoration in a manner that seems incomprehensible in a prelate who has the reputation of holding liberal ideas upon most subjects. At the consecration of St. Michael's Church, Shoreditch, his lordship refused to proceed with the ceremony till some of the clergy present, who were habited in vestments presumed to be the badge of the "High Church" party, had disrobed themselves of their adornments; and, on the bishop's remonstrance, certain flowers that had been placed in several parts of the sacred structure were also removed.'

The writer went on to describe Dr. Tait ordering a bucket of water to be thrown over a sketch of the Crucifixion, being deemed 'an offence against his lordship's idea of Church of England propriety'.⁷⁵⁵

Professional photographers had to navigate this wide schism in religious opinion and practice to present portraits that would attract, and not alienate, their middle-class market of whatever viewpoint. Again the portraits reveal how studios staged dispute as 'character', as an admirable sincerity to personal research and viewpoint when forming an opinion. For example, three cartes of one clergyman who was renown for his outspoken views, Henry Phillpotts the Bishop of Exeter, are shown in **Figs.358-630, 359-761, and 360-762**. Phillpotts had attracted huge publicity in expressing his firm beliefs on ecclesiastical matters, indeed it was reported that the Bishop had spent £20,000-£30,000 on more than fifty lawsuits during his

⁷⁵⁴ Anthony Trollope, *Barchester Towers* (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp.24.

⁷⁵⁵ 'Minor Topics of the Month', *Art Journal*, 1 November 1865, pp.354.

ecclesiastical career as a result of the controversies he caused. On one occasion he physically swept ornaments from the altar of St. John's Torquay during the Easter service.⁷⁵⁶ In the three photographs of Phillpotts it is the clergyman's intense deliberation that is accentuated. In the first carte he is seated at a desk with a large open bible in front of him. His shoulders are hunched and he appears completely absorbed in its content with his head held in hand. In the second photograph he turns the pages of the bible with his left hand but looks up as if lost in his own thoughts, and in the third he is turning another page with his left hand, but he twists around to look directly and forcefully at the viewer. The intensity of his expression is exaggerated by the firm set of his mouth and jaw, and in all the pictures his shoulders and limbs are tense and his expression is bulldoggish, inferring one of strong views – but also one committed to his own opinion, an opinion developed out of an intent study of the texts in front of him.

For the photographers' middle-class market Phillpotts was presented as a sincere man whose opinions were his own, based on biblical study. A similar iconographical pattern is used in the portraits of two other clergymen embroiled in vast differences of ecclesiastical opinion in **Figs.361-494** and **362-757**, the Rev. John Jackson (Bishop of Lincoln and London) and the Rev. Alexander Mackonochie.⁷⁵⁷

Mackonochie was one of two curates at St. George's-in-the-East that attracted

⁷⁵⁶ Arthur Burns, 'Phillpotts, Henry (1778-1869)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (September 2004).

⁷⁵⁷ Alexander Heriot Mackonochie (1825-1887) was curate at St. George's-in-the-East 1858-1862, and curate at St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn from 1862. Rev. John Jackson (1811-1885) was appointed 'chaplain in ordinary' to Queen Victoria in 1847, was Bishop of Lincoln 1853-1869, and Bishop of London 1869-1885. He was involved in public controversy when he dismissed Stewart Headlam from the curacy at St. Mathews, Bethnal Green in 1878. Rosemary Mitchell, 'Mackonochie, Alexander Heriot', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17627 and Stephen Gregory, 'Jackson, John', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14535.

extensive press coverage in the riots of 1859 and 1860 described above due his adoption of Catholic-influenced ritual in his services,⁷⁵⁸ while John Jackson was vehemently opposed to ritualism in church services. The two men share a similar pose of tense and earnest attention to their ecclesiastical role with erect heads, and fixed and determined facial expressions. Both have their fingers placed on the pages of an open book, possibly a bible, and there is a decided agitation and energy in their self-presentation. The focus of these portraits of men diametrically-opposed in their views, again, is 'character'. It is their own personal commitment to a particular religious path that forms their collectable value and attracts carte de visite sales of both clerics.

A similar pattern is found in the portraits of two other clergymen who were significantly divided in opinion, shown in **Figs. 363-375** and **364-XA71**. They are the Rev. Cumming and John Henry Newman. The Rev. Cumming had been adamant in his denunciation of Catholicism, and of High-Church practices that veered towards the ritual of Catholicism,⁷⁵⁹ while John Henry Newman had abandoned the Anglican Church to become a Catholic.⁷⁶⁰ In their portraits both men are presented with an over-riding emphasis on thought and deliberation, and their almost identical poses underline their cerebral contemplation. Both appear as 'professional' clerics with

⁷⁵⁸ Including Gregorian chant, candles, confessions and processions with the crucifix. This resulted in several prosecutions and periods of suspension from office between 1867 and 1874. He was prosecuted under the Church Discipline Act 1840.

⁷⁵⁹ John Cumming (1807-1881) was the minister of the National Scottish Church in Covent Garden. He gave public lectures attacking Cardinal Wiseman and John Henry Newman, and protested against 'Romish Aggression' in the *Times*.
www.victorianweb.org/religion/sermons.com

⁷⁶⁰ John Henry Newman (1801-1890) was originally of evangelical inclination, but developed High-Church interests at Oxford University, so much so that in 1845 he left the Church of England to become a Catholic. In 1879 he was created a cardinal by Pope Leo XIII. Ian Kerr, 'Newman, John Henry', doi/org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20023.

short tidy hair, clean-shaven faces and plain ecclesiastical attire, and both are seated at a three-quarters angle to the camera with their bodies turned to the right. Each man leans forward slightly towards an accompanying small side-table and has his head propped up on his right hand, with his elbow placed on top of a book: Dr. Cumming wearing spectacles while John Newman holds a pair of glasses in his left hand. The two men also display a similar expression, looking into the distance as if lost in their own thoughts with no sign of aggression or bravado. It is again Victorian manly character that constitutes collectable value in these portraits, with attention averted from their ecclesiastical viewpoint. Cumming's portrait matches a description of him in *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* – as a 'sincere' man devoted to establishing an 'intimate and minute knowledge of the writings of the early fathers'.⁷⁶¹ But the description is equally applicable to the portrait of the Rev. Newman.

Studios staged Church of England clergymen embroiled in dispute in terms of a shared commitment to middle-class values of conviction and learning. It was a pattern that offended no-one, and assured photographers of a continued turnover from middle-class collectors of varied ecclesiastical persuasion. There was, however, a growing Catholic and Non-conformist following. This offered professional photographers increased clergyman sales, and the next part of the case study examines the images issued to capitalise on such potential.

PART THREE: CATHOLICISM AND NON-CONFORMISM –

CHALLENGES TO THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF ENGLAND

⁷⁶¹ 'The Rev. John Cumming', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages 2nd Series* (London, 1859).

Catholic Portraits

The influence of the Catholic Church, as discussed earlier in the study, grew in the nineteenth-century, boosted especially through the influx of Irish immigrants fleeing the famine in Ireland, and this provided commercial photographers with widened sales potential. While character constituted collectable appeal for the Anglican cleric, however, a very different style of presentation was adopted for the Catholic clergyman. Here it was the creed's denominational features that formed the focus of attention, especially in a show of the ritual and ornamentation of Catholic liturgy. The 'splendid spectacle' of Roman Catholicism was described in *The Illustrated London News* in 1870,⁷⁶² and *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* claimed that ceremony and decoration was 'calculated to incline men's minds' towards the 'distinctive' Church of Rome.⁷⁶³ Stewart Brown suggests that Catholics saw extravagance as a 'material expression of God's grace',⁷⁶⁴ and Catholic portraits present flamboyance, colour and extravagant decoration in their iconography. Two examples are illustrated in **Figs.365-969** and **366-290**, of Pope Pius IX and Cardinal Manning.⁷⁶⁵ Here the two men appear in vividly hand-coloured red and white robes that immediately catch the eye. In the first portrait Pope Pius sits with a lavishly-

⁷⁶² *The Illustrated London News*, 29 January 1870, pp.126.

⁷⁶³ 'The Right Rev. James Prince Lee, D.D. Lord Bishop of Manchester', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages 2nd Series* (London, 1859).

⁷⁶⁴ Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire 1815-1914* (Harlow, 2008), pp. 274.

⁷⁶⁵ Pope Pius IX (Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti) 1792-1878 became pope in 1846. Henry Edward Manning (1808-1892) was originally an Anglican (he was Anglican Archdeacon of Chichester 1840-1851) but was drawn to the High-Church and Oxford Movement, and became a Catholic in 1851. He was appointed head of the Catholic Church in England, as Archbishop of Westminster, in 1865. David Newsome, 'Manning, Henry Edward', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17970.

decorated 'stole' around his neck in a gilded chair, and there is a cross placed just beside his right elbow. There is a similar dramatic effect in the white robes and cap (and under-ropes) in the second portrait of Cardinal Manning, and he wears a gold cross around his neck. Catholic clergymen appear as 'symbols' of their faith's liturgy as it was practised in ritual, and their colour and trappings effect a contrast to the subdued 'professionals' of the Church of England in their plain everyday clerical attire. Roy Matthews and Peter Mellini's have observed how little attention was given to individuality in the Roman Church, with the Church itself assuming prominence,⁷⁶⁶ and the cartes convey this impression as their collectable value. The portrait of Cardinal Wiseman provides another example in **Fig.367-658**.⁷⁶⁷ Although no colour has been added to this image, the rich trappings of his ecclesiastical attire, the draped curtain and the ornate gilded chair beside him fill the picture – and the Cardinal's outstretched right hand is placed in front of a scene of Rome, underlining the 'seat' and roots of his Catholic faith and clerical status.⁷⁶⁸

However there is more personal animation in the pose of Monsignor Capel in **Fig.368-415** where he directly addresses the spectator.⁷⁶⁹ Capel had gained a

⁷⁶⁶ The portraits of Catholic clergymen were staged as impersonal and objective representatives (and transmitters) of the 'church' and its liturgy, rather than as men of human emotion or personal opinion. Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini, *'In Vanity Fair'* (London, 2000), pp.128.

⁷⁶⁷ Cardinal Wiseman (1802-1865) was appointed the first Archbishop of Westminster in 1850 and served there until 1865. Richard J. Schiefen, 'Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick Stephen', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29791.

⁷⁶⁸ His 'seat' of power is also presented through the placement of an extremely ornate and gilded chair just behind him. Through visual composition this is positioned to face outwards towards the front picture plane, suggesting Catholicism emanating from Rome, through the Cardinal, and out into the wider world.

⁷⁶⁹ Thomas John Capel (1836-1911). A Roman Catholic priest, renown for making 'fashionable converts' to Catholicism. G. Martin Murphy, 'Capel, Thomas John', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32283.

public reputation for undertaking conversions to the Catholic Church of well-known figures, and in this portrait he stands facing towards the viewer. He is set against a plain background with a simple bible-stand at his side, and he appears to be in the process of conducting a service as he holds out a large open bible in front of him. The portrait's value is constructed as one welcoming new members to the faith and, although no colour has been added to the image, Catholic ritual is again included, with an artwork crucifix added to the mount just below the print.

Anglican and Catholic Claims to Authority

Creed rather than character forms the main message of these portraits, perhaps staged to meet Catholicism's doctrinal intransience. Jehu Junior referred to a Catholic 'avowed abnegation of Reason',⁷⁷⁰ and personal doubt, investigation or informed search for truth is not inferred in photographers' Catholic images. Catholic pictures exerted a loud proclamation of the Catholic faith. However in some Church of England cartes de visite there is also a more impersonal tone. It is a construction that focuses on the Church's formal and long-established structure: a pattern that appears to launch a 'counter-attack' to Catholic authority. For example Dr. Tait, Dr. Stanley and Samuel Wilberforce are presented in their most formal robes of high ecclesiastical office in the portraits in **Figs.369-XA73, 370-794 and 371-27**,⁷⁷¹ and their appearance constructs an equally-dramatic effect. Huge white ecclesiastical

⁷⁷⁰ Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini, *Op. Cit.*, pp.128. Catholic bishops are held to be the successors of the apostles, and the Pope (in occupying the 'chair of St. Peter') holds the position of Bishop of Rome. As such he has supreme apostolic authority. He also held a position of papal infallibility in the nineteenth-century, preserved from the possibility of error, this being declared by the Vatican Council on 18 July 1870.
www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papal_infallibility. Accessed 29 January 2018.

⁷⁷¹ The Rev. Archibald Campbell Tait (1811-1882) was Bishop of London 1856-68 and Archbishop of Canterbury 1868-1882. Peter T. Marsh, 'Tait, Archibald Campbell', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26917.

sleeves fill the portraits, being especially evident as they are arranged across the front picture-plane, a vivid contrast against their black robes. Although in sepia, this 'black and white' exerts visual power: a force of the long-established offices (and framework) of the Anglican Church.⁷⁷²

The Church of England had splintered from Roman Catholicism in the sixteenth-century, however despite its many elements it continued with the basic principles of the Christian faith as originated in antiquity. Classical references to this pedigree are found in the portraits of Catholic and Anglican clergymen, but expressed in different ways. The carte de visite of Cardinal Wiseman discussed above, for example, includes a picture of Rome in the background. Church of England pedigree is claimed through the inclusion of classical references. For example the Rev. Tait stands with a classical urn placed just behind his right elbow in the carte **Fig.372-628**, and the Rev. Ashurst Gilbert, Bishop of Chichester, sits beside a table on which three small classical statues have been placed in **Fig.373-728**.⁷⁷³ In Anglican images, classical references play a subsidiary role to the major message of the picture: the accent is placed on clergymen's professionalism and moral qualities as exercised in their ecclesiastical role.⁷⁷⁴ However an accentuated facial profile

⁷⁷² With High- Low- and Broad-Churchmen adopting a similar style in these examples, a united front across internal disputes is maintained when presenting the formal structure of the Anglican Church. Clergymen were often photographed in their formal robes when recording appointments to high ecclesiastical offices in the Anglican Church. An example is found in *The Illustrated London News* dated 14 May, 1864, pp.477 where the Right Rev. Dr. Browne is shown in his finest and most formal ecclesiastical attire to mark the occasion of assuming the position of Bishop of Ely.

⁷⁷³ The Rev. Ashurst Turner Gilbert (1786-1870). He was Vice Chancellor of Oxford University 1836-1840, and Bishop of Chichester 1842-70. Peter B. Nockles, 'Gilbert, Ashurst Turner', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10682.

⁷⁷⁴ Underlined in their unassuming stance, the plain domestic backgrounds, and everyday clerical attire.

could also confer heritage, it being a style adopted in antiquity for the portraits of prominent public figures. The pattern is often found in Catholic portraits. It is also used in some Church of England cartes, but especially in images of clergymen aligning themselves with High-Church Anglicanism and Catholic-inclined practices. Two examples are shown in **Fig.374-1030** and **Fig.375-697**, of the Catholic Cardinal Manning and of Dr. Pusey (one of the founders of the Oxford Movement).⁷⁷⁵ The facial angle of both men is accentuated in the portraits: Dr. Manning's head-and-shoulders pose against a plain background highlights his outlined profile features, while the vignette style adopted for Pusey focuses attention on his cranial pose. Claims to represent the legitimate and true Christian faith are 'played out' in these Anglican and Catholic constructions, but some images appear to assert particular reference to the Church of England as the nation's official religion. An example is illustrated in **Fig.376-629**. Here the Bishop of Winchester Samuel Wilberforce is stands beside a constitutionally-associating draped curtain, pillar and plinth. His ecclesiastical authority is underlined in his display of most formal robes of high Anglican Church Office - but here again visual language presents the character of the clergyman. Wilberforce appears humble in his slightly bent stance, and in his intent and concerned facial expression. He also clutches a mortar-board in front of him, held at his waist, which underlines his high level of scholarship. The presentation replicates *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery's* description of the mid-Victorian Anglican Church's unassuming 'patient perseverance' in the 'call of

⁷⁷⁵ Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-1882) was one of the major influences in the Oxford Movement. Peter G. Cobb, 'Pusey, Edward Bouverie', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22910.

duty'.⁷⁷⁶ The style it re-enforces the 'morality' of the Church of England but it also, as a symbol of nation, re-affirms England's spiritual framework grounded in middle-class values.

Non-Conformist Portraits

Ritual and liturgy identified Catholicism in cartes de visite, and secured sales.

However another challenge to the Established status of the Church of England, Non-Conformism, was presented in a different manner. Non-Conformism attracted a significant following in the nineteenth-century. Its simple and direct doctrine, and pared-down approach to ceremony suited modern, urban populations, as did its focus on lay-preaching and direct work with congregations in towns and cities.⁷⁷⁷

Non-Conformists offered a more direct relationship between God and man. The minister often combined a secular public occupation with ministerial duties, and there was a very different method of religious training. University degrees were not a prerequisite.⁷⁷⁸ Instead candidates attended special colleges and were encouraged to undertake everyday public occupations alongside their Church activities.⁷⁷⁹ There were great differences in the place of worship too, with Non-Conformist services often held at local halls and meeting-houses rather than in

⁷⁷⁶ A description of the Church of England's Robert Maguire in 1859. 'The Rev. Robert Maguire, M.A.', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1859).

⁷⁷⁷ J.P. Parry, *Democracy & Religion* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.35.

⁷⁷⁸ Oxford and Cambridge Universities did not allow Non-Anglicans to attend or attain degrees, but Oxford dropped such restrictions in 1850, and Gladstone legislated to lift limits due to ecclesiastical denomination at all universities in 1871.

⁷⁷⁹ The Wesleyan Rev. Morley Punshon, for example, attended a Grammar school, entered business when very young, and gained his ecclesiastical qualifications at the Wesleyan College in Richmond. 'The Rev. William Morley Punshon', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1860).

imposing and ornately-decorated specially-commissioned churches and cathedrals. Non-Conformism was a very different kind of faith: it did not consider the clergyman to be on an ethereal and elevated spiritual plane, or believe that he had to be 'called' to undertake a religious career, instead the minister was seen as an ordinary man, acting as a mediator between God and his congregation.⁷⁸⁰

Non-Conformists worked to bring God into people's everyday lives, and a secular tone was emphasised in the cartes de visite. For example, a worldly emphasis is presented in ministers' appearance, with no sign of the identifying dog-collar and ecclesiastical frock-coat of the Church of England clergyman or lavishly-decorated robes of the Catholic priest. A plain smart dark attire is found in Non-Conformist portraits. An example is illustrated in the carte de visite of the Rev. J.R. Mursell in **Fig.377-72**⁷⁸¹ where he wears a dark jacket over a white shirt, and a black bow-tie. A similar attire is seen in the portrait in **Fig.378-291** of the Congregationalist minister the Rev. Binney, and Ira Sankey wears a dark cloak over his waistcoat and shirt in his carte de visite in **Fig.379-242**.⁷⁸² With no ecclesiastical 'uniform' to lift these ministers out of the standardised gentleman, these clergymen match Rosemary

⁷⁸⁰ David W. Bebbington, *Victorian Nonconformity*, (Oregon, 2011).

⁷⁸¹ James Mursell Phillippo (1798-1879). He was a Baptist missionary. He served in Jamaica between 1823 and 1879, and campaigned strongly for the abolition of slavery. Catherine Hall, 'Phillippo, James Mursell', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/104911.

⁷⁸² Thomas Binney (1798-1874) was an English Congregationalist. He wrote sermons and articles on Non-Conformity. He started his working life at a bookseller, and attended the theological school at Wymondley, Hertfordshire. R. Tudur Jones, 'Binney, Thomas', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2421. Binney was called 'the Head of the Dissenters' in *Vanity Fair*. 'Men of the Day. No.51.', *Vanity Fair*, 12 October 1872. Ira David Sankey (1840-1908) was an American Methodist who had served in the Civil War in America and worked in the Internal Revenue Service. He was a Gospel singer and joined with Dwight L. Moody to travel and give evangelical sermons. They toured Britain in 1872. Dwight Lyman Moody (1837-1899) was an American Evangelist who joined the Congregationalists in 1855. He then became a full-time missionary for the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association. D.W. Bebbington, 'Moody, Dwight Lyman', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/53842.

O'Day's claim that Non-Conformist ministers were seen as 'men of the people'.⁷⁸³

Another distinctive feature of the Non-Conformist minister was the wearing of a beard. This is seen in the last carte (of Ira Sankey), but it is more prominent in the carte in **Fig.380-3** of the Rev. E. Parker⁷⁸⁴ - and the Rev. W. Hay Aitkin's beard extends half way down his chest, assuming one third of the picture space in his portrait in **Fig.381-811**.⁷⁸⁵

Gerald Parsons claims that the growth of a beard indicated 'worldliness',⁷⁸⁶ however David Bebbington notes Richard Spurgeon's belief that a groomed, gentlemanly image enfeebled 'true religion'.⁷⁸⁷ An energy and strength of address was important in exercising one of Non-Conformism's central tenets, that of preaching to convert. A powerful oration in a plain and straight-forward language was the desired mode, and the beard was an indication of plain speaking and strong talking. The manly pattern of hand-on-hip and contrapposto weight that signalled energy in communication and in effecting action or change is also found in Non-Conformist images, and an example is illustrated in the portrait of the Rev. Morley Punshon in

⁷⁸³ Rosemary O'Day, 'The Men from the Ministry', Ed. Gerald Parsons, *Religion in Victorian Britain, II Controversies* (Manchester, 1988), pp.268.

⁷⁸⁴ Edward Parker (1831-1898). He was a Baptist minister at Farsley in Yorkshire from 1859. 'The Reverend Edward Parker The Yorkshire Ministry', www.biblicalstudies.org.uk

⁷⁸⁵ William Hay Macdowall Hunter Aitken (1841-1927) was a parochial missionary, publishing many texts and hymns. www.hymnary.org/person/Aitken_WHay

⁷⁸⁶ David Englander, 'The Word and the World', Ed. Gerald Parsons, *Religion in Victorian Britain, II Controversies* (Manchester, 1988), pp.20. Jonathan Parry concurs with the interpretation, saying that the 'cult of the beard', that became popular in the British army in 1852, symbolised courage, daring, energy, firmness and determination. Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism* (Cambridge, 2006), pp.71.

⁷⁸⁷ David Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* (Leicester, 2005), pp.67. The appearance of a beard could also have been association with Christ's traditional iconography.

Fig.382-362. Here the pose effects a confident and purposeful impression.⁷⁸⁸

Another example is illustrated in the carte of the Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown in **Fig.383-387** where the minister faces the viewer and fixes him, or her, with an intent stare.⁷⁸⁹ Stowell Brown leans forward slightly with his weight bearing down on his right arm propped up on a side-table, and the drive required to impart the Non-Conformist message to a large audience is conveyed. Many Non-Conformists gained wide renown for the power of their oration, and this was much admired in contemporary literature. The Rev. Waddy, for example, was lauded in *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* in 1860 not only for his 'strong desire' to become a public preacher, but for the notoriety that he attracted through his public delivery. In a similar tone, the same publication highlighted the Rev. Punshon's ability to draw thousands 'to the scene of his ministerial labours'.⁷⁹⁰ David Hempton describes Non-Conformists as 'star preachers' touring 'all the great cities of provincial England', and he claims that they 'loved words' and used them energetically to impart their views.⁷⁹¹ Charles Spurgeon forged a particular renown in this respect. Indeed *The Illustrated London News* described him attracting 'the largest audience'

⁷⁸⁸ William Morley Punshon (1824-1881). He was a Wesleyan Methodist minister known as a great orator. W.B. Lowther (revised by Tim Macquiban) 'Punshon, William Morley', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22892.

⁷⁸⁹ Hugh Stowell Brown (1823-1886). He was a Baptist minister. He was born on the Isle of Man but worked mainly around Liverpool. He visited Canada and America in 1873 and was President of the Baptist Union in 1878. Charlotte Fell-Smith (revised by L.E. Vauer), 'Brown, Hugh Stowell', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3611.

⁷⁹⁰ 'The Reverend Samuel Dousland Waddy' and 'The Rev. William Morley Punshon', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1860).

⁷⁹¹ David Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.129.

of modern times at Crystal Palace in 1857,⁷⁹² and the act of preaching is especially conveyed as collectable value in the portrait of Charles Spurgeon (**Fig.384-963**). Here Spurgeon stands facing the camera (and his audience) and has his left hand placed behind his back. He holds papers in his right hand and his chin is slightly tilted upwards - and the overall effect is of a gentleman delivering a speech.⁷⁹³ A similar pose is found in the portrait of Richard Weaver (**Fig.385-XA72**) where he too stands and looks towards the spectator with up-tilted chin with his left hand placed behind his back.⁷⁹⁴ His right hand rests on an open book in this carte, which is propped up on a small stand (at 45° angle) that has been placed on top of a table, and which replicates a lectern. However in the carte in **Fig.386-49** Weaver's public address is communicated in a different way. Here he is seen in three-quarter-length, and he stands with book in his right hand whilst leaning against a sideboard. He lifts the book up in front of him and leans forward slightly – and, while seeming to fix someone just out of the picture with a direct eye contact, his finger is slipped inside the pages of the book. Here the traditional iconography of one imparting knowledge to another has been used to construct Non-Conformist collectable value for Weaver.⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹² 'The Rev. Mr. Spurgeon', *The Illustrated London News*, 17 October 1857, pp.400. Rosemary Chadwick, 'Spurgeon, Charles Haddon', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26187.

⁷⁹³ He is positioned behind the back of an empty chair, an iconographical pattern that denoted one imparting knowledge to an audience.

⁷⁹⁴ Richard Weaver (1827-1896). He was an ex-collier and pugilist fighter who changed his lifestyle to become a Christian and evangelist preacher in the Liverpool and Chester area. 'Richard Weaver The City Missionary'. www.liverpoolrevival.org.uk

⁷⁹⁵ It is a similar iconographical pattern as seen in the portrait of Martin Luther, the main proponent of the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth-century, shown in **Fig.387-292**. Weaver and Luther appear with their fingers placed inside the pages of an open bible. The carte de visite was re-photographed from the original.

Non-Conformist cartes embodied Charles Spurgeon's own view that the minister should be 'manly' and 'like ordinary men' whilst claiming no 'special' spiritual status,⁷⁹⁶ but there is also an intensity of address in the cartes that is not found in Church of England or Catholic portraits. Heads are erect and alert, and eyes are fixed and piercing. The images do not effect gentility or 'boast refinement' as seen in Anglican portraits,⁷⁹⁷ and they match *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery's* description of the Non-Conformist minister bearing down on 'all before him' in the 'vehemence' of his passion, delivering an 'intensely practical' message: *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* emphasised Samuel Waddy's 'masculine vigour' in his powerful delivery of 'Divine truth',⁷⁹⁸ and this exactly describes the images staged for the followers of this creed.

The secular accent of Non-Conformist imagery is continued in the carte of the Rev. E.A. Telfer (**Fig.388-143**), but here it is expressed in a slightly different way. On the backplate of this minister's image there is a poem composed by him entitled 'Alas!' It is not a lofty biblical quote, but instead a verse concerning every-day emotions shared between minister and viewer. The poem promotes the helping of mankind, but through Telfer's own words, and the head-held-in-hand pose seen in the print underlines his own imaginative authorship of the message. The memorial carte de visite for Richard Spurgeon illustrated in **Fig.389-413** similarly emphasises the secular identity of Non-Conformism as its collectable value. Here Spurgeon is presented in a head-and-shoulders pose that fills the picture-space. His everyday

⁷⁹⁶ David Bebbington, *Op. Cit.*, pp.67.

⁷⁹⁷ As described by David Bebbington. *Ibid.*, pp.39.

⁷⁹⁸ 'The Rev. William Morley Punshon' and 'The Reverend Samuel Dousland Waddy', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1860).

attire and beard are evident, and a verse has been added to the mount below the image which reads: 'Fell Asleep in Jesus at Mentone June 3rd 1895' "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.'" The wording stresses the minister's own struggle to cope with the difficulties of everyday life while drawing on the inspiration of his Non-Conformist faith.

It is the principles of Non-Conformism that have been presented as the collectable attraction of these cartes, however the carte of Baptist Noel in **Fig.390-710** differs in its iconography. Here a 'gentlemanly' presentation is accented for the Non-Conformist minister, more akin to that found in Church of England cartes. Baptist Noel was an aristocratic who had converted from his family's Anglican faith to become a Baptist,⁷⁹⁹ and in the image he sits in relaxed and dignified manner, is clean-shaven, well-dressed in plain dark attire, and he reclines nonchalantly in a chair with crossed legs and top hat at his side - and a Gothic window placed behind him confers an elevated spiritual dimension. This 'gentlemanly' iconography places the portrait emphasis on Baptist Noel's character, and is perhaps constructed to emphasise the clergyman's own personal conviction in choosing his religious path rather than following the religious inclination of his inheritance.

Most commonly, however, Non-Conformist cartes de visite were staged to accentuate the creed's relevance to modern life in the material world. A secular message is also evident in producers' references to trade found on the portraits' backplates, with annotations referring to turnover, self-advertisement and further purchase. The publisher George Stevenson, for example, states on the backplate of

⁷⁹⁹ Baptist Wriothlesley Noel (1798-1873). He was the son of Sir Gerard Noel and Baroness Bartham, an evangelical Anglican family. He served as president of the Baptist Union. Grayson Carter, 'Noel, Baptist Wriothlesley', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20231.

his 'Portraits of 101 Wesleyan Ministers' (**Fig.391-739**) that the photograph can be framed, at '9in by 7in' for '3/- each', and that they were available in 'album size' at '6d each'. His other series are listed too: '101 Wesleyan Ministers', of '54 Presidents of the Conference, or of '80 Congregational Ministers', with 'liberal terms' offered to the trade. Stevenson is openly using his Non-Conformist clergyman portraits as a commodity here to further his business interests. Another example is found on the reverse of the portrait of the Rev. Mursell in **Fig.392-72**. Here the photographers, John Burton & Sons, have used the backplate to promote their own professional image and reputation, stating that they were the 'sole' photographers to the 'Shakespeare Tercentenary Festival 1864' as well as being 'Patronised by Her Majesty the Queen, H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, H.R.H. The Princess of Wales and H.H. The Viceroy of Egypt'. A similar pattern is illustrated on the portrait of the Baptist minister, the Rev. Edward Parker in **Fig.393-3** where Appleton & Co. to show off their photographic studios, a picture of which takes up one-third of the backplate, with the company name appearing on the glasshouse situated at the top.

These additions are very different from the commercial annotations found on Church of England or Catholic cartes where more reticence is displayed in reference to trading turnover and profit. For example, an inscription on the Church of England Bishop of Llanduff's carte (**Fig.394-642**)⁸⁰⁰ asserts a protection of copyright (in detailing the date and photographer's name) but it is so small that it is hardly discernible, and it is hidden in the print behind the clergyman's chair. A similar instance is found on the carte of the High-Church Anglican Samuel Wilberforce in

⁸⁰⁰ Alfred Ollivant (1798-1882) was Professor of Divinity at Cambridge University 1843-1849, and Bishop of Llanduff 1849-1882. O.W. Jones, 'Ollivant, Alfred', doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20742.

Fig.395-661 where the photographer, Mowbray of Oxford, has printed 'M Reg.' within the print, again in an attempt to protect his own legitimately-earned income, but this is shown in very small lettering positioned at the base of the clergyman's gown.

The individual celebrity appeal of Non-Conformism ministers is highlighted in the ink stamp on the backplate of Charles Spurgeon's carte in **Fig.396-963**. It states that the portrait was sold in C. Browne's 'depot' for Mr. Spurgeon's Works. But this is individual personality linked to trade, with an industry developing around Spurgeon's name. This also underlines the different approaches adopted when marketing each denomination. For example the backstamp on Cardinal Wiseman's portrait in **Fig.397-658** states that it is being sold at E.J. Farrell's 'Catholic Depository', and here there is no promotion of the Catholic clergyman as the centre of attention: it is a depot for Catholic collectables. Similarly **Fig.398-754** shows a reticence in Walker & Sons' exertion of marketplace identity where they claim to be 'Art Ecclesiastical' photographers 'to the Bishops & Clergy' on the back of their portrait of the Rev. W. Newton, the Vicar of Stevenage. They use an artwork illustration of a Bishop's mitre to emphasise their specialisation and the wording suggests a 'service' to the ecclesiastical profession, but small wording below reminds the viewer that the studio also undertakes other portraiture daily – of 'children & photographs of all descriptions'.⁸⁰¹

As discussed, Non-Conformist ministers were encouraged to pursue secular public

⁸⁰¹ Cartes de visite show financial issues expressed in different ways according to the creed of the subject: a 'service' offered for Church of England clergymen, the Catholic Church enticing purchase of Catholic 'collectables', and trade openly advertised in Non-Conformist portraits - here individual celebrity reputation especially used to generate trade.

occupations, including trade. Indeed *The Drawing Room Portrait Gallery* described Punshon's early activity in commerce, and a similar reference is found in the entry for the Wesleyan minister Samuel Waddy, noted as well 'versed in the *minutiae* of trade'.⁸⁰² This perhaps explains why photographers felt free to promote their own commercial interests upon the Non-Conformist portrait, and indeed there seems to be no tension between Non-Conformist spiritual representation and commercial gain in a report which appeared in *The Sheffield Portrait Gallery* which described a Mr. Cook ('of Excursionist notoriety') developing 'a new way of advertising', by utilising Non-Conformist chapels as lecture halls to promote his business.⁸⁰³

This case study has examined religious portraits marketed to a middle-class who placed piety at the centre of their identity, together with values morality, scholarship and hard work. It was also a culture interested in science, preoccupied with new ways of understanding the natural world, and concerned to promote commerce and improve conditions in new urban centres. Studios had to reconcile these issues, as well as navigating the religious controversies of the day. They developed a visual language that cut across different deliberations to appeal to a broad middle-class market. The core Church of England clergyman was staged to reflect the values of his middle-class followers as a Victorian 'professional', but one elevated on a higher spiritual plane. A popular evangelical approach, that appealed to the self-help culture of the middle-classes, conflicted with High-Church views, but photographers

⁸⁰² 'The Rev. William Morley Punshon' and 'The Reverend Samuel Dousland Waddy', *The Illustrated News of the World Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages* (London, 1860).

⁸⁰³ Barnaby Briggs, 'Jottings on my Thumb Nail', *The Sheffield Portrait Gallery*, No.3, January 1875, pp.3.

secured their market when presenting clergymen embroiled in controversy as virtuous men, true and sincere to their own personal belief: and this pattern was also followed when addressing those involved in debates around interpretations of the bible due to modern scientific and archaeological discoveries. Each denomination was clearly defined in carte de visite iconography. In contrast to the 'character' of the Church of England, those finding comfort in the more secular approach of Non-Conformism were provided with images that reflected a worldly slant, and Catholics were offered a reminder of the unchanging liturgical practices of their faith. Clergyman portraits differ significantly from royalty and statesmen. They do not change over time, but instead show an eclecticism throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Creed was clearly signalled: celebrity value as 'character' over-rode notoriety in Church of England portraits, while the structure of the Church formed the focus of Catholic images, and secularism constituted Non-Conformist address. It was only here that personality was encouraged as celebrity interest. The cartes show that studios retained their market with images that displayed strong and clearly-defined religious paths, whilst at the same time defining England as a Christian nation.

CONCLUSION TO THE CASE STUDIES

The case studies have examined the cartes de visite of three topics that traditionally defined England's constitution, those of the monarchy, the government and the Church. They show how the images were composed for middle-class consumption. Elites with inherited power traditionally symbolised through formal attire, props that signalled authority, and lavish settings gave way to images that focused on character, learning and work. Pictures that conveyed middle-class values underpinning Britain's monarchical, legal, political and religious framework proved to be key in securing volumetric sales and turnover. There were challenges for photographers in developing this visual language. Studios directly addressed the tensions of a female monarch at the head of a nation increasingly associated with middle-class domestic ideology. Indeed photographers focussed on gender in royal portrait construction, showing the monarchy as solid upholders of their middle-class subjects' domestic values, and it proved to be a popular theme that secured wide portrait demand. In contrast, political portraits emphasised a new professional government, one that was thoroughly grounded in moral principle, service, hard work and intellectual application, and photographers drew upon upper-class and middle-class exemplarity to bolster the legitimacy of a British government at home and abroad. In both these portrait subjects a change in emphasis is evident as the 1860s drew to a close, with individual personality overlaying exemplarity and character as a marker of appeal. A celebrity cult can be traced around leading royal and political public figures spotlighting the nation's assumed superiority and democratic lead in Western civilization.⁸⁰⁴ Religious cartes were, however, very

⁸⁰⁴ Henry Mayhew highlights the contemporary view that 'Englishmen can say with justice that there is no nation, either past or present, which will, for a moment, admit of

different. The re-assertion of a moral, scholarly and professional Established Church of England ran alongside ecclesiastical plurality, and there was no change in this pattern over time. Anglican 'character' was matched by images distinguishing creed in Non-Conformism and Catholicism, however all being linked by a broader representation of Britain as a Christian and pious nation. Controversies within, and between, creed were neatly overstepped in displays of sincerity to, and tolerance of, personal belief, and this secured sales from a market radically divided in its view of religion. The case studies show how, in the interest of sales, middle-class values were recast in images as a national ethos across the three traditional constitutional spheres. A rejection of hierarchy based on inherited privilege and class emerges, cementing a new visual culture: a national image that indeed showcased Lord Brougham's argument that middle-class values constituted 'the glory of the British name'.⁸⁰⁵ The portrait patterns examined in these three case studies illustrate mass-produced photography defining Britain as a race at the apex of civilised evolution for the middle-class viewer:⁸⁰⁶ a new visual language that could be used to legitimise Victorian society as a moral force of imperial expansion across the globe.⁸⁰⁷

comparison with their own'. Grahame Smith, *Dickens, Money, & Society* (Cambridge, 1968), pp.55.

⁸⁰⁵ Asa Briggs, 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', *Past & Present*, No.9 (April 1956), pp.69.

⁸⁰⁶ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity* (Princeton, 1997). Here established in terms of Britain's constitutional framework.

⁸⁰⁷ Picture constructions that communicated an enlightened Royal family thoroughly imbued with Victorian moral values, a government dedicated to upholding the same moral code of honesty and honourable, sincere intention, and a modern Church representing God's truth in sincerity, humility, consideration and energy. It was a set of visual patterns that expressed a shared mid-Victorian middle-class view of themselves: an instantly-recognisable code that re-affirmed their social and national aspirations. It was

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the celebrity carte de visite, a new Victorian business that for the first time used techniques of mass production to market photographic images of well-known people to a wide audience. Mass-produced photography developed out of the social and political conditions of its period: of economic growth, increasing communication networks and a thriving commodity culture, and studios marshalled the advantages available to them to issue affordable portrait units whilst securing a high income for themselves. Cartes de visites assumed huge popularity, and indeed touched almost everyone's lives, playing a significant role in mid-Victorian middle-class life. Celebrity cartes that offered a wide choice of up-to-the-minute images of public figures also proved outstandingly popular and, now found in abundance, can provide a unique insight into mid-Victorian business and society if they can be interpreted and their construction and contemporary messages understood. In this research the carte de visite objects themselves have been taken as the starting point for investigation, but their production as a business enterprise has been recognised as the medium's central essence. Trading preoccupation has been taken as the core motivation to production, presentation and appearance, and approaches of visual economy and celebrity have provided a way into a reading of their meaning and marketplace activity. Cartes de visite were an intrinsic part of the explosion of mass literature and visual publication in mid-Victorian Britain with

also a language of 'inclusion' that juxtaposed 'other' cultures and races, and deviations from the contemporary ideal.

celebrity at its heart, an occurrence in which people were able to participate, discuss and share in the events of the modern world through the notable personages of the day. Indeed the cartes have been found to match other mass media reports, revealing a recurring and common visual code executed across contemporary forms of published material. With the objects' appearance having to meet middle-class aspirations in order to ensure volumetric sales, the images reveal the essence of mid-Victorian middle-class culture.

In examining the cartes themselves both the social appeal of celebrity production and also studios' business strategies are uncovered, photographers striving to establish themselves and to sustain a lucrative commercial advantage in a competitive market. The huge number of extant cartes is a great and valuable advantage as trends and patterns, together with shifts and changes, can be easily identified. The cartes themselves indicate a new Victorian profession of mass-producing art, gaining in official recognition as a legitimate trade, together with a visual code that defined new Victorian cultural standards.

Patterns reveal working conditions adopted that suited market appetite for quickly-produced up-to-the-minute images. This can be seen when examining the three cartes in **Figs.399-553(A), 400-613** and **401-625** by J.J.E. Mayall. Here what appears to be a 'conveyor-belt' output is seen, with men from diverse public occupations – Prince Albert, the statesman Lord Derby, and the Bishop of Carlisle – posed in a similar style. They have top hats, a standardised dark attire, and are set against a similar background of pillar, plinth and draped curtain. Men of character and status are shown in prop and pose in a cost-effective manner, posed one after

the other utilising studios' 'stock' props and pose. John Ruskin said that 'great art' does '*not* say the same thing over and over again',⁸⁰⁸ but constant repetition of a core set of middle-class values expressed in various occupational spheres secured volumetric sales to a market sharing the same middle-class values.⁸⁰⁹

This was a new portrait language conveying required messages, but it has to be remembered that these celebrity images expressed what people wished their society to be, and the self-presentation of people's own personal photographs reveals a self-alignment with both these ideals and the messages composed in celebrity cartes. Examples are illustrated in the cartes in **Figs.404-XA91, 405-345, 406-XA78 and 407-559**. In the first, a Mr. J.P. Drony from Liverpool stands in similar self-presentation to the statesman Lord Randolph Churchill.⁸¹⁰ Both men are accompanied by top hats and walking sticks. They are posed in smart dark attire, and are placed against a plain domestic background with draped curtain to the side. Here Drony has written on the back of the carte that he was sending the portrait 'With kind regards' to 'Miss Annie Bower' on 26 June 1865. Thus the appearance of upholding gentlemanly values – as seen in the celebrity cartes – has formed a valuable mode of self-advertisement to a friend. In the second example the self-

⁸⁰⁸ Juliet John, *Dickens and Mass Culture*, (Oxford, 2010), pp.159.

⁸⁰⁹ A deeper examination of the photographs, however, reveals subtle changes in composition designed to expand interest and boost sales. For example, Prince Albert's plinth decoration is a royal crest, while different motifs are used for the statesman and clergyman. A decorative waistcoat is worn by Albert, but Lord Derby and the Bishop wear dark attire in line with their profession roles - and a pile of books accentuates the Conservative leader's intellectual approach to his parliamentary role. These small features subtly provided a clearer location for reading character. They would have been recognised, read and understood by viewers, and they reticently added collectable value to a photographer's output without detracting from the main general mass portrait appeal of 'character'.

⁸¹⁰ Lord Randolph Henry Spencer-Churchill was a British Tory statesman (father of Winston Churchill).

alignment with prominent celebrity subjects is particularly illustrated. Here an unnamed mid-Victorian couple present themselves in almost identical pose and attire to that seen in the carte of Victoria and Albert. Both men sit in a chair positioned across the front of the picture plane with crossed legs, and appear confident in their Victorian manliness, while Victoria and the lady stand beside (and behind) their husbands with their arms touching the back of each man's chair in attentive fashion. Such personal portrait patterns, sharing the poses and self-presentation of celebrity subjects, are found in volume. They not only indicate an admiration of celebrity example, but underline a shared contemporary consensus around mid-Victorian middle-class values, a consensus that studios exploited to sell their portraits.⁸¹¹

The Illustrated News of the World wrote in 1859 of an era when 'thought, intelligence' and 'civilization' was 'believed to have made some progress'.⁸¹²

Another publication on 1860 lauded a modern society displaying a 'moral heroism' that was 'far rarer and nobler than mere animal courage'.⁸¹³ Photographers presented these aspects of character – of intellect, principle and culture – in the men and women 'making' the modern world. The portraits did say the same thing over and over, but these new celebrity portraits were collectables. They did not claim to be 'great' art, their value being as small (attractively-presented) mementoes for those who liked to see their public men and women reflecting their own middle-class values. *Vanity Fair* noted that it was not now the best but the 'most popular' art that

⁸¹¹ These photographs show that it was a pattern adopted around the country, these examples are from Liverpool and Yorkshire.

⁸¹² 'What is the War Teaching Us?', *The Illustrated News of the World*, 9 July 1859, front page-pp.2.

⁸¹³ 'Varieties', *The Leisure Hour*, 24 May 1860, No.439, pp.336.

sold,⁸¹⁴ and studios identified and exploited this essential principle of modern market demand to sustain their commercial advantage.

Cartes de visite also spotlight a change that occurred in the later decades of the century towards more individuality in celebrity value. The late nineteenth-century biographer Lionel Johnson referred to new 'watchwords and battle-cries' of 'evolution, sociology, anthropology, heredity, environment, psychology, psychophysiology' signalling Victorian achievement and progress, but he also noted a shift to 'big' names symbolising a Britain moving forward when saying 'what controversies, theories, discoveries' the names of public figures now suggested - names that, he claimed, were 'too potent for the inattention of any age'.⁸¹⁵ For the professional photographer's middle-class market, however, individual renown was overlaid with middle-class exemplarity to assure as wide a market interest and sales as possible. Portraits now had to be both exceptional and normal.

The carte de visite was a major conduit and catalyst of the 'celebrity' culture of the mid-nineteenth-century. The portraits provided a means of participating in a shared discourse centred around well-known personalities, but production was grounded in the capitalist, commodity and consumer culture of mid-Victorian Britain. Indeed carte de visite studios laid the foundations of the mass-media celebrity business that is so central to our lives today.

However for us in the twenty-first century these Victorian celebrity cartes provide a valuable insight into ordinary people's views of their hopes of a society in a period of great change, when they were striving to establish a new identity built on middle-class values. The portraits present a 'stage-set' of mid-Victorian middle-class

⁸¹⁴ 'Mr. William Powell Frith, R.A.' 'Men of the Day. No. 63.' *Vanity Fair*, 10 May 1873.

⁸¹⁵ Lionel Johnson, 'Victorian Literature', *Sixty Years of Empire*, (London, 1897), pp.208.

culture in terms of race, gender and class during this time of flux - and changes in representation reveal a society evolving and gaining in confidence, of a middle-class beginning to look outwards to the wider world, looking at celebrities rather than strictly at themselves through celebrity example.

As a large extant resource celebrity cartes de visite offer a unique way of understanding mid-Victorian middle-class outlook and aspirations. Indeed, their historical value was recognised in 1862, when the *Photographic News* said that 'if a box or two of them were to be sealed up and buried deep in the ground, to be dug up two or three centuries hence, what a prize they would be to the fortunate finder!'⁸¹⁶ Today we have this body of information waiting to be unravelled. It is a resource that is ripe for further investigation, and this thesis has attempted to provide a first step in uncovering some of its secrets but there is far more to be discovered and that can add further to our understanding of mid-Victorian British society.⁸¹⁷

⁸¹⁶ 'Cartes de Visite', A. Wynter, *Photographic News*, 28 February 1862, pp.104.

⁸¹⁷ For example the relationship with other media could be investigated further, as could personal presentation in relation to the public 'image'. Other categories such as theatrical cartes or the militia also offer potential for investigation. Issues of gender could be researched in more depth, as could pirate images chosen for publication to those on lower incomes in comparison to those aimed specifically at the middle-class market.

APPENDIX A													
STUDIO OUTPUT c.1857-1880													
STUDIO	ROYALTY	STATESMEN	CLERGYMEN	THEATRE	ARTS	SCANDAL	MILITIA	FOREIGN HISTORICAL			REFORMERS		
								LEADERS	FIGURES	SCIENCE	WOMEN	EDUCATORS	PHILANTHROPISTS
MAYALL	57	20	7	1	4		4	2		2			1
LONDON	9	11	6	15	14	26	3	6		2	3		
STEREOSCOPIIC CO													
KILBURN		3	5				3						
WATKINS	2	11	4	5	13		2			1	1		
MAULL & POLYBLANK	1	9	5		6	1	9			8		3	
CLAUDET	1		1			1				2			
CALDESI BLANFORD	1	24		1	5		1	1		3	2		
SOUTHWELL	5	2	1	6	1		1	1					
E. EDWARDS	2		2		1								
CUNDALL DOWNES	1	1			5								
WALKER		11	9	4									
POULTON	3	1	3										
ASHFORD	5		1	3		6	1	3					
MASON	3	4	11		1	2						1	
SILVY	5	5	2	1	2		2			2	3		
A. MELHUIISH	1												
HERING	1	8	4	1									1
HEATH & BEAU		1	1	8									
CLARKINGTON		3											
NEGRETTI & ZAMBRA	1					3							
DAY	1	1					1						
MAYER		1	1	2			1						
HILLS & SAUNDERS	9	1	5	3				1					
WINDOW & BRIDGE	1	3		2			1				2		
W. & D. DOWNEY	60	25	4	21	1	1	2	11		1		1	
FRED. BRUCKMAN									19				
ELLIOTT & FRY		4	3	1	8		1		1		1		
WHITLOCK	1	2	1							2			
J. RUSSELL	1	2	2										
F. JOUBERT	1	2									1		
GHEMAR FRERES	6												
McLEAN HAES	1	1					1				1		
OTHER NAMED STUDIOS	30	17	32	25	8	13	6	9	10	3	5		2
UNNAMED STUDIOS	91	39	19	10	7	9	9	7	8	5	1	1	
	300	212	129	109	76	62	48	41	38	31	20	6	4

COPYRIGHT REGISTRATIONS RECORDED FOR W. & D. DOWNEY in the *PHOTOGRAPHIC NEWS* in 1863

As personal attendance was mandatory, the *Photographic News* offered rural studios the service of registering images for photographers who could not travel to London. The forms, which could be obtained at 1d each from Stationers' Hall, had to be filled in, and a copy of the photograph attached. Once received by the *Photographic News*, together with 'fifteen penny postage stamps (12 for registering the image and 3 for 'contingent expenses') the photographs would be registered, and notice published in the *Photographic News* each week. 'Registration of Photographs', *Photographic News*, 26 December 1862, pp.61:

COPYRIGHT REGISTRATIONS FOR W. & D. DOWNEY DURING 1863

23-Jan		none	
30-Jan		none	
06-Feb		none	
13-Feb		none	
20-Feb		none	
27-Feb	Mr. William Downey	John Bright M.P.	
06-Mar	W. & D. Downey	John Bright M.P. George Dawson	2 photographs
13-Mar	W. & D. Downey	none	
20-Mar	W. & D. Downey	none	
02-Apr	Mr. William Downey	Lady Don Dante Gabriel Rossetti	3 photographs
10-Apr	Mr. Daniel Downey	Archdeacon Prest	2 photographs
17-Apr		none	
24-Apr		none	
01-May	W. & D. Downey	Fishing scenes Lord Thynne Lord Dunglass Lord Kerr Elihu Burritt	8 photographs 2 photographs
07-May		Lord Brougham	
15-May		Newcastle from Gateshead Rev. James Pringle	2 photographs
22-May		Brikett Foster	
29-May		none	
05-Jun		none	
12-Jun		none	
19-Jun		none	
26-Jun		none	
03-Jul		none	
10-Jul		none	
17-Jul		none	
24-Jul	W. & D. Downey	Lord Palmerston Lady Palmerston Lord Lovaine A.H. Layard, M.P. Lord C. Paget Professor Owen Rt. Hon. E. Cardwell, M.P. William Rose, Lord Mayor of London	
31-Jul	W. & D. Downey	Professor Owen Rt. Hon. Sir G. Grey Rt. Hon. W. Gladstone Daniel Maclise Thomas Milner Gibson E.M. Ward, R.A. Sir Augustus Clifford	
07-Aug	W. & D. Downey	Rt. Hon. C. Palham Villiers, M.P. Rt. Hon. Frederick Peel, M.P. Sir W. Dunbar, Bart, M.P. Thomas Baring, M.P.	
14-Aug		none	
21-Aug		none	
28-Aug		none	
04-Sep		none	
11-Sep		none	
18-Sep		none	
25-Sep		none	
02-Oct	W. & D. Downey	Dr. Cumming	2 photographs
09-Oct		none	
16-Oct		none	
23-Oct		none	
30-Oct	W. & D. Downey	Dr. Headlam	
06-Nov		none	
13-Nov	W. & D. Downey	Rt. Hon. Sir F.T. Baring, Bart., M.P. Rev. T.N. Rutherford	
20-Nov	W. & D. Downey	Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Wood	
27-Nov		none	
04-Dec		none	
11-Dec		none	
18-Dec	W. & D. Downey	Sig. Gavarra J. Cookson	3 photographs
24-Dec		none	

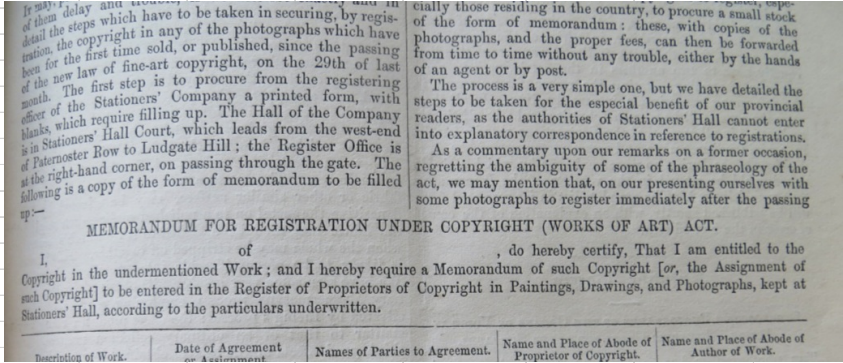
THE AUTOGRAPH BOOK OF W. & D. DOWNEY			APPENDIX	3
The autograph book of the studio W. & D. Downey in the author's possession includes the following entries:			(amongst others)	
Name	Occupation	Date of entry (where given)		
Sarah Bernhardt	actress	1881		
F. Bernard-Beere	actress	1881		
Duke of Buckingham	Governor of Madras	1885		
Helena Modjeska	actress			
Coquelin	author/playwrite			
Sig. Mario	opera singer	1881		
Violet Cameron	actress			
Henry Russell	singer/composer	1881		
Jenny Lind	singer	1885		
Lillie Langtry	actress	1882		
Lord Derby	statesman and P.M.	1885		
Charles Dilke	statesman	1886		
Fanny Stirling	actress	1883		
Emily Faithfull	author/publisher			
Fanny Davenport	actress			
Charles Solma	musician	1885		
Prince George	royal	1882		
Prince Victor	royal	1882		
Mary Anderson	actress			
Robert Planquette	French composer			
Maude Branscombe	actress			
Name	Occupation	Date of entry (where given)		
Charlotte Princess of Prussia	royal	1883		
Prince George	royal	1885		
Prince Victor	royal	1885		
Bret Harte	American author			
Princess Alexandra	royal	1883		
Prince of Wales	royal	1886		
Duchess of Teck	royal	1883		
W.E. Forster	M.P./philanthropist	1883		
James Stevenson	M.P.	1884		
R. Dunkworth		1884		
Mary Anderson	actress	1883		
P.T. Barnum	American promoter	1883		
Prince of Portugal (later Carlos I)	royal	1883		
George Duke of Cambridge	royal	1885		
letter from Prince of Afghanistan		1895		
<p>W. & D. Downey compiled several autograph books for completion by the celebrities they photographed at their studio, and these were referred to in contemporary press publications.</p> <p>For example the <i>Pall Mall Budget</i> published an illustration of some of the 'Famous Autographs from the Album' in their article entitled 'The Grand Old Photographer IV' 22 January 1891, pp.22.</p> <p>Other references are made in the <i>Pall Mall Budget</i> 'A Grand Old Photographer II, III & X' of 8 January, 15 January, 19 March 1891.</p> <p>Many entries contained very complimentary references to the Downeys' portrait work.</p>				
				
<p>Front of album - size 11" x 9" (1 1/2" deep)</p>				
				
<p>Page in album with entry by P.T. Barnum</p>				
				
<p>Page in album with autograph of Lillie Langtry Oct 13th 1882.</p>				

PROCEDURE FOR REGISTERING THE COPYRIGHT IN PHOTOGRAPHS at Stationer's Hall, London after 2nd July 1862

- a) Obtain a form (for 1d) from Stationers' Hall (copy shown below)
- b) Attach a copy of the image to be registered
- c) Pay a fee of 1/- for each image

fill in columns two and three if there is an agreement as to who retains the copyright, between buyer and seller.
The form must be brought to the office; no forms are received by post, and no stamps are taken for fees'

Registering Photographs', *Photographic News*, 22 August 1862, pp.397.
and 26 December 1862, pp.613.



APPENDIX 5

THE ROYAL ALBUM J.J.E. MAYALL, 1860

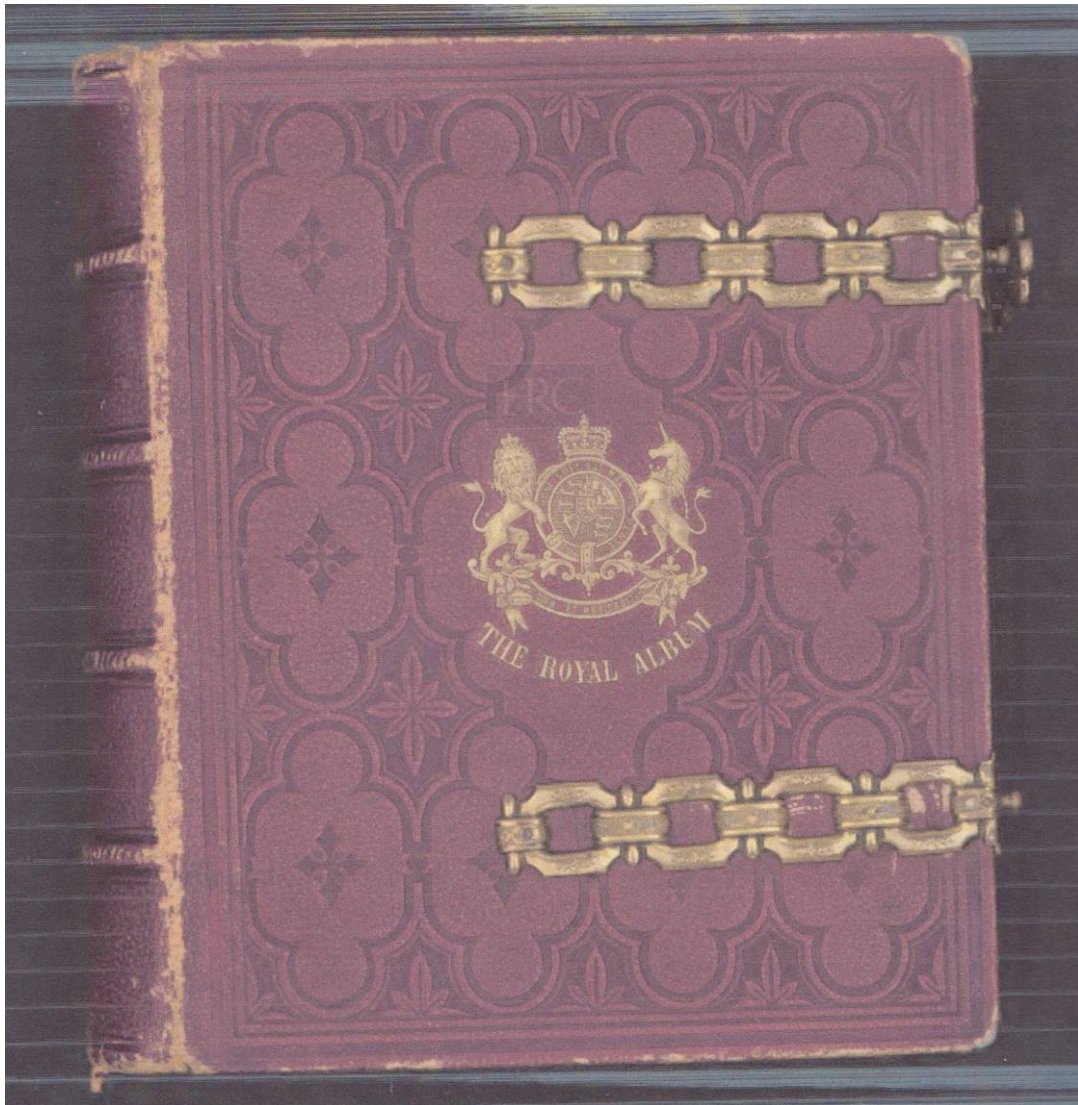


IMAGE NUMBER: XA20

Print Title/Subject: 'The Royal Album'

Format & Colour: Album of cartes de visite by Mayall

Date published: (London, 1860)

Additional Comments: This copy at University of Austin, Texas

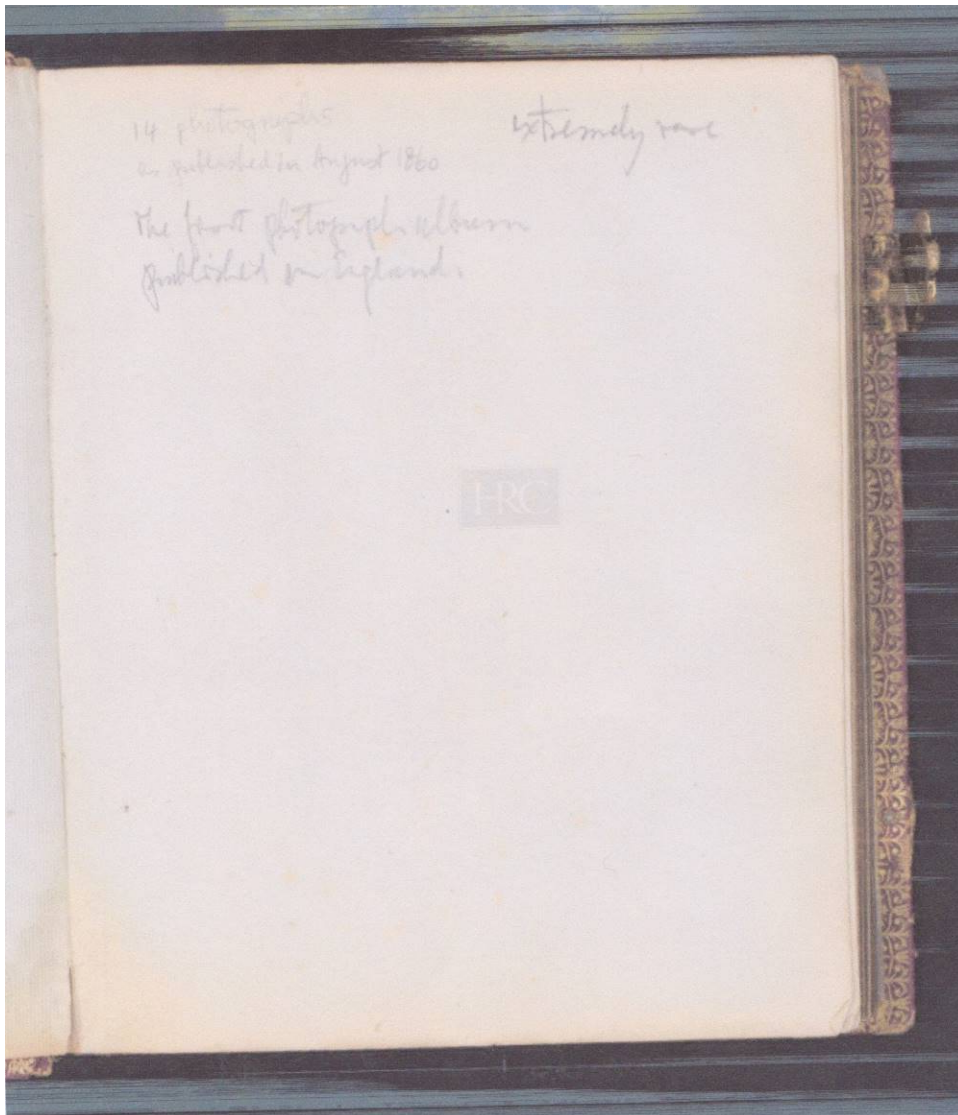


IMAGE NUMBER: XA21

Print Title/Subject: first page

Format & Colour: Album of cartes de visite by Mayall

Date published: (London, 1860)

Additional Comments: This copy at University of Austin, Texas

Modern hand in pencil: '14 photographs published August 1860

the first photograph album published in England.'

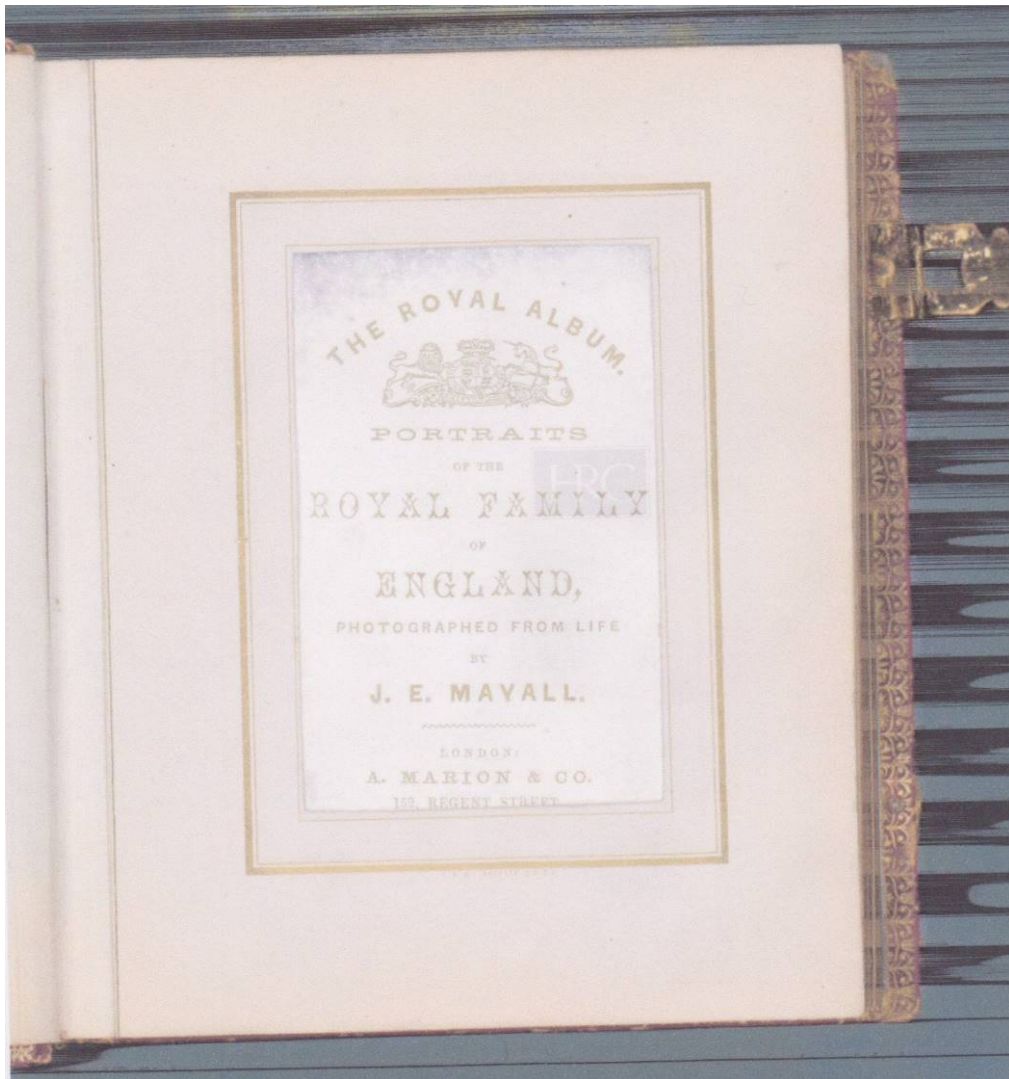


IMAGE NUMBER: XA22

Print Title/Subject: Title card 'The Royal Album'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas

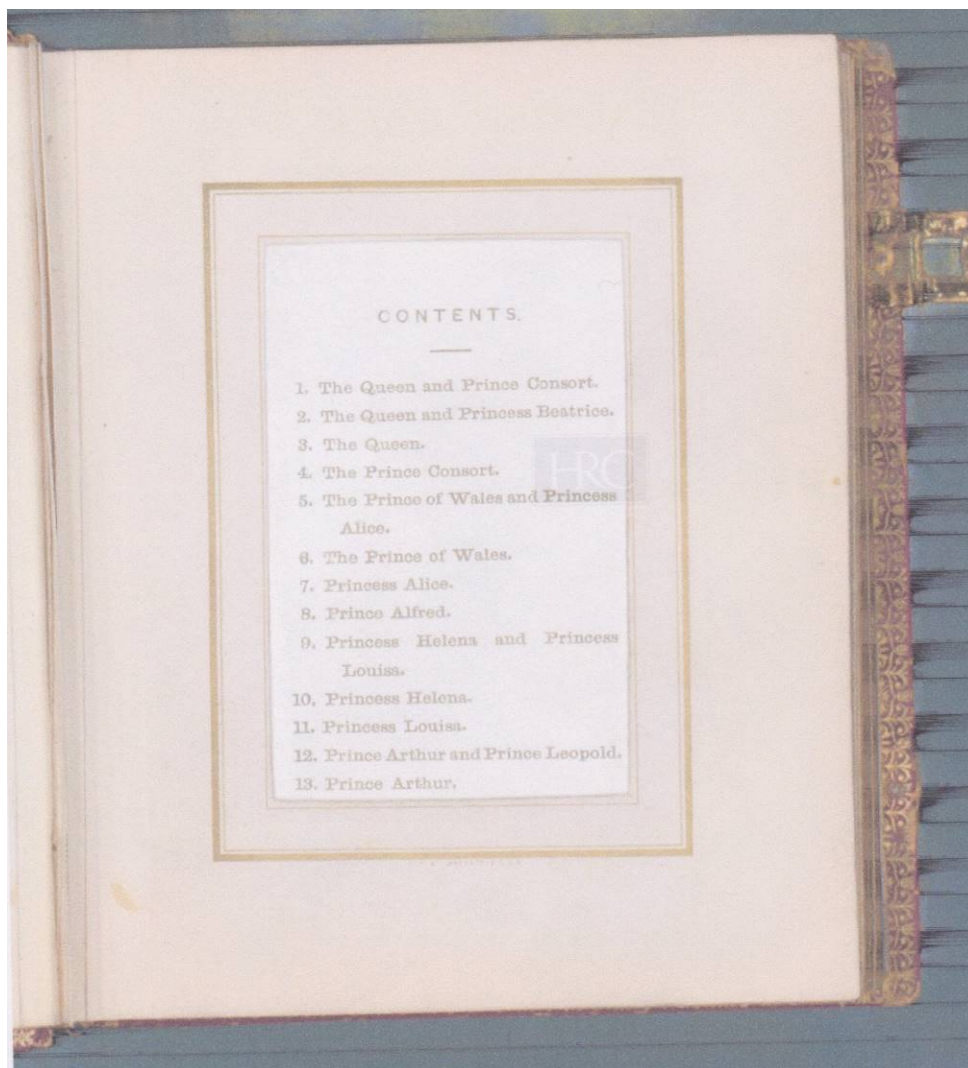


IMAGE NUMBER: XA23

Print Title/Subject: Contents carte

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas
The last listing, No.14, is hidden. This is: 14. Princess Beatrice

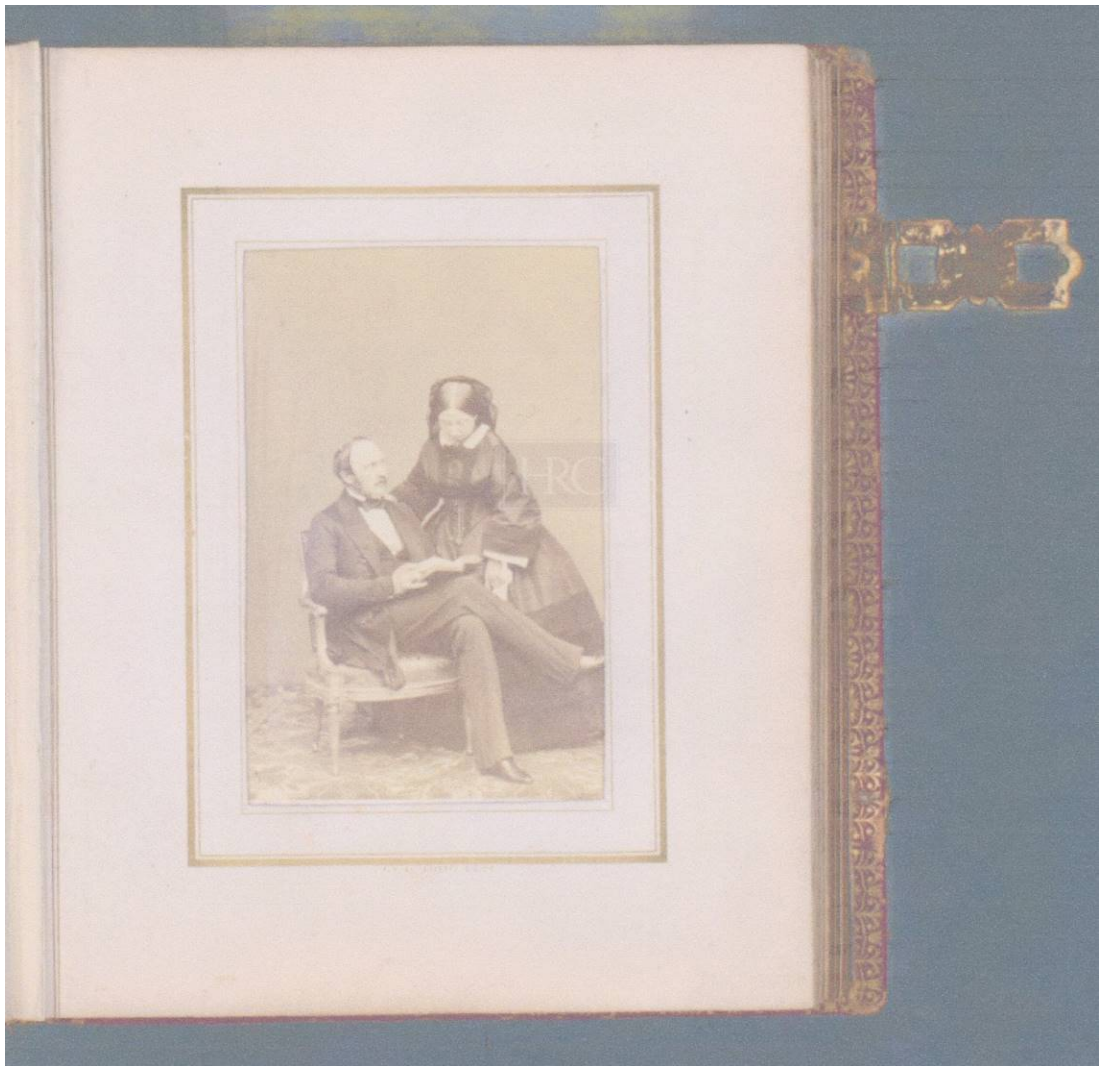


IMAGE NUMBER: XA24

Print Title/Subject: 1. The Queen and Prince Consort

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA25

Print Title/Subject: 2. The Queen and Princess Beatrice

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA26

Print Title/Subject: 3. The Queen

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas

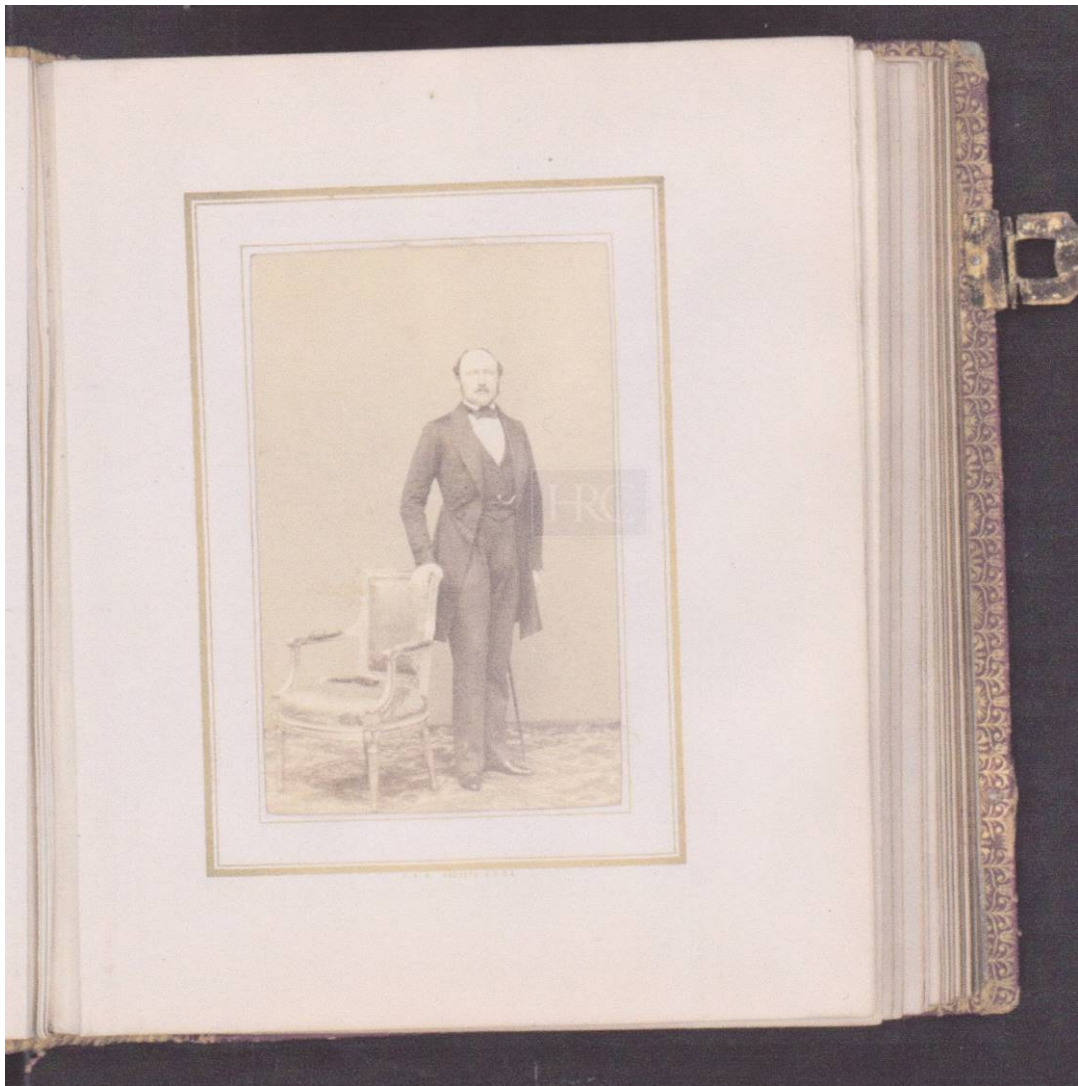


IMAGE NUMBER: XA27

Print Title/Subject: 4. The Prince Consort

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia **Studio:** Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted in page into the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA28

Print Title/Subject: 5. The Prince of Wales and Princess Alice

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA29

Print Title/Subject: 6. The Prince of Wales

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia **Studio:** Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA30

Print Title/Subject: 7. Princess Alice

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA31

Print Title/Subject: 8. Prince Alfred

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA32

Print Title/Subject: 9. Princess Helena and Princess Louisa

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA33

Print Title/Subject: 10. Princess Helena

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA34

Print Title/Subject: 11. Princess Louisa

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas

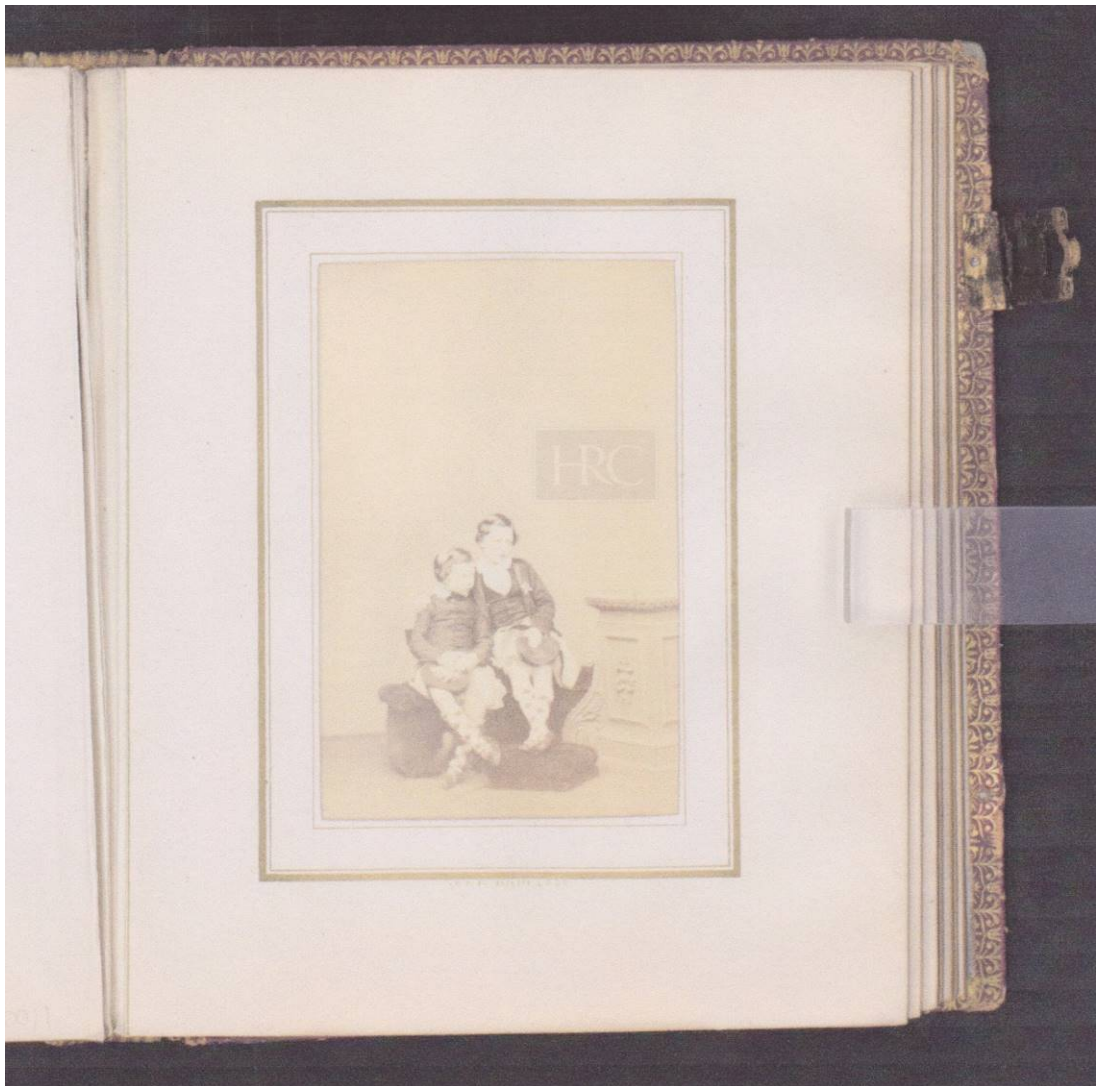


IMAGE NUMBER: XA35

Print Title/Subject: 12. Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: XA36

Print Title/Subject: 13. Prince Arthur

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas

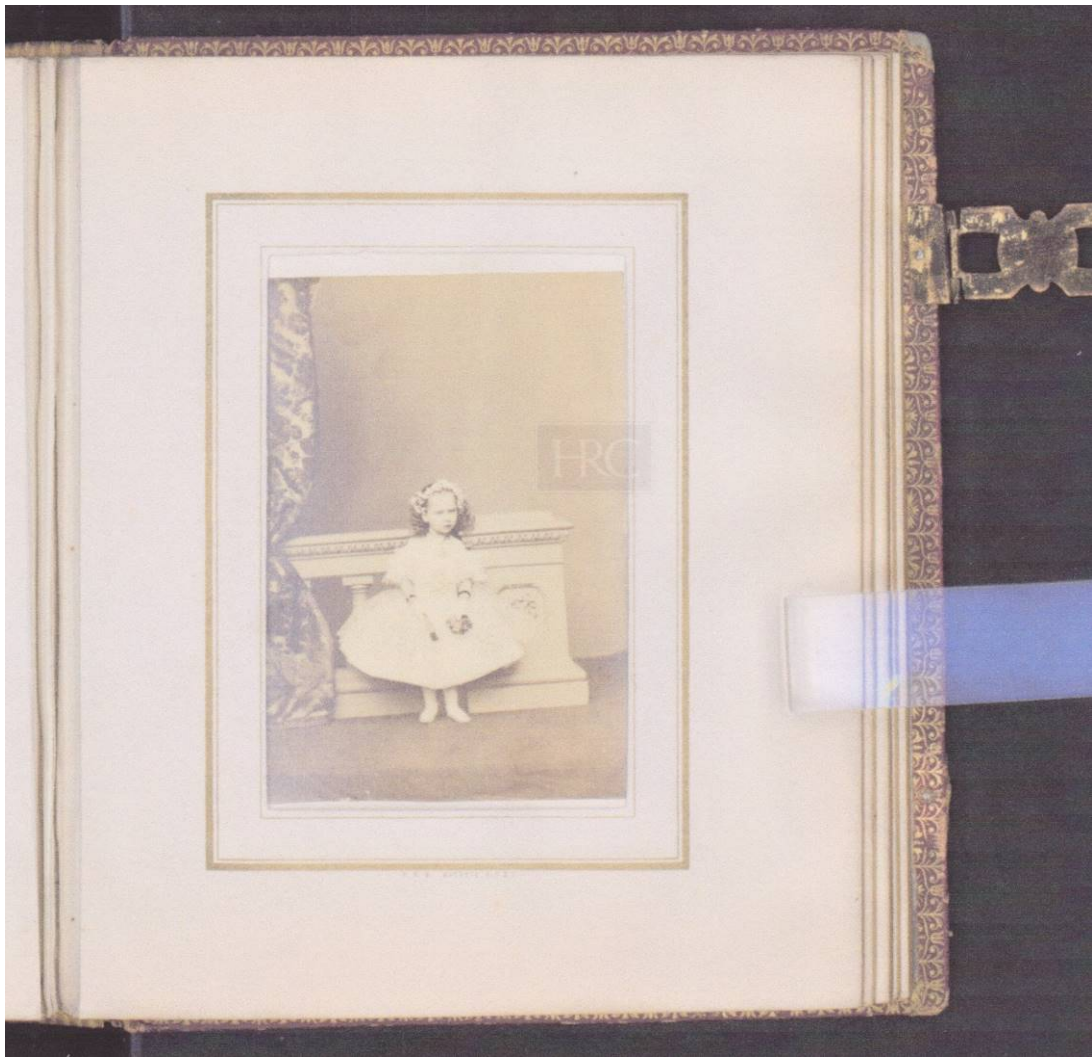


IMAGE NUMBER: XA37

Print Title/Subject: 14. Princess Beatrice

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas

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CHAPTER ONE: ILLUSTRATIONS



IMAGE NUMBER: 1-1059a

Print Title/Subject: Outdoors scene of photographer's shop

Format & Colour: stereocard, hand-coloured

Date Image Taken: c. 1861

Additional Comments:

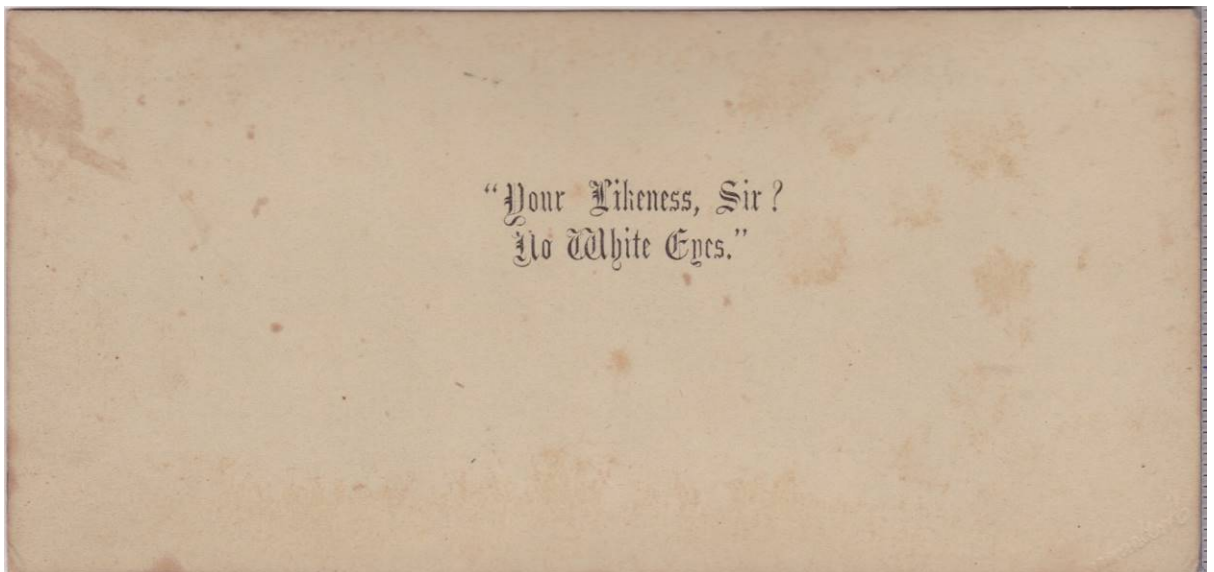


IMAGE NUMBER: 1-1059b

Backplate

Studio Crest:

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Printed on backplate: "Your Likeness, Sir? No White Eyes."



IMAGE NUMBER: 2-674a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Mary Queen of Scots.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments: Studio name on mount:
 The Photoglyptic Co.
 Photographic reproduction of earlier
 oil painting



IMAGE NUMBER: 2-674b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (recorded on front mount)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 3-683(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: unidentified clergyman
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: 'C.B. Walker' printed on
 mount, possibly the photographer

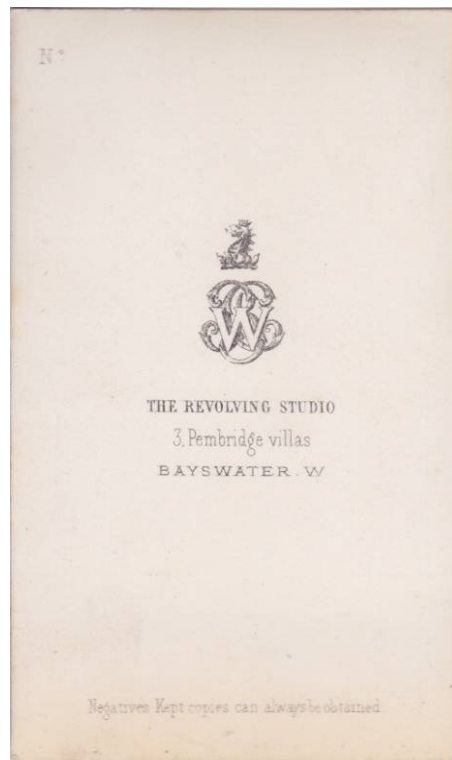


IMAGE NUMBER: 3-683(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The Revolving Studio
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 4-831a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. The Princess of Wales'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

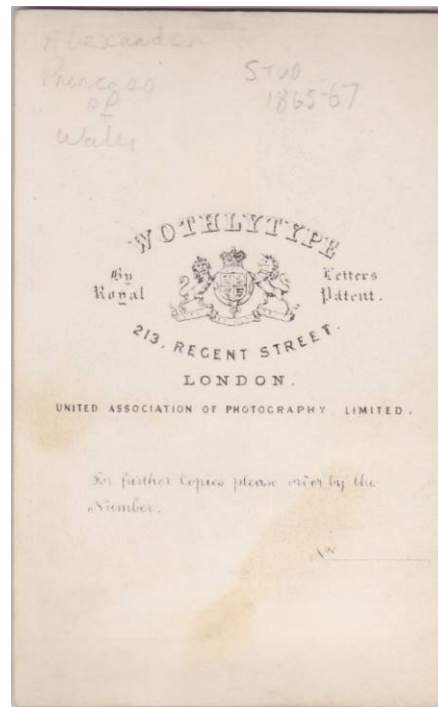


IMAGE NUMBER: 4-831b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Wothlytype, United Association of Photography Limited
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Princess Alexandra Princess of Wales'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Stud 1865-67'



IMAGE NUMBER: 5-389(B)a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Mr. C.W. Dunford.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Text: 'Author of "England and its Duty."'



IMAGE NUMBER: 5-389(B)b
 Backplate:
 Studio Crest: London Photo Copying Compy.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: 'L. Phillips Manager'



IMAGE NUMBER: 6-1059(A)a

Print Title/Subject: Outdoors view of London Stereoscopic Co.'s Regent Street studio (No. 33a Regent St.)

Format & Colour: stereocard, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Part of the 'European and American Views' series



IMAGE NUMBER: 6-1059(A)b

Backplate

Studio Crest: none

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: backplate covered in a stick-on label detailing American wines for sale



IMAGE NUMBER: 7-355a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Leopold
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

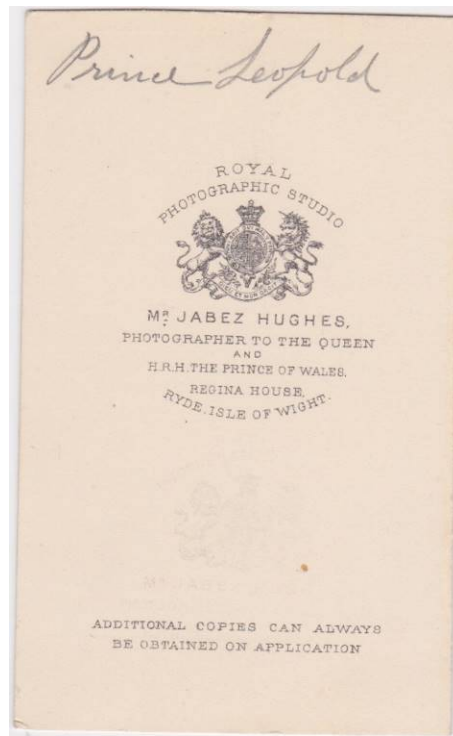


IMAGE NUMBER: 7-355b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Jabez Hughes
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Prince Leopold'



IMAGE NUMBER: 8-39a
 Print Title/Subject: Marie de la Ramee, novelist
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments: Imprint of 'Adolphus Beau' signature in the print

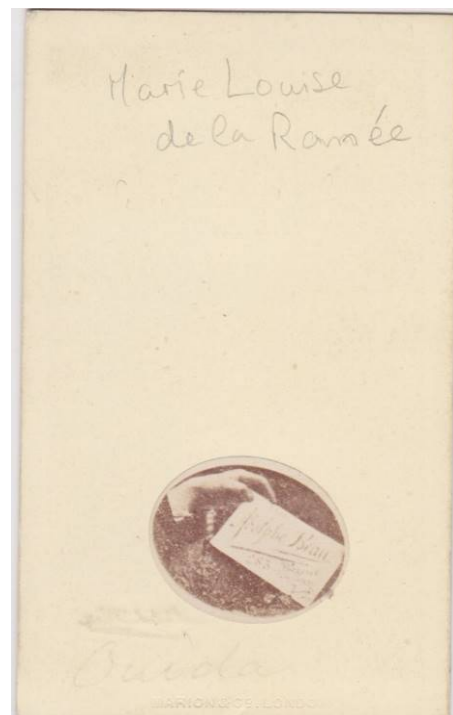


IMAGE NUMBER: 8-39b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: 'Adolphe Beau' presented in a small oval photograph of a hand-held card signed by Adolphe Beau
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Marie Louise de la Ramee'

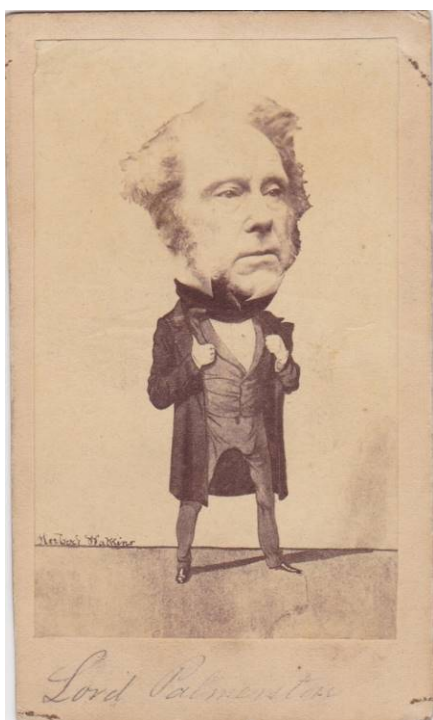


IMAGE NUMBER: 9-772a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Palmerston
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1857
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount: 'Lord Palmerston'

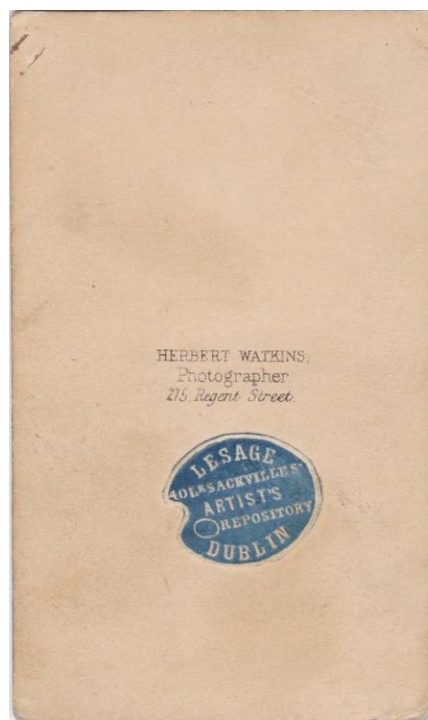


IMAGE NUMBER: 9-772b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Herbert Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Label attached to backplate: 'Lesage Artist's repository, Dublin'



Enlargement to show signature in negative



IMAGE NUMBER: 10-656a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Shaftesbury as actor
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 10-656b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: G.T. Millichap, Liverpool
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 11-40a
 Print Title/Subject: Mrs. Jordan, actress
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: 'Adolphus Beau' signature
 imprint in the print
 Period hand in ink: 'Mrs. Jordan'



IMAGE NUMBER: 11-40b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: Messrs. Heath & Beau (Art Photography Union)
 Additional Comments: Printed: 'Photographed expressly for this
 collection'
 Period hand in pencil: 'Mrs. Jordan'



IMAGE NUMBER: 12-712a
 Print Title/Subject: Duchess of Wellington
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

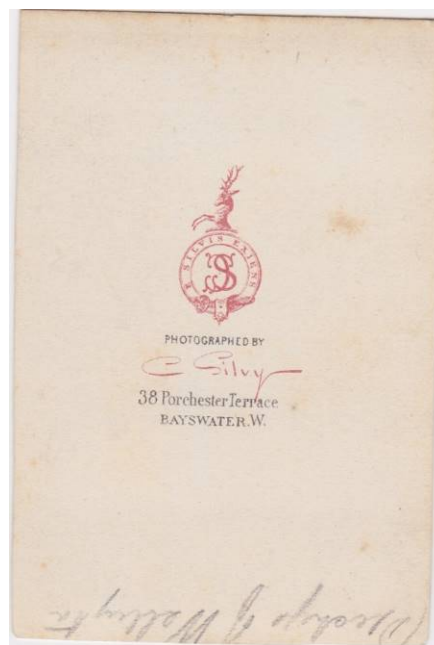


IMAGE NUMBER: 12-712b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: C. Silvy
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Duchess of Wellington'

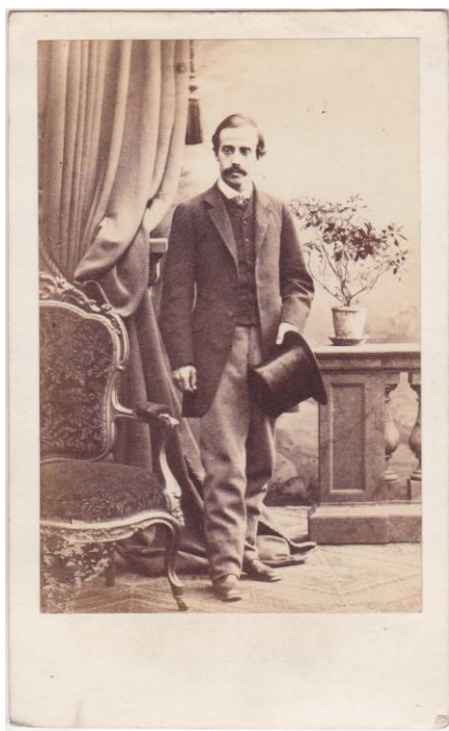


IMAGE NUMBER: 13-120a
 Print Title/Subject: Paul du Chaillu, explorer
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

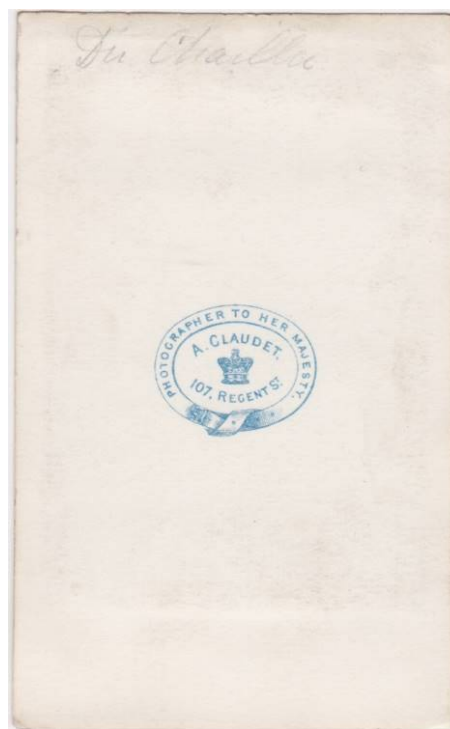


IMAGE NUMBER: 13-120b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: A. Claudet
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Du Chaillu'



IMAGE NUMBER: 14-782a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess Alice
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

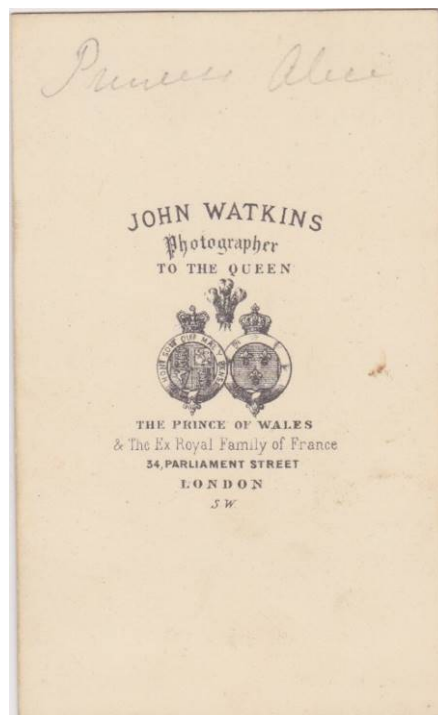


IMAGE NUMBER: 14-782b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Princess Alice'



IMAGE NUMBER: 15-334a
Print Title/Subject: Lord Stafford de Radcliffe
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

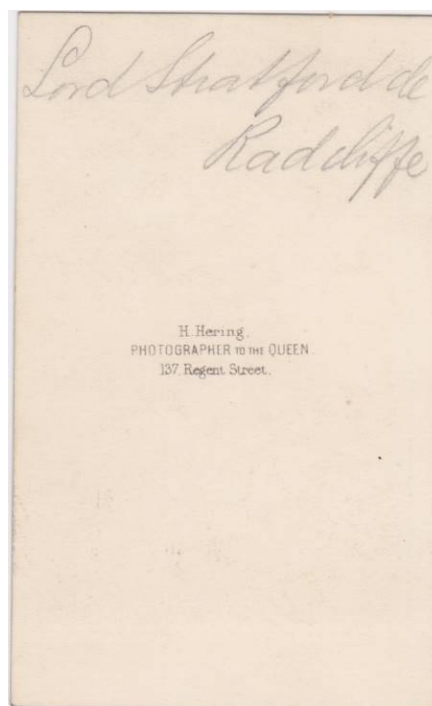


IMAGE NUMBER: 15-334b
Backplate
Studio Crest: H. Hering
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Stafford de Radcliffe'



IMAGE NUMBER: 16-639a
Print Title/Subject: General William John Codrington
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1857 (possibly re-issued later)
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount: 'Gen. Codrington Coldstream Guards'

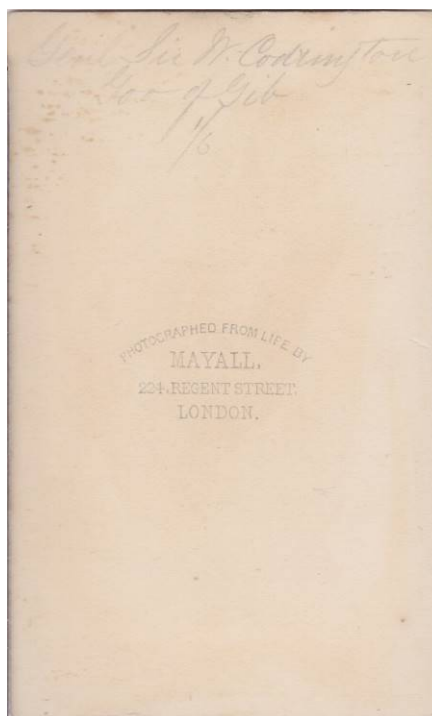


IMAGE NUMBER: 16-639b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Genl Sir W. Codrington Gov of Gib 1/6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 17-743(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: unnamed lady
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

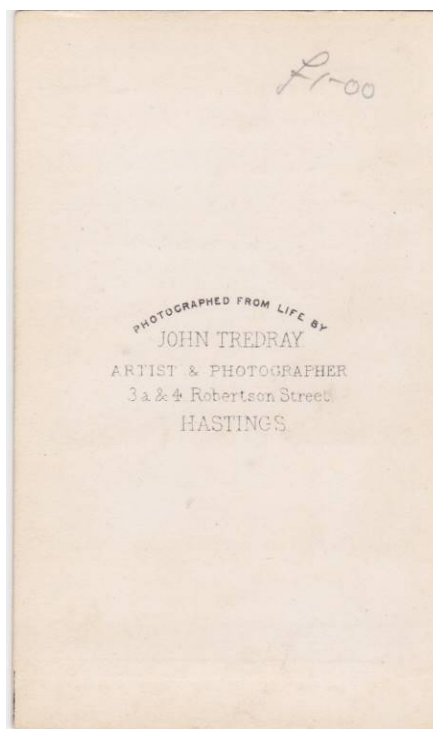


IMAGE NUMBER: 17-743(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John Tredray, Hastings
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:

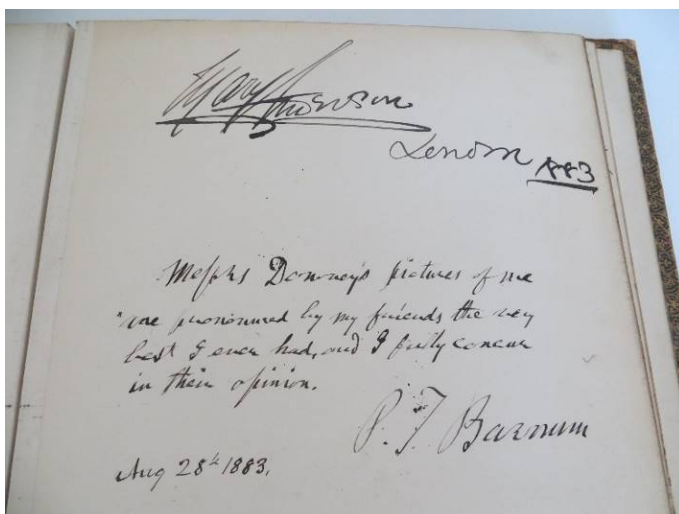


IMAGE NUMBER: 18
 Print Title/Subject: W. & D. Downey autograph book
 Format & Colour: book size 11" x 9"
 Date: 28 August, 1883
 Additional Comments: Handwritten entry in ink by P.T. Barnum

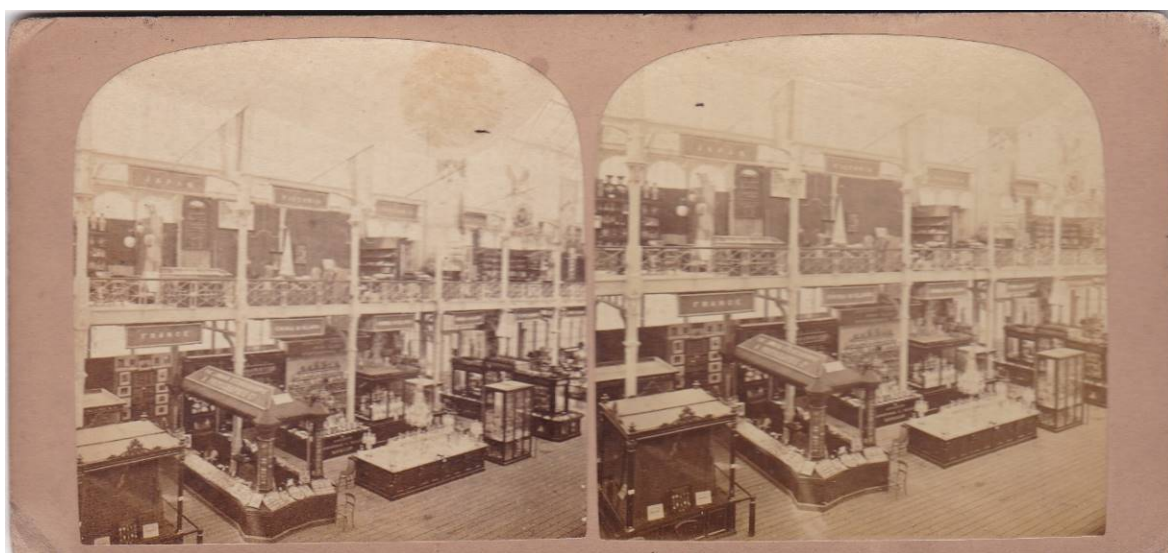


IMAGE NUMBER: 19-1059(B)a
 Print Title/Subject: View of London Stereoscopic Co.'s exhibition stand at the Dublin Exhibition, 1865.
 Format & Colour: stereocard, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

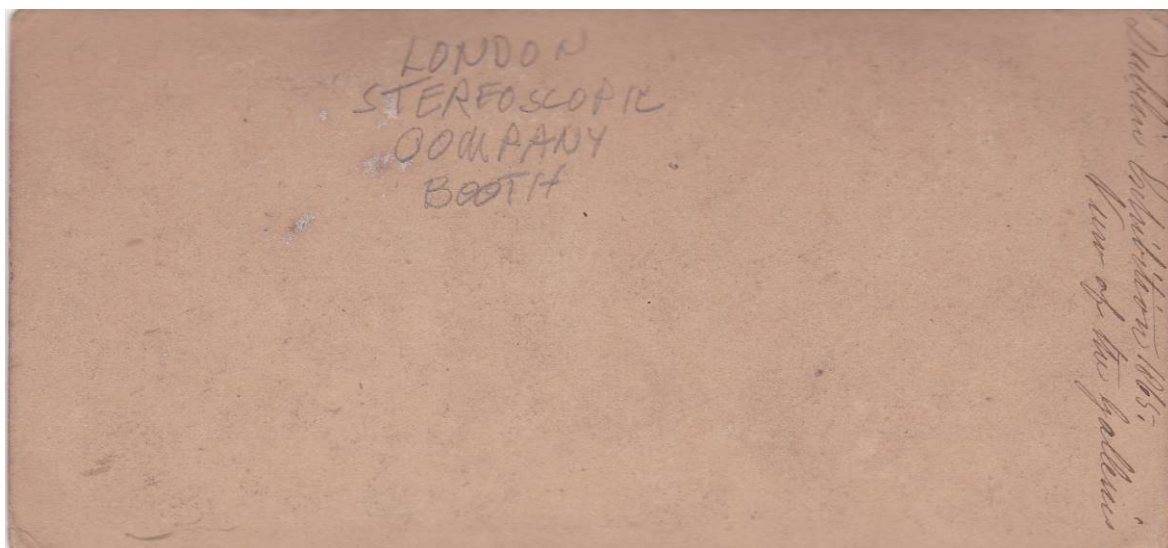


IMAGE NUMBER: 19-1059(B)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink 'Dublin Exhibition 1865. View of the Galleries'
 Modern hand in pencil 'London Stereoscopic Company Booth'



IMAGE NUMBER: 20-XA79a
 Print Title/Subject: Studio envelope (front) of A. & G. Taylor
 Format & Colour: sized 4½" x 2¾" for sending cdv through the post
 Date: c. datestamp 1894

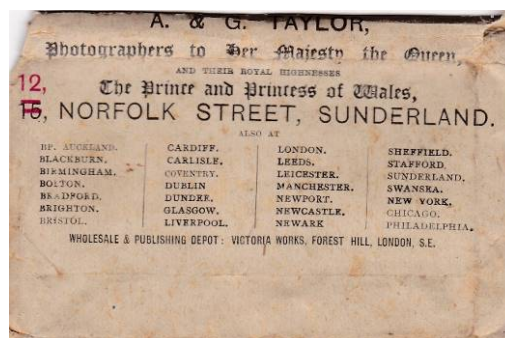


IMAGE NUMBER: 20-XA79b
 Back: listing other studio addresses

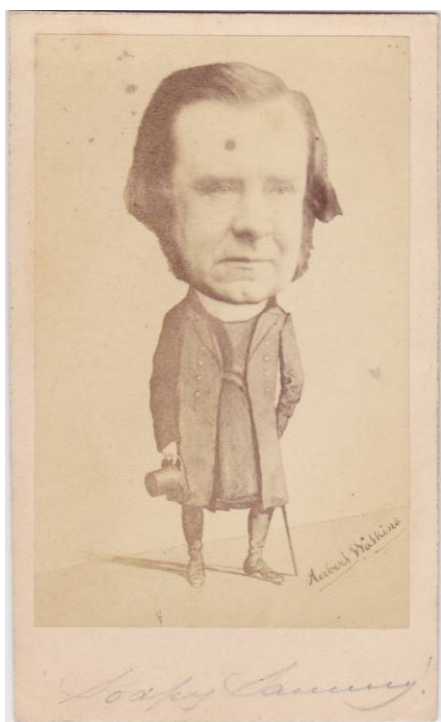


IMAGE NUMBER: 21-770a
 Print Title/Subject: Samuel Wilberforce
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount:
 'Soapy Sammy!'
 Imprinted in the print:
 'Herbert Watkins'

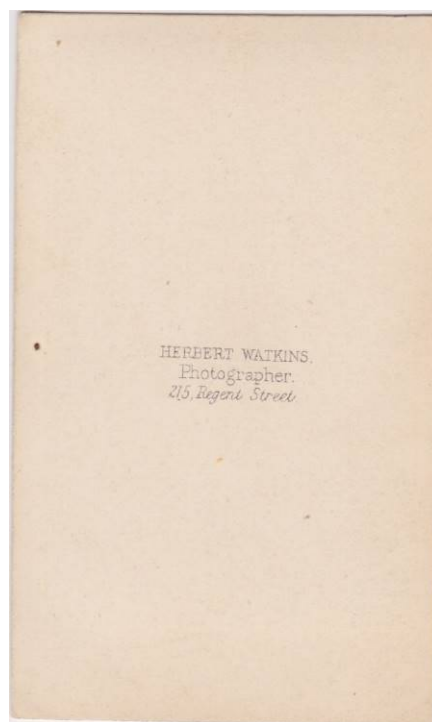


IMAGE NUMBER: 21-770b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Herbert Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 24-769a
 Print Title/Subject: Wilkie Collins
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c.1860
 Additional Comments:

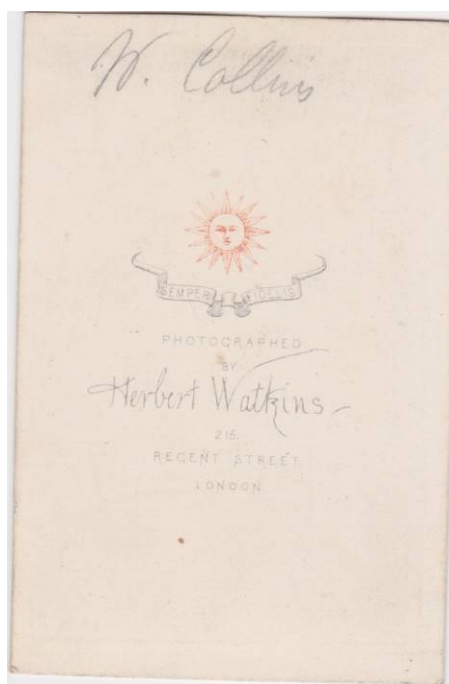


IMAGE NUMBER: 24-769b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Herbert Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'W. Collins'



IMAGE NUMBER: 25-230a
 Print Title/Subject: John Bright
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

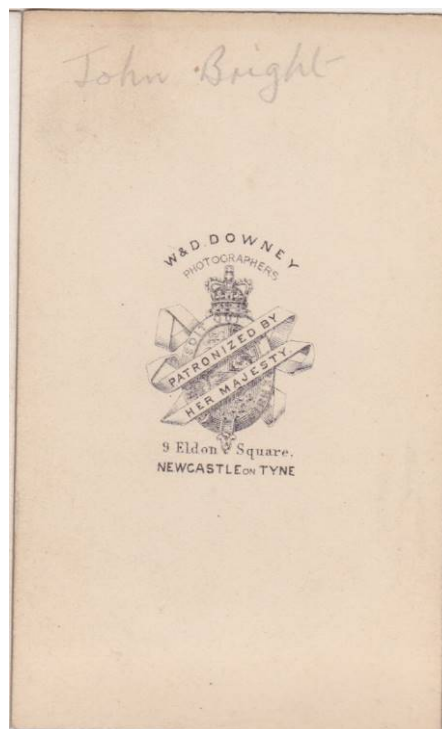


IMAGE NUMBER: 25-230b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'John Bright'



IMAGE NUMBER: 26-185a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

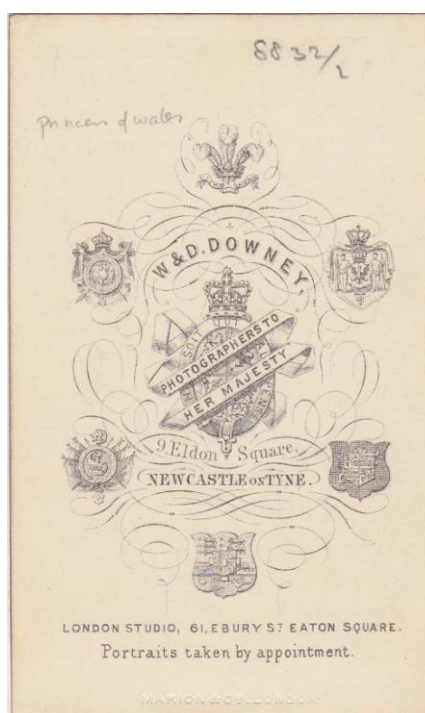


IMAGE NUMBER: 26-185b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle & London
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Princess of Wales 8832/2'



IMAGE NUMBER: 27-183a
Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1880
Additional Comments:

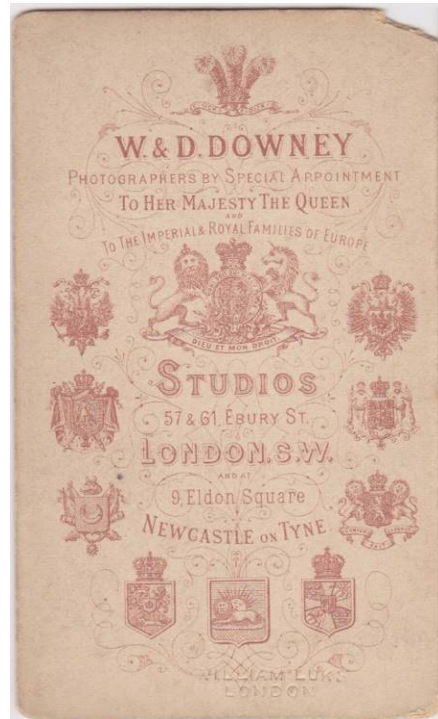


IMAGE NUMBER: 27-183b
Backplate
Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle & London
Publisher: William Luks
Additional Comments:

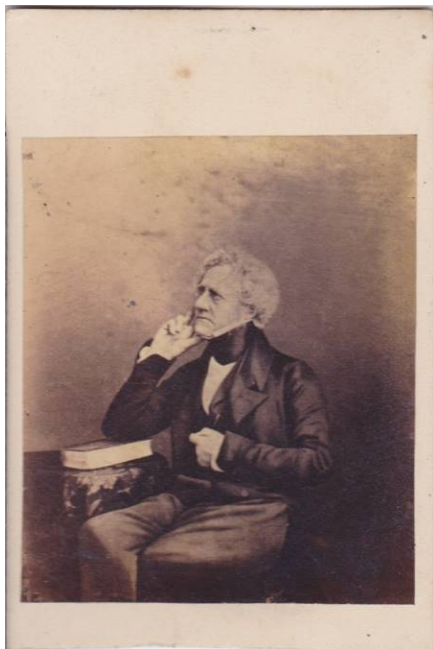


IMAGE NUMBER: 28-635a
Print Title/Subject: Sir John Herschell
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1857 (possibly re-issued later)
Additional Comments:

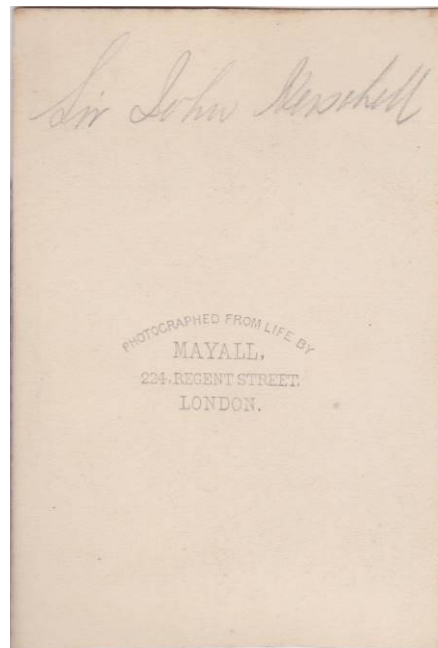


IMAGE NUMBER: 28-635b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Sir John Herschell'



IMAGE NUMBER: 29-640a
Print Title/Subject: George Peabody, philanthropist
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 29-640b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'George Peabody'



IMAGE NUMBER: 30-1060(A)a
Print Title/Subject: 'MISS MAUDE MILLET.' actress
Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1890
Additional Comments:

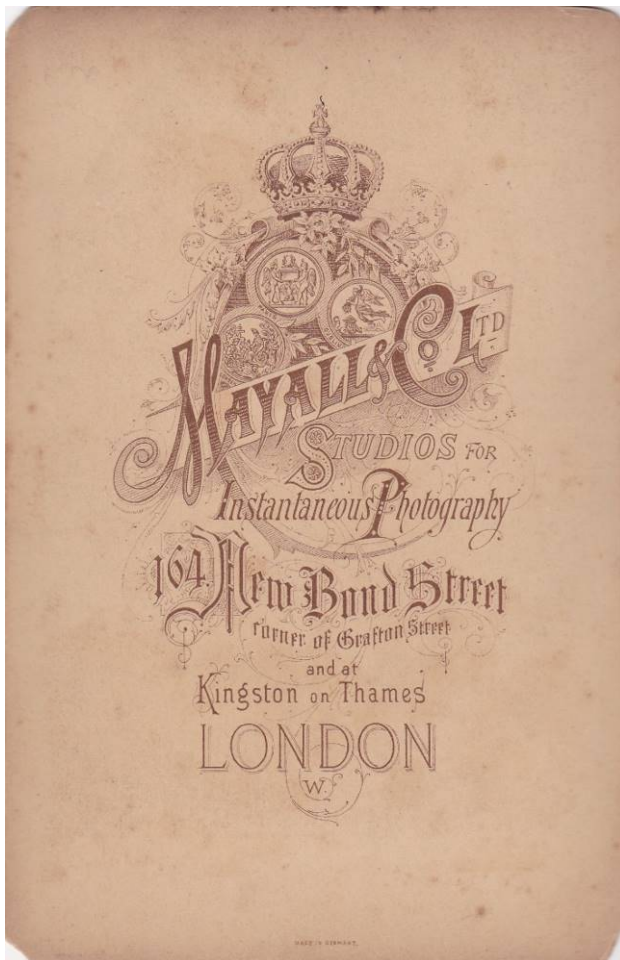


IMAGE NUMBER: 30-1060(A)b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Mayall & Co. Ltd.

Publisher:

Additional Comments: 'Made in Germany' printed at bottom of backplate



IMAGE NUMBER: 31-652a

Print Title/Subject: 'The Queen'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1870

Additional Comments:

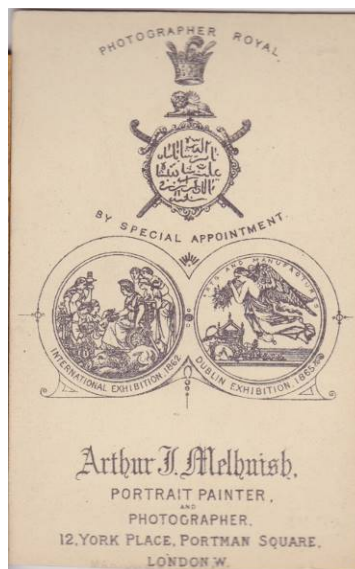


IMAGE NUMBER: 31-652b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Arthur Melhuish

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: (no translation of Arabic wording available)



IMAGE NUMBER: 32-650a
 Print Title/Subject: unidentified subject
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

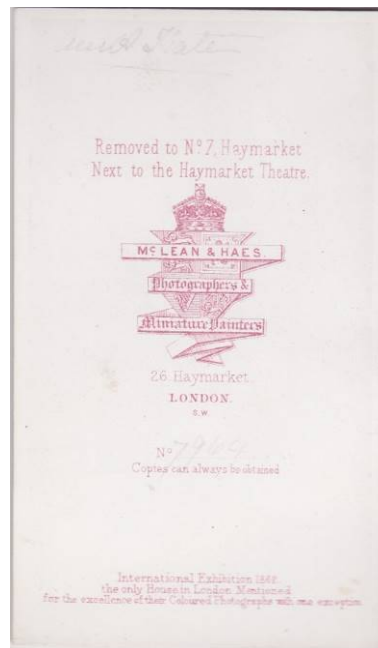
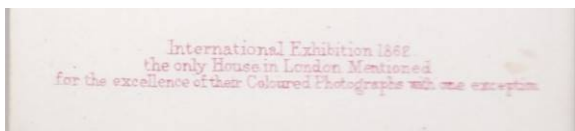


IMAGE NUMBER: 32-650b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: McLean & Haes
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: (unclear) and 'No. 7964'



Enlargement of carte illustrated above showing wording



IMAGE NUMBER: 33-121a
 Print Title/Subject: Michael Faraday
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

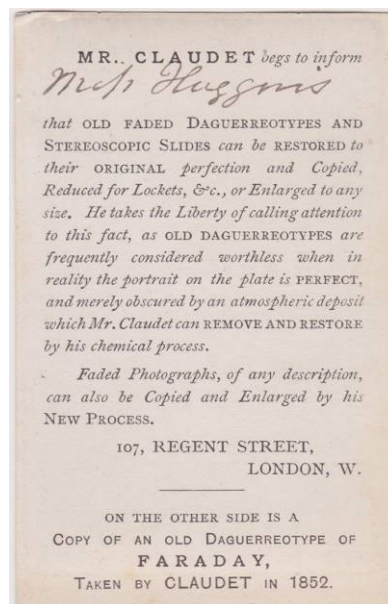


IMAGE NUMBER: 33-121b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Miss Higgins'?
 Backplate is an advert for Claudet's business



IMAGE NUMBER: 34-117a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Stanley
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Stanley' and '1/-'



IMAGE NUMBER: 34-117b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Clarkington & Co.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Printed: 'Clarkington's Photographic Series of the Members of the British Legislature'
 Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Stanley'

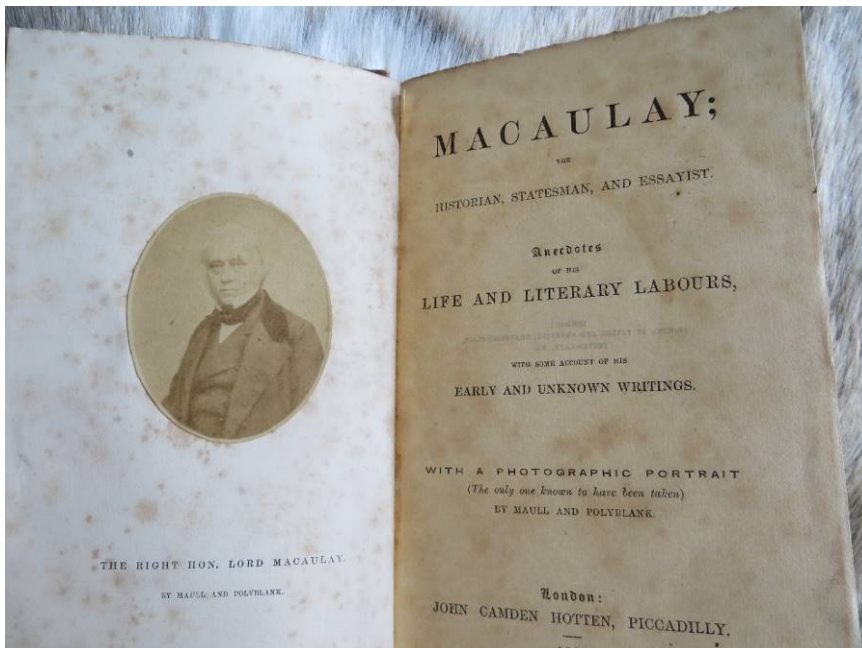


IMAGE NUMBER: 35-XA1
 Subject: Book 'Macaulay; The Historian, Statesman, and Essayist', (London, 1860).
 Additional Comments: Tipped-in carte-sized photograph of Lord Macaulay by Maull & Polyblank.



IMAGE NUMBER: 36-662a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Madame Lind Goldschmidt'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

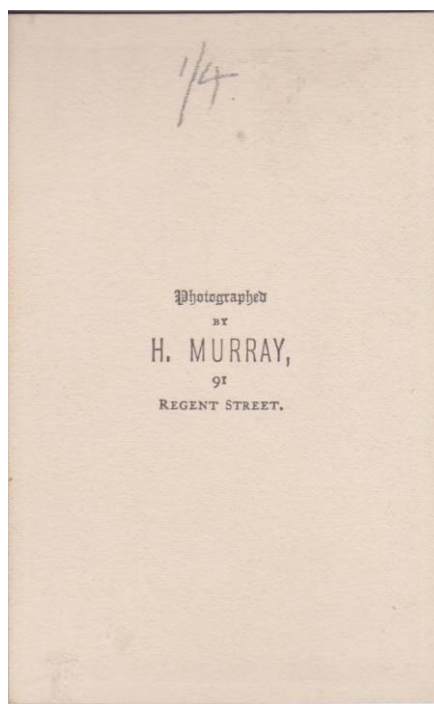


IMAGE NUMBER: 36-662b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: H. Murray
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '1/4'



IMAGE NUMBER: 37-295a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Mrs. Elizabeth Barrett Browning'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments: Printed on mount: 'Copied from a daguerreotype by permission of Robert Browning, Esq.'

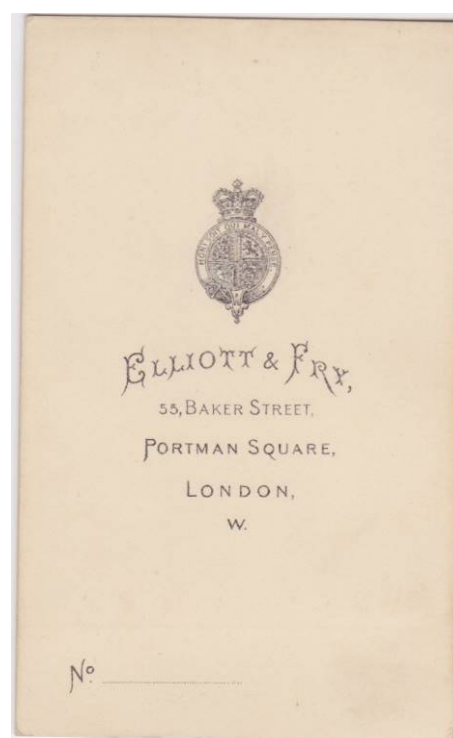


IMAGE NUMBER: 37-295b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 38-451a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Napoleon'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1874
 Additional Comments: Printed in ink on mount:
 'Napoleon' in signature form
 '(16 Mars 1874)'



IMAGE NUMBER: 38-451b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Label attached to backplate: 'W. H. Dalton'



IMAGE NUMBER: 39-631a
 Print Title/Subject: Charles Kingsley
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1857 (possibly re-issued later)
 Additional Comments: Printed in print:
 'Mayall fecit June 1st 1861'

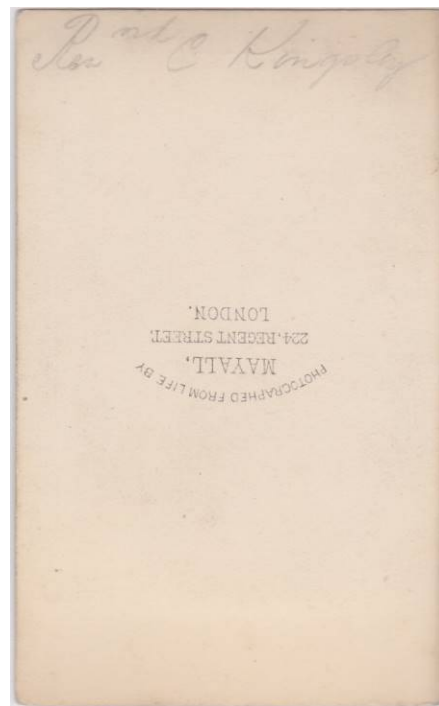


IMAGE NUMBER: 39-631b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Rev. C Kingsley'
 Print applied to backplate upside down



IMAGE NUMBER: 40-705a
Print Title/Subject: Lord Palmerston
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:

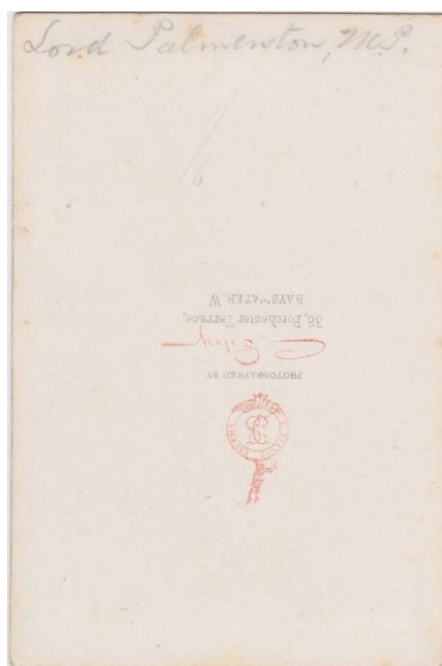


IMAGE NUMBER: 40-705b
Backplate
Studio Crest: C. Silvy
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Palmerston, M.P.'
Print pasted upside down on card



IMAGE NUMBER: 41-895a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Arthur
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:

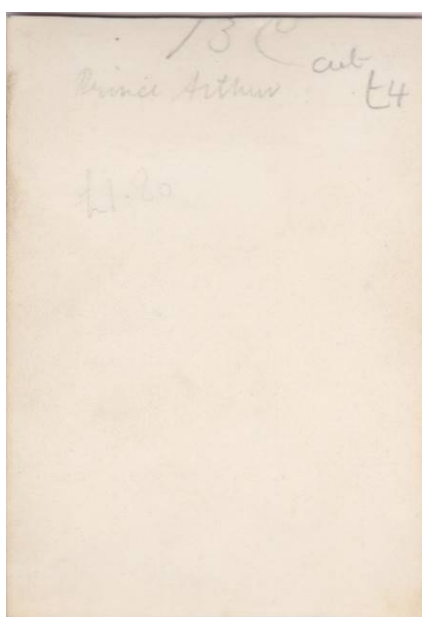


IMAGE NUMBER: 41-895b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Prince Arthur'
Modern hand in pencil: '£4'



IMAGE NUMBER: 42-995a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Duchess of Cambridge'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

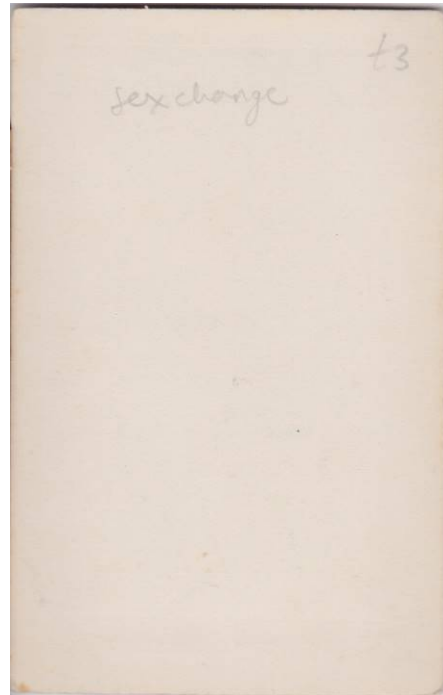


IMAGE NUMBER: 42-995b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'sex change £3'



IMAGE NUMBER: 43-201a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess Louise
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments: Printed just below the print: 'Permanently printed in carbon'



IMAGE NUMBER: 43-201b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Princess(unclear) Louise Princess Louise'



IMAGE NUMBER: 44-395a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. Prince of Wales'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1880
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front mount:
 London Stereoscopic &
 Photographic Co. Ltd.

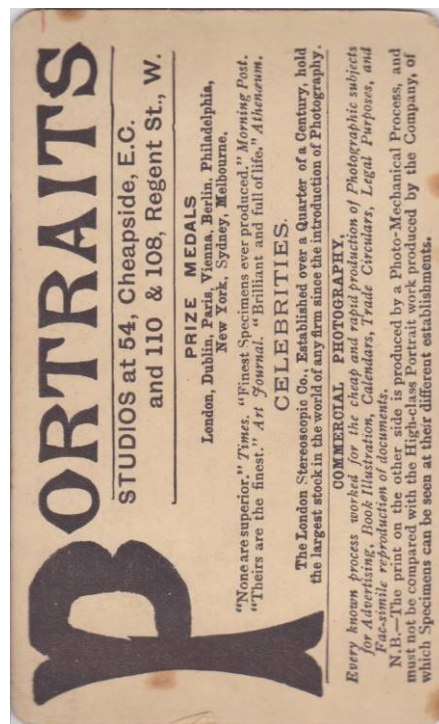


IMAGE NUMBER: 44-395b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Backplate taken up with an advert for the studio's business.



IMAGE NUMBER: 45-676a
 Print Title/Subject: unidentified lady
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

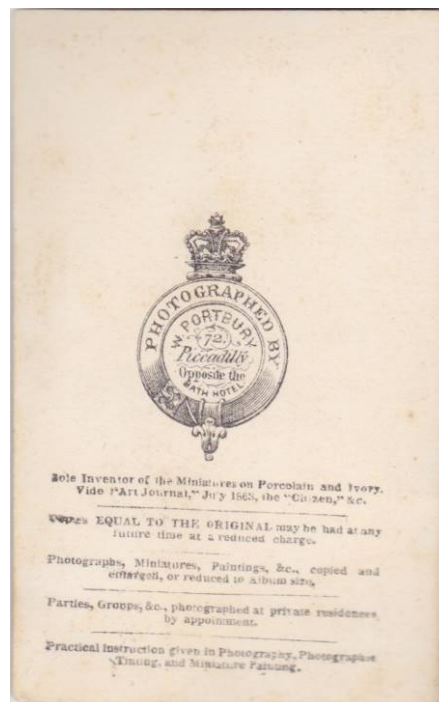


IMAGE NUMBER: 45-676b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. Portbury
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Print on backplate on Portbury's business



IMAGE NUMBER: 46-321(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: unidentified celebrity
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

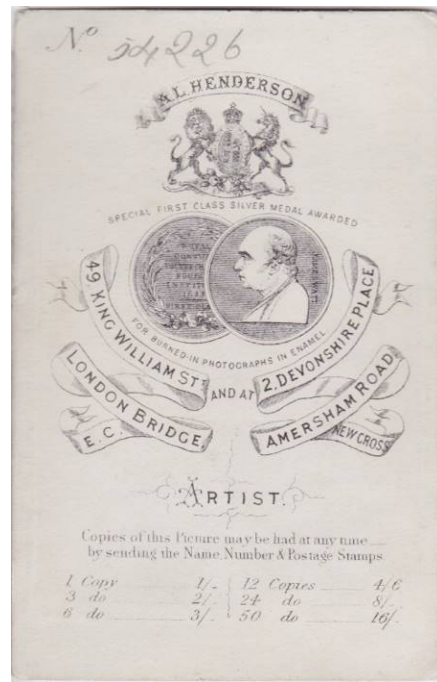


IMAGE NUMBER: 46-321(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: A. L. Henderson
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: '54226'



IMAGE NUMBER: 47-137a
 Print Title/Subject: John Bunyon's chair
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

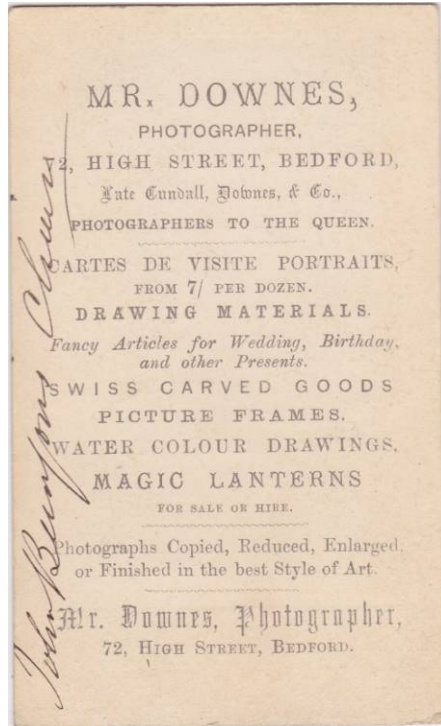


IMAGE NUMBER: 47-137b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mr. Downes, Photographer'
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'John Bunyon's Chair'



IMAGE NUMBER: 48-422a
 Print Title/Subject: Eliza Cooke, poetess
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

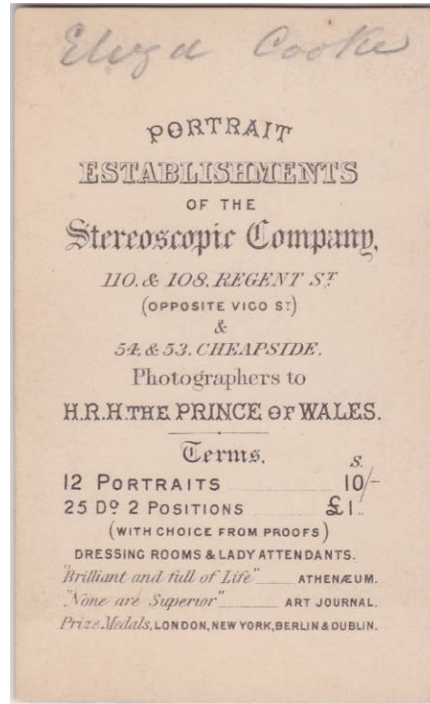


IMAGE NUMBER: 48-422b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Stereoscopic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Eliza Cooke'
 Backplate taken up with an advert for the Stereoscopic Company's business



IMAGE NUMBER: 49-667a
 Print Title/Subject: 'W.E. Gladstone'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1874
 Additional Comments: Printed on mount:
 'Presented by Nelson & Emmens Photographers.' Liverpool

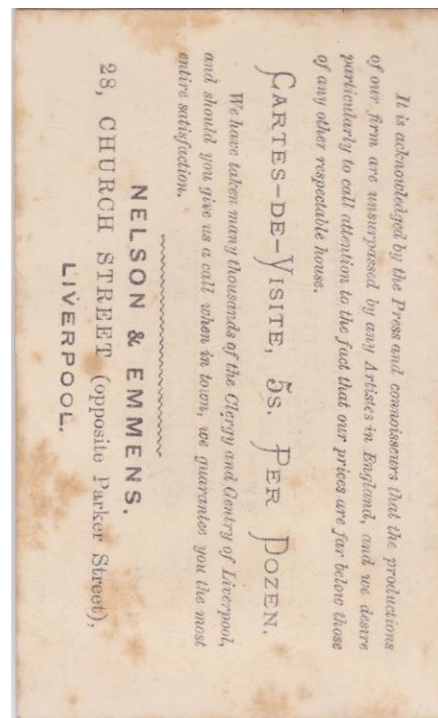


IMAGE NUMBER: 49-667b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Nelson & Emmens, Liverpool
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Backplate is advert for Nelson & Emmens' business



IMAGE NUMBER: 50-859a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments: Studio name on mount:
 London Photo Copying Company

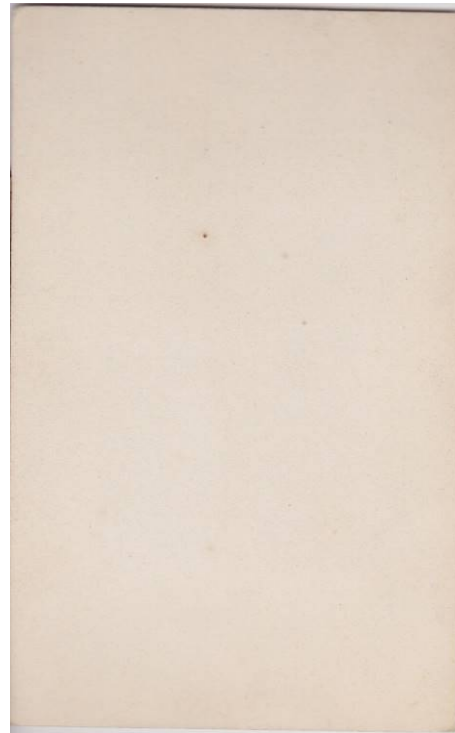


IMAGE NUMBER: 50-859b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 51-522a
 Print Title/Subject: Thomas Sidney Cooper, artist
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

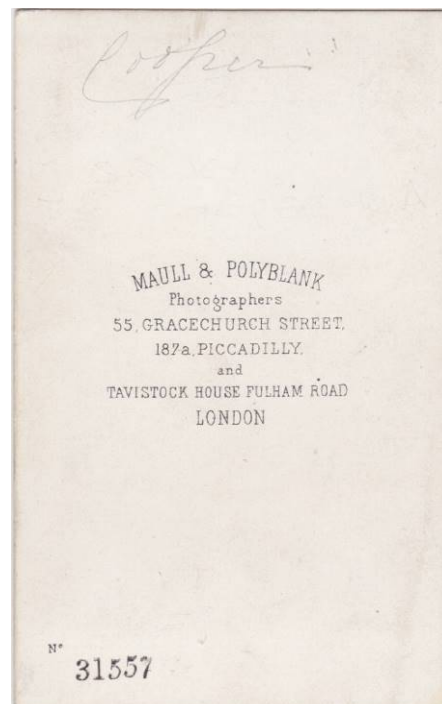


IMAGE NUMBER: 51-522b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Cooper'
 Ink imprint: 'No.31557'



IMAGE NUMBER: 52-766a
 Print Title/Subject: J.L. Tooke and Paul Bedford, actors
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

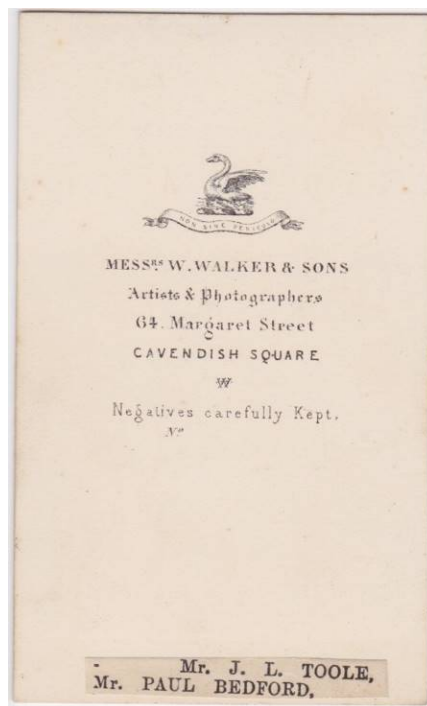


IMAGE NUMBER: 52-766b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Messrs. W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Label stuck to backplate: 'Mr. J.L. Toole, Mr. Paul Bedford.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 53-194a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Leopold
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1866
 Additional Comments:

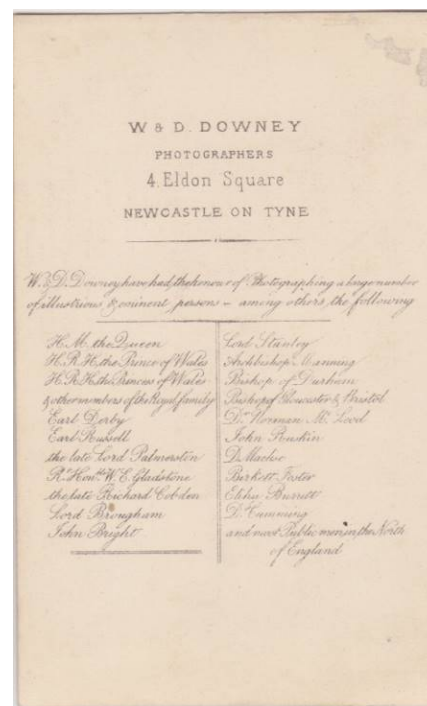


IMAGE NUMBER: 53-194b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Printed advert for Downey's other cartes on backplate



IMAGE NUMBER: 54-694a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Sothorn, as "David Garrick"'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

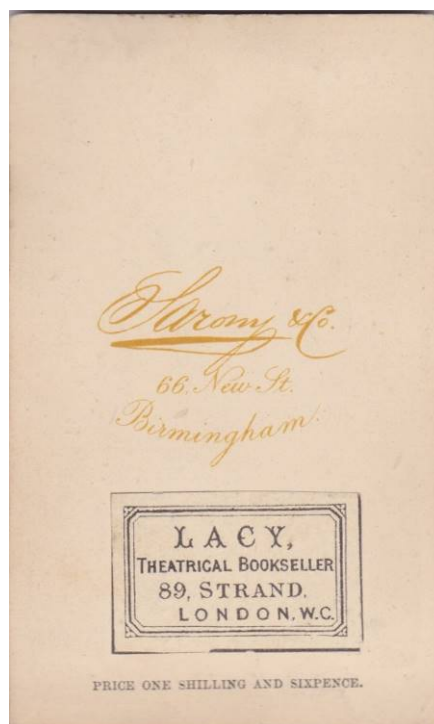


IMAGE NUMBER: 54-694b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Sarony & Co., Birmingham
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Label stuck to backplate: 'Lacy, Theatrical Bookseller'
 Printed on backplate: 'Price One Shilling and Sixpence.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 55-117a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Stanley
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Stanley' and '1/-'



IMAGE NUMBER: 55-117b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Clarkington & Co.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Printed: 'Clarkington's Photographic Series of the Members of the British Legislature'
 Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Stanley'



IMAGE NUMBER: 56-310a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Edward
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front of mount:
 Ghemar Freres, Bruxelles

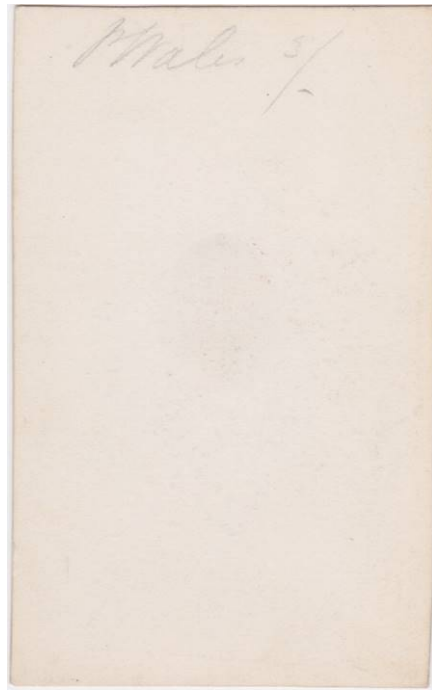


IMAGE NUMBER: 56-310b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'P Wales 3/-'



IMAGE NUMBER: 57-311a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front of mount:
 Ghemar Freres, Bruxelles

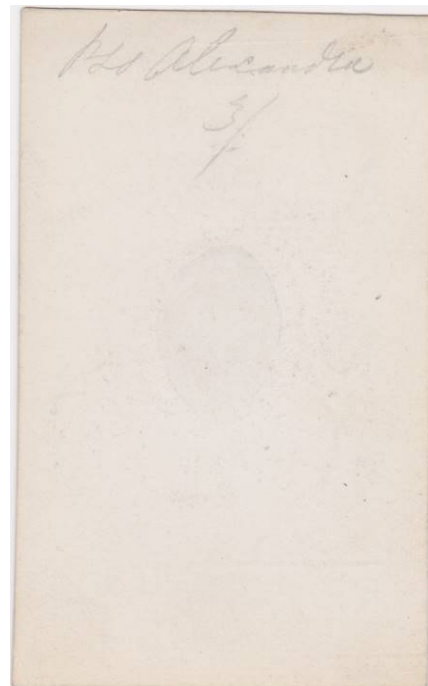


IMAGE NUMBER: 57-311b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Pss Alexandra 3/-'



IMAGE NUMBER: 58-568a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Arthur
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments: Printed in the print:
'Mayall fecit March 1st 1861'

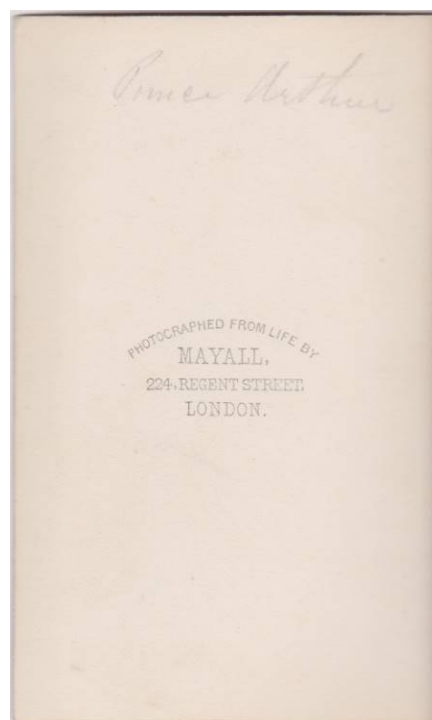


IMAGE NUMBER: 58-568b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Prince Arthur'



Enlargement: Mayall's carte of Prince Arthur showing the wording: 'Mayall fecit March 1st 1861'



IMAGE NUMBER: 59-764a
 Print Title/Subject: "The Opera Box" Lydia Thompson'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

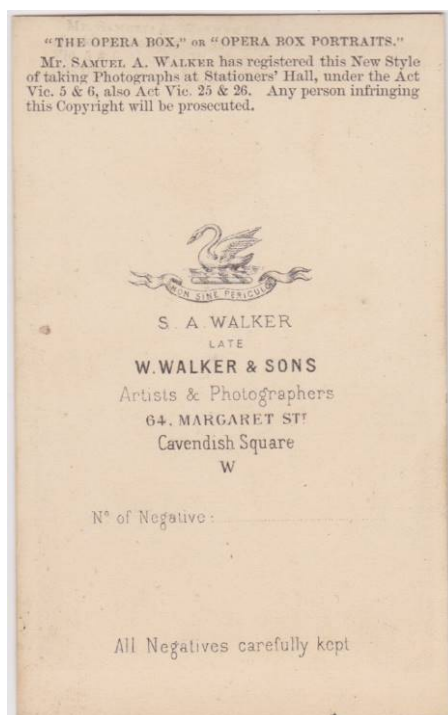


IMAGE NUMBER: 59-764b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: S.A. Walker late W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 60-891a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Leopold
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount:
 'Prince Leopold'

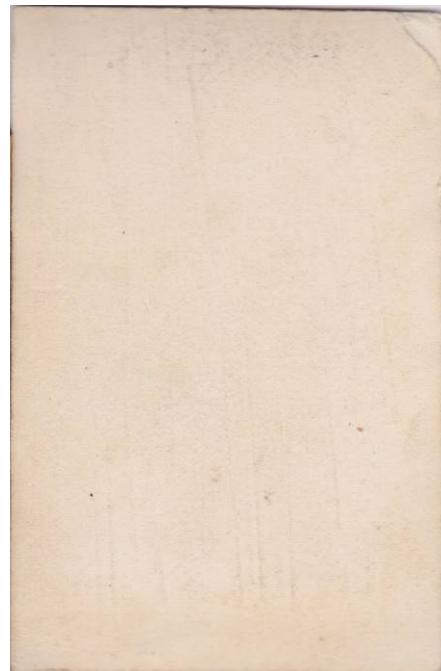


IMAGE NUMBER: 60-891b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 61-860a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

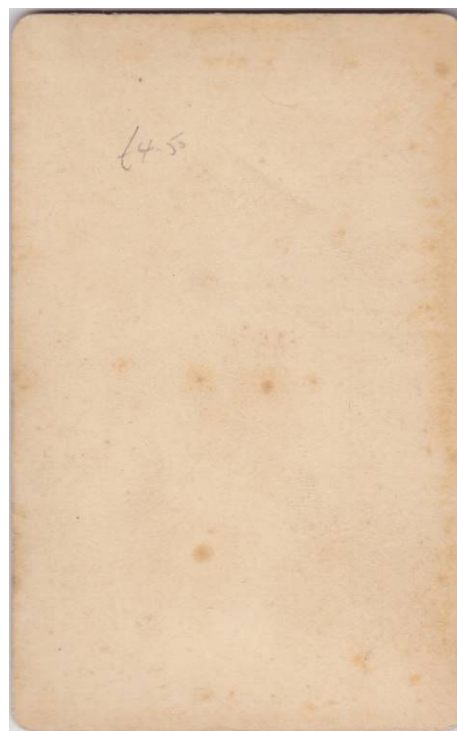


IMAGE NUMBER: 61-860b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: '£4.50'

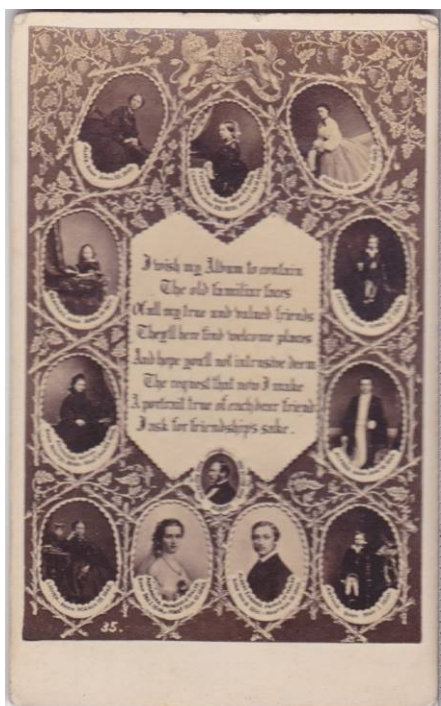


IMAGE NUMBER: 62-912a
Print Title/Subject: The Royal Family
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1863
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 62-912b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: '£7.50'



IMAGE NUMBER: 63-614a
 Print Title/Subject: Disraeli
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

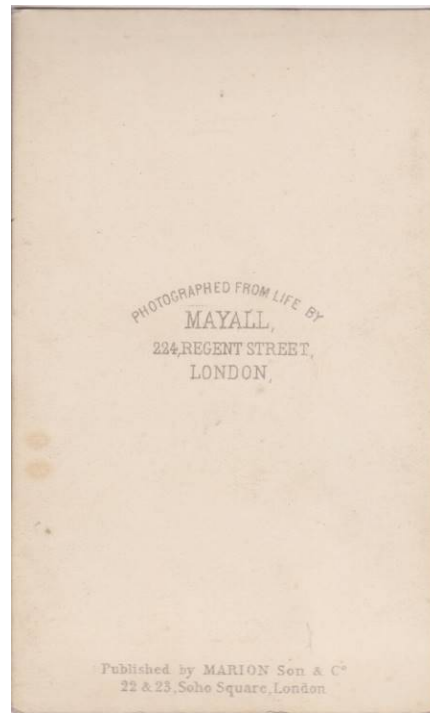


IMAGE NUMBER: 63-614b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: Marion Son & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 64-619a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Right Hon John Bright, M.P.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments: Studio name on mount:
 Mayall

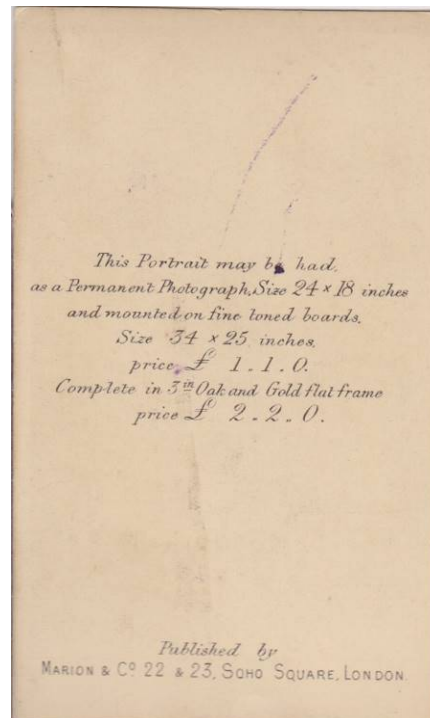


IMAGE NUMBER: 64-619b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Backplate taken up with advert for further
 copies of the photograph



IMAGE NUMBER: 65-797a
Print Title/Subject: James Anthony Froude
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount:
'J. A. Froude'

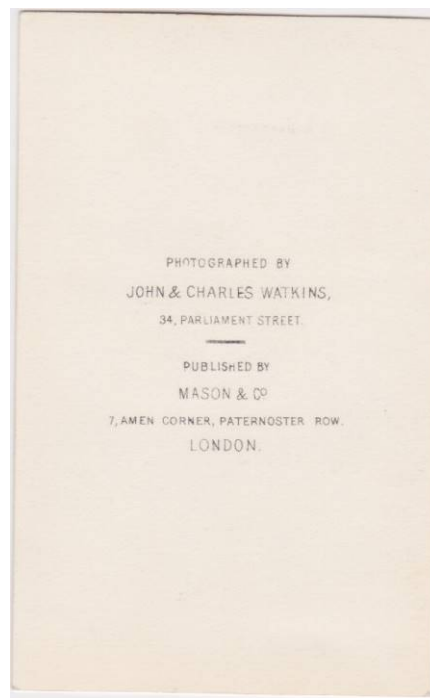


IMAGE NUMBER: 65-797b
Backplate
Studio Crest: John & Charles Watkins
Publisher: Mason & Co.
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 66-796a
Print Title/Subject: Charles Kingsley
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

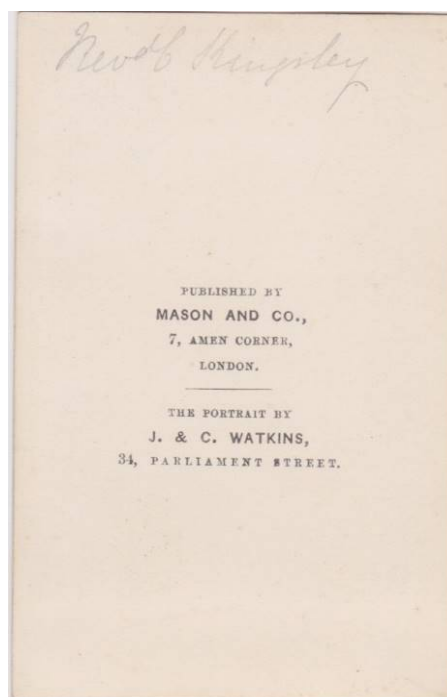


IMAGE NUMBER: 66-796b
Backplate
Studio Crest: J. & C. Watkins
Publisher: Mason and Co.
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Rev'd Kingsley'



IMAGE NUMBER: 67-XA2a
 Print Title/Subject: Charles Spurgeon
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

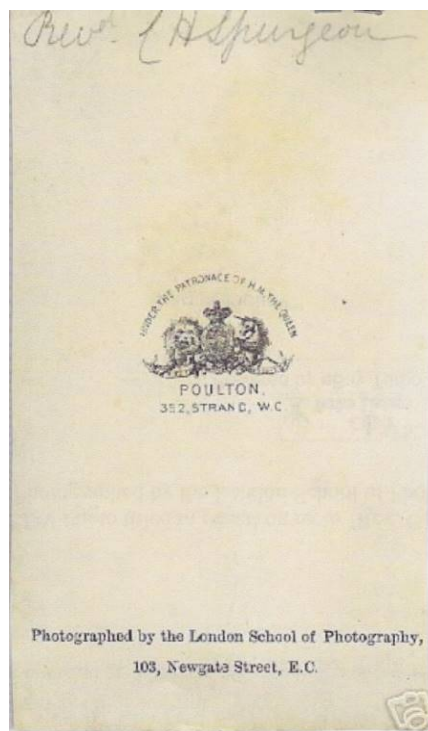


IMAGE NUMBER: 67-XA2b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Poulton
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: 'Photographed by the London School of Photography'
 Period hand in pencil: 'Revd C H Spurgeon'



IMAGE NUMBER: 68-328a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Lansdowne
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount: 'Lord Lansdowne'
 Imprinted into print: 'Mayall Fecit June 1st 1861'

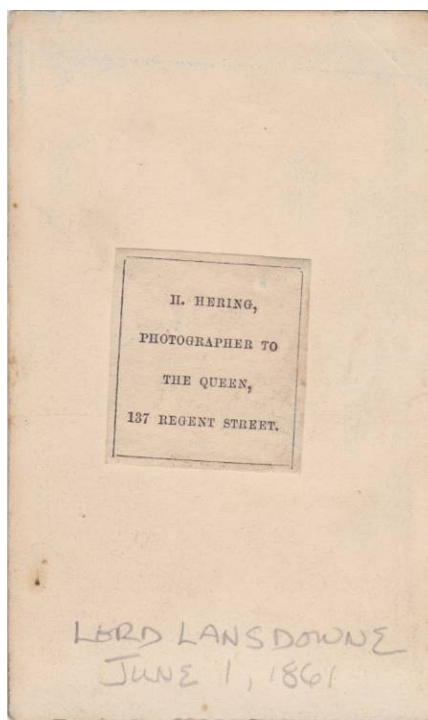


IMAGE NUMBER: 68-328b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: H. Hering
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Lord Lansdowne June 1, 1861'
 Studio name on label stuck to backplate:



IMAGE NUMBER: 69-595a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. The Prince of Wales'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

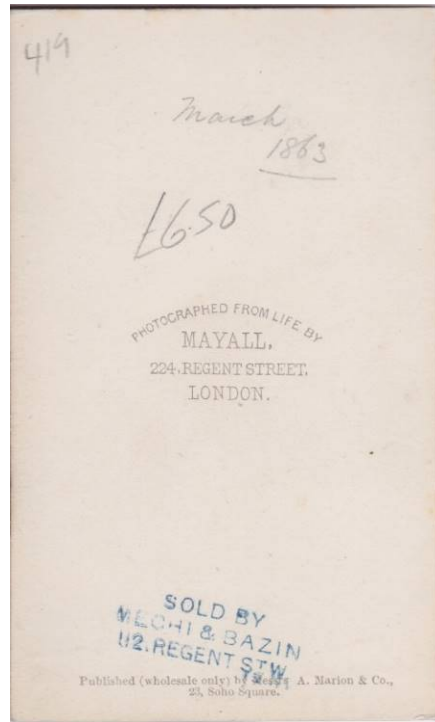


IMAGE NUMBER: 69-595b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: Messrs. A. Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'March 1863'
 Modern hand in pencil: '£6.50'
 Ink stamp: 'sold by Mechi & Bazin'



IMAGE NUMBER: 70-115a
 Print Title/Subject: Captain Coles, inventor
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1866
 Additional Comments:

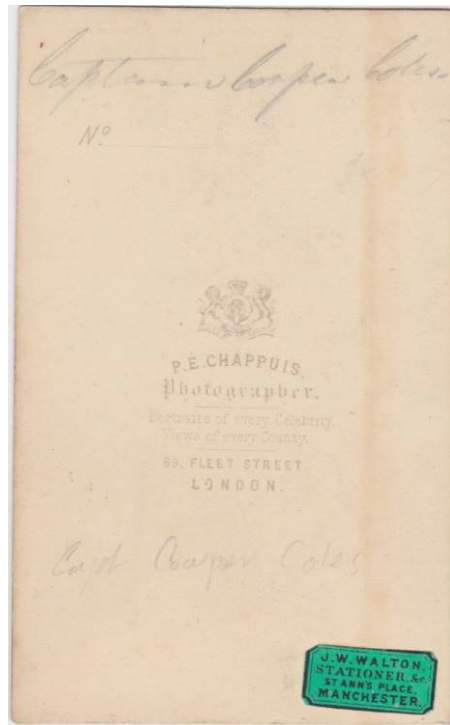


IMAGE NUMBER: 70-115b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: P.E. Chappuis
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Captain Cowper Coles'
 Label attached: 'J.W. Walton Stationer. &c.' Manchester



IMAGE NUMBER: 71-515a
Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Lichfield
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:

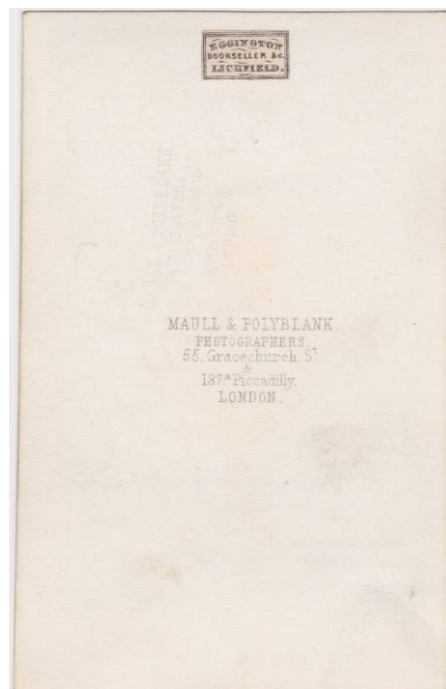


IMAGE NUMBER: 71-515b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Label attached to backplate: 'Eggington'



IMAGE NUMBER: 72-32a
Print Title/Subject: Mr. Sothern, actor
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1863
Additional Comments: a printed band
'Mr. SOTHERN' has been stuck to the base of the mount

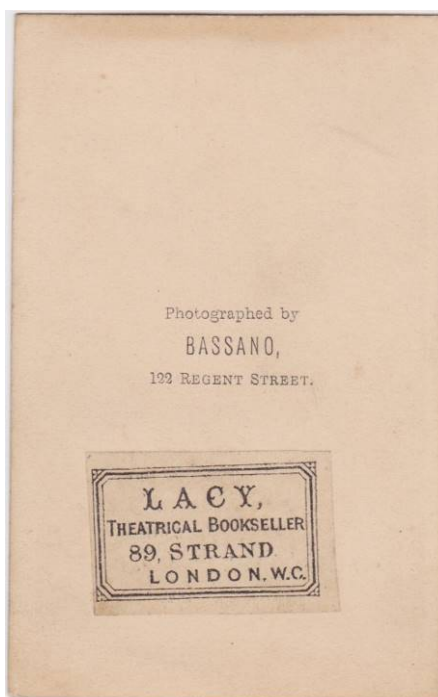


IMAGE NUMBER: 72-32b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Bassano
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: label attached: 'LACY, Theatrical Bookseller'



IMAGE NUMBER: 73-300a
 Print Title/Subject: Emily Soldew, actress
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

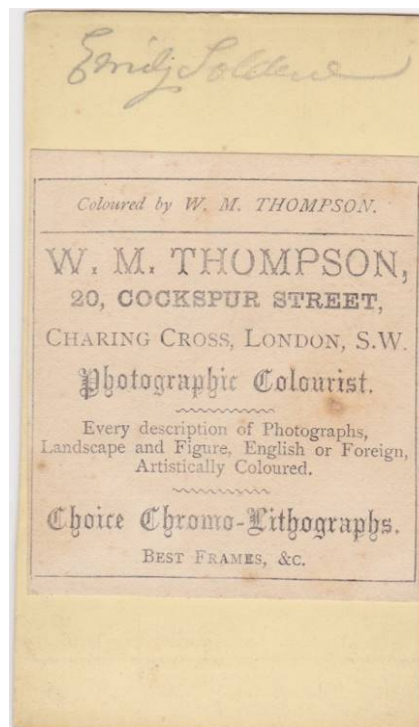


IMAGE NUMBER: 73-300b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (Fradelle & Marshall) hidden by label
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Emily Soldew'
 Label attached to backplate: 'Coloured by W.M. Thompson.... Photographic Colourist'



IMAGE NUMBER: 74-670a
 Print Title/Subject: Bismarck
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments: Studio name on mount:
 Numa Blanc

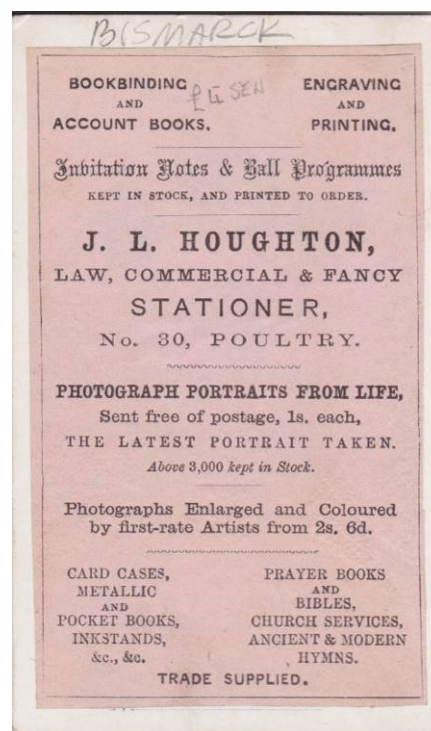


IMAGE NUMBER: 74-670b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (hidden by label, recorded on front mount)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Bismarck £4'
 Label attached to backplate: 'J.L. Houghton, Stationer'



IMAGE NUMBER: 75-718a
 Print Title/Subject: Christopher Teesdale, V.C.
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

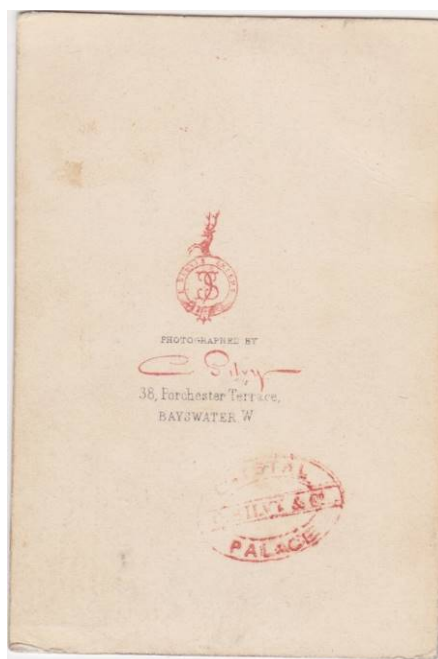


IMAGE NUMBER: 75-718b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: C. Silvy
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Stamp applied to backplate: 'C. Silvy & Co. Crystal Palace'



IMAGE NUMBER: 76-17a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Musical & Vocal Celebrities (No.1)'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

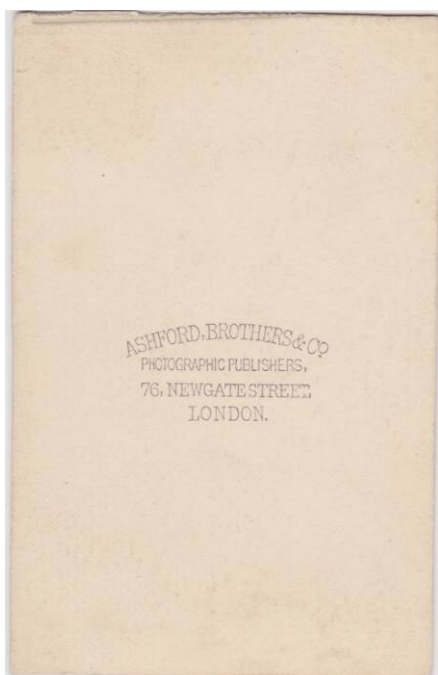


IMAGE NUMBER: 76-17b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: Ashford, Brothers & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 77-644a
 Print Title/Subject: Antonio Guigliani, singer
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Printed in print:
 '3 April 1861 Mayer Frs'



IMAGE NUMBER: 77-644b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayer Brothers
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Guigliani'
 Ink stamp applied to backplate: 'Sold by Mechi & Bazin & Bazin'
 Label attached to backplate: 'Signor GIUGLINI'



IMAGE NUMBER: 78-21a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Upwards of Five Hundred Portraits of the Most Celebrated Personages of the Age'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

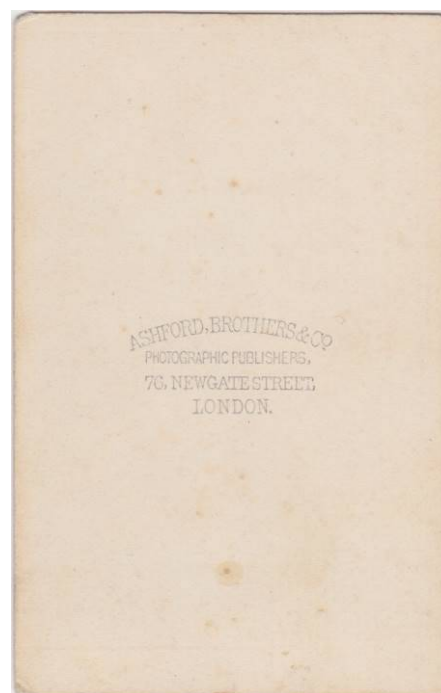


IMAGE NUMBER: 78-21b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: Ashford, Brothers & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 79-22a
 Print Title/Subject: Notable personages
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

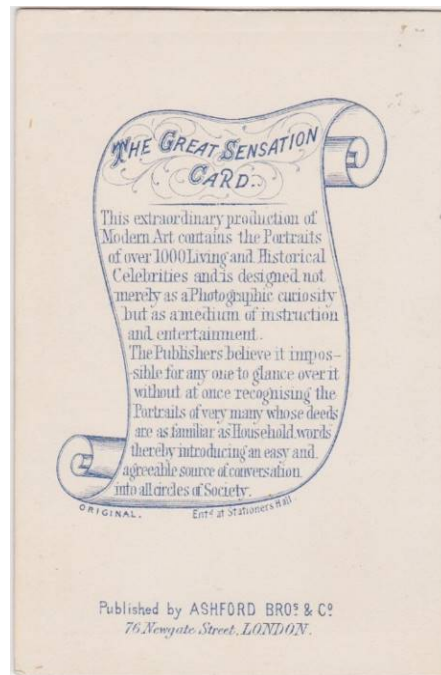


IMAGE NUMBER: 79-22b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: Ashford Bros & Co.
 Additional Comments: Printed on backplate: 'The Great Sensation Card.....'



IMAGE NUMBER: 80-302a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Captain M. Webb', swimmer
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1880
 Additional Comments: Printed text: 'with Sir JOHN BENNETT'S compliments.'
 Studio credited on front: Fradelle & Marshall

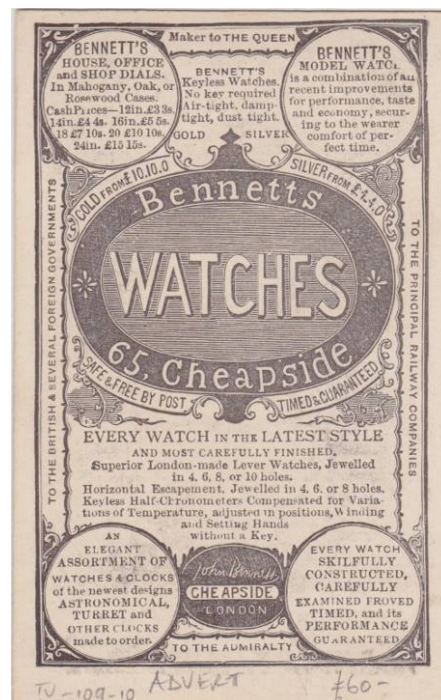


IMAGE NUMBER: 80-302b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: hidden by advert
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: whole backplate advert: 'Bennetts WATCHES'



IMAGE NUMBER: 81-440a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Mr. W. Rignold, as Sir George Wilson'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1880
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front mount:
 London Stereoscopic and
 Photographic Company Ltd.

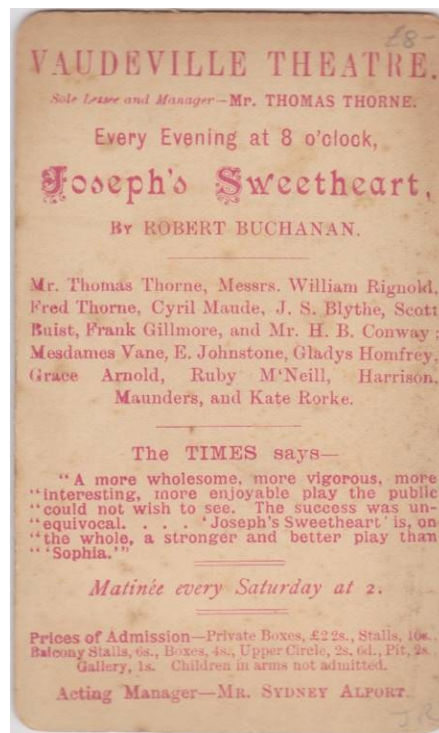


IMAGE NUMBER: 81-440b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Backplate taken up with advert for 'Joseph's Sweetheart' at the Vaudeville Theatre



IMAGE NUMBER: 82-28(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: J.L. Toole
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1880
 Additional Comments:
 Studio name on front: 'Barraud'
 Publishers on front: 'Waterlow & Sons Ltd.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 82-28(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: (on front mount)
 Additional Comments: Printed: 'UNITED KINGDOM TEA COMPANY'



IMAGE NUMBER: 83-439(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: 'J.L. TOOLE', actor
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1880
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front mount:
 London Stereoscopic &
 Photographic Company, Ltd.



IMAGE NUMBER: 83-439(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Backplate taken up with an advert for
 Japanese Camphor Wood Cabinets



IMAGE NUMBER: 84-29a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Miss M. Moore', actress
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1880
 Additional Comments:
 Studio name on front: 'Barraud'
 Publishers on front: 'Waterlow & Sons Ld.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 84-29b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: (on front mount)
 Additional Comments: Printed: 'TAUNUS A PURE NATURAL MINERAL
 WATER.'
 Modern hand in pencil: '£8'



IMAGE NUMBER: 85-171a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. Prince of Wales'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front: 'Downey'

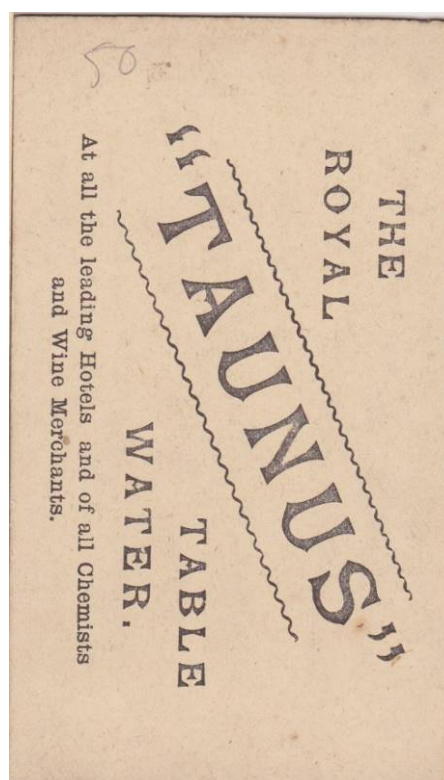


IMAGE NUMBER: 85-171b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front of carte)
 Publisher: (possibly Waterlow & Sons Ld named on front of mount)
 Additional Comments: Backplate is an advert for 'The Royal "Taunus" Table Water'



IMAGE NUMBER: 86-744a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments: Studio name on mount: Walker

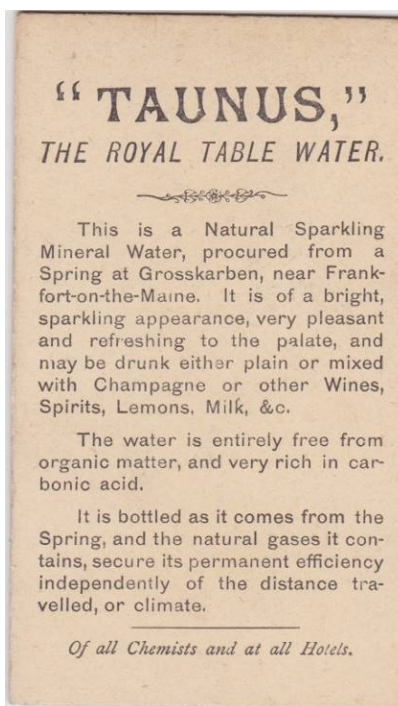


IMAGE NUMBER: 86-744b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: (Waterlow & Sons Ld. Printed on front mount)
 Additional Comments: Backplate given over to an advert for "Taunus" The Royal Table Water'



IMAGE NUMBER: 87-XA81
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. Princess of Wales'
 Format & Colour: glass lantern slide
 Date: c. 1868

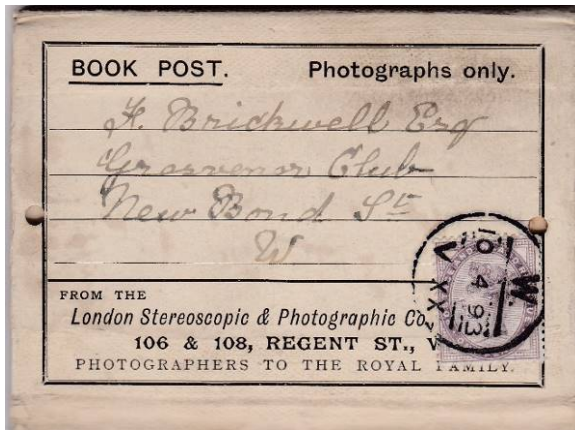


IMAGE NUMBER: 88-XA80a
 Print Title/Subject: Studio envelope (front)
 of London Stereoscopic & Photographic Co.
 Format & Colour: sized 4½" x 3¼" for sending cdv through
 Date: c. datestamp 10 April 1893 the post

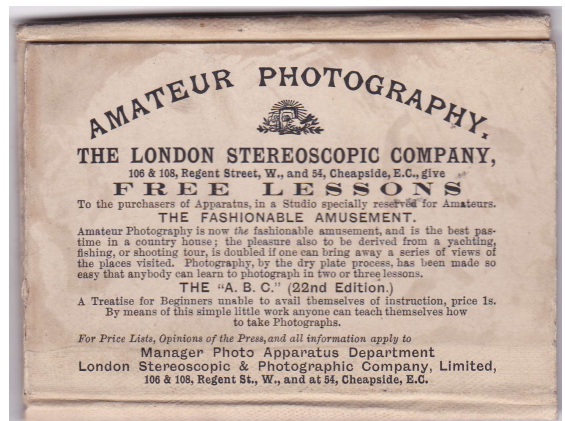


IMAGE NUMBER: 88-XA80b
 Back: listing other studio services



IMAGE NUMBER: 89-424(B)a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Colonel Ridsdel'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 89-424(B)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: London Stereoscopic Coy.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:

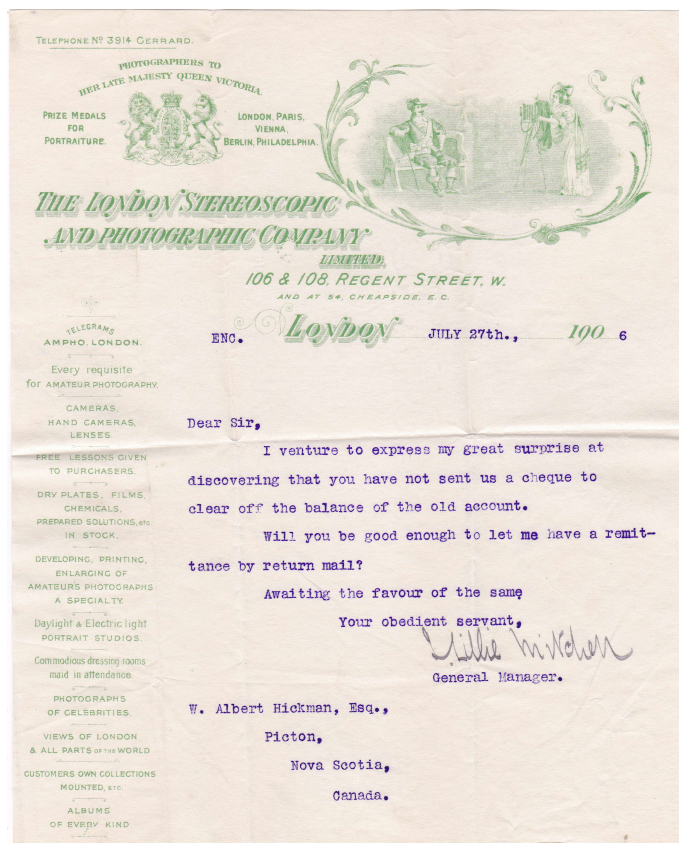


IMAGE NUMBER: 90-XA82
 Print Title/Subject: Letter from 'The London Stereoscopic and Photographic Company'
 Format & Colour: paper, sized 10" x 12"
 Dated: 27 July 1906.



IMAGE NUMBER: 91-354(A)a
Print Title/Subject: unnamed lady
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 91-354(A)b
Backplate
Studio Crest: J. Hopwood, Wednesbury and Walsall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:

CHAPTER TWO: ILLUSTRATIONS



IMAGE NUMBER: 92-128a
Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria and daughter
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:

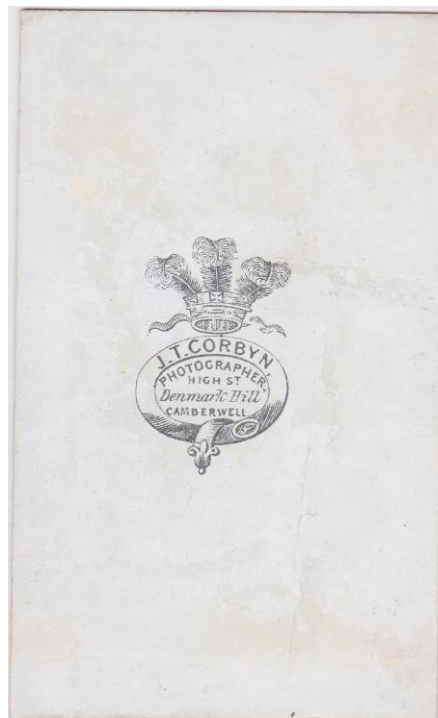


IMAGE NUMBER: 92-128b
Backplate
Studio Crest: J.T. Corbyn
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:

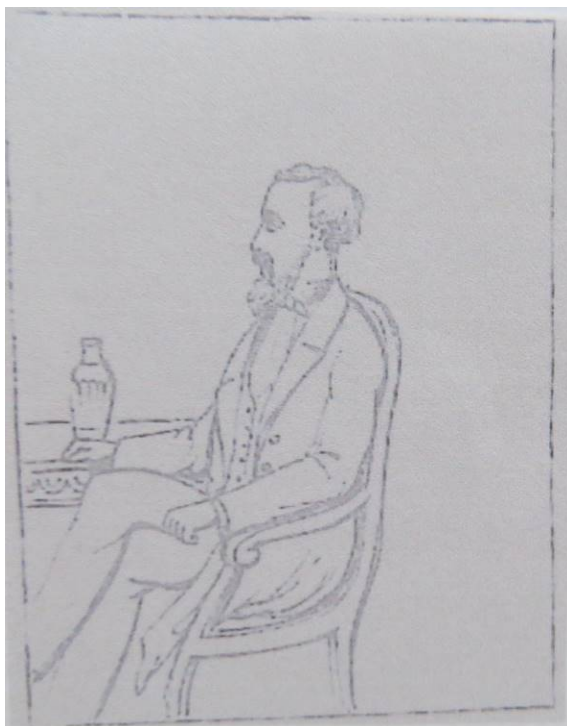


IMAGE NUMBER: 93-XA16
Format & Colour: illustration in: Henry Peach Robinson, *Pictorial Effect in Photography*
Date Published: (New York, 1971), pp. 65.
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 94-556a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Printed in the print:
 'Mayall fecit Dec 1st 1861'

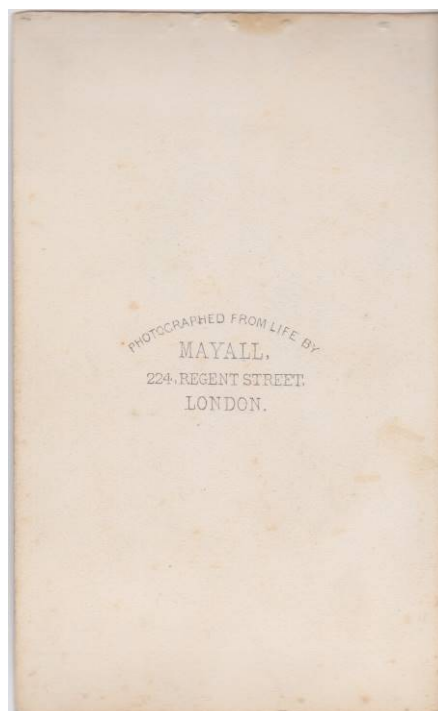


IMAGE NUMBER: 94-556b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 95-445a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Lord Napier of Magdala'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1875
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 95-445b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 96-10a
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Imperial Family of France.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

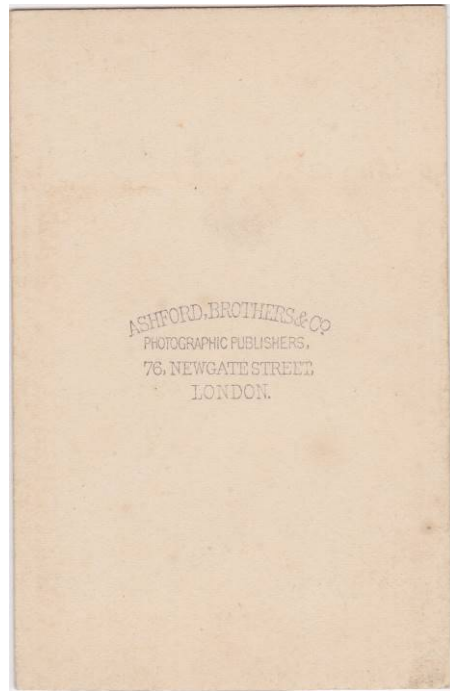


IMAGE NUMBER: 96-10b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: Ashford, Brothers & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 97-983a
 Print Title/Subject: Mr. Windham, actress
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

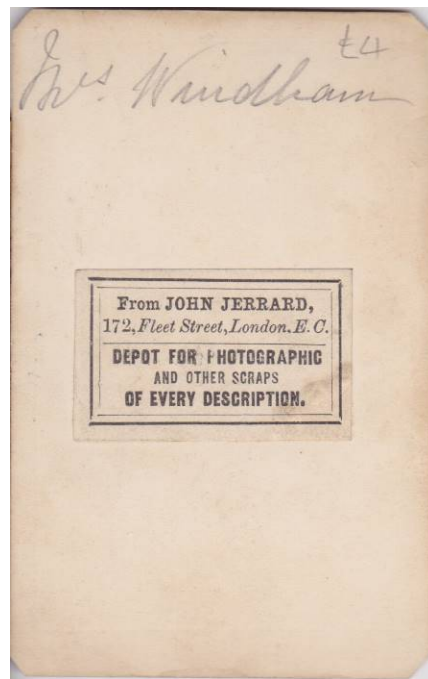


IMAGE NUMBER: 97-983b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Mrs. Windham'
 Modern hand in pencil: '£4'
 Label attached to backplate: 'From John Jerrard Depot for Photographic and other scraps of every description.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 98-310a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Edward
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front of mount:
 Ghemar Freres, Bruxelles

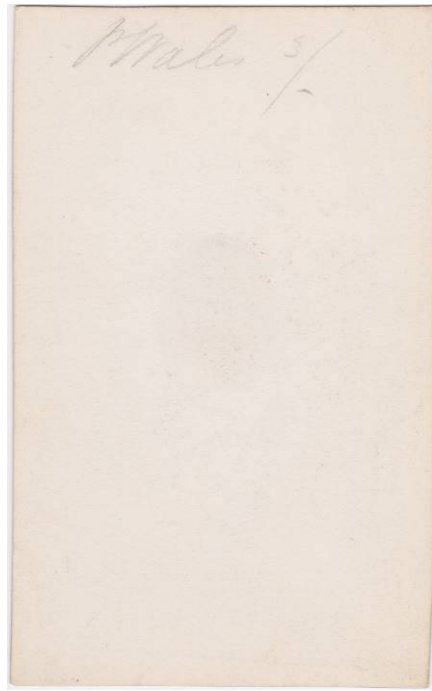


IMAGE NUMBER: 98-310b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'P Wales 3/-'



IMAGE NUMBER: 99-311a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front of mount:
 Ghemar Freres, Bruxelles



IMAGE NUMBER: 99-311b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Pss Alexandra 3/-'



IMAGE NUMBER: 100-126a
 Print Title/Subject: W. Bartholemew, librettist
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 100-126b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: T. Coleman
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'W? Bartholemew Librettist'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'B. Mendelssohn librettist'



IMAGE NUMBER: 101-810a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. C. Prince
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1874
 Additional Comments:

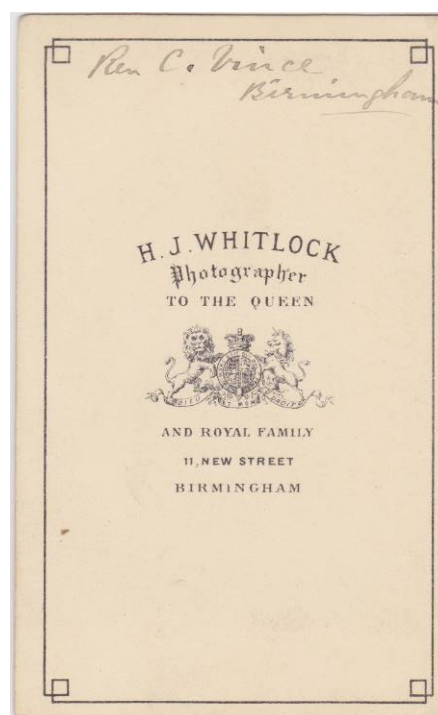


IMAGE NUMBER: 101-810b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: H.J. Whitlock, Birmingham
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Rev C. Prince, Birmingham'



IMAGE NUMBER: 102-523a
 Print Title/Subject: William Powell Frith, artist
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

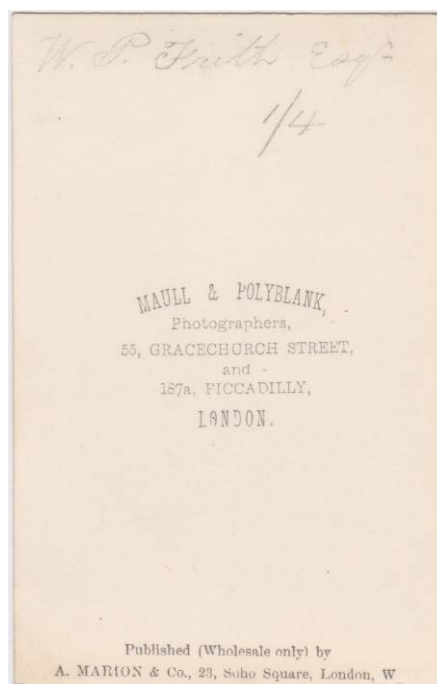


IMAGE NUMBER: 102-523b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: A. Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'W.P. Frith Esq 1/4'



IMAGE NUMBER: 103-512a
 Print Title/Subject: Sir Roundell Palmer
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

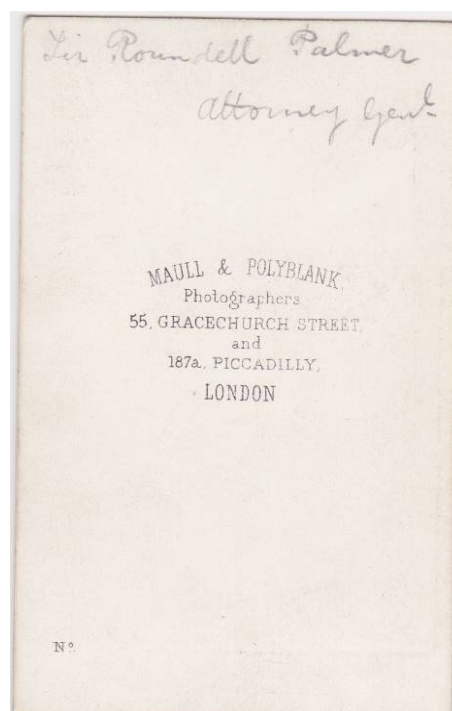


IMAGE NUMBER: 103-512b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Sir Roundell Palmer Attorney Genl.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 104-XA9

Print Title/Subject: Dr. Livingstone

Studio: Stereoscopic Coy.

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1858

Additional Comments: Not in the author's collection. Seen in a dealer's stock.

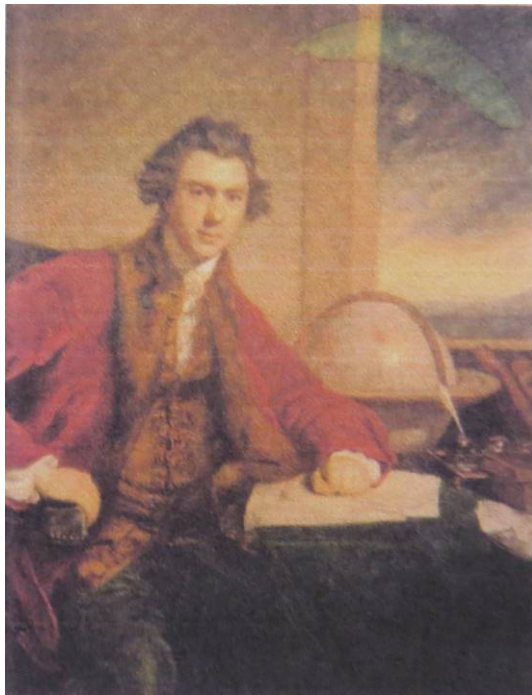


IMAGE NUMBER: 105-XA10

Print Title/Subject: Joseph Banks

Format & Colour: Oil on canvas, artist: Joshua Reynolds

Date: 1771-3. National Portrait Gallery, London

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 106-449a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Napoleon'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments: Printed in ink on mount:
 'Napoleon' in signature form
 'Born in Corsica, 1769 -
 Died at St. Helena, 1821'



IMAGE NUMBER: 106-449b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:

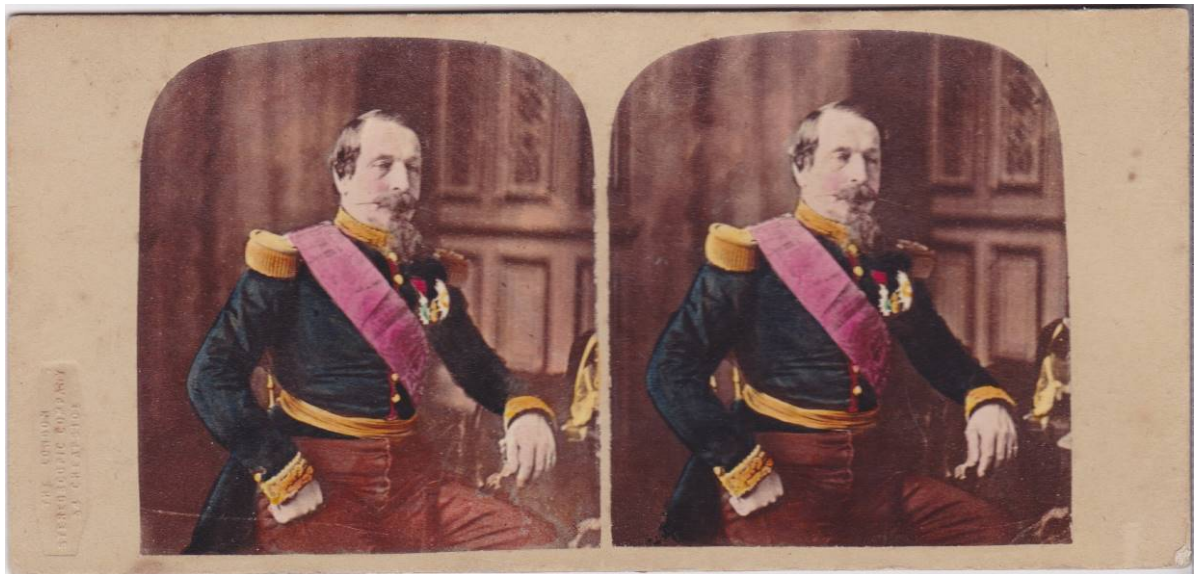


IMAGE NUMBER: 107-1056a
 Print Title/Subject: Napoleon III
 Format & Colour: stereocard, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Studio name imprinted into mount: The London Stereoscopic Company

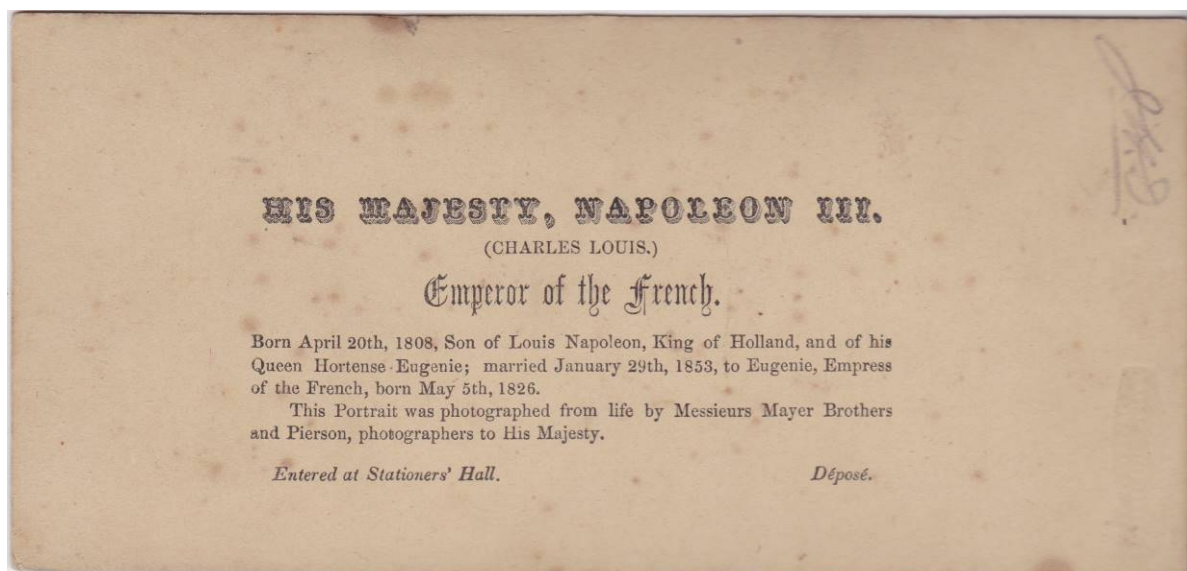


IMAGE NUMBER: 107-1056b

Backplate

Studio Crest: (on front mount)

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Printed on backplate: 'His Majesty, Napoleon III. (Charles Louis.) Emperor of the French.'
Photographers credited as Messieurs Mayer Brothers and Pierson

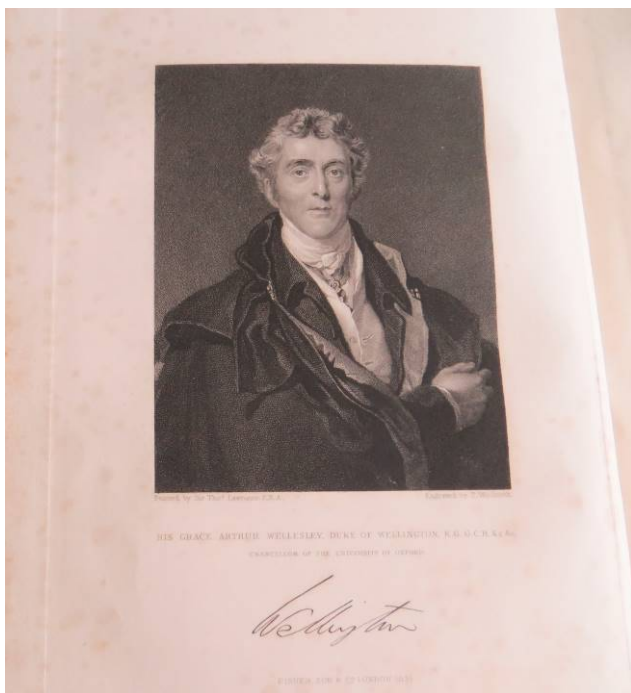


IMAGE NUMBER: 108-XA3

Print Title/Subject: Duke of Wellington

Format & Colour: illustration in *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century*

Date Published: Vol. 1 (London, 1830)

Additional Comments:

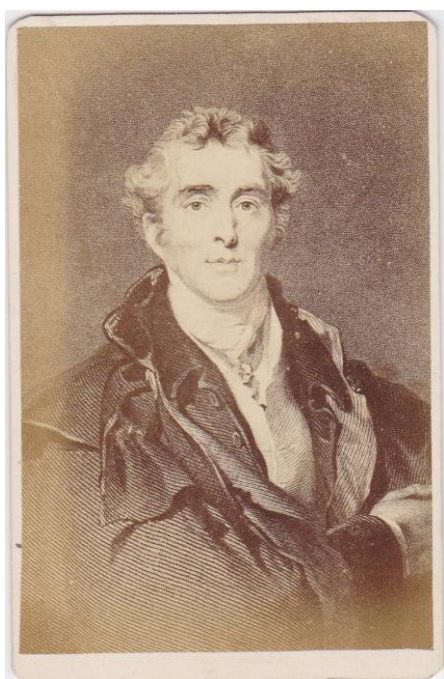


IMAGE NUMBER: 109-15a
 Print Title/Subject: Duke of Wellington
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 109-15b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: Ashford, Brothers & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Duke of Wellington' and in ink: '219'

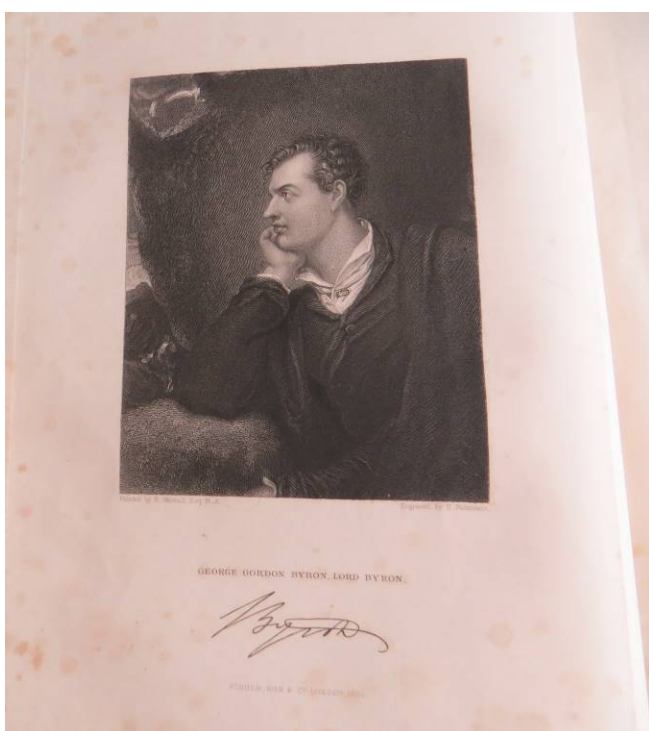


IMAGE NUMBER: 110-XA4
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Byron
 Format & Colour: illustration in *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages of the Nineteenth Century*
 Date Published: Vol. 1 (London, 1830)
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 111-129a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Byron'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

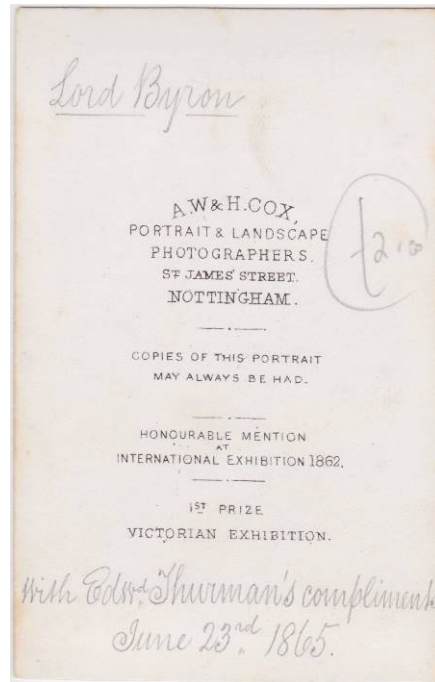


IMAGE NUMBER: 111-129b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: A.W. & H. Cox, Nottingham
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Byron' and 'with Edw. Thurman's compliments June 23rd 1865.'
 Modern hand in pencil: '£2.00'



IMAGE NUMBER: 112-687a
 Print Title/Subject: George Peabody
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

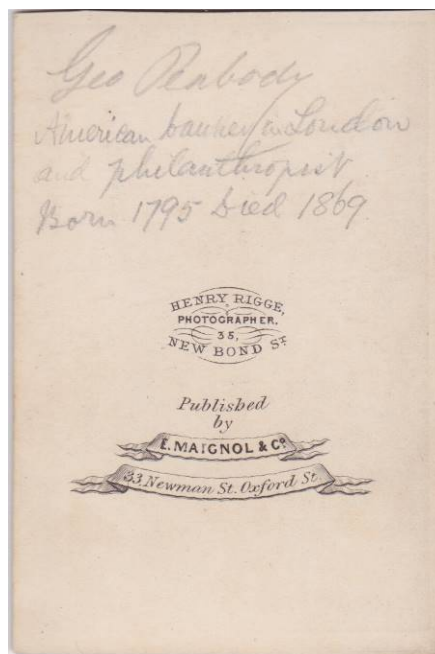


IMAGE NUMBER: 112-687b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Henry Rigge
 Publisher: L. Maignol & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Geo Peabody American banker in London and philanthropist Born 1795 Died 1869'



IMAGE NUMBER: 113-554a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Prince Consort'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments:

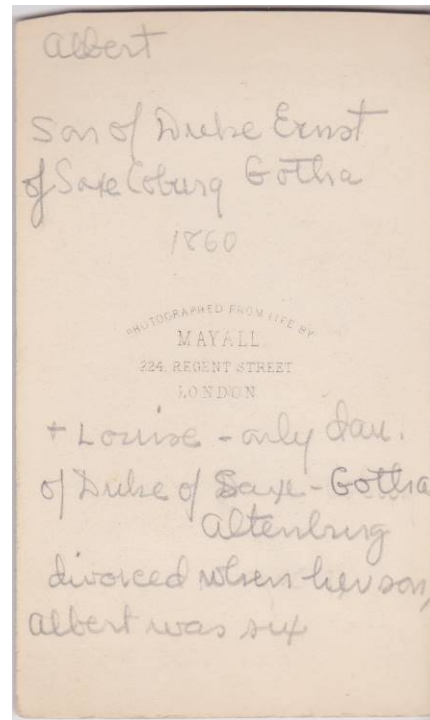


IMAGE NUMBER: 113-554b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Albert Son of Duke Ernst of Saxe Coburg Gotha & Louise - only dau. of Duke of Saxe-Gotha Altenburg divorced when her son, Albert was six'
 Modern hand in pencil: '1860'



IMAGE NUMBER: 114-83a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Granville
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

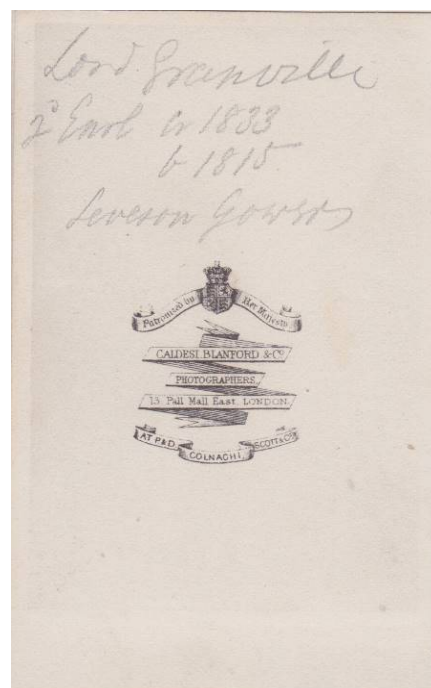


IMAGE NUMBER: 114-83b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Caldesi Blanford & Co.
 Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Granville 2nd Earl cr 1833 b 1815 Leveson Gower'



IMAGE NUMBER: 115-104a
 Print Title/Subject: Edwin Landseer
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

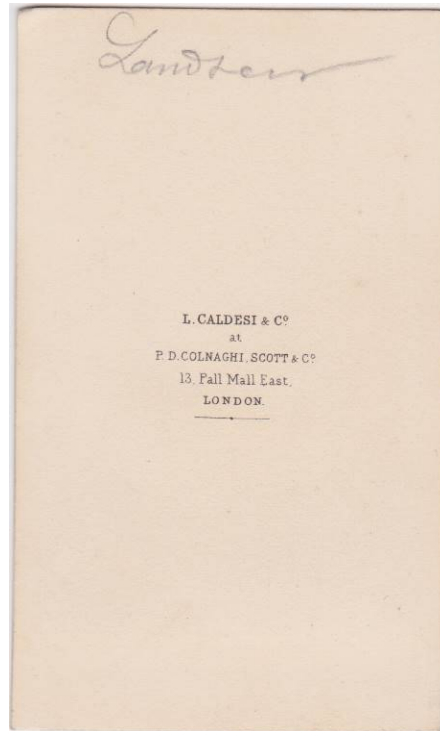


IMAGE NUMBER: 115-104b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: L. Caldesi & Co.
 Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Landseer'



IMAGE NUMBER: 116-527a
 Print Title/Subject: Professor Willis
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

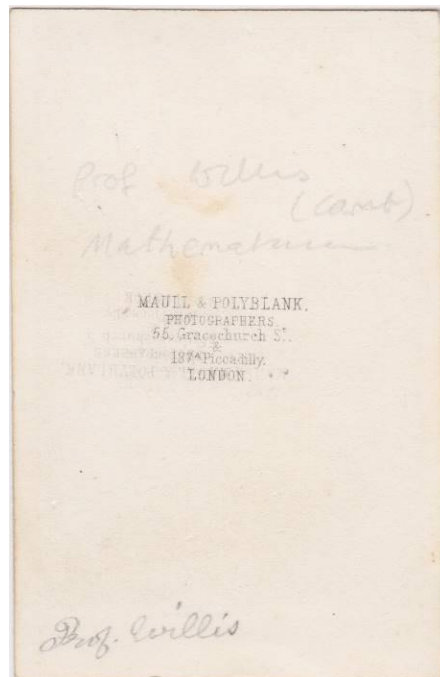


IMAGE NUMBER: 116-527b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Prof Willis (Camb).
 Mathematician' 'Prof. Willis'



IMAGE NUMBER: 117-595a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. The Prince of Wales'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

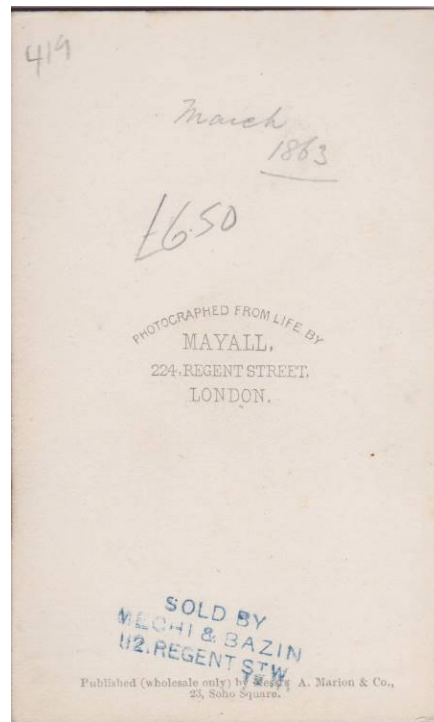


IMAGE NUMBER: 117-595b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: Messrs. A. Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'March 1863'
 Modern hand in pencil: '£6.50'
 Ink stamp: 'sold by Mechi & Bazin'



IMAGE NUMBER: 188-1008a
 Print Title/Subject: Mr. Ledger, businessman
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

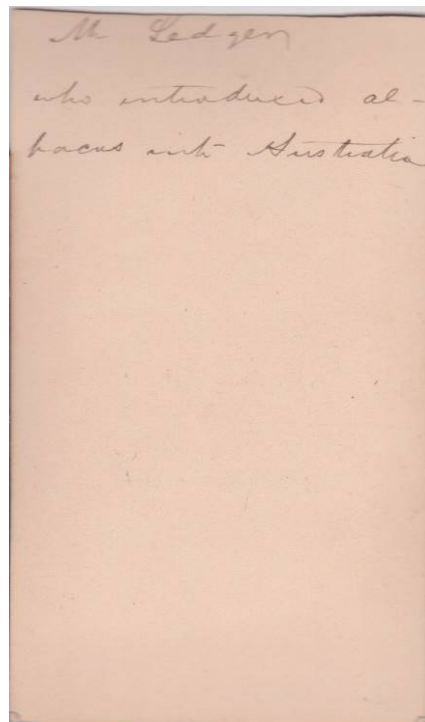


IMAGE NUMBER: 118-1008b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Mr. Ledger who introduced al-pacas into Australia'



IMAGE NUMBER: 119-XA7

Print Title/Subject: George Patten

Format & Colour: Oil on canvas, artist: W.B. Watkins

Date: 1850

Additional Comments: Illustrated in: Louise Purbrick, 'The Bourgeois Body: Civic Portraiture, Public Men and the Appearance of Class Power in Manchester, 1838-50', *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism*, eds. Alan Kidd and David Nicholls (Manchester, 1999), pp.81-98.



IMAGE NUMBER: 120-525a

Print Title/Subject: J. Forster

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1863

Additional Comments:

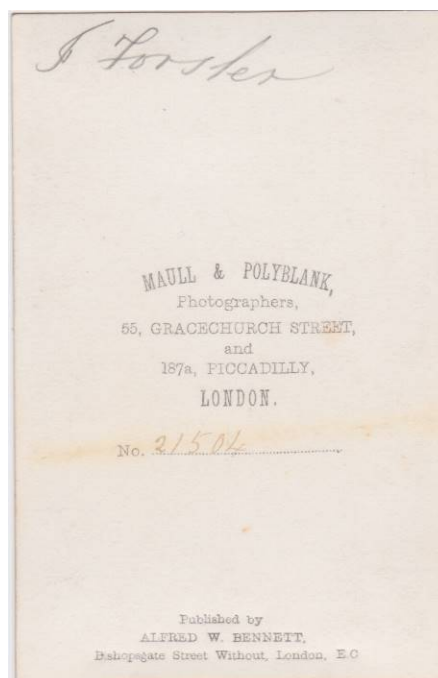


IMAGE NUMBER: 120-525b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank

Publisher: Alfred W. Bennett

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'J. Forster' and '21504'



IMAGE NUMBER: 121-715a
 Print Title/Subject: David Brewster, scientist
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

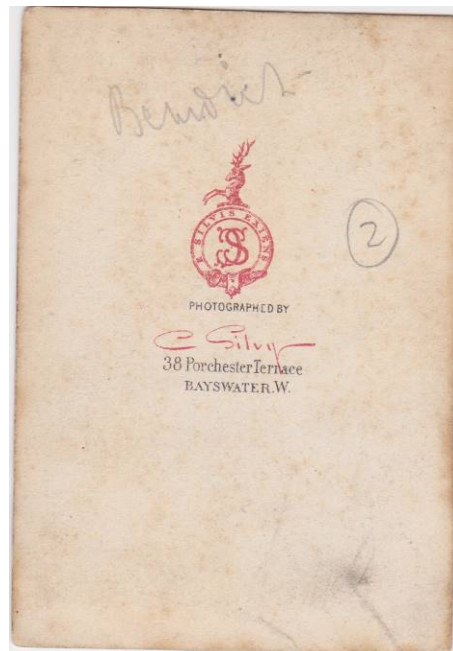


IMAGE NUMBER: 121-715b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: C. Silvy
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Brewster'



IMAGE NUMBER: 122-382a
 Print Title/Subject: Sir William Fairburn, engineer
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: '1/-' and 'Dr. Fairburn'



IMAGE NUMBER: 122-382b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: H.N. King, Bath
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 123-799a
 Print Title/Subject: Charles Dickens
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

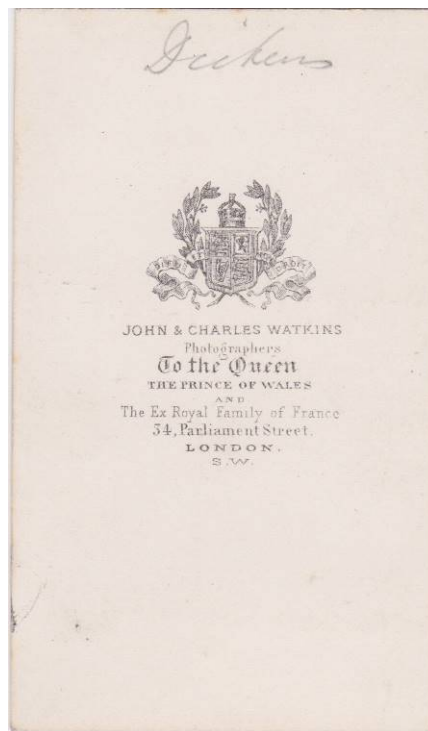


IMAGE NUMBER: 123-799b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John & Charles Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Dickens'



IMAGE NUMBER: 124-711a
 Print Title/Subject: John Leech
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

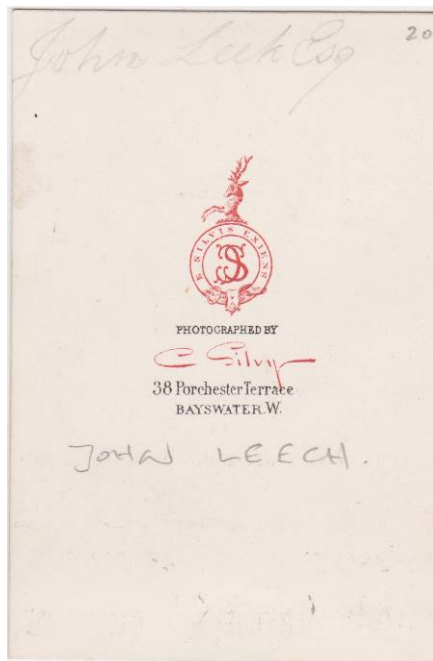


IMAGE NUMBER: 124-711b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: C. Silvy
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'John Leech'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'John Leech'



IMAGE NUMBER: 125-621a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Brougham
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

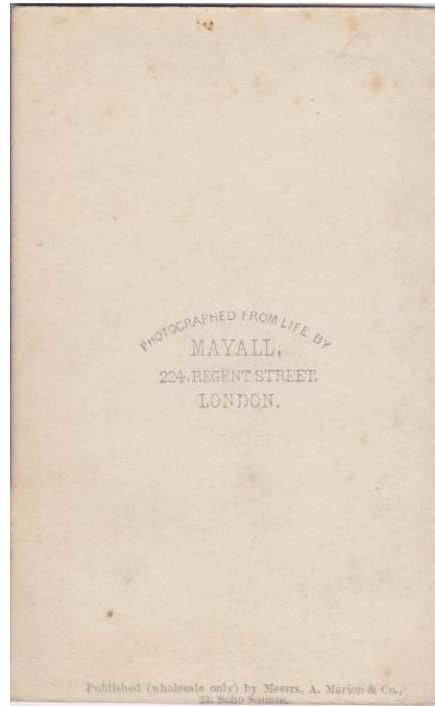


IMAGE NUMBER: 125-621b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: Messrs. A. Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 126-XA74b
 Print Title/Subject: 'Lord Justice Turner'
 Format: Album page. Reverse of previous page. Size: 10" x 5"
 Date of publication: c. 1862
 Additional comments: A carte-sized photograph has been cut out of a newspaper and stuck onto the page, and period hand added, in biographical information.



IMAGE NUMBER: 127-389(B)a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Mr. C.W. Dunford.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1882
 Additional Comments: Text: 'Author of "England
 and its Duty."'



IMAGE NUMBER: 127-389(B)b
 Backplate:
 Studio Crest: London Photo Copying Compy.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: 'L. Phillips Manager'



IMAGE NUMBER: 128-384a
 Print Title/Subject: Colonel Ewart
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

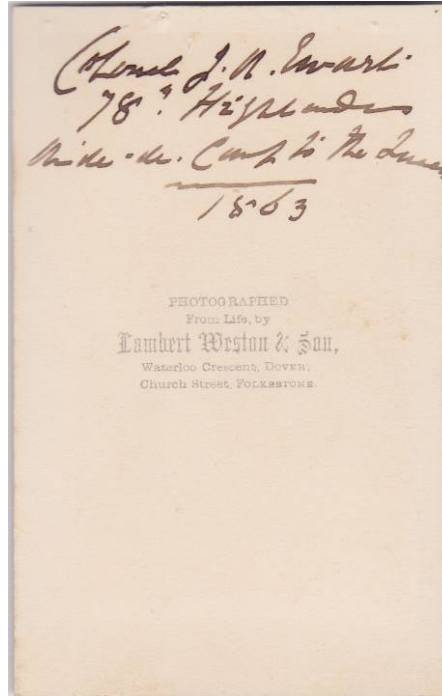


IMAGE NUMBER: 128-384b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Lambert Weston & Son, Dover
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Colonel J.N. Ewart 78th
 Highlanders Aide-de-Camp to the
 Queen 1863'



IMAGE NUMBER: 129-943a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Brougham and child
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount:
 'Lord Brougham'

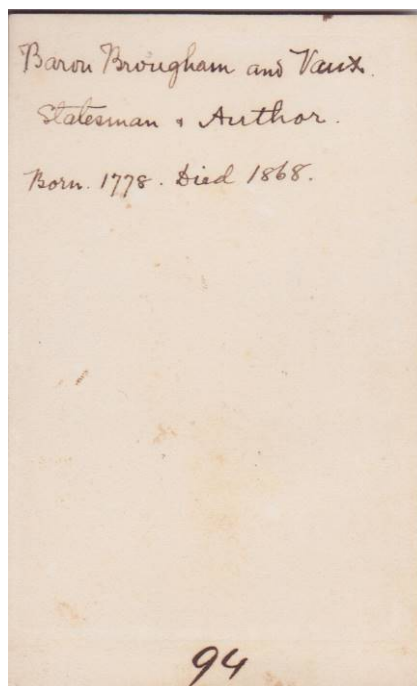


IMAGE NUMBER: 129-943b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Baron Brougham and Vaux Statesman & Author. Born 1778. Died 1868.' and '94'



IMAGE NUMBER: 130-523a
 Print Title/Subject: William Powell Frith, artist
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

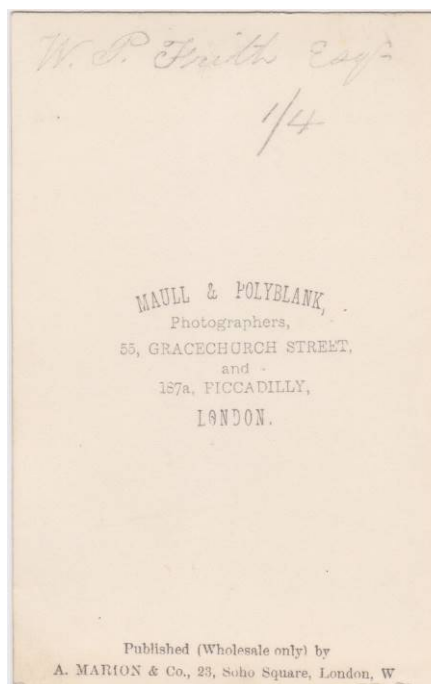


IMAGE NUMBER: 130-523b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: A. Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'W.P. Frith Esq 1/4'



IMAGE NUMBER: 131-512a
Print Title/Subject: Sir Roundell Palmer
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1863
Additional Comments:

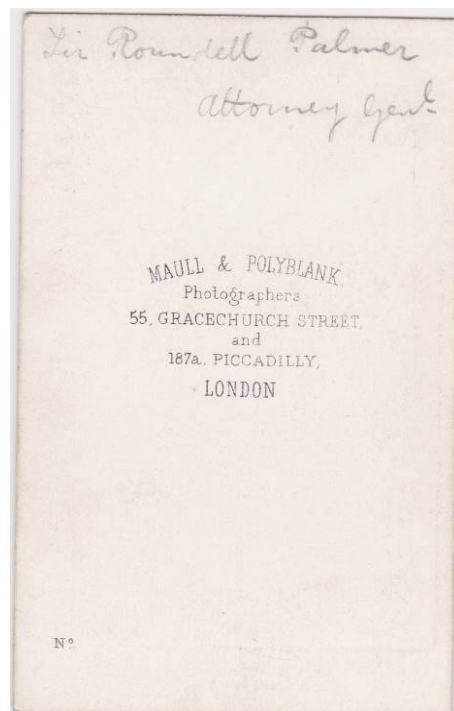


IMAGE NUMBER: 131-512b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Sir Roundell Palmer Attorney Genl.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 132-XA9
Print Title/Subject: Dr. Livingstone
Studio: Stereoscopic Coy.
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1858
Additional Comments: Not in the author's collection. Seen in a dealer's stock.



IMAGE NUMBER: 133-81a
Print Title/Subject: Lord Stanhope
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:

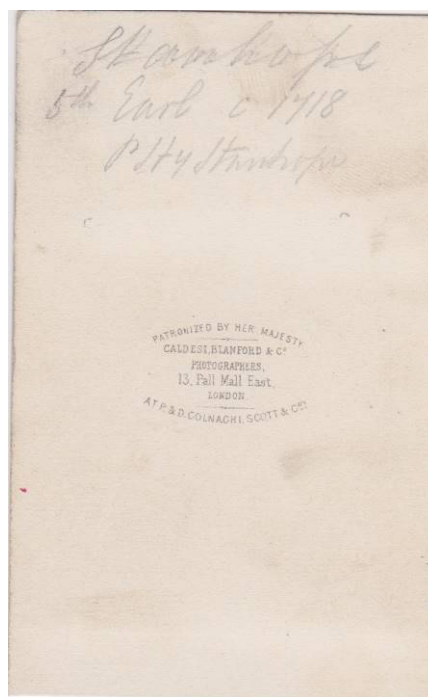


IMAGE NUMBER: 133-81b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Caldesi Blanford & Co.
Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Stanhope 5th Earl
c 1718.....(unclear) Stanhope'



IMAGE NUMBER: 134-288a
Print Title/Subject: Charles Gilpin M.P.
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1868
Additional Comments:

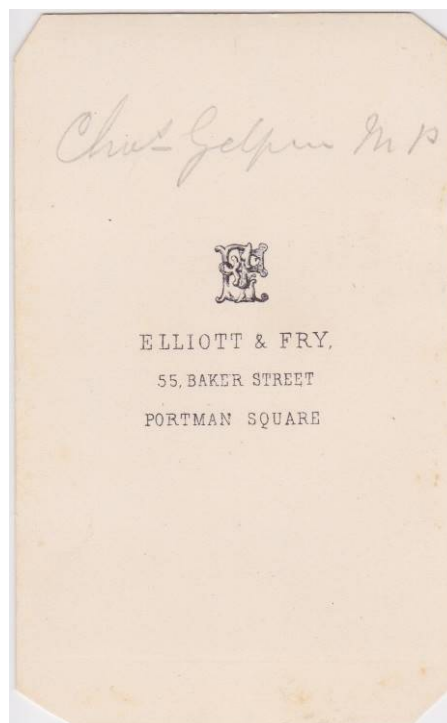


IMAGE NUMBER: 134-288b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Chas. Gilpin MP'

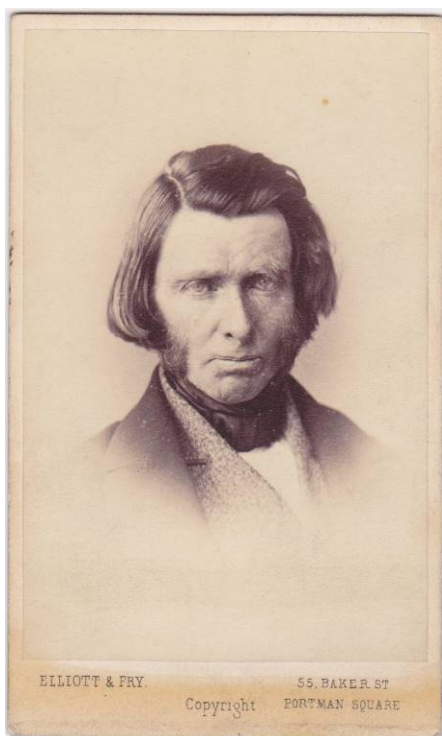


IMAGE NUMBER: 135-293a
 Print Title/Subject: John Ruskin
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

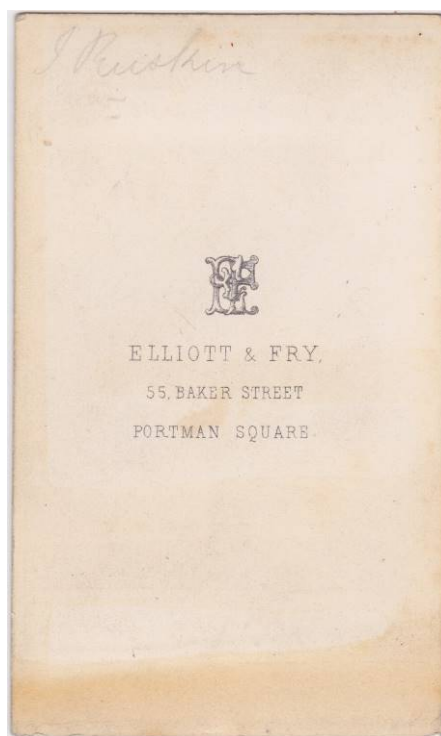


IMAGE NUMBER: 135-293b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'J Ruskin'



IMAGE NUMBER: 136-294a
 Print Title/Subject: Thomas Carlyle
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

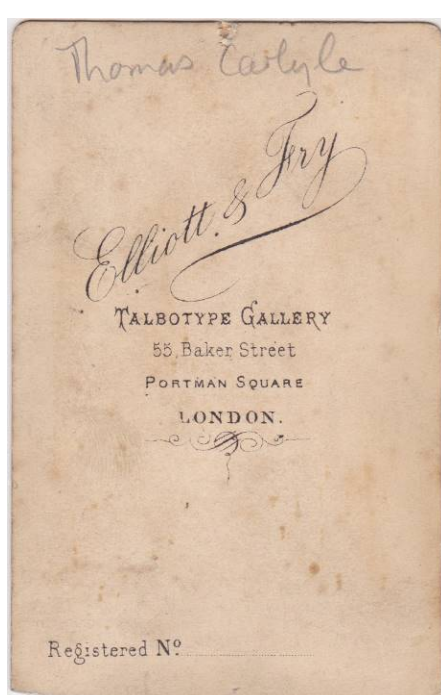


IMAGE NUMBER: 136-294b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Thomas Carlyle'

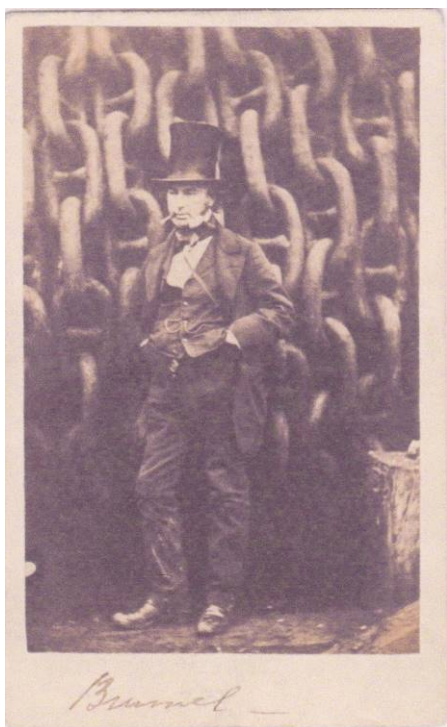


IMAGE NUMBER: 137-XA11

Print Title/Subject: Isambard Brunel

Studio: Photographer Robert Howlett, published by London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1857

Additional Comments: Not in the author's collection. NPG No. Ax5177

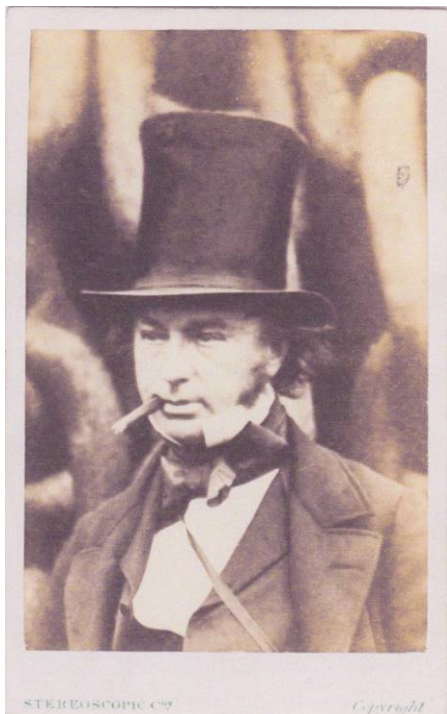


IMAGE NUMBER: 138-XA12

Print Title/Subject: Isambard Brunel

Studio: Photographer Robert Howlett, published by London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1857

Additional Comments: Not in the author's collection. NPG No. x4836

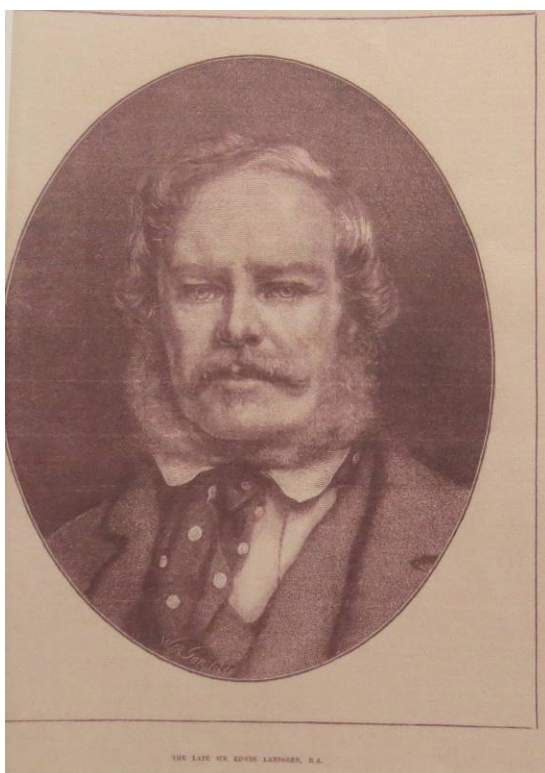


IMAGE NUMBER: 139-XA13

Print Title/Subject: 'The Late Sir Edwin Landseer, R.A.'

Format & Colour: illustration in *The Illustrated London News*

Date Published: 11 October 1873, pp.349.

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 140-1013(A)a

Print Title/Subject: General Gordon

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1880

Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount:

'The late General Chas C. Gordon.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 140-1013(A)b

Backplate

Studio Crest: none

Publisher: none recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 141-XA13 (A)

Print Title/Subject: 'Men of the Day, No.63. "The Derby Day." Mr. William Powell Frith, R.A.'

Format & Colour: *Vanity Fair* print in colour

Date Published: 10 May, 1873.

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 142-521a

Print Title/Subject: Daniel Maclise, artist

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1863

Additional Comments:

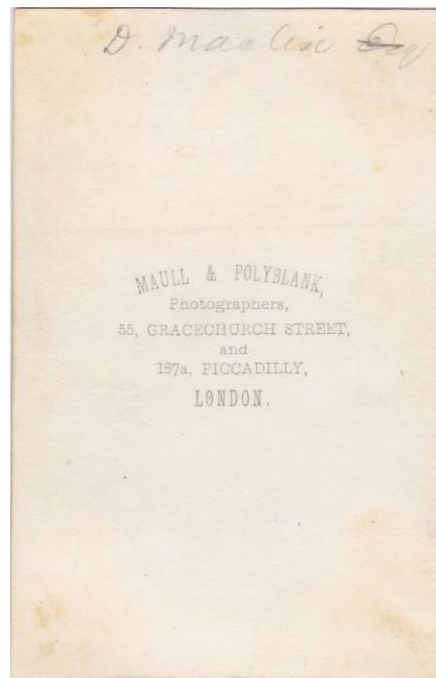


IMAGE NUMBER: 142-521b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'D. Maclise Esq'



IMAGE NUMBER: 143-522a
 Print Title/Subject: Thomas Sidney Cooper, artist
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

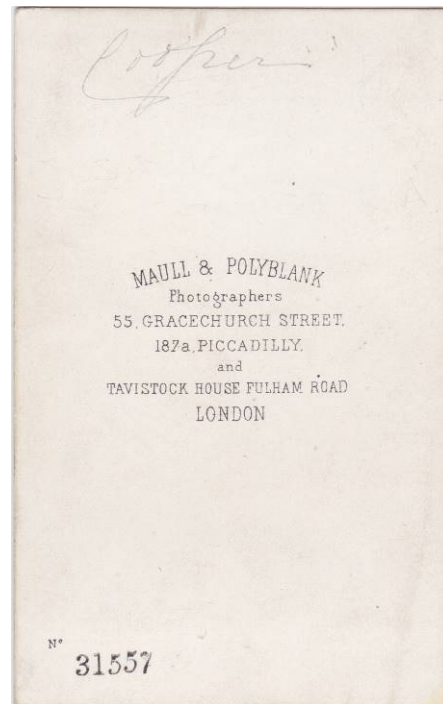


IMAGE NUMBER: 143-522b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Cooper' Ink imprint: 'No.31557'



IMAGE NUMBER: 144-801(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: William Dyce, artist
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

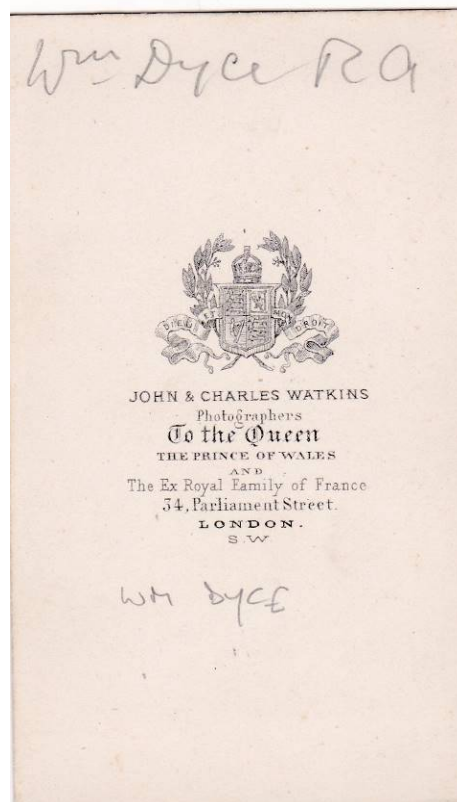


IMAGE NUMBER: 144-801(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John & Charles Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Wm. Dyce R.A.'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Wm Dyce'



IMAGE NUMBER: 145

Print Title/Subject: John Millais

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1862

Additional Comments: John & Charles Watkins,
National Portrait Gallery, London NPG x76456 (not in author's collection)



IMAGE NUMBER: 146

Print Title/Subject: John Millais

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1866

Additional Comments: Elliott & Fry,
National Portrait Gallery, London NPG Ax28941 (not in author's collection)



IMAGE NUMBER: 147-417a
Print Title/Subject: 'Mr. Holman Hunt'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments: Studio name on mount:
Stereoscopic Compy.

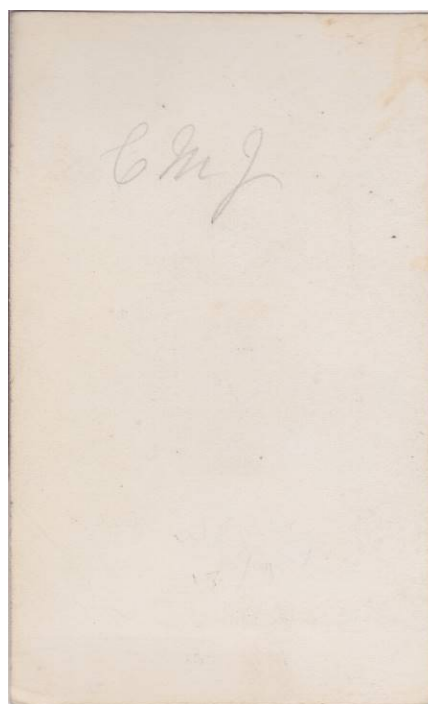


IMAGE NUMBER: 147-417b
Backplate
Studio Crest: (on front mount)
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'CMJ'



IMAGE NUMBER: 148
Print Title/Subject: 'Mr. Holman Hunt.'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments: London Stereoscopic Company,
National Portrait Gallery, London NPG Ax14899 (not in author's collection)



IMAGE NUMBER: 149-529a
 Print Title/Subject: Professor Seeley
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

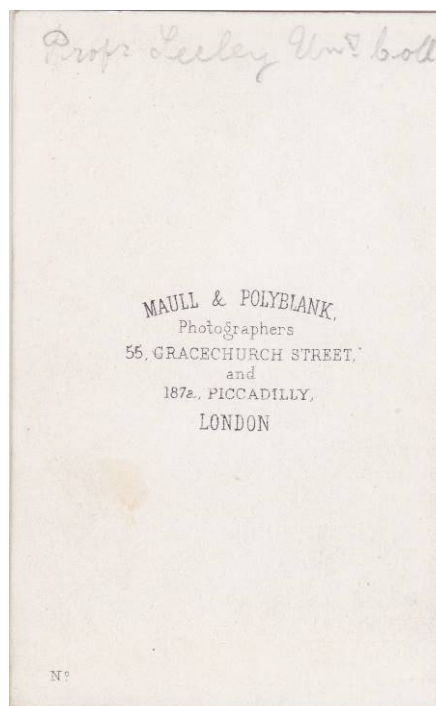


IMAGE NUMBER: 149-529b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Profs Seeley Unt. Coll'



IMAGE NUMBER: 150-528a
 Print Title/Subject: Professor Malden
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 150-528b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Prof. Malden' Ink stamp: 'No. 20551'



IMAGE NUMBER: 151-524a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Macaulay
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1858 (probably re-issued later)
 Additional Comments:

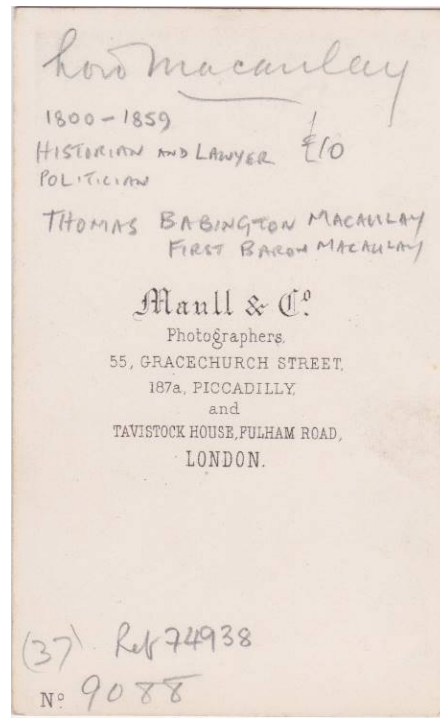


IMAGE NUMBER: 151-524b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Co.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Macaulay' '9088'
 Modern hand in pencil: '1800-1859 Historian and lawyer politician £10
 Thomas Babington Macaulay First Baron Macaulay' '(37) Ref 74938'



IMAGE NUMBER: 152-525a
 Print Title/Subject: J. Forster
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

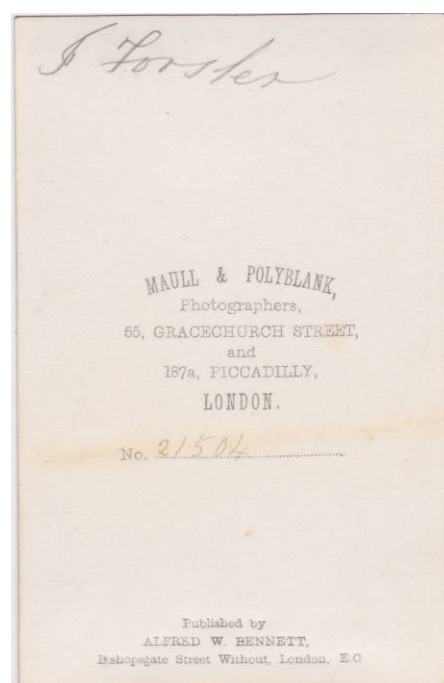


IMAGE NUMBER: 152-525b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: Alfred W. Bennett
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'J. Forster' and '21504'



IMAGE NUMBER: 153-106a
 Print Title/Subject: William Thackeray
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount:
 'W. Thackeray'

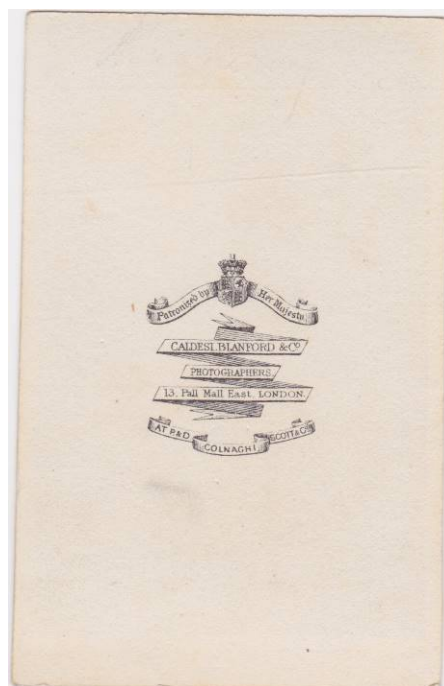


IMAGE NUMBER: 153-106b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Caldesi Blanford & Co.
 Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 154-133a
 Print Title/Subject: 'W.M. Thackeray'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

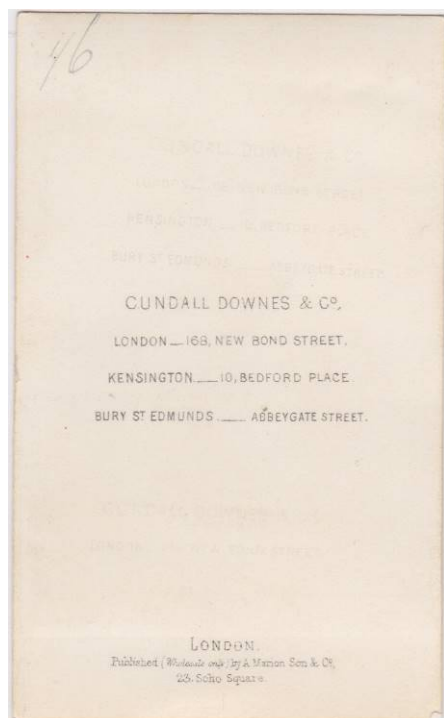


IMAGE NUMBER: 154-133b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Cundall Downes & Co.
 Publisher: A. Marion Son & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '1/6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 155-799a
 Print Title/Subject: Charles Dickens
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

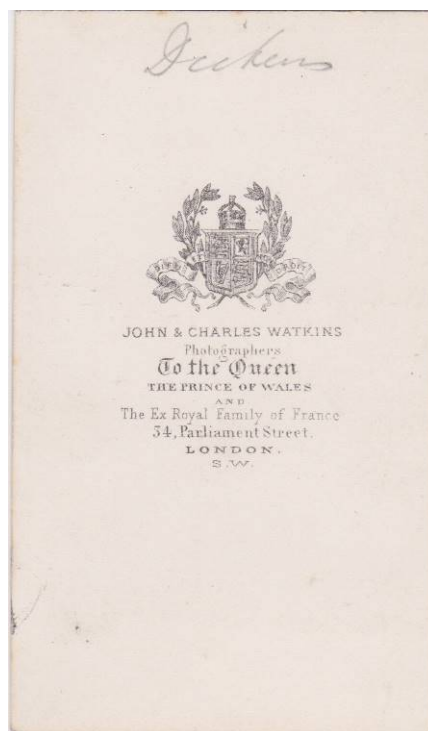


IMAGE NUMBER: 155-799b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John & Charles Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Dickens'



IMAGE NUMBER: 156-798a
 Print Title/Subject: Charles Dickens
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 156-798b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John & Chas Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Glasgow December 1/61
 Read Nicholas Nickleby & Pickwick -'
 Period hand in ink: 'Charles Dickens'



IMAGE NUMBER: 157-295(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: Alfred Tennyson
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

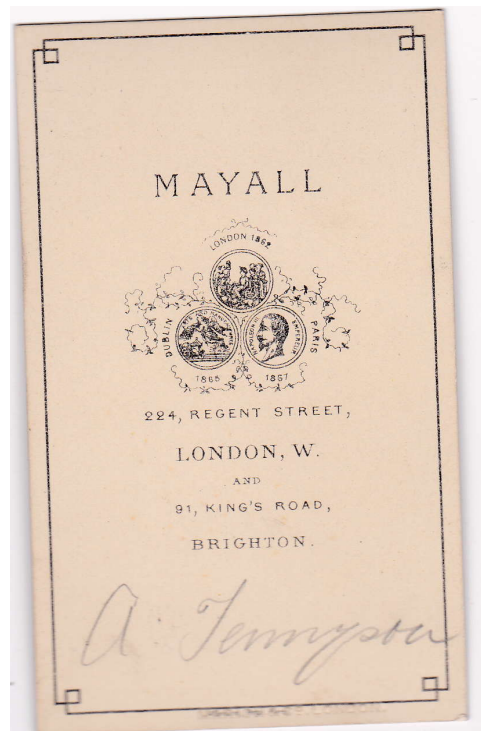


IMAGE NUMBER: 157(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: Marion & Co. London
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil 'A. Tennyson'.

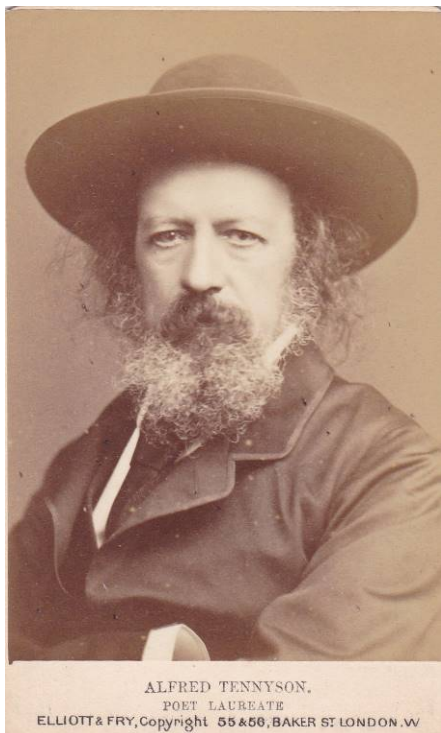


IMAGE NUMBER: 158-295a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Alfred Tennyson'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

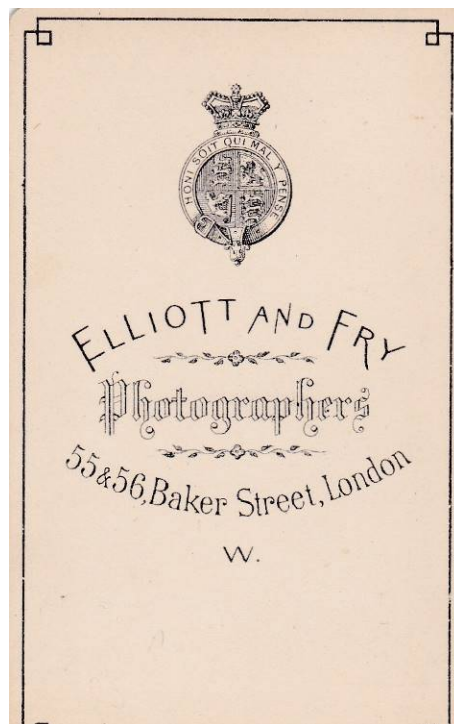


IMAGE NUMBER: 158-295b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
 Publisher: none recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 159-974a
 Print Title/Subject: Albert Smith
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

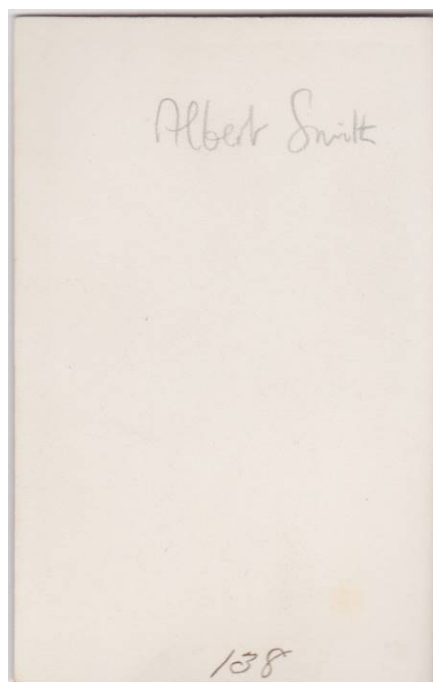


IMAGE NUMBER: 159-974b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Albert Smith'
 Period hand in ink: '138'

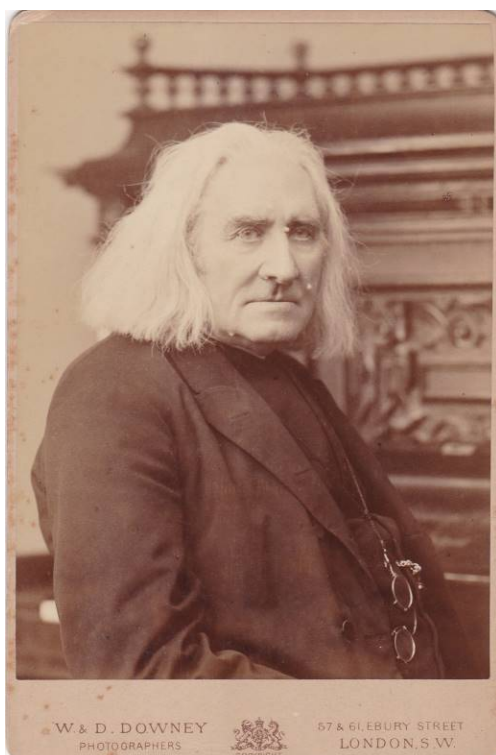


IMAGE NUMBER: 160-1056a
 Print Title/Subject: Franz Liszt
 Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1883
 Additional Comments:

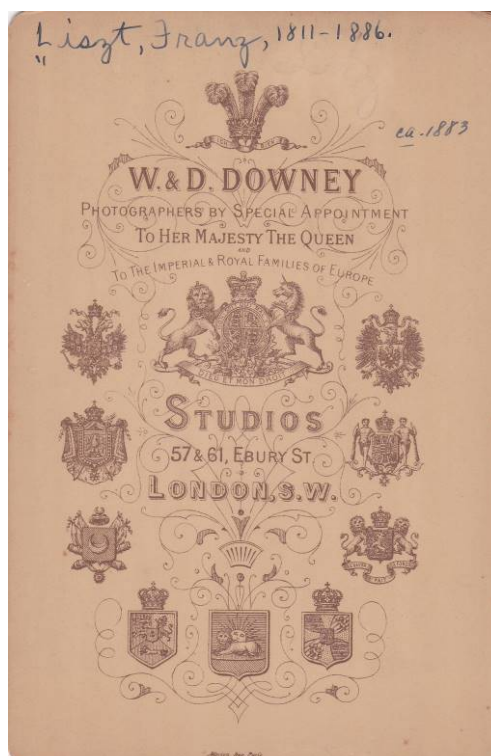


IMAGE NUMBER: 160-1056b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W & D Downey
 Publisher: Marion Imp. Paris
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink 'Liszt, Franz, 1811-1886.'
 'ca. 1883'

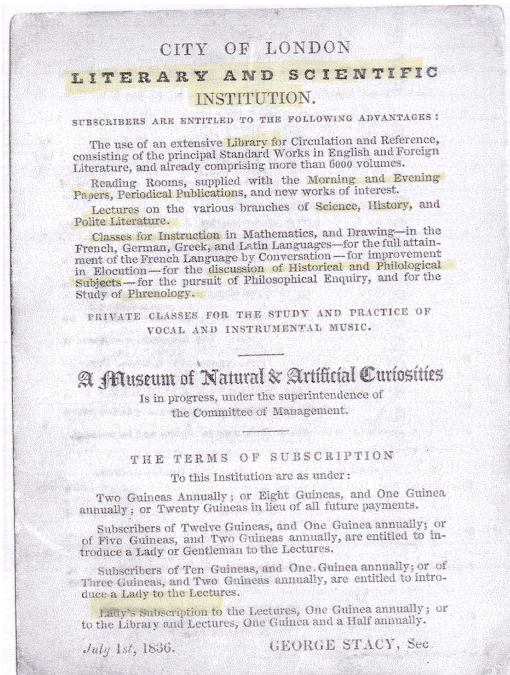


IMAGE NUMBER: 161-XA78a
 Print Title/Subject: 'City of London Literary and Scientific Institution.'
 Format & Colour: small card sized 5" x 3½"
 Date Image Taken: (card dated 1836)
 Additional Comments:

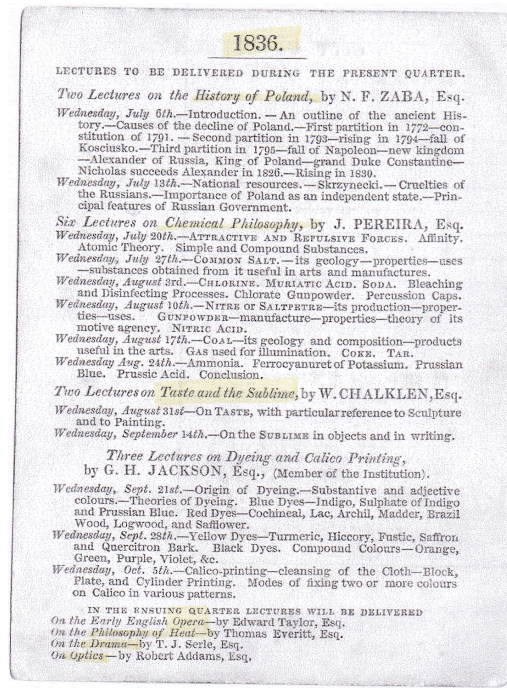


IMAGE NUMBER: 161-XA78b
 Backplate: '1836'
 Studio Crest:
 Publisher:
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 162-102a
 Print Title/Subject: Michael Faraday
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

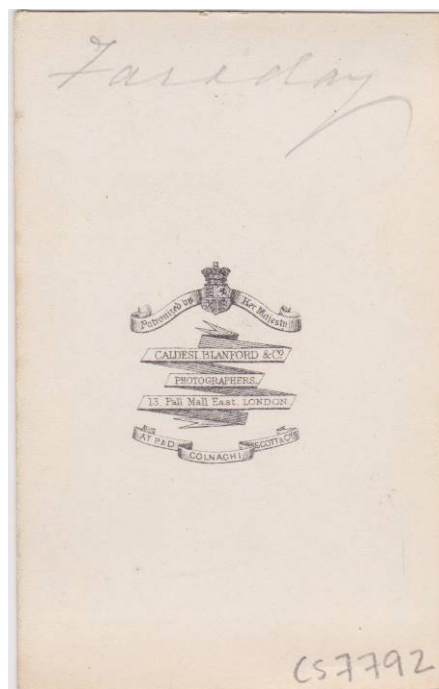


IMAGE NUMBER: 162-102b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Caldesi Blanford & Co.
 Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Faraday'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'CS7792'



IMAGE NUMBER: 163-715a
Print Title/Subject: David Brewster, scientist
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

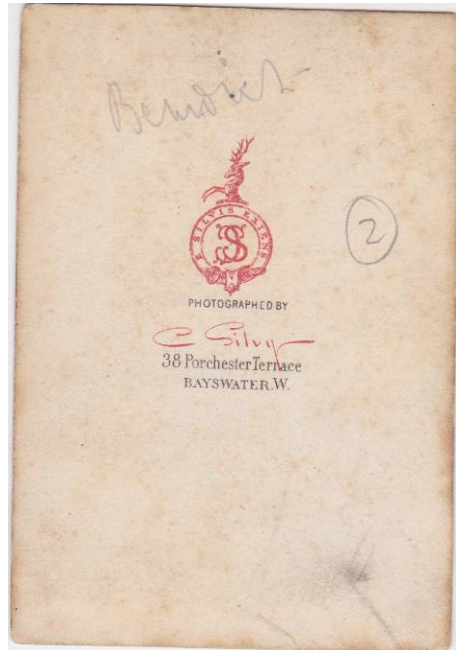


IMAGE NUMBER: 163-715b
Backplate
Studio Crest: C. Silvy
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Brewster'



IMAGE NUMBER: 164-534a
Print Title/Subject: Dr. Whewell, scientist
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

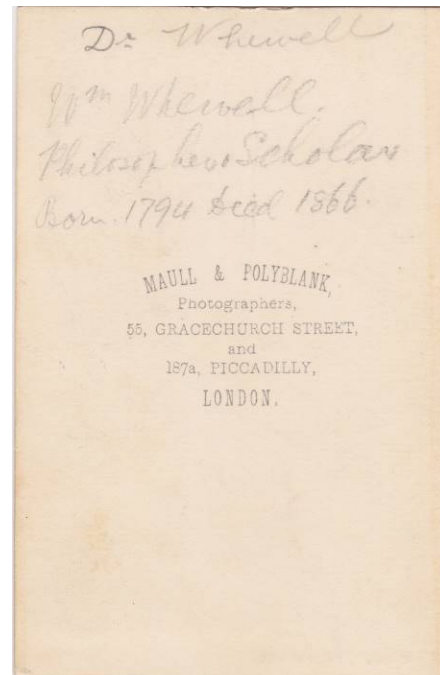


IMAGE NUMBER: 164-534b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Dr. Whewell Wm. Whewell Philosopher & Scholar Born 1794 Died 1866.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 165-535a
Print Title/Subject: Professor Owen
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

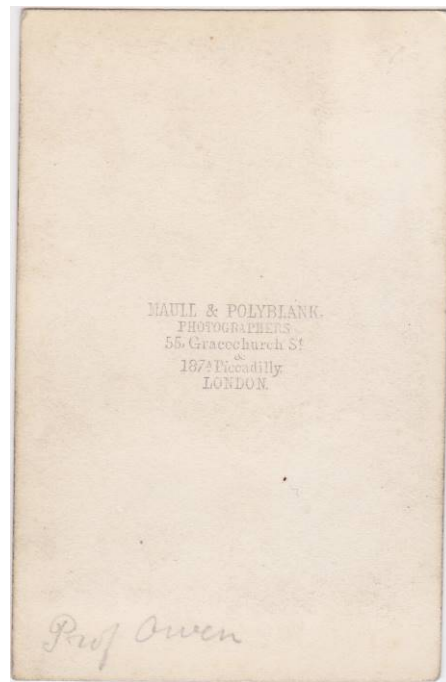


IMAGE NUMBER: 165-535b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Prof Owen'

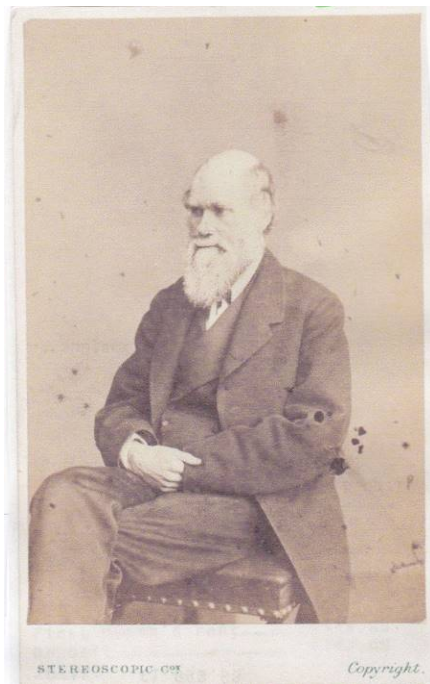


IMAGE NUMBER: 166
Print Title/Subject: Charles Darwin
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments: London Stereoscopic Company,
National Portrait Gallery, London NPG x15935 (not in author's collection)



IMAGE NUMBER: 167

Print Title/Subject: 'The Late Charles Darwin'
'Born Feb. 12, 1809 Died April 19, 1882.'

Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1881

Additional Comments: Elliott & Fry

National Portrait Gallery, London NPG x197304 (not in author's collection)

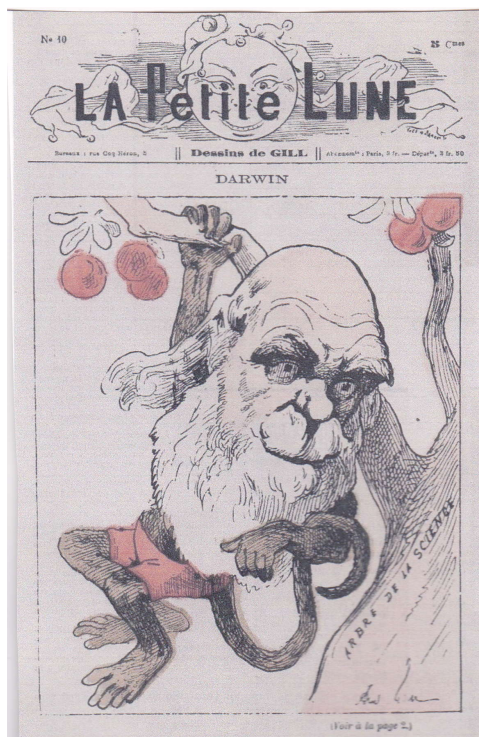


IMAGE NUMBER: 168-XA85

Print Title/Subject: 'Darwin'

Format & Colour: colour newspaper illustration

Date Image Taken: unclear

Additional Comments: Published on front page of
'La Petite Lune'



CHARLES ROBERT DARWIN, LL.D., F.R.S.

IN HIS DESCENT OF MAN HE BROUGHT HIS OWN SPECIES DOWN AS LOW AS POSSIBLE—I.E., TO "A HAIRY QUADRUPED FURNISHED WITH A TAIL AND POINTED EARS, AND PROBABLY ARBOREAL IN ITS HABITS"—WHICH IS A REASON FOR THE VERY GENERAL INTEREST IN A "FAMILY TREE." HE HAS LATELY BEEN TURNING HIS ATTENTION TO THE "POLITIC WORM."

IMAGE NUMBER: 169-XA86

Print Title/Subject: 'Charles Robert Darwin, LL.D., F.R.S.'

Format & Colour: colour newspaper illustration

Date Image Taken: unclear

Additional Comments: There is satirical text below the image.



IMAGE NUMBER: 170-464a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Captain Knowles'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments: Printed on mount:
 'Lost in the Northfleet off Dungeness,
 Jan 22, 1873'

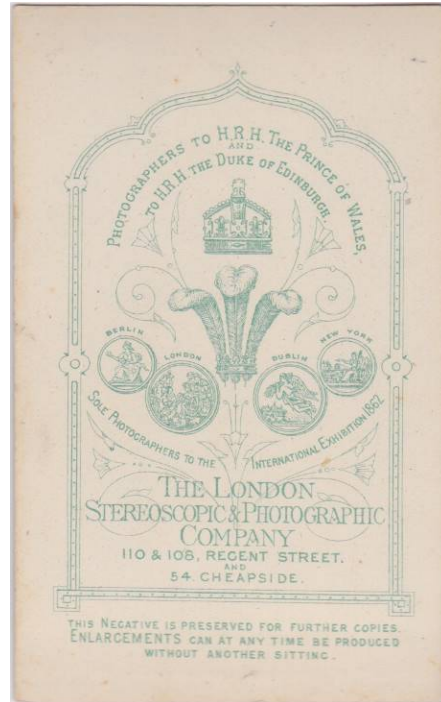


IMAGE NUMBER: 170-464b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 171-XA83
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Late Captain Knowles of the Northfleet'
 Format & Colour: newspaper illustration
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments: Illustration accompanying the article 'The Great Disaster in the Channel.' *The Illustrated London News*, 1 February 1873, pp.109.



IMAGE NUMBER: 172-443a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Mr. Stanley'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1871
 Additional Comments: Print on the front mount:
 'in the dress he wore when he met
 Livingstone in Africa.'

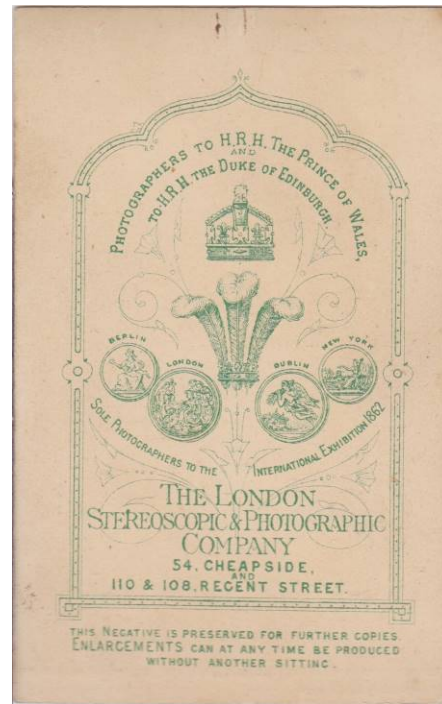


IMAGE NUMBER: 172-443b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 173-455a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Theodore'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments: Printed on mount:
 'Taken at Magdala ¼ of an hour after
 his death - by Mr. P.R. Holmes
 "An admirable likeness of him"
 Times Correspondent.'
 Period hand in ink on print:
 'Theodore taken a quarter of an hour
 after death.'

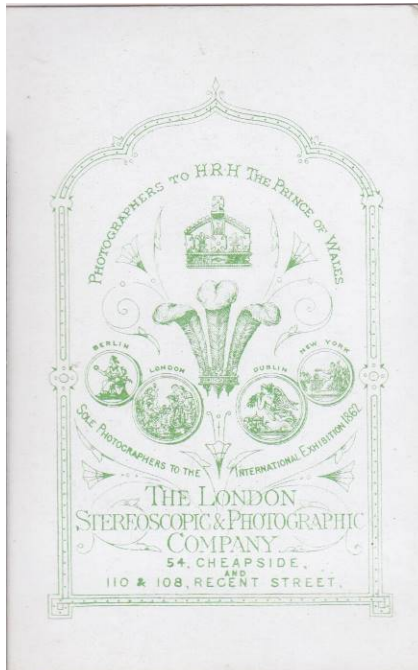


IMAGE NUMBER: 173-455b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:

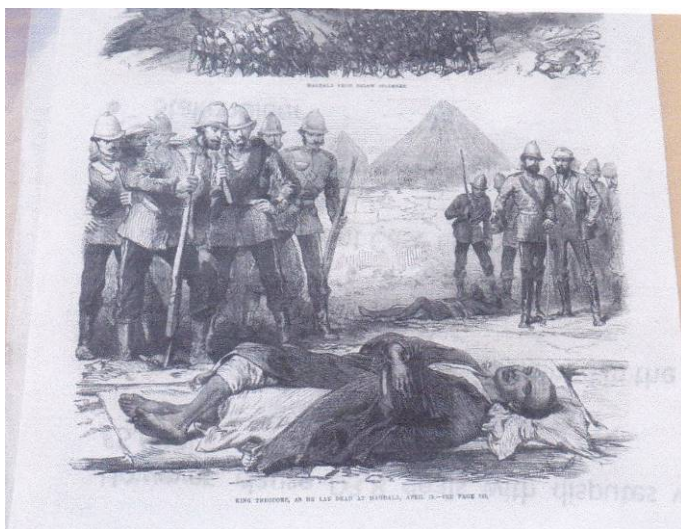


IMAGE NUMBER: 174-XA84

Print Title/Subject: 'King Theodore, as he lay dead in Magdala'

Format & Colour: newspaper illustration

Date Image Taken: 1868

Additional Comments: Illustration accompanying article in *The Illustrated London News*, 30 May 1868, pp.537.



IMAGE NUMBER: 175-321a

Print Title/Subject: 'Franz Muller'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1862

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 175-321b

Backplate

Studio Crest: A.L. Henderson

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 176-320a

Print Title/Subject: 'Dr. Pritchard'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1863

Additional Comments:

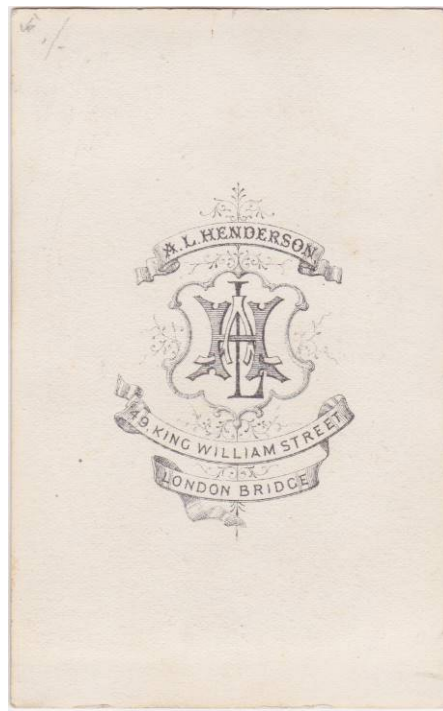


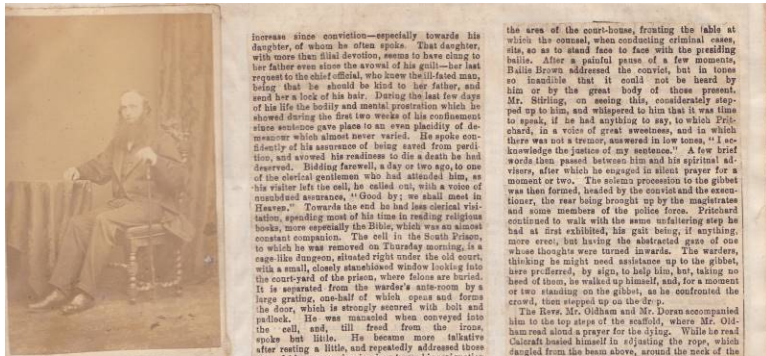
IMAGE NUMBER: 176-320b

Backplate

Studio Crest: A.L. Henderson

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '1/-'



DR. R. W. PRITCHARD
GENTLEMAN

JULY 31, 1864.

THE EXECUTION OF DR. PRITCHARD.

Shortly after eight o'clock on Friday morning, Dr. Pritchard paid the last penalty of the law on the scaffold in front of the South Prison in Gas Square, Glasgow.

On Thursday night groups of illers were to be seen in every corner in Gas Square speaking upon a somewhat probable occasion in his last moments, being the night many a child's job could be heard as they passed through the labyrinth of barriers erected here at by one of the mightiest convicts ever assembled in Scotland. Day had scarcely dawned ere a crowd began to gather in greater numbers until the whole square was one close-packed mass of spectators on lookers. A fairer morning the eye of a discerning criminal never looked upon, and before the sun of the crowd had filled the air, the only thing that disturbed the tranquillity of the scene was the black and white apparition of the law that stood out with sturdy distinctness from the front of the goal, and seemed to draw all eyes towards it with something like fascination. Every hour, from five o'clock onwards, added its thousands to the crowd, they seemed to pour in from all quarters. The first men were obviously those whose use and wont it is to emerge right into morning—shaved men, in shirts, abundant partly on business, and partly, as might say, on pleasure; and these, with their feet, formed for a while a distinctive element in the sea. By seven, however, many of a better class swollen the mass, and shortly before the fatal scene in front of the goal was a worthy and tempting one. Looking across the square, the eye held a multitudinous array of white faces, with an upward towards the gallows, and stretching ray into the Green. Women, girls of tender years, in from the more infant upwards, rowdy-looking men, landowners, mechanics with breakfast-bags and hats, seemingly on their way to work, and we also add respectably old and young, whose sense at such a scene could scarcely have been anticipated, formed the milder crowd. Every "college" was in occupation, gas lamps, the roof of a Episcopal church, the roof of Prince's Circus on the Green, of the out houses on the north side of the Green, and along the southern bank of the river—all were black with on lookers. The numbers are immense, probably nearly 100,000. Their behavior was for the most part quiet and decorous.

THE EXECUTION.
While the ill-fated wretch thus passed in solemn misery his last few moments, a scene less pitiful, but even more aggressive and impressive, was to be seen outside the prison. A beautiful morning, the serenity of which brightened the dismal aspect of the execution preparation. Shortly after five o'clock the stream of intending onlookers began to pour into the square. A more decorous and orderly crowd has never met on such an occasion, not a sound scarcely being heard from it, only the low hum of quiet conversation rising up, and the voices of some mistresses shouting loud above the prevailing stillness. The occasion seemed to be "improved" in this way by several earnest sermons. A hymn was sung, in which, rising above the prevailing bass, the pathetic treble of female voices could be heard in plain. Prayers and exhortation followed, in the course of which, if the mass paid little attention, they presented a devout silence. A sermon continued till shortly before eight o'clock, swelling immensely in extent after seven o'clock, and lasting much of the quiet that prevailed at first. Thousands upon thousands streamed in from all quarters: the square was covered by a dense mass, which scarcely had room for one to stand or move. Short, tumultuous murmurs, the shrieks of women hurled amid the crowd, and innumerable imprecations arose. Not far, it is calculated, than 100,000 people were present by eight o'clock. So the hubbub grew more and more till about five minutes past eight, when, loathed by some quiet spreading intimation that told them the following creature whose death they had some witnesses was about to face them, they became hushed almost instantaneously into complete silence. The absence of "off hats" was raised, all heads were uncovered, and a sea of white faces gazed upward toward the scaffold, on which presently appeared the main feature of the spectacle. The convict slept soundly, not awaking till half-past eight, when he was supplied with some food of his own request. Having dressed, he engaged in prayer, in which he continued almost incessantly, except when occupied in reading religious books. He seemed in spirits to be more sprightly than on any morning since his conviction. The Rev. Mr. Doran joined him shortly after he rose from bed, and continued with him till he was joined by the Rev. Dr. Norman McLeod and the Rev. Mr. Oldham. At a quarter past seven o'clock Calvert, accompanied by an assistant, ascended the scaffold, but he did not in any way test the rope, contenting himself with a leisurely look at the crowd, by whom he was, wonderful to tell, very favorably received. His first appearance elicited a few faint and undecided noises, accompanied by a little hissing, but immediately afterwards the marks of disapprobation were drowned in one deafening and tumultuous cheer, which spread enthusiastically over the assembled thousands. He coolly surveyed the rope, and then descended the stairs with a quiet smile on his face, and disappeared within the gate. At eight o'clock precisely Bailie Brown took his seat on the bench occupied by the Judge at trials, and was followed by Bailie Dickinson, Basham, Wilson, Taylor, Mirreles, and Salmon, and also by Mr. Turner, Town Clerk, and Mr. West Watson, chamberlain. All was now intense anxiety, a solemn stillness prevailing through every part of the court-house. This was at last broken by Governor Stirling coming through the trap-door at six minutes past eight o'clock, from which it was made evident to all that the last solemn scene was about to be enacted. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Oldham, Dr. McLeod, the Rev. Mr. Doran, the prison chaplain, by Pritchard himself, and by Calvert. Before they appeared in court their approach was heard by many of those present by the reading of the Burial Service, the last part of which finished just as Mr. Stirling had taken his place on the floor of the court. The arms of the convict were pinioned with leather straps in front. He walked with a steady step, keeping his head somewhat erect, and took his place on

THE EXECUTION.

the area of the court-house, facing the table at which the counsel, when conducting criminal cases, sit, so as to stand face to face with the presiding judge. After a painful pause of a few moments, Bailie Brown addressed the convict, but in tones so inaudible that it could not be heard by him or by the great body of those present. Mr. Stirling, on seeing this, considerably stepped up to him, and whispered in him that it was time to speak, if he had anything to say, to which Pritchard, in a voice of great sweetness, and in which there was not a tremor, answered in low tones, "I acknowledge the justice of my sentence." A few brief words then passed between him and his spiritual advisers, after which he engaged in silent prayer for a moment or two. The solemn procession to the gibbet was then formed, headed by the convict and the executioner, the rear being brought up by the magistrates and some members of the police force. Pritchard continued to walk with the same unflinching step he had at first exhibited, his gait being, if anything, more erect; but having the abstracted gaze of one whose thoughts were turned inward. The warden, thinking he might need assistance up to the gibbet, here proffered, by sign, to help him, but, taking no heed of them, he walked up himself, and, for a moment or two standing on the gibbet, as he confronted the crowd, then stepped up on the drop.

The Rev. Mr. Oldham and Mr. Doran accompanied him to the top steps of the scaffold, where Mr. Oldham read a prayer for the dying. While he read Calvert hoisted himself in adjusting the rope, which gangled from his beam above, around the neck of the convict, threw the white cap over his face with calm but quick and scrupulous care, examined the length of the rope, and finally fastened it to the cleat on the side of the gibbet. Once more he turned to the convict, steadied him on the drop, and moved towards the bolt. A moment, and with a crash that shattered through the air, the drop fell. For an instant no motion was perceptible in the body, but a convulsive motion of the neck and neck was soon apparent. No then came quickly round, his whole frame quivering, and his hands working with a strong muscular action. The gloves of his right hand, which he had taken off, dropped to the ground below. A brief motion was again perceptible in the upper part of the body, and the foot hung still in death. His struggles, though violent, were but brief, lasting about two minutes. About three minutes after he fell the body appeared again disarranged, but obviously with an involuntary muscular action, free from pain or consciousness. The body after hanging the usual time, was cut down, and will be buried in the quadrangle of the goal.

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MULLER'S EXECUTION.

MULLER'S EXECUTION.

The following particulars are extracted from the account given by the Sheriff:

THE MORNING OF THE GALLIES.
During the early part of Sunday evening, there was a crowd as much of company as of freedom men, which did the miserable drizzle with tolerable patience, while the public-houses were open and filled brightly through the mist. But at 11 o'clock the greater part of the rough mass moved off, leaving the regular execution crowd to take their places. For a little time there seemed something which was not alone confusion, but indication in the thing, till the dirty chaos settled itself down at last, as while noisy groups went shouting and wrangling away, a thick, dark, noisy fringe of men and women settled themselves around the nearest barriers. It was a clear, bright moonlight night. There were well-dressed and ill-dressed, old men and boys, women and girls. Many jars of beer; at least half were smoking, and the lighting of faces was constant, though not more even than the cries and laughter as all who it then sent them whirling and blinding over their heads into the thicker crowd beyond. Occasionally the rain fell heavily at intervals, but the moon was bright, and every thing could be seen distinctly. Nerves were black enough in his blind massiveness, except at one little point high over the walls, where one window showed a little gleam of light, to which it seemed the crowd was never tired or pointing as the spot where Muller lay in his condemned cell. This miserable flicker in the black outline of the great goal, which only marked one wide division of its walls where Muller was imprisoned, became the centre of all eyes, or at least of very many. That all were not so occupied in gazing was at least to be surmised, for every now and then came a peculiar sound, sometimes followed by the noise of struggling, almost always by shouts of laughter, and now and then a cry of "Hodge." What this meant none then knew from merely looking out upon the dismal crowd, which seemed to writhe and crawl among themselves. As day dawned, however, all lookers-on understood it better. Till three o'clock it was one empty void of souls and laughter, shouting, and often quarrelling. Until about three o'clock not more than at the most some 5,000 persons were assembled, but after three the women came to finish the last barrier after the scaffold had been erected to the gallies.

IMAGE NUMBER: 177-XA18

Print Title/Subject: Album page onto which newspaper cuttings and carte-sized prints have been pasted
Format: Album page sized 15 1/4" x 9"
Date of publication: c. 31 July 1865 and 16 November 1864.
Additional comments: Newspaper articles are entitled: 'The Execution of Dr. Pritchard' and 'Muller's Execution.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 178-465a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Madame Rachel.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on print:
 'Defendant. Madame Rachel "Beautiful
 for Ever"'
 Period hand in ink on mount:
 'Defendant imprisoned in Newgate'

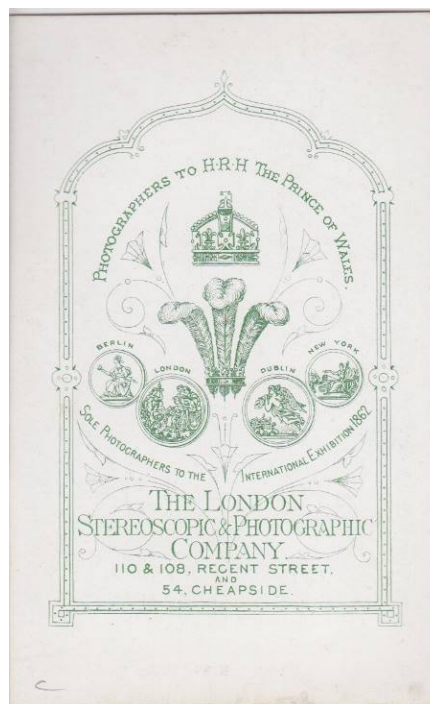


IMAGE NUMBER: 178-465b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 179-466a
 Print Title/Subject: Mrs. Borrodaile
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on print:
 'Plaintiff. Mrs. Borrodaile'
 Period hand in ink on mount:
 'Mrs. Borrodaile - Plaintiff in the notorious
 swindling case'

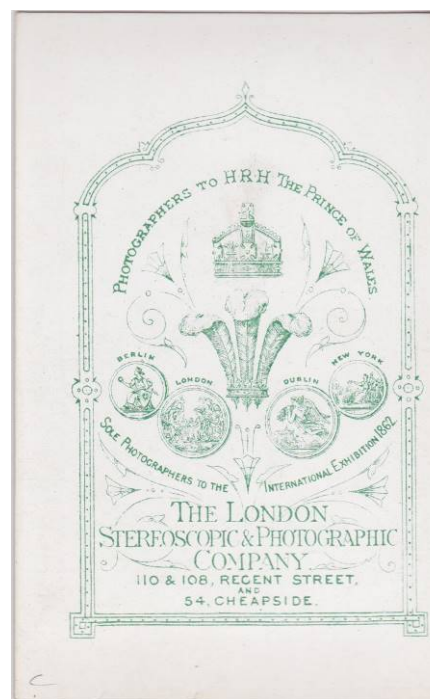


IMAGE NUMBER: 179-466b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 180-471a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Roger G. Tichborne'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments: Printed on mount:
 'Alleged to have been lost in the "Bella"'

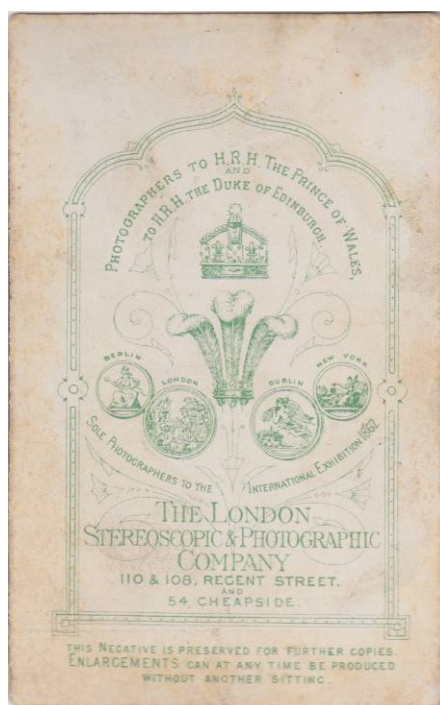


IMAGE NUMBER: 180-471b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 181-470a
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Alleged "Rightful Heir" Age 5 Years'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments: Printed on mount:
 '(son of the late Sir A. Tichborne, Bart.)'

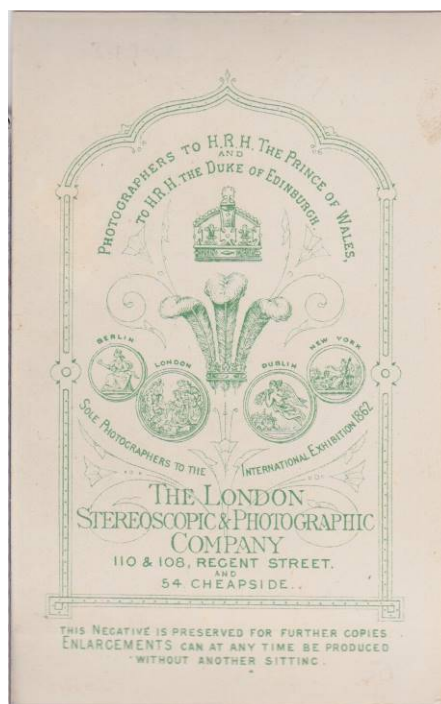


IMAGE NUMBER: 181-470b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 182-469a

Print Title/Subject: 'The Gentlemen of the Tichborne Jury.'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1872

Additional Comments:

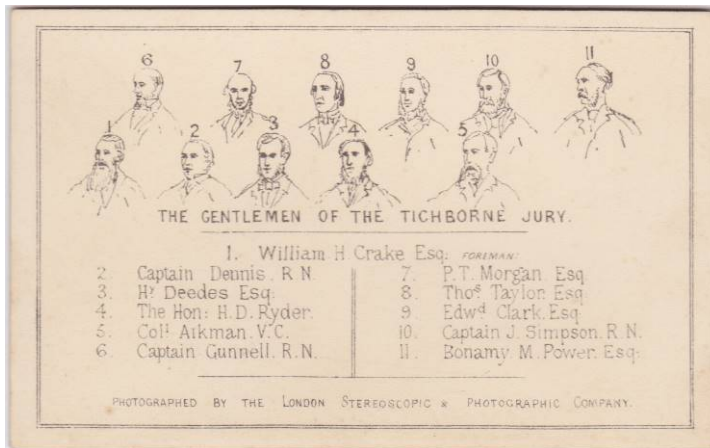


IMAGE NUMBER: 182-469b

Backplate

Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Backplate taken up with a key to the figures on the front



IMAGE NUMBER: 183-805a

Print Title/Subject: 'The Tichborne Jury.'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1873

Additional Comments: Studio name on front mount: Watkins & Haigh

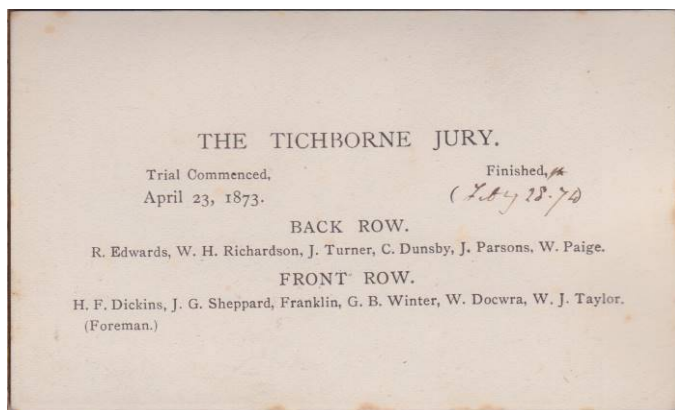


IMAGE NUMBER: 183-805b

Backplate

Studio Crest: (on front mount)

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Backplate a key to the people shown in the print. Period hand in ink for the Finish date of the trial: 'Fby 28. 74'



IMAGE NUMBER: 184-805(A)a

Print Title/Subject: 'The Last Man on the Tichborne Jury by George Cruikshank.'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1873

Additional Comments:

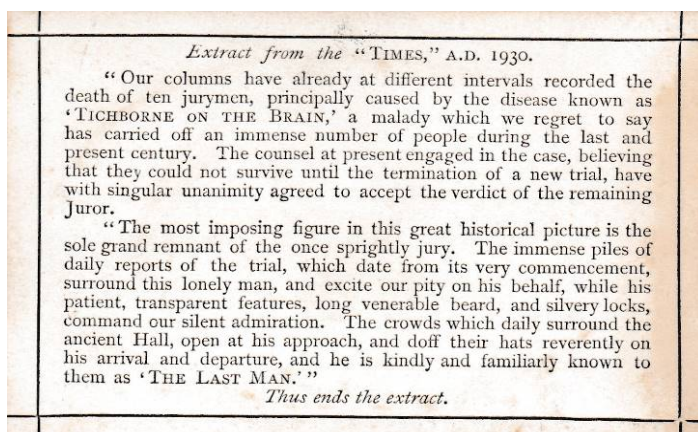


IMAGE NUMBER: 184-805(A)b

Backplate

Studio Crest: ('Stereoscopic Co.', on front mount)

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Text entitled 'Extract from the "Times," A.D. 1930.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 185-655a

Print Title/Subject: 'The Great Fight for £40,000 a year.'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1873

Additional Comments: Print in print: 'between "Little Touchbone"
The Hampshire Infant and Stoney-Hurst, the Great
Australian Slogger'



IMAGE NUMBER: 185-655b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Albert Mendelssohn

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 186-470(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: "Sir Roger C.D. Titchborne, Bart"
 "The Claimant (New Portrait)"
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1873
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 186-470(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic Company
 Publisher:
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 187-718(B)a
 Print Title/Subject: 'SEQUAH.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 187-718(B)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Fred. G. Smith, Kingston
 Publisher: Berlin
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 188-664a
 Print Title/Subject: Blondin
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments:

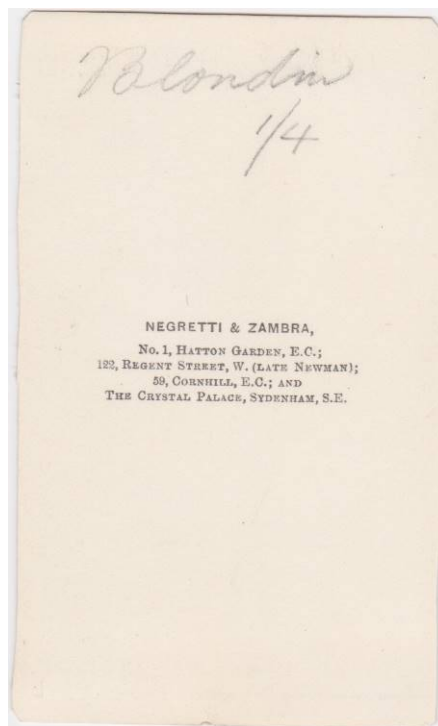


IMAGE NUMBER: 188-664b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Negretti & Zambra
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Blondin 1/4'



IMAGE NUMBER: 189-664(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: Blondin
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

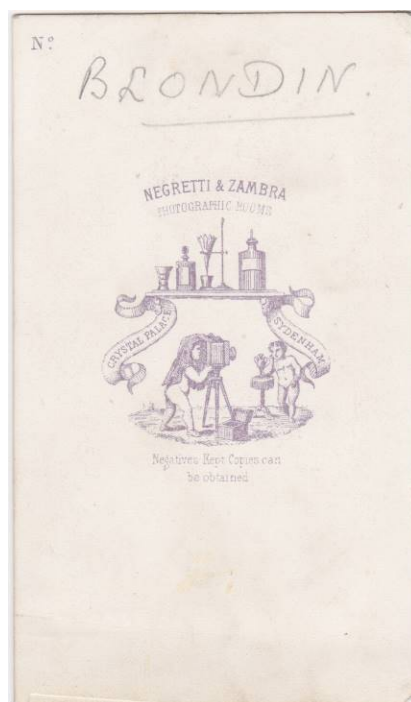


IMAGE NUMBER: 189-664(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Negretti & Zambra
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'BLONDON'

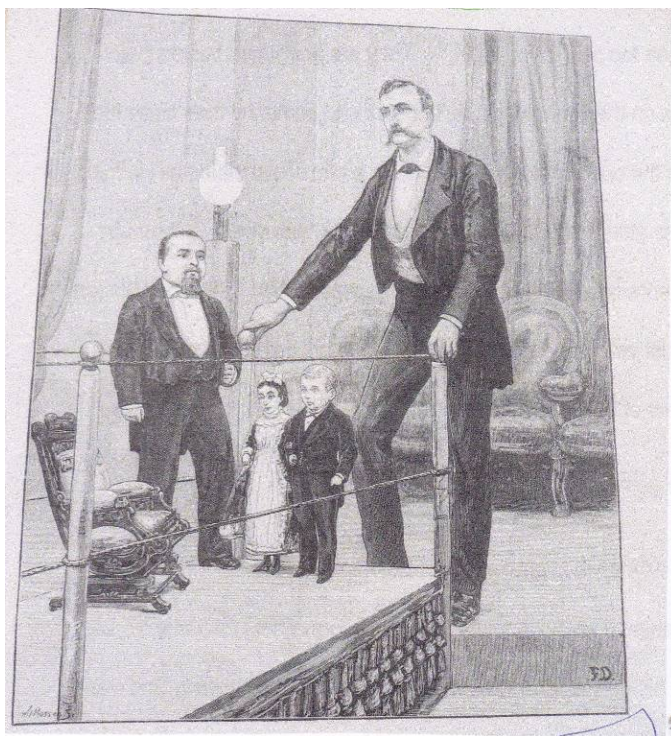


IMAGE NUMBER: 190-XA88

Print Title/Subject: "The Pigmies in Piccadilly: Lucia Zarate and General Mite, with the Exhibitor"

Format & Colour: newspaper illustration

Date Image Taken: 1880

Additional Comments: Illustration accompanying article entitled 'The Pigmies in Piccadilly' in *The Illustrated London News*, 27 November 1880, pp.517.



IMAGE NUMBER: 191-1061a

Print Title/Subject: General Mite & Millie Edwards with E.F. Flynn

Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1881

Additional Comments:

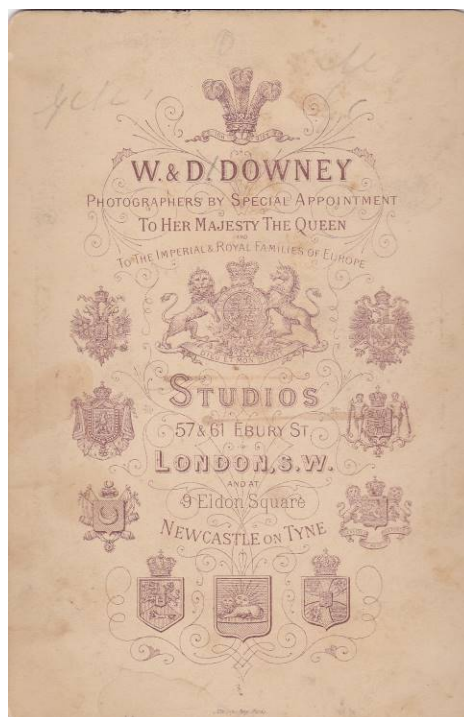


IMAGE NUMBER: 191-1061b

Backplate

Studio Crest: W & D Downey

Publisher: Marion Imp. Paris

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 192-472(A)a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Marian, as the
 Giant Amazon Queen' in "Babil and Bijou."
 Alhambra Theatre.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1880
 Additional Comments:

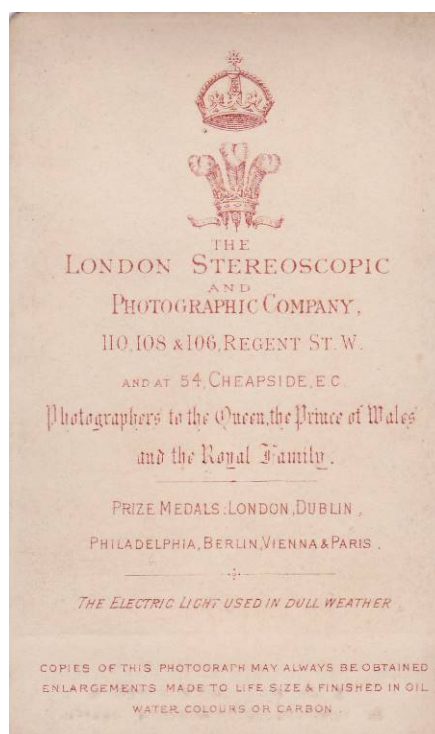


IMAGE NUMBER: 192-472(A)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: London Stereoscopic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 193-XA19
 Print Title/Subject: Maximo and Bartello
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Studio: W. & D. Downey
 Date Image Taken: c. 1874
 Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. NPG No. x132258

CASE STUDY 1: THE ROYAL FAMILY - ILLUSTRATIONS



IMAGE NUMBER: 194-XA26

Print Title/Subject: 3. The Queen

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: 195-XA77a

Print Title/Subject: Unnamed lady

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 195-XA77b

Backplate

Studio Crest: none

Publisher: none

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 196-XA25

Print Title/Subject: 2. The Queen and Princess Beatrice

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted in page into the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: 197-XA27

Print Title/Subject: 4. The Prince Consort

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: 198-XA30

Print Title/Subject: 7. Princess Alice

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: 199-XA34

Print Title/Subject: 11. Princess Louisa

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: 200-XA28

Print Title/Subject: 6. The Prince of Wales

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: 201-XA31

Print Title/Subject: 8. Prince Alfred

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas

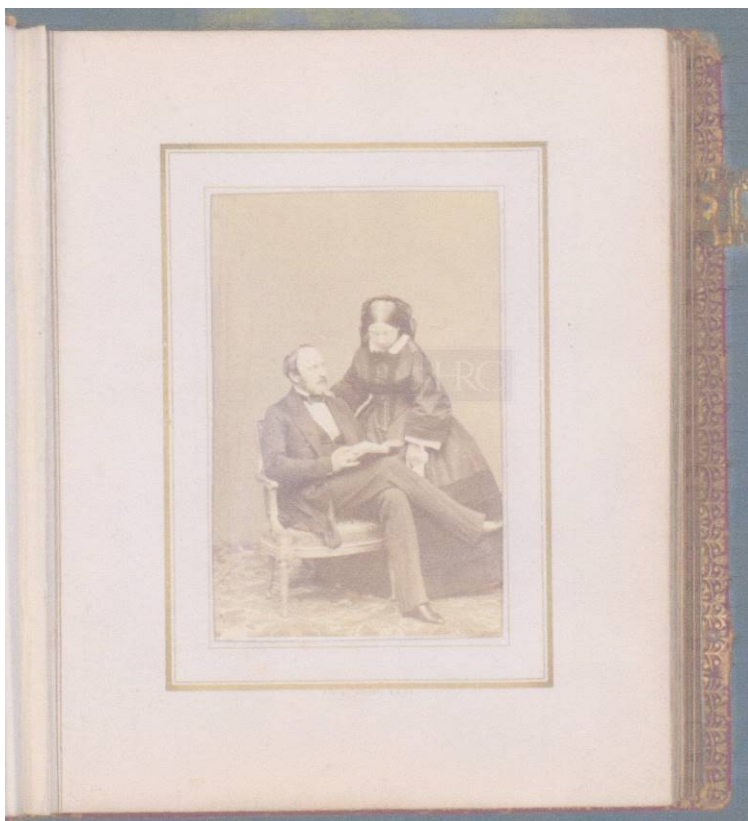


IMAGE NUMBER: 202-XA24

Print Title/Subject: 1. The Queen and Prince Consort

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte slotted into page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: 203-906a

Print Title/Subject: The Royal Family

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 203-906b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: '1859'



IMAGE NUMBER: 204-742a

Print Title/Subject: The Royal Family

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1862

Additional Comments:

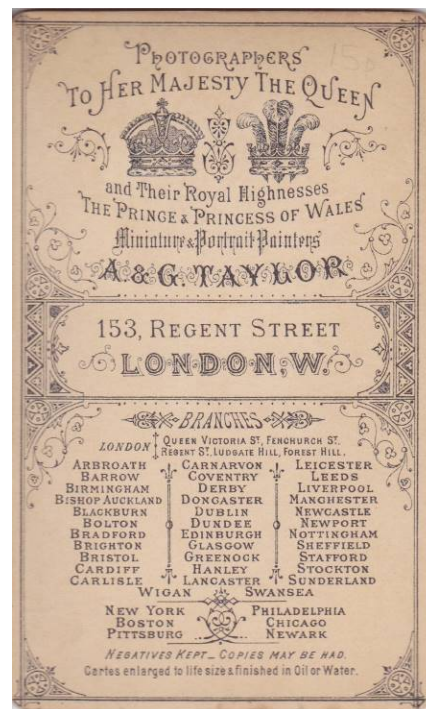


IMAGE NUMBER: 204-742b

Backplate

Studio Crest: A. & G. Taylor

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 205-550a
Print Title/Subject: 'Her Majesty' Queen Victoria
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:
'Mayall Fecit March 1st 1861'
printed into photograph

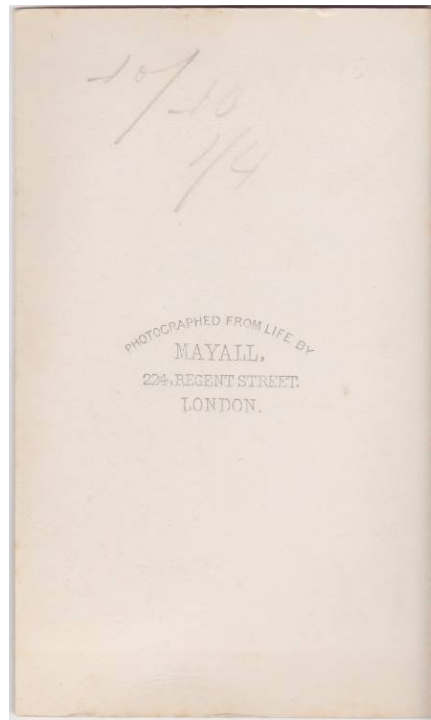


IMAGE NUMBER: 205-550b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: none recorded
Additional Comments:
'1 of 10 1/4' written in period hand in pencil



IMAGE NUMBER: 206-549a
Print Title/Subject: 'Her Majesty' Queen Victoria
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:
'Mayall Fecit March 1st 1861' printed into
photograph

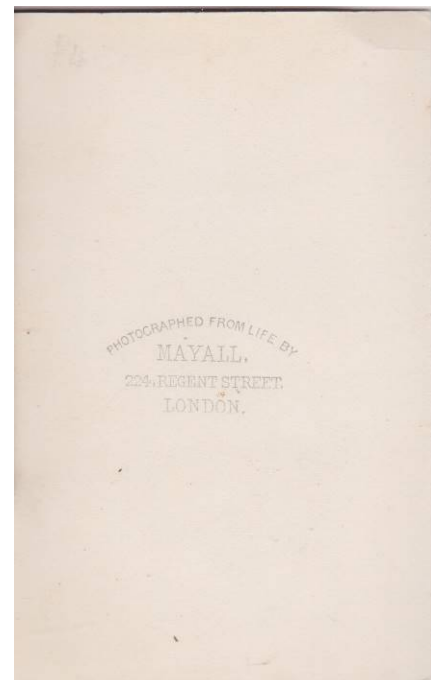


IMAGE NUMBER: 206-549b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: none recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 207-552a
 Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand/coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:
 'Mayall Fecit March 1st 1861' printed in photograph
 The print has been encased in a gilt frame (with glass)

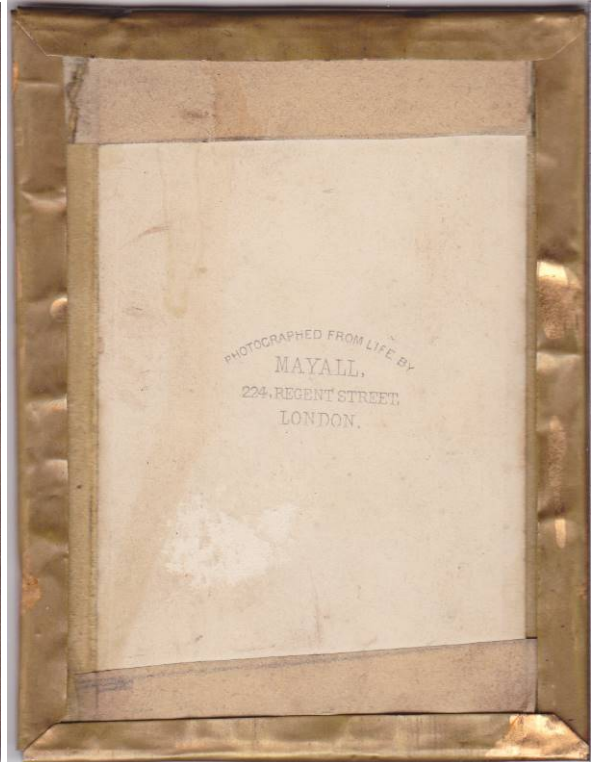


IMAGE NUMBER: 207-552b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: A. Marion
 Additional Comments:

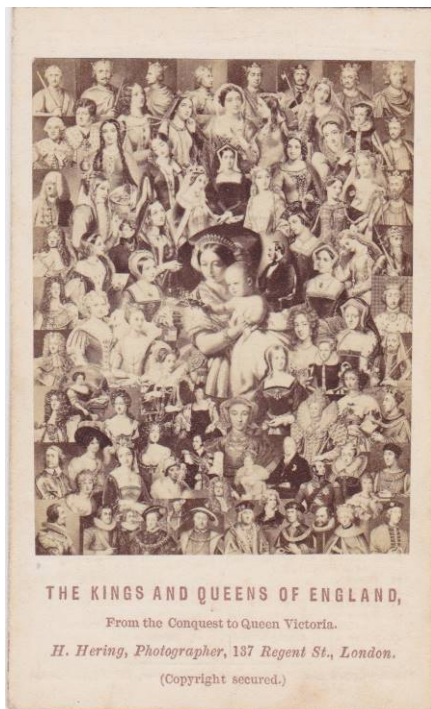


IMAGE NUMBER: 208-322a
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Kings and Queens of England'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

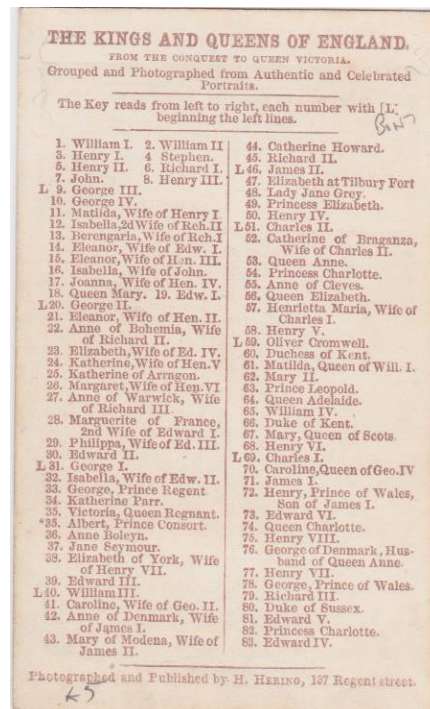


IMAGE NUMBER: 208-322b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: H. Hering
 Publisher: (also by Hering)
 Additional Comments: A key to the figures in the picture takes up the backplate
 Modern hand in pencil: '£5'



IMAGE NUMBER: 209-11a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Her Majesty and the Chief Ministers of State.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

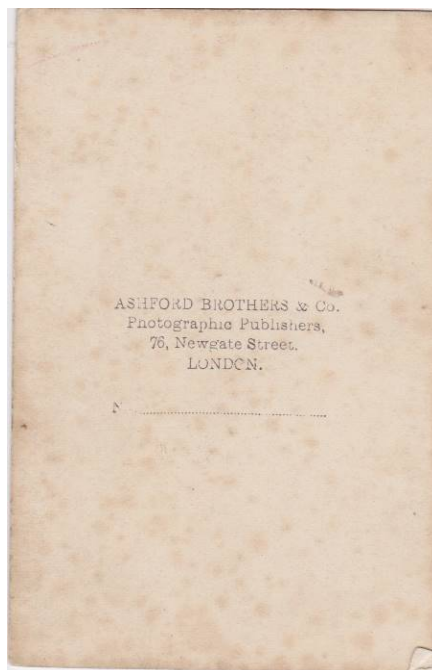


IMAGE NUMBER: 209-11b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: Ashford, Brothers & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 210-6a
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Source of England's Greatness'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

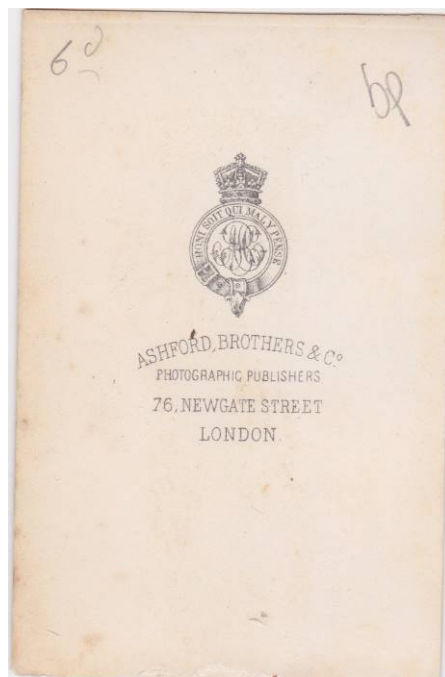


IMAGE NUMBER: 210-6b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (see below)
 Publisher: Ashford, Brothers & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '6d'



IMAGE NUMBER: 211-125a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Her Majesty the Queen'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Studio name printed on front:
 Cundall Downes & Co. (copyright)

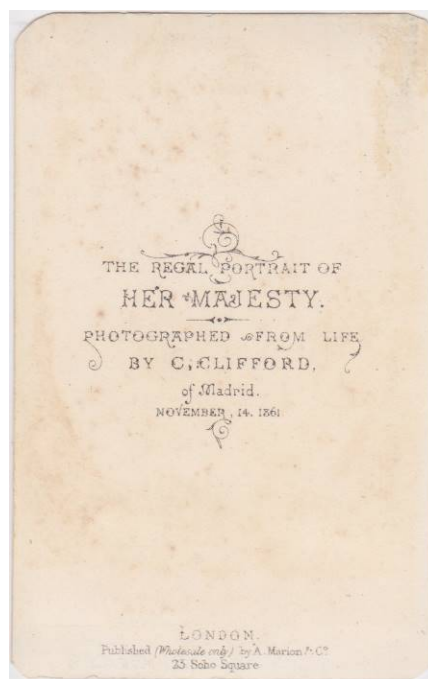


IMAGE NUMBER: 211-125b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: C. Clifford, Madrid
 Publisher: A. Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Photographer detailed as C. Clifford of Madrid

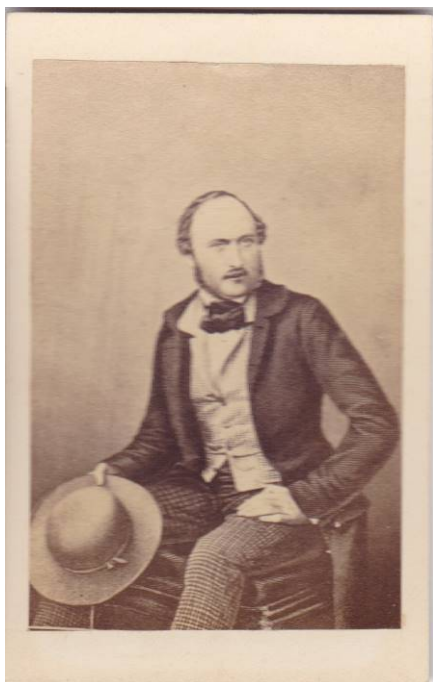


IMAGE NUMBER: 212-856a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1858
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 212-856b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Albert Prince Consort'



IMAGE NUMBER: 213-555a
Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. The Prince Consort'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments: Printed in the print:
'Mayall fecit Dec 1st 1861'

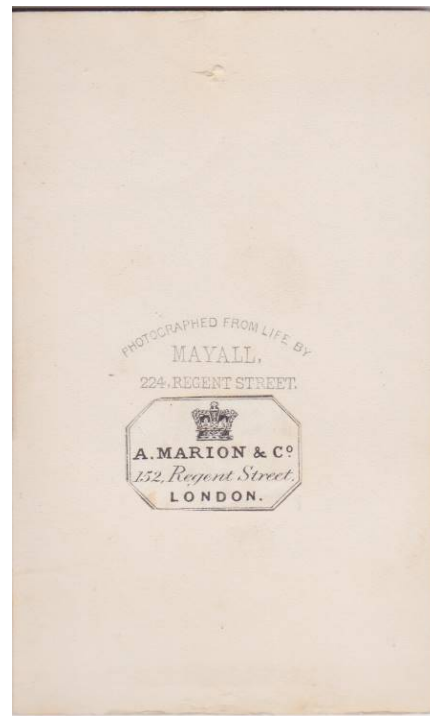


IMAGE NUMBER: 213-555b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Label attached to backplate: 'A. Marion & Co.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 214-679a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 214-679b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Poulton
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '1/6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 215-699a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:

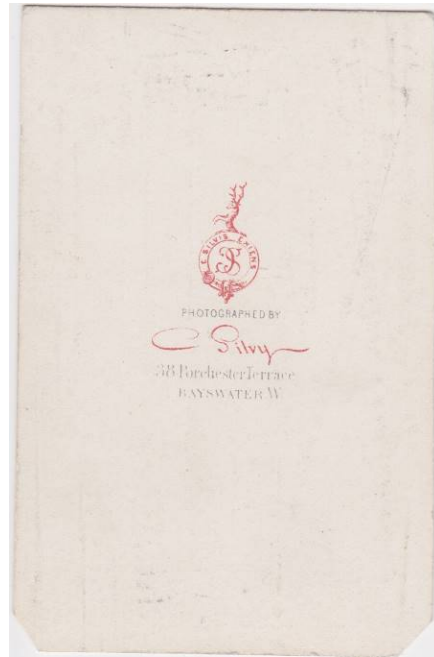


IMAGE NUMBER: 215-699b
Backplate
Studio Crest: C. Silvy
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 216-862a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 216-862b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 217-139a
Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria and Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860-1
Additional Comments:

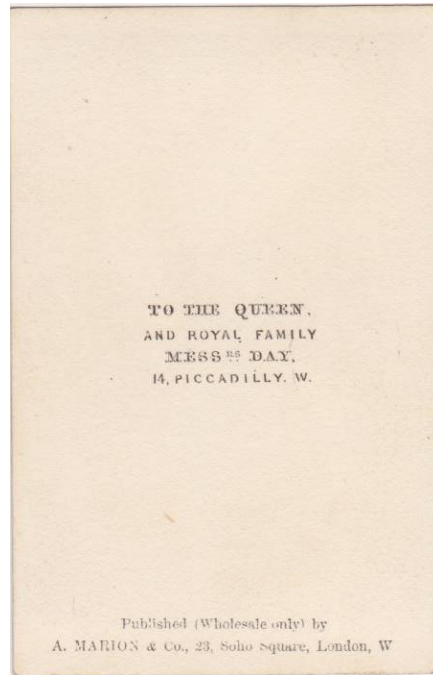


IMAGE NUMBER: 217-139b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Messrs. Day
Publisher: A. Marion & Co.
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 218-XA41
Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria and Prince Albert
Studio: Mayall
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments: Image not in the author's collection. Illustrated in Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations*, (London, 1998), pp.48-51.



IMAGE NUMBER: 219-XA42

Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria and Prince Albert

Studio: Mayall

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1861

Additional Comments: Image not in the author's collection. Illustrated in Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations*, (London, 1998), pp.48-51.



IMAGE NUMBER: 220-XA40

Print Title/Subject: 'The Queen and Prince Albert'

Studio: Mayall

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1861

Additional Comments: Image not in the author's collection. NPG No. Ax128901



IMAGE NUMBER: 221-XA32

Print Title/Subject: 9. Princess Helena and Princess Louisa

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia Studio: Mayall

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments: Carte published in page in the Royal Album, University of Austin, Texas



IMAGE NUMBER: 222-720a

Print Title/Subject: 'Her Majesty The Queen'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1860

Additional Comments:

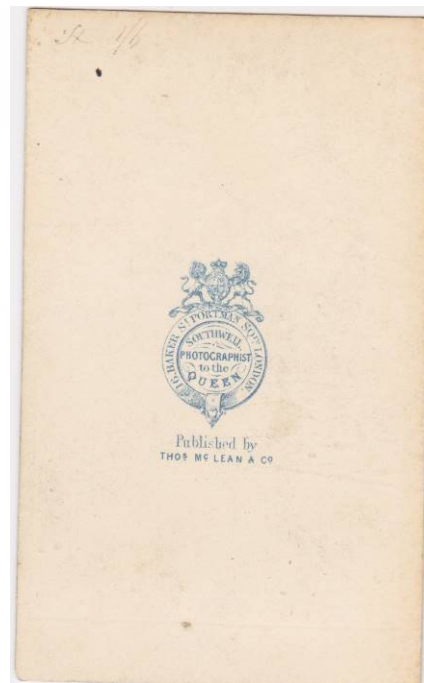


IMAGE NUMBER: 222-720b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Southwell

Publisher: Thos. McLean & Co.

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'H 1/6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 223-568a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Arthur
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Printed in the print:
 'Mayall fecit March 1st 1861'



IMAGE NUMBER: 223-568b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Prince Arthur'



IMAGE NUMBER: 224-565a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. The Prince Arthur'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments:

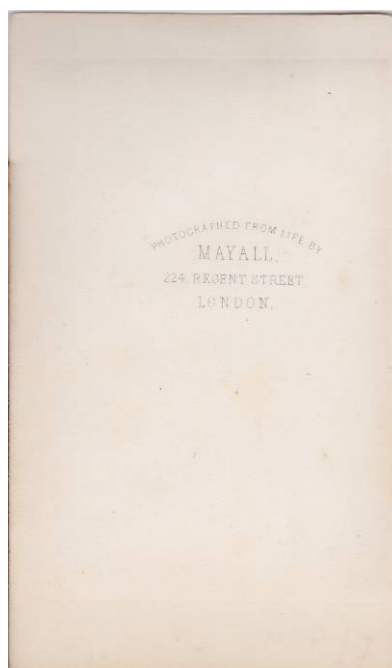


IMAGE NUMBER: 224-565b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 225-862a
Print Title/Subject: 'The Late Prince Consort'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:

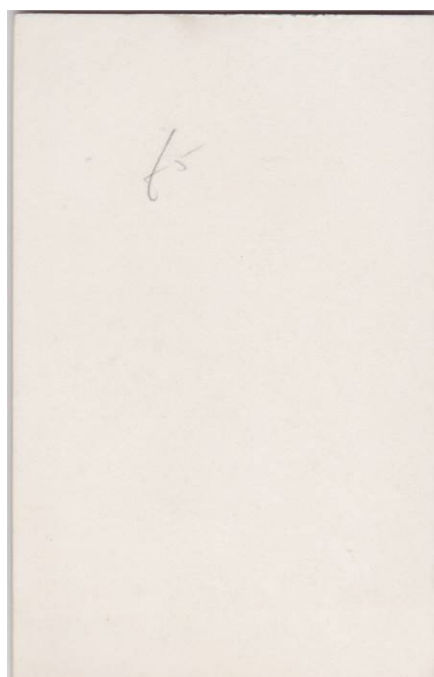


IMAGE NUMBER: 225-862b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: '£5'



IMAGE NUMBER: 226-860a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

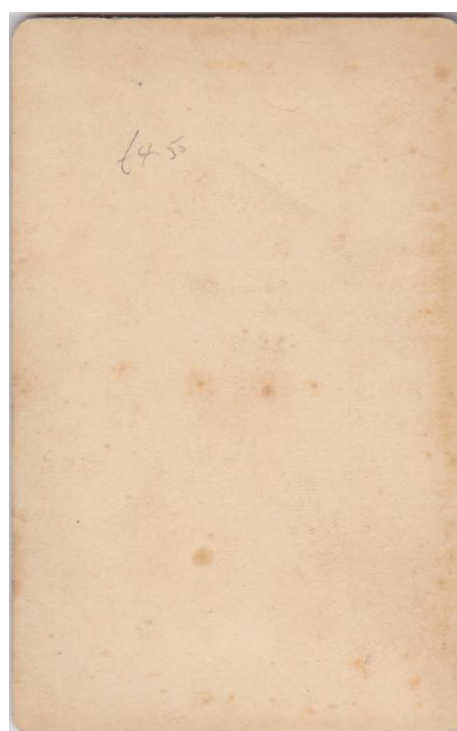


IMAGE NUMBER: 226-860b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: '£4.50'



IMAGE NUMBER: 227-866a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Souvenir of His Late Royal Highness PRINCE ALBERT. Died Decr. 14th 1861. Windsor Castle.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 227-866b
 Backplate

Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 228-865a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments:

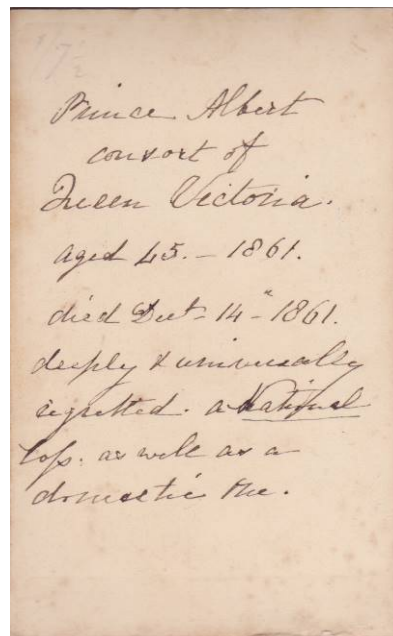


IMAGE NUMBER: 228-865b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Prince Albert consort of Queen Victoria. aged 45. - 1861. Died Decb 14the 1861. deeply & universally regretted. a National loss, as well as a domestic one.'

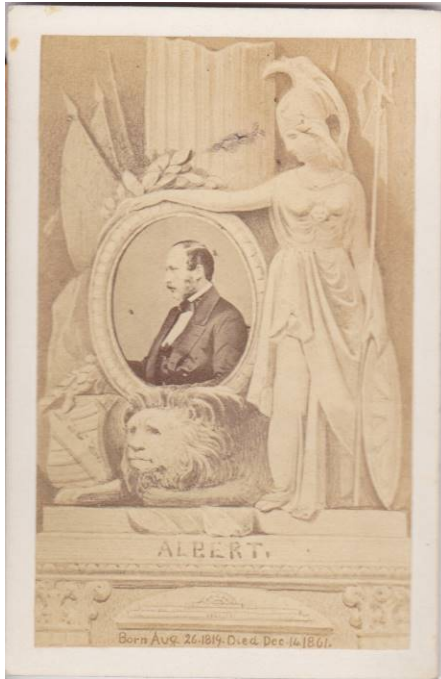


IMAGE NUMBER: 229-863a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments: Text in print:
'Albert. Born Aug 26 1819 Died Dec 14 1861'



IMAGE NUMBER: 229-863b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 230-480a
Print Title/Subject: The Death-bed of Prince Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

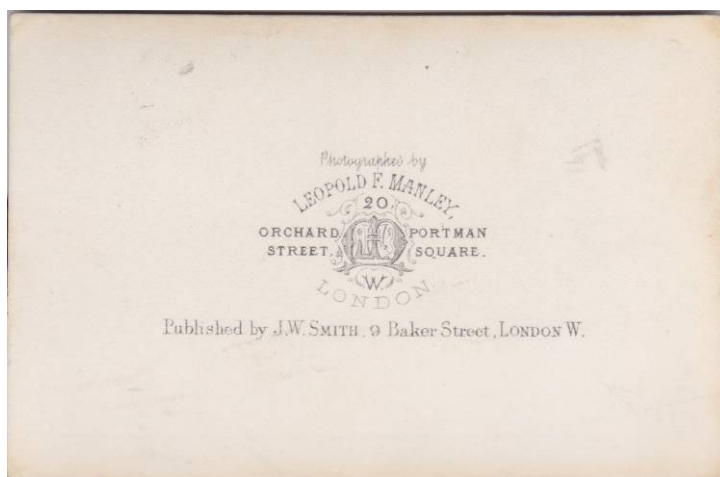


IMAGE NUMBER: 230-480b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Leopold F. Manley

Publisher: J.W. Smith

Additional Comments:

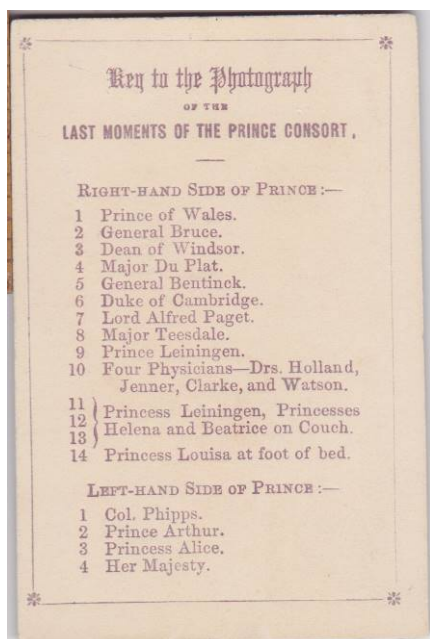


IMAGE NUMBER: 231-481a

Print Title/Subject: Printed 'Key to the Photograph
of the Last Moments of the Prince Consort'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1861

Additional Comments: Text listing the people
shown in the previous photograph

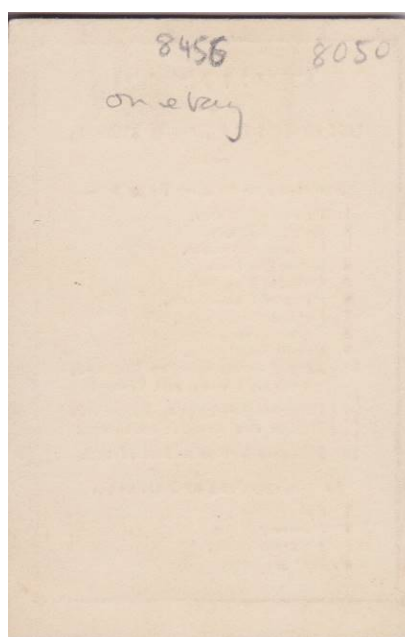


IMAGE NUMBER: 231-481b

Backplate

Studio Crest: (none recorded)

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 232-845a
Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

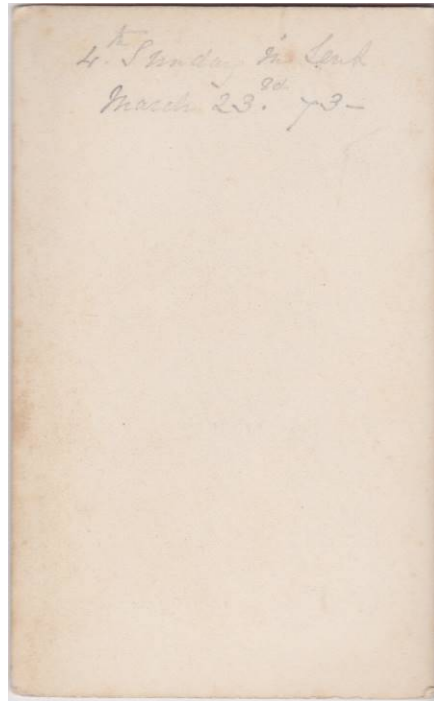


IMAGE NUMBER: 232-845b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '4th Sunday in Lent March 23rd 73'



IMAGE NUMBER: 233-548a
Print Title/Subject: 'Her Majesty' Queen Victoria
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:

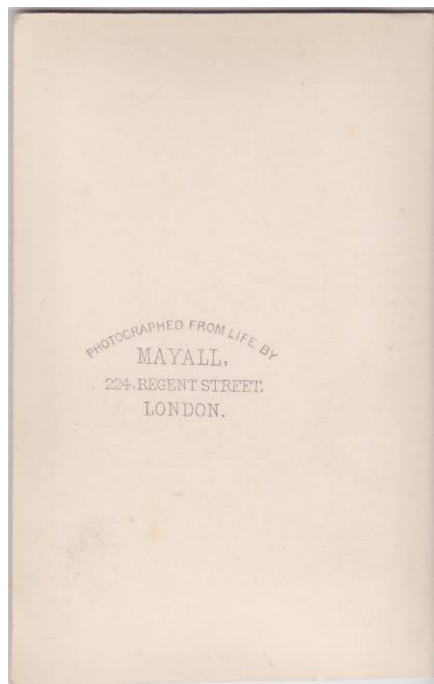


IMAGE NUMBER: 233-548b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: none recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 234-844a
Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

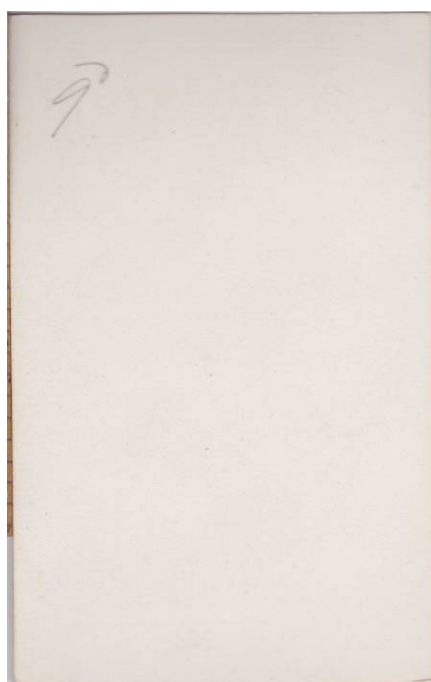


IMAGE NUMBER: 234-844b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '9d'



IMAGE NUMBER: 235-846a
Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

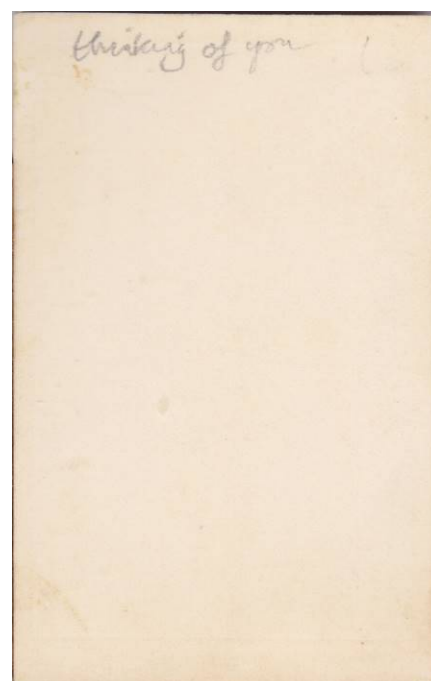


IMAGE NUMBER: 235-846b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'thinking of you'



IMAGE NUMBER: 236-869a

Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. Prince of Wales' and 'The Princess Alexandra'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1863

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 236-869b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 237-868a
Print Title/Subject: 'May You be Happy'
Prince Edward and Alexandra
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1863
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 237-868b
Backplate

Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 238-310a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Edward
Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
Date Image Taken: c. 1863
Additional Comments: Studio name on front of mount:
Ghemar Freres, Bruxelles

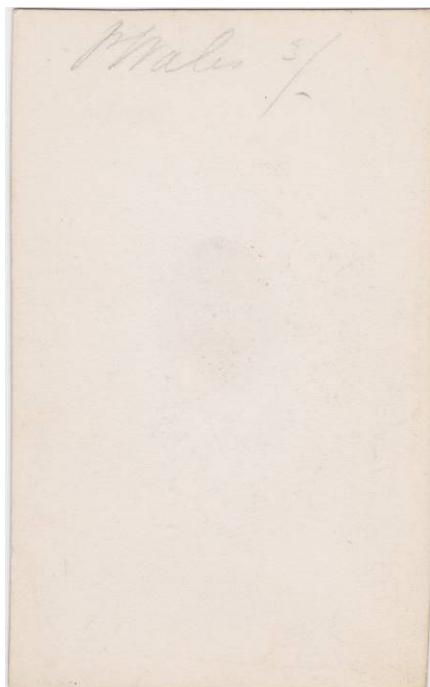


IMAGE NUMBER: 238-310b
Backplate
Studio Crest: (on front)
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'P Wales 3/'



IMAGE NUMBER: 239-311a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front of mount:
 Ghemar Freres, Bruxelles

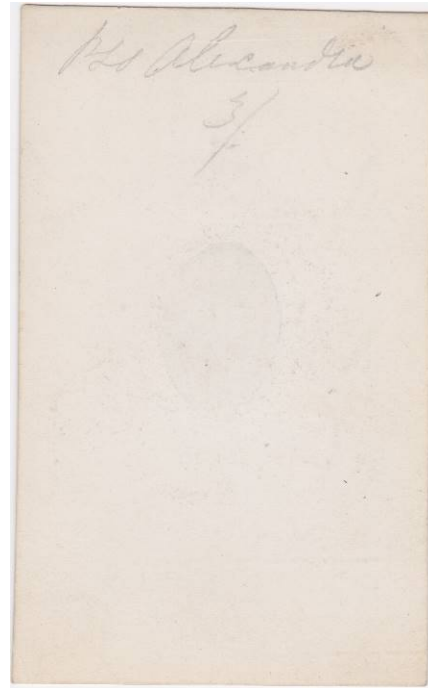


IMAGE NUMBER: 239-311b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Pss Alexandra 3/4'



IMAGE NUMBER: 240-340a
 Print Title/Subject: 'T.R.H. Prince & Princes of Wales
 & Prince Victor'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount:
 '1/6'

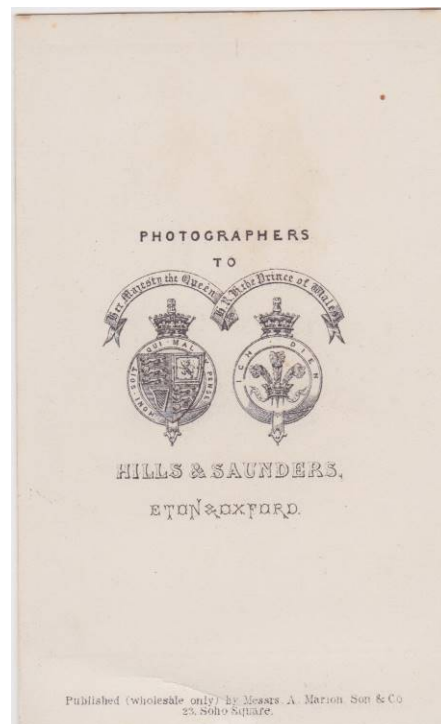


IMAGE NUMBER: 240-340b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Hills & Saunders, Eton & Oxford
 Publisher: A. Marion, Son & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 241-188a
 Print Title/Subject: Prince & Princess of Wales and children
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 241-188b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 242-161a
 Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 242-161b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle and London
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Queen Victoria'



W & D. DOWNEY Copyright LONDON & NEWCASTLE

IMAGE NUMBER: 243-159a
 Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

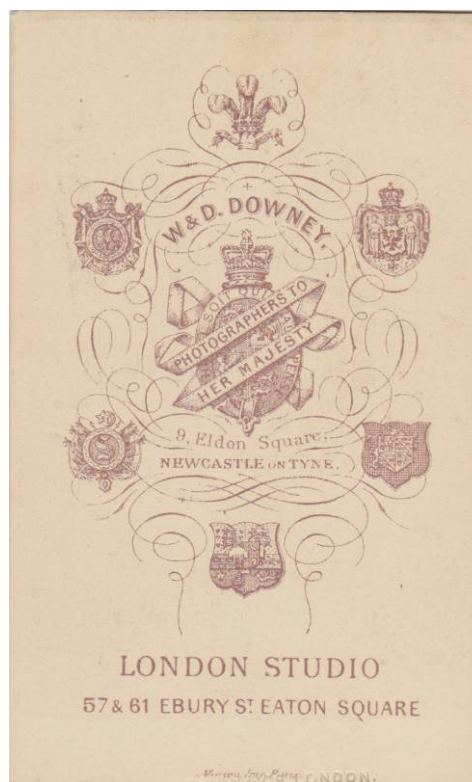


IMAGE NUMBER: 243-159b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle and London
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments:



W & D. DOWNEY COPYRIGHT

IMAGE NUMBER: 244-163a
 Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

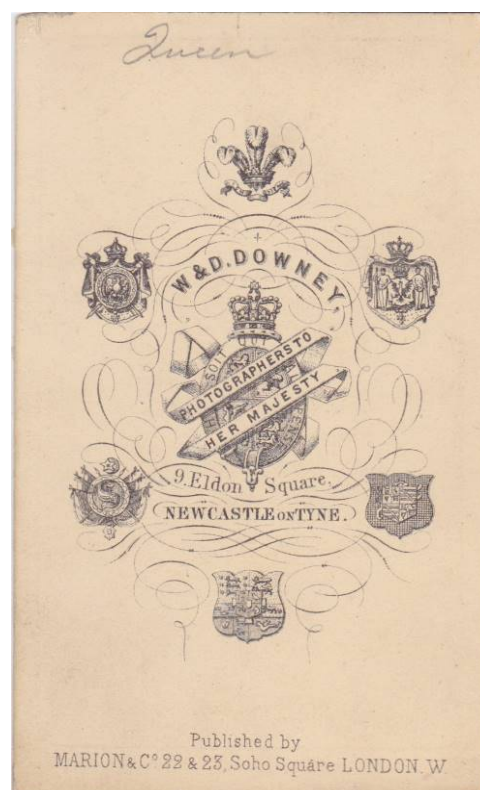


IMAGE NUMBER: 244-163b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Queen'



IMAGE NUMBER: 245-166a
 Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

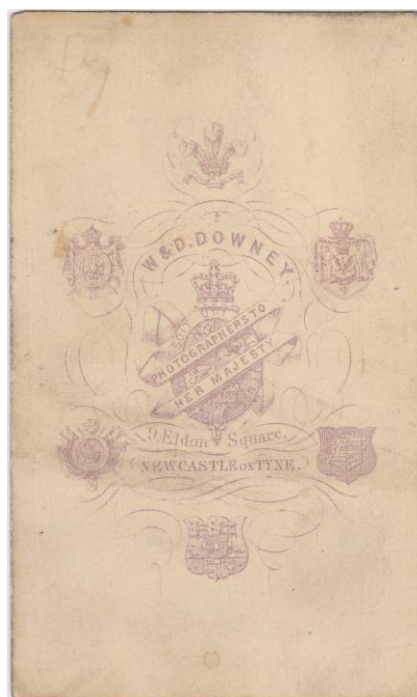


IMAGE NUMBER: 245-166b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 246-158a
 Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

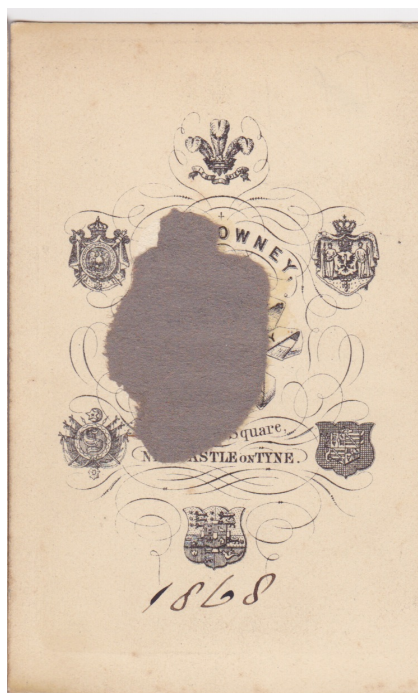


IMAGE NUMBER: 246-158b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: '1868'

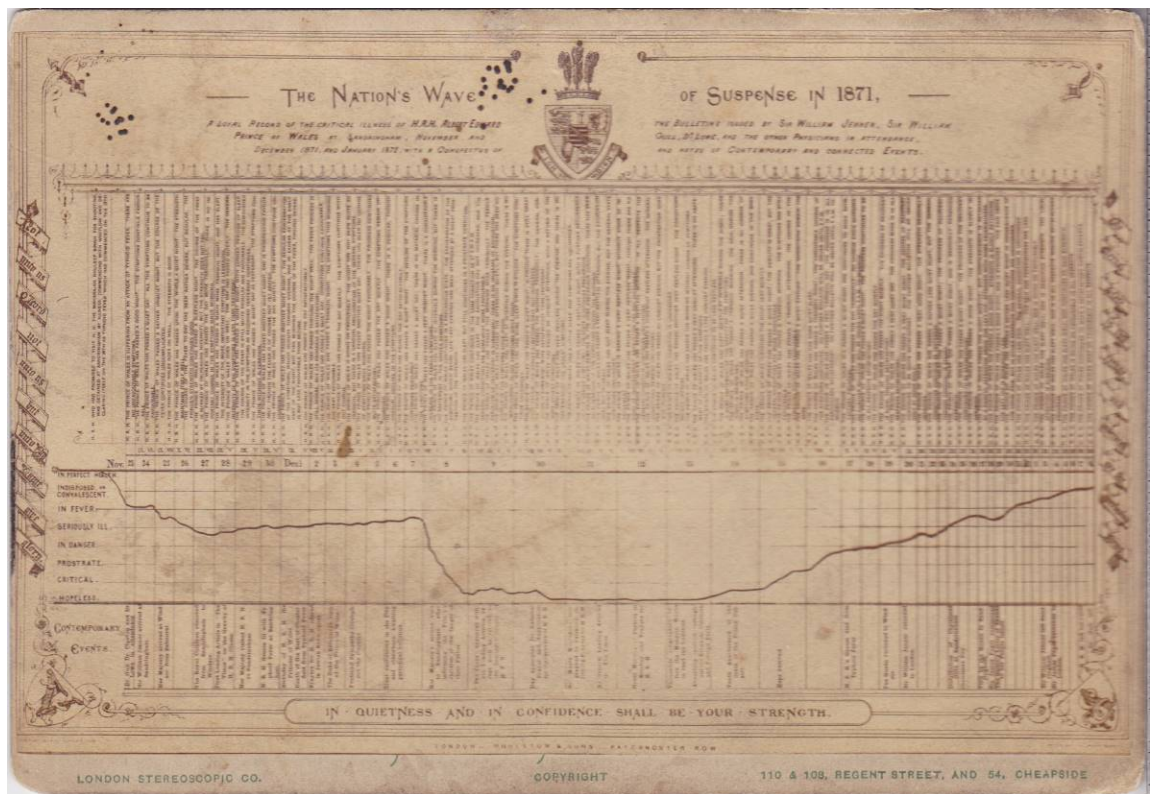


IMAGE NUMBER: 247-1054a

Print Title/Subject: 'The Nation's Wave of Suspense in 1871'

Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1871

Additional Comments: Studio name printed on mount: London Stereoscopic Co.



IMAGE NUMBER: 247-1054b

Backplate

Studio Crest: (on front mount)

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 248-165a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.M. The Queen'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments:

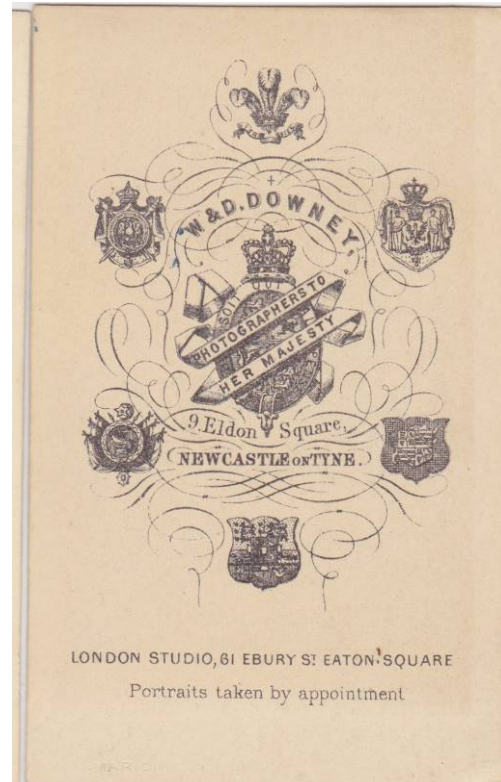


IMAGE NUMBER: 248-165b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle and London
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 249-653a
 Print Title/Subject: 'In Remembrance of the Thanksgiving Day'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1871
 Additional Comments:

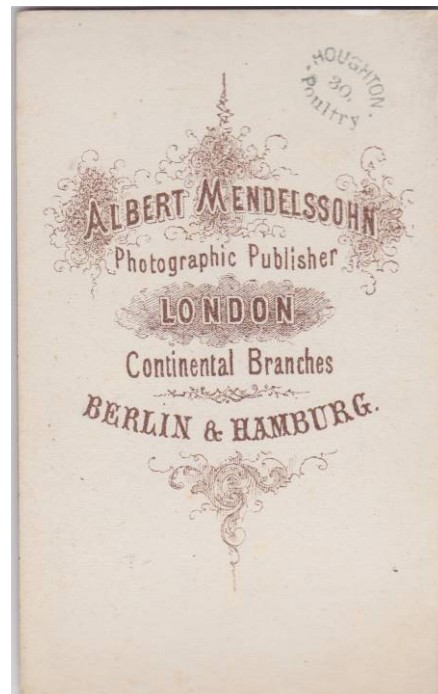


IMAGE NUMBER: 249-653b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Albert Mendelssohn
 Publisher: Albert Mendelssohn
 Additional Comments: Stamp applied to backplate: 'Houghton'

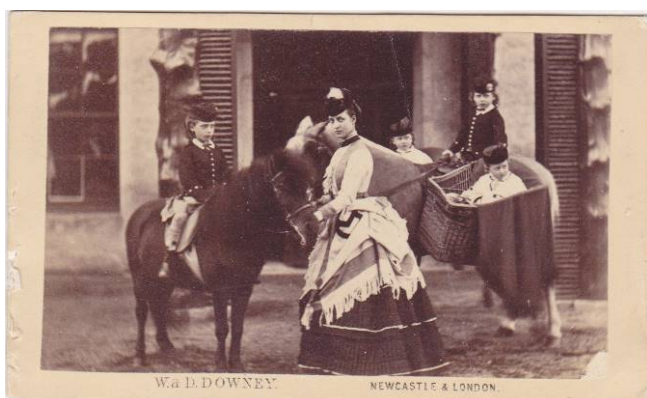


IMAGE NUMBER: 250-187a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales, children and pony
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 250-187b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle & London
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 251-185a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

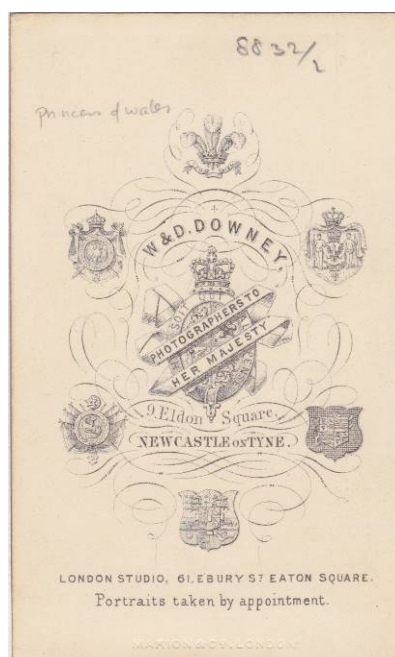


IMAGE NUMBER: 251-185b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle & London
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Princess of Wales 8832/2'



IMAGE NUMBER: 252-173a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 252-173b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 253-178a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. The Princess of Wales'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1871
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: '1871'



IMAGE NUMBER: 253-178b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle & London
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: '1871'



IMAGE NUMBER: 254-180a
 Print Title/Subject: Princess of Wales
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

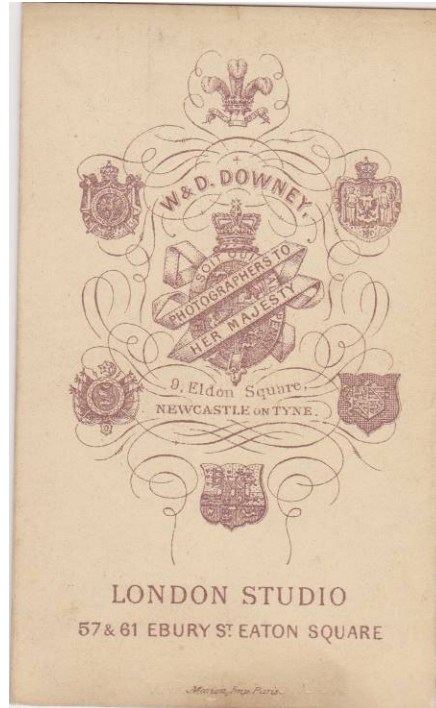


IMAGE NUMBER: 254-180b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle & London
 Publisher: Marion Imp. Paris
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 255-888a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. The Princess of Wales'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 255-888b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



H.R.H. the Princess of Wales in the Mining dress worn by Her Royal Highness in the descent of Botallack Mine July 24 1865.

IMAGE NUMBER: 256-683a

Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. the Princess of Wales'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1865

Additional Comments: Printed on mount:

'in the Mining dress worn by Her Royal Highness in the descent of Botallack Mine July 24 1865'

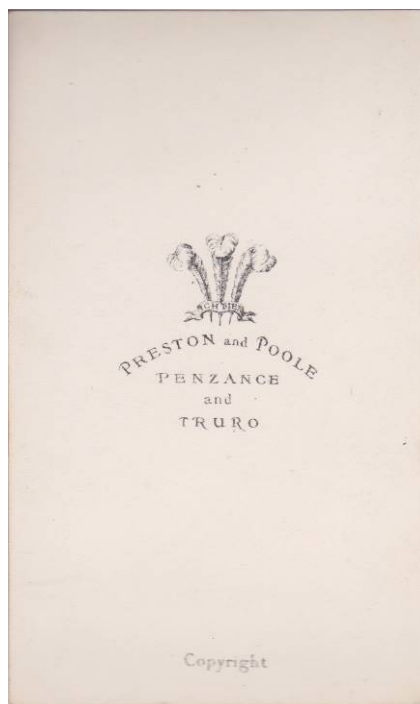


IMAGE NUMBER: 256-683b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Preston and Poole, Penzance and Truro

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 257-XA76

Print Title/Subject: Princess Alexandra

Studio: none

Format & Colour: sepia carte de visite-sized print affixed to album page sized 9" x 13"

Date Image Taken: c. 1863

Additional Comments: outlined in red ink by collector, with added wording below: 'Prin: of Wales'



IMAGE NUMBER: 258-589a
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Queen'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

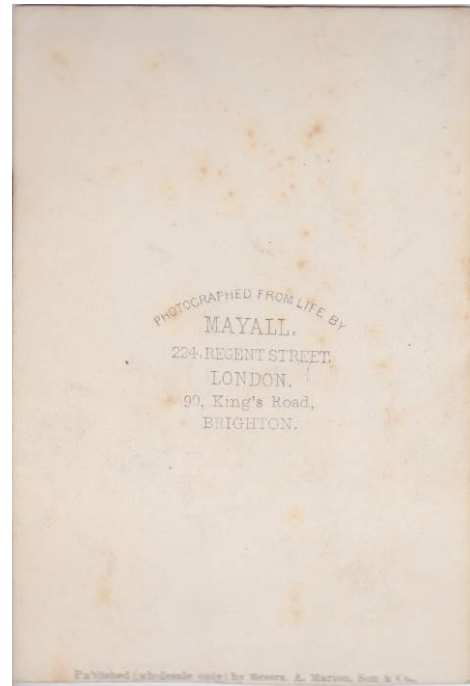


IMAGE NUMBER: 258-589b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: Messrs. A. Marion, Son & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 259-591a
 Print Title/Subject: royal family group on
 Prince and Princess of Wales's wedding day
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

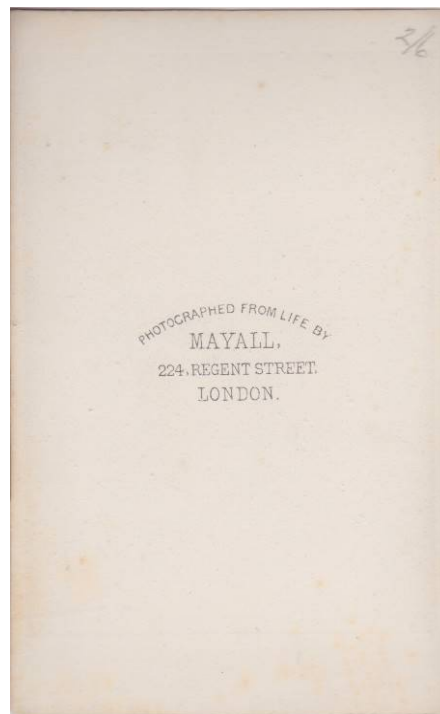


IMAGE NUMBER: 259-591b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '2/6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 260-591Aa
 Print Title/Subject: royal family group on Prince and Princess of Wales's wedding day
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

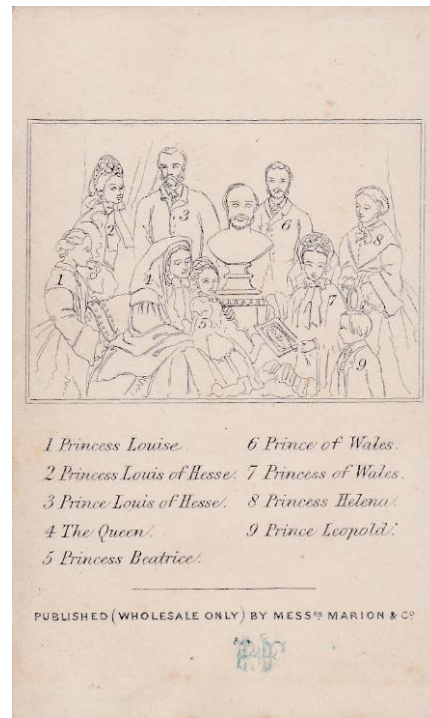


IMAGE NUMBER: 260-591Ab
 Backplate: artwork illustration of figures with key to identities
 Studio Crest: Mayall (on front)
 Publisher: Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 261-594a
 Print Title/Subject: 'H.R.H. The Prince of Wales'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

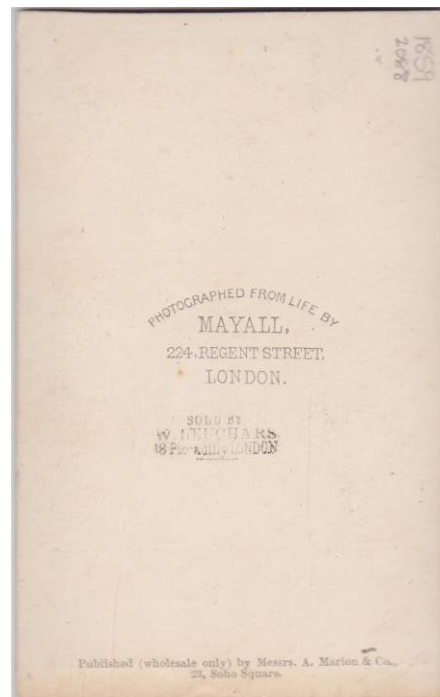


IMAGE NUMBER: 261-594b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: Messrs. A. Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Ink stamp: 'Sold by W. Leuchars'



IMAGE NUMBER: 262-1060a

Print Title/Subject: Queen Victoria, Edward, George and baby

Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1893

Additional Comments:

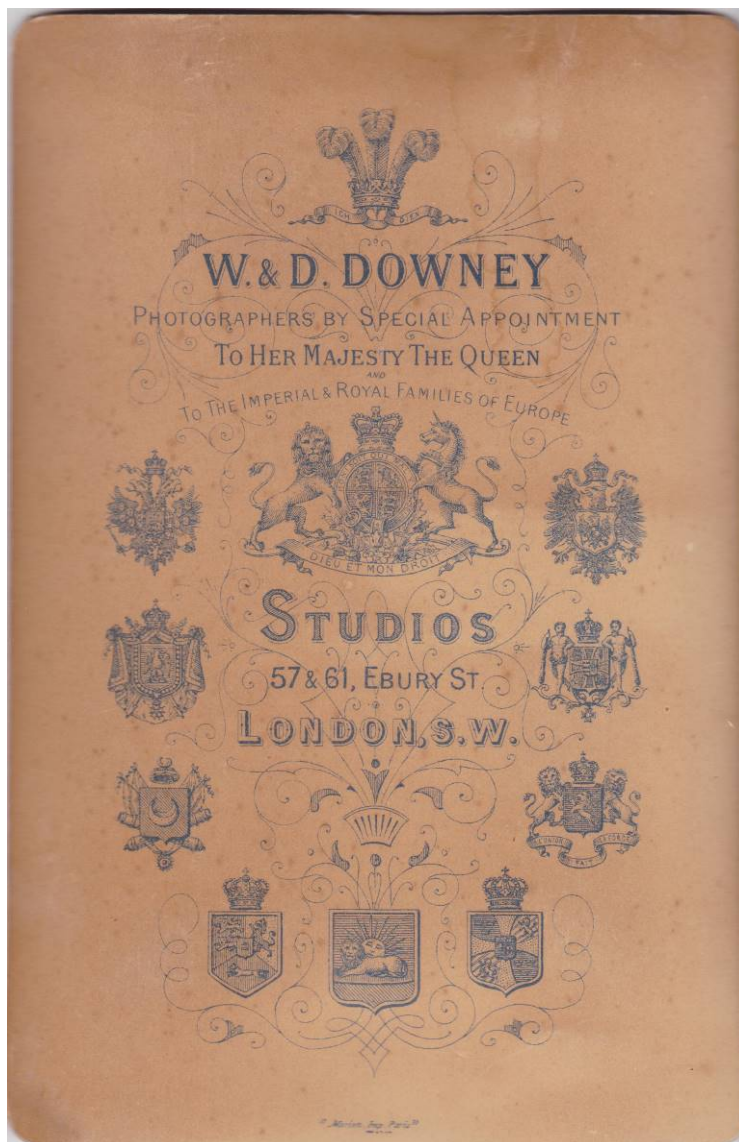


IMAGE NUMBER: 262-1060b

Backplate

Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey

Publisher: Marion, Imp. Paris

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 263-1055a

Print Title/Subject: The Royal Family (composite of images)

Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1880

Additional Comments: Studio/Publisher name printed on front mount: William Luks



IMAGE NUMBER: 263-1055b

Backplate

Studio Crest: (on front mount)

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 264-1060(B)a

Print Title/Subject: Prince Edward

Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1885

Additional Comments: Handwritten in pencil in period hand below the image: 'Edward, The Prince of Wales and the next King of England':

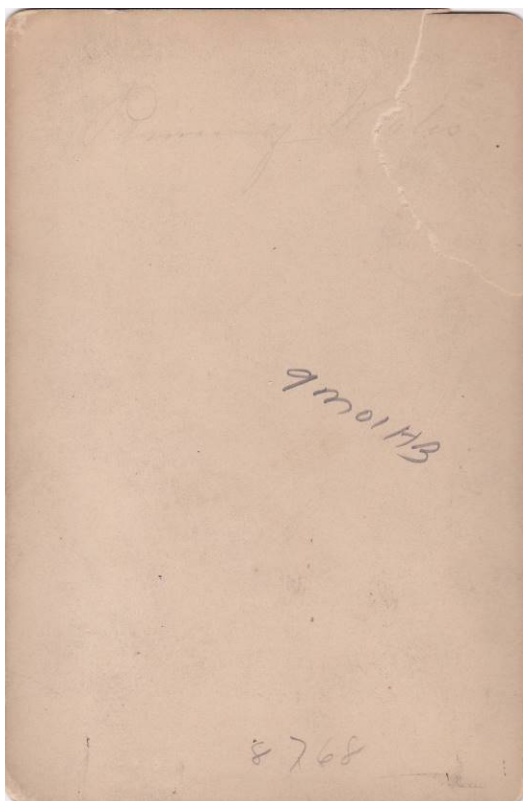


IMAGE NUMBER: 264-1060(B)b

Backplate

Studio Crest: none

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '8768' Modern hand in pencil: '9M01HB'



IMAGE NUMBER: 265-874a
Print Title/Subject: Prince and Princess of Wales
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1870
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 265-874b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 266-113a
Print Title/Subject: 'A Real German Defeat'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1870-71
Additional Comments: Text in print:
'Now Scotland's Chieftan triumphs in the strife
secures a lovely Princess and a happy wife'



IMAGE NUMBER: 266-113b
Backplate
Studio Crest: P.E. Chappuis
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 267-391a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Her Imperial Majesty Victoria'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1880
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front mount:
 Stereoscopic Coy.



IMAGE NUMBER: 267-391b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Advertising CDV £10'
 Backplate taken up with an advert for The
 Consumers' Tea Company

CASE STUDY 2: STATESMEN: ILLUSTRATIONS



IMAGE NUMBER: 268-613a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Earl Derby'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Printed in print:
 'Mayall Feb. 1st 1861'

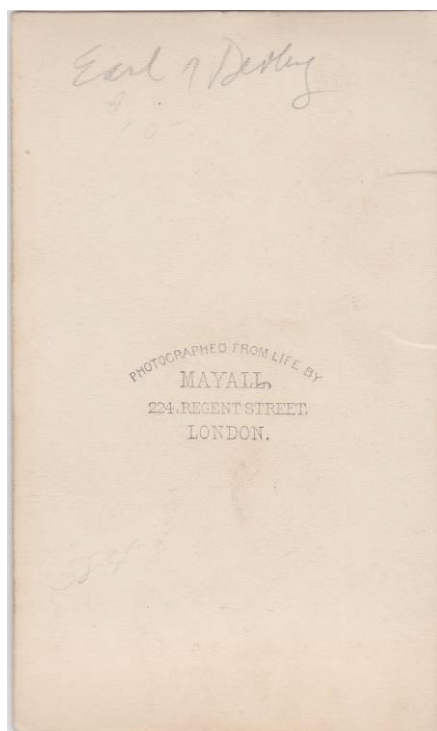


IMAGE NUMBER: 268-613b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 269-83a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Granville
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

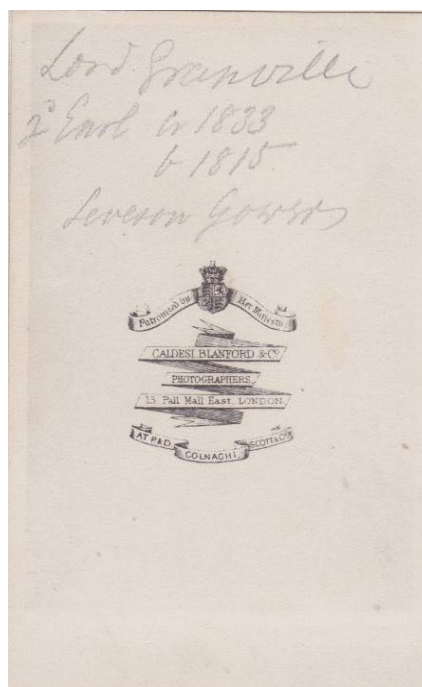


IMAGE NUMBER: 269-83b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Caldesi, Blanford & Co.
 Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Granville 2nd Earl
 cr 1833 b 1815
 Leveson Gower'



IMAGE NUMBER: 270-370a
Print Title/Subject: Disraeli
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

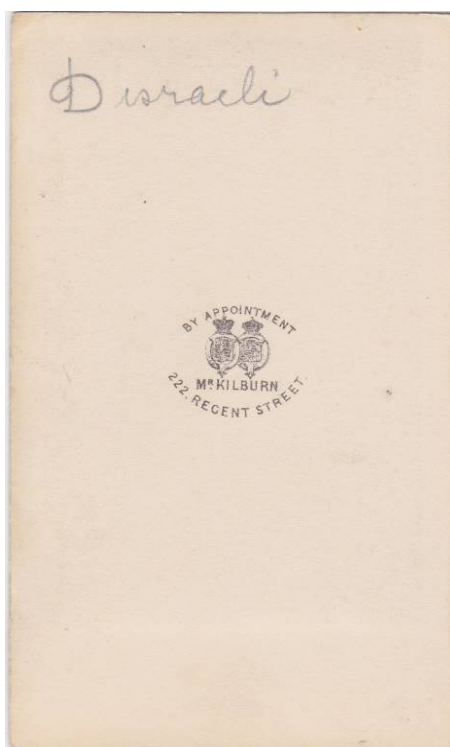


IMAGE NUMBER: 270-370b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mr. Kilburn
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Disraeli'



IMAGE NUMBER: 271-217a
Print Title/Subject: John Roebuck
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:

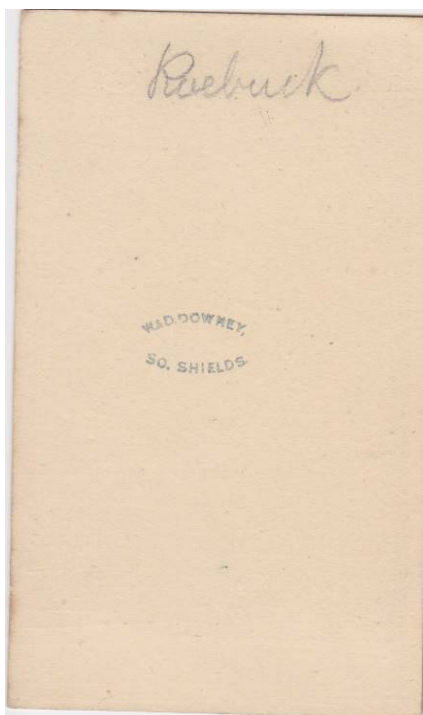


IMAGE NUMBER: 271-217b
Backplate
Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, South Shields
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Roebuck'



IMAGE NUMBER: 272-82a
Print Title/Subject: Lord Grosvenor
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:

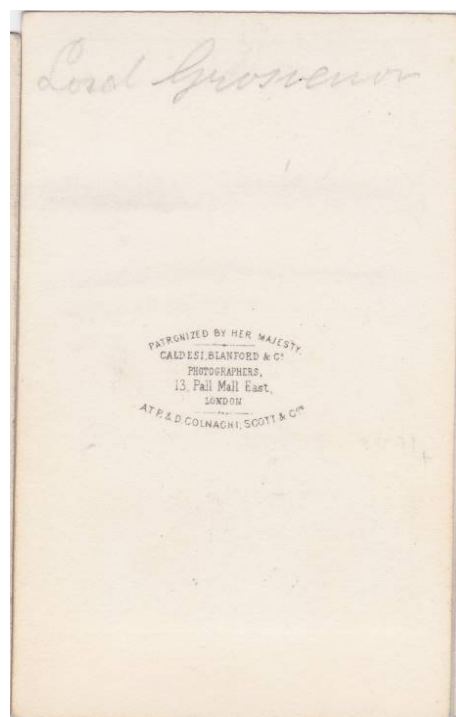


IMAGE NUMBER: 272-82b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Caldesi Blanford & Co.
Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Grosvenor'



IMAGE NUMBER: 273-612a
Print Title/Subject: 'Earl Derby'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

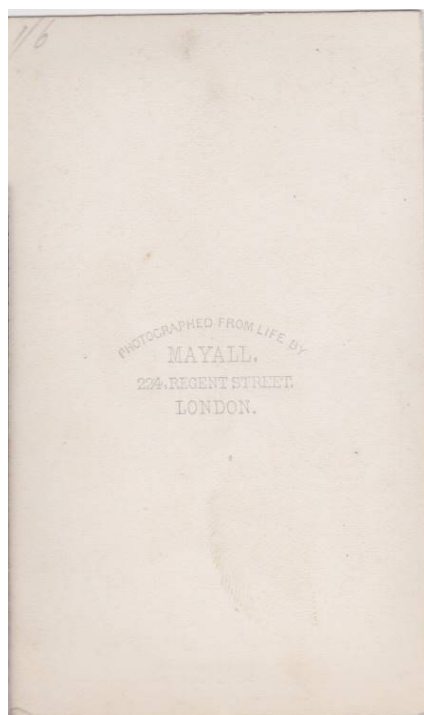


IMAGE NUMBER: 273-612b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '1/6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 274-951a
 Print Title/Subject: John Roebuck
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount:
 'Mr. J.A. Roebuck'

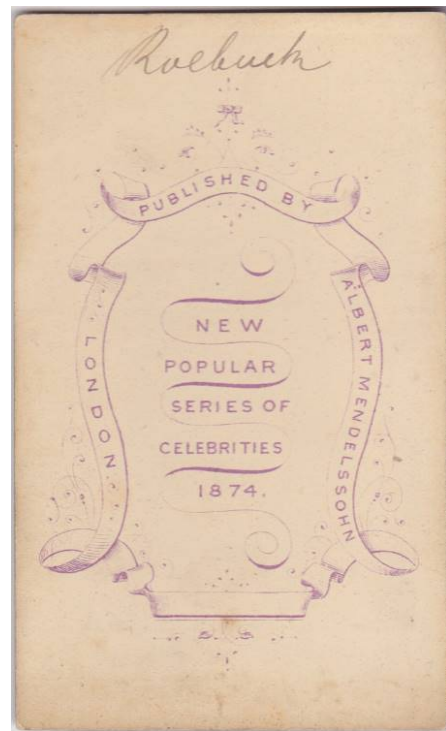


IMAGE NUMBER: 274-951b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Printed on backplate: 'New Popular Series of
 Celebrities 1874.
 Published by Albert Mendelssohn'

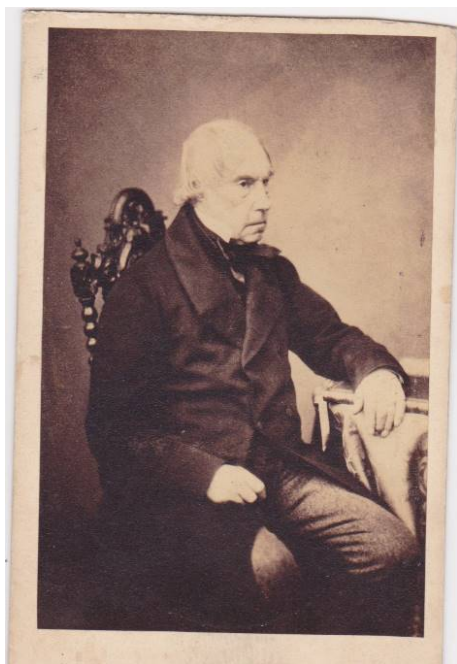


IMAGE NUMBER: 275-506a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Aberdeen
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments:

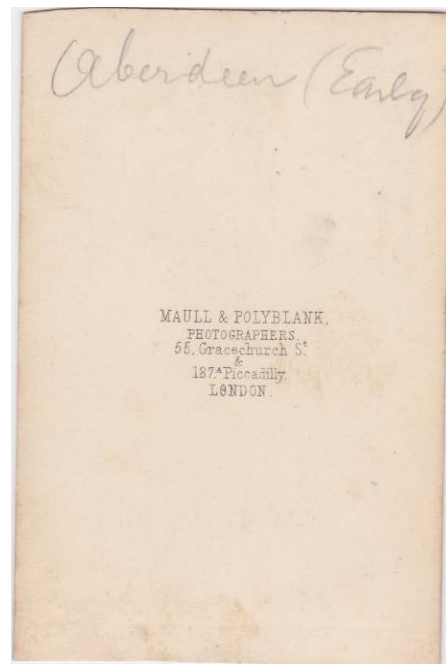


IMAGE NUMBER: 275-506b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Aberdeen (Early)'



IMAGE NUMBER: 276-746(B)a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Derby
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

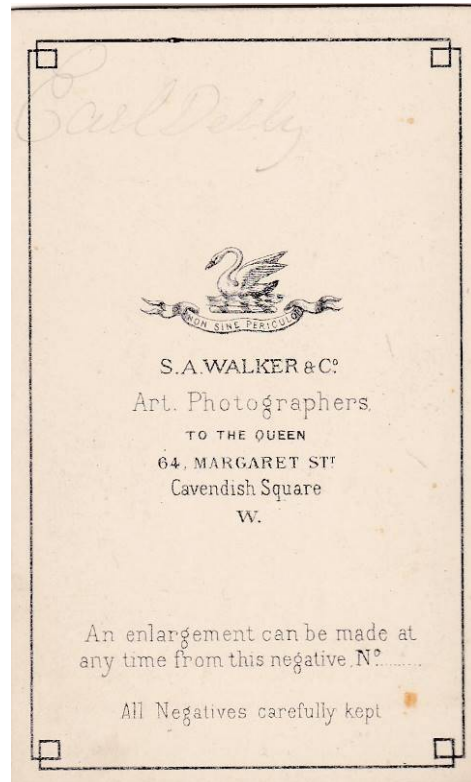


IMAGE NUMBER: 276-746(B)b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: S.A. Walker & Co.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil 'Earl Derby'



IMAGE NUMBER: 277-79a
 Print Title/Subject: Sir G. Cornwall Lewis
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

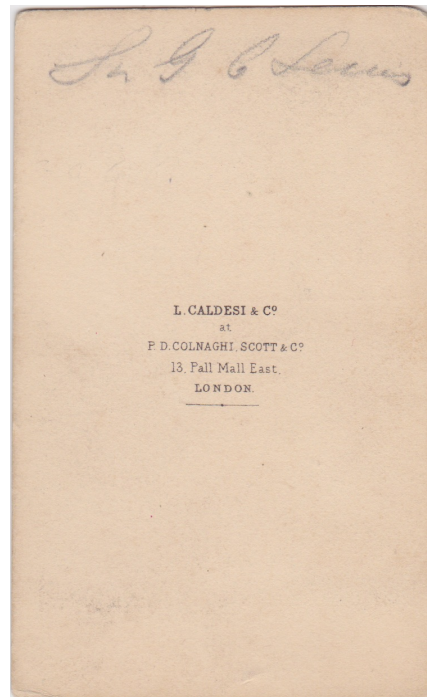


IMAGE NUMBER: 277-79b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: L. Caldesi & Co.
 Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Sir G C Lewis'

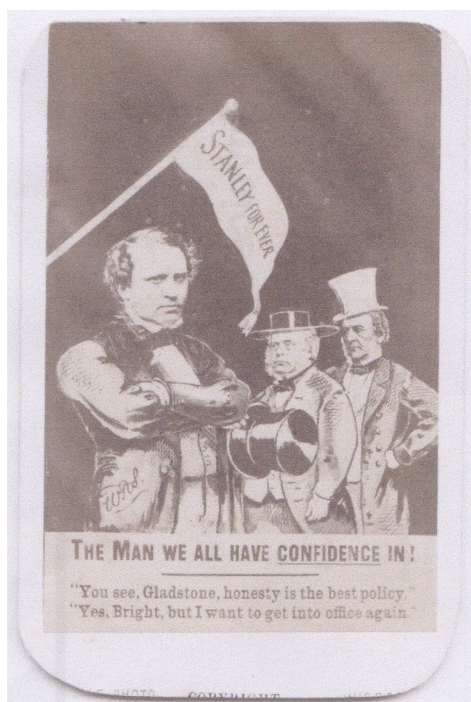


IMAGE NUMBER: 278

Print Title/Subject: 'The Man We All Have Confidence In!'

Studio: Enoch Steele

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1874

Additional Comments: Not in the author's collection. NPG No. x197099



IMAGE NUMBER: 279-942a

Print Title/Subject: 'I am a Working Man Myself'
Lord Brougham

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1862

Additional Comments: 'M M Caricature' printed
in print



IMAGE NUMBER: 279-942b

Backplate

Studio Crest: none

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Brougham'



IMAGE NUMBER: 280-285a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Rt. Hon. The Earl of Derby, K.G.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

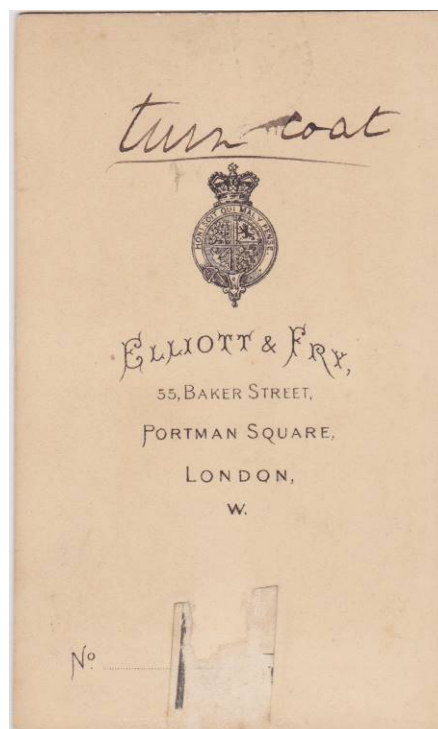


IMAGE NUMBER: 280-285b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'turn-coat'



IMAGE NUMBER: 281-789a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Westbury
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

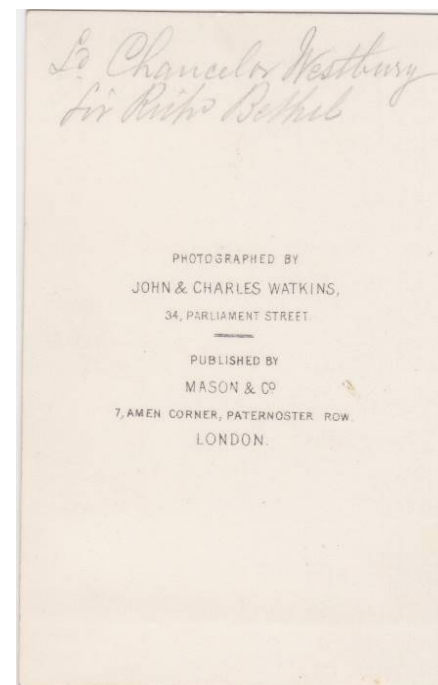


IMAGE NUMBER: 281-789b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John & Charles Watkins
 Publisher: Mason & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Ld. Chancellor Westbury Sir Richd Bethel'



IMAGE NUMBER: 282-512a
Print Title/Subject: Sir Roundell Palmer
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1863
Additional Comments:

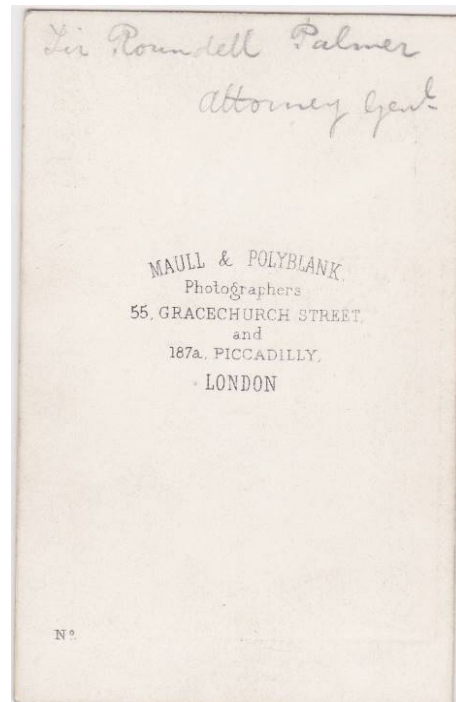


IMAGE NUMBER: 282-512b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Sir Roundell Palmer Attorney Genl.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 283-XA50
Print Title/Subject: 'Baron Westbury, the New Lord Chancellor'
Format & Colour: *Illustrated Times*
Date: 6 July 1861, pp.12.
Additional Comments:

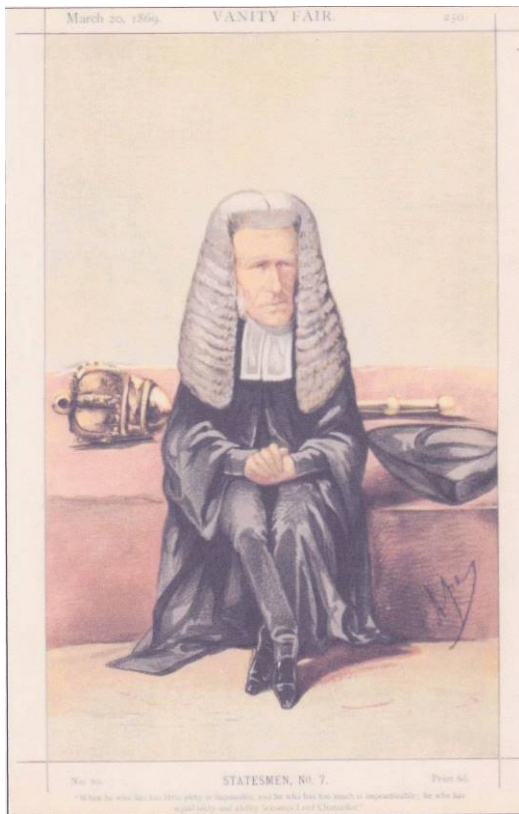


IMAGE NUMBER: 284-XA52

Print Title/Subject: Lord Hatherley. 'Statesmen, No. 7'

Format: *Vanity Fair* print

Date of publication: 20 March 1869, pp.250.

Additional comments: Printed at base of print: 'No.128. "A common-prayer reformer."'



IMAGE NUMBER: 285-408a

Print Title/Subject: 'The Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1875

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 285-408b

Backplate

Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:

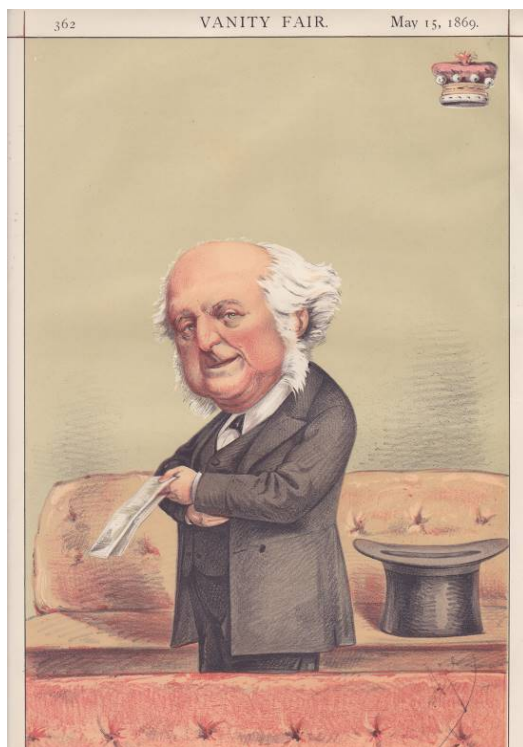


IMAGE NUMBER: 286-XA49

Print Title/Subject: Lord Westbury. 'Statesmen, No. 15'

Format: *Vanity Fair* print

Date of publication: 15 May 1869, pp.362.

Additional comments: Printed at base of print: 'No.28. "An eminent Christian man."'



IMAGE NUMBER: 287-750a

Print Title/Subject: Lord Westbury

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1863

Additional Comments:

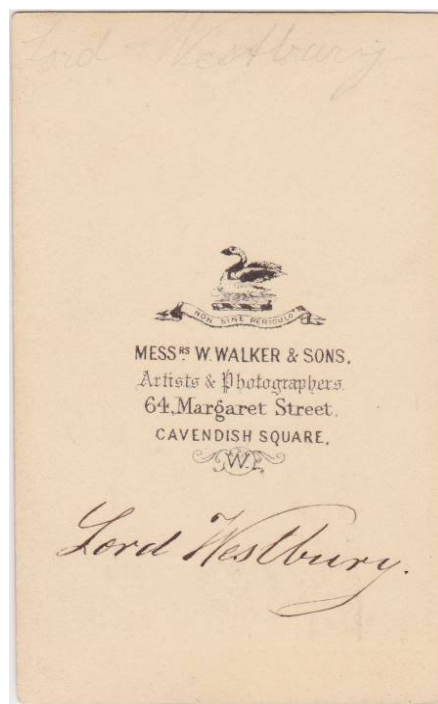


IMAGE NUMBER: 287-750b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Messrs. W. Walker & Sons

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Westbury'
Period hand in ink: 'Lord Westbury.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 288-XA51
 Print Title/Subject: 'Lord Westbury (Sir Richard Bethell), the New Lord Chancellor'
 Format & Colour: *The Illustrated London News*
 Date: 9 July 1861, pp.13.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 289-96a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Campbell
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

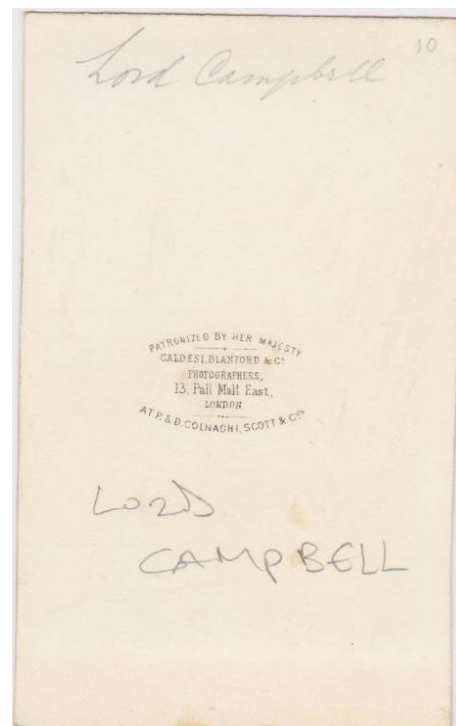


IMAGE NUMBER: 289-96b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Caldesi Blanford & Co.
 Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Campbell'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Lord Campbell'



IMAGE NUMBER: 290-513a
Print Title/Subject: Lord Chief Baron Pollock
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1866
Additional Comments:

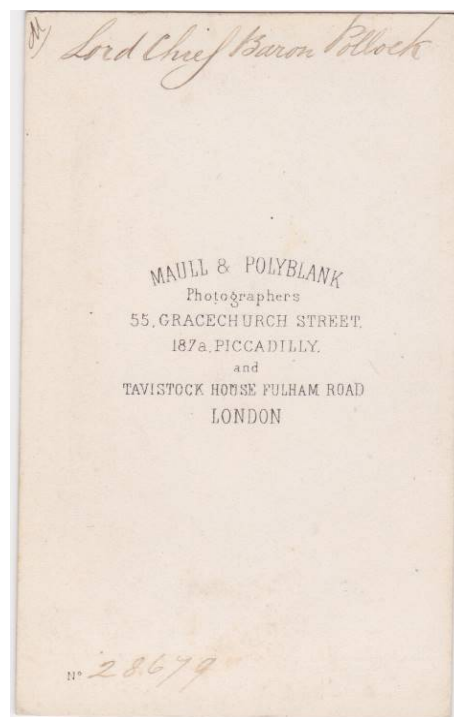


IMAGE NUMBER: 290-513b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Chief Baron Pollock' and 'No.28.679'



IMAGE NUMBER: 291-1027a
Print Title/Subject: Lord Elgin
Format & Colour: carte-sized print pasted to card/album page, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1858
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 291-1027b
Back of card/album page
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Elgin'



IMAGE NUMBER: 292-90a
Print Title/Subject: Viscount Falkland
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:

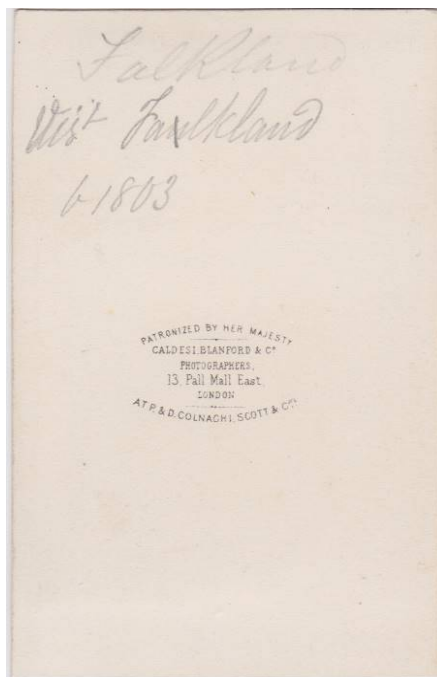


IMAGE NUMBER: 292-90b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Caldesi Blanford & Co.
Publisher: 'at P. & D. Colnaghi, Scott & Co.'
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Falkland Vist Fa(u)kland b 1803'



IMAGE NUMBER: 293-140a
Print Title/Subject: Ashe Windham, statesman
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

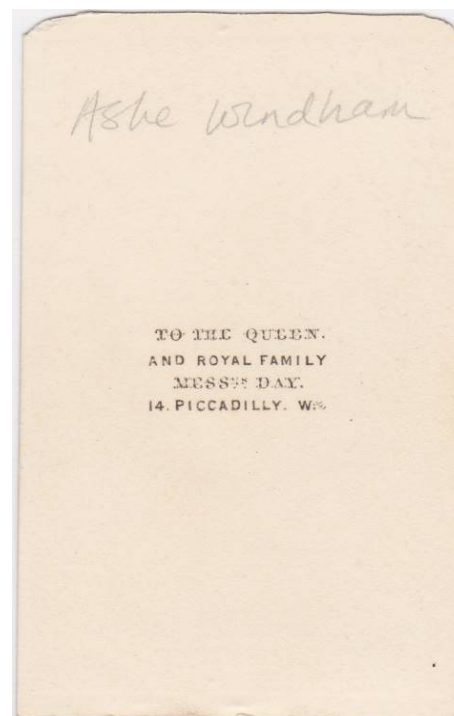


IMAGE NUMBER: 293-140b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Messrs. Day
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Ash Windham'



IMAGE NUMBER: 294-727a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord A. Paget
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

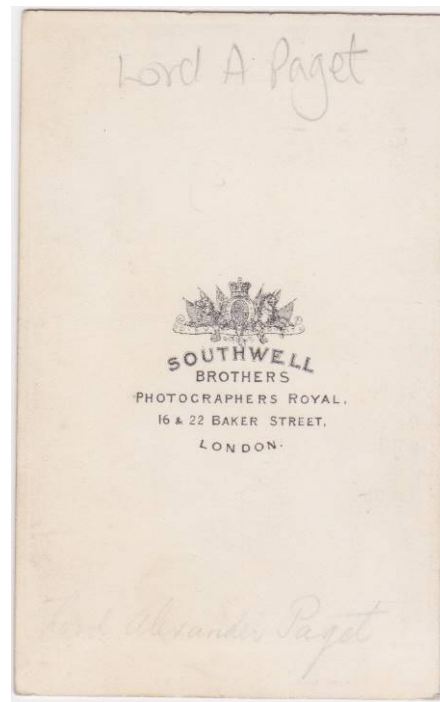


IMAGE NUMBER: 294-727b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Southwell Brothers
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Alexander Paget'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Lord A Paget'



IMAGE NUMBER: 295-787a
 Print Title/Subject: Duke of Buckingham
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount: 'Duke of Buckingham'

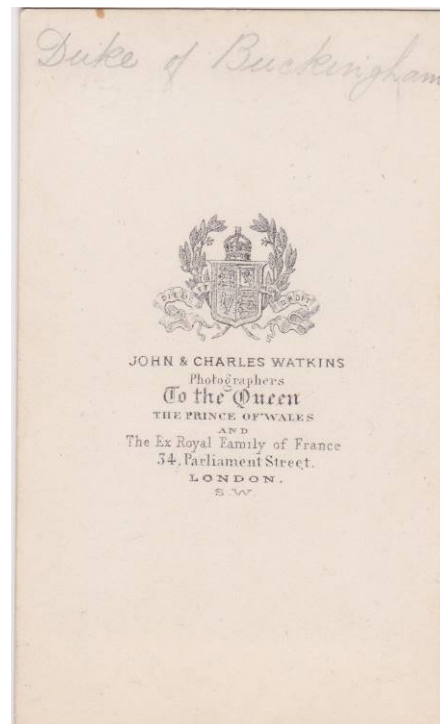


IMAGE NUMBER: 295-787b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John & Charles Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Duke of Buckingham'



IMAGE NUMBER: 296- XA54

Print Title/Subject: Earl Granville, 'Statesmen, No. 6'

Format: *Vanity Fair* print

Date of publication: 13 March 1869, pp.236.

Additional comments: Printed at base of print: 'No.19. "The ablest professor in the cabinet....."'



IMAGE NUMBER: 297-142a

Print Title/Subject: Sir John Lawrence

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1864

Additional Comments:

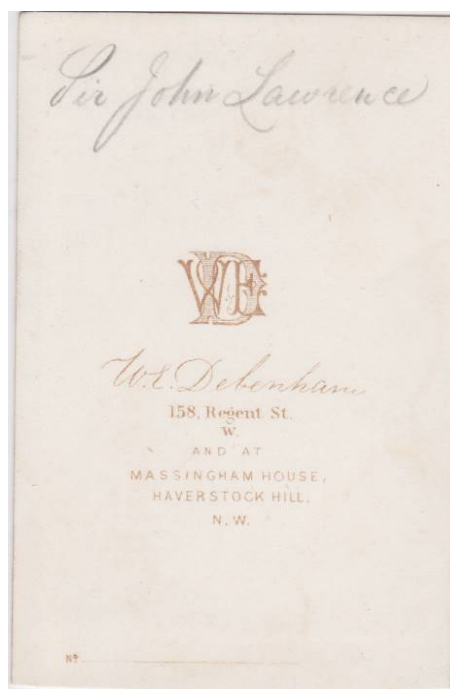


IMAGE NUMBER: 297-142b

Backplate

Studio Crest: W.E. Debenham

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Sir John Lawrence'



IMAGE NUMBER: 298-791a
 Print Title/Subject: Sir John Lawrence
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Period hand on mount: 'Sir John Lawrence'

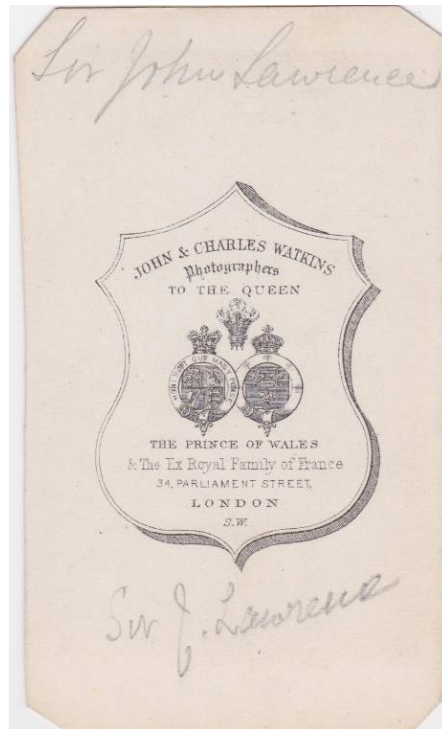


IMAGE NUMBER: 298-791b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John & Charles Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Sir John Lawrence' and 'Sir J. Lawrence'



IMAGE NUMBER: 299-509a
 Print Title/Subject: Rajah Brooke
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments:

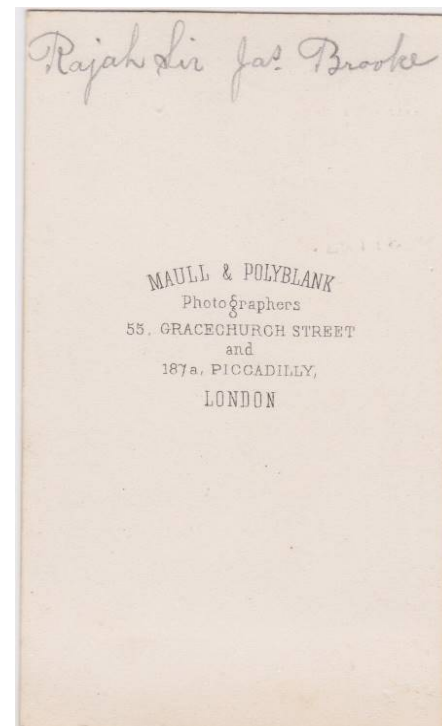


IMAGE NUMBER: 299-509b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Rajah Sir Jas. Brooke'



IMAGE NUMBER: 300-XA55

Print Title/Subject: Carte de visite-sized prints pasted to album page: Lord Macaulay, Charles Kingsley, Dr. Milman, Rajah Brooke, Rev. F.D. Maurice, Lord Clyde, and Tennyson.

Format: Album page sized 12" x 10"

Date of publication: c. 1862

Additional comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 301-1029a
Print Title/Subject: Lord Mayo
Format & Colour: carte-sized print pasted
to card/album page, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 301-1029b
Back of card/album page
Studio Crest: none

Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:

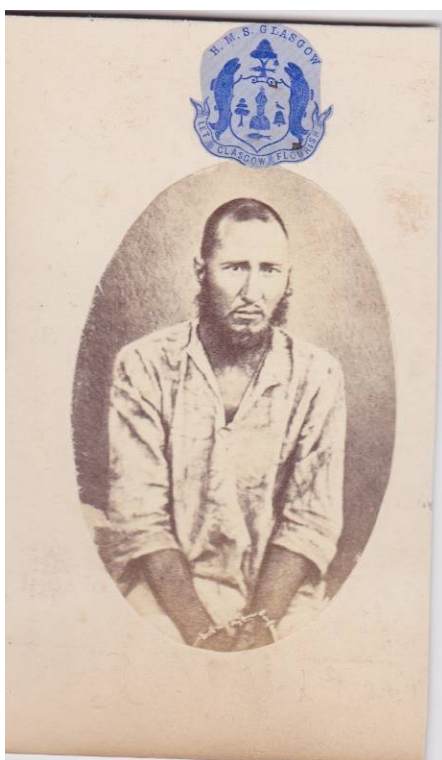


IMAGE NUMBER: 302-1010a
Print Title/Subject: Sher Ali, murdered Lord Mayo
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1872
Additional Comments: Ship's label attached to mount:
'H.M.S. Glasgow'



IMAGE NUMBER: 302-1010b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 303-XA56

Print Title/Subject: Carte de visite-sized prints attached to an album page: Lord Derby, Lord Brougham, Lord Stanley, Lord Russell, Gladstone, Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Palmerston

Format: Album page sized 12" x 10"

Date of publication: c. 1862

Additional comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 304-748a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Palmerston
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount: 'Palmerston'

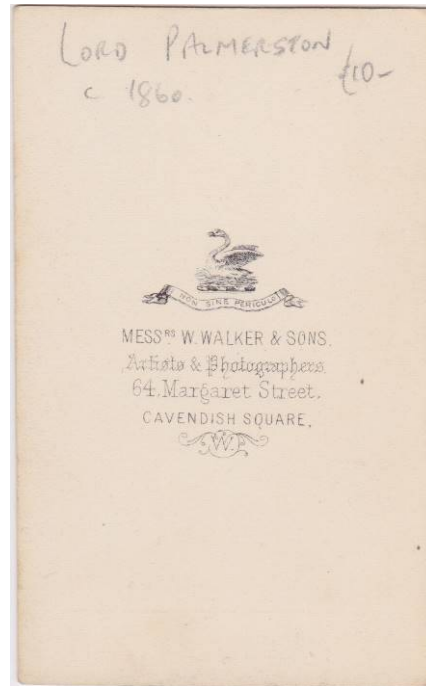


IMAGE NUMBER: 304-748b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Messrs. W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Lord Palmerston c 1860 £10'



IMAGE NUMBER: 305-746a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Palmerston
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount: 'Palmerston'

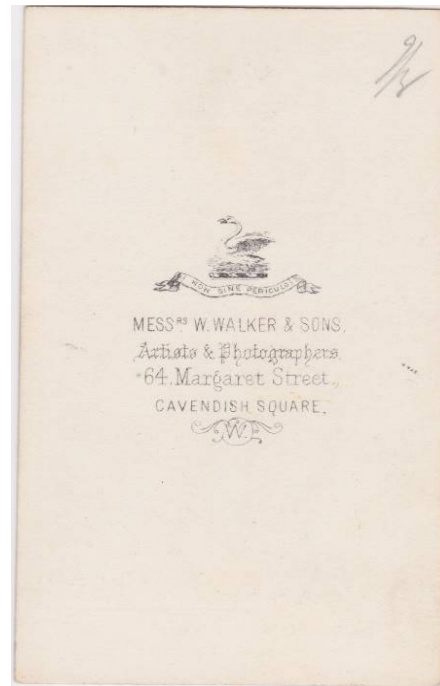


IMAGE NUMBER: 305-746b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Messrs. W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '1/4'



IMAGE NUMBER: 306-323a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Palmerston
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

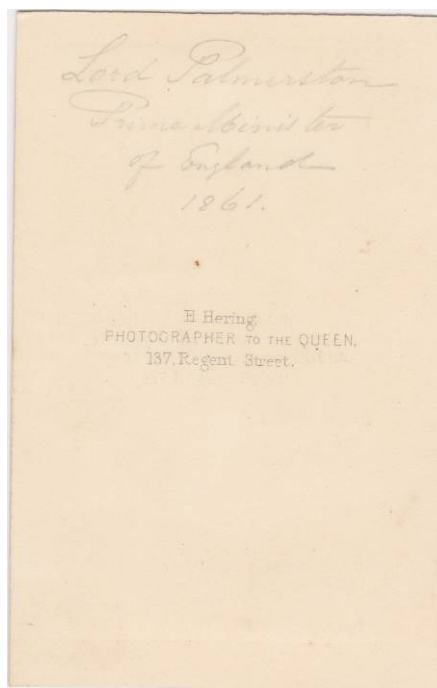


IMAGE NUMBER: 306-323b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: H. Hering
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Palmerston Prime Minister of England 1861'



IMAGE NUMBER: 307-705a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Palmerston
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

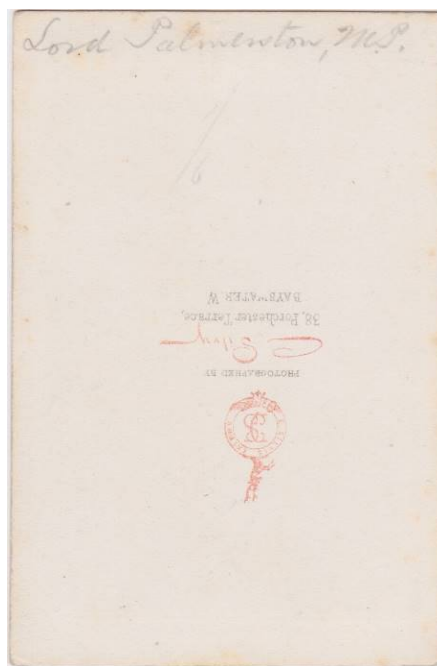


IMAGE NUMBER: 307-705b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: C. Silvy
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Palmerston, M.P.'
 Print pasted upside down on card



IMAGE NUMBER: 308-615a
Print Title/Subject: 'Viscount Palmerston.'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 308-615b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 309-XA58
Print Title/Subject: 'The Coalition Ministry'
Format: Sir John Gilbert. Pencil, pen and ink.
Date of publication: 1855
Additional comments: National Portrait Gallery. No. NPG 1125.



IMAGE NUMBER: 310-223a
 Print Title/Subject: Lord Palmerston
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 310-223b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Palmerston'



IMAGE NUMBER: 311-114a
 Print Title/Subject: Viscount Palmerston
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink:
 'Viscount Palmerston'

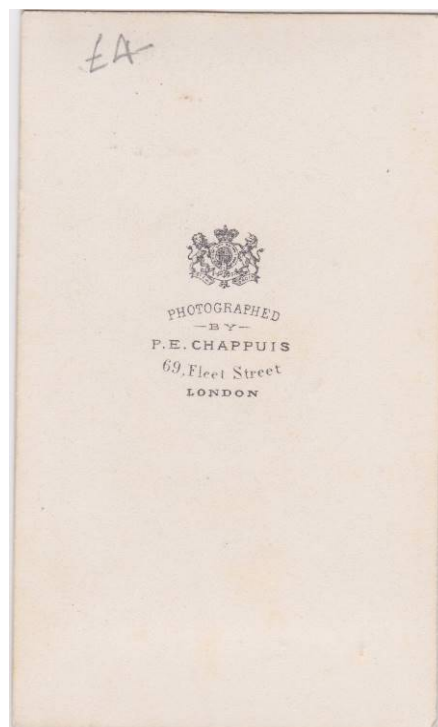


IMAGE NUMBER: 311-114b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: P.E. Chappuis
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'EA'



IMAGE NUMBER: 312-XA61

Print Title/Subject: 'Palmerston'

Format: Illustration in *Baily's Monthly Magazine of Sports and Pastimes*

Date of publication: January 1860

Additional comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 313-22(A)a

Print Title/Subject: Turf Celebrities. No.1.

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1863

Additional Comments:

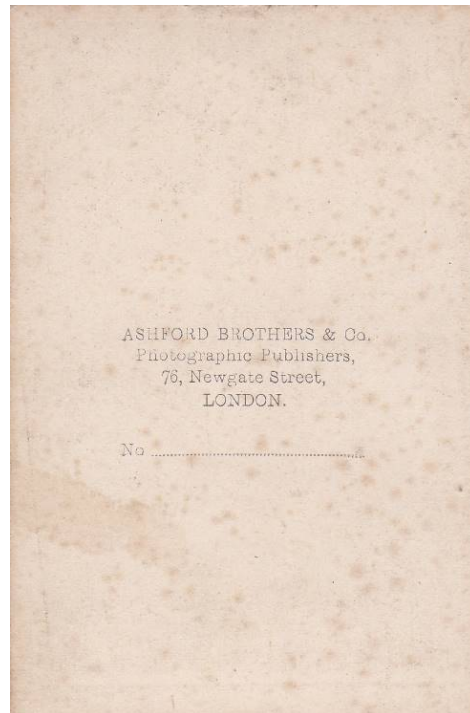


IMAGE NUMBER: 313-22(A)b

Backplate

Studio Crest: (see below)

Publisher: Ashford Bros & Co.

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 314-XA60

Print Title/Subject: "The Treaty of Commerce 1860, between France and England"

Format: Illustration in *The Illustrated London News*

Date of publication: 1 March 1862, pp.230-1

Additional comments: double-page picture

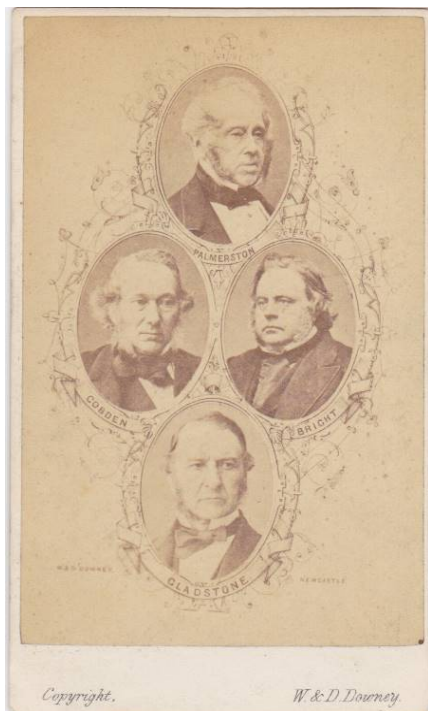


IMAGE NUMBER: 315-231a

Print Title/Subject: Gladstone, Cobden, Bright and Palmerston

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1865

Additional Comments:

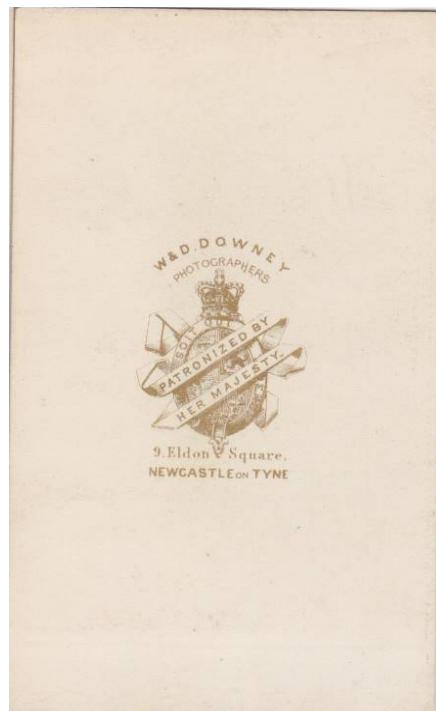


IMAGE NUMBER: 315-231b

Backplate

Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 316-230a
Print Title/Subject: John Bright
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1864
Additional Comments:

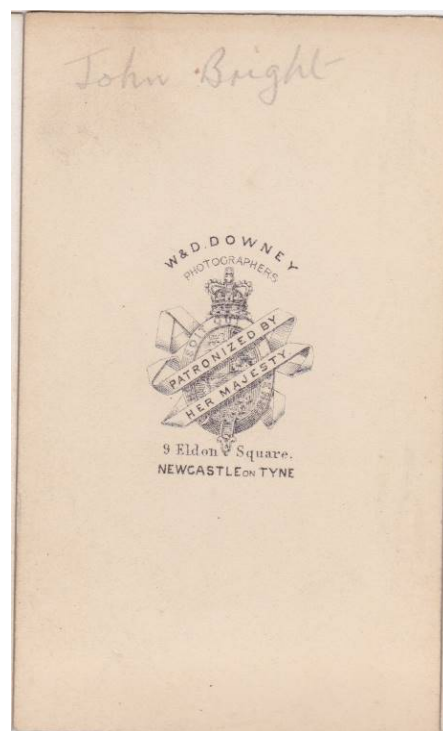


IMAGE NUMBER: 316-230b
Backplate
Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'John Bright'



IMAGE NUMBER: 317-945a
Print Title/Subject: John Bright
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 317-945b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'John Bright'
Period hand in ink: '88'



IMAGE NUMBER: 318-227a
 Print Title/Subject: John Roebuck
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

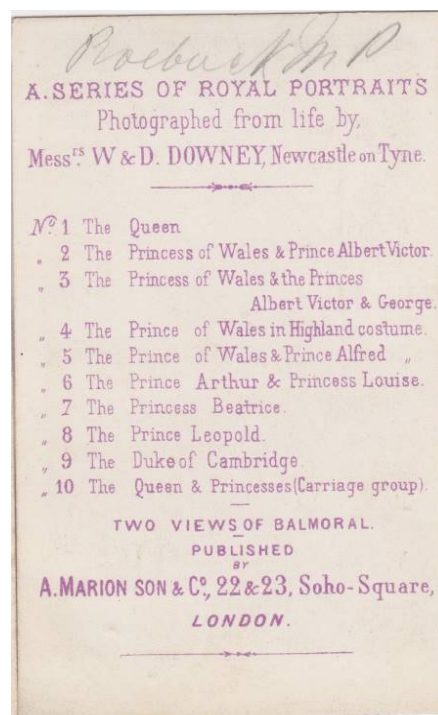


IMAGE NUMBER: 318-227b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: A. Marion Son & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Roebuck MP'
 List of Downey's other cartes printed on the backplate

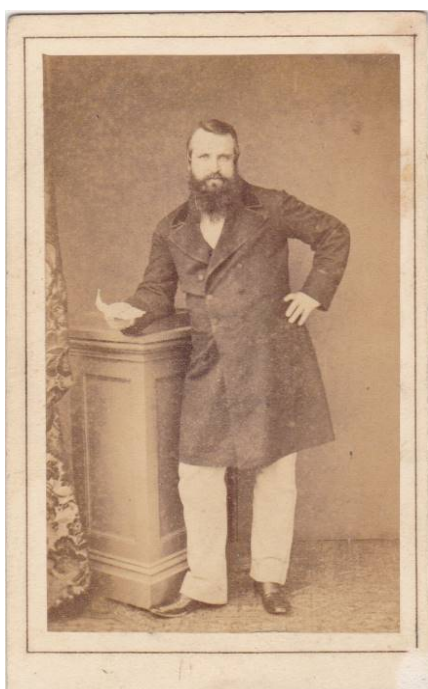


IMAGE NUMBER: 319-327a
 Print Title/Subject: Francis Crossley, M.P.
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

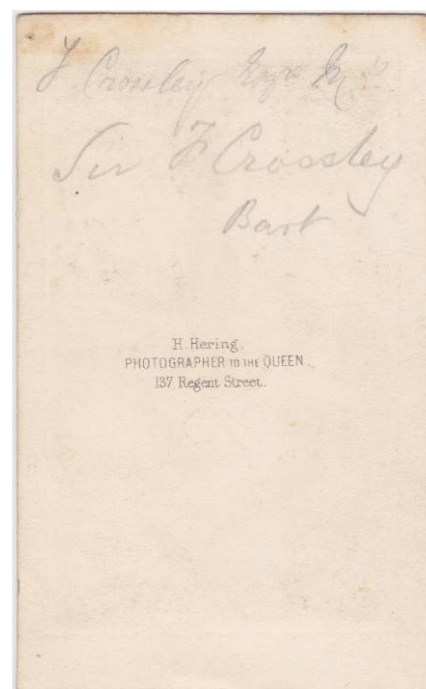


IMAGE NUMBER: 319-327b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: H. Hering
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'F. Crossley Esq. M.P. Sir F Crossley Bart'



IMAGE NUMBER: 320-XA59

Print Title/Subject: Sir Robert Peel. 'Statesmen, No. 44'

Format: *Vanity Fair* print

Date of publication: 19 March 1870.

Additional comments: Printed at base of print: 'No.72. "A Professor of Strong Languages."'



IMAGE NUMBER: 321-948a

Print Title/Subject: Richard Cobden

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1861

Additional Comments:

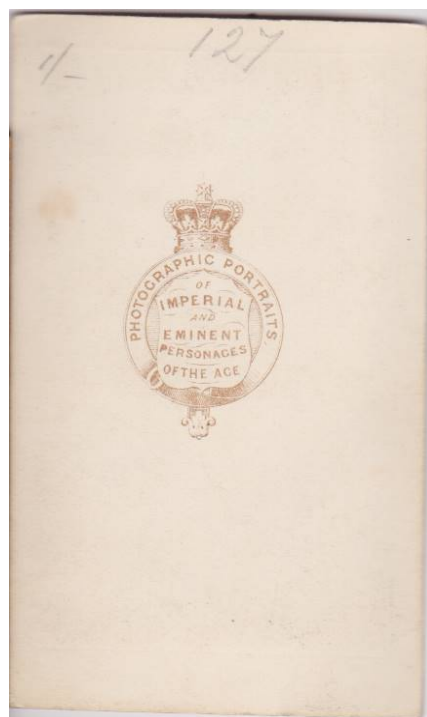


IMAGE NUMBER: 321-948b

Backplate

Studio Crest: none

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '1/-' and '127'
Stamp applied to backplate: 'Photographic Portraits of Imperial and Eminent Personages of the Age'



IMAGE NUMBER: 322-946a
Print Title/Subject: John Bright and Richard Cobden
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

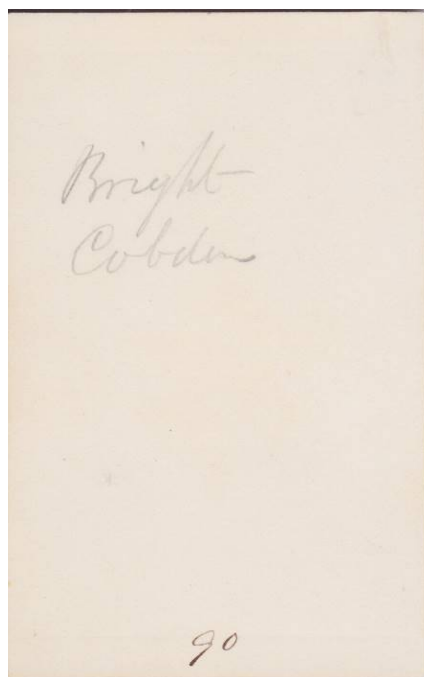


IMAGE NUMBER: 322-946b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bright Cobden'
Period hand in ink: '90'



IMAGE NUMBER: 323-616a
Print Title/Subject: Gladstone
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1866
Additional Comments:

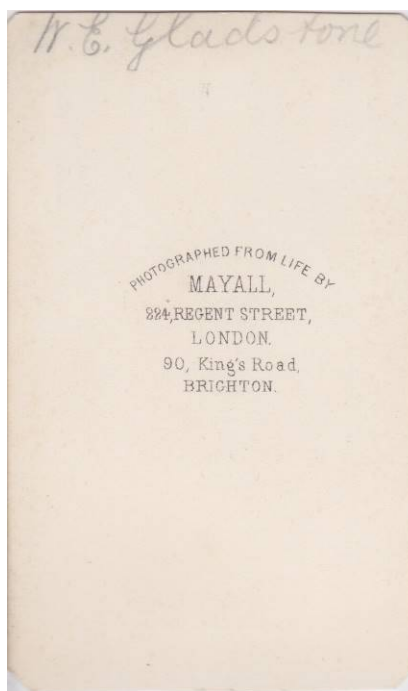


IMAGE NUMBER: 323-616b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'W.E. Gladstone'



IMAGE NUMBER: 324-815a
 Print Title/Subject: William Gladstone
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

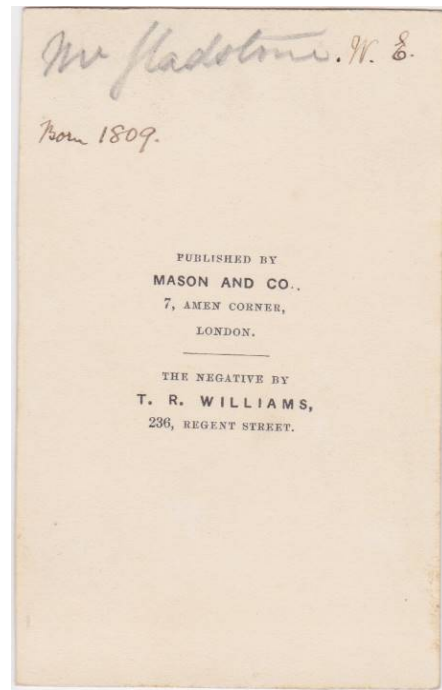


IMAGE NUMBER: 324-815b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: T.R. Williams
 Publisher: Mason and Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Mr. Gladstone'
 Period hand in ink: 'W.E. Born 1809'



IMAGE NUMBER: 325-617a
 Print Title/Subject: Gladstone
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 325-617b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Gladstone'

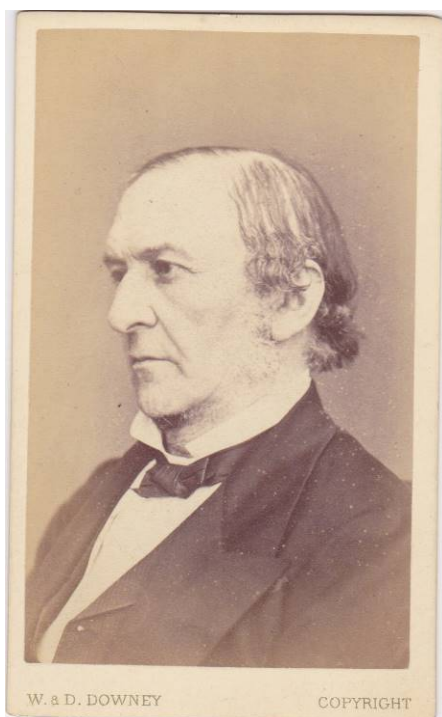


IMAGE NUMBER: 326-239a
 Print Title/Subject: Gladstone
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

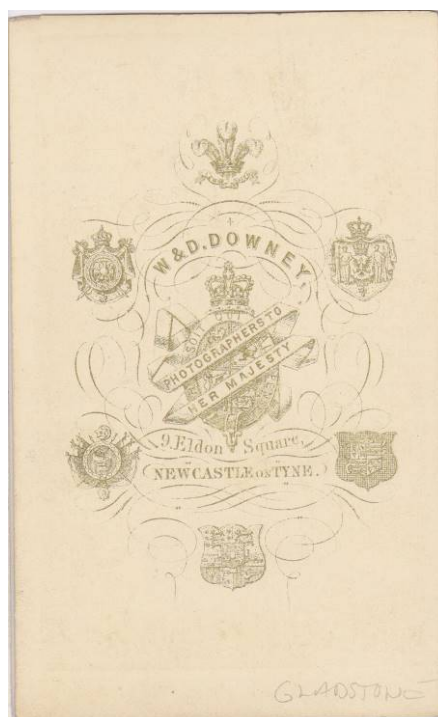


IMAGE NUMBER: 326-239b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Gladstone'



IMAGE NUMBER: 327
 Print Title/Subject: William Gladstone
 Studio: William Walker & Sons
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Not in the author's collection. NPG No. x29292



IMAGE NUMBER: 328-747a
 Print Title/Subject: William Gladstone and wife
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

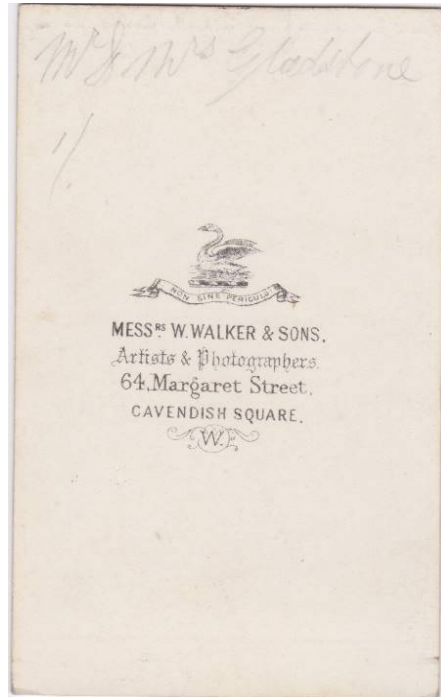


IMAGE NUMBER: 328-747b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Messrs. W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'W & Mrs Gladstone 1/-'



IMAGE NUMBER: 329-929a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Mr. & Mrs. Gladstone'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1889
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 329-929b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:

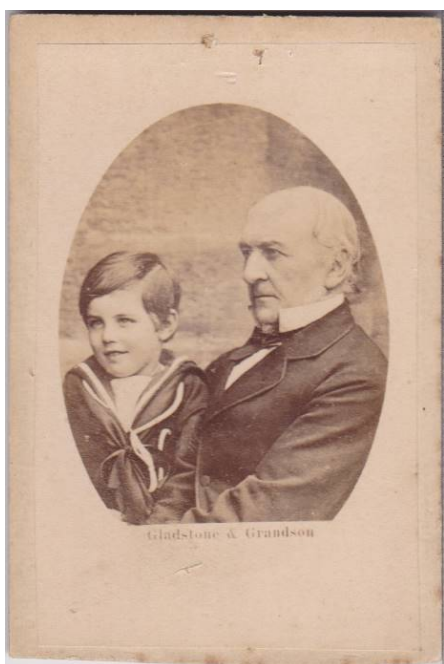


IMAGE NUMBER: 330-930a
Print Title/Subject: 'Gladstone & Grandson'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1874
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 330-930b
Backplate
Studio Crest: none
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:

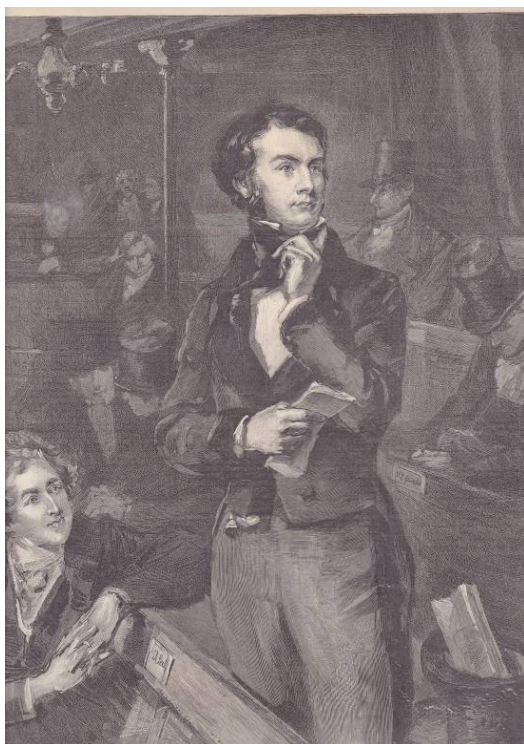


IMAGE NUMBER: 331-XA62
Print Title/Subject: 'William Ewart Gladstone, M.P.'
Format: full-page illustration in *The Graphic Special Number*
Date of publication: 19 May 1889, pp.3
Additional comments: Title to illustration: 'Mr. Gladstone Delivering his Maiden Speech, as Member for Newark, on May 17, 1833.'

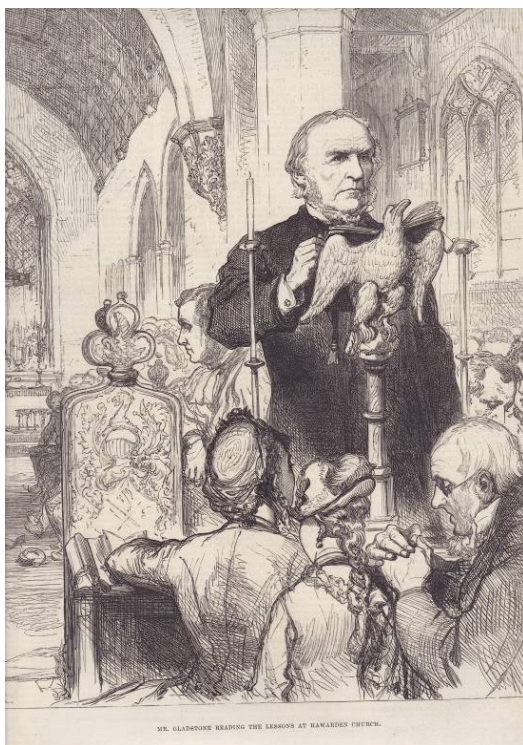


IMAGE NUMBER: 332-XA63

Print Title/Subject: 'Gladstone Supplement.'

Format: Full-page illustration in *The Illustrated London News*

Date of publication: 24 April 1880, pp.409

Additional comments: Title to illustration: 'Mr. Gladstone Reading the Lessons at Hawarden Church.'

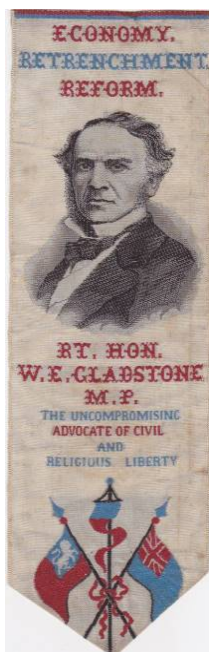


IMAGE NUMBER: 333-XA64

Print Title/Subject: 'Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone M.P.'

Format: Silk Stevenograph. Size: 5¼" x 1¾"

Date of publication: c. 1875

Additional comments: Printed on stevenograph: Economy, Retrenchment, Reform. The uncompromising advocate of civil and religious liberty'



IMAGE NUMBER: 334-XA68
 Print Title/Subject: Disraeli
 Studio: W. & D. Downey
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. NPG No. x75758

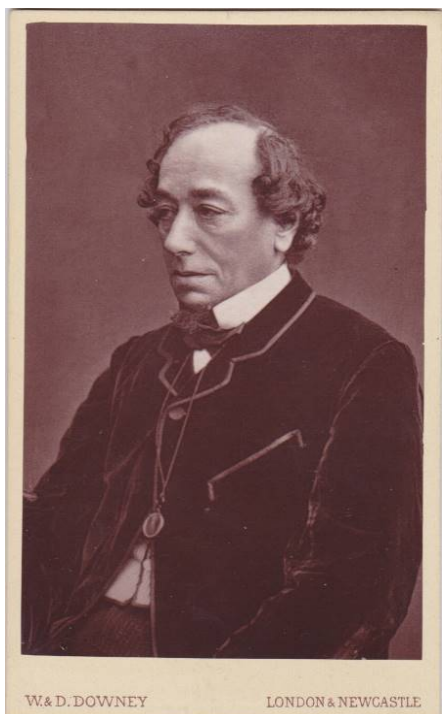


IMAGE NUMBER: 335-234a
 Print Title/Subject: Disraeli
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

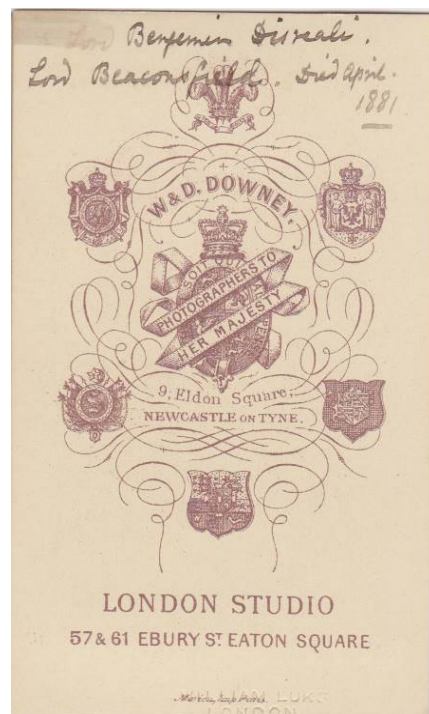


IMAGE NUMBER: 335-234b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle & London
 Publisher: Marion Imp. Paris and Luks, London
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Benjamin Disraeli Lord Beaconsfield. Died April 1881'

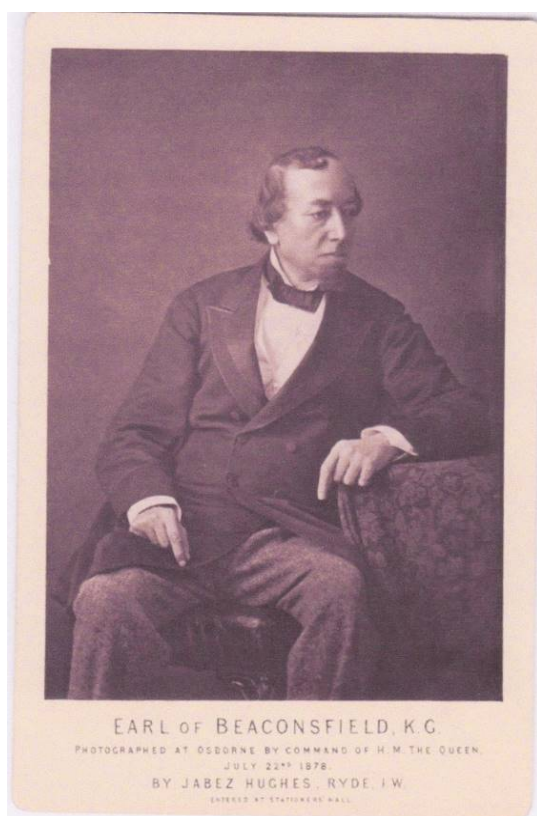


IMAGE NUMBER: 336-XA69

Print Title/Subject: 'Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.'

Studio: Jabez Hughes, Ryde

Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1878

Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. NPG No. x7740

Printed on mount: 'Photographed at Osborne by command of H.M. The Queen July 22nd 1878.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 337-XA67

Print Title/Subject: 'The earl of Beaconsfield'

Studio: Mayall

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1868

Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. NPG No. x76462

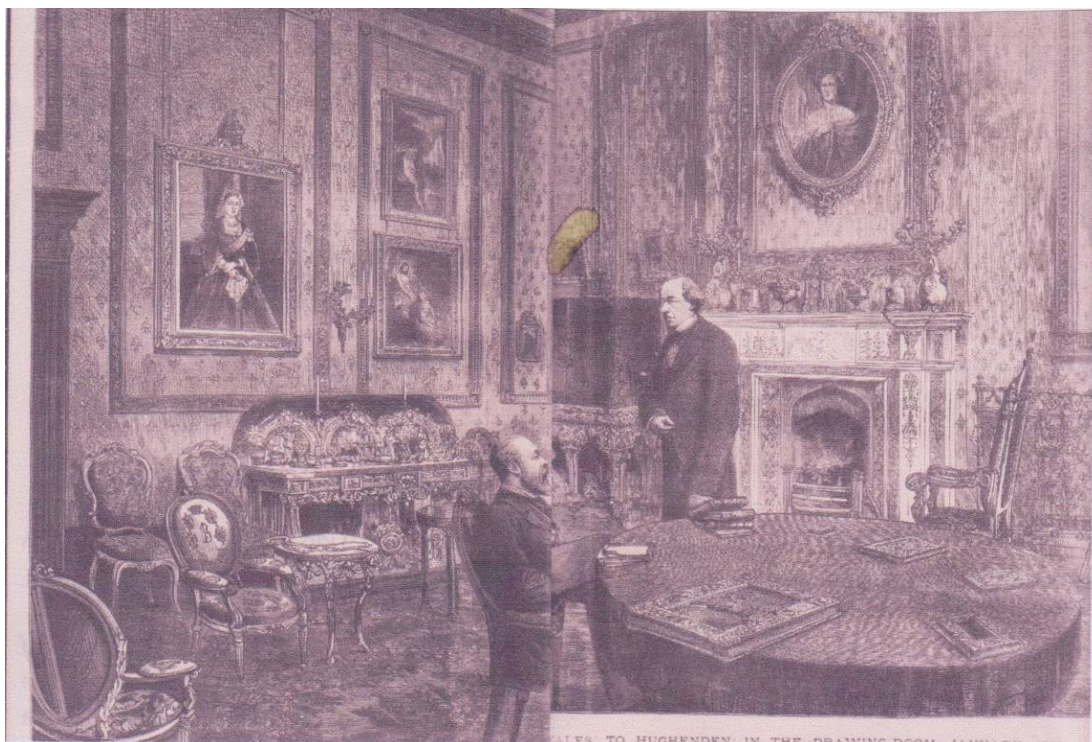


IMAGE NUMBER: 338-XA65

Print Title/Subject: 'The Earl of Beaconsfield: Visit of the Prince of Wales to Hughenden: In the Drawing-Room'

Format: Full-page illustration in *The Graphic*

Date of publication: 23 April 1881, pp.408-9.

Additional comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 339-XA66

Print Title/Subject: Alexander Charles Ewald,
 'The Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli,
 Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G., and his times.'

Date of Publication: Vol 1 (London, 1881)

Additional comments



IMAGE NUMBER: 339-XA66

Enlargement of the corner of the front cover
 showing the crown and 'VR' motif

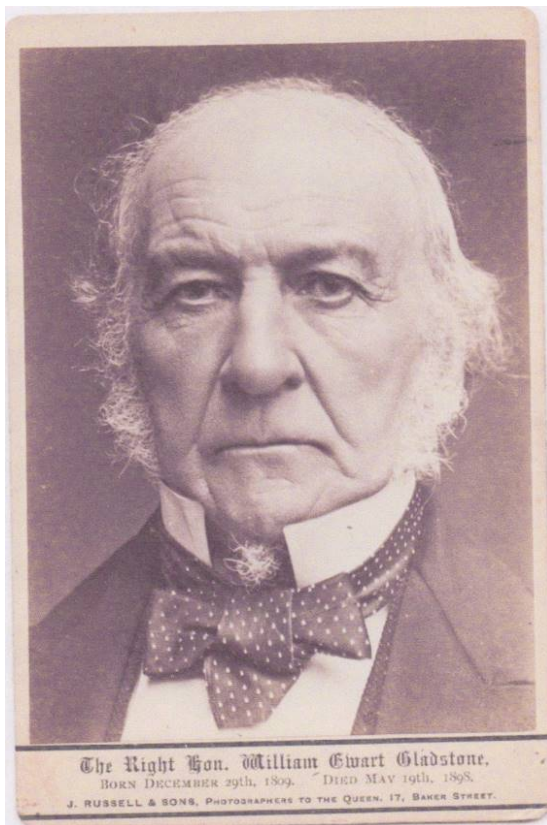


IMAGE NUMBER: 340-XA70
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.'
 Studio: J. Russell & Sons
 Format & Colour: cabinet card, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1898
 Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. NPG No. x46687
 Printed on mount: 'Born December 29th, 1809. Died May 19th 1898.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 341-936a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Hughenden Primroses In Memoriam.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1881
 Additional Comments:

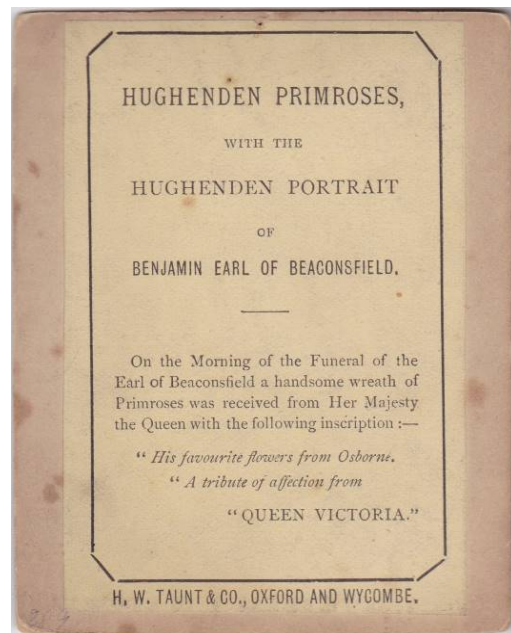


IMAGE NUMBER: 341-936b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Label attached to backplate:
 'Hughenden
 Primroses, with the Hughenden
 Portrait
 of Benjamin Earl of Beaconsfield.'

CASE STUDY 3: CLERGYMEN: ILLUSTRATIONS



IMAGE NUMBER: 342-627a
Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Manchester
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1857 (possibly re-issued later)
Additional Comments:

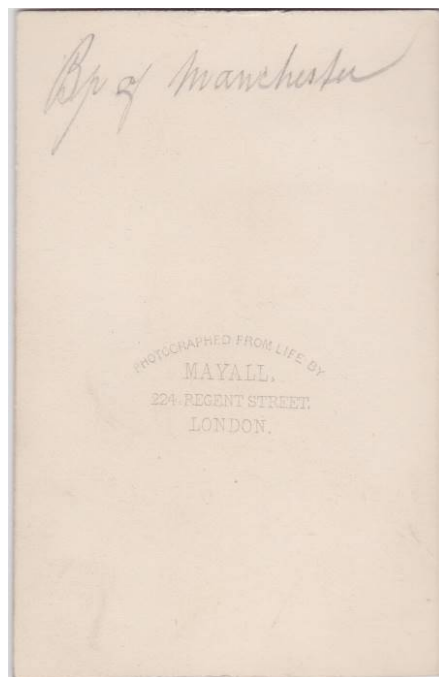


IMAGE NUMBER: 342-627b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bp of Manchester'



IMAGE NUMBER: 343-624a
Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Winchester
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1857 (possibly re-issued later)
Additional Comments: Printed in print: 'Mayall Feb 1st 1861'

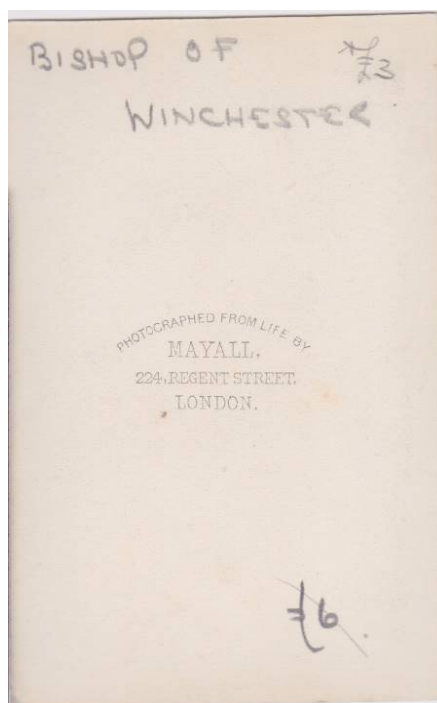


IMAGE NUMBER: 343-624b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Bishop of Winchester
£3' '£6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 344-491a
Print Title/Subject: Henry Villiers, Bishop of Durham
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount:
'The late Bishop of Durham'

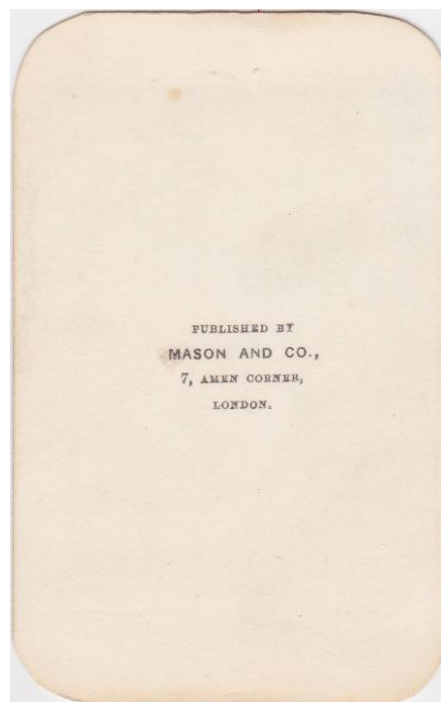


IMAGE NUMBER: 344-491b
Backplate
Studio Crest: (not recorded)
Publisher: Mason & Co.
Additional Comments:

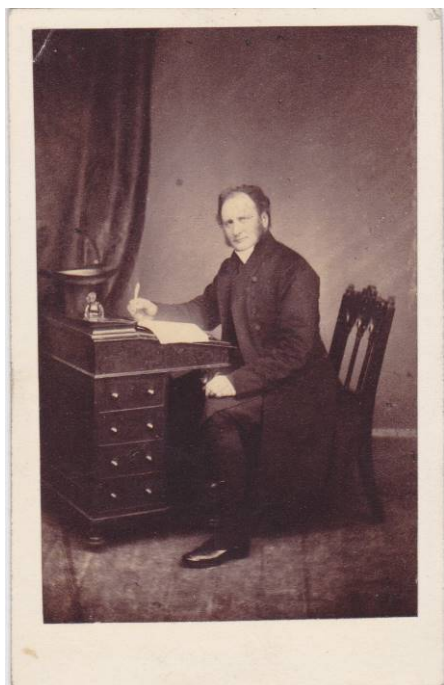


IMAGE NUMBER: 345-516a
Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Ripon
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1863
Additional Comments:

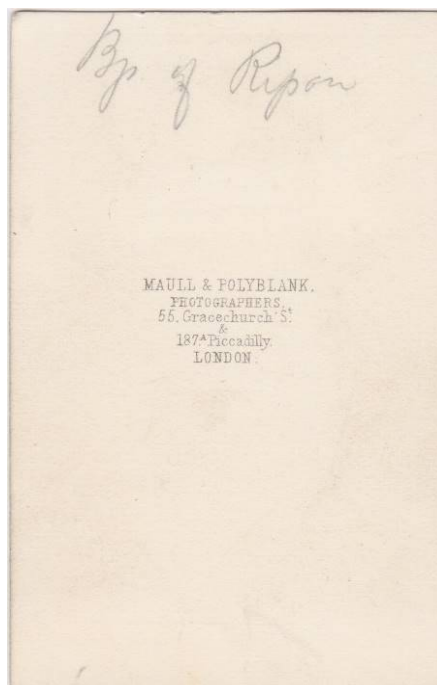


IMAGE NUMBER: 345-516b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bp of Ripon'



IMAGE NUMBER: 346-497a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. Thomson, Archbishop of York
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 346-497b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mason & Co.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Thomson Abp of York'



IMAGE NUMBER: 347-758a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of London
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

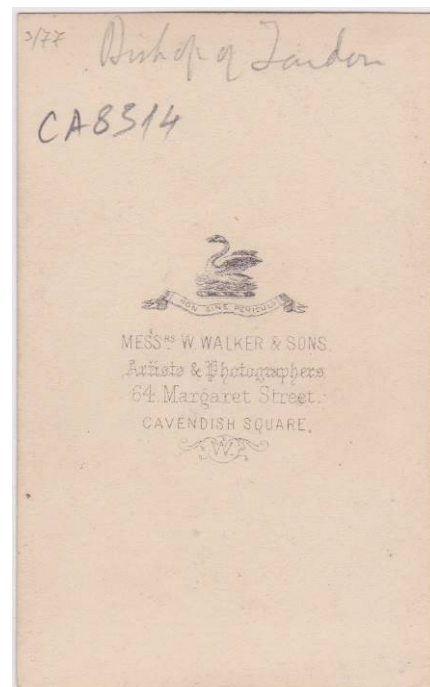


IMAGE NUMBER: 347-758b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Messrs. W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bishop of London'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'CA8314'



IMAGE NUMBER: 348-372a
Print Title/Subject: Archbishop of Canterbury
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:

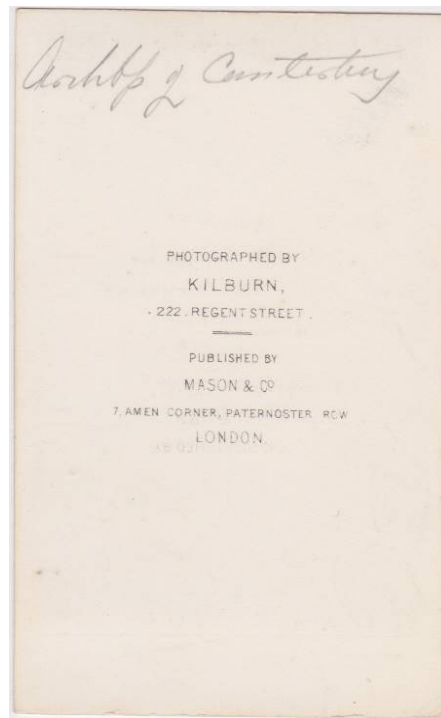


IMAGE NUMBER: 348-372b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Kilburn
Publisher: Mason & Co.
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Archbp of Canterbury'



IMAGE NUMBER: 349-493a
Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Rochester
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:

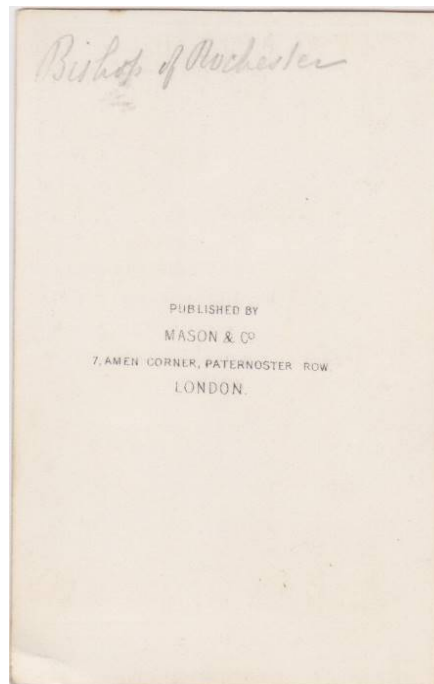


IMAGE NUMBER: 349-493b
Backplate
Studio Crest: (not recorded)
Publisher: Mason & Co.
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bishop of Rochester'



IMAGE NUMBER: 350-515a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Lichfield
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments:

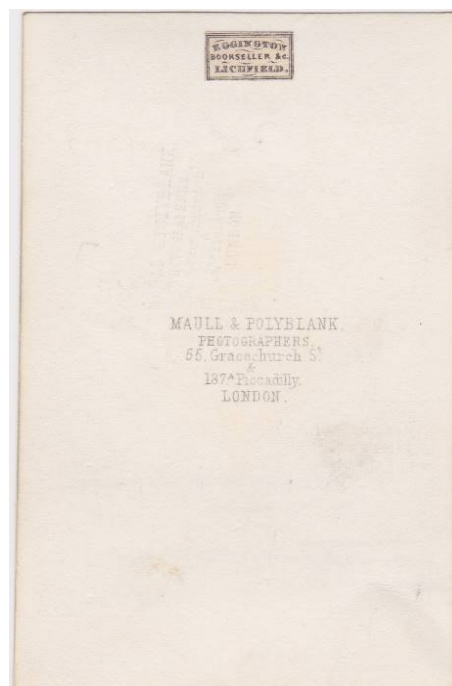


IMAGE NUMBER: 350-515b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Maull & Polyblank
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Label attached to backplate: 'Eggington'



IMAGE NUMBER: 351-490a
 Print Title/Subject: John Lonsdale, Bishop of Lichfield
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount:
 'J. Lichfield'

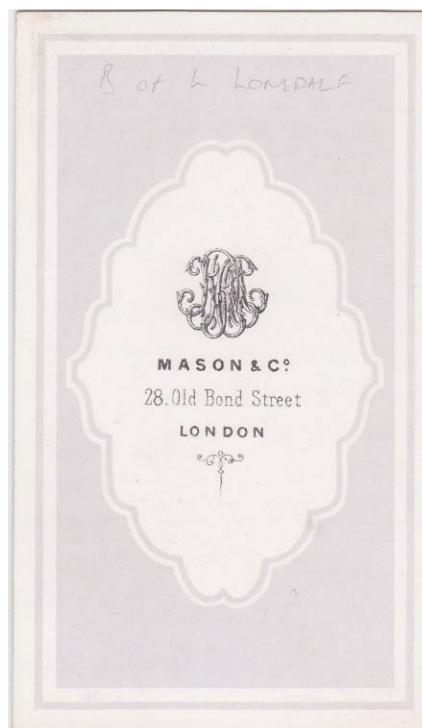


IMAGE NUMBER: 351-490b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mason & Co.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'B of L Lonsdale'



IMAGE NUMBER: 352-709a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

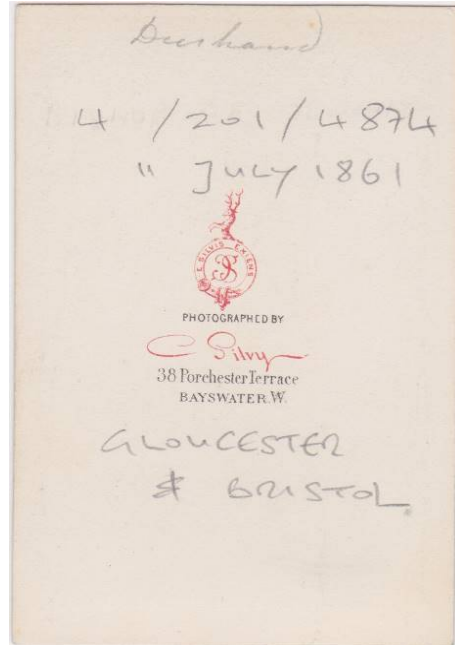


IMAGE NUMBER: 532-709b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: C. Silvy
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '(unclear) 4/201/4874'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Gloucester & Bristol'



IMAGE NUMBER: 353-373a
 Print Title/Subject: Archbishop of Canterbury
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount:
 'Archbishop of Canterbury. April 9th 1862
 He confirmed me at St. Dunstan's Alice Kewvan.'

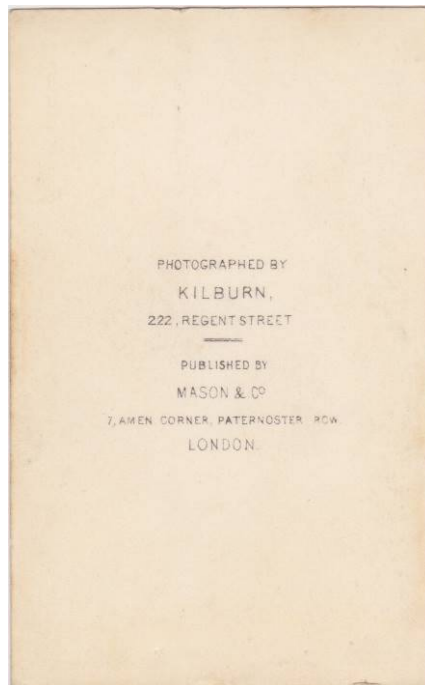


IMAGE NUMBER: 353-373b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Kilburn
 Publisher: Mason & Co.
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 354-349a
 Print Title/Subject: Dr. Stanley
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 354-349b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Hills & Saunders, Oxford
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Dr. Stanley Ken & Westminster. Author Died. Born 1815-1881'

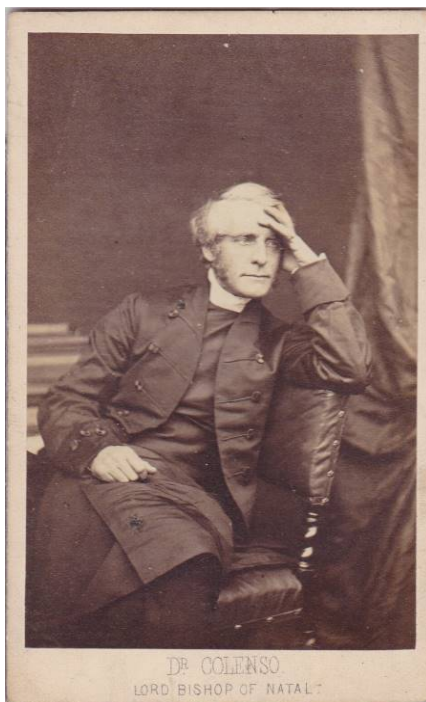


IMAGE NUMBER: 355-411a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Dr. Colenso Lord Bishop of Natal'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

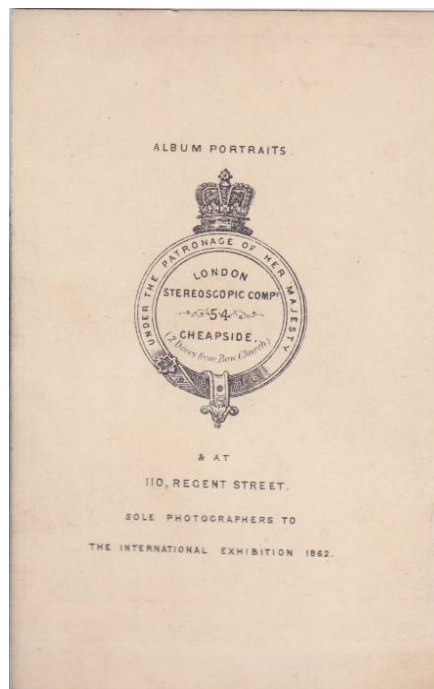


IMAGE NUMBER: 355-411b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: London Stereoscopic Compy.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 356-374a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Oxford
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1860
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount: '122'

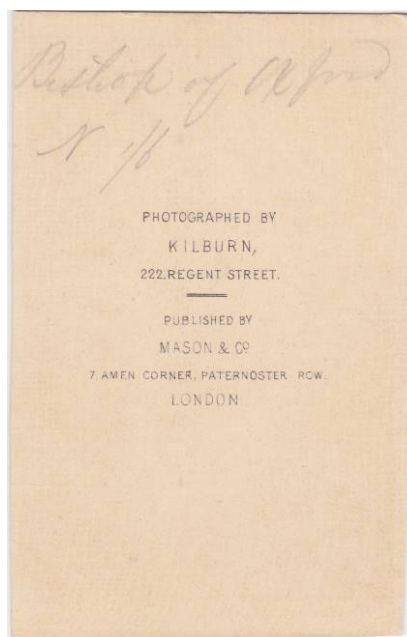


IMAGE NUMBER: 356-374b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Kilburn
 Publisher: Mason & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bishop of Oxford N 1/6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 357-329a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Oxford
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

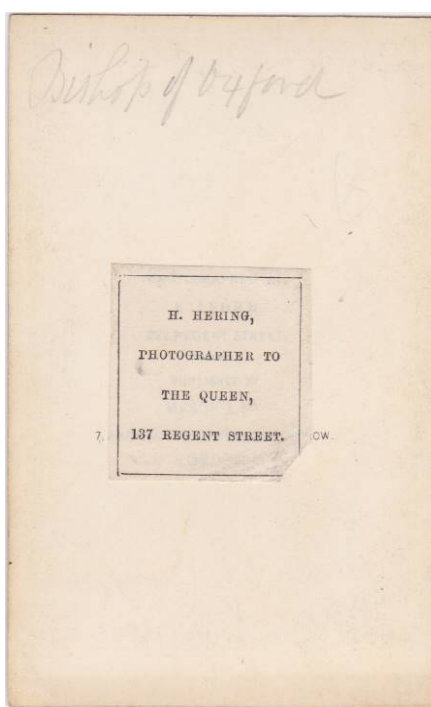


IMAGE NUMBER: 357-329b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: H. Hering
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bishop of Oxford'
 Studio name on label stuck to backplate



IMAGE NUMBER: 358-630a
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Exeter'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

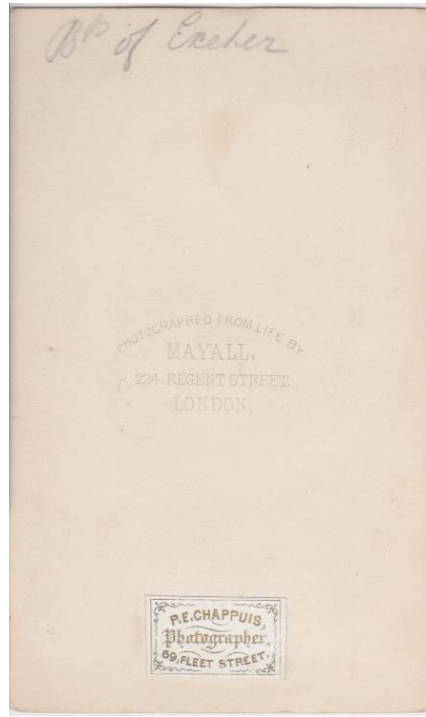


IMAGE NUMBER: 358-630b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bp of Exeter'
 Label attached to backplate: 'P.E. Chappuis, Photographer'



IMAGE NUMBER: 359-761a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Exeter, Phillpotts
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

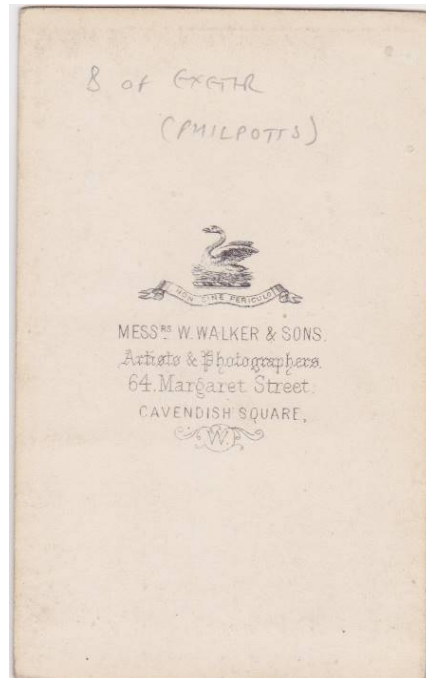


IMAGE NUMBER: 359-761b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Messrs. W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'B of Exeter (Philpotts)'



IMAGE NUMBER: 360-762a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Exeter, Phillipotts
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

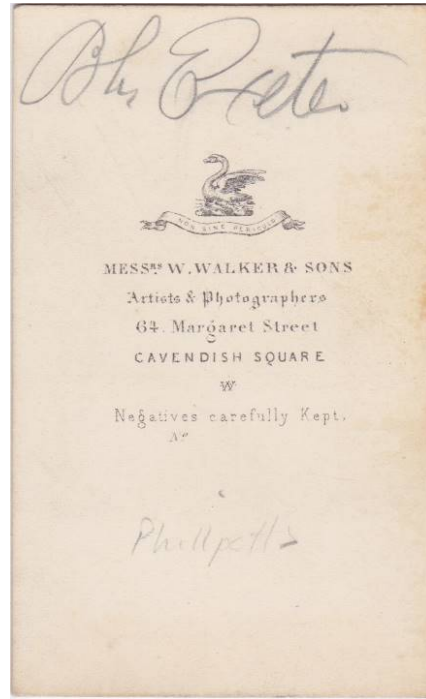


IMAGE NUMBER: 360-762b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Messrs. W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bp Exeter'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Phillipotts'



IMAGE NUMBER: 361-494a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. Jackson, Bishop of London
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

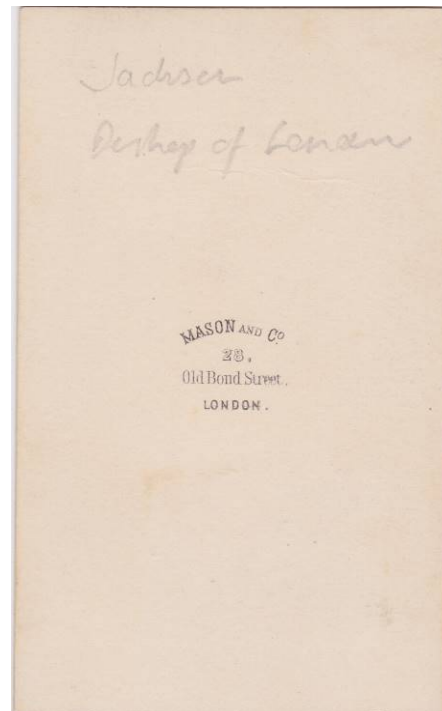


IMAGE NUMBER: 361-494b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mason and Co.
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Jackson Bishop of London'



IMAGE NUMBER: 362-757a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. A. Machonochie
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

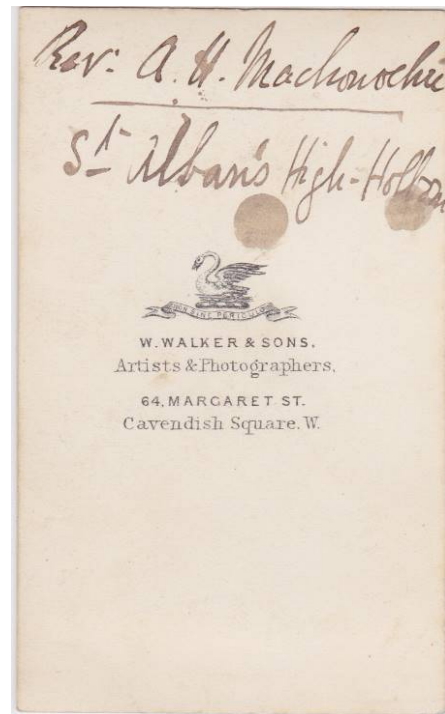


IMAGE NUMBER: 362-757b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. Walker & Sons
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Rev. A. H. Machonochie St. Alban's High-Holborn'



IMAGE NUMBER: 363-375a
 Print Title/Subject: Dr. Cumming
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

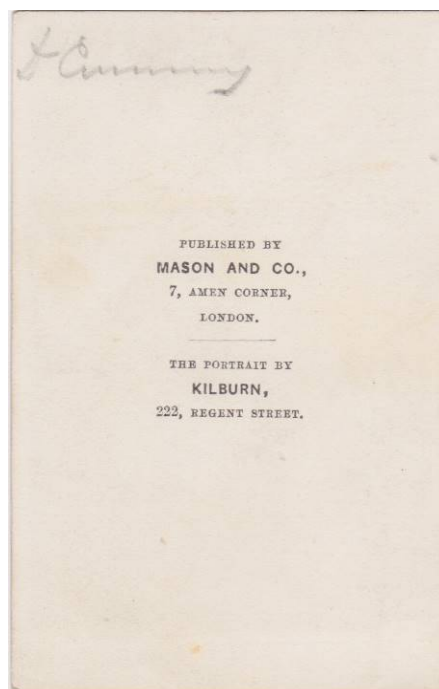


IMAGE NUMBER: 363-375b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Kilburn
 Publisher: Mason & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Dr Cumming'

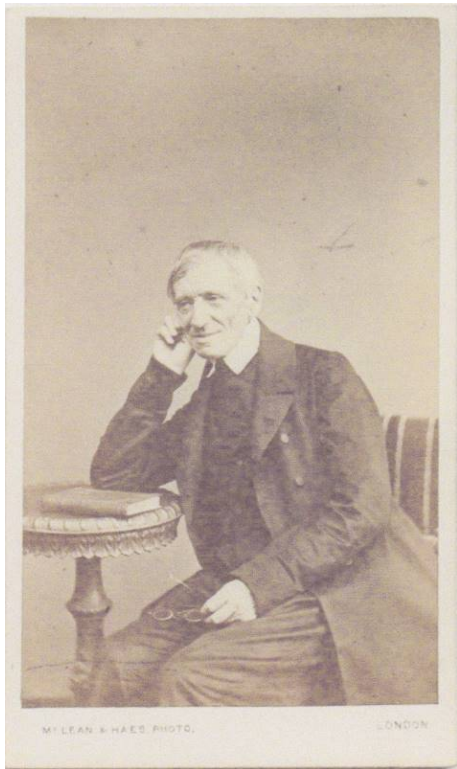


IMAGE NUMBER: 364-XA71

Print Title/Subject: Rev. John Henry Newman

Studio: Mclean & Haes

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1864

Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. NPG Ax7503



IMAGE NUMBER: 365-969a

Print Title/Subject: Pope Pius IX

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1862

Additional Comments:

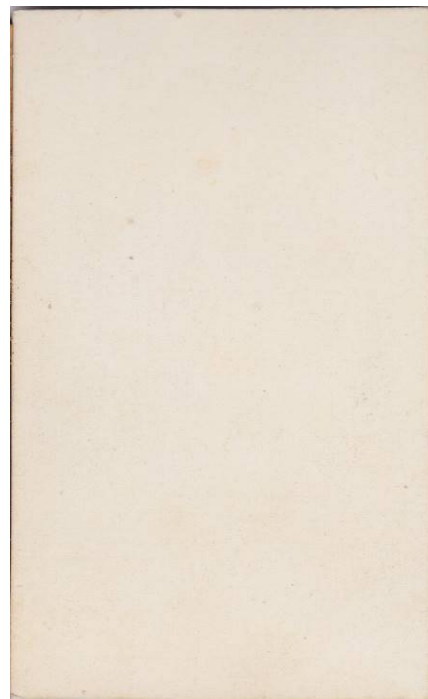


IMAGE NUMBER: 365-969b

Backplate

Studio Crest: none

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments:

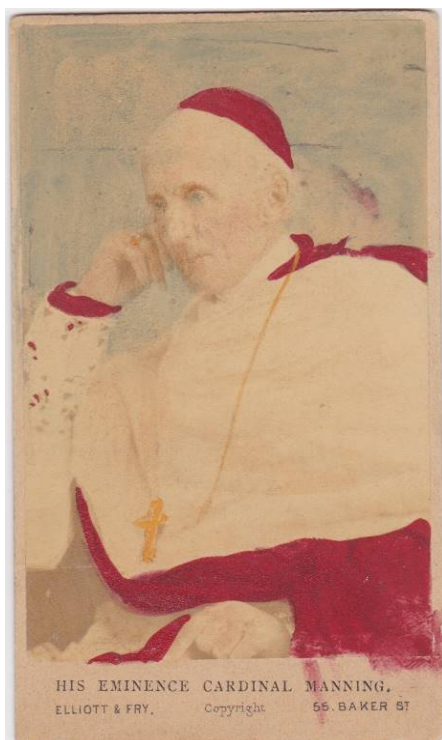


IMAGE NUMBER: 366-290a
 Print Title/Subject: 'His Eminence Cardinal Manning'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, hand-coloured
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

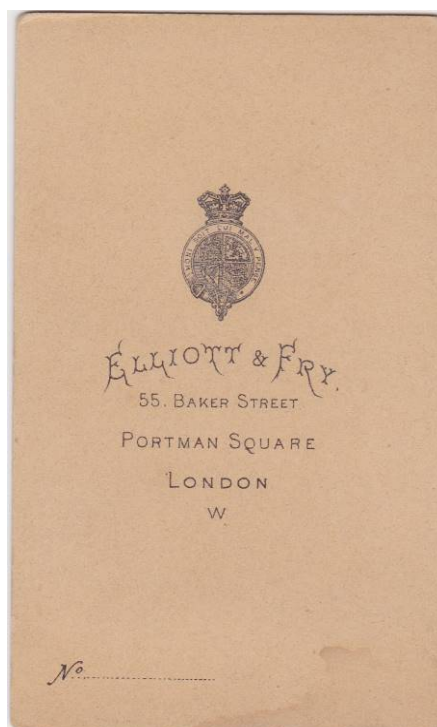


IMAGE NUMBER: 366-290b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 367-658a
 Print Title/Subject: Cardinal Wiseman
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

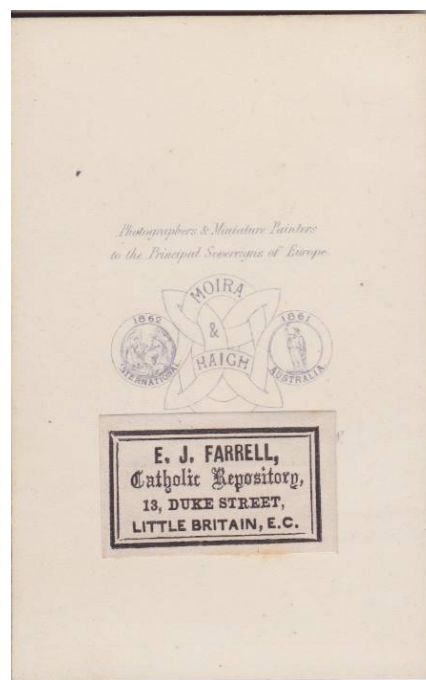


IMAGE NUMBER: 367-658b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Moira & Haigh
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Label attached to backplate: 'E.J. Farrell, Catholic Repository'



IMAGE NUMBER: 368-415a
 Print Title/Subject: 'The Very Rev Monsignor Capel'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1872
 Additional Comments:

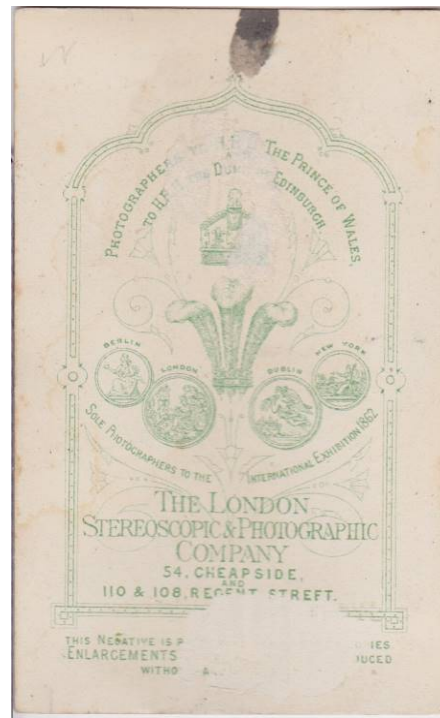


IMAGE NUMBER: 368-415b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 369-XA73
 Print Title/Subject: Archibald Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury
 Studio: Mason & Co.
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1873
 Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. Seen at a dealer's office.



IMAGE NUMBER: 370-794a
 Print Title/Subject: Dr. Stanley
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

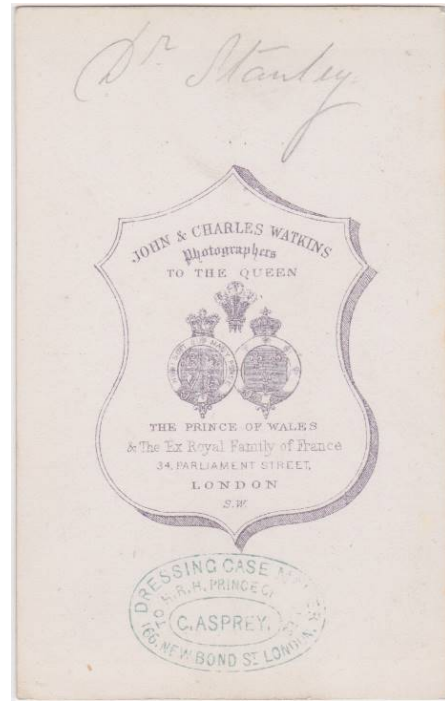


IMAGE NUMBER: 370-794b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John & Charles Watkins
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Dr. Stanley'
 Stamp applied to backplate: 'C. Asprey'



IMAGE NUMBER: 371-27a
 Print Title/Subject: Samuel Wilberforce
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments: Studio name on front:
 'Barraud & Jerrard'

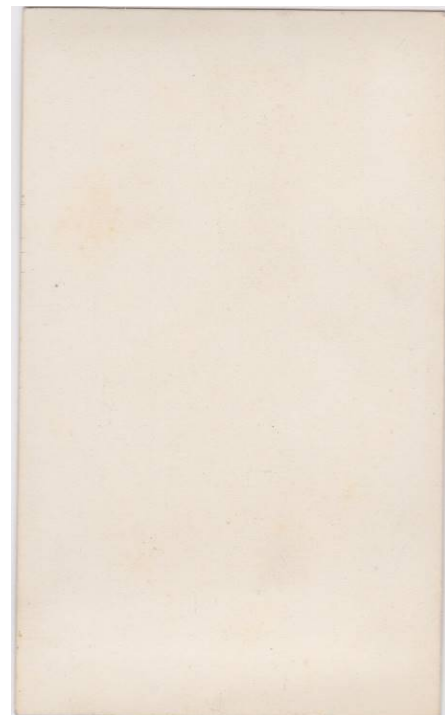


IMAGE NUMBER: 371-27b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 372-628a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of London
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

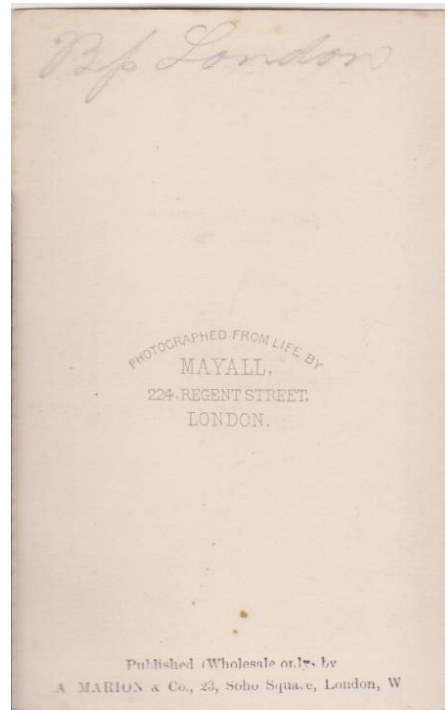


IMAGE NUMBER: 372-628b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: A. Marion & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bp Lodnon'



IMAGE NUMBER: 373-728a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Chichester
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments:

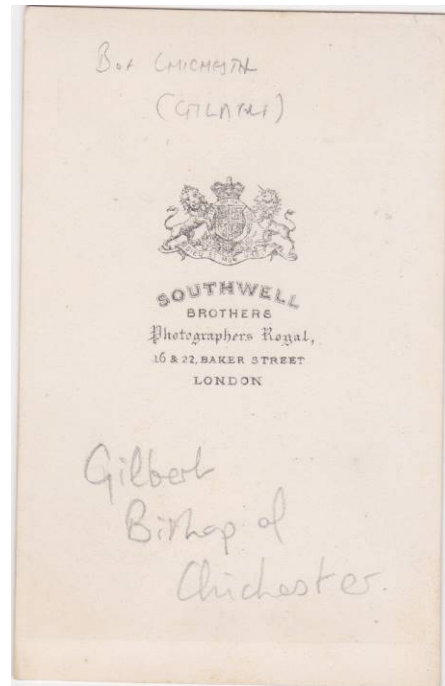


IMAGE NUMBER: 373-728b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Southwell Brothers
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'B of Chichester (Gilbert)' and 'Gilbert Bishop of Chichester'



IMAGE NUMBER: 374-1030a
 Print Title/Subject: Dr. Manning
 Format & Colour: carte-sized print pasted
 to card/album page, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on page:
 'Dr. Manning.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 374-1030b
 Back of card/album page
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Print of Dr. Keane pasted upside down on page
 Period hand in ink: 'Dr. Keane ...(unclear) Died
 1879'



IMAGE NUMBER: 375-697a
 Print Title/Subject: Dr. Pusey
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

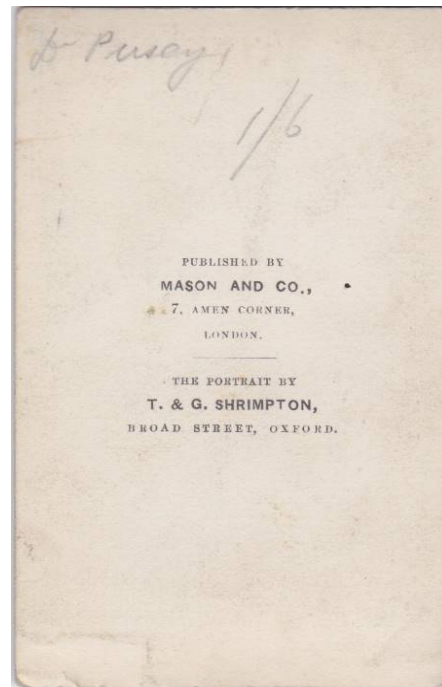


IMAGE NUMBER: 375-697b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: T. & G. Shrimpton, Oxford
 Publisher: Mason & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Dr. Pusey 1/6'



IMAGE NUMBER: 376-629a
 Print Title/Subject: Samuel Wilberforce
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1862
 Additional Comments: Printed in print:
 'Mayall fecit April 18th 1862'

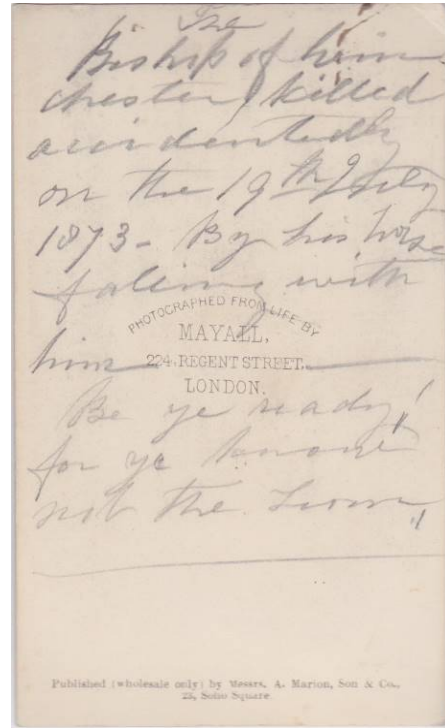


IMAGE NUMBER: 376-629b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: Messrs. A. Marion, Son & Co.
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'The Bishop of Winchester killed accidentally on the 19th July 1873 - by his horse falling with him - Be ye ready; for ye know not the future.'



IMAGE NUMBER: 377-72a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. J.R. Mursell
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

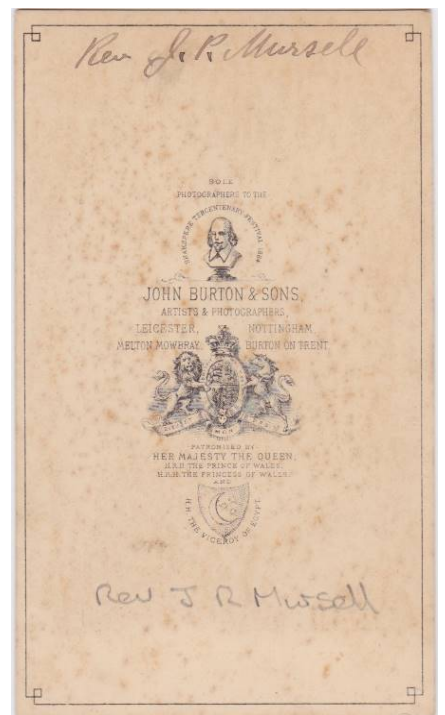


IMAGE NUMBER: 377-72b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John Burton & Sons, Leicester
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Rev. J.R. Mursell'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Rev J.R. Mursell'



IMAGE NUMBER: 378-291a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. Binney
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1868
 Additional Comments:

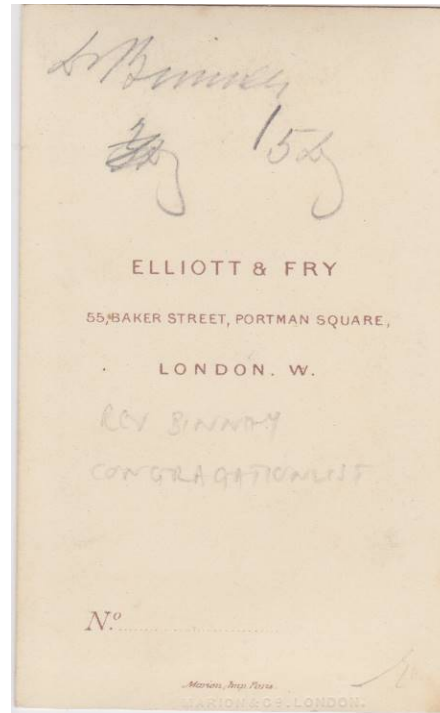


IMAGE NUMBER: 378-291b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
 Publisher: Marion Imp. Paris and Marion & Co., London
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Rev Binney (unclear)'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Rev Binney congregationalist'



IMAGE NUMBER: 379-242a
 Print Title/Subject: Ira Sankey
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1873
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount: 'I Sankey'

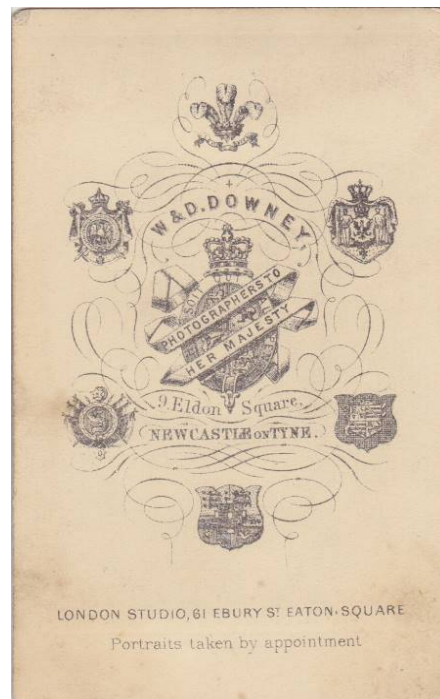


IMAGE NUMBER: 379-242b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: W. & D. Downey, Newcastle & London
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 380-3a
Print Title/Subject: Rev. E. Parker
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1865
Additional Comments:

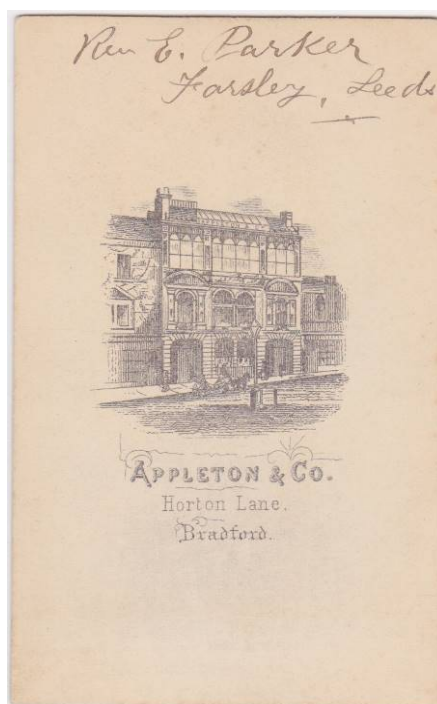


IMAGE NUMBER: 380-3b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Appleton & Co., Bradford
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Rev. E. Parker Farsley, Leeds'



IMAGE NUMBER: 381-811a
Print Title/Subject: W. Hay Aitkin
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1870
Additional Comments: Period hand in ink on mount: 'W. Hay ... (unclear) Aitkin'

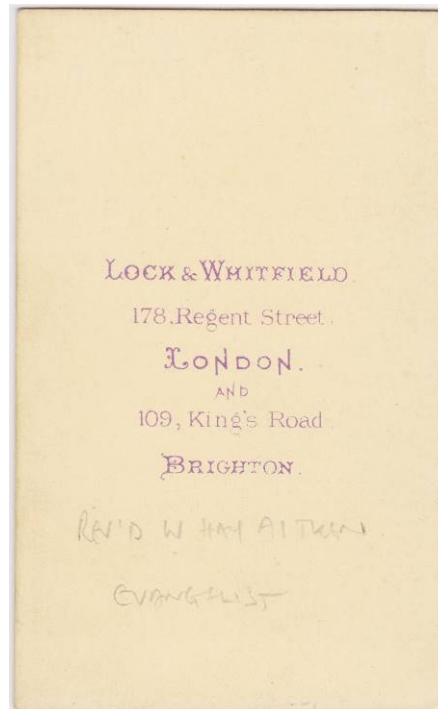


IMAGE NUMBER: 381-811b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Lock & Whitfield
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Revd W Hay Aitkin Evangelist'



IMAGE NUMBER: 382-362a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. Morley Punshon
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

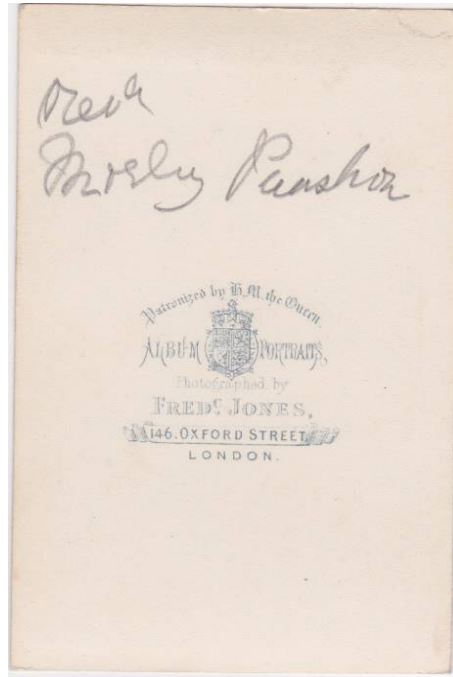


IMAGE NUMBER: 382-362b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Fredk. Jones
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Revd Morley Punshon'



IMAGE NUMBER: 383-387a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

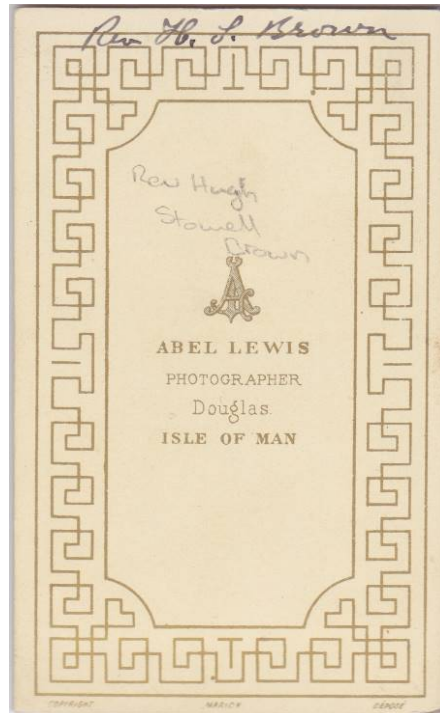


IMAGE NUMBER: 383-387b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Abel Lewis, Isle of Man
 Publisher: Marion
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Rev. H. St. Brown'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Rev Hugh Stowell Brown'



IMAGE NUMBER: 384-963a
 Print Title/Subject: Charles Spurgeon
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

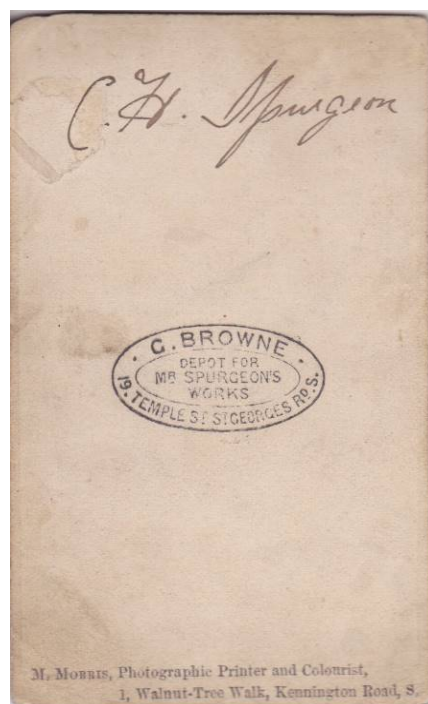


IMAGE NUMBER: 384-963b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'C.H. Spurgeon'
 Stamp applied to backplate: 'C. Browne Depot for Mr. Spurgeon's Works'
 Printed on backplate: 'M. Morris, Photographic Printer and Colourist'



IMAGE NUMBER: 385-XA72
 Print Title/Subject: Richard Weaver
 Studio: E. Wormold, Leeds
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. Dealer's carte de visite, seen by author.



IMAGE NUMBER: 386-49a
 Print Title/Subject: the Rev. Richard Weaver
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

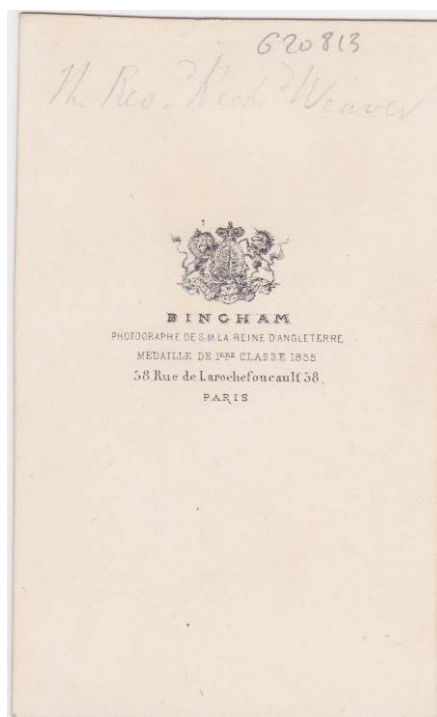


IMAGE NUMBER: 386-49b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Bingham, Paris
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'The Rev. Rich Weaver 620813'

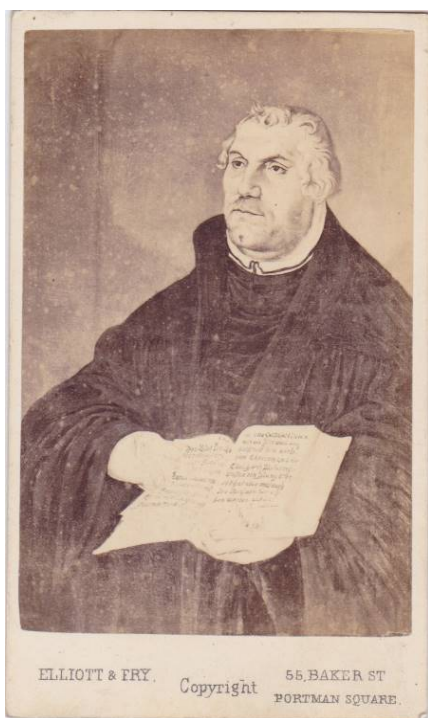


IMAGE NUMBER: 387-292a
 Print Title/Subject: Martin Luther
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

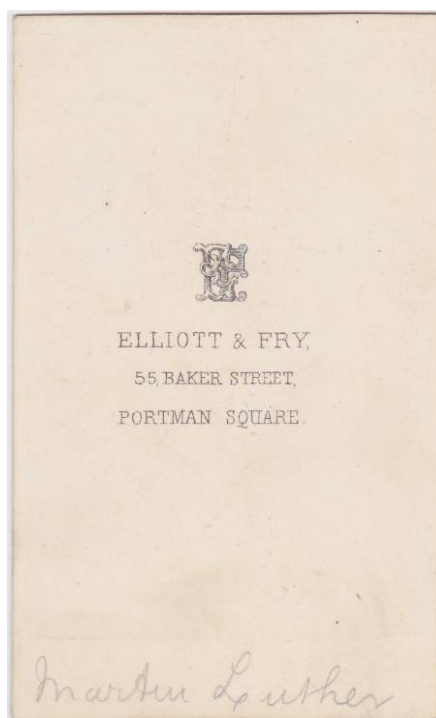


IMAGE NUMBER: 387-292b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Elliott & Fry
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Martin Luther'

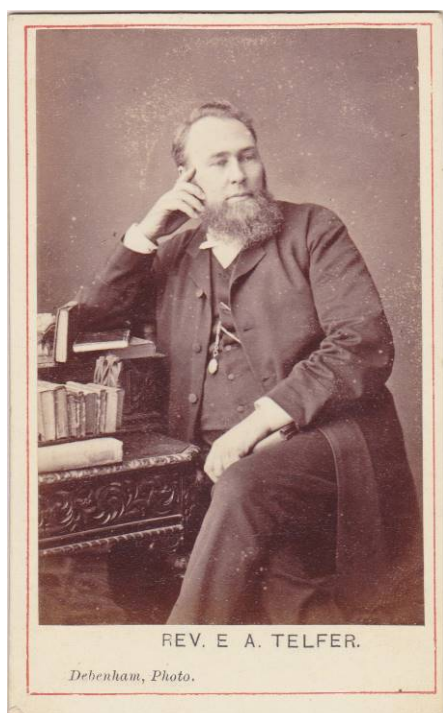


IMAGE NUMBER: 388-143a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Rev. E.A. Telfer'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1870
 Additional Comments:

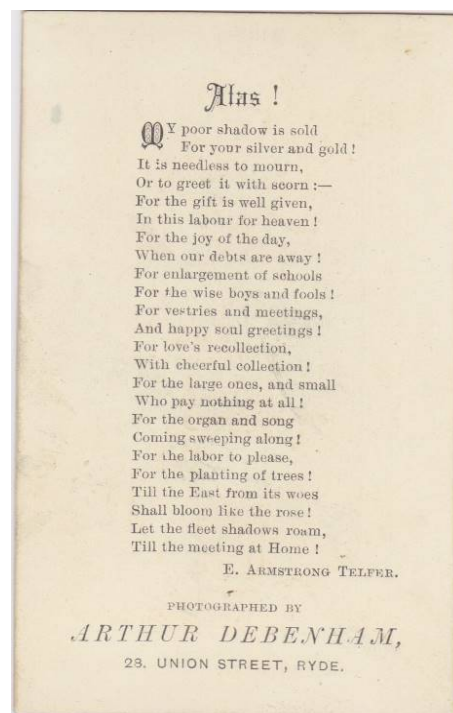


IMAGE NUMBER: 388-143b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Arthur Debenham
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Telfer's poem 'Alas!' is printed on the backplate



IMAGE NUMBER: 389-413a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Charles Haddon Spurgeon.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1885
 Additional Comments: Printed on mount:
 'Born at Kelvedon, June 19, 1834.
 Fell Asleep in Jesus at Mentone,
 Jan. 31, 1892. "I have fought a good
 fight, I have finished my course, I have
 kept the faith.'
 Studio name on mount:
 London Stereoscopic Co.



IMAGE NUMBER: 389-413b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: (on front mount)
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 390-710a
 Print Title/Subject: Baptist Noel
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 390-710b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: C. Silvy
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Baptist Noel'

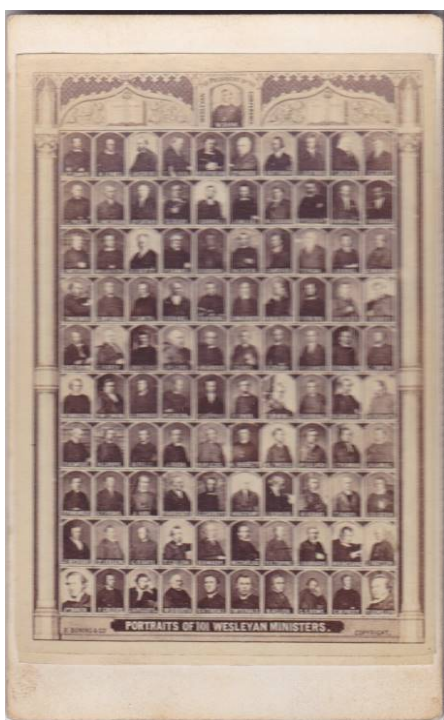


IMAGE NUMBER: 391-739a
 Print Title/Subject: 'Portraits of the Wesleyan Ministers.'
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1875
 Additional Comments:

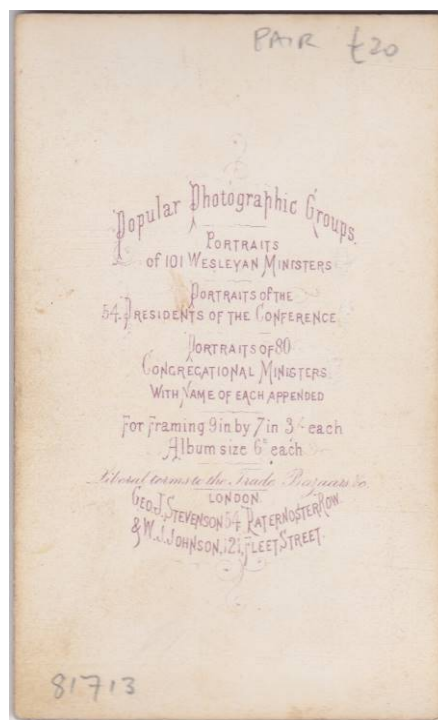


IMAGE NUMBER: 391-739b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Geo. J. Stevenson
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: '81713' and 'pair £20'



IMAGE NUMBER: 392-72a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. J.R. Mursell
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

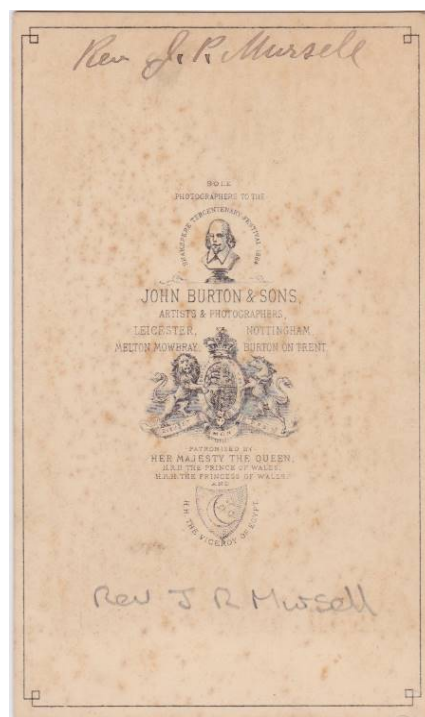


IMAGE NUMBER: 392-72b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: John Burton & Sons, Leicester
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Rev. J.R. Mursell'
 Modern hand in pencil: 'Rev J.R. Mursell'



IMAGE NUMBER: 393-3a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. E. Parker
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1865
 Additional Comments:

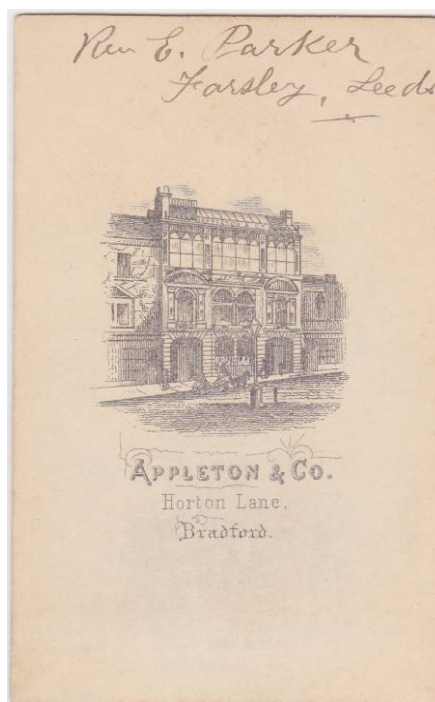


IMAGE NUMBER: 393-3b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Appleton & Co., Bradford
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'Rev. E. Parker Farsley, Leeds'

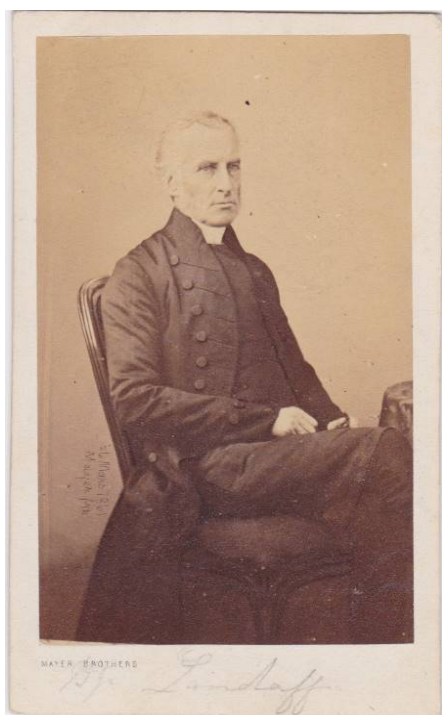


IMAGE NUMBER: 394-642a
Print Title/Subject: Bishop Llanduff
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments: Printed in print:
26 Mars 1861 Mayer Frs'
Period hand in pencil: 'Bp Llanduff'

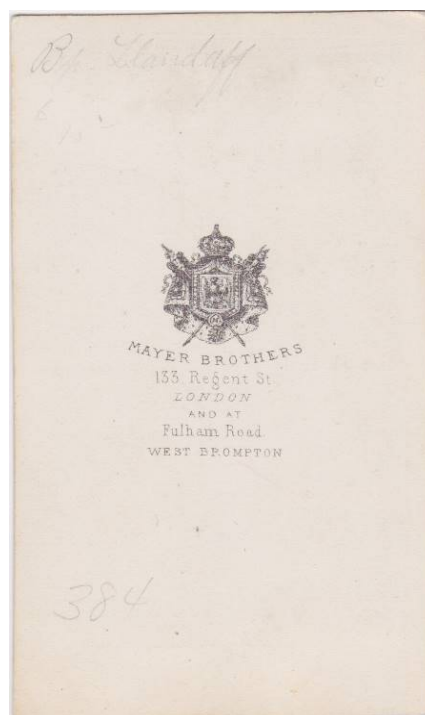


IMAGE NUMBER: 394-642b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayer Brothers
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Bp Llanduff' and '384'



Print Title/Subject: Enlargement of Bishop Llanduff print
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments: Printed in print: '26 Mars 1861 Mayer Frs'



IMAGE NUMBER: 395-661a
Print Title/Subject: Samuel Wilberforce
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

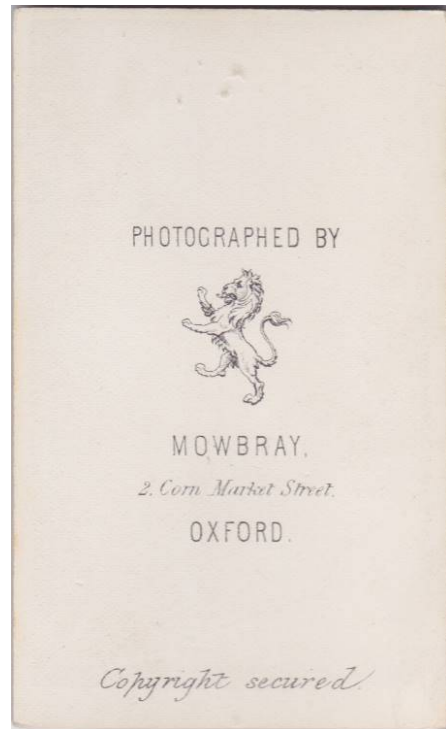


IMAGE NUMBER: 395-661b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mowbray, Oxford
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



Print Title/Subject: Enlargement of Samuel Wilberforce print
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments: Printed in print: 'M Reg'



IMAGE NUMBER: 396-963a
 Print Title/Subject: Charles Spurgeon
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments:

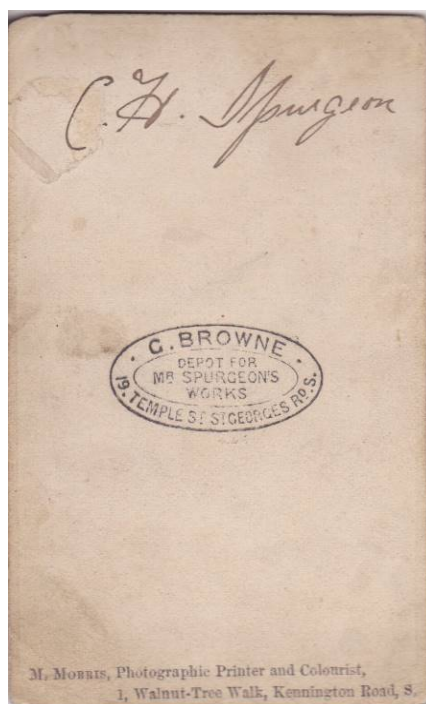


IMAGE NUMBER: 396-963b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: none
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in ink: 'C.H. Spurgeon'
 Stamp applied to backplate: 'C. Browne Depot for Mr. Spurgeon's Works'
 Printed on backplate: 'M. Morris, Photographic Printer and Colourist'



IMAGE NUMBER: 397-658a
 Print Title/Subject: Cardinal Wiseman
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments:

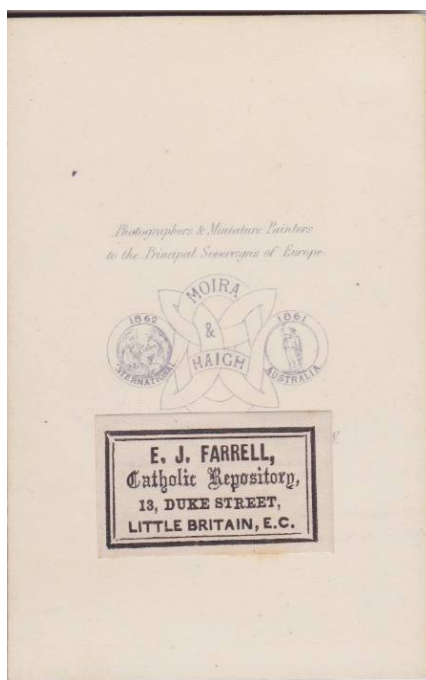


IMAGE NUMBER: 397-658b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Moira & Haigh
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Label attached to backplate: 'E.J. Farrell, Catholic Repository'

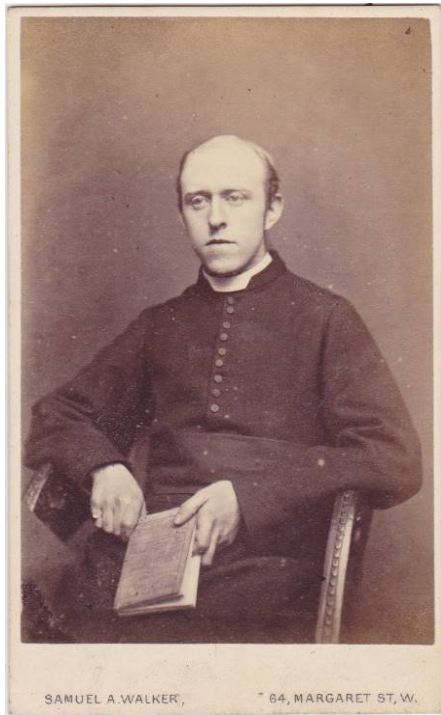


IMAGE NUMBER: 398-754a
 Print Title/Subject: Rev. W. Newton, Vicar of Stevenage
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1864
 Additional Comments:

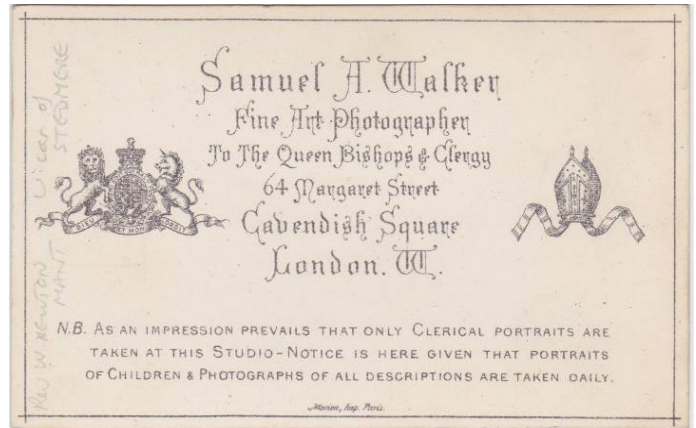


IMAGE NUMBER: 398-754b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Samuel A. Walker
 Publisher: Marion, Imp. Paris
 Additional Comments: Modern hand in pencil: 'Rev. W. Newton Vicar of Mant Stevenage'

CONCLUSION: ILLUSTRATIONS



IMAGE NUMBER: 399-553(A)a
Print Title/Subject: Prince Albert
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments:

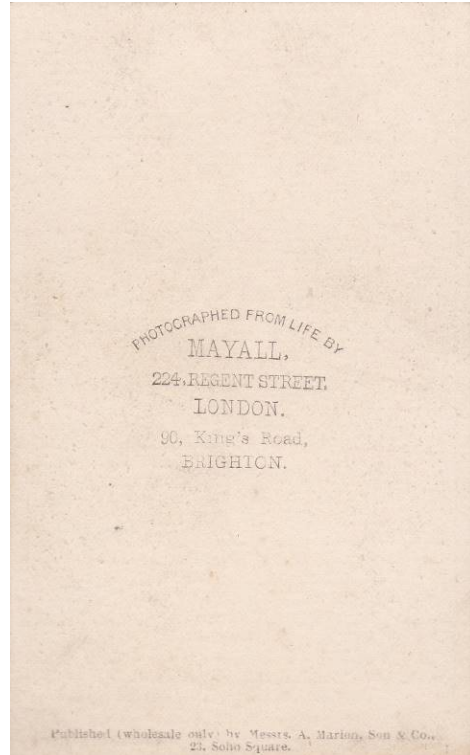


IMAGE NUMBER: 399-553(A)b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: A. Marion, Son & Co.
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 400-613a
Print Title/Subject: 'Earl Derby'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1861
Additional Comments: Printed in print:
'Mayall Feb. 1st 1861'

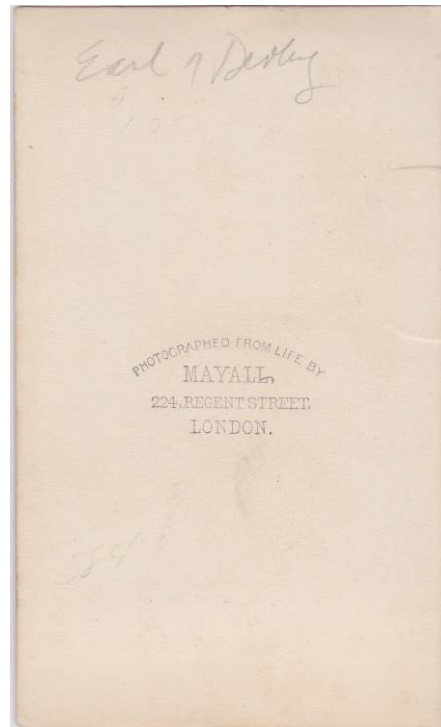


IMAGE NUMBER: 400-613b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 401-625a
 Print Title/Subject: Bishop of Carlisle
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1861
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil on mount:

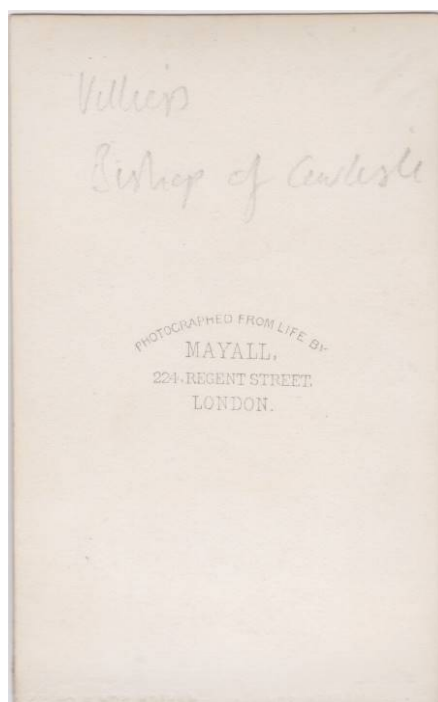


IMAGE NUMBER: 401-625b
 Backplate
 Studio Crest: Mayall
 Publisher: not recorded
 Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Villiers Bishop of Carlisle' '1/-'
 Printed in print: 'Mayall fecit June 1st 1861' Imprinted into mount: 'Marion Son & Co'



IMAGE NUMBER: 402-XA90
 Print Title/Subject: John Keble and his wife
 Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
 Date Image Taken: c. 1863
 Additional Comments: Studio: Preston & Poole.
 Not in the author's collection. NPG Ax7501.



IMAGE NUMBER: 403-XA75

Print Title/Subject: Richard Spurgeon and his wife

Studio: Richard Smith

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1862

Additional Comments: Not in author's collection. Dealer's carte de visite, seen by author.



IMAGE NUMBER: 404-XA91a

Print Title/Subject: 'J.P. Drony'

Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia

Date Image Taken: c. 1865

Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 404-XA91b

Backplate

Studio Crest: Mellis, Liverpool

Publisher: not recorded

Additional Comments: Period hand in ink:

'With kind regards J.P. Drony

Miss Annie Bower

Liverpool 26 June '65'



IMAGE NUMBER: 405-345a
Print Title/Subject: Lord Randolph Churchill
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1880
Additional Comments:

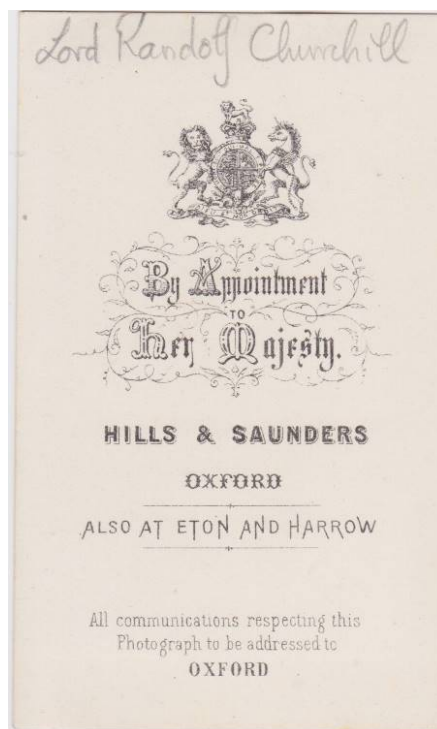


IMAGE NUMBER: 405-345b
Backplate
Studio Crest: Hills & Saunders
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: 'Lord Randolph Churchill'



IMAGE NUMBER: 406-XA78a
Print Title/Subject: Unnamed man and woman
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1862
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 406-XA78b
Backplate
Studio Crest: J. Raine, Richmond, Yorkshire
Publisher: Marion Imp. Paris
Additional Comments:



IMAGE NUMBER: 407-559a

Print Title/Subject: 'The Queen & Prince Consort'
Format & Colour: carte de visite, sepia
Date Image Taken: c. 1860
Additional Comments:

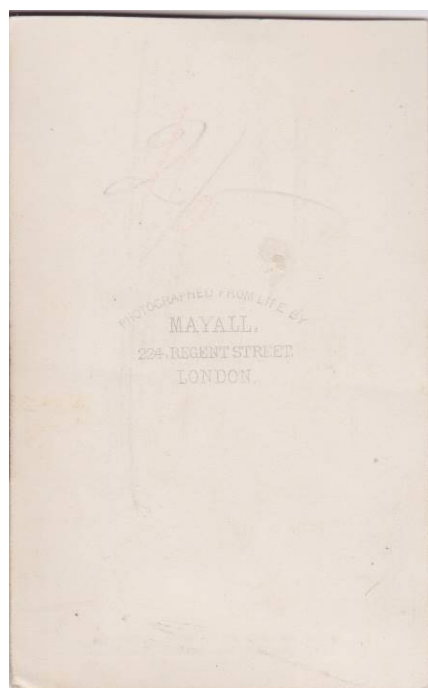


IMAGE NUMBER: 407-559b

Backplate
Studio Crest: Mayall
Publisher: not recorded
Additional Comments: Period hand in pencil: '2/-'