



The Feminization of Photography
and the Conquest of Colour:

SARAH ANGELINA ACLAND,
PHOTOGRAPHER



Giles M. Hudson

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Giles M. Hudson · D.Phil. Thesis

Lincoln College, Oxford · Trinity Term, 2012

The thesis is a study of the photographer Sarah Angelina Acland (1849–1930) and the wider issues her work raises for our understanding of women photographers and the early history of colour photography. Miss Acland was active in photography from 1891 to 1915. She is known primarily as a portraitist and as a pioneer of colour photography using the “Sanger Shepherd process of natural colour photography”. Her portraits of Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, Kelvin and Ruskin (who taught her art) were seen by large audiences when exhibited in public and published in the press. In 1905 and 1906 she gave four lectures on colour photography at the Royal Photographic Society, illustrated with lantern slides taken in Gibraltar. These were regarded by her peers as the finest that had ever been seen and as marking the inauguration of colour “as a process for the travelling amateur”. After its release in 1907 she then became one of the earliest women to use the Autochrome; later she experimented with Omnicolore, Dufay Diophtichrome and Paget Colour plates. Most of her portraits were taken in her Oxford home, many of her colour photographs on the island of Madeira.

The study is divided chronologically and thematically into two parts. The first, dealing with the period from 1891 to 1899, concentrates on the artistic side of Miss Acland’s work, especially interior photography and portraiture. Wider themes are explored concerning the feminization of photography (the increasing influence of women in all its branches); women’s pursuit of photography beyond the threshold of the home; and the photographic expression of the domestic ideal. The second part of the study, from 1899 to 1915, focuses on Miss Acland’s scientific photography and her efforts to conquer the problem of colour, including her work with orthochromatic plates. As well as tracing the use of the Sanger Shepherd process before 1907, particular attention is given to the following: Miss Acland’s appeal to the rhetoric of science and the Pre-Raphaelite doctrine of “truth of nature” in her promotion of the “Spectrum plates” of the manufacturer Cadett & Neall; the significance of the Imperial narrative for the reception of her photographs of Gibraltar and her portrayal of colour photography as a tool of scientific exploration; the foundation of the institutions and instruments of colour prior to the release of the Autochrome; and the role of photography as an outlet for women’s scientific interests. A catalogue raisonné accompanies the thesis.





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"To my father, who taught me both to work and play, and to the fellow-labourers
and friends among whom I work, these few and homely thoughts are gratefully inscribed."
Henry W. Acland, *Health, Work, and Play: Suggestions* (Oxford and London, 1856)

For My Father

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SYNOPSIS

Sarah Angelina Acland (1849–1930) was prominent as a photographer in her own lifetime, but after her death was largely forgotten. She is entirely absent from the twentieth-century canonical histories of photography, for example, the Sanger Shepherd process she championed faring little better. This neglect is partly addressed by *Sarah Angelina Acland: First Lady of Colour Photography* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 2012), in which I provided an introduction to her work and reproduced a selection of her finest photographs. The purpose of the present study is to examine her photography in detail and to explore the wider historiographical issues it raises.

The Preface surveys Miss Acland's treatment in the secondary literature, discusses the historiographical compass of the study, and identifies the sources available for research. Miss Acland's neglect in the canonical histories is contrasted with the attention she has received in women's history. This is attributed to the tendency of photographic histories to privilege visual images over documentary sources, with examples given of the biases to which this leads. The argument for a broad social and cultural interpretation of Miss Acland's work is made, in the belief that the history of photography as a discipline profits when it engages with historiographical issues from other branches of academic scholarship.

Chapter 1 focuses on Miss Acland's upbringing and education prior to her turn to photography. As the granddaughter of a baronet and a former Governor of the Bank of England, she led a comfortable upper-middle-class existence. Her parental home on Broad Street, where she lived until the age of 51, was centrally located in Oxford, socially and geographically, attracting an endless stream of eminent visitors, many of whom she would later photograph. Her father's great passions were art and science: themes that would be reflected in her photography. Much of her childhood was spent away from home, receiving an education in a schoolroom on her grandfather's estate at Killerton in Devon and at a girls' boarding school in North London. After her return to Oxford she attended the Oxford School of Art and took private lessons from John Ruskin. Strongly influenced by Ruskin's theory and practice of art, she also developed a close personal relationship with the famous

art critic. During her childhood she was encouraged to collect photographs by her mother. Many of these survive in a group of exceptional albums compiled between 1860 and 1885. Included are photographs by Julia Margaret Cameron, whom she witnessed arguing with Ruskin over the merits of photography in her drawing room, and by Lewis Carroll, who photographed her as a child with her close friend Ina Liddell, sister of Alice, of *Wonderland* fame. Her enthusiasm for photography and the direction her own work would take were influenced by close contact with other Oxford photographers of note, and by several members of her family with strong photographic interests, such as her maternal uncle Arthur Benjamin Cotton (1832–1918), three cousins, and at least four of her seven brothers. Her freedom to pursue photography herself was constrained by the responsibility of running her father's house after the death of her mother in 1878, and by a childhood illness that left her lame, necessitating lengthy periods of treatment abroad and consigning her to the status of an invalid for life.

Chapter 2 examines the timing of Miss Acland's turn to photography in 1891, her range of work with her earliest cameras, and the genre that first engaged her attention: interior photography. Using data from Royal Photographic Society exhibitions and other sources it is shown that photography became fashionable with middle-class women between 1887 and 1899. Like other women, Miss Acland's first photographic experience was with a Kodak, which she received as a gift for her 42nd birthday. However, within a year, her enthusiasm for her new pastime led her to purchase of a more serious instrument: a half-plate Watson 'Acme' camera. The subject that dominates her early work with both cameras is the domestic interior. Although not exclusive to women, interior photography was characteristic of their work. Its popularity, it is argued, rested on two pervasive cultural phenomena: the domestic ideal and the "Renaissance of art in the home". Interiors provided women with a means of expressing their powers of taste and artistic discernment, and of demonstrating the domestic credentials of their new hobby. Miss Acland's home, which she photographed more than any other subject, provides an archetypal example of the alliance of the domestic and artistic ideals, the message of their value even inscribed within the very fabric of the building. However, the conventional dichotomies between male and female, and private and public in house are blurred, as shown by Miss Acland's choice of rooms to photograph and display as prints in her albums. Above all, it was the domestic nature of interior photography that made it attractive to women. Not only could it be undertaken in the home, but in the service of home. The benefit was reciprocal: photography was ratified by the incorporation of unchallengeable assumptions about the virtue of domesticity and those assumptions themselves were strengthened by their expression in an artistic medium newly popular with the middle classes.

Chapter 3 looks at the first genre in which Miss Acland received public recognition — portraiture — and the nature of her engagement with photography outside the home. Portraiture enjoyed a privileged status in the life of the nation and the Acland house in particular. Miss Acland's father owned a collection of portraits of unusual importance, including an "Oxford Gallery of Portraits" commissioned from the artist William Edwards Miller (1851–1940). Miss Acland's early photographic portraiture was strongly influenced by Julia Margaret Cameron, who had close links to Oxford and who exercised a powerful hold over

women photographers generally. Although Miss Acland's portraiture originated in the home, she went to considerable lengths to develop an audience for her work beyond the threshold, exhibiting locally and distributing prints via her extensive correspondence network. Her portraits of Ruskin, taken at Brantwood in August 1893, were seen by a large public when published in photogravure and reproduced in the periodical press. However, their passage into the public sphere was not without its difficulties, especially in regard to copyright infringement. The Oxford Camera Club, which Miss Acland joined as the first woman member in 1894, was another important forum in which she could gain public exposure for her work. Women were unusually strongly represented in the Club, where they were able to occupy more influential positions than in other areas of public life. The Club's civic presence and strong collective identity helped Miss Acland gain access to metropolitan photographic circles traditionally dominated by men, such as the RPS, although in doing so she was careful to conform to modes of behaviour expected of a woman. In making portraits of celebrities, she was partaking of the hero worship that characterized the Victorian period. However, her portraiture remained first and foremost a domestic undertaking, its primary purpose the commemoration of her home and the values it embodied.

Chapter 4 examines Miss Acland's mature approach to portrait photography through the lecture she gave to the Oxford Camera Club in February 1899 on "Home Portraiture". Her choice of title was highly significant. Although largely passed over by the canonical account of the history of photography, during the 1880s and 1890s "home portraiture" became a distinct, widely recognized, and influential photographic genre. The term signified a practical and ideological approach that privileged the domestic space as the location of the creation of artistic portraits and amateur photographers as their creators. Placed in juxtaposition with all that had gone before, it was regarded as one of the most important fields in which artistic expression in photography could be exercised. In her lecture Miss Acland elucidated the theory and practice of home portraiture through a critical evaluation of her best work. In doing so she aligned herself with a number of influential amateur advocates of pictorial photography, such as Peter Henry Emerson, Frederick Evans and Alfred Stieglitz, all of whom exhibited "At home portraits", "home studies" and other synonymous types during the period. The methods she advocated were also shared with the leading professional portraitists of the day, such as Frederick Hollyer, Henry Herschel Hay Cameron and William Crooke. Like Miss Acland, these artist-photographers eschewed the extremism of the radical votaries of pictorial photography, choosing instead a pragmatic "middle course" in portraiture that preserved the best of previous decades, valued likeness over stylistic effect, and placed limits on photography's place in the hierarchy of the fine arts. The rise of home portraiture was accompanied by the domestication of professional studios, which were transformed to resemble the interiors of tastefully furnished houses. As much as pictorial portraits depended on new technology and techniques, they therefore embodied a shift in expectations about the space in which they were created. Miss Acland and other lady amateurs contributed crucially to this shift, which helped to open the profession to middle-class women in the process, and as far as the domestic space was the sphere of women, constituted a feminization of photography.

Chapter 5 explores the scientific side of Miss Acland's photography and her collaboration with the manufacturer James Cadett (1852–1949) in the promotion of his orthochromatic "Spectrum plate". Shortly after her home portraiture lecture Miss Acland began a series of systematic experiments in orthochromatic photography with the Spectrum plate. In April 1900 she presented her conclusions in a second lecture to the Oxford Camera Club, before publishing her results in extended form in the journal *Photography*. As she discovered by the response of her audience, the benefit of orthochromatic plates over their older, "ordinary" counterparts was far from universally accepted. She was therefore obliged to devote considerable effort to demonstrating their superiority as an objective form of visual representation. Adopting much of Cadett's scientific rhetoric as her own, she stressed the value of precision and measurement in the design and manufacture of the Spectrum plate, emphasized the importance of instrumentation, and advocated methods of exposure and development that fell under the heading "photography by rule". Implicated in the dispute were disagreements over the authority to determine plate speeds, the commercial and artistic value of orthochromatic emulsions, and the merits of standardization. Although artistic and scientific photography are conventionally portrayed as adversaries during the 1890s, no conflict existed between the two in Miss Acland's mind. Art and science enjoyed a privileged status in her home as complementary parts of the study of man and nature, a point she reinforced by casting her work as a Pre-Raphaelite undertaking and by appealing to Ruskin's maxim, "the truth of nature is a part of the truth of God".

Chapter 6 is concerned with Miss Acland's pioneering work in colour photography with the Sanger Shepherd process and the five lectures she gave at the Oxford Camera Club and Royal Photographic Society in 1904, 1905 and 1906. Edward Sanger Shepherd (1868–1927) receives passing mention in technical histories of colour photography. However, the importance of his process (which was based on three-colour carbon printing on celluloid or paper) and the extent to which it was used before 1907 has been overlooked by the existing literature. Miss Acland's interest in colour photography was nurtured in the Camera Club, where she first met Sanger Shepherd, who visited Oxford in 1897 as an assistant to Frederic Eugene Ives (1856–1937). Her first trials in colour photography were carried out in July 1900 or earlier, but were interrupted by the death of her father in October. Her colour lantern slides were first seen at the Camera Club in March 1901. From 1901 to 1906 she exhibited both slides and colour prints (by innovative techniques, including the imbibition process) at the RPS every year. The colour photographs that made her reputation were taken in Gibraltar in 1903 and 1904. Shown to overflowing audiences, they were received with unprecedented acclaim and credited by her contemporaries as marking "the definite assumption of three-colour work as a process for the travelling amateur." The success of her lectures was not only due to the quality of the slides but also to her appeal to the Imperial agenda and to the value of colour photography as a tool of scientific exploration. Miss Acland was by no means alone in using the Sanger Shepherd process, some twenty exhibitors showing more than 300 photographs by the technique at the RPS before 1907. However, according to the gendered assumptions of the photographic discourse of the day, she was at an advantage in such work as a woman: a fact highlighted by commercial advocates of colour photography, keen to advance

its cause in the marketplace. The importance of Miss Acland's work is difficult to overstate. Her photographs created an appetite for colour photography in the lecture going public, instilled a belief among amateurs and professionals that colour was a viable goal, and prepared the way for the reception of future processes, notably the Lumière Autochrome. In light of her achievements conventional assumptions about the history of colour photography need to be reassessed.

Chapter 7 examines the foundation of the institutions and instruments of colour photography prior to the release of the Autochrome in June 1907, Miss Acland's work with the French plates, and its rival processes. The Autochrome undoubtedly constituted a "revolution in photography". However, its blinding success has obscured important earlier developments in colour. Three in particular in which Miss Acland was closely involved stand out: the first exhibition of colour photography in Britain in January 1906; the formation of a "Society of Colour Photographers" in October 1906; and the inauguration of a "Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography" by the *British Journal of Photography* in January 1907. When Miss Acland did turn to the Autochrome she encountered problems with the expensive plates, the use of which, it is argued, was limited to a narrower cross-section of society than has sometimes been assumed. Of the early women practitioners of the process, many, like Miss Acland, were not only wealthy, but belonged to scientific or medical families. Miss Acland's health would dictate that most of her Autochrome work was carried out on the island of Madeira, where she overwintered every year from 1908 to 1915. On Madeira she took advantage of increased mobility afforded by the use of a mobile 'hammock' to photograph the luxurious gardens, colourful plants and dramatic landscape around Funchal. Although the significance of the rival processes to the Autochrome has often been dismissed by historians, Miss Acland would also carry out systematic experiments with Omnicolore, Dufay Diophtichrome and Paget Colour plates, coming to prefer the latter for many purposes. In both Oxford and Madeira she would also explore other scientific interests in parallel with her photography, including meteorology and astronomy, publishing her observations in the *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society*.

The Conclusion looks briefly at Miss Acland's photography from 1915 until her death in December 1930 and assesses its unifying themes. After 1919 Miss Acland largely gave up new photography, concentrating instead on her long-standing philanthropic interests and charitable work. Nevertheless, towards the end of her life she devoted significant time to consolidating her previous photographic achievements, compiling two presentation albums of portraits and a photographically illustrated volume of memoirs. Her legacy and importance can be judged from her inclusion in a list of influential women photographers compiled in 1905 by Catharine Weed Ward for her inaugural "Woman in Photography" column in the *Photogram*. Photography as a whole enabled Miss Acland to contribute to and extend the artistic and scientific legacy of her father, provided her with opportunities for public recognition of her creative and intellectual abilities otherwise unavailable to her as a woman, and, most importantly, allowed her to record and celebrate the home life she so cherished.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADA	Alfred Dyke Acland
FEDA	Francis Edward Dyke Acland
HDA	Henry Dyke Acland
HWA	Henry Wentworth Acland
RBDA	Reginald Brodie Dyke Acland
SA	Sarah Acland
SAA	Sarah Angelina Acland
TDA	Theodore Dyke Acland
WADA	William Alison Dyke Acland
WHDA	William Henry Dyke Acland
BOD	Bodleian Library, Oxford
DRO	Devon Records Office, Exeter
MHS	Museum of the History of Science, Oxford
NAL	National Archives, London
NMeM	National Media Museum, Bradford
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London
RPS	Royal Photographic Society
VAM	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
ARCO	Associate of the Royal College of Organists
ARCM	Associate of the Royal College of Music
ARIBA	Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects
CC	County Council
FLS	Fellow of the Linnean Society
F/MRCP	Fellow / Member of the Royal College of Physicians
F/MRCS	Fellow / Member of the Royal College of Surgeons
F.R.Met.S.	Fellow of the Royal Meteorological Society
FRMS	Fellow of the Royal Microscopical Society
F/MRPS	Fellow / Member of the Royal Photographic Society
FSA	Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries
FZS	Fellow of the Zoological Society
RHS	Royal Horticultural Society
RPS	Royal Photographic Society
SCP	Society of Colour Photographers

References to manuscripts are Bodleian Library, unless otherwise stated

“Acland” refers to Henry Wentworth Acland; “Miss Acland” to Sarah Angelina Acland.

“Camera Club” refers to the Oxford Camera Club, unless otherwise stated.

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Fig. 1 Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, *Alice Donkin, Sarah Angelina Acland, and Lorina Liddell*, albumen print, circa 1860 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 137)

Preface

Sarah Angelina Acland, Photographer

“Truly, it is by this modern Archangel Uriel’s help, that I can show
you pictures of all these pretty things”

John Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 78, Venice, May 1877¹

ON a bright summer’s day in 1860, three young girls, dressed in costume, sat for their portrait in the corner of an Oxford garden (fig. 1). The closest of friends, ‘Alice’, ‘Angie’ and ‘Ina’, as they knew each other, were the daughters of senior academics. Born in the same year — 1849 — they enjoyed a similar upbringing, keeping each other’s company for much of their childhood and sharing many of the same interests. Sitting for a photograph was, nevertheless, a relatively novel adventure, the *carte de visite* revolution which first transformed photographic portraits into everyday objects still being a year off in Oxford, and amateur portraiture remaining the idiosyncratic pastime of a handful of enthusiasts. As they posed patiently to have their picture taken, none of the girls could therefore have imagined the extraordinary place photography would eventually come to occupy in their lives, nor indeed that of their photographer, Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (1832–1898), who had yet to find fame as the author Lewis Carroll.

For Alice Emily Donkin (1849–1940) photography would always be associated with tragedy. Her brother William Frederick (‘Willie’) Donkin (1845–1888) became an amateur photographer in his teens, inspired to a love of chemistry by his father William Fishburn Donkin (1814–1869), Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford.

1. John Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain* (8 vols, Orpington, 1871–84), vol. 7 (1877), letter 78 (9 May 1877), pp. 149–179, p. 152

In 1877 the death of his wife Florence Blakiston Donkin, née Dunn (1856–1877), only a year into their marriage, on the birth of their daughter Hilda Florence Mary Donkin (25–27 March 1877), forced upon him a surfeit of time to devote to his hobby. He therefore chose to take up mountain photography — “he set himself to be the photographer of the snows”, in the words of one biographer — his magnificent photographs soon earning him a reputation as one of the foremost alpine photographers of the day (fig. 2).² Tragically, however, soon after reaching the heights of success, he lost his life in pursuit of his art, attempting the ascent of Mount Dychtau in the Caucasus. For Alice the loss was great: her father had died when she was only 19, her mother, Harriet, née Hawtrey (1815–1876), six years later.

Lorina Charlotte (‘Ina’) Liddell (1849–1930) occupies a celebrated place in the annals of photography in association with her sister, Alice Pleasance Liddell (1852–1934), the most famous child sitter in photographic history. The sisters’ photographic celebrity is due to Dodgson, who since his death has become Oxford’s most recognizable photographer, his characteristic portraits of children unmistakably familiar.³ The Liddell sisters, Edith Mary (‘Eddie’) Liddell (1854–1876) included, were Dodgson’s favourite subjects during the early years of his photography, even before Alice was immortalized by his pen in *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (London, 1865). Unfortunately, in June 1863 the relationship between photographer and sitters broke down, after rumours began circulating that Dodgson was using photography to court the girls or their governess, Ina being identified by some as the principal target of his affections.⁴ Nevertheless, the girls’ experience as photographic models continued: sixteen years after first sitting for Dodgson they would also appear for the most celebrated woman photographer of the nineteenth century, Julia Margaret Cameron (1815–1879), who also photographed their father, Henry George Liddell (1811–1898), Dean of Christ Church.⁵

Sarah Angelina (‘Angie’) Acland (1849–1930) would eventually become known as a photographer in her own right. The only daughter of Henry Wentworth Acland (1815–1900), Regius Professor of Medicine in Oxford, and his wife Sarah, née Cotton (1815–1878), ‘Miss Acland’, as she was invariably addressed by her peers, turned to photography in 1891 at the age of 42. Following in the footsteps of Cameron and Carroll, she first came to attention as a portraitist, photographing the eminent visitors to her home, including John Ruskin (1819–1900), William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898) and Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury (1830–1903). In 1899 she lectured on “Home Portraiture” to a large audience at the Oxford Camera Club, having become its first woman member in 1894, the year of its foundation. The success of her portraits notwithstanding, her greatest triumph would come in a medium only dreamt of in 1860: colour photography. In 1899

2. D. W. F. [Douglas William Freshfield], *In Memoriam* [William Frederick Donkin] (Exhibition catalogue, Gainsborough Gallery, London, [1889]), p. [275b] [Ms. Eng. hist. d. 55, pp. 275b–275gg]

3. On Dodgson see Helmut Gernsheim, *Lewis Carroll: Photographer* (London, 1949); Roger Taylor and Edward Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll, Photographer: The Princeton University Library Albums* (Princeton and Oxford, 2002); and Morton N. Cohen, *Lewis Carroll: A Biography* (London, 1985).

4. See Karoline Leach, *In the Shadow of the Dreamchild* (London, 1999), pp. 170–172.

5. See Julian Cox and Colin Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron: The Complete Photographs* (London, 2003), cat. nos. 344–364, pp. 229–234.



Fig. 2 William Frederick Donkin, "The Dent du Géant, Mont Blanc Range", Woodburytype, published 1885 (*Photographic Journal*, 30 Jan 1885, frontispiece)

PROGRAMME	
OF	
Lantern Lectures	
TO BE GIVEN IN THE NORTH ROOM, ON MONDAY, THURSDAY, AND SATURDAY EVENINGS AT 8 O'CLOCK.	
Thurs., Sept. 20.	"A Visit to Gibraltar," illustrated by monochrome and three-colour slides in the Sanger Shepherd process. By Miss ACLAND, F.R.P.S. (By special request.)
Sat., Sept. 22.	"Wild-bird life with the Camera." By WM. FARREN, Esq.
Mon., Sept. 24.	"Five Centuries of Church building in England." By HENRY W. BENNETT, Esq., F.R.P.S.
Thurs., Sept. 27.	"Homeward across the World"—Burma, India, Egypt, and Italy. By A. H. DUNNING, Esq., F.R.G.S., F.R.P.S.
Sat., Sept. 29.	"A Dive into Belgium." By W. L. F. WASTELL, Esq., F.R.P.S.
Mon., Oct. 1.	"Forest Life." Studies of the Haunts and Life of some of the Inhabitants. By F. MARTIN-DUNCAN, Esq., F.R.P.S.
Thurs., Oct. 4.	"Some Spanish pictures and a Spanish Bull-fight." By ARTHUR MARSHALL, Esq., A.R.I.B.A., F.R.P.S.
Sat., Oct. 6.	"Limestone Marvels of the Subterranean World." (The interiors of the caves will be shown on a patent crystalline screen, the invention of the lecturer.) By F. LAMBERT, Esq., F.R.G.S.
Mon., Oct. 8.	"Our English Chapter Houses." By E. W. HARVEY PIPER, Esq., Hon. M.S.A.
Thurs., Oct. 11.	"A Trip to the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi." By JOHN F. EAST, Esq.
Sat., Oct. 13.	"Corsica; the Isle of Unrest." By CHAS. B. HOWDILL, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.
Mon., Oct. 15.	"Bye-paths in India." Unfrequented places in the Madras Presidency, &c.; buildings, people, and scenery. By F. DUNSTONVILLE, Esq., F.R.P.S.
Thurs., Oct. 18.	"English and Continental Scenes in Colour" will be shown by the triple projection lantern. By SIR W. DE W. ARNEY, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.
Sat., Oct. 20.	"A Winter Holiday in Greece." By ALBERT CHEESE, Esq.
Mon., Oct. 22.	"Some Churches of Central France" (Details of the Architectural Features taken with the telephotographic lens). By ERNEST MARRIAGE, Esq., F.R.P.S.
Thurs., Oct. 25.	"All at Sea with a Hand Camera." By F. J. MORTIMER, Esq., F.R.P.S.
Sat., Oct. 27.	"Winchester Cathedral." By S. G. KIMBER, Esq.

Fig. 3 "Programme of Lantern Lectures", Royal Photographic Society exhibition, 1906 (*Photographic Journal* (supplement), 20 Sep 1906, p. [4]). Miss Acland headed the list of lantern lecturers at the Royal Photographic Society exhibition in 1906.

she set about examining the problem of colour in the widest sense, conducting a series of experiments in orthochromatic photography and championing the "Spectrum plate" of James William Thomas Cadett (1852–1949). Between 1899 and 1907 she then established herself as the leading colour photographer of the day, using the pioneering process of Edward Sanger Shepherd (1868–1927), with whom she collaborated closely. In 1905 and 1906 she gave four lectures on colour photography at the Royal Photographic Society, illustrated with Sanger Shepherd lantern slides from three-colour separation negatives taken in Gibraltar two years earlier. Her work was regarded by her contemporaries as the finest that had ever been seen and led to her nomination as a fellow of the Society in 1905. In September 1907 she became the first woman in Britain, and probably anywhere in the world, to show a Lumière Autochrome at a public exhibition. Most of her Autochrome photography was carried out on the island of Madeira, which she visited for six months every year from 1908 to 1915 for the benefit of her health, which had been troublesome since childhood. In Madeira she also explored the capabilities of a number of rival "screen-plate" processes to the Autochrome, including the Omnicolore, Dufay Dioptrichrome and Paget Colour processes, before giving up most of her active photography in 1919, at the age of 70, due to the stresses of the War and her increasing frailty.

In *Sarah Angelina Acland: First Lady of Colour Photography, 1849–1930* (Bodleian Library, Oxford, 2012) I provided an introduction to Miss Acland's work and examined a selection of her finest photographs. The purpose of the present study is to analyse her photography in detail, with particular attention to the wider historiographical issues it raises. The high regard in which Miss Acland was held in her own day is clear to see from the literature of the period. Her reputation was sufficient in her lifetime to earn her a place in E. J. Wall's definitive *History of Three-Color Photography* (Boston, 1925), for example, where she is cited for her contribution to orthochromatic photography as well as to colour.⁶ On her death obituaries appeared in *The Times*, the *British Journal of Photography* and the *Oxford Magazine*, all drawing attention to her achievements, while six years later the authority on colour, Henry Oscar Klein (1870/1–1951), still had reason to believe that her Sanger Shepherd transparencies "have never been surpassed in brilliancy and truthfulness of colour, and only Technicolor of to-day can approach them."⁷

In the secondary literature Miss Acland has fared less well. She is entirely absent from the twentieth-century canonical histories of photography by Beaumont Newhall (New York, [1938]), Alison and Helmut Gernsheim (London, 1955) and Naomi Rosenblum (New York, 1984), for example. Specialist works on women's photography and colour photography also overlook her, including Rosenblum's *A History of Women Photographers* (New York and London, 1994), Brian Coe's *Colour Photography: The First Hundred Years 1840–1940* (London, 1978) and Jack H. Coote's *The Illustrated History of Colour Photography* (Surbiton, 1993).⁸ Locally in Oxford, in contrast, word of mouth kept knowledge of her achievements alive, the first curator of the Museum of the History of Science, Robert Theodore Gunther (1869–1940), championing her in particular.⁹ In 1997 her reputation began to be revived when her photographs were included in an exhibition at the Museum — *Cameras: The Technology of Photographic Imaging* — and reproduced in the accompanying catalogue.¹⁰ This led to a short biographical entry appearing in *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (Oxford, 2005), written by Kelley Wilder, and passing mention

6. Wall, *History of Three-Color Photography*, p. 453 and p. 682

7. "Miss Sarah Acland", *The Times*, no. 45687 (4 Dec, 1930), p. 18e; "Obituary / Miss Sarah Angelina Acland", *Oxford Magazine*, vol. 49, no. 9 (22 Jan 1931), p. 332; "News and Notes of the Week / Death of Miss S. A. Acland", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 77, no. 3683 (5 Dec 1930), pp. 738–739, p. 739; H. O. Klein, "Colour Photography of To-day", *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1936, pp. 172–85, p. 173

8. Beaumont Newhall, *Photography: A Short Critical History* (New York, [1938]); Helmut Gernsheim in collaboration with Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the Beginnings of the Modern Era* (London, 1955); Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York, 1984)

9. See [R. T. Gunther], *Seventh Annual Report for 1930 of the Committee of Management of the Lewis Evans Collection* ([Oxford, 1931?]), p. 4.

10. See [Willem Hackmann, Tony Simcock and Giles Hudson], *Cameras: the Technology of Photographic Imaging* (Exhibition leaflet, Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, 1997); and *Cameras: the Technology of Photographic Imaging* ([www.mhs.ox.ac.uk/cameras/], [1997], accessed 16 Mar 2012). Catalogue nos. 105, 106, 107, 112 and 114 in this exhibition are no longer believed to be by Miss Acland. I am indebted to Janine Freeston for drawing my attention to prints by Henry Comley in the National Media Museum of the same still-life subject as depicted in cat. nos. 106 and 107.

of her work in Pamela Roberts, *A Century of Colour Photography* (London, 2007).¹¹ However, she remains absent from John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York & London, [2007]) and the Lynne Warren (ed), *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Photography* (New York & London, 2006), and at the time of writing (March 2012) still has no Wikipedia entry.

Surprisingly perhaps, it is in non-photographic histories that Miss Acland has received the closest attention. In *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1989) M. Jeanne Peterson cites her in illustration of several important themes in women's history: the departure from the stereotype of the angel in the house; the strained relationships that often existed between daughters and parents; the difficulty of single women forming long-standing friendships with men; and the role of artistic activities in the lives of the upper-middle class. Patricia Jalland, in *Women, Marriage, and Politics, 1860–1914* (Oxford, 1986), regards Miss Acland as an example of the 'dutiful daughter' or 'stereotypical spinster' — a woman with an "affectionate relationship with her mother" who became "miserable during her subsequent years of service for an unappreciative father" (the opposite is probably closer to the truth).¹² In *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford, 1999), Jalland highlights Miss Acland's extreme response to her father's death, as does Kathryn Gleadle in *British Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, 2001).¹³ Her photography is discussed briefly in Kali Israel, *Names and Stories: Emilia Dilke and Victorian Culture* (Oxford, 1999), where it is seen as a way she could use her talents to do meaningful work without dependence on the favour of men.¹⁴ Several studies of Ruskin also briefly mention her, including Tim Hilton's *John Ruskin: The Later Years* (New Haven and London, 2000) and James S. Dearden's *John Ruskin: A Life in Pictures* (Sheffield, 1999).¹⁵ A celebrated passage from her autobiography describing a quarrel in her drawing room between Ruskin and Julia Margaret Cameron over the merits of photography is also often quoted in the secondary literature, although usually without mentioning her by name.¹⁶

Miss Acland's neglect by historians of photography is a fate she shares with Cadett and Sanger Shepherd. Cadett was one of the most successful manufacturers of the dry plate era and a vocal member of metropolitan photographic circles during the 1890s, yet is relatively unknown today. Sanger Shepherd is mentioned in technical histories, but has failed to receive proper acknowledgement for creating the first practicable, commercially viable system of colour photography,

11. Kelley E. Wilder, "Acland, Angie", in Robin Lenman (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (Oxford, 2005); Roberts, *A Century of Colour Photography*, p. 71. Roberts reproduces a quarter-plate Sanger Shepherd photograph of *Aloe arborescens* that I do not include in Miss Acland's oeuvre on the grounds that she is only known with certainty to have used lantern slide sized plates for her colour work, although the attribution is not impossible (see p. 310).

12. Jalland, *Women, Marriage, and Politics*, p. 260 ff.

13. Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, p. 159; Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 183. Jalland's comments are quoted in Pamela Horn, *Ladies of the Manor: Wives and Daughters in Country-house Society, 1830–1918* (Stroud, 1991), p. 83.

14. Kali Israel, *Names and Stories*, pp. 94–95

15. See also G.M.H. [Giles Matthew Hudson], "Ruskin and the Aclands", *Sphæra: Newsletter of the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford*, no. 11 (Spring 2000), p. 7, in which I incorrectly stated that the photograph of Ruskin and Acland was probably taken on glass rather than film.

16. See, for example, Colin Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron: 19th Century Photographer of Genius* (London, 2003), p. 50.

despite winning the Royal Photographic Society's Progress Medal in 1906 for just this reason. Instead, credit has been given to Auguste and Louis Lumière for the Autochrome, the release of which, in June 1907, is conventionally regarded as marking "the birth of colour photography".¹⁷ The photographers who practised the Sanger Shepherd process in the seven years before the Autochrome's release have also been overlooked, as have the numerous examples of the process exhibited in lectures and exhibitions.

That such significant activity in colour photography between 1900 and 1907 could go unnoticed must be attributed, at least in part, to neglect of the primary literature of photography of the period and to the long-standing preference of historians of photography for visual rather than documentary sources. The photographs that survive in the world's museums, which have strongly shaped the orthodox accounts, offer a partial and arguably misleading record of the history of photography. Their deceptiveness is compounded by the repeated reproduction of a small subset of the most visually appealing examples; a tendency that has resulted in Sanger Shepherd transparencies being passed over especially, since they tend to age less well than other early colour processes, decaying to a state difficult to recognize as colour photographs at all.

A pertinent example of the historical distortions that result when pictorial evidence is favoured over the written record is provided by Etheldreda Janet ('Audrie') Laing, née Winkfield (1872–1960). A younger contemporary of Miss Acland in the Oxford Camera Club, Laing is now one of the most well-known British Autochromists. Her prominence is the consequence of the survival of thirty-one of her Autochrome plates in the National Media Museum. Beautiful as many of these are, and as much as her work was admired in the Camera Club, during her own lifetime Laing received little notice as a photographer, either locally or nationally. That she is better known today than Miss Acland would have surprised both women. A similar example is provided by the Russian photographer Sergei Michailovich Prokudin-Gorskii (1863–1944). Prokudin-Gorskii has enjoyed a great deal of publicity in recent years, including in the news media, following the digital recreation of colour images from a large collection of three-colour negatives acquired by the Library of Congress. These negatives were created by essentially the same method that Miss Acland used, but several years after she had moved on to other processes.

To name Laing and Prokudin-Gorskii is not to suggest they are unworthy of study. Rather, it is to point out that numerous imbalances exist in our account of the history of photography as a result of the preference for images over texts. Miss Acland herself, of course, also benefits from the survival of a substantial part of her photographic oeuvre (as detailed in the accompanying *Catalogue Raisonné*). Many

17. Cf. the title of John Wood, *The Art of the Autochrome: The Birth of Colour Photography* (Iowa City, 1993) and the timing of the publication of Pamela Roberts, *A Century of Colour Photography* (London, 2007). "It [the Autochrome] was the first successful, and for almost 30 years, the dominant color process" (William R. Alschuler, "Color Theory and Practice: 1800–1860", in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography* (2 vols, London, [2007]), vol. 1, pp. 315–322, p. 321). "The autochrome was the first successful commercial colour process" (Bertrand Lavédrine and Jean-Paul Gandolfo, "The Autochrome Process: From Concept to Prototype", *History of Photography*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 120–128, p. 120).

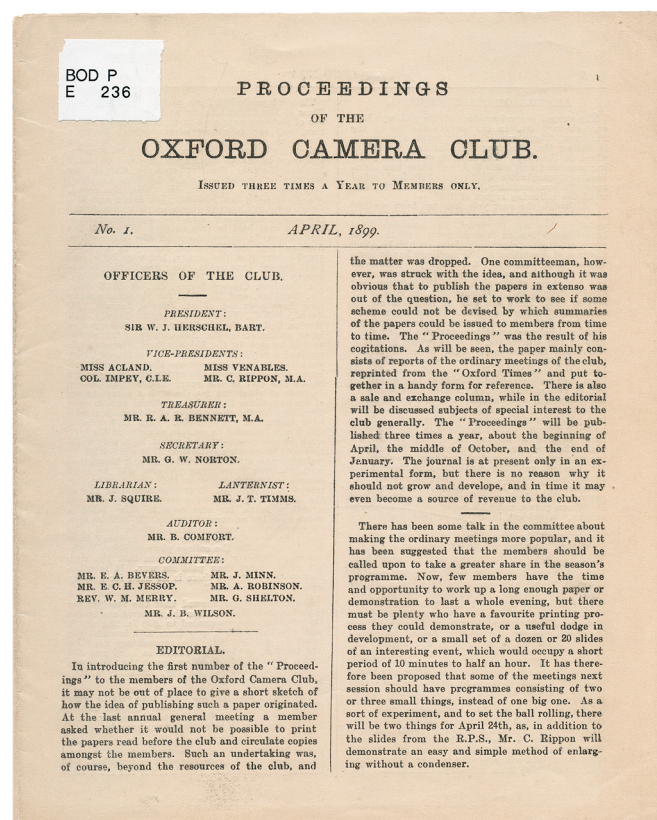


Fig. 4 The first number of the *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Apr 1899)

of her contemporaries who played important roles in the early history of colour photography, and whose names are mentioned in the following pages, remain unknown today because their photographs do not survive or are still in private hands.

The neglect of the written record of the history of photography of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is surprising given the abundance of riches of the period. Photographic periodicals alone provide a wealth of material of relevance, albeit their very voluminousness presents challenges in their use as a source. The most important journals in Britain during the 1890s and 1900s were *Amateur Photographer* and the *British Journal of Photography* (which each ran to nearly 1,000 pages a year), the *Journal of the Photographic Society*, the *Photogram*, and *Photography* (which Miss Acland took). In January 1907 the *British Journal of Photography* began publication of a "Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography", which although largely ignored by historians of colour photography, is an invaluable source for the early history of the subject. The general press, local and national, also contained comprehensive coverage of photography, especially developments in colour. In Oxford, for example, *Jackson's Oxford Journal* and the *Oxford Times* both ran regular photographic columns, in addition to carrying detailed reports of the meetings of the Camera Club, which formed the basis of the Club's own *Proceedings*, inaugurated in April 1899 (fig. 4).

For a study of Miss Acland these printed works are supplemented by a mass of manuscript material. The archives of the Acland family of Oxford stretch to 210 volumes in the Bodleian Library, some eighty-four of which, totalling more than

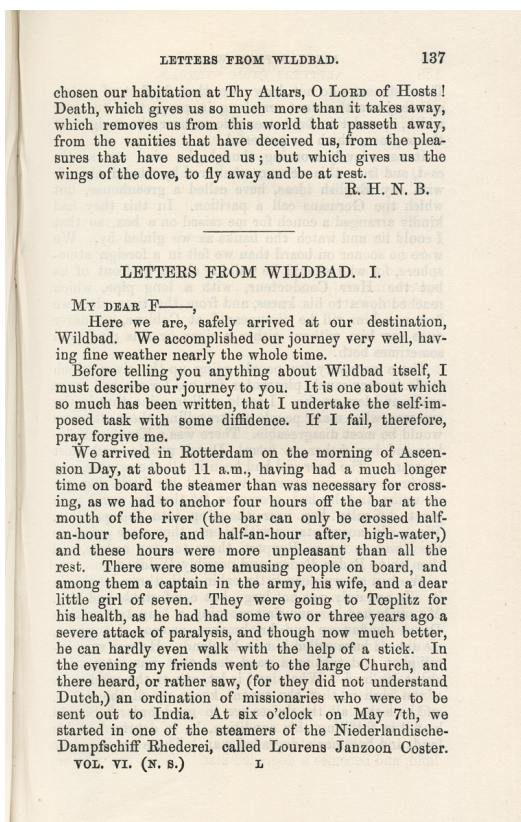


Fig. 5 'A.' [Sarah Angelina Acland], "Letters from Wildbad", *Churchman's Companion* (Aug 1869), p. 137
Miss Acland's lengthy "Letters from Wildbad", published anonymously in the *Churchman's Companion* in 1869, described her experiences as an invalid seeking treatment in the Spa town of the name in the Black Forest.

6,000 letters, are to or from Miss Acland (see table B.1, p. 399). Complementing these letters is the draft of her 35,000-word autobiography, "Memories in my 81st Year", the beautiful presentation copy of which is now in the Devon Records Office. Her "Poetry Book", which she compiled while at boarding school, is preserved in the Museum of the History of Science, as is a journal she kept in 1866–68, 1870–72 and 1888, and a diary of 5 March to 10 April 1908 written during her first (photographic) holiday on Madeira. Her published works include a series of "Letters from Wildbad" in the *Churchman's Companion* in 1869 (fig. 5); an anonymously authored memoir of her mother, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Sarah Acland* (London, 1894); numerous letters in newspapers; and a lengthy paper in *Photography* on the "Spectrum Plate". Detailed reports were also published in the photographic periodicals of the lectures she gave on portraiture and colour photography at the Camera Club and Royal Photographic Society (see the first section of the Bibliography).

Miss Acland's habit of following contemporary advice by concentrating on one genre of photography at a time makes it possible to deal with her work in chronological and thematic order simultaneously: each of the chapters that follows looks at a specific genre in which she specialized during a particular period.¹⁸ Although her work is examined in detail, the overriding historiographical aim of the

18. "I cannot too strongly advocate confining attention, for a considerable time at least, to a particular class of subject, and learning thoroughly" (A. Horsley Hinton, "Specialisation in Fine-Art Work [West London Photographic Society]", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 40, no. 1713 (3 Mar 1893), pp. 133–134).

study is deliberately broader in scope: to make sense of Miss Acland's photography by reference to the wider photographic and cultural history of the period; and (on the other side of the coin) to ask how her photography contributes to an understanding of this history itself. In order to achieve this goal the study engages with a number of historiographical themes from beyond the traditional confines of the history of photography. In chapters 2 to 4, for example, the photographic expression of the Victorian domestic ideal, familiar to social historians, is examined, and found to offer an insight into women's enthusiasm for interior photography, the progress of pictorial portraiture, and the domestication of the studio. The photographic history in turn speaks to the prevalence and persistence of the ideal. In chapter 5, which looks at Miss Acland's use of the "Spectrum plate" and the disputes surrounding the adoption of orthochromatic emulsions, assumptions about the contingent nature of technological advance are adopted that are more common in social studies of science than in the photographic historiography. In chapter 6, emphasis is given to the extent to which the success of Miss Acland's Gibraltar lectures depended not only on the technical and artistic quality of her colour slides but also on her audiences' engagement with the Imperial issues she highlighted in presenting them.

Throughout the study attention is also given to Miss Acland's experience of photography as a woman. In some respects her gender is a double edged sword: it makes her work relevant to debates in women's history and engages with interest in women's photography, yet it creates a danger that she will be treated differently from her male contemporaries. Whatever the pitfalls, a gender-neutral account of her photography would be both inappropriate and indeed impossible. That she operated in a sphere in which the discourse of photography was strongly 'gendered', on multiple levels, is undeniable. As will be seen in the response to her photography, during the late nineteenth century women were treated differently from men as photographers, their contribution judged, by both men and women, by criteria peculiar to their sex. That Miss Acland was a woman was frequently commented upon by her peers, some arguing that her feminine qualities made her particularly suited to the demands of both portraiture and colour photography. The genres she gravitated towards and the issues she faced when presenting her work were also influenced in crucial respects by her own perception of the expectations placed upon her as an upper-middle-class woman.

The need to tie this study closely to Miss Acland's personal photographic biography, and the desire to ensure it remains a photographic history rather than something else, means that it has not always been feasible to explore the wider issues her work raises as thoroughly as they might otherwise have been. That the present volume was drafted before *First Lady of Colour Photography* was written has also given it a stronger narrative basis than might have been advisable. However, as far as it has been possible to pursue the broader analysis, this has proved fruitful, offering insights into the strength of the cultural cross-currents between photography and other areas of Victorian social, cultural and commercial life. If the study has an overriding objective beyond giving Miss Acland the attention she deserves, it is to suggest that the history of photography as a discipline profits when its institutional and historiographical horizons are broadened and it engages with issues of debate in other branches of academic scholarship.



Fig. 1.1 Unknown photographer, "*The Oxford Aclands*", albumen print, *circa* 1875? (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 150)

Miss Acland is an enigmatic blur in this photograph, having moved during the exposure. She is holding her walking stick. The print is one of only three to show the whole of the Acland family together. Mrs Acland is pointing, with her left hand, to what appears to be a photograph album.

CHAPTER 1

An Education in Photography, *circa 1849–1891*

Art, illness, family and photographers

“Now I am going to give you a description of myself in order that you may know me when you come home. Imagine to yourself a girl of nearly 16, 5ft 1in tall very round and fat with a round face, bright colour, short sighted eyes ugly nose & a small mouth, though some-times a mischievous one. There, if you can imagine that you can see the picture I have drawn, that is me.”

Sarah Angelina Acland to her brother William Alison Dyke Acland, April 1865¹

“Mr. Ruskin who was in Oxford came & had many excursions with us ... we would go on to Port Meadow which we were then allowed to do & watch the flocks of geese & nature in general, Mr. Ruskin trying to make us see it with his eyes, not always very easy.”

Sarah Angelina Acland, “Memories in my 81st Year”, 1930²

Sarah Angelina Acland was born “in peace and without fear” at about 11.30 p.m. on Tuesday, 26 June 1849, in the “old panelled room” of her parents’ house on Broad Street, Oxford.³ Eighteen days later, on 14 July, she was baptized in St Mary Magdalen church by the incumbent Jacob Ley (1803–1881), taking her Christian names from her mother and a great-aunt by marriage, Angelina Frances Hoare, née Greene (1788–1846).⁴ From only six months old, when she was nursed by Henrietta Grace Powell (1824–1914), sister of the photographic pioneer Charles Piazzi Smyth (1819–1900) and wife of Baden Powell (1796–1860), an advocate of the use of ‘photogenic experiments’ in physics, she was destined never to be far from the

1. Bodleian Library, Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 28–31 (Letter, SAA to WADA, 23 Apr [1865])

2. Devon Records Office (DRO), 1148M/7/1 (Sarah Angelina Acland, “Memories in My 81st Year”), pp. 69–70

3. Private collection, Acland Family Bible (Bible presented to Henry Wentworth Acland and Sarah Cotton on their marriage, 1846); DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 5, where panelled is spelt “pannelled”.

4. See Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 13–15 (SA to WADA, 8 Feb [1859]). Angelina Hoare was the wife of George Matthew Hoare (1779–1852), who was a director of Hoare’s Bank in Fleet Street and brother of Miss Acland’s paternal grandmother, Lydia Elizabeth Acland (1786–1856).



Fig. 1.2 (far left) Unknown photographer, "Sir T. D. A.", albumen print, c. 1864 (Ms. Photogr. c. 178, f. 116)

Fig. 1.3 (left) Unknown photographer, "William Cotton", albumen print, c. 1862 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 113)

influence of photography or its practitioners.⁵ However, forty-two years would pass before she took up photography herself. The timing of her decision to do so and the direction her work would take thereafter were strongly influenced by her experiences earlier in life. Four aspects of her upbringing are particularly relevant to her photography and form the focus of this chapter: her family background and the character of her home; her education and the chronic illness that afflicted her from childhood; the instruction she received in art as a young woman, especially from Ruskin; and the diversity of photographs and photographers she was exposed to before 1891.

The Acland Family of Oxford

As the granddaughter of Thomas Dyke Acland, 10th baronet (1787–1871) (fig. 1.2), a wealthy landowner with an estate at Killerton in Devon, and of William Cotton (1786–1866), three-times governor of the Bank of England (fig. 1.3), Miss Acland occupied a position on the fringes of the upper-middle class and aristocracy.⁶ Her family was large: she had seven brothers (fig. 1.1), six aunts and uncles on her mother's side, nine on her father's, and at least forty-four first cousins (see Appendix). The central point of reference in her life, where she lived until the age of 51, was her home, which eventually extended to three properties, 39–41 Broad Street, Oxford (figs. 1.4 & 1.5).⁷ The 'Old Home', as she referred to it, would take on a personality of its own in her mind and feature prominently in her photography in many different ways (chs. 2 & 4). When she was forced to leave after the death of her father in October 1900 the move was traumatic: "no one who has not had to turn out of the only home that they have ever had & at my age can realize fully

5. See Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 102–103 (SA to SAA, 8 Apr [1863]).

6. On the Acland family see Anne Acland, *A Devon Family: The Story of the Aclands* (London and Chichester, 1981).

7. For an account of the house, with plans, see W. A. Pantin, "The Recently Demolished Houses in Broad Street, Oxford", *Oxoniensia*, vol. 2 (1937), pp. 171–200, esp. pp. 192–196.

Fig. 1.4 William F. Donkin, "Broad St. Oxford", albumen print, 1864 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 27)
The Acland house is the central building, with lantern above the front door.



what it is", she complained.⁸ Nevertheless, Clevedon House, in the North Oxford suburbs, into which she moved on 23 May 1901, would eventually prove equally comfortable, with ample room for the five servants she employed and the demands of her colour photography. Although she aspired to more than the status that wealth secured, both before and after her father's death she was financially well-off. Acland left an estate valued at £56,606 (about £4,780,000 at 2012 values compared on the retail price index, or £29,000,000 as GDP per capita), of which Miss Acland's entitlements, including a quarter of the money settled on her father's marriage and the rents from two houses in Broad Street, provided her with an annual income of over £1,000 (between £84,000 and £350,000 today, on the two indexes).⁹ On her own death in 1930, her estate was valued at £12,048 gross (between £625,000 and £2,860,000 now).¹⁰

Miss Acland's aims and aspirations in life were profoundly influenced by her parents, who were well-known and respected in Oxford on both sides of the divide between the City and University. Acland's choice of medicine as a career was unusual for the son of a baronet, but would bring him great distinction, his appointment as Regius Professor of Medicine being preceded by that of Physician to the Radcliffe Infirmary in 1847 and Clinical Professor of Medicine in 1857.¹¹ His love of medicine was accompanied by a passion for science, pursued professionally as Lee's Reader in Anatomy at Christ Church from 1845 to 1857 and as Radcliffe

8. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 70–73 (SAA to WADA, 18 Nov 1900)

9. See Ms. Acland d. 168, fols. 16–20 (RBDA to SAA, 28 Oct 1900). The comparative values are calculated from Lawrence H. Officer, "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1830 to Present," *Measuring Worth* ([www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/], 2008).

10. Oxford District Probate Registry, 1931, p. 205a (Sarah Angelina Acland, Last will and testament, proved 23 Jan 1931)

11. On Acland see J. B. Atlay, *Sir Henry Wentworth Acland* (London, 1903).



Fig. 1.5 Location of the Acland house, 39–41 Broad Street (OS Town Plans series, 1:500 (1st ed., 1876–78))

The Acland house is coloured red, Miss Acland's studio magenta, her two houses in Broad Street green. All the buildings on the site of what is now the Weston Library, outlined blue, including the Acland house, were demolished in 1937. The Oxford Camera Club met in the rooms of the Churchmen's Union.

[Science] Librarian from 1851 to 1900. Through these posts he was able to exert more influence on the institutional development of science in Oxford than any other man in the nineteenth century. His lasting legacy was the foundation of a new museum in 1860, now the University Museum of Natural History. Widely thought of during his own lifetime as the “The Acland Museum”, the building was located in what was still open countryside when Miss Acland was a girl, where she would splash in muddy puddles with her brothers.¹²

Mrs Acland, whose obituarists emphasized the intellectual and artistic qualities she shared with her husband, was said to have given the rooms of their home “the attractions which they were never to cease to have for ten generations of Oxford men”.¹³ With Acland she stood at the centre of an influential social circle that encompassed many of the most celebrated men and women of the day in the cultural and political spheres, the recording and commemoration of which would be central to their daughter's programme of photography (ch. 3). Among the Aclands' acquaintances were princes and prime ministers, presidents of learned societies, eminent physicians, clerics, musicians, artists and architects: Gladstone and Lord Salisbury; the Prince of Wales, Prince Leopold and the King of Greece; the President of Harvard, the Bishop of Liverpool, Canons Pusey and Burgon;

12. [Editorial], *Journal of the Oxford University Junior Scientific Club*, no. 25 (6 Mar 1895), p. 319. Although Daubeny's role in the Museum project is emphasized by Nicholas Goddard, “Daubeny, Charles Giles Bridle”, *Oxford DNB*, it was Acland's project through and through, inspired by his desire to unify and make accessible the dispersed University and college collections (see Ms. Acland d. 62, fols. 171–172 (William Buckland to HWA, 4 Feb 1846)).

13. [Sarah Angelina Acland], ed. Isambard Brunel, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Sarah Acland* (London, 1894), p. 12, quoting Richard William Church (1815–90), Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Fig. 1.6 Hills & Saunders ?,
"H. W. Acland, M.D.", albumen print,
 c. 1860 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 170)

Fig. 1.7 Hills & Saunders,
"Mrs Acland", albumen print, c. 1860
 (Ms. Eng. misc. f. 380, n.p.)



Livingstone and Longfellow, Jenny Lind, Joachim and Stainer; Gilbert Scott, Millais, Watts, Rossetti and Holman Hunt — the list could go on. The society the Aclands created was unusual and progressive in the extent to which it brought together sections of the University usually separate — the married professoriate, college dons, and students — as well as the degree to which it bridged the gap between men and women, Town and Gown, and the classes. In the Acland house “all met on easier terms than they would have otherwise done in the new society of which Mrs. Acland was certainly the great charm”, William Charles Lake (1817–1897), Dean of Durham, noted.¹⁴ Mrs Acland’s “shrewd practical wisdom” also made her an effective operator in the civic sphere and was put to good use in support of numerous charitable causes, whether the ‘Out-Patients’ Dining Rooms’ at the Radcliffe Infirmary, the ‘Anti-Mendicity and Charity Organization Association’, or a fund for a new organ in Iffley Church.¹⁵ Her death in 1878, at the age of sixty-three, was widely lamented: “the many amiable characteristic of this estimable lady were well known and appreciated throughout this University, City, and County, and the active interest she took in many objects of public usefulness will cause her loss to be felt far beyond the large circle of those who had the privilege of her friendship”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal* reported.¹⁶ In her memory the “Sarah Acland Memorial Home for Nurses” was founded: an institution that supported the free nursing of the poor in their homes by district nurses and the provision of cheap medical care for the middle classes, in what eventually became the Acland Hospital on the Banbury Road.

Miss Acland’s brothers also led successful lives. Her eldest brother William Alison Dyke (‘Willie’) Acland (1847–1924) entered the Royal Navy at 14, retiring in 1911 with the rank of Admiral. Henry Dyke (‘Harry’) Acland (1850–1936) chose

14. *Ibid.*, p. 14, quoting Charles Lake.

15. “The Sarah Acland Memorial”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, no. 6608 (8 Nov 1879), p. 6a–b

16. *Ibid.*



Fig. 1.8 Julius Nicholas Guggenheim (1820–1889), “*Our Servants, 1863*” [*Acland servants*], albumen print (Ms. Photogr. c. 178, f. 41)

banking, becoming manager of the Worcester Old Bank in Stamford and in Great Malvern, where he was Edward Elgar’s golfing partner. Theodore Dyke (‘Theo’) Acland (1851–1931) followed his father into medicine, his career culminating as governor of St Thomas’s Hospital. Herbert Dyke (‘Herbie’) Acland (1855–1877) emigrated to Ceylon to become a coffee planter; Reginald Brodie Dyke (‘Reggie’) Acland (1856–1924) was called to the bar and knighted in 1914; and Francis Edward Dyke (‘Frank’) Acland (1857–1943) served as an officer in the Royal Artillery before taking up a position as managing director of the Maxim-Nordfelt gun company. Miss Acland’s youngest brother, nine years her junior, Alfred Dyke Acland (1858–1937), trained as a civil engineer before joining the business of his father-in-law, the newsagent W. H. Smith. During the First World War he served as colonel in charge of the No. 3 Remount Depot at Dieppe (see fig. 8.2), for which he was awarded the Croix de Guerre and appointed CBE in 1920. With such strong role models in her family, Miss Acland sometimes struggled with living in her parents’ and brothers’ shadow: photography would offer her a potential means of forging an independent identity.

In common with many children of her class, Miss Acland saw relatively little of her parents during her upbringing.¹⁷ Instead, the majority of her time was spent with the servants, who numbered between six and ten at different times, and who defined much of the character of her home (fig. 1.8). In the schoolroom she answered to her governess. Her first, a Frenchwoman named Madame Benard, apparently quickly went out of her mind. The second, Frances Sophia Bowdich (1810/1–1875), was the sister of the African explorer Thomas Edward Bowdich (1791–1824) and later became governess to Gertrude Mary Tuckwell (1861–1951) and Emily, Lady Dilke (1840–1904). Bowdie’s replacement, Harriet Martin (1830–1899) (‘Mi Mar’) (fig. 1.9), stayed with the Aclands for only three years, afterwards taking up the post

17. For an overview of family relations in the middle-class home, see Carol Dyhouse, “Mothers and Daughters in the Middle-Class Home, c. 1870–1914”, pp. 27–47 in Jane Lewis (ed.), *Labour and Love: Women’s Experience of Home and Family, 1950–1940* (Oxford, 1986).



Fig. 1.9 A page from one of Miss Acland's carte de visite albums, compiled *circa* 1882 (Ms. Photogr. c. 178, p. 12). Although governesses during the period are often assumed to have occupied a difficult position between the other servants and the rest of the household, here Harriet Martin is included as a member of the family on the same page as Miss Acland's brothers and sister-in-law, Margaret ('Maggie') Hichens Rogers (1849–1939). Bustle, "The family friend", found fame when he was mentioned in Ruskin's *Lectures on Art* at Oxford.



Fig. 1.10 A page from Miss Acland's carte de visite album showing her maids (including her lady's maid Rebecca Marsh), her friend Meta Yeatman, and her parents' godson "Acland Sahera of Zanzibar". (Ms. Photogr. c. 178, p. 18)

Fig. 1.11 Thomas Edge of Llandundo, "Alice Liddell", albumen print, c. 1870 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 94)

Fig. 1.12 Nicholas Guggenheim, "Alice Donkin", albumen print, c. 1870 ? (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 142)



of Lady Resident of Bedford College, London, the first college of higher education for women in Britain (a position she was able to secure through the Aclands' links to the College's committee of management).¹⁸ However, she remained a lifelong friend of the family, visited frequently during the vacations, and became one of Miss Acland's earliest photographic subjects.

For practical help and emotional support on a day-to-day basis Miss Acland relied on her maids (fig. 1.10). When her lady's maid Rebecca Marsh (1832/3–1885), a grazier's daughter, was forced to leave in 1880, Miss Acland was distraught, protesting to her father that "ten years of daily, (most years with no holiday) & for several almost hourly intercourse cannot be broken without a terrible wrench to both of us."¹⁹ Marsh was eventually succeeded by Caroline Lawrence (1855–1930), daughter of an Oxford dressmaker, who stayed for nearly four decades and was described in her death notice in *The Times* as "for 39 years the faithful and devoted friend of Miss Acland".²⁰ After Miss Acland took up photography her maids would provide valuable assistance. Lawrence, unfortunately, had little aptitude for photography. However, Miss Acland also employed a paid companion after the death of her father, the first of whom, Jane Malvina Williamza ('Jenny') Grimston (1869–1958), was a capable photographer in her own right and a member of the Oxford Camera Club. After Jenny resigned in 1911 Miss Acland missed her help enormously, as she did her friendship (see ch. 7).

Miss Acland's friends during her childhood were the children of other young academic families, foremost among them the Liddells and Donkins. "I well remember where I first saw the Liddell children as they were being sunned in the 'Deadman's Walk', as we were by our nurse", she wrote in her memoirs.²¹

18. On Bedford College see Margaret J. Tuke, *A History of Bedford College For Women, 1849–1937* (Oxford, 1939).

19. Ms. Acland d. 105, fols. 34–35 (SAA to HWA, 6 Jul [1880])

20. "Deaths" [Caroline Lawrence], *The Times*, no. 45449 (28 Feb 1930), p. 1a

21. DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 19



Fig. 1.13 Arthur Benjamin Cotton,
"Walwrod N.E.", albumen print,
Apr 1863 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 116)

When away from Oxford the children were kept informed of each other's activities through their parents. In March 1863, for example, when Alice Liddell (fig. 1.11) fell from her horse riding on the cobbles at Tom Gate, Christ Church, Acland reported that she had sustained "a tremendous black eye" but was otherwise unhurt.²² In December two years later the prognosis was similar, Mrs Acland writing that Alice had broken her leg in another accident but was "getting on very well, though obliged to keep absolutely flat."²³

The Donkins represented the scientific rather than Christ Church set in Oxford. They were five surviving children: Alice (fig. 1.12), William Frederick, Arthur Edward (1847–1937), Edward Hawtrey (1853–1927), and Reginald Donkin (1855–1937). The boys, who all went to Eton (where even the brightest of Miss Acland's brothers failed to get a place), were talented academically and musically, and a model against which the Aclands were measured in the eyes of their parents. Alice was as a gifted artist who was already sending Angie "fairy pictures" by the age of 7, which Ruskin also admired.²⁴ Thirteen of her paintings were seen at the Royal Academy before 1905, including a portrait of Acland and several on musical themes.²⁵ She also exhibited works at the Alpine Club, alongside her brother's photographs.²⁶ As her artistic calling dictated, she was "solitary" in character, which set her apart from the "bevy" of girls that Mrs Acland was charged with chaperoning in Oxford.²⁷ Nevertheless, to Angie she was held up as a model daughter: the "mainstay" of her mother during her last illness, "a capital Nurse", "strong and tender and capable".²⁸

22. Ms. Acland d. 15, fol. 155 (HWA to SA, 30 Mar 1863)

23. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 130–131 (SA to WADA, 30 Dec 1865)

24. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 34–35 (Alice Donkin to SAA, [1856])

25. Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors* (8 vols, London, 1905–06), vol. 2 (1905), p. 353.

26. "Exhibition of Alpine Works of Art", *Alpine Journal*, vol. 10 (Feb 1882), pp. 182–184, p. 184

27. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 240–241 (SA to SAA, Easter day [17 Apr 1870])

28. Ms. Acland d. 142, fols. 22–24 (SA to SAA, 5 Dec 1876); Ms. Acland d. 142, fols. 68–70 (SA to SAA, 25 Mar [1877]); Ibid.

Fig. 1.14 Unknown photographer, "Tom & Mary Acland", albumen print, c. 1863 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 69)

Fig. 1.15 Unknown photographer, "May & Pussy Acland", albumen print, c. 1863 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 81)



Education and Illness

Treats for Miss Acland during childhood were being allowed to do something with her father. Her earliest recollection was of accompanying him to Sark with the Earl of Carnarvon, to dredge for his "Hunterian Museum Collection" in the Anatomy School.²⁹ Unfortunately, opportunities to be in his company were rare. Before the age of twelve much of Miss Acland's time was spent away from Oxford in the care of her governess or her mother's family at Walwood House, in Leytonstone, Essex (fig. 1.13). Her first permanent break from Oxford came in October 1862, when she was dispatched to Sprydon, the house on the Killerton estate of her uncle Thomas Dyke ('Tom') Acland, 11th baronet (1809–1898), and his second wife Mary, née Erskine (1807–1892) (fig. 1.14). In the Sprydon schoolroom she was taught with her cousins Mary Lydia ('May') Acland (1846–1918) and Agnes Henrietta ('Pussy') Acland (1851–1935) (fig. 1.15). Their beloved German governess, "Fräulein Wappner" (Julia Regina Josephine Wappner (1832–1906)), later married their widowed uncle, Peter 'Leopold' Dyke Acland (1819–1899), Vicar of nearby Broadclyst church.

Absence from Oxford was not something Miss Acland enjoyed. "I feel very very sorry to be away from home, but as it has pleased God to give me no sister it is my duty to say from my heart 'O God thy will be done'", she told her mother in 1862.³⁰ Her strong sense of abandonment is also apparent in correspondence with her father. "Thank you very much for your letter, it was very kind indeed of you to think of writing to me at all because you are so busy & can not find time so I always prize your letters double when they come", she wrote in October 1863.³¹ Her grievances were not unjustified. Although Miss Acland has been cited as a leading example of a woman who had a problematic relationship with an unappreciative

29. DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 5

30. Ms. Acland d. 106, fols. 92–93 (SAA to SA, 13 Nov [1862])

31. Ms. Acland d. 106, fols. 133–134 (SAA to HWA, 13 Oct 1863)

father, during her childhood relations were also strained with her mother.³² Mrs Acland often found fault with her daughter's character and behaviour, and needed little excuse to exclude her from events at home or even family holidays. In June 1864, for example, Angie was in Oxford for her birthday for the first time in five years, only to leave again for Sprydon in the autumn, to return to "my other parents".³³

Miss Acland's time in Devon came to an end in December 1865 when her uncle was returned to parliament. Still only sixteen, her schooldays were not yet over, as her mother explained:

Papa and I very often think and talk about it, we are most anxious to carry on your education in the way that should most help you to self control of word as well as action; and I trust we may be guided right. We think that if we could find a good school you would there have advantages which we could not give you at Oxford.³⁴

The long years of her exile therefore resumed in April 1866 at 'Mayfield', a boarding school for ladies in Southgate, London. The school was popular with daughters of Oxford academics and was run by the 'Miss Lowes', sisters of Edward Clarke Lowe (1823–1912), Provost of Lancing College.³⁵ In her memoirs Miss Acland claimed to have enjoyed Mayfield, but at the time her feelings were rather different. "It is very horrid. I don't like it a bit", she wrote to her brother Willie in January 1867.³⁶

With much of her childhood spent away from home, Miss Acland's main contact with her parents was usually by letter. Mrs Acland was a consummate letter writer, dispatching regular editions of her "Broad Street chronicle" to her far-flung offspring as part of the duties of her "general Agency" (as she referred to it).³⁷ More than 350 letters to Angie from her mother survive, all beautifully crafted and rich in the detail of Oxford life — mundane and exceptional — from the lions of Wombwell's menagerie parading down Broad Street, to the "rougher than ever" playing of Charles William Corfe (1814–1883), organist at the Cathedral.³⁸ "So I try to photograph our life, leaving you to make reflections", she concluded in one dispatch.³⁹

A contrasting insight into Miss Acland's relationship with her mother can be found in Mrs Acland's letters to Willie, who left home to join the Navy in 1861. Willie held a special place in his mother's affections and was often treated as her main confidant, perhaps in compensation for Acland's frequent absences from home on medical and scientific business. With her daughter, Mrs Acland was more distant, offering advice and reproach in equal measure. "I am sorry you had not a happy Easter. If we look deep enough we may generally find, that we have ourselves something, tho' not perhaps everything to do with our unhappiness",

32. For the conventional view, see Jalland, *Women, Marriage, and Politics*, p. 261.

33. Ms. Acland d. 106, fols. 168–171 (SAA to SA, 29 Nov 1863). See Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 28–29 (SA to WADA, 26 Jun [1864]).

34. Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 297–300 (SA to SAA, [1865])

35. Eliza Lowe (1803/4–1872), Mary Manley Lowe (1808–1876) and Charlotte Lowe (1818/9–1897).

36. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 3–7 (SAA to WADA, 6 Jan [1867])

37. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 161–166 (SA to SAA, 5 Dec [1869]); d. 140, fols. 63–65 (7 Dec [1875])

38. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 240–242 (SA to WADA, 5 Sep 1869)

39. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 83–85 (SA to SAA, 8 Jun [1869])

she scolded in 1863.⁴⁰ “My feeling about repeating things is this. Never repeat anything disagreeable of others, unless good is to be gained or evil avoided by doing so”, was her counsel in 1869.⁴¹ Fewer letters survive between Miss Acland and her father during her childhood, making an assessment of their relationship in the period more difficult. With his sons, according to his wife, Acland’s relationship was sometimes troubled: they “rather perplex and overwhelm” him, she wrote in 1875, especially after they took up smoking, which caused him grave offence.⁴² Mrs Acland conceived the needs of her children in gendered terms. “My chief regret has been that I could not ‘do’ for the boys, who want a larger infusion of the woman element to soften and humanize them, than they get”, she confided to Willie.⁴³

The evidence of Miss Acland’s surviving notebooks and diaries suggests her education at Sprydon and Mayfield followed the established pattern for an upper-middle-class woman.⁴⁴ Languages, at which she excelled, included Latin, French and German (later she learnt Italian, Portuguese and Russian). Her poetry book contains extracts from the Victorian staples Byron’s *Childe Harold* and Tennyson’s *Maud*, as well as *The Angel of Death* and other poems by Adelaide Anne Procter (1825–1864). Novels she read included *Janet’s Home* (2 vols, London and Cambridge, 1863) by Annie Keary (1825–1879) and *Hidden Depths* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1866), by the Oxford philanthropist Felicia Skene (1821–1899) (“a very wonderful book”).⁴⁵ Frances Mary Peard (1835–1923), the author of the particularly apposite *A Year, or, A Story of Three Homes* (London, 1869), later became a close friend and appears in her early photographs. When away from home she was forwarded the *Churchman’s Companion*, which Skene edited, and the *Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church* by Charlotte Yonge (1823–1901), a friend of her grandfather. The choices highlight the importance of religion in her life: her devout faith was always a constant resource and support. Her churchmanship was high, as reflected in her friendships with Canons Pusey and Henry Liddon (1829–1890); it was also shared with her father, uncles and many of her sitters.

“The lesson I like doing most is music and the one I like lest [sic] is writing history”, Miss Acland revealed in 1862.⁴⁶ Her first love was the pianoforte. At twelve she was already taking lessons from the noted teacher George Lansdowne Cottell (1835–1909); later she became a pupil of William Sterndale Bennett (1816–1875), Principal of the Royal Academy of Music. After she moved to Park Town, Ernest Walker (1870–1949), organist of Balliol College, would visit to perform the *Drei Intermezzi*, Op. 117 by his friend Brahms, which he premiered in England. “I lay on my sofa with my eyes shut & revelled in it”, she wrote.⁴⁷

The amount of science Miss Acland was introduced to at school is difficult to determine, the lack of documentary evidence speaking to the minor place it

40. Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 102–103 (SA to SAA, 8 Apr [1863])

41. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 167–169 (SA to SAA, 8 Dec [1869])

42. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 533–529 (SA to WADA, 10 Jan 1875)

43. Ibid.

44. On the curriculum, see Gillian Avery, *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls’ Independent Schools* (London, 1991), esp. ch 10, “Work and Play”

45. MHS Ms. Gunther 28 ([“Sarah Acland Diary, 1866–88”]), entry for 28 Aug 1888

46. Ms. Acland d. 106, fols. 126–130 (SAA to SA, 29 Nov 1862)

47. Ms. Acland d. 115, fols. 271–272 (SAA to WADA, 4 Jul 1924)

occupied in the curriculum, if present at all.⁴⁸ However, in Oxford something of scientific interest was always going on. At Christmas 1870, for example, an electrical machine provided the entertainment.⁴⁹ She was introduced to other wonders of science by her father, from the sight of Saturn in the equatorial telescope in his observatory in the back garden, to the circulation of blood in the legs of frogs under the microscope in his library. At the Museum she heard lectures by Augustus George Vernon Harcourt (1834–1919), Lee’s Reader in Chemistry, and attended demonstrations in microscopy by Lionel Smith Beale (1828–1906), Professor of Physiology at King’s College (her father’s former assistant).⁵⁰ Some activities were not to her taste. In 1865, for example, she chose to go riding instead of doing experiments with her brothers in the laboratory of the Aldrichian Professor of Chemistry, Benjamin Collins Brodie, Jnr. (1817–1880).⁵¹ Illness also interfered with her attendance: on New Year’s Day 1859 she was forced to stay at home rather than watch Professor Donkin setting fire to hydrogen-filled soap bubbles.⁵²

Miss Acland’s time at Mayfield came to an end in July 1867, when she turned eighteen. Her mother hoped it “may prove to have been well spent, and a help onwards in every sense.”⁵³ Unfortunately, she would be disappointed. Soon after leaving school Miss Acland suffered a dramatic decline in her health that required treatment away from home for many years. The source of her problems was difficult to pin down, but centred on ones of her legs and foot. These had been troublesome since she was a child, advice being sought in 1858 from Benjamin Collins Brodie, Snr. (1783–1862), author of *Pathological and Surgical Observations on the Diseases of the Joints* (London, 1818).⁵⁴ Why her health declined so rapidly after leaving school is unclear, but in June 1868 she was forced to consult a series of eminent physicians in London, including James Paget (1814–1899), surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria, and William Withey Gull (1816–1890), Resident Physician at Guy’s Hospital. By December 1868, little improvement being seen, Ruskin was bold enough to venture a diagnosis that hints at the underlying cause of her condition as perceived by those around her:

I am getting very anxious about Angie — even to the point of being forced into the impertinence of asking you if you had thought of letting her see Dr Skey? There is so much in his book on Hysteria which bears upon cases of this kind and he himself seemed to me when I by chance consulted him, so deserving of confidence, in his patient attention and careful thought — that I cannot but hope he might make some suggestion to Dr Gull which would be worthy of consideration.⁵⁵

48. On the general dearth of science teaching in girls’ schools in the nineteenth century, see Catherine Manthorpe, “Science education in the public schools for girls in the late nineteenth century”, pp. 56–78 in Geoffrey Walford (ed.), *The Private Schooling of Girls: Past and Present* (London, 1993)

49. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 193–194 (SA to SAA, 25 Jan [1870])

50. See Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 172–174 (SA to WADA, 30 Dec 1866), Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 3–7 (SAA to WADA, 6 Jan [1867]) and Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 157–158 (SA to SAA, 25 Nov [1869]).

51. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 65–69 (SA to WADA, 6 Jan [1865]).

52. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 7–10 (SA to WADA, 20 Dec 1858)

53. Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 197–199 (SA to SAA, 27 Jul [1867])

54. See Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 283–286 (SA to SAA, 13 Apr [1858]) and fols. 22–24 (SA to SAA, 16 Apr [1858]).

55. Ms. Acland d. 72, fols. 131–132 (Ruskin to HWA, 10 Dec 1868)

Fig. 1.16 Hills & Saunders,
"Angie Acland", albumen print, 1866
(Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 123)

Fig. 1.17 Unknown photographer,
"Angie Acland", albumen print, c. 1869
(Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 444)



In his *Six Lectures on Hysteria* (London, 1867), Frederic Carpenter Skey (1798–1872) had examined the manifestation of "local nervous irritation", by which he defined hysteria, believing that "every part of the body may become, under provocation, the seat of an apparent disease that in reality does not exist".⁵⁶ Such symptoms, he argued, were particularly prevalent among young ladies of "hysterical age" and in unmarried women.⁵⁷ Quoting Brodie, to whom *Hysteria* was dedicated, Skey wrote that "I do not hesitate to declare that, among the higher classes of society, at least four-fifths of the female patients who are commonly supposed to labour under diseases of the joints, labour under Hysteria and nothing else".⁵⁸ This was not to suggest that their symptoms were imaginary or undeserving of treatment, merely that they were due to something other than a diseased state of the tissues. Remedies to check excessive action of the nerves were therefore applicable, including opium, belladonna and chloroform (all of which Miss Acland took), as well as a nutritious diet, fresh air, "agreeable mental occupation" and a change of locality.⁵⁹

Whether or not Acland agreed with Ruskin, a change of location was what his daughter was prescribed. On 4 May 1869 Miss Acland boarded a steamer for Rotterdam, changing three days later to travel up the Rhine to Wildbad, a spa town in the Black Forest.⁶⁰ At Wildbad, where she stayed in rooms in the Belle Vue Hotel, she took twice-daily baths in the volcanic waters and was given 'manipulation' by the resident doctor Karl (von) Burckhardt (1818–1888). This achieved little except an increase in the paralysis in her leg and an extension of the pain to her lower spine. By August 1869 it was clear to her mother that her illness would be "to us

56. F. C. Skey, *Hysteria* (3rd ed., London, 1870), p. 44

57. *Ibid.*, p. 92. For attitudes to hysteria in the Victorian period and the characterization of the condition as a disorder of female adolescence, caused by the onset of sexual maturity and unsatisfied desires, see Elaine Showalter, "Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender", pp. 286–344 in Sander L. Gilman *et al.*, *Hysteria beyond Freud* (Berkeley and London, 1993), esp. pp. 301 & 302.

58. Skey., pp. 46–47

59. *Ibid.*, p. 91

60. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 1–2 (HWA to SAA, 4 May 1869)

as well as to her a central point of life & arrangement".⁶¹ By September there was "really very little hope of her ultimate recovery".⁶² In December she was moved from Wildbad to Nice for the winter, in spring from Nice to Cannes, and thence to Paris, on a waterbed hung in a railway carriage. In Paris Auguste Nélaton (1807–1873) recommended amputation, but this was abandoned in favour of traction of the foot with an apparatus of leg braces and elastic bands designed by his pupil Théophile Anger (1836–1913). In July 1870 Miss Acland returned home to England, where this treatment was continued by Paget. Her health then improved a little, before declining once again, necessitating a return trip to Wildbad in 1873 and the hardship of four successive winters spent in Mentone on the French Riviera.

By the time Miss Acland was summoned home for the final time, in May 1878, she was consigned to the status of an invalid for life. "I am no longer young & I shall no doubt become frailer", she wrote to her father in June 1880, three days after her 31st birthday.⁶³ Miss Acland was by no means alone among Victorian women in choosing invalidism as a defining feature of her identity.⁶⁴ The condition certainly had its advantages. "Strange as it is, I think Angie is in a way, happier, in her exceptional life, than she would be in the ordinary routine of young Ladyism, which would have been disagreeable & distasteful to her", Mrs Acland had already concluded by 1869 (even if her daughter's illness as a whole was a disappointment to her).⁶⁵ Later Miss Acland was shameless enough to remind her brothers of the consideration she was due on account of her infirmity, reporting that Gull had given "a very good report of me, saying that I have no organic disease, but am weaker than he expected. He said I needed great care & good nursing & am to be very quiet not even going out unless I wish it."⁶⁶ The medication Gull dispensed for this condition was "port wine & bock".⁶⁷ After his death, when Richard Douglas Powell (1842–1925), physician-extraordinary to Queen Victoria, took over her care, these remedies were supplemented by "rhubarb wine" and "alkaline bitter tonic".⁶⁸ Come 1897, Powell's diagnosis was little different from Gull's two decades earlier: "I think that what is the matter with me is aetat 48 Sir Douglas finds nothing really wrong, but says that I need care".⁶⁹

Miss Acland had been summoned back to Oxford in 1878 because of concern about her mother's health, rather than her own. Mrs Acland had been in steady decline since the death of her fourth son, Herbert, in June 1877. Herbert died of typhoid fever in Ceylon, after abandoning his studies at Christ Church (against his mother's better judgement).⁷⁰ Mrs Acland died on 25 October 1878 from

61. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 231–234 (SA to WADA, 14 Aug [1869])

62. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 247–248 (SA to WADA, 29 Sep [1869])

63. Ms. Acland d. 105, fols. 28–29 (SAA to HWA, 29 Jun [1880])

64. See Maria H. Fawley, *Invalidism and Identity in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Chicago and London, 2004) and Lorna Duffin, "The Conspicuous Consumptive: Woman as Invalid", pp. 26–56 in Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin (eds.), *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World* (London, 1978).

65. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 247–248 (SA to WADA, 29 Sep [1869?])

66. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 139–140 (SAA to WADA, 26 Oct 1884)

67. Ibid.

68. Ms. Acland d. 163, fol. 17–18 (Powell to SAA, 14 May 1891); fol. 43 (Powell to SAA, 12 Sep 1894)

69. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 5–6 (SAA to WADA, 17 Dec 1897)

70. See Ms. Acland d. 142, fols. 125–126 (SA to SAA, 27 Jan 1878)



Fig. 1.18 Hills & Saunders, "*Bustle, Harry, Theodore and Willie Acland*", albumen print, c. 1874
(Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 331)



Fig. 1.19 Unknown photographer, "*R. B. D. Acland*" / "*Mincepie / Lovelorn*", albumen print, c. 1884 ?
(Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 330)

consumption, compounded, according to Ruskin at least, by a broken heart. On her death the burden of responsibility of running her celebrated house fell to her daughter, then aged 29. For the next twenty-two years Miss Acland would dedicate herself to the cause of the Old Home and the care of her father until his own death on 16 October 1900, aged 85. Despite the demands that running the large household placed upon her, she met the challenge well, successfully entertaining countless guests, maintaining her mother's network of correspondence over five continents, and promoting a range of charitable works, many of her own design (raising funds for a cabmen's shelter in Broad Street, for example, or coordinating the dispatch of comforts to soldiers in the Boer War). However, the routine duties of household management she found onerous. "Toiled over most disagreeable household details, Oscars dirty room etc.", she wrote in her diary in September 1888.⁷¹ Two weeks later she had terrible trouble when one of the maids became drunk: "I had never seen a woman tipsy before except in the streets & it was an awful shock."⁷²

The emotional and psychological burden of unmarried life as her father's housekeeper was heavy. Miss Acland required continual reassurance that she was meeting Acland's expectations; reassurance that was often filtered through third parties rather than coming from him directly. Felicia Skene, for example, informed her on one occasion that "he said you had become 'perfect', that you were 'an angel' in the way you did every thing for him — that you arranged every thing

71. MHS Ms. Gunther 28 (10 Sep 1888)

72. Ibid., (28 Sep 1888)

for him in the present & future in the most admirable way".⁷³ The degree to which Miss Acland's new role overwhelmingly governed her outlook on life meant that when her father died the change was difficult to bear. In a definitive statement of the anxieties and despair often felt by spinsters who were obliged to sacrifice themselves for their parents and families, in October 1900 she wrote that

I feel an old woman now that my only object in life is gone. I cannot imagine what I shall do — if I still have to live on. All my interest in life has so entirely gone during the long nursing of Father. My great comfort has been that he clung to me more & more to the end.⁷⁴

Such pessimism was not untypical of her mood in earlier years. By 1893 she was already despondent about the future, writing that "I do not suppose I shall live long by myself after Father ceases to want me".⁷⁵ Bouts of depression often confined her to bed for days at a time, although she usually retreated upstairs under the pretence of more mundane maladies. As her father's health began to decline, her main worry was the loss of position she would suffer when he had passed away. "[O]f course you who have a comfortable home & a wife cannot the least realize what it is to lose Father & house & position in a moment", she complained to Willie in November 1900.⁷⁶ However, as Reggie was quick to remind her, by 1900 she had other things to value in life: "Of course the house must represent a great deal of Oxford to you as it does to all of us, but you have many interests there outside with your photography, soldiers & the [nurses'] home: I think you would not be very wise to give up all that if it can be helped."⁷⁷

Ruskin, Art and Photography

Music aside, Miss Acland's great solace during the long years of her illness was art: drawing and painting were "a great resource" to her, her mother commented in 1874.⁷⁸ Her instruction in art proceeded along conventional lines for her gender and class, at home, in private lessons and through tuition designed to teach art as an accomplishment rather than a profession.⁷⁹ Her love of art was inherited principally from her father, who was an avid watercolourist and collector.⁸⁰ In Broad Street she was surrounded by examples of the work of the giants of the nineteenth-century, whether Turner, Millais, Rossetti or Burne-Jones. Lesser-known masters were also represented in her father's collection, including Samuel Cousins (1801–1887), Samuel Palmer (1805–1881), Charles Napier Hemy (1841–1917) and John Varley (1778–1842), all of whom Acland engaged as art tutors at one time or another. When she came to write her memoirs, Miss Acland could only just recall the Pre-

73. Ms. Acland d. 174, fols. 183–184 (Felicia Skene to SAA, 1 Mar [no year])

74. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 64–65 (SAA to WADA, 22 Oct 1900)

75. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 234–237 (SAA to WADA, 27 Jun 1893)

76. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 74–75 (SAA to WADA, 22 Nov 1900)

77. Ms. Acland d. 168, fols. 16–20 (RBDA to SAA, 28 Oct 1900)

78. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 477–480 (SA to WADA, 21 Aug [1874])

79. On women's art education in the mid-century, see Deborah Cherry, *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists* (London and New York, 1993), esp. ch. 3.

80. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 12.

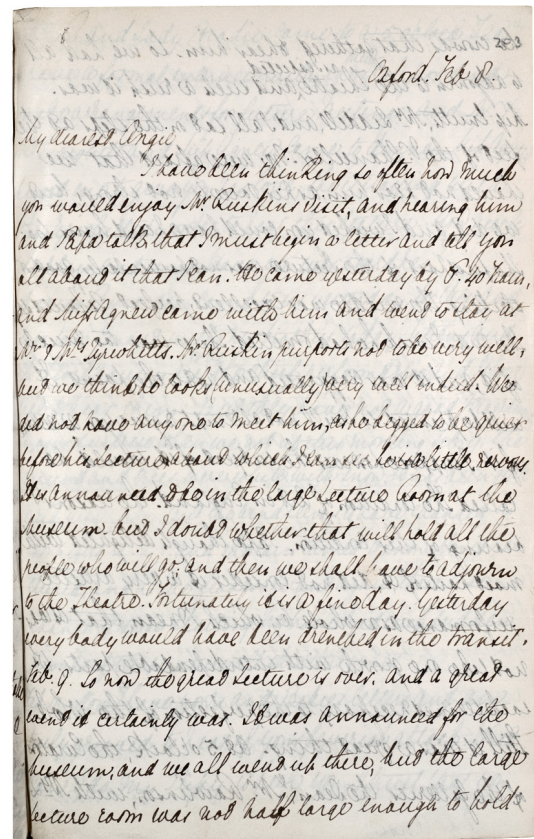


Fig. 1.20 Letter to Miss Acland from her mother, 8 Feb 1870 (Ms. Acland d. 138, f. 203)

Miss Acland was absent from Oxford in Mentone when Ruskin gave his inaugural lecture as Slade Professor of Fine Art, but she was given a detailed account of the event by her mother.

Raphaelites visiting the house during the painting of the Oxford Union murals. However, the memory of their Oxford patron, Thomas Combe (1796–1872), was still vivid: “a very picturesque figure with his scarlet coat & flowing white beard”.⁸¹ The University Press, where Combe was Controller, was one of the “great delights” of her childhood, and with Harry and Theo she would also ride over Port Meadow to the paper mill at Wolvercote, with Combe and his wife.

Miss Acland’s formal lessons in art began on 6 June 1864 with the Oxford art-master William Riviere (1806–1876). “I hope she will get on, all the young ladies of Oxford are learning of him”, her mother wrote the day before she was due to start.⁸² By her fifteenth birthday three weeks later Angie was indeed “getting on capitally”, finishing a portrait of her dog Jess (a Pomeranian given to her by the Combes as a puppy).⁸³ Her lessons with Riviere continued until she left for Mayfield, where she was placed under the watercolourist David Hall McKewan (1816–1873). McKewan would take her out for two hours in the evenings twice a week to paint: “it is very pleasant indeed in this fine weather”, she wrote in July 1867.⁸⁴ After leaving Mayfield Miss Acland enrolled at the Oxford School of

81. DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 23; p. 22

82. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 92–95 (SA to WADA, 5 Jun [1864])

83. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 28–29 (SA to WADA, 26 Jun [1864]). One of Jess’s puppies went back to the Combes and was painted by Holman Hunt with his son Cyril Benoni Holman Hunt (1866–1934), whom Acland had attended as a child. See Ms. Acland d. 71, fols. 28–31 (Holman Hunt to HWA, 26 Feb [1900]). The current location of the portrait is unknown. It is mentioned in “News and Notes”, *Academy*, n.s. vol. 6, no. 137 (19 Dec 1874), p. 667.

84. Ms. Acland d. 105, fols. 116–121 (SAA to WADA, 3 Jul [1867])



Fig. 1.21 Obadiah Westwood, *Thesaurus Entomologicus Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1874), pl. 35 [Radcliffe Science Library, 18949 c. 8] Probably one of the plates Miss Acland coloured for Westwood.

Art, which her father had played an influential role in founding.⁸⁵ In the School she studied under Alexander Macdonald (1839–1921), who later became Keeper of Western Art at the Ashmolean and a lifelong friend. However, due to her illness her time there was relatively short — she is recorded as a pupil only in 1868, when she exhibited six works at the School’s annual exhibition in the Town Hall.⁸⁶

Where Miss Acland’s art education differed from other women was in her personal tuition, after her return from Wildbad, under the most famous art teacher and critic of the age: John Ruskin. Ruskin, who was Harry’s godfather, had been a close friend of the family since his undergraduate days at Christ Church. As children, Miss Acland and her brothers would visit him at home in Denmark Hill, where he “made us sailing boats with walnut shells with which we had races in his bath”.⁸⁷ Her formal tuition with Ruskin began on 24 November 1870, after she had turned 21, on the day of the first of his second series of lectures as Slade Professor of Art. Her “talks” with Ruskin, as she referred to them, consisted of both practical advice and critical guidance on the “moral side” of art. “My great fault is want of finish”, she noted in her diary on 27 November; “If I was always to finish as much as I could I should get on more.”⁸⁸ “Don’t read the 7 lamps”, Ruskin advised in December; “It’s really all wrong, and terribly misleading, in its ethical parts, the architectural are right, but what I am doing now will replace all that.”⁸⁹

85. On the School see J. J. L. Whiteley, “The University Galleries”, in M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (eds.) *Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 1* (History of the University of Oxford, vol. 6, Oxford, 1997), ch. 20, pp. 611–630.

86. Oxford School of Art, *List of Pupils who have obtained Government Prizes and Certificates, 1868* ([Oxford, 1868]) [Brookes University Archives, Office of the Vice Chancellor]

87. DRO 1148M/Box 7, p. 6

88. MHS Ms. Gunther 28 (27 Nov 1870)

89. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 94–95 (Ruskin to SAA, [Nov 1870]). The reference was to Ruskin’s *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, published in 1849.

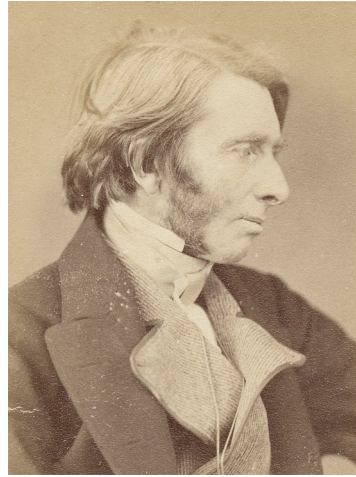


Fig. 1.22 Elliott & Fry, "Mr. Ruskin", albumen print, 1867 (Ms. Photogr. c. 178, f. 211)



Fig. 1.23 Unknown photographer, "Whitlock and the Grays" (outside the Museum Curator's House), albumen print, c. 1865 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 23).

One of the advantages of studying under Ruskin was the access she obtained to valuable works in his collection. In February 1871, for example, she was tasked with transcribing an "Oroison très dévôte à notre Dame" from "a missal lent me by Mr. Ruskin about 15th. century".⁹⁰ On another occasion Ruskin sent "a cake of the best gold I can find, and a little missal in a box which stands on its hind legs", with instructions to copy the illuminations "six times as big" for use as illustrations in his lectures.⁹¹ Other commissions were paying work. In June 1878, for example, Ruskin asked her "to begin a quantity of colour work by hand, which you will have to organize on a steady paid labour with some others of my girl pupils, who like to take it up, for my future Fesole & Deucalion."⁹² As unusual as it might seem for a young woman of Miss Acland's class to be engaged in remuneration work of this sort, she had done so before, and would do so again. In 1874 she coloured nine dozen plates for John Obadiah Westwood's *Thesaurus Entomologicus Oxoniensis* (Oxford, 1874) (fig. 1.21).⁹³ "Tho' it is monotonous work, it is something real, & has a flavour which no mere amateur work can have", her mother concluded.⁹⁴ A decade later she took on 310 plates for *Flowers of the Engadine* (Winchester, 1891) by Evelyn Dawsonne Heathcote (1844–1908), brother of her close friends Helena Mary ('Ellie') Heathcote (1853–1925) and Beatrice Henrietta ('Be') Heathcote (1856–1909).⁹⁵ A useful form of employment and agreeable mental occupation,

90. Ms. Acland d. 178, fols. 75–81 [her transcript]. For Ruskin's collection see James S. Dearden, "John Ruskin, the Collector", *Library*, 5th ser., vol. 21, no. 2 (Jun 1966), pp. 124–154.

91. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 78–79 (Ruskin to SAA, [1880 or 1881?])

92. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 191–192 (Ruskin to SAA, 2 Jun 1878). Reading of "steady" is uncertain.

93. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 412–411 (SA to WADA, 26 Jan [1874])

94. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 412–414 (SA to WADA, 27 Jan [1874])

95. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 158–159 (SAA to WADA, 22 Jan 1885). The Heathcotes were the children of Sir William Heathcote (1801–1881), Keble's patron and MP for the University of Oxford.

no doubt, these commissions remained largely domestic in nature, facilitated by personal connections, far removed from the sphere of commerce.

During his first two years as Slade Professor Ruskin lodged with the Aclands in Broad Street. The arrangement came to an end in February 1872 when “Mother thought that it would be better for Mr. Ruskin to be independent in rooms offered to him in Corpus and he went to them”.⁹⁶ It was during his time in the Acland house that Ruskin earned the sobriquet ‘Cricket’. The name originated in an exchange between one of the Acland maids, Elizabeth Abel (1834–1907), and their coachman, Benjamin Whitlock (1803/4–1873):

Soon after Mr. Ruskin came to live in Broad St. Whitlock came in & asked Elizabeth “Who is this Mr. Ruskin about whom we hear so much now?” Elizabeth replied “An art Critic” though it is doubtful whether she knew what it meant. “A cricket” exclaimed Whitlock. “I never heard of a man being a cricket before & pray what may a crickets business in this life be?” Of course after Elizabeth told me this, I told Mr. Ruskin & that became my special name for him.⁹⁷

Ruskin’s pet name for Miss Acland in turn was ‘Teaze’. More than 100 letters from the Cricket to his Teaze survive. As well as simply “Dear Teaze”, he addressed her as “My darling Teaze”, “Darling Angie” and “Darlingest Angie”, signing himself “your lovingest Cricket”, “your loving Field Cricket”, “your poor dumb Cricket”, and even “your lovingest Quangle Wangle”. As these forms of address suggest, the letters were very informal. “Pot’s boiling. Toast coming up. Come too — and be as nice as toast”, was the substance of one.⁹⁸ Another contained only two sentences, one of which read “This is only to send love — and little donkey rides — and all good be with you and I’ll scold and growl so — if Mama goes out in the cold.”⁹⁹ Others were also openly flirtatious, Ruskin even apologizing at one point for writing “the clumsiest love letters that ever were”.¹⁰⁰

Ruskin’s relationship with women has formed a focus of his biography, special attention being given to his infatuation with another girl of Miss Acland’s age: Rose La Touche (1848–1875).¹⁰¹ After Miss Acland became Ruskin’s “secretary” of sorts in Oxford, managing his correspondence and running errands from Corpus Christi

96. DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 52. The date Ruskin left the Aclands has been confused. Tim Hilton writes that he made his farewells in March 1870 (*John Ruskin: The Later Years* (New Haven and London, 2000), p. 180), Cook and Wedderburn that he “at once” took up residence in Corpus on his election as a fellow on 29 April 1871 (vol. 20 (1905), pp. xxx–xxi). However, on 7 Feb 1872 Ruskin wrote “my first letter on my new writing table, in my — own — college.” (Ruskin to Joan Severn, 7 Feb 1872, in Cook and Wedderburn, vol. 37 (1909), p. 49). To Charles Norton on 13 Feb he spoke of “all the work of changing into my rooms at Corpus” (vol. 37 (1909), p. 50). During 1871 he was sometimes in the Crown and Thistle in Abingdon, but he also stayed with the Aclands. On 21 Oct 1871 he wrote to Miss Acland that he had moved to the back bedroom: “My old room is all topsy-turvy — you’re to be in that, now, I hear.” (Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 176–77).

97. DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 61

98. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 65–66 (Ruskin to SAA, n.d.)

99. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 67–68 (Ruskin to SAA, [1871?])

100. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 168–169 (Ruskin to SAA, 8 Feb 1871)

101. See, for example, Hilton, *John Ruskin: The Later Years*, p. 443 and *passim*; Virginia Surtees (ed.), *Reflections of a Friendship: John Ruskin’s Letters to Pauline Trevelyan* (London, 1979); Virginia Surtees (ed.), *Sublime and Instructive: Letters from John Ruskin to Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, Anna Blunden and Ellen Heaton* (London, 1972); Jennifer M. Lloyd, “Raising Lilies: Ruskin and Women”, *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 34, no. 3 (Jul, 1995), pp. 325–350; and Van Akin Burd, *John Ruskin and Rose La Touche: Her unpublished Diaries of 1861 and 1867* (Oxford, 1979).

College, dealing with fallout from his relationship with Rose and letters from other “girl friends” became one of her more unpleasant duties, as he acknowledged:

When you began being my secretary, you came on a letter which you asked leave to burn. It came from a quarter in which I had had very disagreeable correspondence, and I was very sorry you were troubled with it. But, whatever was in it, I should like you to read the enclosed from the very foolish girl, the sister of ‘Lo’ Elizabeth who was the cause of it all.¹⁰²

Her own relationship with Ruskin also had its difficulties. Still in her early twenties, Miss Acland developed a strong emotional attachment to her famous art master, to the extent she began to dream of the life they might lead together:

I proposed to him that as soon as I got well we should start & he should take me to Venice & explain all its great riches to me & then I should take him to Greece & cook for him & another proposal was that we should have a yacht with Willie for Captain & me for Stewardess & Mr. Ruskin thought that even freedom under those circumstances might be delightful.¹⁰³

For Ruskin such things could never be, as he explained to her in 1875: “I am thankful to see how happy you are – and how much you would like to make me happy in the same way. But, as I’ve often told you, it is too sadly impossible.”¹⁰⁴

Managing Ruskin’s notoriously brusque manner and often perilous state of mind was another problem Miss Acland faced, as testified to by letters in which he responds to her unhappiness.¹⁰⁵ When he suffered his first breakdown in March 1878 she was away in Mentone, but received a full account of events from her mother. In November 1884, as the early signs of Ruskin’s fourth collapse began to appear, she was closer at hand, but helpless to do anything:

We are all rather worried & anxious about the Cricket. He is on the verge of one of his bad attacks but is not bad enough yet to be stopped from lecturing. It is very sad. Most grievous to be at his lectures. I am not going again. Father does not know what to do.¹⁰⁶

These difficulties multiplied in the run-up to Ruskin’s final split with the University in 1885, some of his most contentious demands for the return of artworks being communicated through her. Nevertheless, after his departure for Brantwood she remained in touch. “We’re all pretty well, and I, better than for some time, but I must’nt be pathetic for my life!”, he wrote in his last letter to her, dated 1 January 1888 (the absence of any further communication speaking of his terminal decline).¹⁰⁷

After Ruskin had moved out of Broad Street most of Miss Acland’s formal instruction in art took place in his drawing school in the University Galleries. This had been established in October 1871 after he took over MacDonald’s “upper and middle-class” pupils from the School of Art (thereby subverting Acland’s vision of the School as a classless system of art education). The instruction Miss Acland

102. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 155–156 (Ruskin to SAA, 11 Aug 1874); fols. 51–52 (Ruskin to SAA, 12 Sep [no year])

103. MHS Ms. Gunther 28 (27 Nov 1870)

104. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 170–171 (Ruskin to SAA, 4 Mar 1875)

105. See, for example, Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 180–181 (Ruskin to SAA, 29 Jun 1876).

106. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 145–146 (SAA to WADA, 21 Nov 1884)

107. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 227–228 (Ruskin to SAA, 1 Jan 1888)

received in the School had important implications for her photography, both in its critical dimensions and the part photographs played in teaching.

Ruskin's early adoption of the daguerreotype for art historical research is well known (his enthusiasm for the calotype less so).¹⁰⁸ Also often overlooked is the extent to which he used photographs in teaching and the lengths to which he went to ensure that his public had access, at minimum expense, to prints of artworks mentioned in his lectures and books. More than sixty photographs were supplied through his agent William Ward (1829–1908), including copies of his own drawings, such as his study of the Gneiss rock at Glenfinlas ("with its weeds").¹⁰⁹ For the *Bible of Amiens* in 1880, for example, twenty-five photographs of the west front of the cathedral were issued; for part six of *Mornings in Florence* in 1881, twenty-nine platinotypes of the bas-reliefs on the campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore. The most notable from an instructional point of view were the "Four Lesson Photographs": Filippo Lippi's *Madonna and Child Enthroned with St John*; a bas-relief of Leucothea and Bacchus from the Villa Albani, Rome; Titian's *Madonna of the Cherries*; and Velasquez's "Infanta Margaret".¹¹⁰ As Ruskin explained in *Fors Clavigera* in 1875, these were intended to allow "every householder of any standing whatever" to have his own "domestic treasury" of valuable works, including "the more perishable treasure of good photographs".¹¹¹ Copies of the photographs were available from three outlets: Ward; the Bertolacci sisters, photographers in Kensington; and Albert Davis (1840–1884), print seller at 7 Turl Street, Oxford.

More than 150 photographs survive in the Teaching Collections, where they were placed not only as proxies for important artworks, but as studies for Ruskin's students to copy (for "exact guidance in practice", as he put it).¹¹² Examples include prints of Greek vases, which students of "moderate skill" were expected to reproduce in watercolour, and a photograph of *A Courtyard at Abbeville*, the purpose of which was to allow students to practise drawing leaves "as the photograph represents them" in order to learn how to depict "foliage diminished at distance".¹¹³ Ruskin elaborated other uses of photographs in the *Elements of Drawing*, explaining that they were especially valuable for learning the technique of 'line and tint' ("Ruskin's method of line & wash – point & brush", as Acland described it to Angie).¹¹⁴ The method could be mastered by working directly from prints: "get a photograph of some general landscape subject, with high hills and a village or picturesque town,

108. See Robert Hewison, Ian Warrell and Stephen Wildman, *Ruskin, Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites* (Exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 2000), cat. nos., 101–105, pp. 119–121; Paolo Costantini and Italo Zannier (eds.), *I Dagherrotipi della collezione Ruskin* (Florence, 1986); and G. M. H. [Giles Matthew Hudson], "Ruskin Daguerreotype", *Sphæra*, no. 11 (Spring, 2000), p. 6.

109. "Bibliography / K. Photographs, etc., Issued Separately in Illustration of Ruskin's Works", Cook and Wedderburn, vol. 38 (1912), pp. 97–98, p. 97.

110. Actually the Infant Philipp Prosper (1657–1661) and his dog.

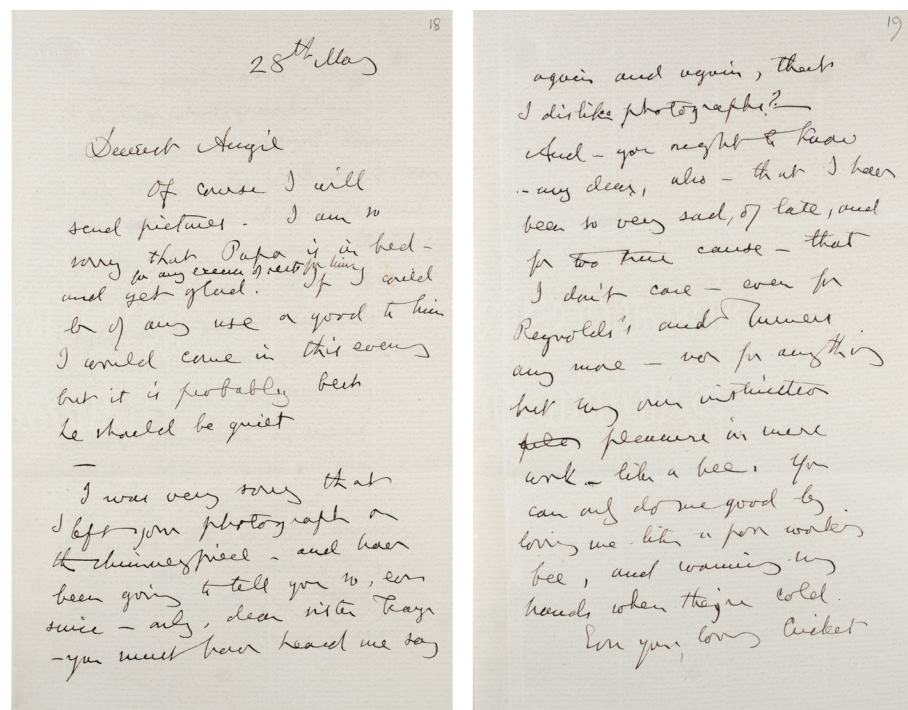
111. John Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Labourers of Great Britain* (96 letters in 8 vols, Keston and Orpington, 1871–84), Letter 59 (1 Nov 1875), vol. 5 (1875), pp. 299–328, p. §7.

112. John Ruskin, "Catalogue of the Educational Series", in Cook and Wedderburn, vol. 21 (1906), pp. 71–144, p. 73 note 1. On the teaching collections see Robert Hewison, *Ruskin and Oxford: the Art of Education* (Oxford, 1996).

113. John Ruskin, "Catalogue of the Rudimentary Series", in Cook and Wedderburn, vol. 21 (1906), pp. 172–234, cat. no. 63, p. 184; "Catalogue of the Rudimentary Series, 1878 [Written for an Intended Rearrangement]", vol. 21 (1906), pp. 265–298, cat. no. 289, p. 294.

114. Ms. Acland d. 127, fols. 33–34 (HWA to SAA, 21 Aug 1889).

Fig. 1.24 Letter from Ruskin to Miss Acland explaining his dislike of photographs, 28 May [?1871] (Ms. Acland d. 170, ff. 18 & 19)



in the middle distance, and some calm water of varied character (a stream with stones in it, if possible), and copy any part of it you like".¹¹⁵

One reason Ruskin's use of photographs in teaching has been overlooked is his own denigration of photography's place in the hierarchy of the arts. In his lecture on "Light" in March 1870, for example, he described photographs as "merely spoiled nature", arguing that "there is more beauty in the next wayside bank than in all the sun-blackened paper you could collect in a lifetime".¹¹⁶ Miss Acland missed the lecture, but afterwards he communicated his views to her directly:

I was very sorry that I left your photograph on the chimney piece - and have been going to tell you so, ever since - only, dear sister Teaze - you must have heard me say again and again, that I dislike photographs?¹¹⁷

Several commentators have suggested that Ruskin's disparagement of photography was a later modification, post 1856, of his earlier enthusiasm for photography.¹¹⁸ This is to misinterpret his position, which was consistent from first to last.¹¹⁹ For

115. John Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing: In Three Letters to Beginners* (London, 1857), p. 137

116. John Ruskin, *Lectures on Art, Delivered before the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1870* (Oxford, 1870), "The Limits and Elementary Practice of Art", lect. 6, "Light" (16 Mar 1870), §171, p. 184

117. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 18-19 (Ruskin to SAA, 28 May [1871?])

118. Ruskin's "reversal" is the thesis of Michael Harvey, "Ruskin and Photography", *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 7, no. 2 (1985), pp. 25-33. Colin Ford writes that his "early interest in photography turned into lifelong opposition" (*Julia Margaret Cameron: 19th Century Photographer of Genius* (London, 2003), p. 49); Julian Cox that he was "initially a fervent admirer of photography, but by the 1860s he had condemned its mechanistic nature, believing that the photographic image trivialized the grandeur of nature" (Cox and Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron: The Complete Photographs*, p. 75 note 56).

119. In the same letter of August 1846 in which he described the daguerreotype as the most marvellous invention of the century, Ruskin also claimed that "As regards art, I wish it had never been discovered" (John Ruskin, Letter to W. H. Harrison, 12 Aug 1846, in Cook and



Watercolour Sketches by Miss Acland

Fig. 1.25 *"Red Mullet" (Mentone)*, watercolour and bodycolour on paper, Jan 1877 (Ashmolean Museum, WA.RS.UF.44b)

Fig. 1.26 *Mackerel (Mentone)*, watercolour and bodycolour on paper, 14 Apr 1877 (Ashmolean Museum, WA.RS.UF.44a)

Fig. 1.27 *"Boston" (Lincolnshire)*, watercolour on paper, 27 Aug 1879 (Private Collection)

Fig. 1.28 *Marsh Gibbon, Oxforshire ?*, graphite, watercolour and bodycolour on paper, 1882 ? (Private Collection)



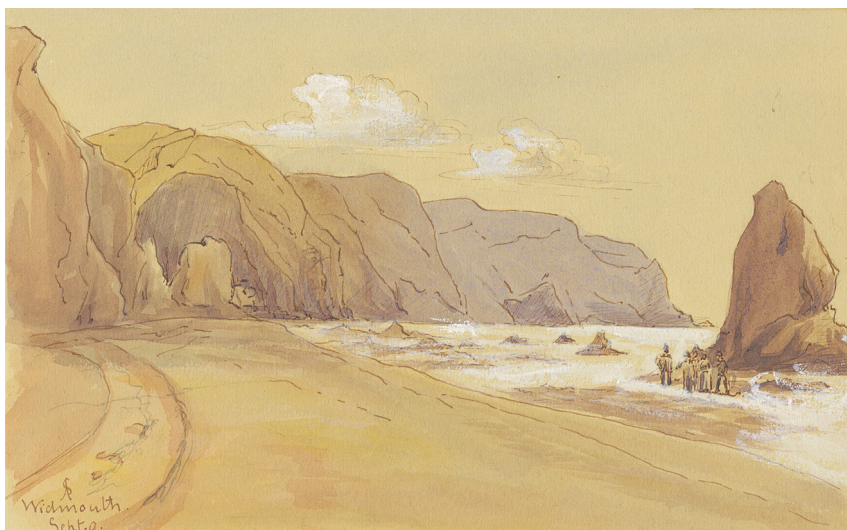


Fig. 1.29 "Widmouth" (nr. Ilfracombe, Devon), ink, watercolour and bodycolour on paper, 9 Sep 1882? (Private Collection)



Fig. 1.30 "Glen Finmart" (Argyllshire), ink and watercolour on paper, 12 Aug 1882 (Private Collection)



Fig. 1.31 (below) "Ehrenbreitstein, after G. Jones, R.A.", graphite and bodycolour on paper, Feb 1879 (Private Collection)

Studies from Nature by Miss Acland

Fig. 1.32 *"The Cherwell"*, graphite on paper, May 1889? (Private Collection)

Fig. 1.33 *"Wild Duck" (Oxford)*, bodycolour on paper, Dec 1878 (Private Collection)



Ruskin, photographs were invaluable as records of information but unworthy of art in the higher sense of the term. This was a logical and necessary consequence of his critical theory as a whole and his elaborate concept of “truth” in particular, which was central in turn to his doctrine of “truth of nature” — the quality he so admired in Pre-Raphaelite art.¹²⁰ Photography failed where Pre-Raphaelite art succeeded because Ruskin’s idea of truth was more complex than simple representational fidelity. Truth of nature implied attention to the lowest details of the actual facts of nature, of which photography was capable, but was more than the mere slavish ‘imitation of nature’, which was all that photography could achieve. The artist’s aim was to reveal “truth of impression as well as of form, of thought as well as of matter”: a goal that depended on the exercise of “active intellect in choice and arrangement”, not simply mechanical copying.¹²¹ A simple pencil outline of the bough of a tree, for example, conveyed to the mind a truth about the tree. Yet it did not amount to imitation, since in nature the form of a bough was not given by lines at all, still less by black lines separated by white space.¹²² In the same way, his own hasty sketch of the walls at Fribourg, although inaccurately overstating their bend, conveyed a “truer idea” of the place than the “more right” daguerreotype he took the following day.¹²³ Photographs were capable of nothing more than accurate representation of the outward, material form of things. The essential quality of fine art was that it conveyed “moral as well as material truth”, which required “the exercise of the full faculties of heart and intellect”.¹²⁴

Miss Acland absorbed these critical concepts over the fifteen years she studied with Ruskin; later, as we shall see, she expressed them in her lectures on portraiture (ch. 4) and orthochromatic photography (ch. 5). By the time Ruskin left Oxford her practical skills were also well honed. Her abilities can be judged from sketches of fishes she drew in Mentone, which Ruskin placed in the teaching collections (figs. 1.25 & 1.26) (she also compiled a collection of watercolours of Mentone flowers, but these are now lost). A volume of seventy-two sketches painted between 1878 and 1883 also reveals her range of skills (figs. 1.27 to 1.33). Most are typical of amateur work of the period, although several are unusual for their broad washes, limited colour palette, and imitation of “aerial perspective” (figs. 1.29 & 1.30), which would also preoccupy her in photography. The influence of Ruskin’s emphasis on close study direct from nature is seen in “*The Cherwell*” (fig. 1.32) and in a finely executed “*Wild Duck*” (fig. 1.33). Ruskin’s own opinion of her work was summed up in a letter in which he joked that “I’m always getting puzzled between your drawing & Prout’s – but if you look close – I think you will acknowledge there’s one”.¹²⁵

Wedderburn, vol. 3 (1903), p. 210). That he condemned photography in stronger terms in later years was a consequence of his increasing dogmatism with age, not a change in his position.

120. The concept of truth is set out in *Modern Painters* (5 vols, London, 1843–60), vol. 1, pt. 1 (“Of General Principles”), sect. 1 (“Of the Nature of the Ideas Conveyable by Art”), ch. 5 (“Of Ideas of Truth”) and pt. 2 (“Of Truth”), sect. 1 (“General Principles Respecting Ideas of Truth”).

121. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, sect. 1, ch. 5, §2, p. 25; Ruskin, *Lectures on Art*, lecture 6, “Light” (16 Mar 1870), §172, p. 185

122. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 1, pt. 1, sect. 1, ch. 4 (“Of Ideas of Imitation”), §3, p. 22

123. *Ibid.*, vol. 4 (1856), pt. 5 (“Of Mountain Beauty”), ch. 2 (“Of Turnerian Topography”), §23, p. 32

124. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, sect. 1, ch. 5, §2, p. 25; Ruskin, *Lectures on Art*, lecture 2, “The Relation of Art to Religion” (16 Feb 1870), §31, p. 36

125. Ms. Acland d. 170, fols. 30–31 (Ruskin to SAA, n.d.). Samuel Prout (1783–1852), watercolourist.

The photographs Miss Acland would have encountered in the Drawing School were a fraction of those she was exposed to before 1891. As I have argued elsewhere, during her upbringing a greater variety of photographic activity could be found within a mile of her house than practically anywhere else in the world.¹²⁶ The first photographs she would have seen as a child were probably portraits displayed in the windows of Oxford's studio photographers. The earliest of these professionals, John Akers (1802/3–1879), set up as a daguerreotypist on the High Street in 1842, seven years before her birth.¹²⁷ His successor, Edward Bracher (1823–1887), branched out into collodion portraiture in 1854, while Bracher's earliest competitors, Robert Hills (1821–1882) and John Henry Saunders (1836–1890), made their fortune by catering for the huge demand for cartes de visite that arose in the 1860s.¹²⁸ A lucrative market also existed for photographs of Oxford's picturesque buildings, which was capitalized upon by such men as Henry Taunt (1842–1922), from his shop at the opposite end of Broad Street to the Acland house.

Much of Oxford's photography was of a less public form than these commercial enterprises, carried out by amateurs in the privacy of their own homes or behind the doors of the University's academic institutions. However, numerous opportunities existed for Miss Acland to become familiar with this work, not only through its publication, exhibition and appearance at other public events, but also via the circulation and exchange of prints, usually in the medium of photographic albums, that became a progressively more common part of the apparatus of polite society during the period. The task of assessing the development of Miss Acland's interest in photography is greatly aided by the survival, in the Bodleian Library, of six large photographic albums formerly in her possession.¹²⁹ The albums, which were contributed to by all members of her family, contain a total of 965 prints, dating from *circa* 1850 to 1890. They provide an invaluable visual record of a cross-section of the photographs Miss Acland saw with her own eyes during the first four decades of her life.

The earliest album was compiled by her father.¹³⁰ A gift from Ruskin in 1844, Acland began using it for drawings and watercolours, before turning it over to photographs during the 1850s. It contains a mixture of photographs by amateurs who moved in his intellectual circle and prints by professional photographers of people he knew or subjects that interest him. Examples include group portraits by

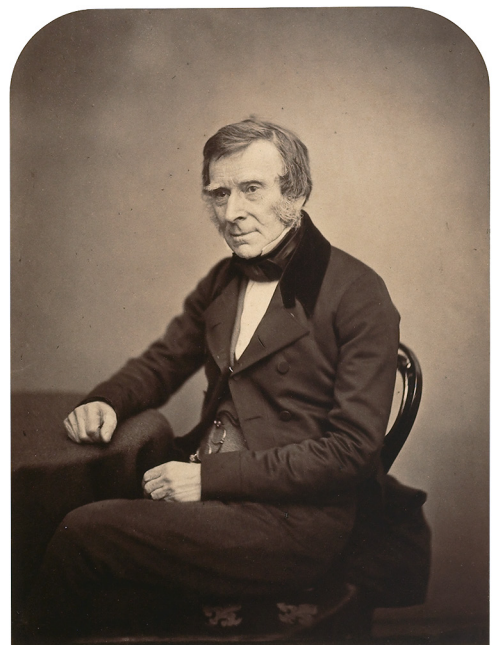
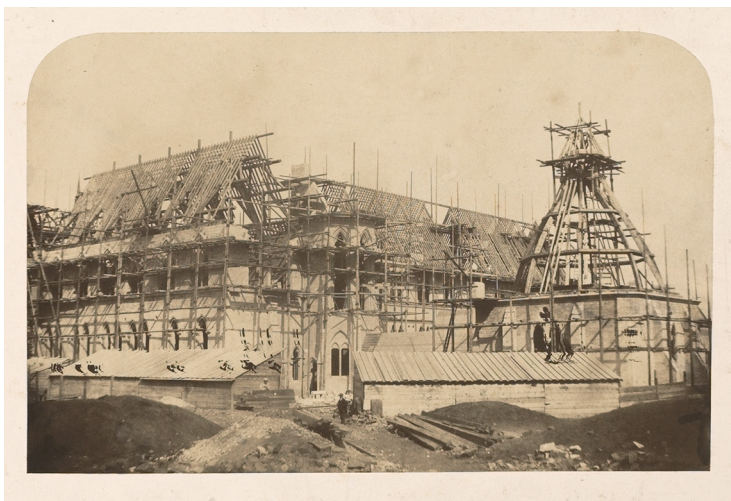
126. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, pp. 14–16.

127. The oft-repeated assertion that William Tuckwell (1784–1845) was Oxford's first commercial photographer is an error stemming from Mervyn L. Smith, *Professional Photographers in Oxford: Compiled from Local Directories* (RPS Historical Group, Bath, 1982). Tuckwell, surgeon to the Radcliffe Infirmary, occupied 64 High Street prior to Akers. The house was advertised to let on 11 June 1842 ("High Street, Oxford" [Advertisement], *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 4650 (11 Jun 1842), p. 2d), by which time Tuckwell had already moved to the other side of Magdalen Bridge.

128. On the carte de visite, see Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *A. A. E. Disdéri and the Carte de Visite Portrait Photograph* (New Haven and London, 1985).

129. Ms. Photogr. b. 34–37 and c. 177–178. The albums were left by Miss Acland to her nephew William Henry ('Robin') Dyke Acland (1888–4/12/1970) and given by him to the Library through the Oxford physician Harold Charles Harley (1905–2002).

130. Ms. Photogr. b. 34



*Photographs from Henry Wentworth
Acland's Album*

Opposite

Fig. 1.34 Nevil Story Maskelyne, *Charlton Park House*, salt print, Aug 1857 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 47)

Fig. 1.35 Reginald Southey, *The Farm in Christ Church Meadow*, salt print, Feb 1856 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 34)

Fig. 1.36 Edward Bracher, *The Oxford Museum*, albumen print, c. 1858 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 180)

Fig. 1.37 Maull & Polyblank, *Benjamin Colins Brodie, snr.*, albumen print, 1856 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 33)

Fig. 1.38 Maull & Polyblank, *"Professor Beale"*, albumen print, c. 1857 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 144)



Above right

Fig. 1.39 John Dillwyn Llewelyn, *Waves Breaking on Pobbles Bay*, salt print, 1853 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 40)

Right

Fig. 1.40 Unknown photographer, *Liddell & Scott, Tailors, Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, salt print, 1856 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 45)



Fig. 1.41 Unknown photographer, *"Sheep Following the Shepherd"*, salt print, 1855 (contrast enhanced) (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 13). In 1900 Acland wrote to Holman Hunt believing this print to be a copy from one of his "Palestine drawings", but Hunt did not recognize the subject (see Ms. Acland d. 71, ff. 16–17).

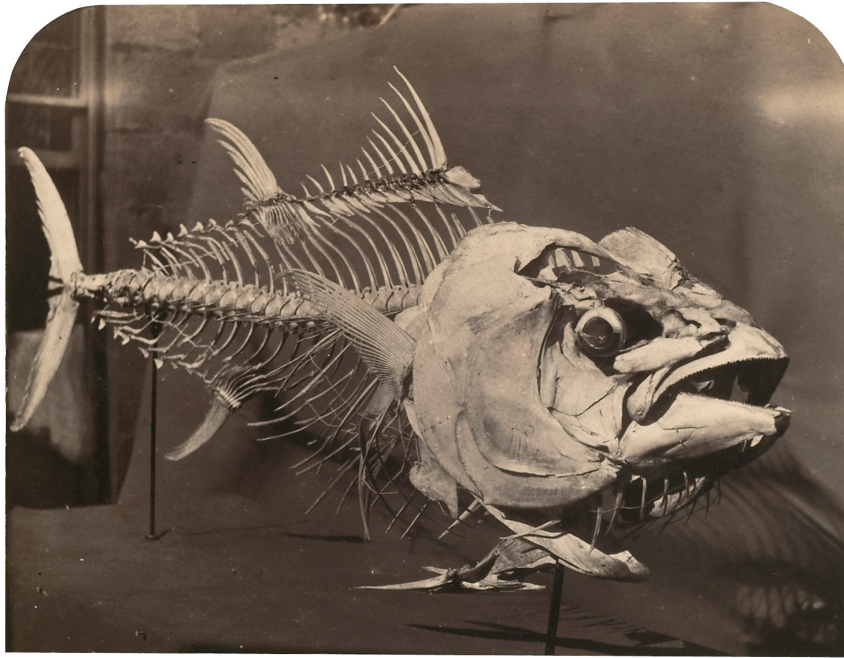


Fig. 1.42 C. L. Dodgson, “*Thunnus*”, May or Jun 1857, albumen print (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 82)

his colleague in the Natural Science School, Nevil Story Maskelyne (1823–1911) (fig. 1.34); landscapes by his student Reginald Southey (1835–1899) (fig. 1.35); views of the Museum by Bracher (fig. 1.36); and studio portraits by Maull & Polyblank (figs. 1.37 & 1.38).¹³¹ Other notable prints are a variant of “*Waves Breaking*” (fig. 1.39), by John Dillwyn Llewelyn (1810–1882), father of his Christ Church pupil John Talbot Dillwyn Llewelyn (1836–1927); a view of the Newcastle tailors’ shop of “Liddell and Scott” (fig. 1.40) (a visual pun on the *Greek-English Lexicon* by the same authors); and a salt print, now almost completely faded, of sheep at rest on a hillside (fig. 1.41), which was given to him in 1855 by Rossetti’s muse, Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal (1829–1862).¹³²

Acland’s album is testimony to the network of exchange of photographs that developed in academic Oxford in the 1850s. In the second half of the decade arguably the most notable photographer to join this network was Dodgson. Dodgson benefitted from Acland’s support and patronage early in his photographic career. In November 1856, six months after he first acquired a camera, Acland granted him permission to photograph Miss Acland and her brothers, the results of which appear as three prints in his album.¹³³ Evidently impressed by what he saw, Acland

131. Maskelyne lived and worked in the Old Ashmolean, directly opposite the Acland house. In 1852 he organized “a splendid display of Daguerreotypes” for Acland in the Radcliffe Camera: see “Meeting of the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, no. 5178 (24 Jul 1852), p. 3a–c. On Maskelyne, see Vanda Morton, *Oxford Rebels: The Life and Friends of Nevil Story Maskelyne, 1823–1911* (Gloucester, 1987).

132. See Ms. Acland d. 71, ff. 24–127 (HWA to Holman Hunt, 15 Mar 1900). Whether Siddal took the photographs is unclear.

133. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, pp. 8 & 189. Edward Wakeling (ed.), *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries: The Private Journals of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll)* (10 vols, Luton and Clifford,



Fig. 1.43 William Thomson ?, *New Museum, Oxford, West Front*, salt print, 1859 or 1860 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 181).

then commissioned Dodgson to photograph a tuna skeleton he had brought back from Madeira (fig. 1.42).¹³⁴ Dodgson was also invited to evening parties at the Aclands, where he met other artists and collectors interested in photography. On 15 February 1858, for example, he was introduced to William Thomson (1819–1890), Provost of Queen’s College, who was already a photographer, and who invited him to call round to see his work.¹³⁵ Of the unsigned photographs in Acland’s album, several are likely to have been taken by Thomson, such as a view of the west front of the Museum (fig. 1.43), a print of which Thomson exhibited at the Aberdeen meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1859.¹³⁶ After leaving Oxford Thomson became Archbishop of York and one of the country’s most high profile amateur photographers, serving for many years as a committee member, and later as President, of the Amateur Photographic Association. Another guest whom Dodgson met at the Aclands was William Jacobson (1803–1884), Regius Professor of Divinity and husband of Miss Acland’s godmother, Eleanor

1993–2007), vol. 2, p. 111 (3 Nov 1856), p. 112 (5 Nov 1856), p. 118 (17 Nov 1856).

134. Wakeling (ed.), *Lewis Carroll’s Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 62 (26 May 1857). For Dodgson’s other anatomical photographs, see Taylor and Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll, Photographer*, p. 34 ff.

135. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 155–156 (15 Feb 1858). In *First Lady of Colour Photography* I suggested, on the basis of the similarity of their handwriting, that the Archbishop of York may have been the William Thompson who corresponded with Talbot in 1841. See William Henry Fox Talbot to William Thompson (13 Dec 1841), and Thompson to Fox Talbot (9 Dec 1841, 18 Mar 1844 and 4 Mar 1845), in Schaaf (ed.), *The Correspondence of William Henry Fox Talbot*, ([foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk], 1999–2004). This may have been an error. Confirmation would depend on establishing the genealogy of the families resident at the addresses from which Thompson wrote to Talbot (from Norfolk). The Archbishop dropped the ‘p’ in his name *circa* 1846, thinking it too plebeian.

136. See Roger Taylor, *Photographs Exhibited in Britain, 1839–1865* (Ottawa, [2002]) ([http://peib.dmu.ac.uk/], n.d.).

Jane Jacobson, née Turner (1811–1895). Jacobson invited Dodgson to see a facsimile he owned of a British Museum manuscript of the works of St. Cyril of Alexandria, reproduced in a series of fourteen photographs by Roger Fenton (1819–1869).¹³⁷

Whether Dodgson continued to enjoy the Aclands' support after this initial period of encouragement is questionable. Like the Liddells, whose 'break' with Dodgson has been the subject of intense scholarly debate, evidence points to the cooling of his relationship with the Aclands. On 30 June 1863, for example, three days after learning of the rumours circulating about his motives for photographing Alice and her sisters, Dodgson noted perfunctorily in his diary (in the first entry after a notorious section of excised pages): "Called on Mrs. Acland, to see if she could help me in getting the Duchess of Marlborough's children to photograph, but she could not."¹³⁸ Several decades later, whilst staying at the Liddells' retirement home near Windsor, Acland, who probably recognized himself satirized in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, displayed his ambivalent feelings towards its author by reporting to Angie that he had been "reading when awake Sylvie and Bruno — They give a different notion of Carrol, for wh. I am thankful."¹³⁹ Miss Acland's opinion of Dodgson was equally ambiguous. On the one hand she remembered with great affection the golden afternoons of her childhood spent "going down the river with the Liddells taken by Mr. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) who used to tell us stories bits of which became Alice in Wonderland".¹⁴⁰ On the other, she regretted "he never kept up with us after childhood" and regarded his photographs as "very quaint", suggesting a degree of disapproval.¹⁴¹ She treasured the photographs nevertheless, as she did a note he sent her in his characteristic violet ink declining an invitation to visit ("Dear Miss Acland, Many thanks for kind invitation. Be yet more kind, & excuse my absence. Very truly yours, in much haste, being distraught with business, C. L. Dodgson. J.R.T.V.").¹⁴²

Photographs in Acland's album representative of his interest in the academic applications of photography include architectural views, copies of artworks, and scientific subjects. Among the scientific photographs are a tiny image by William Crookes (1832–1919) of the polarization pattern of light transmitted through calcite, and four large prints of a dissected orangutan's brain, commissioned from Hills & Saunders by Acland's successor as Lee's Reader in Anatomy, George Rolleston (1829–1881).¹⁴³ Most of the architectural views bear upon the design and construction of the Museum. As well as photographs of the building in various

137. Wakeling (ed.), *Lewis Carroll's Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 28 (21 Feb 1857)

138. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 215 (30 Jun 1863)

139. Ms. Acland d. 133, fols. 199–200 (HWA to SAA, 11 Aug 1895). Dodgson's novel *Sylvie and Bruno* was published in two volumes in 1889 and 1893.

140. DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 21. On 6 Mar 1857 Dodgson recorded in his diary "Promised to take Willie Acland, (and such others of the party as may be allowed to come), down the river some day soon" (Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 33–34. On 6 Apr he wrote "Went over to the Deanery in the evening at the children's request. They had got the Aclands over for the evening, and read to the young party *Away with Melancholy* (the time that I have read it) with the smallest audience I have ever had, consisting of five only" (*Ibid.*, p. 45).

141. DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 21

142. Ms. Acland d. 172, fol. 23 (Dodgson to SAA, n.d.). The acronym has been variously interpreted as "Je réponds très vite" or "Je réponds très volontiers".

143. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 15.



Fig. 1.44 Unknown photographer, *Low relief by Alexander Munro of George William Henry Vernon and William Frederick Cuthbert Venables Vernon*, albumen print, c. 1858 ? (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 22)



Fig. 1.45 William Jeffrey ?, *Bust of H. W. Acland by Alexander Munro*, albumen print, c. 1857 (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 143)

states of completeness, the album contains a salt print of a specimen of ironwork by Skidmore & Son of Coventry, sent to Acland by the architect Benjamin Woodward (1816–1861); a large albumen print of Deane and Woodward's Government Offices in Whitehall; and prints of Rouen Cathedral and the Chateau de Maintenon relevant to an ongoing debate about the design of the Museum tower.

The largest group of photographs in the album are those depicting artworks, thirty-six of which show sculpture by Acland's close friend, the Pre-Raphaelite sculptor Alexander Munro (1825–1871) (figs. 1.44 & 1.45). Also present are photographic copies of drawings by Acland and by his artist friend, George Richmond (1809–1896) (see fig. 1.61). Copying paintings was one of the earliest applications of photography that attracted Acland's attention. In the early 1850s it had been Ruskin he turned to for advice about how to obtain a photographic copy of a family portrait. "Mrs Acland's portrait can be done any clear day. Send it to Claudet's, Regent St.", Ruskin advised.¹⁴⁴ Not long afterwards Acland mentioned Ruskin's enthusiasm for photographic facsimiles to his wife: "R. says that the Calotype will improve all Engravings, that they are getting to represent black & white perfectly, that he means to draw Turner's pictures and publish them

144. Ms. Acland d. 72, fols. 20–21 (Ruskin to HWA, 3 Jan [1852?]). The reference was probably to a portrait of Acland's mother. Claudet later corresponded with Acland, in 1866 sending him a copy of his "Optics of Photography", inscribed "To Dr. Henry W. Ackland F.R.S. &c. &c. From the author who regrets that he had not seen before writing the present paper, the beautiful & very instructive *Harveian lecture* delivered by Dr. Ackland in 1865" (A. Claudet, "Optics of Photography: On a new process for Equalizing all the Planes of a Solid Picture represented in a Photographic Plate", *Philosophical Magazine*, 4th ser. vol. 33, no. 215 (Sep 1866), pp. 212–219 [Offprint, BOD 17091 e. 32(22)]).

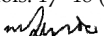
Calotyped.”¹⁴⁵ In 1857 Acland would write to Richmond with a similar proposal, suggesting that

it would be profitable to you as well as a great boon to the Public if you were to keep a Photographer in your back studio, working on a Salary for you, to repeat your works: you keeping the Negatives and selling the Positives, just as a Sculptor does Cast from his Moulds. These Photographs would be just Casts – facsimiles – and for some purpose more convenient ...¹⁴⁶

Later in the same letter Acland volunteered his brother-in-law to help in the venture, demonstrating his qualifications for the job by including a photographic copy of one of his own drawings.

Whether or not these copy-prints made much of an impact on Miss Acland when she saw them as a child, four decades later they would become of considerable relevance to her photographic work. The problem of copying paintings would be an important theme in her own photography, especially in relation to her exploration of the capabilities of orthochromatic plates (see ch. 5). Following in the footsteps of Crookes, who addressed the issue as part of his investigation of the photographic activity of the spectrum, she carried out a series of systematic experiments into the use of orthochromatic emulsions for correctly translating the relative brightness of different colours in monochrome. As test subjects in these trials she would choose not George Richmond’s artworks, but paintings by his son, William Blake Richmond (1842–1921).

The earliest evidence of Miss Acland’s curiosity in photographs as a child is contained in her correspondence. In a letter to her mother of 9 May 1857, when she was still only 7 years old, she can be found asking for a “photography” of her recently-deceased aunt, Phoebe Cotton (1817–1857): “I should be very much obliged to you if you would send me one to hang up by my bed-side and a little bit of her hair in one of my lockets.”¹⁴⁷ The photograph she had in mind was probably a collodion positive. Several years later, when her correspondence resumed in earnest after she was sent away to Sprydon, it was paper prints she coveted. From 1862 Miss Acland can be seen partaking enthusiastically of the carte de visite revolution, placing requests with her mother for portraits from home. “A Herbie standing and a Herbie sitting will, I think, give you all the faces,” her mother replied in response to one petition.¹⁴⁸ Alerted to her daughter’s burgeoning enthusiasm, Mrs Acland began sending her photographs unsolicited, of subjects she thought Angie would enjoy or ought to own. In April 1863, for example, she sent a pair of ‘capital’ photographs of Walwood (figs. 1.13 & 1.58). “Stick them if you can get any gum, into some Book”, she advised. “Would they go in Mr. Courtenays Bible, I was going to say, but they will not, I am sure, now I look at them again. But you will find some safe place for them. Let me know how they arrive, whether they are crumpled at all.”¹⁴⁹ News of Miss Acland’s taste for photography soon spread

145. Ms. Acland d. 8, fols. 17–18 (HWA to SA, [c. 1851–53]). The reading of the word “improve” is problematic, viz.: 

146. Ms. Eng. d. 3376, fols. 50–51 (HWA to Richmond, 15 Mar 1857)

147. Ms. Acland d. 106, fols. 19–20 (SAA to SA, 9 May 1857)

148. Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 140–141 (SA to SAA, 14 May [1862])

149. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 20–21 (SA to SAA, 29 Apr 1863)

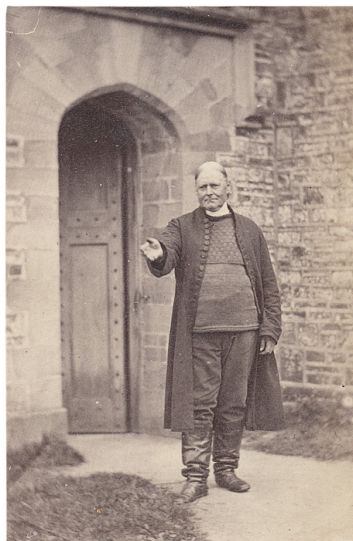


Fig. 1.46 Samuel Thorn, "Rev. Hawker" (in fisherman's jersey and seaboots), albumen print, c. 1864 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 189)



Fig. 1.47 Unidentified photographer (Naples), W. A. D. Acland, albumen print, 1865 (Ms. Photogr. c. 178, f. 212)

among her relatives. In February 1865 her aunt Agnes Lucy Mills, née Acland (1821–1895), made her a gift of a popular portrait of the Rev. Robert Stephen Hawker (1803–1875), vicar of Morwenstow in Cornwall (fig. 1.46).¹⁵⁰ More distant acquaintances also responded to her requests, the Regius Professor of Modern History, Goldwin Smith (1823–1910) (whom she later photographed), sending her a copy of his own portrait "which you did me the honour to desire."¹⁵¹

With so much of her time spent away from home, photographs were an important way Miss Acland could keep in contact with her parents and brothers. In July 1865, for example, she wrote to Willie to ask if he could send her "one of the standing photographs of you which were done at Naples. You were standing up with you cap on & with your stick in your hand" (fig. 1.47).¹⁵² During her long sojourns abroad for medical treatment, her mother, always keen to encourage her to engage in useful active occupations, would visit Hills & Saunders to choose images of 'people and places' to send out. In July 1869 she dispatched a selection of prints interleaved in a volume of Schumann: "I thought with regard to the Photos, that you would prefer 6 shilling ones to 3 two shilling and I hope you will like my selection, and think I did well to chose the old and not the new. You would have liked a Museum, perhaps, but it looked so bare and ugly I rejected [it] after having chosen it."¹⁵³ The gifts came with a plea for something in return: "I hope you will be photographed dear Angie, as we are not to meet just yet, and send me 2 or 3 copies. Is it the man by the church who will do it?"¹⁵⁴

150. See Ms. Acland d. 106, fols. 206–209 (SA to SAA, 6 Feb 1865).

151. Ms. Acland d. 176, fol. 44 (Goldwin Smith to SAA, 19 Mar [1865?])

152. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 32–33 (SAA to WADA, 9 Jul [1865])

153. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 98–101 (SA to SAA, 26 Jun [1869])

154. Ibid.



Photographs from Miss Acland's Album

Opposite

Fig. 1.48 Unknown photographer, "*The Review at Spit-head, 1867*", albumen print (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 377)

Fig. 1.49 Arthur Benjamin Cotton ?, "*Thorpe Eleven*", albumen print, c. 1864 ? (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 542)

Fig. 1.50 Unknown photographer, "*Charterhouse*", albumen print, 1869–70 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 341)

Fig. 1.51 Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, "*Mr. Woodward*", albumen print, Jul 1860 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 21)

Fig. 1.52 Herbert Dyke Acland ?, "*Coffee Store. Tamil Coolies. Barbacue. Coffee Bush.*", albumen print, 1877 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 511)

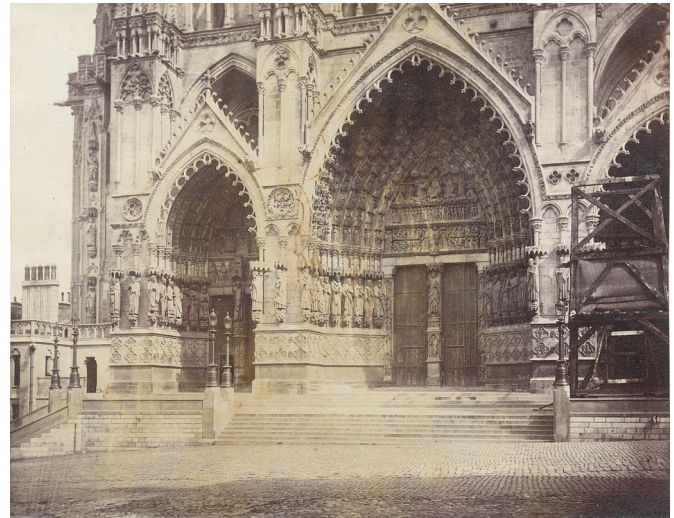
Right and below

Fig. 1.53 Unknown photographer, "*Amiens Cathedral*", albumen print, c. 1865 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 130)

Fig. 1.54 Arthur Benjamin Cotton ?, "*Engelberg*", albumen print, 1865 ? (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 296)

Fig. 1.55 Julia Margaret Cameron, "*Mary Ryan*", albumen print, 1865–66 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 399)

Fig. 1.56 Unknown photographer, *Newgrange Portal Tomb*, albumen print, 1864 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 415)



On starting out as a collector Miss Acland had to be content with finding makeshift homes for her photographs. Later she would create her own “pretty little portfolios” in which to store her prints.¹⁵⁵ In 1866 her collecting was put on a firmer footing when she was given an album for her birthday. “I have got a very pretty Photograph Book for one of your presents”, her mother wrote. “At first I was afraid it might be too smart, but Papa does not think it so, & he does think it very pretty.”¹⁵⁶ The control she gained over her finances on turning eighteen meant Miss Acland was able to make her own decisions about such purchases. At Wildbad in 1869, for example, she ordered a new album from Hills & Saunders for 11s 6d (about £45 at 2012 values), filling it with prints already sent out by her mother, the cost of which she had also born herself.¹⁵⁷

Among Miss Acland’s albums in the Bodleian Library are two possible candidates for her ‘photograph book’ and the Wildbad volume.¹⁵⁸ The first contains 512 prints dating from 1860 to 1877, the second 242 prints from 1860 to 1882. The former volume appears to have grown more organically than the latter, which was probably compiled retrospectively in one tranche in 1881 or 1882, rather than gradually added to over a period of years. The earlier album contains a mixture of carte de visite and larger albumen prints, of both people and places, by amateur as well as professional photographers. The later is almost exclusively devoted to studio portraits in the carte de visite and cabinet card formats. In the earlier album, as was customary, portraits of the Royal Family appear first, followed by Miss Acland’s parents, brothers, relatives and friends. Celebrities are largely absent, except those Miss Acland knew personally.

Examples of carte de visite portraits from both albums are illustrated throughout this chapter; a selection of the larger prints from the earlier album, most of which have the character of amateur work, are shown on the previous opening. “Amiens Cathedral” (fig. 1.53), “Engelberg” in Switzerland (fig. 1.54), and *Newgrange Portal Tomb* (fig. 1.56), for example, are accompanied by a panorama of the “*The Review at Spithead, 1867*” (fig. 1.48), the “*Thorpe Eleven*” cricket team (fig. 1.49), a group portrait of pupils at “*Charterhouse*” (fig. 1.50), and a view of a “*Coffee Store, Tamil Coolies, Barbacue, [and] Coffee Bush*” in Ceylon (fig. 1.52). The authorship of these works is uncertain. More recognizable are photographs by Dodgson of “*Mr. Woodward*” (fig. 1.51) and “*Mr. Combe and Cyril Hunt*”.¹⁵⁹ Prints of “*Mary Ryan*” (fig. 1.55), “*Dean Liddell*” (see fig. 3.14) and Henry Taylor (1800–1886) (see fig. 3.18) by Julia Margaret Cameron owe their place in the album to the Aclands’ friendships with the sitters and photographer. Mary Ryan (1818–1914), Cameron’s favourite maid, married one of Mrs Acland’s cousins, for example, while Herbert Acland was at school at Charterhouse with Henry Herschel Hay Cameron (1852–1911), “son of

155. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 28–29 (23 Apr [1865])

156. Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 127–128 (SA to SAA, 10 May [1866])

157. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 134–136 (SA to SAA, 30 Sep [1869])

158. Ms. Photogr. c. 175 and Ms. Photogr. c. 178. In *First Lady of Colour Photography* I identified the first volume as Mrs Acland’s “book” of photographs. However, it bears Miss Acland’s bookplate, making it more likely to be hers, although it may have been passed down from her mother, or some of the photographs it contains may have been.

159. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 16.

Mrs. Cameron (who photographs)" (as Mrs Acland described him after watching the boys perform together in the school theatricals).¹⁶⁰

The amount of amateur photography Miss Acland was exposed to at close hand during her upbringing was unusual. During the 1880s, after she returned to Oxford permanently, several of her friends took up photography. She knew several photographers who joined the Oxford University Photographic Club after its foundation in 1884, for example, including Willie Donkin and the Principal of Hertford College, Henry Boyd (1831–1922) (who later sat for her). In May 1885, at a fund-raising exhibition in the Clarendon Assembly Rooms, her paintings were hung alongside photographs by the President of the Club, George Selwyn Edwards (1849–1907), and by the Christ Church undergraduate Evan William Hamilton Fyers (1864–1938).¹⁶¹ Three months later, Henry Stuart Salter (1863–1939), son of the Principal of St Alban Hall, visited her in Broad Street with his camera: "Father has Stuart Salter with him now & his photographic apparatus & seems very happy", she wrote to Willie.¹⁶² Other opportunities for Miss Acland to see photographs arose when John Henry Parker (1806–1884) mounted exhibitions in the upper gallery of the Old Ashmolean of prints from his photographic survey of the architecture of Rome.¹⁶³ Her father borrowed Parker's prints for a "Grand Reception" in the University Museum during Commemoration in 1875, which Prince Leopold and Princess Louise attended.¹⁶⁴ Later, photographs would be exhibited regularly at the Museum during meetings of the Junior Scientific Club. Although women were excluded from ordinary meetings of the Club, they were welcomed to its biennial *conversazione*, where astronomical photography — one of the genres that later engaged Miss Acland's attention — usually made a strong showing.¹⁶⁵ When away from home Miss Acland was kept informed about photographs she had missed in Oxford by her mother. In December 1868, for example, Mrs Acland was full of news of a Captain Julius Roberts (1821/2–1877) who had visited Broad Street with "very good and interesting Japanese Photographs, both of people & places which you would enjoy seeing."¹⁶⁶ A year later it was "beautiful Photographs of Canada and several parts of America" by Charles Edward Brooke (1847–1911), later Canon Brooke.¹⁶⁷

160. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 270–277 (SA to WADA, 6 Dec [1869]). Mary Ryan married John Henry Stedman Cotton (1845–1915), Mrs Acland's second cousin once removed (Miss Acland's third cousin), not, as sometimes stated, Mrs Acland's brother.

161. "Oxford Prize Scheme for Needlework", *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 6894 (9 May 1885), p. 5e. Edwards was not, surprisingly, a graduate of the University, but one of the few members of the (Royal) Photographic Society living in Oxford and the brother-in-law of William de Wiveleslie Abney. Fyers became an electrical engineer and authority on nautical research: the National Maritime Museum was represented at his funeral ("Funerals / Major E. W. H. Fyers", *The Times*, no. 48086 (30 Aug 1938), p. 13b).

162. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 173–175 (SAA to WADA, 19 Aug 1885)

163. See, for example, "University Intelligence / Ashmolean Museum", *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 6814 (20 Oct 1883), p. 5b–c

164. "The Commemoration", *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 6376 (12 Jun 1875), p. 4

165. See, for example, "Catalogue of Exhibits of 1892 *Conversazione*", *Journal of the Oxford University Junior Scientific Club*, nos. 7 and 8 (Summer and Michaelmas Terms, 1892), pp. 113–119 (27 May 1892).

166. Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 72–75 (SA to SAA, 13 Dec [1868])

167. Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 167–169 (SA to SAA, 8 Dec [1869]). On Brooke, see A. G. Deeds (ed.), *Charles Edward Brooke: A Memoir* (London, [1913]).

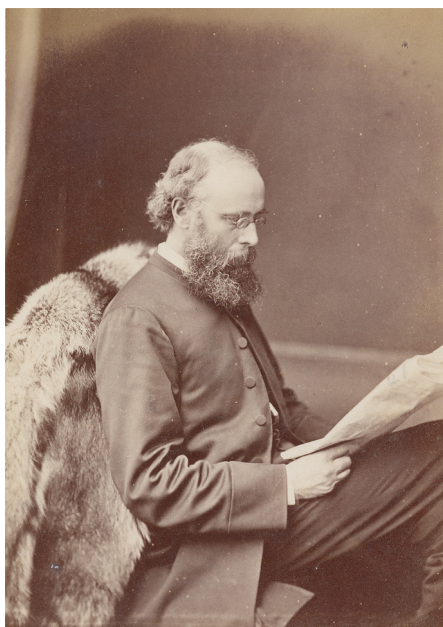


Fig. 1.57 Unknown photographer,
"Rev. Arthur Cotton (Uncle A. B.)", albumen
print, c. 1874 ? (Ms. Photogr. c. 178, f. 63)

The most important way in which Miss Acland became familiar with the practice of amateur photography was undoubtedly by witnessing the work of photographers in her own family. The relative her father had volunteered to help George Richmond in 1857 was her uncle Arthur Benjamin Cotton (1832–1918) (fig. 1.57). "Uncle 'ABC'", as he was known to the children, had taken up photography by July 1855, a year after graduating from Christ Church.¹⁶⁸ His first photographic experiments were probably carried out as a student, in which capacity he attended Acland's anatomy classes with Maskelyne and lectures on the chemistry of photography at the Daubeny Laboratory, as Thomson and Southey had done.¹⁶⁹ Cotton's photographic exploits quickly became a talking-point in the family.¹⁷⁰ "Arthur is in trouble he fancies he cannot preach – and won't take duty I am afraid. I suspect he likes travelling & Photography better than clerical duty, tho' he is a very good fellow", Acland commented to his wife in July 1858.¹⁷¹ In 1864 Miss Acland received a similar account from her father: "Your Uncle Arthur Cotton was with me exceedingly messy with his beard and photographic machine. He made several photographs at Rotterdam & Utrecht – and one or more on board the steamer" (fig. 1.59).¹⁷² A year earlier Cotton's results from a trip to Norway (fig 1.61) had been exhibited at the North London Photographic Association, after which the *British Journal of Photography* reported that they were "well executed, by the wet collodion process, eminently picturesque in character, and were examined with lively interest by those present".¹⁷³

168. Ms. Acland d 10, fols. 80–81 (HWA to SA, 21 Jul 1855)

169. Christ Church Archives, lii.b.2, fol. 14; R. T. Günther, *A History of the Daubeny Laboratory, Magdalen College, Oxford* (London, 1904), p. 90

170. Ms. Acland d. 10, fols. 80–81 (HWA to SA, 21 Jul 1855)

171. Ms. Acland d. 11, fols. 153–154 (HWA to SA, 19 Jul 1858)

172. Ms. Acland d. 139, fols. 5–8 (HWA to SAA, 7 Apr 1864)

173. "Meetings of Societies / North London Photographic Association", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 10, no. 183 (2 Feb 1863), p. 55. See also Arthur B. Cotton, "Memoranda of a Photographic

Photographs by Arthur Benjamin Cotton

Fig. 1.58 Arthur Benjamin Cotton,
"Walwood nr. London", albumen print,
Apr 1863 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 124)

Fig. 1.59 Arthur Benjamin Cotton,
"Utrecht", albumen print, 5 Apr 1864
(Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 350)

Fig. 1.60 Arthur Benjamin Cotton?, *East
front of Stavanger Cathedral, Norway*,
albumen print, 1862 ?
(Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 379)

Fig. 1.61 Arthur Benjamin Cotton ?,
*Copy after a Portrait of a Cleric by
George Richmond, possibly Charles Leslie
Courtenay or William Thomson*, salt
print, 1862 ? (Ms. Photogr. b. 34, f. 90)





Fig. 1.62 Herbert Dyke Acland ?, *Mr & Mrs Wylie, Capt. and Mrs Collins (Ceylon)*, albumen print, 1876 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 560)



Fig. 1.63 Francis Edward Dyke Acland ?, *"The Wearied Student, Woolwich"*, albumen print, c. 1875 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 395)

Cotton was the founder of a dynasty of photographers from Miss Acland's family who attended Christ Church. Her cousins Arthur Herbert Dyke Acland (1847–1926), John Dyke Acland (1863–1944) and Henry Dyke Acland (1867–1942) were also members of the college (as well as leading lights of the University Photographic Club). Her brother Herbert took up photography before matriculating in 1874, his Uncle ABC having obtained a camera for him in March 1870 whilst he was in quarantine from Charterhouse with scarlatina.¹⁷⁴ The strength of interest in photography in the family did not stop there. Willie, Harry and Frank also pre-empted their sister by learning to use a camera before 1891. Details of Frank's photography are sketchy, but *"The Wearied Student"* in one of his sister's albums may be an early self-portrait (fig. 1.63). Dating from between 1874 and 1876, it was taken in his rooms at the Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich, where photography had been taught to officers since 1857.¹⁷⁵ The date Harry took up photography is also unclear. In December 1889, while on HMS *Volage* as Willie's guest, he "attempted photographs but not successfully", although this may have been due more to bad luck than inexperience.¹⁷⁶ In Gibraltar in 1902 he had greater success, making studies of a cave at Monkey's Quarry that were exhibited at the Geological Society

Trip in Norway / Read at a meeting of the North London Photographic Association, Jan 21 1863", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 10, no. 183 (2 Feb 1863), pp. 48–49; and Arthur Cotton, "Memorandum of a Photographic Trip in Norway", *Photographic News*, vol. 7, no. 230 (30 Jan 1863), p. 53.

174. See Ms. Acland d. 138, fols. 226–227 (SA to SAA, [19 Mar 1870]); fols. 200–202 (SA to WADA, 11 Mar [1870]); and fols. 205–207 (SA to WADA, 8 May [1870])

175. "Annual Report of the Royal Artillery Institution, July 1858", *Minutes of Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution*, vol. 1 (1858), p. 438

176. Ms. Acland d. 127, fols. 48–59 (HWA to SAA, 17 Dec 1889)



Fig. 1.64 Henry Dyke Acland ?, “Stamford, Lincolnshire”, albumen print, c. 1882 (Ms. Photogr. b. 37, f. 164)

on his return.¹⁷⁷ After retiring he pursued a second career as a lantern lecturer, giving talks to “Institutes and Parsons” in the country on such subjects as “The Island of Sugar Cane and Bananas”, which was illustrated with photographs he had taken while accompanying his sister to Madeira in 1908.¹⁷⁸

Prior to taking up photography, Willie actively collected photographs as a means of documenting his travels to the outposts of the Empire in the service of the Royal Navy. After bringing them home they were mounted in the fourth of the albums formerly in his sister’s possession (figs. 1.65–1.68).¹⁷⁹ The prints range from portraits of people Willie met abroad, to his views of his ships and the places where they took him. The inclusion of several scenes showing corpses on the battlefields of the War of the Pacific (fig. 1.67), acquired in his capacity as naval attaché to the Chilean army, and of armour plate testing at the Portsmouth Dockyard (fig. 1.68), suggests that the album took on a slightly different role in Miss Acland’s drawing room from her earlier carte de visite albums, notwithstanding the fact that she decorated several of the prints with elaborate floral borders (fig. 1.65).

Willie appears in group portraits taken on the decks of his ships in the 1870s (fig. 1.66). He is only known to have learnt to use a camera himself on his appointment to the command of HMS *Miranda* in May 1883. “What a gain it is to you to have learnt” and “how much you have improved already”, Miss Acland commented in February 1884.¹⁸⁰ The earliest photographs unequivocally from his

177. Henry Dyke Acland, “On a new Cave on the Easter Side of Gibraltar”, *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. 60, no. 237 (Feb 1904), pp. 30–36

178. Ms. Acland d. 48, fols. 86–87 (HDA to SAA, 7 Mar 1909)

179. Ms. Photogr. b. 37

180. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 85–86 (SAA to WADA, 20 Feb 1884); *Ibid.*, fols. 87–88 (SAA to WADA, 20 Feb 1884). Edwards (see note 185) suggests Willie learnt photography as a lieutenant at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. Photography became part of the course of instruction for officers in 1877; Willie passed as lieutenant in 1868 (before the college came into existence at Greenwich in 1873). See “Photography in the Navy”, *Photographic News*, vol. 18, no. 842 (23 Oct 1874), p. 505 and *idem*, *Photographic News*, vol. 21, no. 1001 (9 Nov 1877), p. 529.



Fig. 1.65 Unknown photographer, "Mrs. Hornby", albumen print, c. 1878 (Ms. Photogr. b. 37, f. 97)

Fig. 1.66 Unknown photographer, "Some of the Officers H.M.S. Triumph", albumen print, 1879–80 (Ms. Photogr. b. 37, f. 222)

hand depict life on board the transport ship *Windsor Castle* during his passage from England to Australia to join the *Miranda*. Copies of the photographs he sent home were highly prized by his sister. "I am delighted at your photographs. What an amusement & interest they must have been to you", she wrote in September 1883, begging for more "as they complete your journal so capitally."¹⁸¹ Over the next two years he dispatched enough prints to fill Miss Acland's fifth album.¹⁸² The album contains 182 prints, most if not all of which Miss Acland employed Thomas John Gardiner (1846–1920), operator at Hills & Saunders, to stick in.¹⁸³ On returning to sea after his marriage in July 1887 Willie kept up his photography, branching out into platinotype and cyanotype (fig. 1.69), examples of which are among the 96 prints mounted in the sixth of Miss Acland's albums.¹⁸⁴

Willie is already known to historians as a photographer by virtue of a large collection of negatives and prints he gave to the Pitt Rivers Museum.¹⁸⁵ The photographs that so delighted his sister were taken on the remote islands of Melanesia and Polynesia visited in his role as Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Their principal value, then as now, is as ethnological records

181. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 66–68 (SAA to WADA, Sep 1883); Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 69–71 (SAA to WADA, 11 Nov 1883)

182. Ms. Photogr. b. 36.

183. See Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 110–111 (SAA to WADA, 15 May 1884); Ibid., fols. 133–134 (SAA to WADA, 1 Oct 1884). Gardiner visited Miss Acland in Park Town in 1917, when he was "even more curious than ever" (Ms. Acland d. 112, fols. 192–193 (SAA to WADA, 6 Jul 1917)).

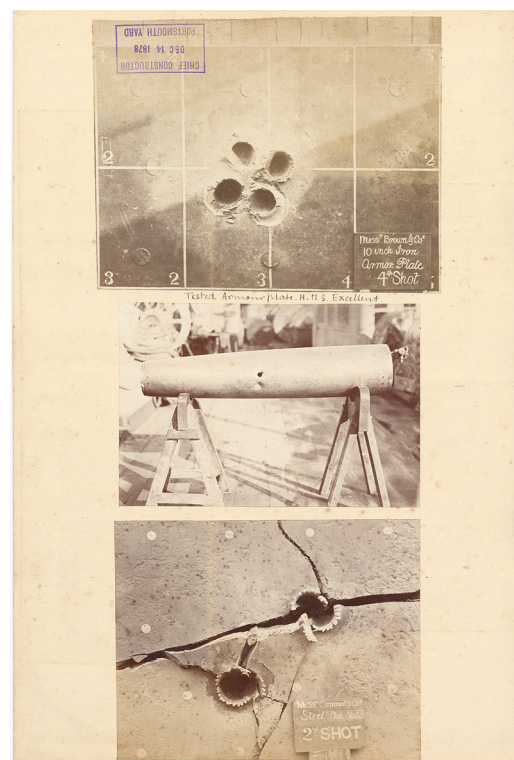
184. Ms. Photogr. b. 35

185. See Elizabeth Edwards, "Time and Space on the Quarter Deck: Two Samoan Photographs by Captain W. Acland", in Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford and New York, 2001), ch. 5, pp. 107–129.



Fig. 1.67 Unknown photographer, "Inside the Peruvian Lines after their capture by the Chilians" (Miraflores, Peru), albumen print, 1881 (Ms. Photogr. b. 37, f. 202)

Fig. 1.68 [Chief Constructor, Portsmouth Yard, R.N.], "Tested Armour plate, H.M.S. Excellent", albumen print, Dec 1878 (Ms. Photogr. b. 37, f. 144)



of the indigenous peoples of the region, their material culture, and encounters with Europeans (fig. 1.70). However, they are also testimony to Willie's use of photography to insert himself within the programme of exploration implicit in the colonial mission; a programme that was highly valued back in Oxford, by his father and others. Notable photographs include the meeting on the *Miranda* of rival tribes loyal to the chieftains Manuga Lei and Manuga Manuma. Others show the plantations, mission stations, and natural wonders explored by Willie's crew. In Oxford Miss Acland circulated copies of the photographs widely, championing Willie's role as both photographer and colonial administrator, showing them, for example, to Arthur Acland and his wife; to the 'Apostle of Melanesia', Robert Henry Codrington (1830–1922), who recognized some of the people portrayed; and to Charlotte Yonge, who was "naturally much interested in the Melanesian Islands" as her cousin was the murdered Bishop of Melanesia, John Coleridge Patteson (1827–1871).¹⁸⁶ In April 1885 she even considered exhibiting the prints in public: "I saw in the Echo last night that there is an exhibition of amateur photographs this month. If I had known I should have sent some duplicates which I have of yours", she told Willie enthusiastically.¹⁸⁷

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Through the work of Patrizia Di Bello and other historians, nineteenth-century albums, and women's albums in particular, are no longer marginalized within

186. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 133–134 (SAA to WADA, 1 Oct 1884). Cf. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 149–151 (SAA to WADA, 1 Dec 1884) and fols. 152–153 (SAA to WADA, 13 Dec 1884).

187. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 162–165 (SAA to WADA, 19 Apr 1885)

photographic history, but are recognized for their importance (to both men and women) as central tools in the preservation, exchange and display of photographs.¹⁸⁸ Albums were fundamental to Miss Acland's experience of photography before 1891, both as a creator and spectator, functioning as a way she could document her place in society, communicate with her parents, collaborate with her brothers, express her artistic taste, entertain guests, and so on and so forth. They enabled her to pursue an interest in photography that was appropriate for her age, compatible with her education, and conducive to her health. Her engagement with photographs through the collection, arrangement and exchange of prints conformed to established patterns, diverged from others, and changed over time: although filtered through family and home, it departed from feminine norms and extended beyond the passive consumption of commercial portraiture. Above all, it is striking in its variety and richness.

"I have always had a great wish to go & see those wonderful South Sea Islands. How I should draw", Miss Acland wrote to Willie in December 1884.¹⁸⁹ Despite her great passion for photographs, the thought had clearly not yet entered her mind that she might one day use a camera to capture the beauty of such places. In 1884 photography remained an unusual hobby for a woman: in Oxford, women amateurs were much less visible than men, if they existed at all.¹⁹⁰ As will be discussed in chapter 2, this would change significantly towards the end of the decade, as a decisive shift took place in the class and gender basis of amateur practice. From 1885 middle-class women began to take up photography in much larger numbers and to show their work in more public forums than in earlier decades. Once they did so, the improving health and leisure time that Miss Acland enjoyed after her father entered a limited form of retirement in the 1890s, the love of art and science that had been instilled in her as a child, and the photographic successes that other members of her family enjoyed would combine to inspire her to become a photographer herself.

188. See Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot, 2007).

189. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 85–86 (SAA to WADA, 20 Dec 1884)

190. One of the few Oxford women to leave any trace of photographic activity was Rachel Mary Harcourt, née Bruce (1848–1927), wife of A. G. Vernon Harcourt, who visited Dodgson in May 1875 for advice about fitting up a "photographing-room" at her home in Norham Gardens (see Wakeling, *Lewis Carroll's Diaries*, vol. 6, p. 394 (24 May 1875)).



Fig. 1.69 William A. D. Acland, "*Captain's Cabin*" (*HMS Volage*), cyanotype, 1889 (Ms. Photogr. b. 35, f. 17)

Fig. 1.70 William A. D. Acland, "*Native Tom Toms, Havannah Harbour*", albumen print, 1884 (Ms. Photogr. b. 36, f. 88)





Fig. 2.1 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*A Room in the Old Home*", gelatine negative (digitally reversed), July 1892 (cat. no. 152)

One of the earliest subjects Miss Acland turned to after taking up photography was the interior of her own home. Her drawing room, on the first floor of the house, functioned as a domestic gallery of modern art, tastefully furnished with paintings by the Pre-Raphaelites and their followers.

CHAPTER 2

A Taste for Photography, *circa* 1891–1893

Women, the domestic ideal and artistic interiors

“Home is such a dear place to me with all dear people in it.”

Sarah Angelina Acland to her mother, April 1859¹

“I have first and last to tell you in this place; — the fine arts are not to be learned by Locomotion, but by making the homes we live in lovely, and by staying in them”

John Ruskin, “The Relation of Art to Use”, *Lectures on Art*, Hilary Term 1870²

“As the value of a picture consists in the expression of an artist’s mind and is an index of its owner’s artistic sympathies, so is a beautiful house the manifestation of the refinement of its owner’s artistic temperament.”

J. S. Gibson, “Artistic Houses”, *Studio*, September 1893³

Miss Acland began her career as an amateur photographer on 26 June 1891 when her father gave her a Kodak camera for her birthday. Not long afterwards she wrote to her brother Willie with the news:

Have you heard that the Father has most generously given me the present of a Kodak & I am beginning to be interested in photography. I hope you will give me some lessons some day when we are together.⁴

The choice of camera as gift may have had less to do with Acland than his daughter, as his birthday letter to her suggests:

As I am very doubtful with what addition to your worldly goods to celebrate your birthday, I ask you to keep or to use the little cheque yourself as you find best — but, whichever you do, you will think of your Father as silently showing his loving sense of all your successful and most patient work for him, always — but specially in the pressures and anxieties that have been on him since your return home.⁵

1. Ms. Acland d. 106, fols. 48–49 (SAA to SA, [c. Apr 1859])

2. Ruskin, *Lectures on Art*, lecture 4, “The Relation of Art to Use” (3 Mar 1870), §124, p. 115

3. J. S. Gibson, “Artistic Houses”, *Studio*, vol. 1, no. 6 (15 Sep 1893), pp. 214–227

4. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 194–196 (SAA to WADA, 22 Jul 1891)

5. Ms. Acland d. 128, fols. 91–92 (HWA to SAA, 26 Jun 1891)

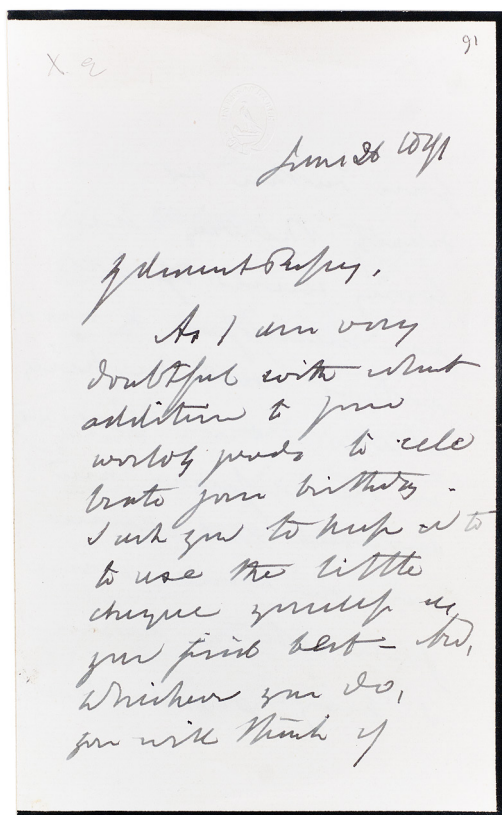


Fig. 2.2 Acland's letter to his daughter on her 42nd birthday, 26 June 1891 (Ms. Acland d. 128, f. 91)

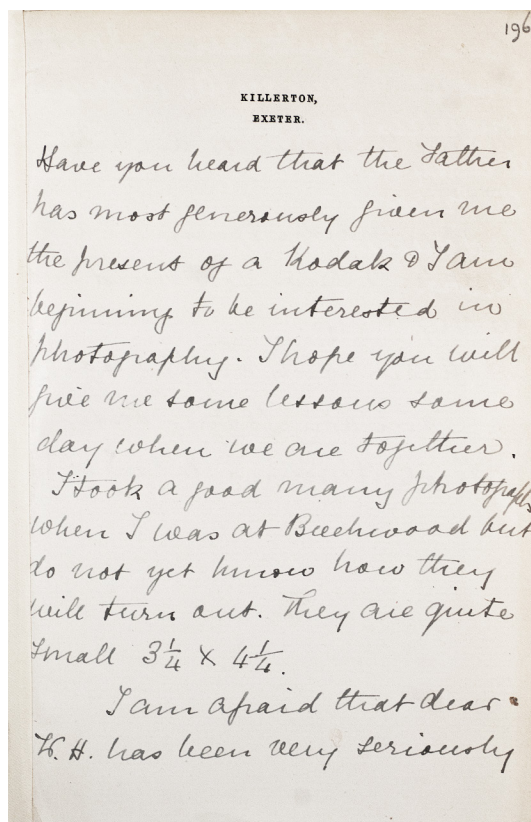


Fig. 2.3 Miss Acland's letter to her brother Willie announcing her interest in photography, 22 July 1891 (Ms. Acland d. 107, f. 196)

Miss Acland probably purchased her Kodak from a local dealer, such as pharmaceutical chemist (and later Mayor of Oxford) George Claridge Druce (1850–1932), who did a large trade in photographic goods from his shop at 118 High Street. Having made the new acquisition she was quick to put it to use during her annual holiday with family and friends in the south of England. “My best love to all, who are I suppose already Kodaked”, her father wrote on 12 July.⁶ Within a week she had made at least sixteen photographs but was still waiting to see the results: “I took a good many photographs when I was at Beechwood but do not yet know how they will turn out”, she told Willie on 22 July.⁷ By the time she returned home to Oxford at the beginning of September she had used the full roll of sixty exposures supplied with the Kodak. No record survives of what she thought of her first film, save that by the following spring she was so enamoured of her new hobby that she decided to place it on a more serious footing by purchasing a Watson ‘Acme’ half-plate camera, thereby turning what had started as a minor interest into an full-fledged pastime that would fill the majority of her leisure hours for the next twenty-eight years.

6. Ms. Acland d. 128, fols. 129–132 (HWA to SAA, 12 Jul 1891)

7. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 194–196 (SAA to WADA, 22 Jul 1891)

In assessing how typical Miss Acland was in acquiring a camera at the age of 42 it is necessary to examine the progress of women in photography between 1891 and its first announcement to the public fifty-two years earlier. Although the work of a number of individual Victorian women photographers is well-known, their history as a group, and of amateur women in particular, is still largely uncharted. However, data from the censuses and copyright registers, supplemented by evidence from the membership and exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society, gives a broad indication of their changing fortunes (tables 2.1 and 2.2). Different trends are seen for amateurs and professionals. Women in both categories were certainly involved in photography from its earliest days, but during the 1840s and 1850s their numbers were relatively limited. As Bernard and Pauline Heathcote have shown, of approximately 750 commercial photographic studios opened in Britain before the widespread adoption of the wet collodion process in 1855, only twenty-two were run by women, or about 3% of the total.⁸ A year earlier, in the first exhibition of the Photographic Society (as it was then), six ladies (all of whom were amateurs) showed work alongside 132 men, making up 4% of the exhibitors.⁹ In the 1860s and 1870s the number of women employed in photography increased steadily, while the number of amateurs remained low. This would change in the 1880s, when the number of amateurs of both sexes grew rapidly, although women lagged a little behind men and remained heavily underrepresented in the Royal Photographic Society (as it had become), only thirty-one holding memberships or fellowships in 1901, compared to 682 men.

The tally of professional women recorded in photography in the censuses is dominated not by those who ran their own studios but by the many employed in subsidiary roles, in what were often large establishments with extensive division of labour. According to the portrait photographer Jabez Hughes (1819–1884) in an article on “Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women” in the *Victoria Magazine* in 1873, approximately one third of studio employees were women.¹⁰ “As to the class of women that find work in photography,” Hughes wrote, “I may compare them with three grades that are met with in every-day life; the ‘maid-of-all-work’ class, the ‘shopwoman’ class, and the ‘governess’ class.”¹¹ The responsibilities of the first were usually confined to printing, a type of labour “most laborious

8. Bernard V. and Pauline F. Heathcote, “The Feminine Influence: Aspects of the Role of Women in the Evolution of Photography in the British Isles”, *History of Photography*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Jul–Sep 1988), pp. 259–273. See also Bernard V. and Pauline F. Heathcote, *A Faithful Likeness: the First Photographic Portrait Studios in the British Isles, 1841 to 1855* (Lowdham, Nottinghamshire, 2002), p. 15 and p. 21. As the Heathcotes note, the raw census data is to be treated with a degree of caution, frequently under-representing the number of women employed in photography.

9. For 19th-century exhibitions, see Roger Taylor, *Photographs Exhibited in Britain, 1839–1865* (Ottawa, [2002]) ([peib.dmu.ac.uk], n.d.) and [De Montfort University], *Exhibitions of the Royal Photographic Society, 1870–1915* ([erps.dmu.ac.uk], 2008). These sources have been consulted wherever reference is made to the RPS exhibitions in what follows.

10. Jabez Hughes, “Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women”, *Victoria Magazine*, vol. 21, no. 1 (May 1873), pp. 1–8. See also Colleen Skidmore, “Women Workers in Notman’s Studio: ‘Young Ladies of the Printing Room’”, *History of Photography*, vol. 20, no. 1 (Summer 1996), pp. 122–128 (on the Notman studio of Montreal).

11. Hughes, “Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women”, p. 5

Table 2.1: Number of Men and Women Employed in Photography in England and Wales, 1851–1911

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Men	44	2,366	4,021	5,352	8,102	11,148	11,899
Women	1	168	694	1,309	2,469	3,851	5,016
	2.2%	6.6%	14.7%	19.7%	23.4%	25.7%	29.7%
Men in Oxfordshire	?	28	43	67	82	95	110
Women in Oxfordshire	?	0	8	11	24	28	22
		0%	15.7%	14.1%	22.6%	22.8%	16.6%

The figures for 1851 for the whole of Britain (50 men and 1 woman) are given in the Census of Great Britain, 1851, *Population Tables: II Ages, Civil Condition, Occupations, and Birth-Place of the People*, vol. 1 (London, 1854), table 54. The total number of photographers in England and Wales (given as 45) was noted in the Census of England and Wales for the Year 1861, *General Report* (London, 1863), p. 32 (there were no women photographers in Scotland). The figures for the remaining years are compiled from the occupation tables published in the summary reports and abstracts of the relevant censuses. The nature of the censuses means the figures should be regarded as approximate.

and dirty”, their chief recommendation being “not that they do their work better, but that they can be got cheaper than men.”¹² Work for the shopwomen varied from mounting, retouching and finishing prints, to assisting in the reception room, taking orders, and conducting correspondence. In the governess class, women of “higher intelligence and superior manners” might manage accounts or undertake other tasks requiring positions of trust.¹³ However, not so many were to be found, largely because, in Hughes’s view, “they will not bend to their work; they think too much of themselves, and act as if they were the persons who patronize the photographer.”¹⁴

In Oxford in the nineteenth century the background of women employed in photography was exclusively working and lower-middle-class, with few reaching a rank as high as governess (see table 2.3, p. 134). In 1861 Robert Hills claimed to have two women in his employ, but neither is identifiable in the census. Of the seven who were listed in 1871 all were working class, all were employees rather than employers, and none was an actual photographer. Only in 1891 did this change, the first women to be credited in the role in their own right (rather than as assistants) being (rather misleadingly) Ann Hills (1832–1908), Robert’s widow, and Fanny Dalphenia Howlett (1861–1944), a carrier’s daughter.¹⁵ Fanny’s status

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p. 6

14. Ibid.

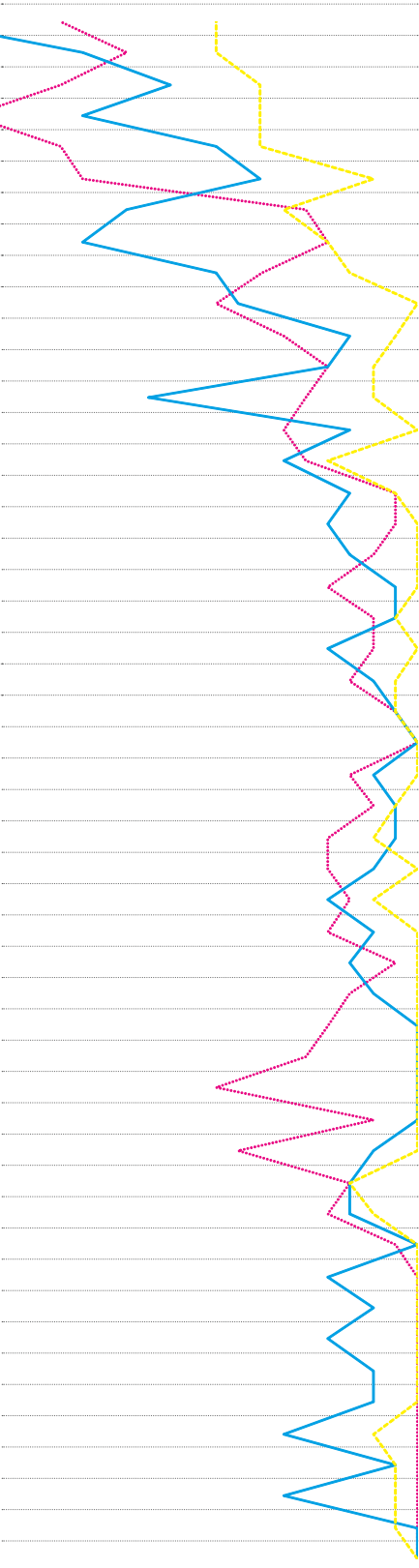
15. In 1881 Mary Agnes Andrews (1861–1915), a butcher’s daughter, was listed in the census as “Artist in Photos”, with “(Photographer)” added in a different hand (Census Returns of England and Wales, 1881, RG11/1498, fol. 89, p. 8). That she was a retoucher or colourer of prints, rather than an ‘artistic photographer’, is suggested by her occupation in 1891: “Artist in Drawing” (RG12/1165, fol. 26, p. 6). In 1901 she was listed as a “Photographic Artist” (RG13/1379, fol. 132, p. 38). Also listed in 1881, living in Woodstock, outside Oxford, was Louisa Jane Banbury, née Sprent (1849–1934), a “Photographer employing 6 assistants at Oxford” (RG11/1512, fol. 59, p. 14). Louisa is claimed by some historians as an early woman photographer. However, her occupation is ambiguously placed on the census return and probably referred to her husband John Banbury (1841/2–1908), an affluent draper, Mayor of Woodstock, and the business partner of Edward Stilliard (1848–?1919) in a studio at 9 Magdalen Street: cf. “Messrs. Stilliard & Banbury” [Advertisement] [BOD John Johnson Collection, Oxford Trade 10/73a]

Table 2.2: Number of Women Registering Photographs for Copyright, Exhibiting at, and Elected to the (Royal) Photographic Society, 1853–1901

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Compiled from National Archives, London, COPY 3 (Copyright Office Registers, 15 Aug 1862 onwards), catalogues of the annual exhibition and proceedings of the Society published in the *Photographic Journal*, and reports in the *British Journal of Photography* and *Photographic News* (for 1865 to 1869).

Copyright registers
(R)PS annual exhibition
(R)PS elections



as a “Photographist?” was considered questionable by the census enumerator, while Anne owed hers to inheriting her husband’s business, and presumably did no photography herself.¹⁶ The first woman in Oxford identified as operating her own studio makes a brief appearance in the 1895 trade directories but escapes the censuses: Alice Emma Buttrum (b. 1865), a former milliner’s assistant who was the daughter of Henry D. Buttrum, “Cabinet Maker, Photographer and Parish Clerk”, of Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire.¹⁷ Alice was briefly in business at 18 Market Street, premises previously occupied by Hills.¹⁸ By 1901 she had married and moved away from Oxford, and no woman had filled her place.

Whether in Oxford or elsewhere, before 1891 the gentlewoman professional was a rarity in photography, if she existed at all. “The lady-photographer is a blessed fact among amateurs”, the editor of *Amateur Photographer* remarked in 1885, but “at present it is only a blessed hope among professionals.”¹⁹ The amateur ladies of whom the editor spoke had been known since the 1840s. Their precise characteristics as a group have still to be delineated, but those active before 1878 are conventionally thought to have belonged to a narrow section of the aristocracy and gentry. The names of several aristocratic women are familiar to historians: Clementina Elphinstone Maude, née Fleeming, Viscountess Hawarden (1822–1865); Lady Caroline Elizabeth Nevill (1829–1887); and Frances Elizabeth Jocelyn, née Cowper, Viscountess Jocelyn (1820–1880) (see fig. 2.4), to name but three. Others are yet to receive attention, such as the Countesses of Uxbridge and of Ranfurly, and the Ladies Carew, Dutton, Foley, Hutchinson and Staples, all of whom joined the Amateur Photographic Association before 1867.²⁰ Ladies of similar wealth and social standing, many of whom also remain obscure, can be found among the early women members of the Photographic Society (see table 2.4, p. 137).

Despite their social status, early lady photographers were often known for their unconventionality. The word Hughes used to describe them in 1873 was “Bohemians”, no doubt having Julia Margaret Cameron in mind.²¹ Another woman to whom the epithet might justly be applied was Amelia Elizabeth Guppy, née Parkinson (1808–1886), who ventured in a canoe up the Orinoco in 1871, aged 63, twenty-four years after taking portraits of her son Robert John Lechmere Guppy (1836–1915) (of the eponymous Guppy fish).²² In 1854 Amelia was one of the six women who exhibited at the first exhibition of the Photographic Society, alongside Catherine Verschoyle, née Curtis (1802–1882), Mary Anne Boulton (1829–1912),

and Kelly & Co., *Kelly’s Directory of Berkshire, Bucks and Oxon*, 1883, p. 660, which lists John as a “photographic artist”. He married Louisa in Guildford in 1878; in 1871 she was a governess.

16. Census Returns of England and Wales, 1891, RG12/1164, fol. 68, p. 16; RG12/1166, fol. 89, p. 51

17. J. G. Harrod & Co., *Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire* (Norwich, 1876), p. 302

18. Kelly & Co., *Kelly’s Directory of Berkshire, Bucks and Oxon*, 1895, Oxfordshire section p. 217.

In Smith, *Professional Photographers in Oxford*, “Miller, C.” is listed as a photographer in 1894, presumably Clara Miller (1830/1–1902), widow of photographer John George Miller (1814–1875). In the 1895 directory Clara was given as “naturalist”.

19. “Our Views”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 2, no. 52 (2 Oct 1885), pp. 401–405, p. 404

20. Regular reports of the Amateur Photographic Association appear in the *Photographic Journal*.

21. Hughes, “Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women”, p. 7

22. See Schaaf, “Biographical Dictionary of British Calotypists”, p. 322

Fig. 2.4 Frances Elizabeth Jocelyn, "Interior of Room", albumen print, c. 1865 (Prize Picture, Amateur Photographic Association Album)



and Lady Nevill and her two sisters, Henrietta Augusta, later Lloyd-Mostyn (1830–1912) and Isabel Mary Frances, later Blight (1831–1915).

Although endorsed as a pastime by the aristocracy and important as a source of employment for working class women, photography was slow to become fashionable with ladies of the middle classes. The reasons for its lack of popularity are likely to be more complex than simply its inconvenience during the era of the collodion wet plate and to include levels of disposable income, gendered patterns of spending and consumption in the home, and the social organization of photography. Nevertheless, the advent of gelatine dry plates, which were manufactured commercially in England from 1878, was an important catalyst in the rise of photography as a popular hobby. Photography's growth among the mass ranks of the middle class, men and women alike, was a phenomenon of the 1880s, epitomized by the inauguration of the journal *Amateur Photographer* on 10 October 1884. As the editor explained in the first number,

Photography has, within the past few years, become so popular with amateurs, that at the present time their number vastly exceeds that of professional photographers. Recruits of either sex—for here let us say, that ladies make excellent manipulators—are daily being added to the rank of those practising this pleasing and truly fascinating art, which is not to be wondered at when one remembers that some of the most successful photographs that have ever been taken are the work of amateurs.²³

Exactly how many ladies had started out by 1884 was more difficult to answer. "The number of ladies who have turned their attention to the use of the camera cannot as yet be even guessed at", the editor concluded.²⁴ Women certainly trailed

23. "Our Views", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 1, no. 1 (10 Oct 1884), pp. 3–5, p. 3

24. "Amateurs at the Photographic Exhibition / [First Notice]", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 1, no. 1 (10 Oct 1884), pp. 8–19, p. 9

First Ladies' Photographic Competition.	
PHOTOGRAPHS have been received from the following:—	
Mrs. Louisa Mary Wall.	
„ Marie B. Marriott.	
„ S. Francis Clarke.	
„ Margaret Cole.	
„ Louisa B. Turney.	
„ Brian Hodgson.	
„ Brockholes.	
„ Emily M. Jessop.	
Miss Claire Vaughan Davis.	
„ Annesley.	
„ Agnes Caroline Burns.	
„ Margaret Watson.	
„ Henrietta Beatson.	
„ Phillipson.	
„ Jane Cleland Burns.	
„ A. M. Williamson.	
„ Louisa A. H. Malcolm.	
„ M. J. Hands.	
„ Mary Alice Henderson.	
„ Dora Anderson.	
„ Madge L. Ibbetson.	
„ Ruth L. Ibbetson.	
„ Rose Wood.	
„ Clarissa Miles.	
„ James.	
„ Fanny N. Pownall.	
„ Beatrice M. Wilson.	
„ A. V. Abingdon Bayley.	
„ Mary B. Ward.	
„ E. Sybilla Bird.	
„ Emma Beecroft.	
„ Nellie Thornton.	
„ Ellen Graham Stone.	
„ Ellen Boyer Brown.	
Misses M. and F. Ward.	

Fig. 2.5 List of entrants in the *Amateur Photographer* first Ladies' Photographic Competition, 1890 (*Amateur Photographer*, 6 Jun 1890, p. 424)

behind men in their public involvement in the art, only featuring in exhibitions in small numbers before 1885. The date they became more visible can be pinned down relatively precisely to the years 1887 to 1890. In the *Amateur Photographer* 'Home Portraiture' competition in 1886, for example (see ch. 4), only one of the 75 entrants was a woman. In 1887 this number rose to seven out of 140 competitors, in 1889 to fifteen out of 113. Women also recorded their first solo success in the competition in 1889, third prize going to Susan Hodgson, née Townsend (1844–1912). Hodgson's achievement prompted *Amateur Photographer* to organize its first "Ladies' competition" in 1890 — an important milestone in women's photography.²⁵ The competition attracted 300 entries from 35 contestants (fig. 2.5). Responding to its success, in July 1890 the *Lady's Pictorial* published an article setting out the advantages of photography for women of the "leisured and cultured classes":

That the art of photography, raised as it is now by means of unceasing improvements and inventions in the apparatus, chemicals, and processes employed, far above the level of a mere mechanical science or skilful craft, should grow more and more popular with the leisured and cultured classes was a matter of course; but the spread of the practice amongst ladies is almost as surprising as it is gratifying. It is only during the past few years that the lady-amateur has been a familiar figure, yet of all the pleasant methods of passing time, not without profit as well as charm, photography is surely one of the first to commend itself to ladies, whose artistic instincts, keen perceptive powers, and delicate manipulation mark them out as peculiarly equipped for success in the art.²⁶

The judges of the Ladies' competition were the illustrator Edith Maud Susanna Scannell (1852–1940), the artist Constance Ida Verner (1851–1937), and the amateur

25. "The 'Amateur Photographer' Ladies' Photographic Competition", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 12, no. 300 (4 Jul 1890), pp. 7–16

26. The article is reproduced in the 4 July 1890 issue of *Amateur Photographer*, pp. 9–16; p. 9.



Fig. 2.6 Susan Hodgson, *Figure Study*, bromide print, c. 1889 (Ms. Hodgson 18/1, f. 51)



Fig. 2.7 Dora Anderson, "I once had a sweet little doll", half-tone, published 1890 (*Amateur Photographer*, 4 Jul 1890, p. 9)

photographer Eveleen Myers, née Tennant (1856–1937), who had come to public attention in 1889, when several of her portraits of celebrities were published by Mansell and Co. and Messrs. Spooner of the Strand.²⁷ Myers and her fellow judges awarded the gold medal in the competition to Elizabeth Dorothy ('Dora') Anderson (1848–1924), of Waverly Abbey, Farnham, for studies of children (fig. 2.7).²⁸ Dora had competed in the Home Portraiture competition in 1889, after exhibiting at the Photographic Society for the first time in 1887, when Hodgson also made her debut. They exhibited at the Society alongside four other women, one of whom, Ellen Anne Boyer Brown (1848–1973), was the headmistress of Miss Acland's old school, Mayfield.

Myers was the daughter of the landowner and politician Charles Tennant (1796–1873); Dora Anderson of Thomas Darnley Anderson (d. 1876), a merchant and former Mayor of Liverpool. Hodgson was married to the civil servant, naturalist and ethnographer Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894), while Ellen Boyer Brown was the great-granddaughter of a former headmaster of Christ's Hospital, James Boyer (1736–1814). They therefore continued to represent an affluent section of the population. Notable largely by their absence from both the exhibition and competitions, however, were the titled ladies, indicating the extent to which the social location of amateur photography had shifted by 1890, on the eve of Miss Acland's conversion to its cause.

27. "New Art Publications", *The Times*, no. 32923 (31 Jan 1890), p. 14b

28. "Our Views", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 11, no. 298 (20 Jun 1890), pp. 447–448, p. 447; "The 'Amateur Photographer' First Ladies' Photographic Competition", *Amateur Photographer*, p. 168.

As this survey suggests, Miss Acland turned to photography just as it was rising to the height of fashion as a pastime for middle-class women. At 42 she was a little older than many photographically-minded women, the average age of those who joined the Photographic Society in the nineteenth century being thirty-eight on their election (which probably occurred several years after they first took up photography). However, she was still younger than Julia Margaret Cameron, who had waited until she was 48 before securing her first photographic success. Miss Acland made up for any delay in taking up photography by the level to which she advanced in her hobby: in 1903 she would take a magnificent colour photograph of Colonel William Willoughby Cole Verner (1852–1922) (see ch. 6), a mere thirteen years after his sister Constance had judged the first Ladies' Competition.

Miss Acland's colour photography would require knowledge and skill possessed by few other photographers. The Kodak with which she started out, in contrast, was a relatively simple instrument and one that proved popular with women as a consequence. Launched by the Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company in 1888, the Kodak "brought within the pale of photographic influence many who, without it, would probably never have dreamed of entering its ranks".²⁹ Although preceded by other so-called 'hand cameras' or 'detective cameras', it was immediately recognized as the "most complete apparatus of the sort yet brought out" and was a huge commercial success: it "'struck oil' instantaneously", one wag remarked, in reference to the 'snap-shot' or 'instantaneous' genre made popular by the device.³⁰ The main selling point of the Kodak, promoted relentlessly in advertisements designed to appeal directly to women, was ease of use.³¹ Despite its high price of 5 guineas (£450 at 2012 values), which caused a minor scandal when the lens was discovered to cost only 3 pence to manufacture, a total of 15,000 units were sold in 1889.³² The term 'Kodak' rapidly became a word "in everybody's mouth", the verb 'to Kodak' (as Acland's comments in his letter to his daughter suggest) destined to "take its place in Nuttall as a convenient way to signify photographing instantaneously."³³ Miss Acland probably chose a Kodak rather than one of its competitors (the *Photography Annual for 1891* listed eighty similar models) not only due to its market-leading position but because of its reputation among discerning photographers: when seven new Kodak models were introduced in England in early 1890 even the conservative photographic press was forced to

29. Alex Lamson, "Press the Button", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 37, no. 1581 (22 Aug 1890), pp. 537–538, p. 537b

30. "The 'Kodak' (The Eastman Co.)", *Photography Annual*, 1891, pp. 292–295, p. 292; "A New Kodak", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 37, no. 1549 (10 Jan 1890), p. 21

31. See, for example, "Kodak Cameras / The Eastman Company" [Advertisement], *International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, vol. 3 (1890–91), advertisements section p. 140b.

32. See William H. Walker, "Letters to the Editor / 'Kodaks,' and the Lenses Used", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 11, no. 293 (16 May 1890), pp. 349–351, p. 350, and the ensuing correspondence.

33. Walter D. Welford, "A Camera Club for Torquay", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 37, no. 158 (5 Sep 1890) pp. 572–573, p. 572b; "Eastman Photographic Materials Company, Limited", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1661 (4 Mar 1892), pp. 155–156, p. 155. The reference was to P. Austin Nuttall's *Standard Dictionary of the English Language*.

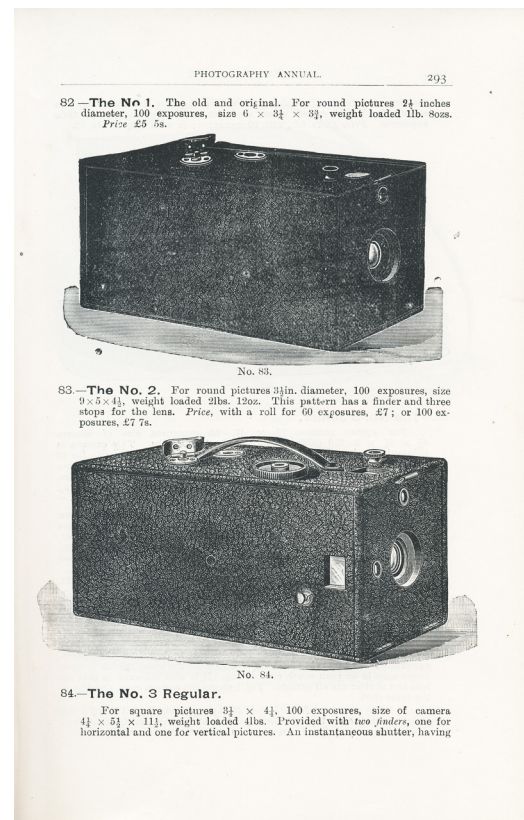


Fig. 2.8 Kodak No. 2 (top) and No. 3 Regular (bottom) (*Photography Annual*, 1891, p. 293)

admit that it had “passed beyond the toy stage, and has become a very serious and useful instrument of considerable value”.³⁴

Miss Acland’s prints from her Kodak are $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in size, indicating that they were taken with a “Kodak No. 3”, rather than the original Kodak (later renamed the Kodak No. 1), which took circular pictures.³⁵ Like the original, the No. 3 was a box-form device. Unlike its predecessor it took celluloid rather than paper roll film and had rotating stops, a shutter with different speed settings, rack and pinion focussing, a rapid rectilinear lens, and viewfinders for both horizontal and vertical pictures. Two versions were sold: the ‘Regular’, at £8 14s 6d (about £743 at 2012 values), and the ‘Junior’, at £8 7s 6d (about £713) (fig. 2.8). The Junior, which differed from the Regular in having a detachable back and a spool capable of holding film for 100 rather than 250 exposures, was probably the version Miss Acland owned.³⁶

The first photographs Miss Acland took with her Kodak survive only as albumen prints in her earliest album (fig. 2.9). Beechwood House, where she made the exposures, was the New Forest home of her friends Helena and Beatrice

34. “A New Kodak”, *British Journal of Photography*, p. 21

35. Whether Miss Acland’s Kodak is among her camera equipment that Harry Minn bequeathed to the Museum of the History of Science in 1961 is uncertain, but it may be Inventory no. 86558.

36. In the Regular model the short edge of the frame was parallel to the edge of the film, in the Junior the long edge: the film spool for the former was $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, the latter $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Miss Acland’s negatives appear to have been cut between the short sides: the short edge is visible, for example, in Ms. Photogr. b. 36, fols. 208 and 213 (and is less than straight).



Fig. 2.9 The opening page of Miss Acland's earliest album, showing the first photographs she ever took, in July 1891. (Ms. Photogr. c. 176, p. 1)

Heathcote.³⁷ Among her early successes are views of haymaking in the grounds of the house (cat. no. 2); *H. M. H. Beetle-hunting* (cat. no. 6); and *Pickle*, the Heathcote's dog, pictured from the low vantage point made possible by the use of a hand camera (cat. no. 5). After leaving Beechwood shortly before 22 July she continued her trials at Killerton, snapping deer-driving in the park (cat. no. 17–23) and making portraits of her father and uncle that are unusual in depicting them walking away from the camera (cat. nos. 27 & 35) (figs. 2.10 & 2.11). In August she visited Abbotsbury in Dorset, obtaining special permission from Henry Edward Fox-Strangways, 5th Earl of Ilchester (1847–1905), to take photographs in the swannery (cat. nos. 46–60). After returning home she sent the Earl copies of the prints, thus beginning a long-standing practice of circulating her work among her correspondents (see ch. 3).³⁸ Her photography was then put on hold until the good light returned in April 1892, when she took forty-eight photographs in and around Torquay in Devon, having decamped there earlier in the winter for the benefit of the climate on her health.³⁹ Subjects that caught her attention include *Anstis Cove* [Anstey's Cove] (cat. nos. 94–100), which is notable as the location of a Pre-Raphaelite landscape by John William Inchbold (1830–1888) and as the subject of one of her earliest colour

37. The Heathcotes had moved to the relatively-modest Beechwood House from the grandeur of Hursley, near Winchester, on the death of their father, Sir William Heathcote.

38. Ms. Acland d. 173, fol. 3 (Ilchester to SAA, 14 Nov 1891)

39. "Torquay" [Arrivals], *Observer*, no. 5251 (10 Jan 1892), p. 6b



Fig. 2.10 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Sir W. H. Acland / Aged 76", albumen print, Jul 1891 (cat. no. 35)



Fig. 2.11 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Rt. Hon. Sir T. D. Acland, Aged 82, Killerton", albumen print, Jul 1891 (cat. no. 25)

photographs (cat. no. 779) (see ch. 6).⁴⁰ Back in Oxford in early summer she made a further forty-two exposures, in Iffley, Abingdon, and at Encænna (cat. nos. 135 & 167–78). In July she took her camera to Wycombe Court, Willie's rented house near High Wycombe, exploring its full potential for instantaneous photography (cat. nos. 179–92) (fig. 2.12). Another gap then appears in her photography with her Kodak for almost a year, until a series of nineteen photographs taken at Encænna in 1893 and on the day of the Duke of York's wedding (cat. nos. 224–9 & 232–43).

Despite the superiority of large format photography, to which she would soon turn, Miss Acland remained an advocate of hand camera work throughout her life. When she was invited to lecture on portraiture at the Oxford Camera Club in February 1899, for example, she advised that

there were many good cheap cameras and lenses, but, of course, a studio camera and good portrait lens were the best of all. Good work could, however, be done with even the cheap—might she call them—toys.⁴¹

One of the photographs she exhibited as proof of this statement was a portrait of her confidant Isambard Brunel (1837–1902), seated in the garden at Broad Street (fig. 2.13). She described Brunel (who was the son of the great engineer) as having been photographed "with a pocket Kodak", while a portrait of her friend Adelaide

40. The painting is reproduced on the cover of Allen Stanley and Christopher Newall, *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature* (Exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 2004).

41. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 1 (Apr 1899), pp. 3–5, p. 5a



Fig. 2.12 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Musical Balls", albumen print, Sep 1893 (cat. no. 292). A suitable subject for 'instantaneous' photography.

Barnett (1878–?1947) was attributed to "an ordinary little hand camera".⁴² Whether she was referring to her Kodak No. 3 in either case is unclear. The 'Pocket Kodak', properly so called, had been introduced by Eastman in April 1895. In a letter of 15 April 1896 her father mentioned an "Easter Kodak", suggesting she had recently made a new purchase.⁴³ However many Kodaks she already owned, in the 1900s she would add a Newman & Guardia 'Sibyl' hand camera to her collection, which took $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inch plates.⁴⁴

Although some photographers were inclined to look down on Kodak users, as the editor of the *Photography Annual* pointed out,

they surely forget that a taste of the art must naturally follow, and with it appreciation for the work of others. Besides, who can tell how many of these people became amateur photographers later on, for which accomplished fact the "Kodak" claims the credit.⁴⁵

Few photographers offer better proof of this argument than Miss Acland. The exact date she graduated to a Watson half-plate camera is unrecorded, but was certainly within a year of her first photography.⁴⁶ The earliest dated print from a half-plate negative in her albums was taken on 6 June 1892 and depicts a bust of Aphrodite (cat. no. 127) (fig. 2.14). However, several undated half-plate portraits of her father, one of which she described in 1899 as the "first portrait she ever took", may be slightly earlier (cat. nos. 116–9) (fig. 2.15).⁴⁷ In describing her portrait of Gladstone (cat. no. 214), taken on 25 October 1892, she claimed she had "only had

42. Ibid.

43. Ms. Acland d. 134, fols. 92–93 (HWA to SAA, 15 Apr 1896); Ibid., fols. 116–117 (HWA to SAA, 24 Apr 1896). Miss Acland's 'Easter Kodak' has not been identified. At only 2×1.5 inches in size, the negatives produced by the Pocket Kodak were smaller than the 2.8×2.1 and 2.6×1.7 inches of the images of Brunel and Miss Barnett as printed for the lantern slides.

44. "The 'Sibyl' Pocket Camera", *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1906, p. 875

45. "The 'Kodak' (The Eastman Co.)", *Photography Annual*, p. 292

46. Miss Acland's Acme camera, serial no. 11427, survives as MHS Inventory no. 58312.

47. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 1 (Apr 1899), pp. 3–5, p. 4a

Fig. 2.13 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Mr. Brunel, Kodak", lantern slide, May 1892 ? (cat. no. 123). What model of Kodak Miss Acland used to take this portrait is unclear: the image on the slide is smaller than a quarter-plate negative from her Kodak No. 3, but larger than the negatives produced by a Pocket Kodak.



a camera five months", which, assuming this was a reference to her Acme, places its purchase in May 1892.⁴⁸

The Acme had been introduced in early 1889 as a "Tourists' Camera".⁴⁹ A "marvel of ingenuity and compactness", according to William Thomson, Archbishop of York (who was quoted in Watson's advertisements), it was available in mahogany or aluminium alloy, and could be folded down to a compact box, $8 \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ inches in size, weighing only three pounds (fig. 2.16).⁵⁰ W. Watson & Sons advertised as suppliers of the "highest class Photographic Instruments and Apparatus", a claim that was entirely justified according to the *Photography Annual*, which described the Acme as "in the front rank of camera construction" and "away ahead of anything we have yet seen".⁵¹ The camera was regarded as particularly suitable for women who wanted to advance beyond the level of the snapshot. In an inaugural series of articles on "Photography for Ladies" in the *Queen* in 1892, for example, it was the Acme that was recommended:

Few ladies will care to be burdened with a heavy kit, so that the larger sizes are out of the question. The quarter-plate ($4\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.) will scarcely give satisfactory pictures, save for lantern work; the whole plate ($8\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.) will be rather heavy; so that most will find the half-plate ($6\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $4\frac{3}{4}$ in.) the happy mean—with this, of course, any smaller-sized picture can be taken when desired. If cost is no consideration, one of Watson's Acme cameras with stand, and three double dark slides, carrying plates for six pictures, may be bought for about 10 guineas—this combines lightness with steadiness and strength in a high degree; but very well-made cameras may be had for about half this sum.⁵²

48. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 5b

49. "Watson's Acme Camera", *English Mechanic and World of Science*, vol. 49, no. 1249 (1 Mar 1889), pp. 2–3, p. 2.

50. "Watson's 'Acme' Cameras" [Advertisement], *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1891, p. 879

51. "W. Watson & Sons" [Price list], *Photography Annual*, 1891, pp. xxxvii–xliv, p. xxxvii; "The 'Acme' W. Watson & Sons", *Photography Annual*, 1891, pp. 280–281, p. 281

52. "The Work Table / Photography For Ladies", *Queen*, vol. 92, no. 2388 (1 Oct 1892), p. 568



Fig. 2.14 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Aphrodite*", albumen print, 6 Jun 1892 (cat. no. 127)

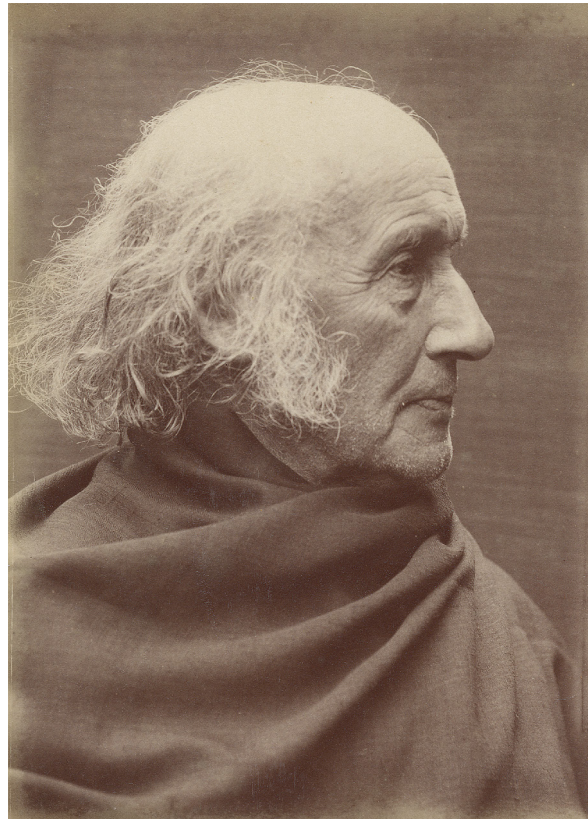


Fig. 2.15 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Sir Henry Acland Bart. K.C.B.*", albumen print, ?May 1892 (cat. no. 116)

Complete with Rapid Rectilinear lens and iris diaphragm, three double dark slides, tripod stand, and "Solid Leather Travelling Case" (all of which Miss Acland owned), the Acme sold for £17 9s (£1,470 at 2012 values). The expense was considerable even for someone of Miss Acland's means. Throughout her photography she grappled with her conscience over whether such expenditure was justified. In thanking Willie for a gift of money in December 1893, for example, she weighed up its cost against her responsibilities to her friends among the poor:

I am going to give 1£ each to Mrs Preston & Mrs Barney from you & keep the rest for the present spending it on my photography if the poor people seem getting on better. I am very glad for any help for my photography as it is a real recreation & amusement to me & yet it costs a good deal so that I sometimes wonder if I ought to give it up. Theodore gave me 5£ for it last year & now some of your money will be a great help thank you very much once more.⁵³

When she did invest in equipment she was careful to look after it well, putting her needlework skills to use by making velvet bags for her lenses, for example, daintily finished with ribbon ties and coloured edging.

Compared to her Kodak Miss Acland's Acme was a complex instrument, requiring mastery of a range of new skills, such as the use of a rising front, the

53. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 274–277 (SAA to WADA, 29 Dec 1893)



Fig. 2.17 Sarah Angelina Acland, “Divinity School, Oxford”, albumen print, c. 6 Jun 1892 (cat. no. 128)

Architecture and Landscape

Although portraiture would be Miss Acland’s first love (see ch. 3), she also explored a range of other genres. Architecture provided her with early successes, such as her photograph of the interior of the Divinity School (the oldest University building), which she presumably chose as a subject partly because of its large areas of clear glass, which allowed a relatively short exposure: 3½ minutes at $f/32$ (cat. no. 128) (fig. 2.17). Other architectural subjects that drew her attention in Oxford included Nixon’s School, which the *Builder* described in 1892 as “a picturesque, but now sadly dilapidated building” (cat. nos. 189–9) (fig. 2.18) and Nos. 31 and 32 Broad Street during their demolition to make way for an extension to the Indian Institute (cat. nos. 150–1) (fig. 2.19).⁵⁸ The pictorial quality of a number of her architectural studies is enhanced by the inclusion of figures in the composition, a strategy she also adopted for *Newman’s Stile* (cat. no. 166), a figure study in which Eleanor Dorothea Edwards (1848–1903), her companion of sorts in 1892 and 1893, is seen leaning on a gate on the old Abingdon Road, contemplating the panorama of Oxford spires (cat. no. 166) (fig. 2.21).⁵⁹

58. “On Old Oxford Building”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, no. 7260 (14 May 1892), p. 8g, citing the *Builder*. The building was knocked down in June 1893. A framed watercolour of the School in a similar state of dilapidation is seen hanging above Miss Acland’s bed in cat. no. 690 and was exhibited at the Oxford Art Society exhibition in 1893. It survives as Ms. Top. gen. a. 22, fol. 24.

59. The title refers to a passage from *Loss and Gain* in which Newman describes the view “hallowed by how many tender associations, lost to him for two whole years, suddenly recovered — recovered to be lost for ever!” (*Loss and Gain* (London, 1848), pp. 314–316).



Fig. 2.18 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Nixon's School*", gelatine negative (reversed), ?Sep 1892 (cat. no. 199)

Whether by accident or design, landscape subjects were rare in the first year of Miss Acland's large-format photography. This would change in August and September 1893 during the holiday she took in the Lake District to visit Ruskin (see ch. 3). On her first morning in the Lakes she photographed the view from Low Wood Hotel over Windermere, 'accidentally' using an exposure of $f/32$ and 1 second (cat. no. 244). Two days later, at Neaum Crag, Loughrigg, the home of Albert Fleming (1846–1923), Ruskin's "Master of the Rural Industries", she turned her camera towards Langdale Pikes, placing her father in the composition (cat. no. 251) (see fig. 5.32).⁶⁰ At Fawe Park, a large country house on the Derwentwater rented for the summer by Richard Douglas Powell, she became more adventurous in the pursuit of a good picture, stepping onto the roof to procure *Cat Bells from the Leads* (cat. no. 278) and braving a gondola to Rampsholme Island to photograph Borrowdale and Great End (cat. no. 282) (see figs. 5.8 & 5.9).

Miss Acland was able to lessen the weight of her camera equipment whilst touring by using film negatives rather than glass plates. Celluloid was a relatively new photographic medium, having been introduced commercially in 1888 by John Carbutt (1832–1905).⁶¹ "Carbutt Eclipse film" was one of the brands she carried, along with 'England Ordinary' and 'Edwards Isochromatic' films. At home she

60. Fleming was responsible for reviving hand spinning at Neaum Crag; see Elizabeth Prickett, "Langdale Linen and Ruskin Lace: Brief History of Ruskin Lace", *Ruskin Museum, Coniston, Cumbria* ([www.ruskinmuseum.com/lace.htm], n.d.).

61. See "Carbutt's Celluloid Films Coated with Emulsion", *Photographic News*, vol. 32, no. 1577 (23 Nov 1888), p. 737.



Fig. 2.19 (top) Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Broad St. from our front door*", albumen print, c. 27 Jun 1892 (cat. no. 144). Graffiti can be seen scratched in the whitewash on the windows of the soon-to-be-demolished shops.

Fig. 2.20 (bottom) Sarah Angelina Acland, "*The Latin Chapel*" (*Christ Church Cathedral*), gelatine negative (reversed), Aug or Sep 1899 (cat. no. 596)



Fig. 2.21 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Newman's Style, Bagley Hill*", gelatine negative (reversed), 23 Jul 1892 (cat. no. 166)



Fig. 2.22 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Fishing Boat and Nets on the Playa de Getares (Algeciras, Spain)*, gelatine negative (reversed), May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 715)



Fig. 2.23 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Sunset in the Bay" (Bay of Gibraltar from the Rock, looking west towards Algeciras and the Punta Carnero), gelatine negative with additions in ink on paper (reversed), May 1904 (cat. no. 716)

experimented with a host of different makes of plate, before becoming loyal to the products of Cadett & Neall (see ch. 5). Even with rapid plates, such as the 'Barnet Extra Rapid' and 'Paget XXXXX' (so named because it was five times the speed of a wet collodion plate), her exposure times were long: seconds when made outdoors in bright summer sunlight and up to 40 minutes for interior work. Her preference was for small stops and slow shutter speeds. However, exposures of less than a second were useful when there was motion in the scene, such as in *Gondola on Derwentwater* (cat. no. 281), for which she made use of a Thornton-Pickard roller-blind shutter, set at $\frac{1}{2}$ second.

Only three of the albums Miss Acland assembled during her active period of photography (before 1915) come down to us. In the first volume the prints are arranged broadly chronologically from July 1891 to October 1892, in the second from June 1893 to July 1894 (with a few additions *circa* 1896).⁶² The third album is devoted to the best of her portraits taken before September 1896, and was assembled retrospectively, presumably in late 1896 or early 1897.⁶³ In assessing the nature of her photography after this date it is necessary to rely mainly on her surviving half-plate glass negatives, 366 of which survive in the Bodleian Library (see the *Catalogue Raisonné*) (all her small format film negatives have been lost or destroyed). Other photographs are occasionally mentioned in documentary sources, such as her letters and the manuscript minutes and printed *Proceedings* of the Oxford Camera Club. Miss Acland usually did well in the Camera Club's

62. Ms. Photogr. c. 176 and Ms. Photogr. c. 177

63. Ms. Minn 226

exhibitions (see ch. 3), and not just in portraiture. In the 1895, for example, she was commended for three prints in the landscapes class and one in the seascapes class.⁶⁴ The 1896 exhibition saw her triumph in the ½-plate and under landscapes class with *Summer Evening in Suffolk* (lost), which was described as “a clever bit of work”, while her architectural views of Ipswich (also lost) were admired for their “artistic qualities”.⁶⁵ As she became more ambitious in photography, landscapes and seascapes offered opportunities for experimenting with new techniques. In 1903 or 1904, using Willie’s whole-plate camera, lent to her in late 1897 or early 1898, she ventured into the realm of advanced pictorial photography with a photograph of Gibraltar Bay, adding dramatic effect by painting in a sky on a translucent paper overlay (cat. no. 716) (fig. 2.23).⁶⁶ *Sunset in the Bay*, which is probably this photograph, was awarded second prize in the 1905 Camera Club exhibition by the leading advocate of pictorial photography, Henry Snowden Ward (1865–1911).⁶⁷

Artistic Ideals and Interiors

A characteristic of Miss Acland’s early photography that stands out to the modern viewer is the large number of photographs depicting domestic interiors. Beginning with her Kodak in 1892, Miss Acland took numerous photographs of interiors (largely empty of occupants), not only in her own houses (in colour as well as monochrome), but in those of family and friends. In Torquay in April 1892, for example, she made eight exposures in three different properties: Florence Villa, 9 Higher Terrace, and ‘Sparnon’. Florence Villa, where she stayed for part of the time, had a relatively plain but elegant interior (cat. nos. 61–65) (fig. 2.24). Sparnon Villa, the home of Frances Mary Peard and her mother Frances Cooke Peard, née Ellicombe (1805–1895), was simply furnished in arts and crafts style with wicker chairs, abundant floral fabrics and a Gothic revival fireplace inscribed “The End Tries All” (cat. nos. 101–106). Higher Terrace was rented by James Usher Huxley (1834–1917), her doctor in Torquay and husband of her friend Margaret Anne Huxley, née Brodie (1850–1944), who was photographed by Dodgson as a child. Its Queen Anne drawing room was decorated with Huxley’s collection of fine china (cat. nos. 78–85) (fig. 2.25).⁶⁸

Later in 1892, during a brief visit to Willie, Miss Acland photographed the drawing room at Wycombe Court, a house that seemed to defy classification,

64. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 624 (Minutes of the Oxford Camera Club, 16 Apr 1894 to 24 Jan 1898), fols. 36–37

65. “Oxford Camera Club”, *Oxford Times*, no. 1786 (21 Nov 1896), p. 7e

66. In January 1919 Miss Acland mentioned having Willie’s whole-plate camera “on about a 20 year loan” (Ms. Acland d. 113, fols. 148–151 (SAA to WADA, 31 Jan 1919)). In her Home Portraiture lecture she claimed the first whole-plate negative she ever took was a portrait of her father, but she did not give its date and it is not datable with any certainty (“Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 4b). What make of camera it was is also unknown.

67. “The Annual Exhibition”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 12 (Apr 1906), pp. 112–114, p. 112a

68. Huxley’s china collection was mentioned in his “Obituary” [James Usher Huxley], *British Medical Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2951 (21 Jul 1917), p. 101.



Fig. 2.24 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Drawing-room, Florence Villa" (Torquay), albumen print, Apr 1892 (cat. no. 64)



Fig. 2.25 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Drawing-room at 9 Higher Terrace" (Torquay), albumen print, Apr 1892 (cat. no. 80)

Kelly's *Directory* calling it "Mediaeval style", the *Victoria County History* preferring the term "oriental" (cat. nos. 183–7).⁶⁹ In 1894 she returned to Beechwood House with her half-plate camera, making 9-minute exposures in the drawing and dining rooms, which were decorated with fine portraits transferred from the Heathcote's former home, Hursley House near Winchester (cat. nos. 330–1) (figs. 2.26 & 2.27).

Interiors of palaces and historic houses had featured in exhibitions of photography from the earliest days. Domestic interiors of middle-class homes, in contrast, only became popular in the late 1870s and 1880s. Early exhibitors of such work at the Photographic Society included William Adcock (1821–1890), a brewer from Melton Mowbray, who showed *My Morning Room* and *My Dining Room* in 1880, and the professional photographer Henry Bedford Lemere (1865–1944), who exhibited *A Drawing Room, Chiswick* in 1883, and numerous other interiors of houses built by his clients (fig. 2.28).⁷⁰

Although not exclusive to women, interior photography would become characteristic of their work and was a genre in which many notable women photographers first established their reputations. In 1889, for example, the

69. Kelly & Co., *Kelly's Directory of Buckinghamshire*, 1883, p. 347; "Parishes: Great Marlow", William Page (ed.), *The History of the County of Buckingham* (Victoria County History, 4 vols, London, 1905–28), vol. 3 (1925), pp. 65–77

70. On Bedford Lemere, see Robert Elwall, "Lemere, (Henry) Bedford (1865–1944)", *Oxford DNB*; Robert Elwall, *Photography Takes Command: The Camera and British Architecture, 1890–1939* (Royal Institute of British Architects, [London, 1994]), ch 2; and Nicholas Cooper, *The Photography of Bedford Lemere & Co.* (Swindon, 2011).



Fig. 2.26 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Drawing room, Beechwood*", albumen print, 19 Jul 1894 (cat. no. 330)

Fig. 2.27 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Dining room, Beechwood*", albumen print, 19 Jul 1894 (cat. no. 331)



Fig. 2.28 Messrs. Bedford Lemere & Co., "A Drawing-room at Hampstead. Mr. Norman Shaw, Architect", half-tone, published 1896 (*Studio*, Mar 1896, p. 102)

photographic journalist Catharine Weed Ward, née Barnes (1851–1913) made her inaugural contribution to *American Amateur Photographer* with an article on "The Study of Interiors".⁷¹ "Not being subject to many of the disadvantages of landscape work," she wrote, "interiors make especially suitable work for ladies".⁷² The article drew on her success in the 1889 Philadelphia Exhibition, where one critic felt she deserved a special prize for her interiors, commenting at the same time that such work "should be a subject of special interest to ladies, as they may perpetuate the many different arrangements of furniture, paintings, wall-paper, etc., which in the course of time are sure to occur, forming a valuable record to refer to."⁷³ In 1890, in a paper on "Photography from a Woman's Standpoint", Ward gave her own reasons for being drawn to the genre:

Speaking from a woman's standpoint, I must confess that landscape work is not ordinarily pleasant, especially in cities, where the ubiquitous small boy predominates, and seems to rise from the earth at the sight of a camera. This and other annoyances do not apply to interiors which, though difficult work, are exceedingly satisfactory when well done, and which make peculiarly suitable work for ladies who possess the requisite taste and patience.⁷⁴

In her subsequent career as a writer Ward continued to recommend interior photography to other women. "Hardly any woman is without interest in her home surroundings, and views of them in all possible changes are of value to her", she

71. Catherine Weed Ward, "The Study of Interiors", *American Amateur Photographer*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Sep 1889), pp. 91–93, p. 93

72. Ibid.

73. F. C. B., "Notes on the Philadelphia Exhibition", *American Amateur Photographer*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Sep 1890), pp. 107–112, p. 108

74. Catherine Weed Barnes, "Photography from a Woman's Standpoint [Read before the Society of Amateur Photographers of New York, December 10, 1889]", *American Amateur Photographer*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan 1890), pp. 10–13, p. 11



Figs. 2.29 & 2.30 Catharine Weed Ward, "An Interior"; "The same room, a better position", half-tones, published 1906 (*Photogram*, Sep 1906, p. 267)

argued in her column on "Woman in Photography" in the *Photogram* in 1906, demonstrating her point with examples (figs. 2.29. & 2.30).⁷⁵

The popularity of interiors with British women is apparent from the photographic competitions organized by that esteemed organ of the decorative arts, the *Studio*. Of the 165 competitions held in the magazine between September 1894 and December 1908, women's greatest success came in the "Interior of a Living Room" competition held in February 1899.⁷⁶ Six of the eight winners were women, among them the well-known names of Agnes Beatrice Warburg (1872–1953) and Minna Keene, née Bergman, Mrs Caleb Keene (1861–1943).⁷⁷ The number of female winners exceeded men in only five other competitions, one of which, in January 1896, was also "A Living-room Interior" (fig. 2.31) (the others were for gardens, cats and children).⁷⁸ For the women of rank who entered these competitions, such as Emily Augusta Louisa De Grey (1852–1912), wife of the Honourable Alfred Talbot (1848–1913), youngest son of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the elegant rooms of their handsome homes formed a natural outlet for their artistic hobby. For others, such as the 'Photographic Artist' Constance Weaver Arding (1852–1923), who exhibited nine interiors at the Photographic Society in 1893 and six in 1894, they were the first steps to employment as professional photographers.

Interiors have only recently begun to attract the attention of photographic historians, but are an important manifestation of the operation in photography

75. Catherine Weed Ward, "Woman in Photography", *Photogram*, vol. 13, no. 158 (Sep 1906), pp. 268–269, p. 268

76. "Awards in 'The Studio' Prize Competitions / Interior of a Living Room", *Studio*, vol. 16, no. 71 (Feb 1899), p. 73

77. On Keene, see Andrew Rodger, "Minna Keene, F.R.P.S.", *Archivist*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Jan–Feb 1987), pp 12–13.

78. In January 1896, 11 out of 19, or 58% of winners were women ("A Living-room Interior", *Studio*, vol. 6, no. 34 (Jan 1896), pp. 230–264). The other figures are as follows: "An Artistic Garden" (Dec 1895), 10 out of 16 (63%); "Tree or Shrub" (Jun 1898), 5 out of 9 (56%); "Study of a Cat" (May 1898), 7 out of 13 (54%); and "Portrait Study of a Child" (Feb 1896), 13 out of 25 (52%).



Fig. 2.31 Prize winners in the 1896 "A Living-room Interior" photographic competition in the *Studio* (Jan 1896, pp. 262 & 265)

of social, cultural and artistic forces influential in other areas of Victorian life.⁷⁹ Women's love of interior photography rested on two pervasive nineteenth-century cultural phenomena that have received detailed attention in the wider literature: the 'domestic ideal', which underpinned the fabric of Victorian society, and its artistic offshoot, the 'renaissance of art in the home'.⁸⁰ The domestic ideal raised the private space of the home to the status of a moral imperative of quasi-religious proportions. Its origins have been traced to the teachings of the Evangelical reformers of the 1780s and 1790s, but there was no greater champion of the idea in the mid-century than Miss Acland's mentor on artistic matters, Ruskin.⁸¹ In *Sesame and Lilies* Ruskin provided its definitive statement:

This is the true nature of home: it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from

79. For a recent study of the mimetic functions of interior photography, see Sarah Anne Carter, "Picturing Rooms: Interior Photography 1870–1900", *History of Photography*, vol. 34, no. 3 (Aug 2010), pp. 251–267. Carter examines photographs of the college rooms of James Atkins Noyes (1857–1945). Noyes' father-in-law Justin Winsor (1831–1897), Librarian of Harvard, regularly visited the Aclands; his daughter Penelope Barker Noyes was a close friend of Miss Acland.

80. On the domestic ideal, see, for example, Martha Vicinus, "Introduction: The Perfect Victorian Lady", in Martha Vicinus (ed.), *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1973), pp. vii–xv; Gleadly, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*; and Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History", *Historical Journal*, vol. 36, no. 2 (Jun 1993), pp. 383–414. On the house beautiful see Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and their Possessions* (New Haven and London, 2006), esp. ch. 3; Martha Crabill McLaugherty, "Household Art: Creating the Artistic Home, 1868–1893", *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 18, no. 1, (Spring 1983), pp. 1–26; and Charlotte Gere with Lesley Hoskins, *The House Beautiful: Oscar Wilde and the Aesthetic Interior* (Aldershot, 2000).

81. See Catherine Hall, "The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology", in Sandra Burman (ed.), *Fit Women for Work* (London, [1979]), pp. 15–32.

all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division. In so far as it is not this, it is not home; ... But so far as it is a sacred place, a vestal temple, a temple of the hearth watched over by Household Gods, before whose faces none may come but those whom they can receive with love,—so far as it is this, and roof and fire are types only of a nobler shade and light,—shade as of the rock in a weary land, and light as of the Pharos in the stormy sea;—so far it vindicates the name, and fulfils the praise, of Home.⁸²

The antithesis of hearth and home was the outside world: the public sphere of work, industry and government, which was associated by Ruskin, William Morris (1834–1896) and their followers with ugliness, pollution and the corrupting forces of materialism. With the dichotomy between private and public went assumptions about the unequal nature of the sexes and the proper role of women in society.⁸³ As Lucy Soulsby (1856–1927), headmistress of the Oxford High School for Girls, reminded her pupils in 1888, the primary purpose of their education was to make them “fit for home”.⁸⁴ The ideal woman, in the title of Coventry Patmore’s 1854 poem, was the “Angel in the House”: a seraphic minister of kindness and devotion, providing love and sympathy, care and comfort, to her husband and children.

Although the relevance of the domestic ideal for upper-middle-class women has been questioned, including via the example of Miss Acland’s close friend Catharine (‘Katie’) Paget (1846–1937) (daughter of James Paget), in the Acland house it reigned supreme.⁸⁵ The Acland family had close links to promoters of the ideal even before Ruskin: Hannah More (1745–1833), one of its early advocates, was a friend of Sir Thomas Acland.⁸⁶ However, it was Ruskin who introduced Patmore’s writings to Broad Street, in 1854 informing Acland of his intention to

send you also a ~~post office order~~ stamps for the price of a book called the ‘Angel in the house’, which I want you to order from your London Bookseller — it is the book of which I read a bit which Mrs Acland to my great annoyance did not like. I want you to order it, partly because it is rather too good a jest for me to order it — partly because I want it to have the credit of being ordered by you — If you don’t like it on better acquaintance, give it away to any body who will read it. If you like it, keep it, taking care not to say who gave it you.⁸⁷

Despite Mrs Acland’s dislike of the *Angel in the House*, the message it promoted lived long in her home, not least in her own image. After her death her own angelic devotion to those around her was portrayed as one of her leading qualities. “She deeply sympathised with her husband’s aims and her husband’s pursuits”, no lesser moral authority than Richard William Church (1815–1890), Dean of St

82. John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies: Two Lectures Delivered at Manchester in 1864* (London, 1865), lecture 2, “Lilies / Of Queens’ Gardens”, §68, p. 91

83. For the expectations placed on women, see Janet Howarth, “Gender, Domesticity, and Sexual Politics”, in Colin Matthew (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century: The British Isles, 1815–1901* (Oxford, 2000), ch. 4, pp. 162–193.

84. Lucy H. M. Soulsby, *The Virtuous Woman ... A Farewell Bible Lesson to Girls on Leaving School* (London, 1888), p. 7

85. See M. Jeanne Peterson, “No Angels in the House: The Victorian Myth and the Paget Women”, *American Historical Review*, vol. 89, no. 3 (Jun 1984), pp. 677–708.

86. See William Roberts (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of Mrs Hannah More* (4 vols, London, 1934), *passim*.

87. Ms. Acland d. 72, fols. 67 (Ruskin to HWA, “Monday” [1854])

Paul's Cathedral, wrote in *The Guardian*.⁸⁸ Sixteen years later Miss Acland herself contributed to the promotion of this image of her mother through her anonymously authored *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Sarah Acland* (London, 1894). Offering a panegyric not so much of an individual as the feminine ideal, she described her mother as having lived "a holy life spent in the service of love", her guiding principle "the entire abnegation of self".⁸⁹

The renaissance of art in the home developed at a later date than the domestic ideal but was its principal artistic offshoot. Part of the 'aesthetic movement', in the broadest sense of the term, the concept of the 'house beautiful' rested on the belief that the middle-class home could, and should, be a work of art in its own right.⁹⁰ The history of the idea is conventionally traced through the written word, rather than the visual evidence of photographs, with *Hints on Household Taste* by Charles Locke Eastlake (1833–1906), published in 1868, cited as the prototype of a genre that aimed to advance artistic standards by offering advice on the principles of home decoration. The genre reached its height between 1877 and 1883 with *A Plea for Art in the House* (London, 1876) by William John Loftie (1839–1911) and other titles in Macmillan's *Art at Home* series. Women writers were important contributors to this series, Rhoda Garrett (1841–1882) and Agnes Garrett (1845–1935) providing *Suggestions for House Decoration* (London, 1876), Mary Anne Barker (1831–1911) *The Bedroom and the Boudoir* (London, 1878), Martha Jane Loftie (1839/40–1914) *The Dining-room* (London, 1878), and Lucy Orrinsmith (1839/40–1910) *The Drawing-room, Its Decorations and Furniture* (London, 1878). Several periodicals also took up the cause, the most notable of which was the *Magazine of Art*, founded in 1878, in which photographs of artistic interiors featured prominently. In 1881 the broad nature of the movement, encompassing not only the art of the house but everything creative within it, was epitomized by the change of title of the *Artist* to the *Artist and Journal of Home Culture*.

For Ruskin, Acland and Loftie (who was a clergyman) the artistic home served a moral function. For other writers, such as Walter Pater (1839–1894) and Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), the cult of the beautiful needed no more justification than "the love of art for art's sake".⁹¹ Between these two extremes artists and critics such as Lucy Crane (1842–1882) and Lady Dilke forged a middle way. What all

88. "Mrs. Henry Acland: In Memoriam", *The Guardian* [Anglican newspaper] (6 Nov 1878), offprint in Ms. Acland d. 100, fols. 77–78, fol. 77v

89. Brunel (ed.), *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Sarah Acland*, p. vii, p. 107

90. The phrase "aesthetic movement" was in use in the 1880s to refer not only to the philosophy of aestheticism, the aesthetes and "art for art's sake" but "what might be more correctly styled, a Renaissance of mediaeval Art and Culture", which included the contributions of the Pre-Raphaelites and Ruskin: see Walter Hamilton, *The Aesthetic Movement in England* (London, 1882), p. iii. In Hamilton's view "the essence of the movement is the union of persons of cultivated tastes to define, and to decide upon, what is to be admired, and their followers must aspire to that standard in their works and lives" (Ibid., p. vii). The taste of Wilde and other aesthetic 'poseurs' was considered but the extreme expression of this tendency. See also Ruth Z. Temple, "Truth in labelling [sic]: Pre-Raphaelitism, Aestheticism, Decadence, Fin de Siecle", *English Literature in Transition*, vol. 17, no. 4 (1974), pp. 218–219.

91. Walter H. Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (London, 1873), p. 213. "Mr. Ruskin laid great stress on the ethical side of art, declared that it was extremely immoral for people to have anything of the kind—that it really put the master of the house in the position of telling a falsehood to everyone who came to see him. He (Mr. Wilde) was not sure that he took exactly such an ethical view. The morality of art was merely beauty—its immorality, ugliness" ("The

shared, however, was a belief in the concept of 'taste': the instinctive (rather than intellectual) faculty of the human mind to recognize and appreciate beauty and excellence in art, which by observation, experience and "right guidance" (to use Ruskin's phrase) could and should be cultivated by all individuals and expressed by them in their everyday surroundings.⁹² In his chapter on "Taste" in *Every-day Art* (London, 1882) Lewis Foreman Day (1845–1910) argued that artistic decoration "stands or falls" upon taste:

liking is one thing, and taste quite another. One may heartily dislike a work of art, and yet acknowledge that it is good; and the faculty that enables us to realise that fact is taste.⁹³

The concept of taste is significant because it was a domestic measure of artistic worth, vested in the home, of which women were the primary arbiters. The ability to discriminate between good and bad design in the familiar objects of domestic life was a faculty most educated people, "women especially", were capable of exercising, Eastlake argued, for example, while Christopher Dresser (1834–1904), in *Principles of Decorative Design* (London, 1873), pointed out that it was common knowledge that "women have better taste than men".⁹⁴

Although its philosophical foundations were often disputed, as a standard of artistic quality taste played an important role in the critical discourse of photography. According to contemporary rhetoric the relationship between taste and photography was reciprocal. On the one hand, photography was "an educator of artistic taste".⁹⁵ As the photographer and watercolourist William Frederick Lake Price (1810–1896) pointed out in *A Manual of Photographic Manipulation* (London, 1858), photographs had value in creating a "feeling for Art" and promoting "the advancement of taste".⁹⁶ For similar reasons, at the Social Science Conference in 1880, the Aclands' friend William Blake Richmond proposed that schools should be provided with photographs of works of art chosen "under the guidance of a committee of taste".⁹⁷ On the other side of the coin, the artistic merits of photographs were also expected to be judged by reference to taste. When the *Art Journal* criticized the poor quality of contemporary portraits in 1873, for example, it advised that "for the instinct and taste so sadly missed in them" it was necessary to turn to the works of Julia Margaret Cameron.⁹⁸ The possession of taste was a

House Beautiful" [Report of a lecture by Oscar Wilde], *Furniture Gazette*, n.s. vol. 20 (8 Dec 1883), pp. 397–399, p. 397b).

92. The unifying concept of taste is noted in Lesley Hoskins, "The Aesthetic Interior", in Gere with Hoskins, *The House Beautiful*, ch. 6, pp. 109–110. For Ruskin's definition of taste, see *Modern Painters*, vol. 1, part 1 ("Of General Principles"), sect. 1 ("Of the Nature of the Ideas Conveyable by Art"), ch. 6 ("Of Ideas of Beauty"), §2, p. 32.

93. Day, *Every-day Art*, p. 12

94. Charles L. Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste* (2nd ed., London, 1869), p. 7; Christopher Dresser, *Principles of Decorative Design* (London, [1873]), p. 1

95. Geo. I. Woolley, "Photography as an Educator of Artistic Taste", *International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, vol. 4 (1891–92), pp. 69–71

96. William Lake Price, *A Manual of Photographic Manipulation* (London, 1858) p. 1; p. 176

97. "Social Science Congress" [Presidential address by George Richmond on "The Relation of Art to Social Science"], *The Times*, no. 30011 (13 Oct 1880), p. 10a

98. "Photographic Exhibition", *Art Journal*, vol. 35 (Dec 1873), p. 368

necessary attribute of any photographer who aspired to produce artistic results, Robert Murray (1822–1893) argued in the *British Journal of Photography* in 1880:

As to special training: a little previous knowledge of chemistry is, no doubt, a very desirable acquisition; but a more important qualification for an amateur is the possession of an artistic taste, natural or acquired, with a keen appreciation of the beauties of nature, without which he will scarcely advance beyond the mere mechanical practice of the art.⁹⁹

In 1889 the editor of the *Photographic Bulletin*, John Bartlett (1847–1931), emphasized the need for every photographer to be “a man of culture, a man of refinement and taste”.¹⁰⁰ For John Arthur Randall (1867–1937), writing in an article on “Taste in Photography” in the *British Journal of Photography* in 1896, taste was simply “the first and last requisite in a photographer.”¹⁰¹ As the *Lady’s Pictorial* pointed out, the opportunity provided by photography for the display of taste was one of the features that made it especially attractive to women:

It is sometimes thought, but only by those who are really ignorant of the subject, that the question of art and artistic feeling does not, and cannot, enter into photography at all. Nothing could be more erroneous or unjust. The detail of composition, alone, as well as all the delicate methods of accentuating some portions of the subject and throwing others into the background, afford ample opportunity for the display of taste and nice discrimination, while the selection of subjects and the method of treating them in such a way as to ensure the most effective and beautiful results can only be carried out to perfection by the aid of the true artistic instinct.¹⁰²

The conclusion that followed was inescapable: “The lady amateur photographer should be an artist in sentiment if not in the technical sense, and then, and then only, her productions will entirely merit description as works of art.”

Interiors of middle-class homes offered photographers scope to exercise and display their artistic taste on multiple levels. In an article in *Amateur Photographer* “On Photographing Interiors” in 1889, an anonymous contributor suggested that interiors made good pictures because they were the product of the taste of their occupants:

So it has come about that the house has a beauty about it which might have been looked for in vain only a few decades ago. We are not, of course, speaking of those stately homes of England which have always been the subject of artistic treatment, but we allude more to middle-class homes—homes which are found with exteriors which builders have generally made as ugly as possible, but with interiors which have been embellished by the good taste of its inmates.¹⁰³

“We find, therefore,” the writer concluded, “that the interior of a modern room will

99. Robert Murray, “A Few Hints to Amateur Landscape Photographers”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1032 (13 Feb 1880), pp. 77–78. On Murray see Schaaf, “Biographical Dictionary of British Calotypists”, p. 352.

100. John Bartlett, “About Good Expression”, *International Annual of Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin*, vol. 2 (1889–90), pp. 302–306, p. 304

101. John A. Randall, “Taste in Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 43, no. 1861 (3 Jan 1896), pp. 10–11, p. 11

102. “The ‘Amateur Photographer’ Ladies’ Photographic Competition”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 12, no. 300 (4 Jul 1890), pp. 7–16

103. “On Photographing Interiors”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 9, no. 247 (28 Jun 1889), pp. 416–417, p. 416



Fig. 2.32 E. Louise Liberty, *Interior of a Living Room*, half-tone, 1896 (*Studio*, Dec 1896, p. 231)

often make a beautiful picture".¹⁰⁴ For women especially, the potential of interior photography as a means of engaging their powers of taste and artistic discernment, was substantial. In "Practical Remarks on Photographing Difficult Interiors" in the *British Journal of Photography* in 1893, for example, Thomas Newton Armstrong stressed that the arrangement of a room for a photograph provided "a very wide field for the exercise of good if indeed not artistic, taste, and it is a part of the undertaking that always enlists the attention of the ladies of the household".¹⁰⁵

As well as recording their appearance for posterity, photographs were also capable of making a contribution to the artistic qualities of the room in themselves. "Decorative photography" was explored by a number of respected photographers between 1878 and 1914, including Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946), who showed "A Decorative Panel" at the Royal Photographic Society in 1896, and Frederick Hollyer (1838–1933), who exhibited four "Decorated Panels" in 1883 and "Photographs from Nature decoratively applied" in 1893.¹⁰⁶ Links were also made between the art of interior decoration and the art of photography by other interested parties.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ T. N. Armstrong, "Practical Remarks on Photographing Difficult Interiors", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 40, no. 1724 (19 May 1893), p. 312

¹⁰⁶ On decorative photography see Walter E. Woodbury, "Amateur Photography and Household Decoration", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 12, no. 304 (1 Aug 1890), pp. 86–88 and Catherine Weed Ward, "Woman in Photography", *Photogram*, vol. 13, no. 162 (Aug 1906), pp. 234–235. On Stieglitz's panel see Katherine Hoffmann, *Stieglitz: A Beginning Light* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 130. The importance for the emergence of pictorialism and modernism in photography of the decorative use of photographs in the domestic setting, as objects of beauty in and of themselves, as opposed to their literal use merely as transparent surrogates for the objects of beauty being depicted, has yet to be explored in detail.

In 1889, Frederick Parsons, for example, the proprietor of the “Morris Arts and Crafts Studios” in Boston, Massachusetts, wrote to *Amateur Photographer*, keen to remind readers that he was someone “whose interest in and enthusiasm for artistic photography is second only to that of decorative art”.¹⁰⁷ The connection between artistic interiors and artistic photography can also be seen operating on the personal level. Charles Locke Eastlake (1833–1906), author of *Hints on Household Taste*, was the nephew of Charles Lock Eastlake (1793–1865), first President of the Photographic Society, whose wife Elizabeth Eastlake, née Rigby (1809–1893) wrote an influential article on art and photography for the *London Quarterly Review*.¹⁰⁸ Minna Keene, meanwhile, was married to a “decorator’s manager”, while the second prize in the December 1896 interior photography competition in the *Studio* (fig. 2.32) went to “Ranee”, the pseudonym of Emma Louise Liberty, née Blackmore (1846–1920), wife of Arthur Lasenby Liberty (1843–1917), the eponymous founder of the celebrated furnishing store.¹⁰⁹

Home Beautiful

Few more archetypal examples of the alliance of the Victorian domestic and artistic ideals can be found than in Miss Acland’s Broad Street home. In her mother’s memoir she described the house as “full of interesting works of art, scattered about with a profusion then rare”.¹¹⁰ This was something of an understatement. A veritable temple of art, it was crammed to overflowing with pictures, sculptures and fine furniture (fig. 2.33). Acland printed a short guide to the most important items in 1878, giving the pamphlet the telling title *Among Wayside Gleanings for a Quiet Home*.¹¹¹ Listed were works by Gainsborough, Turner, Rossetti and Ruskin, as well as a host of archaeological and ethnological artefacts, many with notable histories, from a painted robe from the Rocky Mountains given to Acland by the American general George Brinton McClellan (1826–1886), to a statue of ‘Resident Ras’, Superintendent of the Temple of Abydos in Egypt, brought to England by Giovanni Battista Belzoni (1778–1823) (a carte de visite of which Acland threatened to use as, just that: his calling card).¹¹²

Acland had set about transforming his new home into an artistic space, both inside and out, soon after taking possession in 1847, well in advance of the start of the aesthetic movement as usually recognized. For William Tuckwell (1829–1919) the “graceful sunshade work” he commissioned for the windows of the Broad Street frontage (fig. 2.34) was one of the early indications that “Art was in the

107. Frederick Parsons, “Letters to the Editor / Decorative Interiors”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 20, no. 249 (12 Jul 1889), pp. 21–22. Parsons authored a number of photographically-illustrated books and articles on decorative art, such as *The Art of Graining* (Chicago, 1895).

108. [Elizabeth Eastlake], “Photography”, *London Quarterly Review*, no. 202 (Apr 1857), pp. 241–255

109. Census of England and Wales, 1901, RG13/2399, fol. 69, p. 11; “Awards in ‘The Studio’ Prize Competitions / Interior of a Living Room”, *Studio*, vol. 9, no. 45 (Dec 1896), p. 223

110. Brunel (ed.), *A Sketch of the Life of Character of Sarah Acland*, p. 9

111. Ms. Acland d. 100 (“Sundry Documents”), fols. 199–120

112. Ms. Acland d. 42, fols. 92–95 (SA to WADA, 5 Jun [1864])



Fig. 2.33 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Drawing room, 39–41 Broad Street, Oxford*, gelatine negative (reversed), shortly before 23 May 1901 (cat. no. 685)

Air” in Oxford in the early 1850s and found imitation “in many another street”.¹¹³ Acland also contributed to the literature of the movement early in its history with *Prints for Cottage Walls: A Paper Read by Request at the Book Hawkers’ Union* (Oxford and London, 1862), in which he offered advice about the type of artworks less affluent members of the community could use to decorate their homes. “Though the pleasure in the adornment of the person and pleasure in the adornment of our homes have each their excess and vice,” he argued, “yet certainly they have each their charm, and each their advantage; it is therefore no unworthy object of so useful a Society as this to minister to a right and rational decoration of the humbler homes of England.”¹¹⁴

The walls of Acland’s own home were hung with a large collection of prints, drawings and paintings (see ch. 3). His artistic intentions for the house also extended beyond surface decoration to the very fabric of the building. The main library, for example — a single storey extension in the garden — was commissioned from Benjamin Woodward (1816–1871), architect of the University Museum. In July 1957 Ruskin was put to work on the brickwork, only to have his efforts pulled

113. W. Tuckwell, *Reminiscences of Oxford* (London, 1900), p. 52

114. Acland, *Prints for Cottage Walls*, p. 4



Fig. 2.34 Henry Wentworth Acland?,
*Design for sunshade work on the Broad Street
 frontage of the Acland house, bodycolour, ink
 and paper over an albumen print, c. 1850*
 (Ms. Acland d. 178, f. 25)

down by the mason.¹¹⁵ In December the merits of the building were discussed in the *Saturday Review* by none other than Coventry Patmore: “Mr. Woodward and his pre-Raphaelite friends are clearly of opinion that the use of colour in architecture may and ought to be revived to an extent at present almost undreamt of by most persons; and certainly, in the beautiful and original Gothic room which Mr. Woodward has just completed in the house of Dr. Acland at Oxford, the extremely bold chromatic decoration is entirely successful”.¹¹⁶ Acland’s vision for the building as a unified artistic and domestic space was expressed inside (fig. 2.35). Above the fireplace he arranged for a suitably domestic motto to be inscribed:

Type of the wise – who soar, but never roam,
 True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home.

The verses, from Wordsworth’s ode *To a Skylark*, were chosen by Mrs Acland. For her husband, as he explained after her death, they encapsulated the feminine virtues she personified:

These words are the reflex of her life from childhood. With an active intellect, keenly alive to all that has passed in almost every department of thought and of public affairs, all that was of moment in Church and State, during the stirring period of the last 40 years, she looked out calmly on the maze of the world as the way to heaven. Every home, first her own, next every other that needed her, rich or poor, simple

115. Ms. Acland d. 95, fols. 58–61 (Woodward to HWA, 6 Feb [1857]); John Ruskin to Mrs John Simon, 3 Jul 1857 in Cook and Wedderburn, vol. 36 (1909), p. 263. The library is discussed in Eve Blau, *Ruskinian Gothic: The Architecture of Deane and Woodward, 1845–1861* (Princeton, 1982) and Frederick O’Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane and Woodward* (Cork, 1997), pp. 507–511.

116. [Coventry Patmore], “Walls and Wall Painting at Oxford”, *Saturday Review*, vol. 4, no. 113 (26 Dec 1857), pp. 583–584



Fig. 2.35 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Fathers Library, Maalstofa beyond", platinum print, late 1900 ? (cat. no. 677c)

or cultured, found her head and heart attuned to instant sympathy. Every kind of serious work, every orderly play, all brightness and all sorrow were congenial to her at every moment. A busy and simple life so lived has called forth the affecting love which you and your friends have shown her. It is my prayer that her life may still be the pattern for her children and her husband to follow at a humble distance, for such time as is allotted to them.¹¹⁷

For the chimney piece Acland commissioned a fabulous zoomorphic carving from James O'Shea, stonemason on the Museum. Afterwards this was moved to the Mess room, where it can be seen in several of Miss Acland's photographs (fig. 2.36). The mantel of the original Mess room fireplace proclaimed the message that ruled the lives of the Acland family: "There is no place like home". Over the fireplace of a later extension to the library — the 'Maalstofa' or 'north library' — hung an equally domestic inscription: "Rest and be thankful". The Maalstofa itself was an octagonal building, the 'innermost sanctum' of Acland and his wife. Its ceiling was painted in the Pre-Raphaelite style by the Aclands' artist friend Lionel Boulton Campbell Lockhart Muirhead (1844–1925), whose aunt Mary Anne Boulton had been one of the first women to exhibit at the Photographic Society in 1854.¹¹⁸ Muirhead took as his theme verses from the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians: "Whatsoever things are

117. Henry Wentworth Acland, *Sarah Acland Memorial* [Transcript of a letter from Henry Wentworth Acland to Grace Anne McCall Prestwich, née Milne, 1 Jan 1879] ([Oxford, 1879?]) [Pamphlet, G. A. Oxon 4° 538 (Papers relating to the Sarah Acland Memorial Home for Nurses)]

118. See also *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 182.



Fig. 2.36 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Henry Wentworth Acland*, gelatine negative (reversed), shortly after 5 Sep 1896 (cat. no. 460).

true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

Features of artistic interest could also be found in the Aclands' garden, including the Luca della Robbia *Virgin and Child* given to Miss Acland by Ruskin in 1877, which she portrayed in one of her earliest colour photographs (mounted on Woodward's polychromatic brickwork) (see cat. no. 769) (fig. 6.1). On the south external wall of the main library Acland painted a fresco of Angie and Willie. Entitled *Will it Rise Again?*, the work was executed with the aid of a photograph he instructed his wife to arrange to be taken in June 1856:

Look in the great Oak Drawer in the Dining room, or ask E. C. for one of the Lithographs of Tiny & Angie looking at the sea. Get E. C. to take them to be Photographed in that attitude, (on her birthday) and send it me. Tiny should point to the sun with his right hand, and turn to Angie, she looking up at him. I will do you a little oil of it.¹¹⁹

In the album of portraits she presented to the Bodleian Library in the last year of her life (see ch. 4) Miss Acland explained the allusion of the title and the subsequent history of the mural:

The Fresco painted by my Father on the South Wall of his Library represented my brother Willie, in those days called Tiney & myself. I said "Tiney we shall die some day." Tiney replied "We shall rise again Angie, like the Sun. & I answered "And go to Heaven." I still have the original sketch but the fresco has alas disappeared.

¹¹⁹ Ms. Acland d. 10, fols. 185–187 (HWA to SA, 25 ?Jun 1856). The identity of the 'E. C.' is unknown.

Willie Richmond when he came down to stay used to have a “varnishing day” & see that the fresco was standing all right.¹²⁰

Before it disappeared Alexander Macdonald made a watercolour copy, which she hung over her bed and reproduced as her 1923 Christmas card (see cat. no. 690).

Artist in the House

Miss Acland took more photographs of her home than any other subject. Thirty-two of the interior survive and at least eight of the exterior and garden. Of the thirty-nine rooms in the house, she photographed ten: the drawing room; the dining room (on the ground floor at the rear); the library and Maalstofa; the waiting room (on the ground floor overlooking the street); her father’s bedroom; her bedroom; the front hall; and the dining room and bedroom passages.¹²¹ The arrangement of some of the rooms had obvious artistic merit; others depended on the pictures crowding the walls and the sculptures in the alcoves. The front hall, which was so dark it could barely be photographed, was hung with engravings from the *Liber Studiorum*, while the waiting room walls were covered with portraits of the Royal Family and eminent Oxford personalities (cat. nos. 674–5). Miss Acland’s bedroom was an exercise in womanly good taste, furnished with a large-pattern arts and crafts wallpaper, simple furniture, and Japanese screens (cat. no. 690). Formerly the ‘best room’, it had been Ruskin’s during his first term as Slade Professor. In November 1870 the wallpaper became an issue of debate between tutor and pupil, with Miss Acland, still only 21, already inclined to favour her own feminine taste over Ruskin’s artistic authority in such matters. “We were talking about papers,” she wrote in her diary, “as he is going to choose me one for my room, & also about carpets, & his taste certainly is curious.”¹²²

Miss Acland’s interior photographs are pertinent to a number of debates that have engaged historians of the Victorian period.¹²³ The exclusively female nature of domesticity has been disputed, for example, as has the strength of the dichotomy between the private and public spheres, and the practical reality of the gendered division of spaces within the house, in which the dining room is traditionally seen as the man’s domain, the drawing room the woman’s.¹²⁴

Whatever doubt might exist about the relevance of the domestic ideal to Katie Paget and her cousins, for Miss Acland it had an unequivocal and overwhelming importance, as represented by her home, as her photographs testify. To her home

120. MHS Ms. Museum 417 (Sarah Angelina Acland, “Portraits” / “Photographs taken in my Old Home in Broad Street, Oxford”), fol. 48v

121. For plan of the house see Pantin, “The Recently Demolished Houses in Broad Street, Oxford”.

122. MHS Ms. Gunther 28 (27 Nov 1870)

123. For an overview of different perspectives, see Jane Hamlett, “The British Domestic Interior and Social and Cultural History”, *Cultural and Social History*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2009), pp. 97–107.

124. John Tosh, for example, in *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London, 1999), emphasizes the degree to which domesticity was central to the lives of men as well as women, and was actively promoted by them. The gendered division of spaces is addressed in Jane Hamlett, “‘The Dining Room Should be the Man’s Paradise, as the Drawing Room is the Woman’s’: Gender and Middle-Class Domestic Space in England, 1850–1910”, *Gender and History*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Nov 2009), pp. 576–591.



Fig. 2.37 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Dining Room in the Acland House*, gelatine negative (reversed), Jul 1892 (cat. no. 155)

she owed her identity, to its cause she dedicated her life after her mother died, and through its success she measured her self-worth. The domestic ideal was a moral precept she accepted implicitly and wished to display whenever and wherever possible. The model of the angel in the house, as a paragon of feminine virtue, also provided her with a constant point of reference, despite her mother's disapproval of the stereotype. She may have been more conservative in this respect than women of a younger generation, or those who chose to pursue careers outside the domestic sphere, but she was undoubtedly not alone.

Although the ideal of domesticity is everywhere to be seen in Miss Acland's photographs, the conventional dichotomies between male and female and private and public are more blurred. Her father promoted the domestic ideal as relentlessly as any of the women in his house; indeed more so. While differences can be seen in the decoration of the different rooms in Broad Street, as artistic displays they appear to have been shaped as much by him as by Miss Acland or her mother, and vice versa — especially the drawing room (fig. 2.33) and dining room (figs. 2.37 & 2.38), but with the possible exception of Miss Acland's bedroom (fig. 2.39). The division of private and public spaces is also complex. Miss Acland had no hesitation in placing large prints of the bedrooms in her photograph albums for all to see. Missing, however, are the servants' rooms, which were arguably more private, and Acland's consulting room, which, although frequented by the public, was the most closed of any of the spaces. The house as a whole fails to conform to a simple model of the separate spheres, serving as many public as private functions,



Fig. 2.38 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Our dining room, Broad St.", albumen print, 16 Jun 1893 (cat. no. 222)

not only through Acland's medical practice but as a place where representatives of City and University regularly met to transact business. Acland's sub-librarians Joseph Walker and James Ford (1857–1931) assembled in the library every morning to begin work, for example, before adjourning to the Museum, and the Oxford Camera Club held committee meetings in one of the rooms (which is unclear) at Miss Acland's invitation.

As Sarah Anne Carter has argued, photographs of interiors had important roles to play in preserving the memory of their owners' character, taste, and aesthetic development, as expressed in the rooms they depicted.¹²⁵ However, for Miss Acland, interior photography was not only a means to an end, but an end in itself: photographs of interiors were a display of taste and skill in their execution as well as in their subject matter — domestic works of art in their own right. Just as her home was an expression of its occupants' good taste and an index of her family's artistic sympathies, so beautiful photographs of that home were a manifestation of her artistic taste and refinement as a photographer. Above all, it was the domestic nature of interior photography that made it attractive to her and other women for this purpose. Not only could it be undertaken in the home, but in the service of home. Far from restricting their outlook as photographers, the values of domesticity enabled women to turn photography to advantage in their quest for opportunities for creative expression and recognition of their artistic

125. Carter, "Picturing Rooms: Interior Photography, 1870–1900"



Fig. 2.39 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Miss Acland's Bedroom*, gelatine negative (reversed), Mar 1901 ? (cat. no. 690)

instincts and abilities.¹²⁶ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century women might aspire not simply to be angels in the house, but artists in the house. Art and domesticity went hand in hand, mediated by taste and personified by the women of the family. Women measured their domestic worth not only by service to their parents, husbands and children, but also by the artistic qualities of the homes in which they lived. Interior photography allowed them to record, display and add to these qualities; it was a domestic art that embodied the privileged attributes of the domestic ideal and its artistic expressions. The benefit to women of photographing interiors was reciprocal, the domestic nature and artistic credentials of their new pastime reinforced by the incorporation of unchallengeable assumptions about the virtue of home and those assumptions themselves strengthened by their expression in an artistic medium newly popular with the middle classes.

*

Photographs of the interior of her home and the homes of friends allowed Miss Acland to demonstrate, early on, that her photography could be undertaken in a manner compatible with the domestic and artistic expectations placed upon her as woman of education and taste. Despite her best efforts, she did not immediately

126. The importance to women of such opportunities is noted in Jane Lewis, "Introduction: Reconstructing Women's Experience of Home and Family", in Jane Lewis (ed.), *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 1-26, p. 10.

succeed in convincing everyone of the merits of photography over the traditional arts of drawing and painting. In a letter of August 1894, for example, Brunel counselled against abandoning the established skills:

I also want you to return to older accomplishments & make a water colour drawing, as you can so well do it, of the Library from the Entrance door. No photograph can give the true effect of this unique & characteristic room – even if the lights could be arranged.¹²⁷

Her father also encouraged her to keep up drawing after she acquired her Kodak. “I shall want from you a sketch of the 600 swans”, he wrote on 26 August 1891, in anticipation of a return visit to Abbotsbury.¹²⁸ In later years he persisted with the argument, in July 1896 trying to persuade her to visit Killerton in the hope that she “would draw again”.¹²⁹ His efforts were largely wasted. By 1893 photography had become Miss Acland’s artistic medium of choice. “She never draws now: but her photography occupies often 4 or 5 hours in a day”, Acland told Willie in December 1893.¹³⁰ When she did return to Killerton, it was her camera Miss Acland used to record its beautiful rooms, in artistic pictures that, thirty years later, she would choose in preference to portraits to illustrate her memoirs (fig. 2.40).¹³¹

127. Ms. Acland d. 171, fol. 136 (Brunel to SAA, 30 Aug 1894)

128. Ms. Acland d. 128, fols. 216–217 (HWA to SAA, 26 Aug 1891)

129. Ms. Acland d. 134, fols. 158–161 (HWA to SAA, 18 Jul 1896)

130. Ms. Acland d. 25, fols. 125–126 (HWA to WADA, 14 Dec 1893)

131. DRO 1148M/7/1, opp. p. 135

Fig. 2.40 Sarah Angelina Acland, “Bedroom at Killerton”, gelatine negative (reversed), May 1897? (cat. no. 479)



Table 2.3: Women Recorded in the Censuses as Employed in the Photographic Trade in Oxford, 1871–1911 (alphabetically by first year of appearance)

Name	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	Occupation in census	Family background
Beesley, Frances (b. 1852)	•					"Assistant at Photographer's"	Daughter of Richard Beesley, college servant; in 1871 married William Budd, bookbinder
Brewer, Martha Elizabeth (b. 1849)	•					"Photographer's Forewoman"	Daughter of Thomas Brewer, baker and corn dealer; Henry Taunt's cousin
Tanner, Mary Elizabeth (b. 1845)	•					"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of Richard C. E. Tanner, surveyor; in 1873 married William Bartlett London, joiner turned hairdresser
Taunt, Miriam, née Jeffrey (1836/7–1929)	•					"Photographic Printer"	Daughter of Stephen Jeffrey, gardener; Henry Taunt's wife
West, Elizabeth Ann (b. 1847)	•					"Shop Woman to Photographer"	Lived with her uncle, Thomas West, master watchmaker, from at least the age of 3
White, Agnes (b. 1847)	•					"Assistant to Photographer"	Daughter of George White, soap boiler; assistant to her brother, Caleb White, photographer
Williamson, Eliza Lucy (b. 1844)	•					"Photographers printer"	Daughter of Charles Williamson, journeyman tailor
Andrews, Mary Agnes (1861–1915)		•		•		"Artist in Photos (Photographer)"; "Photographic Artist" [worker]	Daughter of William H. Andrews, butcher; in 1891 listed as "Artist in Drawing"
Court, Ellen Amelia (b. 1864)		•				"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of John Court, bookbinder and publican, of the Bookbinder's Arms; in 1881 married William Curtis
Deane, Mary J. (b. 1852/3)		•				"Photographers Asst"	Born Kensington; Visitor in the house where Shyamji Krishna Varma (1857–1930), undergraduate, Indian revolutionary, was a boarder
Harbridge, Eliza (b. 1857/8)		•				"Photographers Assistant"	Niece of Amelia Withers, general labourer; for four years with Henry Taunt
Hitchman, Emma E. (b. 1858)		•				"Photographic Book Keeper"	Daughter of the late Thomas Hitchman, labourer
Joy, Emily Jane, née Hemmins (1849–1918)		•				"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of Thomas Hemmins, hairdresser cum college bedmaker; in 1871 married Thomas Joy, college messenger
Payne, Emily Florence (b. 1863)		•				"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of James Payne, college bedmaker
Alder, Edith (b. 1870)			•			"Photographers Artist"	Daughter of Thomas Alder, college servant
Bayliss, Caroline ('Carrie' or 'Carrey') Elizabeth V. (b. 1868)			•	•		"Photographers Assistant"; "Photographic Manageress"	Daughter of Daniel Bayliss, retired tailor; in 1902 married Joseph Oliver, college servant
Earl, Sabina Elizabeth A. (b. 1870)			•			"Photographers Apprentice"	Daughter of John E. Earl, college servant; in 1893 married Percy James Bayzand, assistant art teacher (whose brother Herbert was a photographer's assistant)
Harper, Elizabeth May (b. 1875)			•			"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of John Harper, licensed victualler
¹ Hills, Ann(ie) (1832–1908)			•			"Photographer" [employer]	Widowed second wife of Robert Hills, photographer (Hills married his first wife, Anne, née Lindsey (1815–1852), in 1844)
Horser, Annie Florence M. (1868–1955)			•			"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of Cottrell W. Horser, commercial traveller

Hosier, Florence Lilly (1870–1947)									"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of Frederick Hosier, college servant
Howlett, Fanny Dalphenia (1861–1944)								•	"Photographist?" [worker]	Daughter of Susan Howlett, living on own means
Hughes, Bessie Morley (b. 1871)								•	"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of Samuel Hughes, college clerk of accounts
Jenkins, Ellen Emma (b. 1872)								•	"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of Henry Jenkins, photographer and hairdresser, of Wallingford
Miles, Frances Elizabeth ('Fanny') (1855–?1945)								• • •	"Manageress in Photographic works", "Photographer &c.", "Photograph Finisher"	Daughter of Frederick Miles, cabinet maker; Henry Taunt's 'tenant'; sister of William Alfred Miles (1858–1882), photographer, apprentice to Taunt, and of Mary ('Polly') Miles (b. 1861), whom see below
Millen, Angelina Rose or Rosa (b. 1861)								•	"Photo Assistant"	Daughter of John George Millen, police sergeant
Plaister, Harriette Mary A. T. (b. 1872)								•	"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of George T. Plaister, printer compositor?; niece of Maud, below
Plaister, Maud (b. 1858/9)								•	"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of the late George Plaister, painter ?
Simms, Marion Mary (1877–1957)								•	"Photographers Apprentice"	Apprentice to William Forshaw; in 1907 married George Albert Florey, groom
Smith, Florence M. (b. 1873/4)								•	"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of Albert Smith, army pensioner and beerhouse keeper
Sumner, Miriam Emma (1874–1966)								•	"Photographers Assistant"	Daughter of Jabez Sumner (1843–?1944), photographer; in 1900 married John Orchard, clerk
Sutton, Elizabeth (b. 1875)								•	"Photographer Finisher"	Daughter of Albert Sutton, cabinet maker; sister of Alfred G. Sutton, photographic printer
Bayzand, Ada Gertrude (b. 1876)								•	"Photographic Artist" [worker]	Daughter of William Joseph Bayzand, artist illuminator
Blackall, Bertha Margaret (b. 1884)								•	"Photographer's Assistant"	Daughter of Walter Blackall, photographer
Chandler, Louisa (b. 1869)								•	"Photographic Assistant"	Boarder
Cuddeford, Beatrice (b. 1885/6)								•	"Photographer's Shop Assistant"	Born Edinburgh; Daughter of Caroline Beatrice, widow, lodging house keeper
Diemer, Helen Blanche (1886–?1927)								•	"Assistant Photographer"	Daughter of Frederick J. Diemer, life assurance agent
Dixon, Edith Mary (b. 1878)								•	"Photograph Shop Assistant"	Daughter of George Dixon, retired police inspector (see cat. no. 197)
Forshaw, Jessie Marian (b. 1877)								•	"Photographer's Assistant"	Daughter of William Forshaw, photographer
Gilder, Ethel Annie (1878–1944)								• •	"Photographer's Assistant"; "Photographer"	Daughter of Thomas H. Gilder, college servant
Innes, Helena ('Ellen') Margaret (b. 1877)								•	"Photographer's Assistant"	Living in the YWCA, daughter John Innes, builder's clerk, of Weymouth
Messenger, Eliza(beth) Ellen (1883–?1971)								•	"Photographer's Assistant"	Daughter of William Messenger, baker ?
Miles, Mary ('Polly') (b. 1861)								•	"Photographer" [worker]	Daughter of Frederick Miles, cabinet maker; Sister of Frances Elizabeth Miles, whom see
Norris, Amy W. (b. 1868/9)								•	"Photographer" [worker]	Born Canada; daughter of Joseph Norris, army pensioner
Papel, Elizabeth Annie (b. 1880)								•	"Photographing" [worker]	Daughter of Eli Papel, tailor; in 1907 married Charles Henry Long, furniture porter
Prickett, Theresa E. B. (b. 1880)								•	"Photographer's Assistant"	Daughter of Hector William Prickett, joiner and carpenter
Read, Florence May (b. 1883)								•	"Photographer's Assistant"	Daughter of John Read, gas stocker foreman; in 1908 married Henry ('Harry') Walter Plank, baker

Searle, Eva Mabel (b. 1877)								Granddaughter of William Clark, carpenter; in 1901 a visitor in house of Joseph Walker (1947–1913), Acland's sub-librarian at the Radcliffe Library; in 1902 married Joseph's son Frank Alban Hinton Walker (b. 1875), solicitor's clerk
Singer, Ada Agnes (b. 1874)						•		Daughter of the late James Singer, commission agent, and of Mary A. Singer, beerhouse keeper
Soanes, Rosalie Theodora (1879–1954)						•		Daughter of Thomas Soanes, tailor; in 1909 married Arthur William Riggs, ironmonger
Trindall, Maud(e) (b. 1871)						•		Daughter of Samuel Trindall, repairer of machinery; in 1904 married unknown
Webb, Catherine Frances (b. 1882)						•		Daughter of Edward Webb, accountant's clerk
Coles, Ida Ethel (1881–1874)							•	Daughter of George Coles, photographer, of Gloucester
Gilbert, Doris May (b. 1895)							•	Daughter of Mortimer M. Gilbert, railway clerk
Higgins, Ethel Mary (b. 1892)							•	Daughter of George Higgins, furniture dealer
Parmenter, Kate (b. 1891)							•	Daughter of Charles Parmenter, journeyman tailor
Payne, Sarah Ann, née Furby (b. 1864)							•	Daughter of John Furby, tailor; in 1893 married William Henry Payne (1857–?1950), photographer
Robinson, Norah Irene Alice (1893–1928)							•	Daughter of William James, insurance agent; in 1918 married James Samuel Pilot
² Styles, Ellen May (1884–1958)							•	Daughter of Stephen Styles, gardener come college servant; in 1913 married John Croft, general labourer
² Styles, Mabel Mary (1886–1960)							•	Sister of Ellen May Styles, above; in 1913 married Frederick Charles Salmon, clerk in the Sanitary Office (from the age of 14)
Name	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	Occupation in census		Family background

1. Ann(ie) Hills's dates are given as 1820–1905 in David Webb, "Hills, Robert and John Henry Saunders", in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, vol. 1, pp. 662–664, p. 663, and in David Webb *et al.*, *photoLondon: The Database of 19th Century Photographers and Allied Trades in London, 1841–1901* ([www.photolondon.org.uk/], n.d.). Her dates given here (1832–1908) are taken from the transcript of the Hills family headstone in St Sepulchre's Cemetery, Oxford.
2. See 'bugieles' [username], "Ellen May Styles", *Croft Family Tree* (<http://trees.ancestry.co.uk/tree/867549/person/-2036063000/>], n.d.), where photographs of Ellen and Mabel are reproduced.

Table 2.4: Women Members and Fellows of the (Royal) Photographic Society, 1853–1900

Date of Election	Age in year of election	Name	Notes
Apr 1853	51	¹ Catherine Verschoyle, née Curtis (1802–1882)	Daughter of Thomas A. Curtis, of Dublin; wife of Robert Verschoyle, barrister, son of James Verschoyle, Bishop of Killala, Co. Mayo; her son Henry William Verschoyle (1835–1870) also a member of the Society
6 Jul 1854	34	² Julia Emma Sotheby, née Pitcher (1820–1898)	Daughter of Henry Jones Pitcher, bookseller; wife of Samuel Leigh Sotheby (1805–1861), of the firm of auctioneers, who was also her cousin
1 Mar 1855	?	Miss Moore (dates unknown)	Identity unknown; also a member of the Amateur Photographic Association
1 Nov 1859	39	³ Frances Elizabeth Jocelyn, née Cowper, Viscountess Jocelyn (1820–1880)	Daughter of Peter Cowper, 5th Earl Cowper; wife of Robert Jocelyn, Viscount Jocelyn
8 Mar 1859	?	Anne Taylor (d. 1860)	"Artist"; exhibited at the Photographic Society of Scotland exhibition, 1858–59; said to have owned and taken beautiful landscapes with a Goddard triple lens ⁴
3 Feb 1863	41	⁵ Clementina Elphinstone Maude, née Fleeming, Viscountess Hawarden (1822–1865)	Daughter of Charles Elphinstone Fleeming, Admiral; wife of Cornwallis Maude, 4th Viscount Hawarden
3 Nov 1863	36	Charlotte Maria Spottiswoode, née Sinclair (1827–1895)	Daughter of Major Charles Sinclair; wife of Lieutenant (later General) Molyneux Capel Spottiswoode (1816–1890); father and husband both in the 24th Regiment of the Native Infantry, Indian Army
1 Mar 1864	31	⁶ Clementina Sobieska Sarah Brunner, née Grant (1833/4–1887)	Daughter of James Gregor Grant, artist, poet and teacher; in 1861 married William Brunner, photographer, of Bishop Wearmouth, Sunderland; in 1881 "Photographer Lunatic", inmate of the Bristol Borough Lunatic Asylum; said to have been a pupil of Mayall; "Madame Brunner"
3 May 1864	27	Alice Maria Sophia Hurt (1837–1894)	Hospital nurse; daughter of Francis Hurt, JP (1803–1861) ⁷
7 Jun 1864	49	Julia Margaret Cameron, née Prattle (1815–1879)	Daughter of James Pattie, Bengal Civil Service; wife of Charles Hay Cameron, jurist
11 Nov 1873	34	⁸ Anna ('Annie') Brassey, née Allnutt, Lady Brassey (1839–1887)	Traveller and author of the best-selling <i>A Voyage in the Sunbeam</i> (London, 1878); daughter of John Allnutt, wine merchant and art collector; wife of Thomas Brassey, MP
11 Nov 1873	34	Augusta Mary Palmer, née Lambert (1839/40–1875)	Daughter of Chevalier Alfred Lambert; wife of Charles Mark Palmer (1822–1907), baronet, shipbuilder
14 Dec 1875	34	Harriet Sarah Paget (1841/2–1923)	"Artist"; born Dublin; sister-in-law of a wine merchant
14 Dec 1875	33	Maria Payne, née Smith (1842–1929)	Professional portrait photographer; wife of Samuel Glendening Payne, photographic artist, Aylesbury, who was also a member of the Society; also exhibited flower studies and decorative work ⁹
8 Feb 1876	60	Caroline Baly, née Brown (1816–1880)	Daughter of Robert Brown, purser; wife of Price Pritchard Baly (1819–1875), engineer
11 Nov 1879	39	Caroline Mary Holden-Hambrough, née Hood (1840–1890)	Daughter of 3rd Viscount Hood; wife of Oscar William Holden-Hambrough, High Sheriff of Northampton
9 Nov 1880	?	Miss Evans (dated unknown)	Identity unknown; address 69 Railton Road, Herne Hill; in the 1881 census an Ida Evans, aged 18, was living at 97–98 Railton Road, while James Fisher, printers foreman, aged 60, was at 69 Railton Road
12 Dec 1882	26	Rosamond Frances Ann Lyell (1856–1901)	Daughter of Henry Lyell, Lieutenant Colonel Bengal Light Infantry; niece of Charles Lyell (1797–1875), geologist
9 Nov 1886	26	¹⁰ Elizabeth Alice Frances Main, née Hawkins-Whitshed (1860–1934)	Mountaineer, photographer and author; daughter of St. Vincent Bentinck Hawkins-Whitshed, 3rd baronet; wife of Frederick Gustavus Burnaby (1842–1885), adventurer; of John Frederic Main (1854–1892), Professor of Engineering, Bristol; and of Francis Bernard Aubrey Le Blond (1869–1951), noted Korean china collector

13 Dec 1887	39	Ellen Anne Boyer Brown (1848–1927)	Headmistress of Mayfield, Southgate; daughter of Elizabeth P. Brown, farmer of 149 acres (who died before she was aged 3); great granddaughter of James Boyer, headmaster of Christ's Hospital school
13 Dec 1887	23–33	“Miss Grummant”; Mary Ann, Alice, Hannah E. or Kate Sarah Grummant (various dates)	Daughters of John and Jane Grummant, affluent house and landowner, of Camberwell, London
8 Mar 1887	42	Mary Pritchard, née Evans (b. 1845)	Daughter of Matthew Evans, landlord of the Craven Arms, Stokesay; in 1873 married Henry Baden Pritchard (1841–1884), editor of the <i>Photographic News</i> , whom she met at the house of H. P. Robinson
8 Nov 1887	43	Susan Hodgson, née Townsend (1844–1912)	Daughter of Chambré Corker Townsend, Rector of Kilmacabea, Co. Cork; second wife of Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894), Nepalese scholar ¹¹
10 Dec 1889	27	Florence Anna Harvey (1862–1931)	Daughter of Robert Bateson Harvey (1825–1887), baronet, MP; in 1891 married Richard Henry Tillyer, gentleman farmer of 500 acres at Heathrow, Staines
12 Mar 1889	25	Mildred Hayley (1864–1942)	Daughter of John Burrell Hayley, Rector of Brightling; in 1893 married Walter Cheesman (d. 1916); married secondly, in 1921, Reginald Ashburnham, afterwards 10th Baronet of Bromham ¹²
9 Dec 1890	33	Blanche Julianna Louisa Arnott, née Canning-Clairmonte (b. 1858)	Daughter of George Canning-Clairmonte, West India Merchant; wife of William Preston Arnott (b. Oxford 1838, d. 1899), late Indian Navy and Lieutenant Commandant in the Rangoon Volunteer Artillery Corps
9 Dec 1890	53	Mary Wrigley, née Potter (1837–1930)	Daughter of Edmund Potter (1802–1883), MP, FRS, pioneer of calico printing; wife of Edwin Grundy Wrigley (d. 1892, Cairo), paper manufacturer, who left £126,602 on his death; sister of Rupert William Potter (1832–1914), member of the Society; aunt of Beatrix Potter, author; sister-in-law of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe, FRS, chemist
8 Dec 1891	32	Charlotte Henrietta (Dusa) Roche (1859–1945)	Daughter of Antonin Roche, Professor of French and teacher to the Royal Family
12 Dec 1893	42	Jane Napier Hignett, née ?Middleton (1852–1932)	Wife of Thomas Hugh Hignett, mechanical engineer; porcelain collector
14 Mar 1893	62	¹³ Harriet Georgiana Caetani, née Ellis, (Dowager) Duchess of Sermoneta (1831–1906)	Daughter of Charles Augustus Ellis (1799–1868), 6th Baron Howard de Walden and 2nd baron Seaford; wife of Michaelangelo Caetani (1820–1882), 13th Duke of Sermoneta; exhibited at the Salon in 1896; owned important collection of historic photographs
14 Nov 1893	42	¹⁴ Catharine Weed Ward, née Barnes (1851–1913)	Journalist and photographer; born Albany, New York; daughter of William A. Barnes (1824–1913) and Emily Peck Weed (1827–1889); granddaughter of Thurlow Weed, journalist and eminent Republican; wife of Henry Snowden Ward, editor of the <i>Photogram</i> , etc.
11 Dec 1894	19	(H)Elena Basadre Hellman (1875–1923)	Born Tacna, Peru; daughter of William Hellmann (1868–1940), engineer; in 1903 married John Wilkinson Kirkland, of Cornell University; exhibited at the Alpine Club ¹⁵
13 Nov 1894	43	Elizabeth Malcolm Napier (1851–1944)	Granddaughter of Robert Napier (1791–1876), Lord Napier of Magdala, marine engineer
13 Nov 1894	37	Sarah Maud Read, née Braham (b. 1857/8)	“Photographic artist”, Rosedene Studio, Guildford
13 Nov 1894	?	Miss Georgia or Georgie Stoddart (dates unknown)	Daughter of James Stoddart ? ¹⁶
10 Dec 1895	31	Emma Lucy Moysey (1868–?1956)	Daughter of John Moysey, engineer, late Royal Navy
12 Nov 1895	?	Mrs Margaret Cole (dates unknown)	Identity unknown; competed in <i>Amateur Photographer</i> ladies' competition, 1890; address 25 Ashley Gardens, London
12 Nov 1895	?	Margaret Malvine Pollard	Wife of Benjamin Horatio Pollard (1849–1898), Lieutenant Colonel, 20th Madras Infantry; Alan Faraday Campbell Pollard (1877–1948), Professor of Instrumentation at Imperial College, was their son
28 May 1895	33	Mary Armer Beckitt Crossley (1862–1944)	Daughter of William Henry Crossley, MRCS
9 Apr 1895	31	Annie Elizabeth Gardiner, née Jenkins (1864–1938)	Daughter of Henry Jenkins, photographer, Wallingford; wife of Walter James Gardiner, photographer; niece and apprentice of Samuel and Maria Payne, whom see ¹⁷
9 Apr 1895	?	Mrs Wallace (dates unknown)	Identity unknown; address on election Oakleigh Villa, Goldsmith Road, Leyton, but not there in 1891
10 Nov 1896	32	Kate Russell (b. 1864/5)	Born Auckland, New Zealand; daughter of Thomas Russell, CMG (1830–1904), financier and land speculator in New Zealand ¹⁸

14 Jan 1896	?	Mrs George B. Harland (dates unknown)	Identity unknown; possibly Isabella Harland, née Marshall (1848/9); possibly wife of George Blenkhorn Harland, ship-owner, of Stranton, Durham; address 43 Gower Street, London, which was a boarding house in 1899
12 Jan 1897	66	Isabella Lucy Bishop, née Bird (1831–1904)	FRGS; traveller; daughter of Edward Bird, clergyman ¹⁹
12 Jan 1897	37	Elizabeth Jones Highton, née Skevington (1860–1943)	Wife of Thomas Highton (d. 1903), surgeon, MRCS ²⁰
13 Apr 1897	24	Muriel Blanche Gwendoline Bell (1873–1919)	Daughter of Charles William Morrison-Bell, bart.; in 1899 married Colonel John Middleton Rogers, DL, DSO, JP
14 Dec 1897	29	Cherrie Evelyn Boden (1868–1955)	First lady to accept nomination to the Council of the RP5; daughter of Henry Boden, JP, lace manufacturer
14 Dec 1897	53	Margaret Tuke-Tylor (1856–1944)	Daughter of Joseph Savory Tylor, MD
14 Dec 1897	43	Jean Agnes Welford, née Morgan (1854–1949)	Wife of Richard Walter Deverell Welford (1857–1919), photographic journalist
9 Nov 1897	?	Miss H. Edith Lovette Davis (dates unknown)	Identity unknown; address on election c/o Monroe and Co., 7 Rue Scribe, Paris
11 Jan 1898	29	Mary Fanny Isabel Orrell (1869–1924)	Daughter of Robert Orrell, landowner; name at birth Fanny Isabel Orrell
11 Jan 1898	40	Emma Lee Tillyer Blunt, née Heuston (1858/9–1946)	Born San Francisco, California; daughter of H. M. Heuston; in 1889 married James Sidney Tillyer-Blunt, of the Suffolk Regiment; left £231,213 on her death
11 Jan 1898	39	Charlotte Tannett-Walker (1859/60–1923)	Invalid; wife of Frederick William Tannett Walker (d. 1917), engineer and Colonel, Royal Engineers, Master of the Glass Sellers Company, who went bankrupt in 1913
13 Dec 1898	30	Christian Hood Curle (1868–1956)	Daughter of Alexander Curle, solicitor, Walter Scott's man of business; in 1929 married John Pitman, in Melrose ²¹
13 Dec 1898	61	Emily Mary Margaret Routledge (1837–1911)	Daughter of George Routledge (1813–1888), publisher ²²
21 Jun 1898	?	Anna Frederica Everdina Goldstein, née Boreel, Baroness de Goldstein de Oldenaller (dates unknown)	Wife of Baron Willem van Goldstein van Oldenaller (1831–1901), Ambassador of the Netherlands
8 Nov 1898	50	Annie Eliza Blake (1848/9–1928)	Born Westminster; in 1881 a "Retoucher & Artist Painter"; wife of William Blake, photographer; specialist in floral photography ²³
12 Dec 1899	50	Sarah Angelina Acland (1849–1930)	Identity unknown; address on election Sapara House, Lagos, West Africa
12 Dec 1899	?	Miss Teju Sapara-Johnson (dates unknown)	In 1889 married John Frank Bradbury, wool broker
13 Jun 1899	35	Alice Elizabeth Bradbury, née Richardson (b. 1864/5)	Daughter of Arthur Travis Clay, chairman of worsted manufacturing company; in 1904 married John Kenneth Beaufoy Birch, RN; died in a motor accident ²⁴
14 Feb 1899	22	Janet Elizabeth Clay (1877–1929)	Daughter of Thomas George Mackay, Writer to the Signet (i.e. solicitor); second wife of Swinton S. Melville, Bengal Civil Service and member from 1859 of the Photographic Society of Scotland ²⁸
14 Mar 1899	58	Emily Helen Melville, née Mackay (1841–1910)	Born Kurnoll, Tamil Nadu; daughter of James Innes Minchin, Madras Civil Service and noted chess player; wife of Henry John Fairrie Dumas (1862–1940), insurance broker of Lloyds of London
14 Nov 1899	36	Alice Mary Dumas, née Minchin (1863–1942)	Daughter of Thomas William Tew, JP, banker, Provincial Grand Master of West Yorkshire (Masonic) Province
14 Nov 1899	38	Emily Tew (1861–1905)	

1. See Schaafl, "Biographical Dictionary of British Calotypists", p. 387; and "Married" [Catherine Verschoyele], *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 3723 (4 Sep 1824), p. 3d
2. See Frank Herrmann, "Samuel Leigh Sotheby (1805–1861)", *Oxford DNB*.
3. See Isabel Crombie, "The Work and Life of Viscountess Frances Jocelyn: Private Lives", *History of Photography*, vol. 22, no. 1 (Spring 1988), pp. 40–51.
4. See "Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 2, no. 78 (5 Feb 1859), pp. 178–181, p. 181; J. T. Taylor, "Explanatory Remarks on the Triplet Lens", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 8, no. 142 (15 Feb 1864), pp. 459–461, p. 461
5. See Virginia Dodier, *Clementina, Lady Havardien: Studies from Life, 1857–1864* (London, 1999).
6. Examples of Brunner's work are held by the National Portrait Gallery, London (Album 43). "Our Lodgers", a farce by 'Madame Brunner', was performed at the Lyceum Theatre, Sunderland, in 1868 ("New Pieces Performed at the Provincial Theatres in 1868", *Era*, no. 1580 (3 Jan 1869), p. 6b).

7. See David Robarts, "Ancestors of Alice Maria Sophia Hurt", *Ancestors of David Robarts* (<http://www.stepneyrobarts.co.uk/1764.htm>), 2001–10), which has a photograph of her knitting.
8. On Lady Brassey, see E. H. Marshall, rev. Dorothy Middleton, "Brassey, Anna, Lady Brassey (1839–1887)", *Oxford DNB*; Nancy Micklewright, "Lady Brassey's Canadian Visit, 1872", *History of Photography*, vol. 17, no. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 150–152; and James R. Ryan, "Our Home on the Ocean: Lady Brassey and the Voyages of the Sunbeam, 1874–1887", *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 32, no. 3 (Jul 2006), pp. 579–604.
9. On the Paynes, see Chris Reynolds, "Hertfordshire Postcard Artists, Publishers, etc.: Samuel Glendening Payne & Son, of Aylesbury & Tring", *Genealogy in Hertfordshire* (<http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/postcards/publisher-payne-aylesbury.htm>], updated Nov 2008).
10. On Mrs Main, see Peter H. Hansen, "Le Blond, Elizabeth Alice Frances (1860–1934)", *Oxford DNB*; and Markus Britschgi (and Doris Fässler?), trans. Cathrin Schelbert, *Elizabeth Main, 1861–1934: Alpinist, Photographer, Writer* (Lucerne, 2003).
11. Examples of Susan Hodgson's work are held by the Bodleian Library and Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas at Austin.
12. See "Obituary / Lady Ashburnham", *The Times*, no. 49208 (13 Apr 1942), p. 6e. Her mother Maria died at the age of 100 in 1922.
13. The Dowager Duchess of Sermoneta is to be distinguished from Ada Constance Caetani, née Bootle-Wilbraham, Duchess of Sermoneta (1846–1934).
14. On Catharine Weed Ward, see David Webb, "Ward, Catharine Weed Barnes (1851–1913)", in *Encyclopædia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, vol. 2, pp. 1471–1472; and Peter E. Palmquist, *Catherine Weed Barnes Ward* (Arcata, California, 1992).
15. When Elena Kirkland's daughter, Esther Emmet Kirkland, was baptised at St Peter, Cranley Gardens, Elena's name was given as Helena.
16. In Kelly & Co., *Kelly's London Suburban Directory, Southern Suburbs*, 1896, p. 150, a James Stoddart was listed as resident at Dalkeith, Croham Road, which was Georgia's address on her election.
17. See David Simkin, "Annie Gardiner & Walter Gardiner: Worthing Photographers", *Sussex PhotoHistory* (<http://www.photohistory-sussex.co.uk/GardinerWorthing.htm>], [2005–10]), where there is a photograph of her.
18. See R. C. J. Stone, "Russell, Thomas (1830–1904)", *Oxford DNB*; and Patrick Russell Stephens, "Russell, Thomas, C.M.G. (1830–1904)", in A. H. McLintock (ed.), *The Ara Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/russell-thomas/1>], updated 23 Apr 2009).
19. On Isabella Bird, see Dorothy Middleton, "Bishop [Bird], Isabella Lucy (1831–1904)", *Oxford DNB*.
20. See "Obituary" [Thomas Boles Eames], *British Medical Journal*, vol. 2, no. 2240 (5 Dec 1903), p. 1501.
21. See J. N. Graham Ritchie, "James Curle (1862–1944) and Alexander Ormiston Curle (1866–1955): Pillars of the Establishment", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. 132 (2002), pp. 19–41.
22. See James J. Barnes and Patience P. Barnes, "Routledge, George (1812–1888)", *Oxford DNB*.
23. On Annie Blake, see "News and Notes / Death of Mrs. A. E. Blake", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 7, no. 3584 (11 Jan 1920), p. 22.
24. See R. Seymour Benson, *Photographic Pedigree of the Descendants of Isaac and Rachel Wilson* (Middlesbrough, 1912), p. 15; and Malcolm Bull, "Clay, Janet Elizabeth", *Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion* (<http://freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~calderdalecompanion/c.html#ci38>], 2010).
25. See A. H. Millar, rev. Nathan Wells, "Mackay, Aeneas James George (1839–1911)", *Oxford DNB*.



Fig. 3.1 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Professor Ruskin and Sir Henry Acland Bart.",
photogravure, 1 August 1893 (cat. no. 246)

CHAPTER 3

Facile Princeps in Portraiture, circa 1892–1895

The domestic portrait gallery and photography beyond the threshold

“It is now twenty years since Professor Ruskin said, in his inaugural lecture at Oxford, ‘We can do much that others cannot, and more than we have ever yet ourselves completely done. Our first great gift is in the portraiture of living people—a power already so accomplished in Reynolds and Gainsborough, that nothing is left for future masters but to add the calm of perfect workmanship to their vigour and felicity of perception.’”

“Negatives and Positives”, *Amateur Photographer*, December 1890¹

“It is only by recognising the very wide field which awaits her dominion that we come to regard photography as one of the many, but by no means the least important, pivots upon which the social well-being, the civilisation, and the advancement of our age will eventually rest.”

G. J. Banner, “The Social Influences of Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, Oct 1864

“The effort at portraiture is good for art if the men to be portrayed are good men, not otherwise”

John Ruskin, “Likeness”, *Aratra Pentelici*, Michaelmas Term 1870²

If interior photography remained primarily a private pursuit for Miss Acland, her portraiture performed more public functions, traversing the threshold of the home. Between 1892 and 1895 it was through her portraits that Miss Acland first came to attention as a photographer, in Oxford and beyond. Her earliest success was a study of the Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone (fig. 3.2). Gladstone and his wife Catherine, née Glynne (1812–1900) visited the Aclands for a private luncheon on 25 October 1892, the day after the first Romanes Lecture, when Miss Acland took their portraits individually (cat. nos. 211–14) and, at Mrs Gladstone’s request, together (cat. no. 215–16): they made “a most devoted couple”, she remarked.³ Four months later she would make her debut as a photographic exhibitor with Gladstone’s

1. “Negatives and Positives”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 12, no. 325 (26 Dec 1890), p. 449

2. John Ruskin, *Aratra Pentelici: Six Lecture on the Elements of Sculpture given before the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1870* (London, 1872), lecture 4, “Likeness” (1 Dec 1870), §120, p. 102

3. Ms. Don. d. 14, fol. 6v



Fig. 3.2 Sarah Angelina Acland,
"The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.",
gelatine negative (reversed),
25 Oct 1892 (cat. no. 214)

portrait, in the inaugural exhibition of the Torquay Photographic Association. The study impressed the judges, who awarded her one of the two medals in the "Ladies only – any subject" class.⁴ "I am rejoicing at the Medal and at the way you know it", her father wrote on learning of the award and its announcement in the local press, advising her to "Send Mrs G.O.M. the bit of the Paper cut out, in an Envelope marking the G.O.M."⁵ "You must wear your decoration", he also suggested, reinforcing the public nature of the achievement.⁶

In the five years following her Torquay triumph Miss Acland's portraiture went from strength to strength. In August 1893 she took her most well-known photograph: a study of Ruskin and her father at Brantwood (fig. 3.1). A year later she photographed her second Prime Minister, the Marquess of Salisbury, in a portrait that also attracted critical acclaim (cat. no. 346) (fig. 3.3). By November 1895 her reputation as a portraitist was secure. "Miss Acland was facile princeps in

4. The exhibition took place from 14 to 18 Feb 1893. See "Exhibitions", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 17, no. 436 (10 Feb 1893), p. 101 and "City and District News / Torquay / Photographic Exhibition", *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, no. 7987 (18 Feb 1893), p. 2f. The Association was founded in Sep 1890, see Walter D. Welford, "A Camera Club for Torquay", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 37, no. 158 (5 Sep 1890) pp. 572–573.

5. Ms. Acland d. 130, fols. 99–100 (HWA to SAA, 19 Feb 1893)

6. Ms. Acland d. 130, fol. 91 (HWA to SAA, 26 Feb 26 1893)

Fig. 3.3 Sarah Angelina Acland,
"The Most Noble Marquis of Salisbury",
 gelatine negative (reversed),
 9 Aug 1894 (cat. no. 346)



portraiture", the *Oxford Times* concluded, repeating the accolade two years later in response to the work submitted to the 1897 exhibition of the Oxford Camera Club.⁷

As will be argued in what follows, Miss Acland was attracted to portraiture as a thoroughly domestic art, yet one of social and moral importance to the nation. Like other women, her early portraits drew heavily on the legacy of Julia Margaret Cameron. Nevertheless, her success in the genre depended not only on artistic considerations, but an effective exchange in both directions across the domestic threshold, as she took advantage of the influx of visitors to her home of all classes to obtain sittings, and actively sought outlets for the circulation and display of her work beyond its walls. As well as sending portraits to friends and acquaintances, for example, she succeeded in getting her photographs reproduced in the popular press, even if experience had its difficulties. Her portraiture was also exhibited regularly at the Oxford Camera Club, which she joined in June 1894. As will be seen, women were strongly represented in the Club, which offered them an important forum in which to advance their photography outside the home, as well as a degree of influence and involvement in the public sphere inaccessible in other areas of Victorian life.

7. "Oxford Camera Club / Members' Exhibition", *Oxford Times*, no. 1733 (16 Nov 1895), p. 3c. See also "Oxford Camera Club Exhibition", *Oxford Times*, no. 1922 (18 Dec 1897), p. 3h.

Portraiture's prominent place in the cultural fabric of Victorian life was secured soon after Miss Acland's birth by the foundation in 1856 of the National Portrait Gallery. For supporters of the venture, portraits were capable of serving the nation by their beneficial influence on its citizens: as Prime Minister Lord Palmerston argued, there was no greater incentive to "mental exertion", "noble actions", and "good conduct" than to peruse the features of famous men "whose example we are more induced to imitate when they are brought before us in the visible and tangible shape of portraits."⁸ Photographers were quick to adopt a similar rhetoric when promoting their own portrait practice. In 1862, for example, the professional photographer Stephen Thompson (b. 1830) argued that the fact that "individual character wonderfully sways the affairs of nations" raised portraiture "from artistic to social importance", ensuring that "photography has a mission, and that unquestionably a high one".⁹ In the opinion of Antoine Claudet (1797–1867), Charles Thurston Thompson (1816–1868) and the other jurors of the 1862 International Exhibition, the value of portraiture in contributing to the "individual and social happiness" of the nation was a fact so obvious it "scarcely needs affirming".¹⁰

Underscored by these principles, photographic portraiture saw huge growth during Miss Acland's childhood, its most conspicuous feature the craze for carte de visite portraits, which reached Oxford in 1861.¹¹ By 1866 the carte de visite revolution had already been recognized as a *fait accompli* by the author of a survey of photographic literature in the *British Quarterly Review*:

whilst no one was guilty of the vulgarity of leaving a portrait as a visiting card, everybody sat for a picture in the new style, and a system of portrait exchange and portrait collection was initiated, which has no precedent in pictorial art, and the statistics of which seem almost fabulous. ... Albums for the reception of these pictures were provided, and these once obtained must be filled, first with family and friends, and then with popular favourites, and the photographic album containing the domestic portrait gallery, soon became a necessary adjunct of every drawing-room table.¹²

As a young woman, as we have seen, Miss Acland was an enthusiastic curator of her own domestic portrait gallery, filling her albums with likenesses of family and friends. By the time she took up photography herself, the peak of 'carte mania' had long since passed, but the popularity of portraiture *per se* had scarcely diminished. In 1892, for example, a year after the foundation of the Society of Portrait Painters,

8. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, vol. 142 (6 May 1856 to 27 Jun 1856), cols. 1113–1124, col. 1119

9. S. Thompson, "On Portraits and Portraiture", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 9, no. 158 (15 Jan 1862), pp. 21–22, p. 22

10. "Report of the Jurors", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 8, no. 136 (15 Aug 1863), pp. 336–346, p. 344

11. The literature on Victorian photographic portraiture is extensive. An influential recent work focussing on its social and scientific history is Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography* (London, 2001). See also Ludmilla Jordanova, *Defining Features: Scientific and Medical Portraits, 1660–2000* (Exhibition catalogue, National Portrait Gallery, London, 2000).

12. "Photography: Its History and Applications", *British Quarterly Review*, vol. 44, no. 88 (1 Oct 1866), pp. 346–390, p. 371–372



Fig. 3.4 W. & D. Downey, “The Right Hon. A H D Acland”, carbon print (*Cabinet Portrait Gallery* (5th series, London, 1894))

there was still no let-up in the “extraordinary demand for portraits of celebrities in science, art, literature, on the stage, and in society”.¹³ This demand was addressed by such sweeping surveys as W. & D. Downey’s *Cabinet Portrait Gallery* (5 series, London, 1890–94), in which Miss Acland’s cousin Arthur Acland appeared (fig. 3.4). Women were well represented in these collections, as reflected in the title of Charles Eglington’s *Men and Women of the Day* (7 vols, London, 1888–1894). They also featured in popular art exhibitions, the show of “Fair Women” at the Grafton Galleries attracting large crowds in 1894, the catalogue for which was illustrated with collotype reproductions by H. H. Hay Cameron (Herbert Acland’s schoolmate).¹⁴

In Oxford, and Miss Acland’s home in particular, the Victorian appetite for portraiture was as strongly expressed as anywhere. As Lionel Henry Cust (1859–1929), Director of the National Portrait Gallery, explained in the preface to the catalogue of a series of exhibitions of “Historical Portraits” organized in Oxford from 1904, the history of the University was “bound up in the portraits” that hung in its halls: “From the earliest days it had been the custom for collegiate and other incorporated bodies to commemorate by portraits those persons who had done honour to such a body, or conferred a benefit on it in some other way.”¹⁵ In the Acland house portraits could be found hanging cheek by jowl in most of the rooms. The waiting room, for example (fig. 3.5), was covered from dado to ceiling with oil portraits, prints and photographs, whether of the Royal Family or Acland ancestors; scientific and medical heroes, such as William Harvey, Michael Faraday and Florence Nightingale; or local dignitaries, such as the Duke of Marlborough,

13. “Contemporary Portraiture”, *Queen*, vol. 92, no. 2395 (19 Nov 1892), p. 858

14. See “‘Fair Women’ At The Grafton Gallery”, *The Times*, no. 34267 (18 May 1894), p. 4a.

15. Lionel Cust, “Introduction”, in [Oxford Historical Society], *Illustrated Catalogue of a Loan Collection of Portraits* (3 vols, Oxford, 1904–06), vol. 1, pp. 7–13, pp. 7–8



Fig. 3.5 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Waiting Room, Broad Street", gelatine negative (reversed), Jul 1900 (cat. no. 674)

Edward Talbot (1844–1934) and Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900). Arranged in the dining room were busts of Queen Victoria, Prince Leopold, Gladstone, Ruskin and Canon Pusey (cat. nos. 154 & 155). More than thirty portraits were crammed into the drawing room, including a large self-portrait of George Richmond and studies by Willie Richmond of Professor Donkin and Miss Acland's brothers Frank and Alfred. A pencil drawing of Mary Gladstone (1847–1927) by Burne-Jones was mentioned by Ruskin in his lectures as an example of "the painter's best powers stimulated to their utmost" (fig. 3.6).¹⁶ The little drawing room, which had been set aside for Miss Acland's use since her illness, housed one of the most famous portraits of the nineteenth century: John Everett Millais's portrait of Ruskin at Glenfinlas, which hung in pride of place over Miss Acland's writing desk (not, as sometimes assumed, her father's desk).

Most of the portraits in the Acland house had personal links to the family through their sitter or artist, and usually both. Aside from knowing Ruskin as an undergraduate, for example, Acland had been present when Millais began his likeness at Glenfinlas.¹⁷ An engraving after Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830) of Miss Acland's grandmother, Lydia Elizabeth Acland née Hoare (1786–1856), was said to have been Samuel Cousins's first plate, commissioned by Sir Thomas Acland.¹⁸

16. John Ruskin, *The Art of England: Lectures Given in Oxford* (Orpington, 1884), lecture 2, "Mythic Schools of Painting / E. Burne-Jones and G. F. Watts" (12 and 16 May 1883), p. 66

17. See Alastair Grieve, "Ruskin and Millais at Glenfinlas", *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 138, no. 1117 (Apr 1996), pp. 228–234.

18. Alfred Whitman, *Samuel Cousins* (London, 1904), p. 14; Ms. Acland d. 4, fols. 86–91 (HWA to SA, 5 Jan 1846)



Fig. 3.6 Edward Burne-Jones, *Mary Gladstone*, lithograph from pencil drawing, 1879 (Lucy Masterman (ed.), *Mary Gladstone (Mrs Drew): Her Diaries and Letters* (London, 1930), frontispiece)



Fig. 3.7 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Pussy corner in the Drawing Room, Broad St, Oxford", gelatine negative (reversed), Mar 1901 (cat. no. 692)

George Richmond's self portrait owed its place in the drawing room to his alliance with Acland formed in Rome in 1837 (three years later Richmond drew Acland's brother in the first of his seventy portraits for the Grillion's Club).¹⁹ A double portrait of Miss Acland's brothers Herbert and Reginald by Ann Mary Newton (1832–1866) reflected Acland's friendships with her husband Charles Newton (1816–1894) and father Joseph Severn (1793–1879), Keats's companion in Rome.

Acland was not only a collector but an active patron of portraitists. One of his most significant commissions was an "Oxford Gallery of Portraits", begun by the Royal Academy student William Edwards Miller (1851–1940) in 1876.²⁰ The Gallery included Prince Leopold, the Liddells (including Alice), Rolleston, and Frances

19. See Raymond Lister, *George Richmond: A Critical Biography* (London, 1981), esp. ch. 3; and [The Secretaries, Grillion's Club], *Grillion's Club: A Chronicle, 1912–1913* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 99–109.

20. Ms. Acland d. 142, fols. 50–52 (SA to SAA, [1877]). Miller was the son of John Miller (1818–1871), artist. His brothers included Arthur William Miller, Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum, and Alexander Kenneth Miller (1856–1945), chemist (see A. J. Curtin Cosby, "Alexander Kenneth Miller (1856–1945)", *Journal of the Chemical Society*, pt. 1, 1946, pp. 67–68). His wife Mary J. R. Miller, née Backhouse was a 'figure painter' who exhibited at the Royal Academy before and after their marriage. Miller became a noted collector (see "London Museum / Mr. W. E. Miller's Gifts", *The Times*, p. 46163 (18 Jun 1932), p. 10d). His portrait of Lewis Evans (1853–1930) hangs in the Museum of the History of Science.



Fig. 3.8 William Edwards Miller, "George Rolleston, M.D.", lithograph from a crayon drawing, 1877 (George Rolleston, ed. William Turner, *Scientific Papers and Addresses* (Oxford, 1884), frontispiece)

Parthenope, Lady Verney (1819–1890) (Florence Nightingale's sister), amongst many others.²¹ In the Anatomy School three decades earlier Acland had employed the portrait painter Julian Drummond (?1826–1906) to draw specimens, on the recommendation of George Jones (1786–1869), Keeper of the Royal Academy.²² In 1854 Drummond exhibited a portrait of Acland at the Academy, a year after painting Miss Acland's friend Beatrix Marion Muirhead (1849–1944) (niece of Mary Anne Boulton). From 1871 to 1888 he served as artist to the Radcliffe Library, giving instruction in drawing to students, in fulfilment of Acland's belief that "every true naturalist must be more or less a draughtsman."²³

During her childhood Miss Acland was able to witness portraits in the making. In the early 1850s Alexander Munro visited to take sittings for medallions of Willie, Harry and their mother, for example (Harry's was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1855, Mrs Acland's later placed in the Cathedral).²⁴ Drummond followed in 1858

21. For examples of Miller's work see his file in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art; Graves, *The Royal Academy of Art*; and Christopher White, with Catherine Gordon and Mary Peskett Smith, *British and Irish Paintings in Public Collections* (New Haven and London, 2006).

22. Ms. Acland d. 7, fols. 218–219 (HWA to SA, 14 Aug 1849); Christ Church Archives, Oxford, lii.b.1 ("Annual Visitations of Dr Lee's Anatomical Theatre, 1796–1860"), Dec 1849. See also Ms. Acland d. 81, fol. 160 (Jones to HWA, [Dec 1850]). Drummond was the son of Samuel Drummond (1766–1844), artist. His older sister, Rosa Myra Drummond (1816–1888), portrait painter, was the wife of Henry Pointer (1822–1889), a Brighton photographer (see David Simkin, "Mrs Pointer and the Drummond Family"). Julian married Mary Dowson, daughter of John Dowson MD. Her brother Edward Dowson (1831/2–1879) was Physiological Instructor under Acland at the Anatomy School from 1855 or 1856 (see Lionel S. Beale, "The President's Address", *Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society*, no. 3 (1880), pp. 202–207, p. 203–204).

23. [Henry W. Acland], *Arrangements and Regulations of the Radcliffe Library and Reading-Room at the Oxford University Museum* (4th ed., Oxford, 1877), p. 7.

24. See Katharine Macdonald, "Alexander Munro: Pre-Raphaelite Associate, in Benedict Read and Joanna Barnes (eds.), *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture*, pp. 46–65, and see pp. 111–130.



Fig. 3.9 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Drawing Room*, 39–41 Broad Street, gelatine negative (reversed), Jul 1892 (cat. no. 153). Miss Acland's portrait of Acland Sahera, wearing a turban, is propped up on the stool, centre.

to paint Harry and other members of the family.²⁵ Miss Acland sat for Miller (who lodged with the Aclands when Ruskin was away) in 1876 or 1877, in a portrait that hung over the fireplace in the drawing room.²⁶ In the 1880s she saw the sculptor Henry Richard Hope Pinker (1849–1927) work on busts of three Oxford personalities who would later sit for her in photographs: her father, Liddell, and John Scott Burdon Sanderson (1828–1905), Waynflete Professor of Physiology.²⁷ Prior to taking up photography she attempted painted portraiture herself. “So you are taking to portrait painting. All success to you in it dear Pussy”, her mother commented in January 1876.²⁸ How many portraits she finished is unknown. Her most accomplished work appears in several of her interior photographs: a likeness of “Acland Sahera of Zanzibar”, a liberated slave who was the godson of her parents and who visited England in 1878 after training as a catechist at the Universities’ Mission School (fig. 3.9).²⁹

25. Ms. Acland d. 106, fols. 29–30 (SAA to SA, 20 Jul 1858)

26. Ms. Acland d. 142, fols. 96–97 (SA to SAA, 10 May 1877)

27. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 149–151 (SAA to WADA, 1 Dec 1884)

28. Ms. Acland d. 140, fols. 77–79 (SA to SAA, 11 Jan 1876)

29. See “The Universities Mission to Central Africa”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, no. 6558 (23 Nov 1878), p. 6c.

With portraiture so prominent in her home, it is little surprise that Miss Acland chose it as her first photographic specialism. Her earliest dated photographic portraits from half-plate negatives were taken on 8 June 1892, two days after she photographed her father's bust of Aphrodite. They depict Gertrude Jane Denniston (1846–1920), Superintendent of the Acland Home for Nurses, seated in the back garden at Broad Street (cat. nos. 129–32). The following day she photographed a friend already famous through photography: Oronhyatekha, Chief of the Mohawks, who sat for Hills & Saunders in 1862 in his native dress (cat. nos. 133–4) (figs. 3.10 & 3.11).³⁰ Later in June Miss Acland secured another well-known figure, who was visiting for Commemoration: George Miller (1853–1928), bandmaster of the Royal Marines (cat. no. 136).³¹

The photograph Miss Acland described as the first portrait she ever took, her undated head study of her father (cat. no. 116), survives alongside a close variant in her first album (cat. no. 117) (fig. 3.12).³² Both show Acland in profile, posed in front of a plain fabric background. Also in the album are two similar studies, again undated, showing Acland three-quarter face (cat. nos. 118–9).³³ Mounted on the same openings are another pair of undated portraits in the same style, this time of Dean Liddell (cat. nos. 120–1) (fig. 3.13). Liddell wrote to thank Miss Acland for copies on 30 July 1892, but how far in advance of this date they were taken is unclear.³⁴ The diffuse top-down lighting of the profiles of Acland suggests they were taken outside; a fact later confirmed by Miss Acland in her portraiture lecture when she used them to demonstrate that in outdoor work “a shady place should be chosen, where the light was cut off on one side”.³⁵ The three-quarter studies of Acland and portraits of Liddell display greater contrasts of lighting, so were probably taken indoors. Whether Miss Acland had adapted the Mess room for photography by this date is also unknown. Portraits of Eleanor Edwards taken on 18 July, in what appears to be a dining room or a sitting room, suggest not (cat. nos. 160–1). The earliest unequivocal evidence of the Mess room in use as a studio is found in a photograph of the back of the house taken on 16 June 1893, in which the fabric background Miss Acland used is visible through the window (cat. no. 222).

As discussed in detail in elsewhere, in their strong contrasts of lighting, diffusion of focus and motion blur, Miss Acland's early portraits of her father and Dean Liddell immediately evoke the work of Julia Margaret Cameron (figs. 3.14 to

30. “Burning Cloud”, né Peter Martin (1841–1907). See Gayle M. Comeau-Vasilopoulos, “Oronhyatekha”, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, ([www.biographi.ca], 2000).

31. In 1921 Miller's son George John Miller (1877–1960) visited Miss Acland in the company of Frank Cooper, of marmalade fame. In 1923 George sent her a photograph of his home, in return for one of hers. His son later married the daughter of Joseph William Gleeson White (1851–1898), editor of the *Studio* and *Photograms of the Year*. See Ms. Acland d. 114, fols. 145–146 (SAA to WADA, 11 Mar 1921); Ms. Acland d. 173, fol. 272 (George Miller Snr. to SAA, 21 Apr 1921); and Ms. Acland d. 165, fols. 96–97 (George Miller Snr. to SAA, 20 Dec 1923).

32. Ms. Photogr. c. 176, fols. 157–194

33. Ibid., fols. 161–184

34. Ms. Acland d. 159, fols. 37–38 (Liddell to SAA, 30 Jul 1892)

35. “Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 1 (Apr 1899), pp. 3–5, p. 4a



Fig. 3.10 Hills & Saunders, "Oronhyatekha", albumen print, 1862 (Ms. Photogr. c. 178, f. 250)



Fig. 3.11 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Dr. Oronhyatekha, Mohawk Chief", albumen print, 8 Jun 1892 (cat. no. 133)

3.17).³⁶ Other studies in Miss Acland's earliest album in the same style include her portraits of the Gladstones; portraits of her Mentone doctor Peter William Marriott (1831–1902), taken on 19 July 1892 (cat. no. 163); of his wife Margaret Marriott, née Fitzgerald (1832–1916), taken on 1 October (cat. no. 208); the Oxford philanthropist Eleanor Elizabeth Smith (1822–1896), undated (cat. no. 210); and Sir Harry Verney (1801–1894), veteran liberal MP for Buckingham, taken on the day of the Romanes Lecture (cat. no. 209). That Miss Acland attempted to imitate Cameron so closely in her early work may be attributed to three main factors: Cameron's artistic reputation generally; her influence on women photographers specifically; and her direct personal links with Miss Acland through Oxford.

By 1891 Cameron's work had long been regarded by photographers and the public alike as the most artistic and original of the century: "the most picture-like photographs certainly which have been given to the world", as *The Times* put it on her death in 1879.³⁷ In the 1890s she was enjoying renewed popularity, partly due to her son Henry Herschel Hay Cameron, who organized an exhibition of the "Cameron Studio of Photography" at the Camera Gallery in New Bond Street in 1889.³⁸ Appraisal of Cameron was usually highly gendered: that she was a woman was an implicit and often express focus of discussion. The gendered assessment of her work also translated to other women photographers: during the last decades of

36. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, esp. pp. [44] ff. and cat. nos. 1–3.

37. "The Late Mrs. Julia Hay Cameron", *The Times*, no. 29506 (4 Mar 1879), p. 10f

38. See "Exhibitions of the Month", *Magazine of Art*, vol. 12, no. 104 (Jun 1889), pp. xxxiv–xxxv. The catalogue contained Cameron's semi-autobiographical *Annals of My Glass House*.



Fig. 3.12 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Sir Henry Acland . Bart. K.C.B.*", albumen print, ?May 1892 (cat. no. 117)

Fig. 3.13 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*The Very Rev. Dean Liddell*", albumen print, 30 Jul 1892 (cat. no. 120)

Fig. 3.14 Julia Margaret Cameron, "*The Dean of Christ Church*", albumen print, 1865 (Ms. Photogr. c. 175, f. 361)

Fig. 3.15 Julia Margaret Cameron, "*J. F. W. Herschel*", albumen print, 1867 (Arch. K. b. 12, f. 53r)

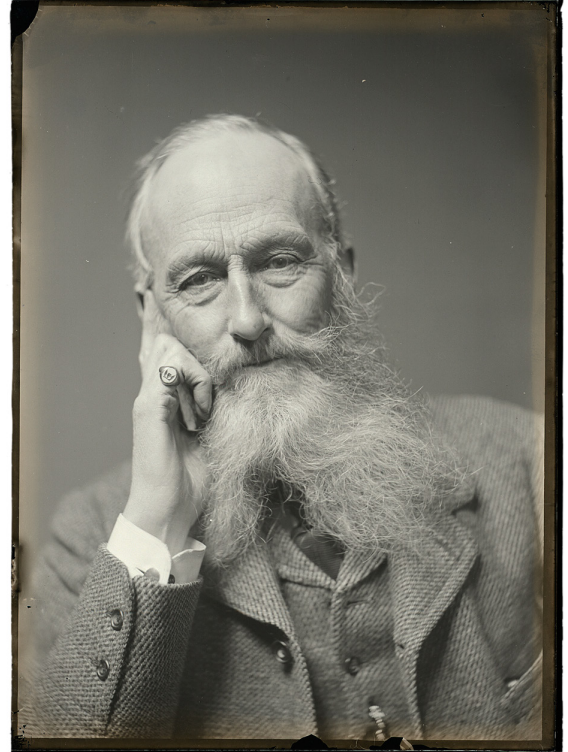
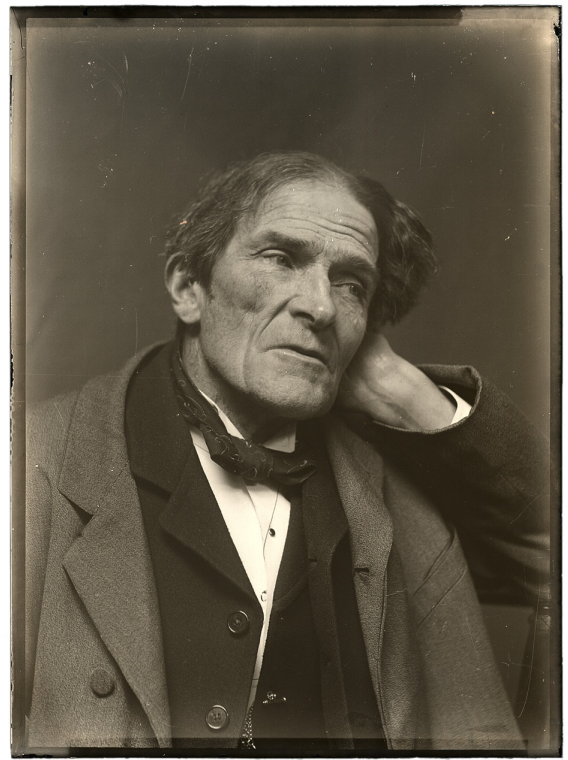


Fig. 3.16 Julia Margaret Cameron, "*Frank Charteris*", albumen print, 1867, given to the University Galleries through Acland

Fig. 3.17 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Dr. Burdon Sanderson*", gelatine negative (reversed), 20 Jun 1894 (cat. no. 298)

Fig. 3.18 Julia Margaret Cameron, "*Henry Taylor D.C.L.*", albumen print, 1867, given to University Galleries through Acland

Fig. 3.19 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Colonel Impey 1898*", gelatine negative (reversed), 1897 ? (cat. no. 486)



Fig. 3.20 'From Life by Mrs. Brian Hodgson', "Marianne North at Home", 'Autotype' (carbon print), 1886–87 (Ms. Hodgson 18/2, f. 82)

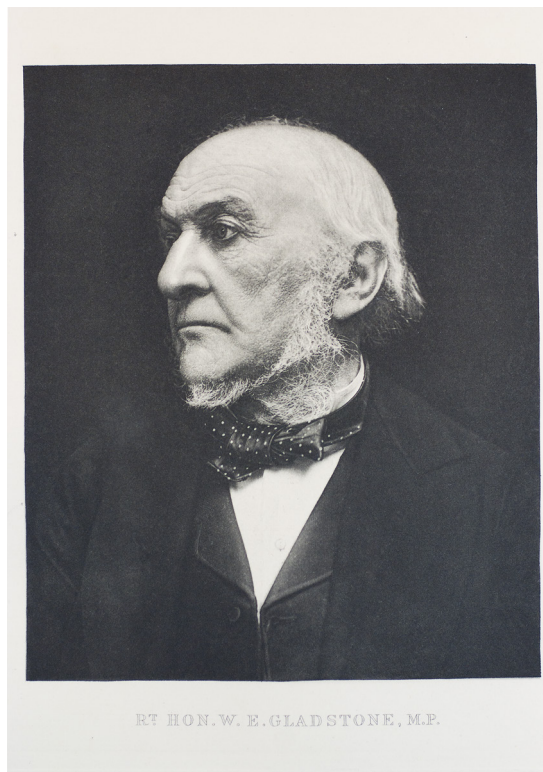


Fig. 3.21 Eveleen Myers, "Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.", photogravure by W. L. Colls, published 1891 (*Sun Artists*, no. 7, 1891)

the nineteenth century women's photography was discussed within a framework in which Cameron was the central point of reference, to an extent to which men's photography was not. Examples of women photographers of a younger generation who were compared to Cameron are numerous.³⁹ As early as 1875, for example, when Harriet Sarah Paget (1841/2–1923) exhibited at the Photographic Society, her photographs were described by the *British Journal of Photography* as "strongly suggestive of Mrs. Cameron's style", albeit "in better focus".⁴⁰ In 1888, when exhibited at an exhibition in Gloucester, Susan Hodgson's portraits were reviewed in similar terms: "The work of Mrs. Brian Hodgson deserves praise, several of the pictures suggesting the work of the late Mrs. Cameron", one critic wrote.⁴¹ In Hodgson's case the parallels with Cameron extended to her choice of sitters and manner of presenting her work. Her portrait of Marianne North (1830–1890), for example, was reproduced by the Autotype process and signed "From life by Mrs Brian Hodgson", in imitation of Cameron's signature (fig. 3.20).⁴² Eveleen Myers was also frequently compared to Cameron, Peter Henry Emerson (1856–1936)

39. See also the examples cited in *First Lady of Colour Photography*, pp. 20–21.

40. "The Photographic Exhibition / Concluding Notice", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 22, no. 812 (2 Nov 1875), pp. 567–568, p. 568a

41. "The Photographic Exhibition at Gloucester / Second Notice", *Photographic News*, vol. 32, no. 1547 (27 Apr 1888), p. 258

42. On Cameron's signatures see "Appendix B / Inscriptions, Stamps, and the Business of Photography", in Cox and Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron: The Complete Photographs*, pp. 498–501.

placing their work side by side in illustration of “The Artistic Aspects of Figure Photography” in the *Magazine of Art* in July 1891.⁴³

For many commentators Cameron was important not only because of the artistic quality of her photographs, but as a role model for women, at a time when, as Anne Thackeray Ritchie (1837–1919) remarked, “a young lady’s wildest aspirations did not reach beyond crinolines and frisettes”.⁴⁴ In an article on “Women’s Lives: The Photographer” in the *Photographic News* in 1895, for example, the anonymous author argued that Cameron had shown women a path in photography closed to them in other walks of life:

The average woman had best leave art alone; but, by force of intelligent study and thoughtful industry, she may triumph with the camera. Indeed, not only what she can do is to be pointed out, but likewise what she has done. She may turn, for an example and guide, to Mrs. Cameron, who was inspired among photographers and whose portraits explain that the mistress of the machine is not necessarily a mere automaton.⁴⁵

The argument applied not only to amateurs but a new generation of ladies starting out as professional photographers: “In Bloomsbury, in Pimlico, in Chelsea, already Mrs. Cameron has had her followers—pioneers pointing out the way.”⁴⁶

Cameron’s influence on Miss Acland operated both artistically and socially: not only did Miss Acland have opportunities to see Cameron’s photographs at first hand, she also met her in person. Cameron visited Oxford during the height of her fame as a photographer, where her sons were at university (the eldest, Hardinge Hay Cameron (1846–1911), went up to University College in 1865, where he was a contemporary of Arthur Edward Donkin; Henry Herschel Hay followed in 1871). According to Emily, Lady Tennyson (1813–1896), in a letter to her poet husband in December 1870, Cameron received a rapturous reception in the City:

She says that the poet laureate could not have had more honour paid him at Oxford than she had. She [was] asked by one to dinner, by another to tea, by another to luncheon, and to a party at Dean Liddell’s, where the whole room was adorned with her photographs and many of the three or four hundred people there were saying, “Have you seen Mrs. Cameron’s photographs? She is here tonight herself.” “Oh, I should like to be introduced.” So many were praising Hardinge, so many thanking her for this and that favour done to this and that relative at Freshwater that at last she scarcely knew what to do.⁴⁷

It was either during this visit or around the same time that Cameron visited the Aclands, when Miss Acland witnessed her famous argument with Ruskin over the merits of photography.⁴⁸ The impression Cameron made on Miss Acland is reflected in the emphasis she gave this altercation in her memoirs. “John Ruskin

43. *Magazine of Art*, vol. 14, no. 129 (Jul 1891), pp. 310–316

44. Anne Thackeray Ritchie, “Reminiscences”, in Cameron, Cameron and Ritchie, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson and His Friends* (London, 1893), pp. 9–16, pp. 12–13

45. “Women’s Lives: The Photographer”, *Photographic News*, n.s. vol. 39, no. 28 (12 Jul 1895), pp. 441–442, p. 441

46. *Ibid.*

47. James O. Hogg (ed.), *The Letters of Emily Lady Tennyson* (University Park, Pennsylvania, and London, 1974), p. 265, letter of 11 Dec 1870

48. The probable range of dates for the meeting is Jul 1870 to Feb 1872. Ruskin was in correspondence with Cameron from at least 23 Feb 1868 (Ruskin to Julia Margaret Cameron, in Cook and

you are not worthy of photographs”, she records Cameron exclaiming, describing how the celebrated photographer then slammed shut a portfolio containing her iconic portrait of Sir John Herschel (which Ruskin had criticized).⁴⁹ Whom the “portfolio” belonged to is not stated. Three photographs by Cameron appear in Miss Acland’s album: her study of “Mary Ryan Cotton” “after the manner of Perugino” and portraits of Liddell and Henry Taylor.⁵⁰ Although Herschel is absent from the album, a framed copy of his portrait hung in a prominent position in the drawing room at Broad Street during the 1890s (see cat. no. 676).⁵¹ That this was originally kept in a portfolio is likely.

Also conspicuous in its absence from Miss Acland’s album is Cameron’s study of her father, which was taken in Freshwater in July 1867, around the time he attended the marriage between Ryan and his wife’s cousin. The omission is probably due to Acland’s dislike of the portrait: in August, having been waylaid by a stranger “knowing you Sir by your Photograph”, he commented to Mrs Acland “not I hope the Freshwater one”.⁵² Acland did, nevertheless, greatly admire Cameron’s portraiture as a whole, as reflected in his acquisition of several examples for the University Galleries, soon after his appointment as Curator (in what were the first photographs to be added to the collections as works of art in their own right). Of the thirty-two portraits by Cameron now in the Ashmolean, three, all taken in 1867, are inscribed in Cameron’s hand “Presented by Mrs Cameron thro’ Dr. Acland to the University Gallery Oxford” (figs. 3.16 & 3.17).⁵³ That Miss Acland saw these either before or after they went to the Galleries (or both) seems likely, not least because several of her later portraits, although departing from Cameron’s style of lighting, are arranged in strikingly similar poses (figs. 3.18 & 3.19).

Portrait Exchange

For Cameron, photographic portraiture served a very public function, bringing her a degree of celebrity approaching that of her sitters. Cameron actively courted publicity for her photography, compiling miniature albums to circulate among friends and mounting solo exhibitions to try to sell her work.⁵⁴ Miss Acland, within the constraints of propriety placed upon her as an unmarried upper middle-class woman, also went to lengths to promote her work early in her career, seeking out an audience and approval for her portraits. The first strategy she adopted was simply to send unmounted prints to her sitters and their relatives, thus drawing on the acceptability of the “system of portrait exchange” that had already been

Wedderburn, vol. 37 (1909), p. 734). However, he lodged in the Acland house only from Feb 1870 to Feb 1872. Miss Acland was absent abroad from May 1869 to Jul 1870.

49. DRO 1148m/7/1, p. 52.

50. Ms. Photogr. c. 175, fols. 361, 527 and 399

51. In Miss Acland’s photographs of the room a letter can be seen tucked behind the frame, suggesting the portrait may also have been a gift from the artist.

52. Ms. Acland d. 16, fols. 227–229 (HWA to SA, 5 Aug 1867)

53. The portraits in question are “Hon. Frank Charteris”, cat. no. 632 in Cox and Ford; “Henry Taylor / D.C.L.”, cat. no. 790; and “Mary Mother”, cat. no. 101, as a large oval.

54. See Philippa Wright, “Little Pictures: Julia Margaret Cameron and Small-Format Photography”, in Cox and Ford, pp. 81–93.



Fig. 3.22 Sarah Angelina Acland,
"Mrs Gladstone",
gelatine negative (reversed),
25 Oct 1892 (cat. no. 212)

established as part of the discourse of polite society, through the *carte de visite*. Accompanying the prints was usually an offer to supply more, gratis, should they be wanted. After photographing the Gladstones, for example, she sent copies of the prints to Downing Street, to which Mrs Gladstone replied:

Many thanks for the photographs — the one I like best is the grave one of my Husband & I accept with pleasure your offer of sending me some: they are always a treat in our Homes & to kind friends. How clever of you to have got on with photography and all so quickly. To be quite honest I don't like myself but one is really not the best judge & still it is nice to see us together. ... Some one has been in & says "That is 'fine'" pointing to the serious photo I am asking for, wch appraisal I hasten to give you.⁵⁵

This request fulfilled, Mrs Gladstone placed an additional order for more, perhaps finding she liked the portraits more than she first expected:

I think that the photographs of my Husband wch you kindly sent are very good & as you so generously tell me that I may have more I shall be very grateful 4 more of any items, 4 a few beggars are greedy people. We go to Windsor Castle on Friday & Home on Saturday where Photos will find me. I think it is so clever of you to have made such way in the art of photography.⁵⁶

Miss Acland also sent copies to Gladstone's nieces. "The large heads of each of them are excellent & so simple and the 2 together is very good too. I value them

55. Ms. Acland d. 172, fols. 86–87 (Catherine Gladstone to SAA, "Sat" ["1892"])

56. Ms. Acland d. 172, fols. 84–85 (Catherine Gladstone to SAA, 23 Nov [1892])

greatly", Mary Selina Gladstone (1842–1932), wrote.⁵⁷ "No wonder you had the prize for the G.O.M. I am immensely struck with it, and I like the others very much indeed, specially the one of the two together", Constance Elizabeth Gladstone (1850–1928) replied.⁵⁸

For portraits of celebrities of Gladstone's eminence Miss Acland could also find an appreciative audience amongst her own friends and family. To Gladstone's political ally, her uncle Tom Acland, for example, she presented a framed print.⁵⁹ More audacious was her decision to send a copy to the future Conservative Prime Minister, Arthur James Balfour (1848–1938), for which he returned his "kindest thanks for yr. admirable photograph of the G.O.M."⁶⁰ Praise for her portraits seems to have been genuine. Liddell described Gladstone's portrait as "very striking – very", for example, while James Paget thought it "certainly the best likeness of him that I have ever seen".⁶¹ Paget's son, Francis Paget (1851–1911), Bishop of Oxford, who won the Chancellor's Prize for Latin Verse for a poem on photography in the style of Lucretius in 1871, liked Gladstone's portrait so much he had his wife, Helen Beatrice Paget, née Church (1858–1900), place a special request: "Frank is so much delighted with the photograph of Mr Gladstone," she wrote, "that he is making so bold as to ask if he might have one for his study? If he may, may he see a brown one – as a rule he greatly prefers them to the grey."⁶²

Miss Acland was comfortable with sending her photographs, unsolicited, to members of the highest level of society: royalty. At Christmas 1903, for example, she dispatched a portrait of her aunt Julia Regine Josephine Acland, née Wappner to the Queen Mother of the Netherlands.⁶³ In January 1901 Winifred Ellen Gore, Countess of Arran (d. 1921) acknowledged a similar gift:

I have today had a letter from Princess Victoria at Cumberland Lodge saying she had not yet given the Queen the photo[s]. for they came at a time she was getting hundreds of new year cards & letters. & she knows your photos would not receive as much attention as they might and she was keeping them for a quiet time when she returns to The Queen in a fortnight. ⁶⁴

The photos Miss Acland sent Queen Victoria were probably colour slides, further examples of which she gave to the subsequent occupant of Buckingham Palace, Queen Alexandra, who was a respected photographer in her own right.⁶⁵ The most unusual recipient of her photographs was probably the Sultan of Morocco, Mulai Abd al-Aziz (1878–1943), to whom she presented colour slides of the Moors she photographed in Gibraltar in 1903 (see ch. 6).

57. Ms. Acland d. 172, fols. 90–91 (Mary Gladstone to SAA, 29 Nov 1892)

58. Ms. Acland d. 172, fols. 88–89 (Constance Gladstone to SAA, 12 Jun [1893])

59. Ms. Acland d. 146, fols. 219–221 (Tom Acland to SAA, 6 Nov 1892)

60. Ms. Acland d. 171, fols. 46–47 (Balfour to SAA, 29 Jul 1893)

61. Ms. Acland d. 159, fols. 39–40 (Liddell to SAA, 7 Nov 1892); Ms. Acland d. 162, fols. 41–42 (Paget to SAA, 16 Nov 1892)

62. Ms. Acland d. 174, fol. 62 (Helen Beatrice Paget to SAA, [Nov 1892])

63. See Ms. Acland d. 177, fols. 36–38 (Elisabeth Gerhardina ('Elsie'), Baroness van Ittersum (1851–1936) to SAA, 28 Dec 1903). Julia was the Queen's former governess.

64. Ms. Acland d. 177, fols. 21–22 (Lady Arran to SAA, 7 Jan 1901). Miss Acland also sent photographs to Victoria in Jan 1900 (Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 41–42 (SAA to WADA, 3 Jan 1900)).

65. See Ms. Acland d. 177, fol. 83 (Knollys to SAA, 12 Jun 1903) and *passim*. See also Frances Dimond, *Developing the Picture: Queen Alexandra and the Art of Photography* (London, 2004).



Fig. 3.23 Sarah Angelina Acland, “*The Right Rev the Lord Bishop of Oxford*”, bromide print? “21 Oct 1896” (cat. no. 403). The date on the card conflicts with Miss Acland’s portrait album, where the year is given as 1895.

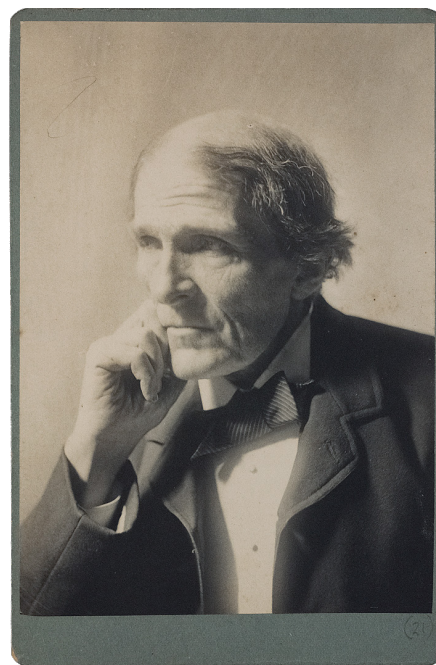


Fig. 3.24 Sarah Angelina Acland, *John Scott Burdon Sanderson*, bromide print? allegedly 1894 (cat. no. 300).

How many photographs Miss Acland sent out as gifts between 1891 and 1915 is difficult to estimate. In December 1897 her father commented that she had just printed off (with her own hand) thirty-six prints of one of her lesser-known sitters, Selina Heathcote, née Shirley (1914–1901), the Dowager Lady Heathcote. In the same letter he also stated that she had “her photograph moulder hard at it with her till past, or quite 9 [o’clock]”, indicating that she engaged professional assistance for time to time.⁶⁶ Specimens of her portraits can be found in institutions across the world, presented in a variety of formats. The Bodleian Library, Watts Gallery and National Portrait Gallery all hold examples mounted as cabinet cards, for example (cat. nos. 400, 246 & 403), one of which is labelled “Copyright / By Miss Acland” above the image (fig. 3.23).⁶⁷ Gelatine enlargements of her portraits of Burdon Sanderson survive amongst the Horsley family photographs in the Bodleian Library, while the Oxfordshire History Centre holds a selection of albumen and platino-matt or platinotype prints of various Oxford personalities, harvested from an album.⁶⁸ Photographs in the US National Library of Medicine of her father and John Shaw Billings (1838–1913), Deputy Surgeon General of the United States (one of her most frequent sitters), are autographed by both men (cat. nos. 345 & 450).⁶⁹

66. Ms. Acland d. 26, fol. 179 (HWA to SAA, 26 Dec 1897)

67. NPG Acquisition no. x34767, acquired from the Corporation of Church House

68. Ms. Eng. b. 2008, fols. 17 & 18. Victor Alexander Haden Horsley (1857–1916) collaborated with Sanderson’s successor, Francis Gotch (1853–1913), to whom Miss Acland lent one of her negatives for reproduction in Sanderson’s obituary in 1907.

69. US National Library of Medicine, B03036 (portraits)

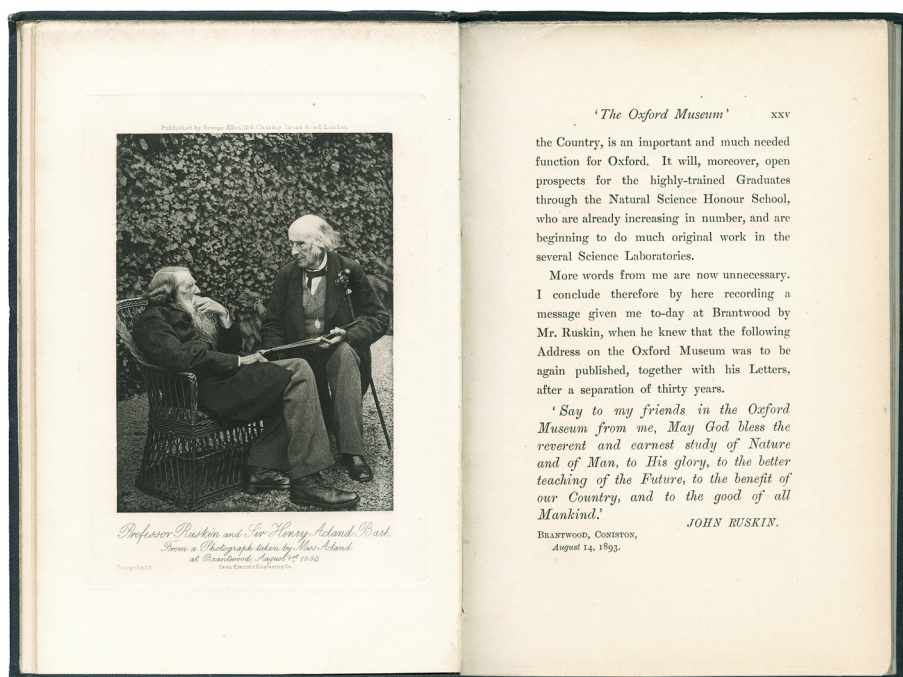


Fig. 3.25 Octavo edition of *The Oxford Museum*, showing the reduced size photogravure of Miss Acland's portrait of Ruskin and Acland (London and Orpington, 1893, opp. p. xxv).

Publication and its Problems

"Your celebrity as a photographer is becoming world-wide!", Constance Gladstone commented on 12 June 1893, when returning thanks for the portrait of her uncle. Later in the year Miss Acland's celebrity was advanced further by the publication of the photographs she took of Ruskin at Brantwood in August 1893.⁷⁰ Four portraits in total resulted from the visit: two of Ruskin alone (cat. nos. 248 & 249); one of Ruskin with her father (cat. no. 246); and one of both men with Ruskin's cousin and housekeeper, Joanna Ruskin Tweddale Sproat Severn, née Agnew (1846–1924) (cat. no. 247). The double portrait came to public attention early in 1894 when, at the suggestion of George Allen (1832–1907), Ruskin's publisher, it was included in photogravure in a new edition of Ruskin and Acland's jointly authored work, *The Oxford Museum* (London and Orpington, 1893). Allen had learnt of the photograph from William H. Ward (b. 1842), partner in the Swan Electric Engraving Co., who visited Oxford early in October 1893 to discuss engraving a portrait of Mrs Acland for Miss Acland's memoir of her mother.⁷¹ *The Oxford Museum* was published on 17 January 1894 in two sizes, crown octavo (fig. 3.25) and crown quarto (the latter in a limited edition of 180 copies on high-quality deckle-edged paper).⁷² In February or March the photogravures were also issued as 'separate impressions'

70. For a discussion of these portraits, see *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 22 & pp. 64 ff.

71. Ms. Acland d. 171, fols. 14–15 (Allen to SAA, 2 Oct 1893). William H. Ward was not the William Ward who looked after Ruskin's photographic orders, but the son of Marcus Ward (d. 1847), an eminent Belfast printer who was credited with discovering Kate Greenaway. See D. Roger Dixon, *Marcus Ward and Company of Belfast* (Belfast, 2004).

72. "Publications To-Day", *The Times*, no. 34163 (17 Jan 1894), p. 7e



Fig. 3.26 Miss Acland's portrait of Ruskin as published in the *Windsor Magazine* in 1895 (*Windsor Magazine*, Feb 1895, frontispiece).

(the larger on India paper bonded to a sheet of wove) (see fig. 3.1). According to *Amateur Photographer*, the London shop windows made many people familiar with these prints.⁷³ In February the following year Ruskin's portrait was reproduced as a half-tone in the *Windsor Magazine*, a new periodical with a circulation of 100,000, where it accompanied an article on the Ruskin Museum by Alfred Gordon Sprigg (1860–1921), who apparently included it at Arthur Acland's suggestion.⁷⁴

Miss Acland's single and double portraits of Ruskin were both favourably reviewed, the *Studio* referring to the photogravure as "exquisitely reproduced".⁷⁵ However, their passage into the public sphere was not without its difficulties. Three issues in particular caused Miss Acland anxiety: the business arrangements for the project; the artistic implications of translating the portraits into a medium suitable for mass reproduction; and her copyright in the images. Before the project could go ahead she needed to reach agreements with both Allen and Joan Severn (as Ruskin's power of attorney). Severn was happy to give her permission, with certain provisos:

we cannot object to your letting Mr. Ward publish your photographs but you ought, & I hope will make a good thing of it! — & wont object to our having some when wanted, for ourselves, or personal friends of the Cricket? & if at any future time we

73. See 'Lux', "Personal Paragraphs", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 29, no. 753 (10 Mar 1899), p. 182.

74. Alfred Sprigg, "The Ruskin Museum and its Treasures", *Windsor Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Feb, 1895), pp. 132–140

75. "New Publications", *Studio*, vol. 2, no. 12 (15 Mar 1894), p. 222

think it well to publish any of them with his works — we trust you will allow this — & in your “agreement” with Mr Ward have it clearly stated — as regards profits on the publication that is for yourself to arrange (or your representatives) — & you might put a clause about our having the photos at a moderate price if wanted for books.⁷⁶

Allen’s conditions were of a more commercial nature:

I propose that the cost of reproducing the photo. in photogravure and printing the number required for the work should be charged against the book as it will largely increase the sale of it. To meet the extra cost of adding this plate to the book I shall make the published price of ordinary copies 4/- [up from 3s 6d] and the limited edition of 150 copies on large paper 10/6 each. / I will undertake to publish the plate above referred to also any other that may be determined upon as separate plates in whatever form we may determine upon (the detail to be settled hereafter) on the half profits system viz. the necessary cost of reproducing the plates in photogravure and printing the same also advertizing to be charged against the work. Out of my share of the profits I agree to defray the following expenses, cost of distribution, packing and postage insurance and other necessary office expenses including superintendence of the work.⁷⁷

Whether, under these terms, Miss Acland profited financially from the venture at all is doubtful, as Allen’s proposal artfully obscured the fact that she got nothing for the use of the plate in the books.

As far as artistic issues were concerned, the engraving of the double portrait went without difficulty. However, problems arose with the single plate, which Miss Acland also originally intended to publish in photogravure. In the middle of February 1894, having heard nothing back from Allen since sending him the negative, she dispatched an angry letter, to which he replied defensively:

I much regret if I have done or left undone anything which had given you trouble or anxiety and caused you to write me in the tone of your letter received this morning. I must admit surprise as it shows plainly a want of confidence in me which I do not rightly deserve. ... I placed the negative of Mr Ruskin in the hands of the Swan Electric Co. on Jan. 16th and have not yet seen a proof of the plate but I understand from Mr Ward this morning that it is nearly ready for proving.⁷⁸

Ward, for his part, pleaded that “we have had the other (single) portrait long enough in hand to complete it, in the ordinary way, but we look upon it as a Plate of the greatest importance, and we should be sorry to have to hurry its completion. We may, possibly, complete it to our own satisfaction within a week from now.”⁷⁹ When the proof did finally arrive Miss Acland was unhappy with it, so she sent Allen a print of her own to show how she wanted it done. In his reply Allen described some of the faults of the original:

I quite agree with you about the photogravure. Swan’s people had no orders from me nor justification of any kind in taking that piece off the side and thereby framing Mr. Ruskin’s arm close up to the edge of the picture. I have conferred with Mr Ward and they will do another plate and try it on a larger scale this ‘time’ as was first

76. Ms. Acland d. 174, fols. 166–167 (Joan Severn to SAA, 23 Oct 1893)

77. Ms. Acland d. 171, fols. 16–17 (Allen to SAA, 23 Oct 1893)

78. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 3–4 (Allen to SAA, 16 Feb 1894)

79. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 5–6 (Ward to Allen, 16 Feb 1894)

mentioned by Ward. I am glad of the print you enclosed and agree with you that it is better in many ways than the photogravure and I hope with the help of it we shall do better.⁸⁰

Whether artistic issues were all that concerned Allen is questionable, doubts about the commercial viability of the portrait being a more likely reason for the delays, in which he was probably complicit with Ward. "An expert in these matters gives it as his opinion, with which I agree, that the portrait of Mr Ruskin singly will not be a popular one although it is the latest one", he eventually confessed.⁸¹ At the same time he proposed new terms for its publication, namely that Miss Acland should get a royalty of 25% on the full price, but warning her that it was customary to allow the trade a discount for photographs and prints of 5% over the normal 33⅓%, and that in the case of foreign or export orders a further 10% was allowed. By the end of May 1894 no further progress had been made with the plate, Ward advising that to do the job well would want "unlimited time".⁸² Exasperated, Miss Acland resolved to abandon the idea of publishing the single portrait in photogravure altogether.

Copyright was something that preoccupied Miss Acland from the outset of the discussions about publishing her portraits. Her worries reflected photographers' concerns more widely — Emerson, for example, devoted a whole chapter to the subject in his 1889 *Naturalistic Photography for Students of the Art*.⁸³ Under the *Fine Arts Copyright Act, 1862* photographs received protection for the duration of the life of the photographer plus seven years. However, this was forfeited on publication unless they were first registered at Stationers' Hall. When Allen agreed terms with Miss Acland he assured her this would be done: "I quite understand that these portraits were to be registered as your property and in every instance you wished to retain the copyright."⁸⁴ After sending out proofs in December he reassured her again: "I will take care that both are registered in your name and will send you the registers to sign".⁸⁵ Unbeknownst to him, Miss Acland had already registered the photographs for copyright herself, on 6 October 1893: a move that was even reported in the *British Journal of Photography*.⁸⁶ In the months that followed she nevertheless continued to press him on the issue, eventually testing his patience. "Nothing whatever has been done by any one to invalidate you rights as owner of the copyright connected with the negatives", he insisted in February 1894, pointing out that it was "most unlikely any one would attempt pirating these plates and the mere act of registration does not prevent badly disposed people from doing so. Mr Ward who is knowledgeable in these matters says it is time enough to register when you have to appeal to the law."⁸⁷

80. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 9–10 (Ward to SAA, [?5 Mar 1894])

81. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 7–8 (Ward to SAA, 27 Feb 1894)

82. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 18–19 (Allen to SAA, 1 Jun 1894)

83. See also T. Watson Brown, "The Legal Side of Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1663 (18 Mar 1892), p. 184 and [Editorial], *Queen*, no. 2552 (23 Nov 1895), p. 938.

84. Ms. Acland d. 171, fols. 16–17 (Allen to SAA, 28 Oct 1893)

85. Ms. Acland d. 171, fol. 18 (Allen to SAA, 6 Dec 1893)

86. National Archives, COPY 1/414/194 to 1/414/196 and 1/414/205; "Answers to Correspondents / Photographs Registered", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 40, no. 1745 (13 Oct 1893), p. 664

87. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 3–4 (Allen to SAA, 16 Feb 1894)

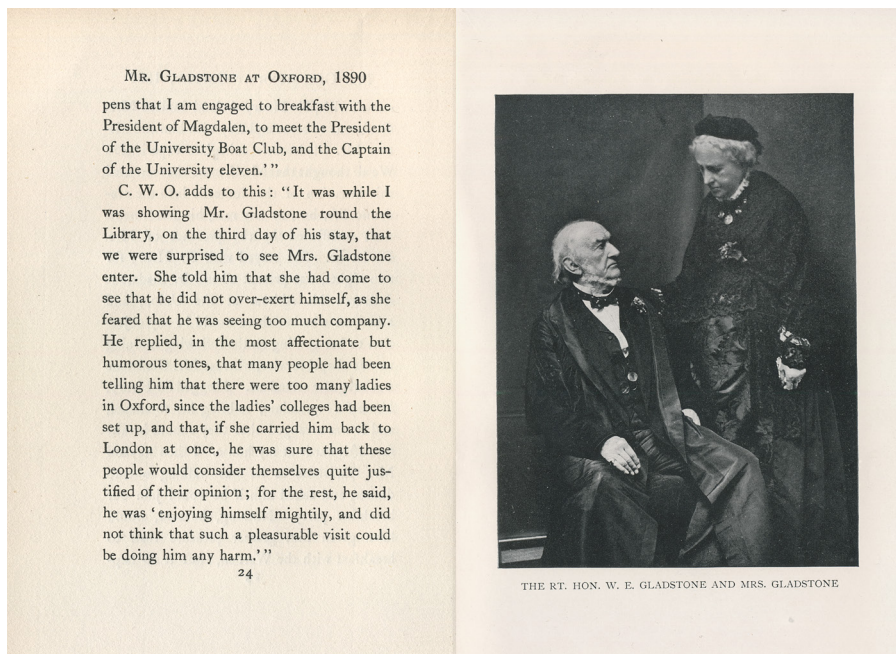


Fig. 3.27 Miss Acland's 1892 portrait of Gladstone and his wife published in half-tone in C. R. L. Fletcher, *Mr. Gladstone at Oxford, 1890* [sic] (London, 1908), facing p. 24.

As over-anxious as Miss Acland may have appeared, her concerns proved to be justified when, in October 1895, her single portrait of Ruskin was reproduced without her permission in the *London Home* magazine. On discovering the offence she engaged her brother Reginald, then a barrister of the Inner Temple, to pursue the matter.⁸⁸ Reginald found that the publishers of the *Windsor Magazine*, Ward, Lock & Bowden (who also published Mrs Beeton) had lent the block to the editor of the *London Home*, William Ralph Hall Caine (1865–1939), on the strength of their friendship with his brother, the novelist Thomas Henry Hall Caine (1853–1931). A stiff letter to Caine followed, requesting an explanation and including a threat “to obtain an injunction and damages against you”.⁸⁹ In his defence Caine pleaded that because Miss Acland was an amateur photographer he thought she wouldn't mind if the portrait was used.⁹⁰ Reginald made it clear he was mistaken:

I pitched with him soundly & told him that it came to this that because you happened to be a lady who did not photograph for profit he had thought right to treat you with less business courtesy than he would have treated an ordinary professional photographer. To wh. he replied that he hoped he wasn't open to that charge & I insisted that he was & he eventually admitted it.⁹¹

Matters were resolved when Caine handed over his electrotpe copy of the plate. Miss Acland was minded to demand the return of the original block from Ward & Co. as well, but Reginald advised that she would be “wiser not to attempt to push your advantage too far”.⁹² If it happened again, he counselled, she should obtain an injunction or an “apology in *The Times*”.⁹³ For now she had “everything you could

88. The whole of Ms. Acland d. 97 is devoted to correspondence on the matter.

89. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 23–24 (RBDA to Caine, 21 Oct 1895)

90. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 25–26 (RBDA to SAA, 22 Oct 1895)

91. Ibid. The reading of “business” is problematic: *business*

92. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 38–39 (RBDA to SAA, 24 Oct 1895)

93. Ms. Acland d. 97, fols. 42–43 (RBDA to SAA, [Oct 1895])

h," should advise at 4.6d, the piece, per. It is a capital dower (Gregory and rk white, and have n. You can have a could arrange to of the stairs, you dices should be of mpatly about the rying to find every iona invest in some sign and colouring out, Brompton-street), each. You would d carpet when you these rugs can be The hall lamp you uns and back (New at answers to your its.

curtains of Shool- 404-53. This is of large lilac. A lie, No.2-3705. It, and just a touch I think, the room sable than a square fit into the small i would be able to It is really not a re you have in this 37. I should have The cost of this g of it.

l, Chelsea) have a "large, unbroken ed the Allomarle, aut poppers, which se furniture cover- es to tone with the ant shades of green mouldings should per. As you give me may be rather t have the Milano sventional design, just a suspicion of could still be use l,

er in your drawing ove anything but a i should paper the his is an excellent an and a bright the Bulbeccis B. the same shade better be painted he of Shoolbred's around of cream to the best way if you wrote to ains, with dades g one in which t, and the other Amminster carpet. as, as white, you would not only add Messrs Boyd, of ve, and yet give a feel, and are at the you have a green in have Hayward's ze called The Bine demid frieze, and sturn is the colour urst should be a green. Shoolbred's should be of linen

1890, he was sworn in as a Justice of the Peace, and published in 1871 a translation of "Gray's Elegy" into Greek elegiac verse; and in 1873 "The First Book of Pope's Homer's Iliad, translated into Latin elegiacs." He married in 1852 Charlotte, daughter of the late Mr Samuel Hope, banker of Liverpool, by whom he had a numerous family.

MISS ELEANOR SMITH.

Miss Eleanor E. Smith, sister of the late distinguished Professor Henry Smith, died at her residence in Oxford on the 15th inst. Miss Smith was born in Dublin on Sept. 30, 1832. She was a good linguist. By her eight birthday she had taught herself and her sister Hebrew with the help of a grammar and dictionary given to them to play



THE LATE MISS E. E. SMITH.

From a photograph taken by Miss Acland Oxford, and reproduced by her special permission (copyright).

with. In her old age she resumed the study of Greek, and she was a diligent reader of Dante. Miss Smith was for many years a hard-working member of the council of Bedford College, London, a manager of the great girls' school at Bedford, and an original member of the council of Somerville College. She became a valued member of the committee of management of the Radcliffe Infirmary, at a time

Fig. 3.28 Miss Acland's portrait of "The Late Miss E. E. Smith" published in half-tone in the *Queen*, 1896 (*Queen*, 26 Sep 1896, p. 589b).

680 THE BRITISH JOURNAL ALMANAC (1923) ADVERTISEMENTS.

ROBBINS MANISTRE

Service



JOHN RUSKIN,
English Critic & Essayist,
says—

"There are few bargains in which the buyer can ascertain with anything like precision that the seller would have taken no less; or the seller acquire more than a comfortable faith that the purchaser would have given no more."

PERFECTLY TRUE BUT NEVERTHELESS

Note on opposite page what others say.



London Camera Exchange

Head Depot—
No. 2, POULTRY, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON, E.C. 2

Inland Telegrams: "Loncamerex, Stock, London." Telephone: 8891 Central.
Foreign Telegrams: "Loncamerex, London."

ONE MINUTE FROM THE BANK OF ENGLAND AND STOCK EXCHANGE

Fig. 3.29 Miss Acland's portrait of Ruskin and her father cropped for use in an advertisement in 1928 (*British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1928, p. 680).

possibly get by litigation except perhaps £1 or £2 in damages wh. would not have covered the extra expense to wh. you would have been put".⁹⁴

Undeterred by this experience, Miss Acland continued to allow her work to be published in future years. More than fifty different photographs by her were reproduced in print during her lifetime (table 3.1). In September 1896, for example, she gave permission for a portrait of Miss Smith to be used in her obituary in the *Queen* (where it was accompanied by the carefully worded credit line "From a photograph taken by Miss Acland Oxford, and reproduced by her special permission (copyright)") (fig. 3.28).⁹⁵ In 1903 her portrait of Lord Salisbury was reproduced as the first plate in the catalogue of the Royal Photographic Society exhibition; in 1907 Burdon Sanderson's was used in his obituary notice in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society*.⁹⁶ Her work in other genres was also in demand. In 1899, for example, the art historian Henry Currie Marillier (1865–1951) commissioned her to copy drawings belonging to her father and J. A. R. Munro for his *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: An Illustrated Memorial of his Art and Life* (London, 1899). The following year M. H. Spielmann included a copy she had made of the Glenfinlas portrait in his *John Ruskin: A Sketch of His Life, His Work, and His Opinions* (London, 1900).

94. Ibid.

95. "The Late Miss E. E. Smith" [Photograph], *Queen*, vol. 100, no. 2596 (26 Sep 1896), p. 589b

96. *Photographic Journal*, vol. 43 (supplement), no. 9 (24 Sep 1903), opp. p. 56; *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, series B, vol. 79, no. 535 (18 Nov 1907), *Obituary Notices of fellows Deceased*, p. ii

Table 3.1. Photographs by Miss Acland Reproduced in Print

Date	Photograph(s)	Location
17 Jan 1894	"Professor Ruskin and Sir Henry Acland, Bart., From a Photograph taken by Miss Acland at Brantwood, August 1st 1893 / Published by George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road, London / Copyright / Swan Electric Engraving Co.", photogravures, one reduced in size	Henry W. Acland and John Ruskin, <i>The Oxford Museum</i> (4vo and 8vo editions, London and Orpington, 1893), opp. p. xxv
c. Feb 1894		Separately issued plate, 165 × 220 mm (platemark 130 × 185 mm, image 111 × 152 mm). Smaller version not located.
1901–1923	Ruskin and Acland, reproduced various in photogravure and as a half-tone	Reproduced in at least six works, including <i>The Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin</i> ; <i>John Ruskin und sein Werk</i> ; <i>Saint George</i> ; <i>Sir Henry Wentworth Acland, Bart.</i> ; <i>A History of the Oxford Museum</i> ; <i>British Journal Photographic Almanac</i> (Ruskin alone). For more details see cat. no. 246.
Feb 1895–1903	Ruskin, reproduced in half-tone	Reproduced in at least seven works, including <i>Windsor Magazine</i> ; <i>London Home</i> ; <i>Young Man</i> ; <i>Sixty Years a Queen</i> ; <i>Bookman</i> ; <i>Review of Reviews</i> ; <i>Amalgamated Society of Engineers' Journal</i> . For more details see cat. no. 249.
26 Sep 1896	"The Late Miss E. E. Smith / From a photograph taken by Miss Acland Oxford, and reproduced by her special permission (copyright)", half-tone	<i>Queen</i> , vol. 100, no. 2596 (26 Sep 1896), p. 589b
14 Nov 1896	"Sir Henry Acland, Bart., K.C.B. / From a copyright photograph by Miss Acland, Oxford", half-tone	"Of a Great Physician: Sir Henry Acland, Bart., K.C.B.", <i>Black and White</i> , vol. 12, no. 302 (14 Nov 1896), p. 627
12 Jun 1897	"Sir Henry Acland (from a photograph by Miss Acland)."	<i>British Medical Journal</i> , vol. 1, no. 1903 (12 Jun 1897), p. 1595
18 May 1899	"Right Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in his Robes. By Miss Acland.", half-tone	<i>Photography</i> , vol. 11, no. 549 (18 May 1899), p. 332
13 Nov 1899	Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "La Belle Dame Sans Mercy", "Design for 'The Eating of the Passover': unexecuted", "Design for 'The Passover; Gathering Bitter Herbs'", "Michael Scott's Wooing, c. 1848", half-tones	H. C. Marillier, <i>Dante Gabriel Rossetti: An Illustrated Memorial of his Art and Life</i> (London, 1899), facing p. 17, p. 68, p. 68 and p. 145
25 Jan 1900	"John Ruskin at Glenfinlas Waterfall, 1853. By Sir John Millais, Bart., R.A., (By special permission of Sir Henry Acland, owner of the picture and copyright.)", half-tone	M. H. Spielmann, <i>John Ruskin: A Sketch of His Life, His Work, and His Opinions</i> (London, 1900), p. 61
9 May 1900	Nine photographs of Christ Church, Oxford, half tone	Henry L. Thompson, <i>Christ Church</i> (London, 1900)
23 Aug 1900	Eighteen photographs of various subjects, half-tones	[Miss Acland], "The Spectrum Plate. Theory: Practice: Result.", <i>Photography</i> , no. 615, vol. 12 (23 Aug 1900), pp. 553–560. Also in the offprint.
27 Oct 1900	Portrait of Henry Wentworth Acland, half-tone	"Obituary / Sir Henry Acland, Bart., K.C.B., M.D., F.R.S., Formerly Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford / A Personal Sketch", <i>British Medical Journal</i> , vol. 2, no. 1281 (27 Oct 1900), pp. 1281–1282
13 Jun 1901	Seven photographs of New College, Oxford, half-tone	Hastings Rashdall and Robert S. Raid, <i>New College</i> (London, 1901)
Jul 1901	Portrait of William J. Herschel, Rotograph print?	<i>The Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom: Oxford, July 8th to 13th, 1902</i> ([?Oxford], 1901), frontispiece
5 Jul 1901	"Sir William J. Herschel, Bart., President Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom., Oxford Meeting, 1901", "Printed on 'Rotograph' Paper, 'C' Grade, By the Rotary Photographic Co., Ltd., West Drayton. / Negative by Miss Acland."	<i>British Journal of Photography</i> , vol. 48, no. 2148 (5 Jul 1901)
24 Sep 1903	Portrait of Lord Salisbury, half-tone	Illustrated Catalogue of the Royal Photographic Society's Exhibition, <i>Photographic Journal</i> , vol. 43 (Supplement), no. 9 (24 Sep 1903), opp. p. 56
Oct 1903	"The Late Marquis of Salisbury, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in his Official Robes / From a photograph by Miss Acland", half-tone	<i>The Periodical</i> , no. 23 (Oct 1903), opp. p. 17
Apr 1904	"The Late Marquis of Salisbury, K. G. / By Miss Acland", half-tone	<i>Photographic Times Bulletin</i> , vol. 36, no. 4 (Apr 1904), p. 169
18 Nov 1907	Portrait of John Scott Burdon Sanderson, half-tone	"Sir John Scott Burdon-Sanderson, Bart. 1828–1905", <i>Proceedings of the Royal Society</i> , Series B, vol. 79, no. 535 (18 Nov 1907), <i>Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased</i> , pp. iii–xviii, p. ii
Jun 1908	Portrait of Gladstone, and of Gladstone with his wife, half-tones	Robert Leslie Fletcher, <i>Mr. Gladstone at Oxford</i> (London, 1908), frontispiece and opp. p. 24
1909	"Young Eagle Owls in Courtyard", half-tone	Colonel Willoughby Verner, <i>My Life Among the Wild Birds in Spain</i> (London, 1909), p. 320



Fig. 3.30 Sarah Angelina Acland,
"Lord Kelvin, President of the Royal Society",
 gelatine negative (reversed),
 10 Aug 1894 (cat. no. 352)

Camera and Community

Miss Acland's studies of Burdon Sanderson and Lord Salisbury were taken in August 1894 during an event that gave her "the opportunity of taking my most interesting portraits": the meeting in Oxford, for the third time in its history, of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.⁹⁷ Several other delegates of the Association also visited her studio to be photographed, including William Thomson, Baron Kelvin (1824–1907) (cat. nos. 352–3) (fig. 3.30); the former Lord Chancellor, Roundell Palmer, Earl of Selborne (1812–1895) (cat. nos. 363–5); and the President elect of the Association, Sir Douglas Strutt Galton (1822–1899) (cat. no. 366). As far as is known, none of these portraits ever appeared in print. Instead, they would be seen in another important forum in which Miss Acland obtained exposure and recognition for her photography outside the home: the Oxford Camera Club.

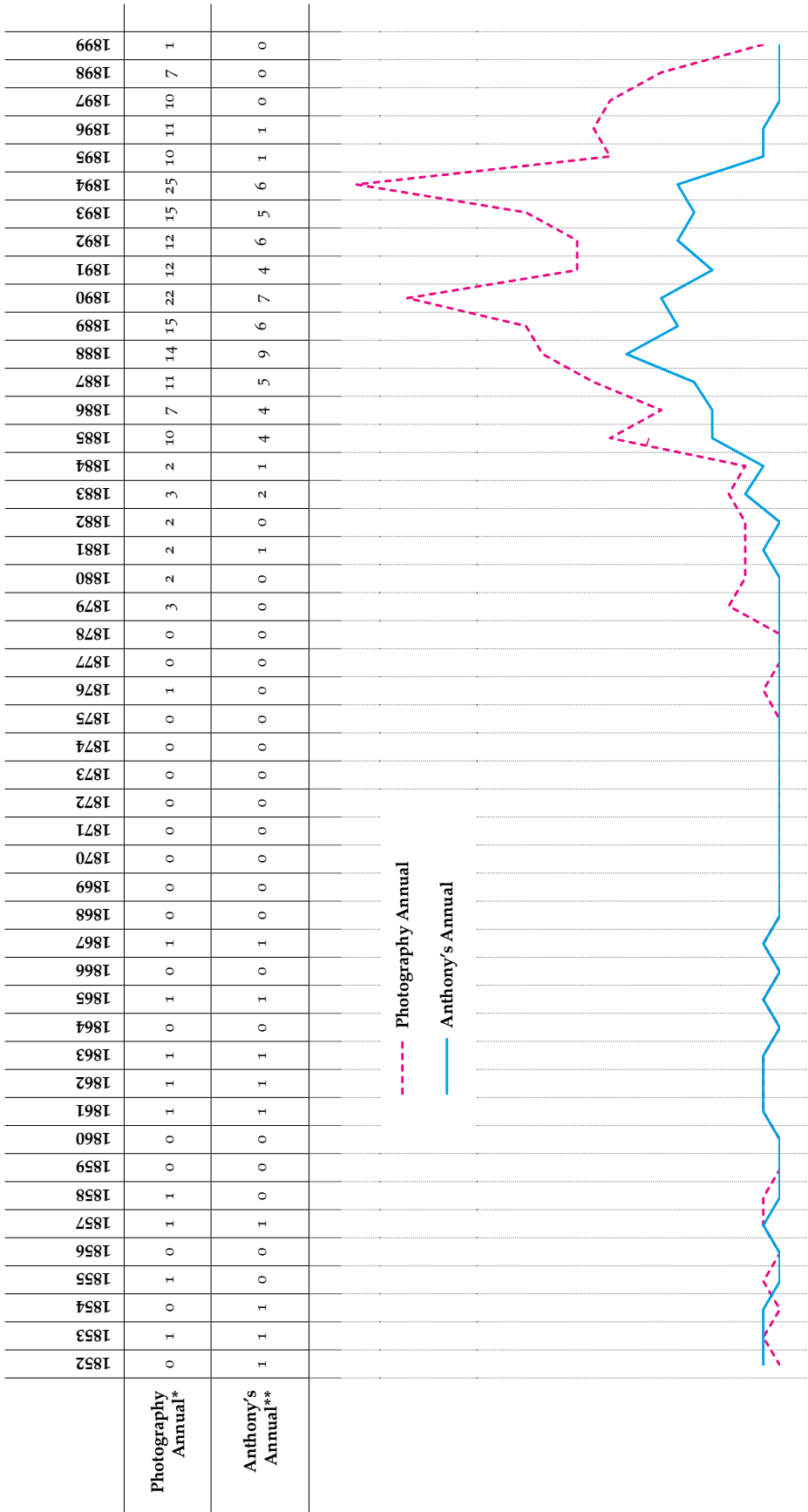
The Oxford Camera Club was founded on 16 April 1894, during the golden age of the foundation of British photographic societies (table 3.2). Miss Acland joined six weeks later, on 11 June 1894, as the Club's first woman member. She had been proposed for membership on 28 May by George William Norton (1848–1940), editor of the *Oxford Times*, and seconded by the printseller and publisher Edward Alder Ryman Hall (1841–1909), one of the Club's two Vice Presidents.⁹⁸ She would remain a member for almost 29 years, until the Club was voluntarily dissolved on 24 January 1923.⁹⁹ For the first fourteen years, until she began spending winters

97. DRO 1148m/7/1, p. 116

98. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 624 (Minutes of Meetings of the Oxford Camera Club, 16 Apr 1894 to 24 Jan 1898), fols. 6v & 7v

99. "Oxford Camera Club Dissolved", *Oxford Times*, no. 3216 (26 Jan 1923), p. 16f

Table 3.2 Growth of Photographic Societies, 1852–99: Date of foundation of societies still extant in 1899, as reported in the *Photography Annual* and *Anthony's Annual*



Excludes scientific associations with photographic sections
*“The Photographic Societies of the United Kingdom”, *Photography Annual*, 1899, pp. 253–271
**“Amateur Photographic Societies / United Kingdom”, *International Annual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, vol. 11 (1899), pp. 284–292

in Madeira, the Club was central to her photographic life, and she to its. As well as a place to exhibit her work, it provided a forum in which she could learn from and collaborate with other photographers, exercise powers of patronage, hone her skills as a lecturer, and seek election to office (she served on the committee from 1895 and as one of the Vice Presidents from 1896 until appointed Vice President for Life on 10 February 1922).¹⁰⁰

The Oxford Camera Club was unusual not in allowing women to become members, but in setting out from its foundation deliberately to create an ethos attractive to them. In this it stood in stark contrast to its predecessor, the Oxford Photographic Society, which from its foundation on 26 September 1889 to its demise in autumn 1893 managed to enlist no women at all, despite a rule specifically allowing their election.¹⁰¹ The reluctance of women to join the Photographic Society was a pattern repeated elsewhere in Britain. As the editor of *Photography* observed:

In many or most societies we believe there is no rule restricting membership to one sex, and that the male, though ladies do not join. But the majority of societies do not encourage the lady members.¹⁰²

In 1893 women's membership of photographic societies became something of a *cause célèbre* after the London and Provincial Society voted to exclude them — the editor of the *Photographic Review of Reviews*, Richard Walter Deverell Welford (1857–1919) called it the “burning question of the hour” in December.¹⁰³ The issue was also current in other learned societies, the Royal Geographical Society banning ladies from membership earlier in the year.¹⁰⁴ “The women-haters appear well organised, and they fight with the tenacity of despair”, Welford observed.¹⁰⁵

The arguments for excluding women were contradictory. Some commentators believed that ladies were out of place in scientific societies, reducing them to “tea-party associations”.¹⁰⁶ The Anthropological Society was a case in point, the women being accused of having “destroyed its scientific character and value”.¹⁰⁷ Others argued that ladies gave meetings an undesirable formality and discouraged men from speaking their minds. More astute observers pointed out that the reluctance of men to accept women usually boiled down to one thing: “objections to their admission all end in smoke”.¹⁰⁸ Supporters of women acknowledged the unsuitability of the existing arrangements but saw no reason why they could not be changed. “It is difficult to find any valid reason why in most cases ladies may not be members,” the editor of *Photography* argued, “though the method of conducting some societies' meetings would have to be changed if ladies were to be

100. “Oxford Camera Club”, *Oxford Times*, no. 3170 (17 Feb 1922), p. 14f

101. Ms. Top. Oxon. d. 964 (Minutes of the Oxford Photographic Society, 1889–91), fol. 1r

102. “Spirit of the Times”, *Photography*, vol. 9, no. 466 (14 Oct 1897), pp. 644–645, p. 644

103. “Lady Members”, *Photographic Review of Reviews*, vol. 2, no. 24 (15 Dec 1893), p. 390

104. “The Royal Geographical Society And The Admission Of Ladies [Letter from A Bonâ Fide Traveller]”, *The Times*, no. 33963 (29 May 1893), p. 7c

105. “Lady Members”, *Photographic Review of Reviews*, 15 Dec 1893, p. 390

106. “Ladies at Royal Geographical Society”, *Queen*, no. 2428 (8 Jul 1893), p. 50

107. *Ibid.*

108. Catherine Weed Ward, “Woman in Photography”, *Photogram*, vol. 12, no. 137 (May 1905), pp. 139–141, p. 140

present".¹⁰⁹ After conducting a survey for the *Photogram* in 1905, Catherine Weed Ward concluded that much of the problem lay in the fact that in England "meetings are usually held in hotels or small taverns where women naturally dislike to go alone, if at all".¹¹⁰ One society, she found, had attempted to address this problem by organizing a separate ladies' section, "which meets at private houses".¹¹¹ However, the solution was not, in Ward's view, the formation of exclusively female clubs, since "a society of only women would not advance their progress so far as scattering the prospective members among such men's organisations as admit women."¹¹² At the same time she remained cautious about demanding too much too soon. "If admitted at all," she argued, "it should be understood that they come to learn, and even if there was a club dark room, most women would prefer doing the actual work at home."¹¹³

Unusually perhaps, the Oxford Camera Club measured its success by the number and strength of its lady members. In the first year of its existence Miss Acland was joined by eight other women, who made up 16% of the total membership (table 3.3). By 1906 these figures had risen to thirty-seven women and 43% of the membership. *Jackson's Oxford Journal* claimed in 1898 that the Club had "the proud distinction of having a greater proportion of lady members than any other mixed photographic society in the kingdom".¹¹⁴ In 1906 Ward discovered that Oxford was one of only ten societies, from nearly 200, to have women officers. She also praised the quality of their photography: "In the Oxford Camera Club the women who are conspicuously successful in pictorial work are more numerous than the men".¹¹⁵ According to the *Oxford Times* "absolute unanimity" existed in the Club about the "beneficial influence" of the ladies.¹¹⁶ "Would that many clubs in other parts of the kingdom which have wrangled so over the suggested admission of ladies to their membership could pay a visit en bloc (without pipe and "baccy") to any meeting of the Oxford Camera Club if they are in any way open to conversion".¹¹⁷ As for the excuse that ladies should be banned from meetings for the sake of the smokers, this was "too selfish a plea to be worth consideration."¹¹⁸

Given Ward's conclusions about the importance of the nature of the space where societies met, it is likely that part of the reason the Oxford Camera Club was attractive to women was its choice of premises. For the first fifteen months meetings were held in the rooms of the Churchmen's Union, behind Blackwell's bookshop. In July 1895 a move was then made to the University Museum, the committee having decided "to ask Miss Acland to use her influence to obtain a room there."¹¹⁹ The august surroundings of the Museum (fig. 3.31), which the *British Journal of*

109. "Spirit of the Times", *Photography*, 11 Oct 1897, p. 644

110. Ward, "Woman in Photography", *Photogram*, May 1905, p. 139

111. Ibid.

112. Catherine Weed Ward, "Woman in Photography", *Photogram*, vol. 12, no. 136 (Apr 1905), pp. 122–123, p. 123

113. Ibid.

114. "Our Photographic Column", *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 7604 (17 Dec 1898), p. 9b

115. [Note], *Photogram*, vol. 13, no. 148 (Apr 1906), p. 102

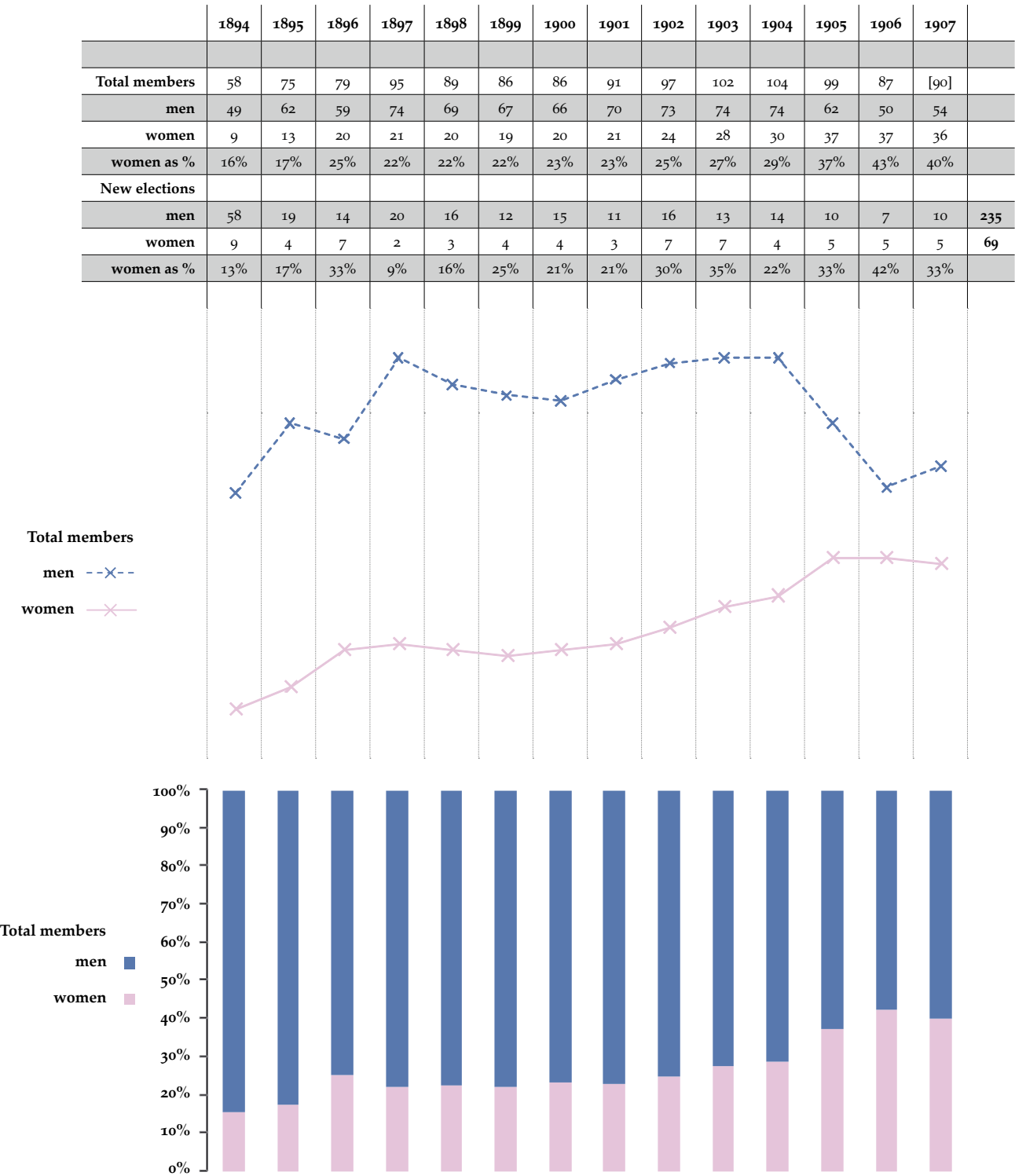
116. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times*, no. 2323 (29 Apr 1905), p. 10c

117. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times*, 13 Jan 1906, p. 10d

118. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times*, 29 Apr 1905, p. 10c

119. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 625 (Committee minutes, 17 Apr 1894 to 7 Jan 1898), fol. 5r

Table 3.3 The Rise of Women in the Oxford Camera Club, 1894–1907



Data for the total membership is taken from the annual reports of the Club published in is *Proceedings* every February. The total number of members and the number of women were reported; the figure for men is derivative. Data for the number of men and women elected each year is collated from reports of individual elections in the manuscript minutes of meetings.



Fig. 3.31 Unknown photographer, *Members of the Oxford Camera Club meeting in the Geological Lecture Theatre of the University Museum*, albumen print, Feb 1909 (Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 764, f. 166)

Photography described as a building with “a scientific and elevating character”, no doubt helped raise the acceptability of the Club for women by promoting the perception that photography was more than a “mere pastime”, “passing pleasure” or “selfish amusement”.¹²⁰ The Club aspired to be a forum for the study and exchange of photographic knowledge and expertise, akin to other learned societies in its management and the formal manner in which it conducted its business, even to the extent of publishing its own *Proceedings*. That it succeeded in this aim is suggested by its appearance in the *Yearbook of Scientific and Learned Societies*.

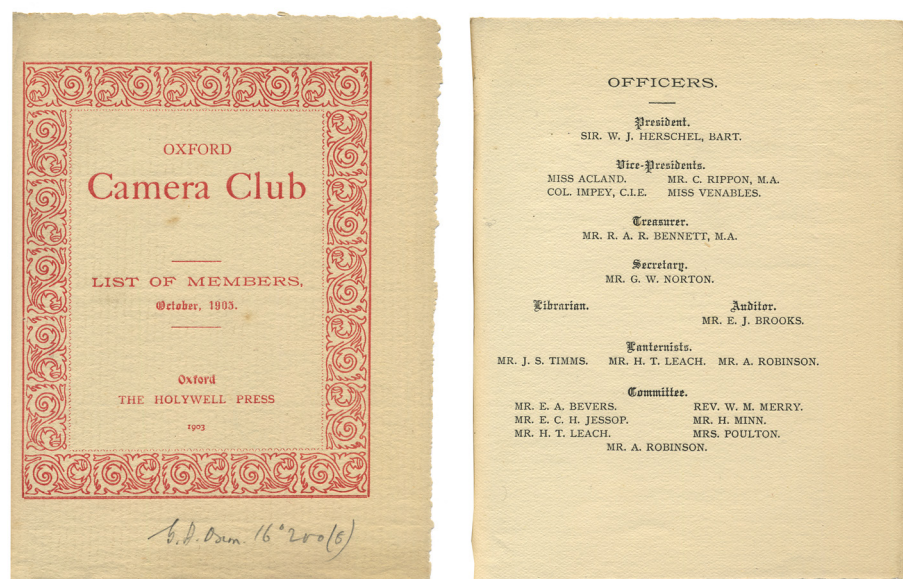
The importance of photographic societies in facilitating women’s greater involvement in civic life during the 1890s has yet to be studied in detail.¹²¹ In Oxford the Camera Club was socially progressive in its makeup, spanning the divide not only between men and women, but Town and Gown, and the classes. Among its members were dairymen, butchers and builders; baronets, bankers and barristers; the wives of academics and daughters of clergymen, as well as working-class women and middle-class ladies with professional careers.¹²² The Club aimed to function, in essence, as a microcosm of a well-regulated civic society. In the eyes of many photographers, photography had much to contribute to social well-being and the advancement of the civic state. In April 1900, for example, shortly before visiting Oxford, Thomas Bedding lectured on “The Municipal Encouragement of Photography”, arguing that exhibitions were a form of community patronage of the arts that exercised an educational influence on a city’s inhabitants and contributed to their physical and moral well-being (comments that echoed Acland’s writings on

120. “The Oxford Convention”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 38, no. 2124 (18 Jan 1901), p. 34; phrases quoted in H. J. Palmer, “Philanthropic Photography: An Appeal to Amateur Photographers”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 10, no. 252 (2 Aug 1889), pp. 73–74, p. 73.

121. The male exclusivity of other Victorian clubs is stressed in Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class* (Manchester, 2000), ch. 4, “Clubland: the private in the public”.

122. For examples of the women, see *First Lady of Colour Photography*, pp. 28–29.

Fig. 3.32 Oxford Camera Club,
List of Members, October 1903
 (Holywell Press, Oxford, 1903)
 (G.A. Oxon 16° 200(5))



the social importance of art and science).¹²³ The Camera Club was strengthened in this mission by its links to the Corporation and the prominent position it occupied in the civic landscape. The Club had at least twelve councillors in its ranks and seven members served as Mayor.¹²⁴ The most notable councillor was Mary Sophia Merivale (1853–1928), the first woman elected to Oxford City Council and one of only four women councillors in England. Miss Acland was one of her nominators and photographed her in colour in her councillor’s robes to commemorate the achievement (cat. no. 914). Miss Merivale stood as an independent, but the Club also had links to the parties. Janet Laing’s husband, for example, Charles Miskin Laing (1863–1939), was chairman of the local Conservatives, whom Eugene Clutterbuck Impey (1830–1904), one of the Club’s Vice Presidents, represented on the Council. Party politics aside, the Corporation’s support for the Club was demonstrated in July 1901, when it co-sponsored the Oxford meeting of the “Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom”.¹²⁵ Three-hundred delegates attended the week-long event, hearing lectures in the Town Hall and photographing local sights. The opening reception was attended by the great and good of City and University, including the Duke of Marlborough, the Mayor and Aldermen, the Vice Chancellor and several college heads. Miss Acland served on the ‘Reception Sub-Committee’, contributed a portrait to the *Convention Handbook*, and saw her colour slides exhibited in public during the Presidential address by the Club’s president, Sir William James Herschel (1833–1917) (see fig. 4.1).¹²⁶

123. Op. cit., *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 24, no. 7 (30 Apr 1900), pp. 231–236

124. George Claridge Druce, Edmund Augustine Bevers (1849–1921), Edmund John Brooks (1860–1937), Clement James Victor Bellamy (1880–1946), James Hastings (1857–1928), Samuel Hutchins (1849–1927) and John Henry Salter (1854–1930)

125. See “Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom / Oxford Meeting”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2117 (18 Jul 1902), p. 8; “Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 48, no. 2150 (19 Jul 1901), pp. 452–458.

126. *The Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom, 16th Annual Meeting, Oxford* ([n.p., 1901]) [Beinecke Library, Yale University, 1982.147]

The catholic makeup and civic standing of the Camera Club were both important factors in justifying Miss Acland's devotion to its work, mirroring as they did the values her parents had tirelessly promoted (whether at home, through the School of Art, or the Acland Hospital). The collaborative nature of the Club was also important in ratifying her pursuit of photography outside the home, justified, as it was, by the moral precept of the common good. The Club had a strong collective identity, under which members pursued a range of communal projects, not only between themselves, but with commercial partners and societies elsewhere in Britain. In 1897, for example, the Club embarked on a joint project with the London publisher Francis Edward Robinson (1865–1936) to take photographs for a series of histories of the Oxford colleges. Miss Acland was allocated Christ Church and Queen's College, later taking on New College.¹²⁷ The Queen's history never saw the light of day, but when the others were published in 1900 and 1901 each of her sixteen photographs was credited simply as "From a photograph by the Oxford Camera Club" (fig. 3.33).¹²⁸ Robinson's fee also went straight to the Club coffers, before any reimbursement of expenses was made. During the same period the Club also contributed to the "Photographic Survey of Oxfordshire", the aim of which was the creation of "a permanent pictorial record of all objects of general or of local interest".¹²⁹ The Survey was undertaken jointly with the Natural History Society of Oxfordshire and the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, to which the Club was closely allied. Miss Acland originally sat on the Survey committee in her capacity as President of the Photographic Section of the Natural History Society: a post she held from 27 January 1897 to 29 September 1898, when she retired on the grounds of ill-health.¹³⁰

The college histories and Photographic Survey were among the larger and more unusual projects pursued by the Camera Club. Other opportunities for members to obtain public exposure, in different degrees, existed as part of the Club's routine business. Many of these had a competitive element. The Club organized competitions for prints from early on, for example, appointing well-known photographers from outside Oxford as judges. The first competition, in July 1894, was sent out to Linked Ring member Richard Keene (1825–1894), with Henry Peach Robinson (1830–1901) one of the reserve judges.¹³¹ Informal competitions included regular "members' lantern slides nights", which might attract 200 photographs, each kept on the screen for a few minutes so that the members and friends present could "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the many excellent artistic and technical points that they contained."¹³² For members

127. Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 764 (Minutes of the Oxford Camera Club, 7 Feb 1898 to 5 Apr 1909), fol. 1r; Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 625, fol. 27r

128. Henry L. Thompson, *Christ Church* (London, 1900); Hastings Rashdall and Robert S. Raid, *New College* (London, 1901)

129. "Photographic Survey of England and Wales / County of Oxford", *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Apr 1898), pp. 3–6, p. 3; Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 764, fol. 9r

130. Frank Arthur Bellamy, *A Historical Account of the Ashmolean Natural History Society of Oxfordshire, 1880–1905* (Oxford, 1908), p. 38, p. 158 and p. 193

131. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 624, fol. 9r

132. "Second April Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 2 (Oct 1899), p. 11–12, p. 12a

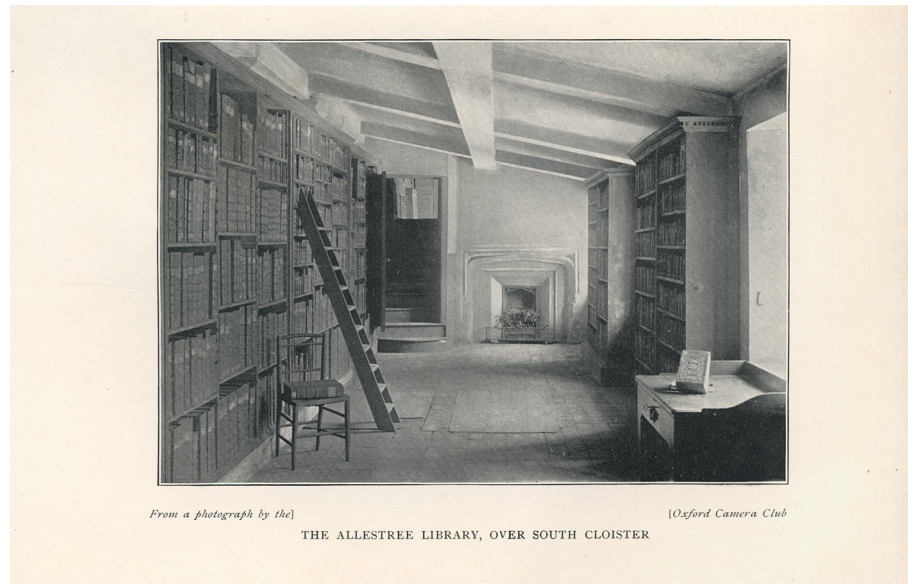


Fig. 3.33 Miss Acland's photograph of "The Allestree Library, over south cloister", as published in half-tone in the Christ Church history (Henry L. Thompson, *Christ Church*, 1900, opp. p. 252).

who wanted to compete on the larger stage, competitions were organized through the RPS "Affiliation of Photographic Societies" — a national confederation of clubs that arranged the circulation of lectures and exchange of work. In 1903, for example, Miss Acland's colour slide of *Southampton Water* (cat. no. 789) was one of four photographs by Oxford photographers that did the rounds of local societies as one of the "Affiliation Prize Slides".¹³³

The most important public events organized by the Camera Club were its biennial exhibitions. The first, held in the Churchmen's Union on 24 September 1894, was a private affair.¹³⁴ For the second, which took place in the Holywell Music Room on 12 November 1895, 300 tickets were printed.¹³⁵ Twenty-three different exhibitors entered 364 photographs in thirteen different classes, and were judged by Linked Ring member Joseph Gale (1830–1906).¹³⁶ Year after year Miss Acland was one of the leading exhibitors, her portraits often the highlight of the show. In the Club's third exhibition in November 1896, for example, she entered seven classes (under the pseudonym "Acorn"), coming first in the 'under half-plate landscape class' with *Summer Evening in Suffolk* (untraced), first in the under half-plate architecture class with *In Broad Street* (unidentified), first in the genre class with *Little Milkman and Little Milkmaid We* (cat. no. 452), second in the animals class with *Rab* ("a dark print of a collie", untraced), second in the hand camera work class with *A Day on H.M.S. Australia* (untraced), and second in the instantaneous class, with *Two Cyclists* (untraced). In the portraits section, which the *Oxford Times*

133. In 1904 her colour photograph *Perseverance* (untraced) circulated as one of the "Photography prize slides" ("Second November Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 12 (Apr 1906), pp. 102–103, p. 102b).

134. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 624, fol. 14r

135. "Oxford Camera Club / Members' Exhibition", *Oxford Times*, no. 1733 (16 Nov 1895), p. 3c

136. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 625, fols. 36v to 37v

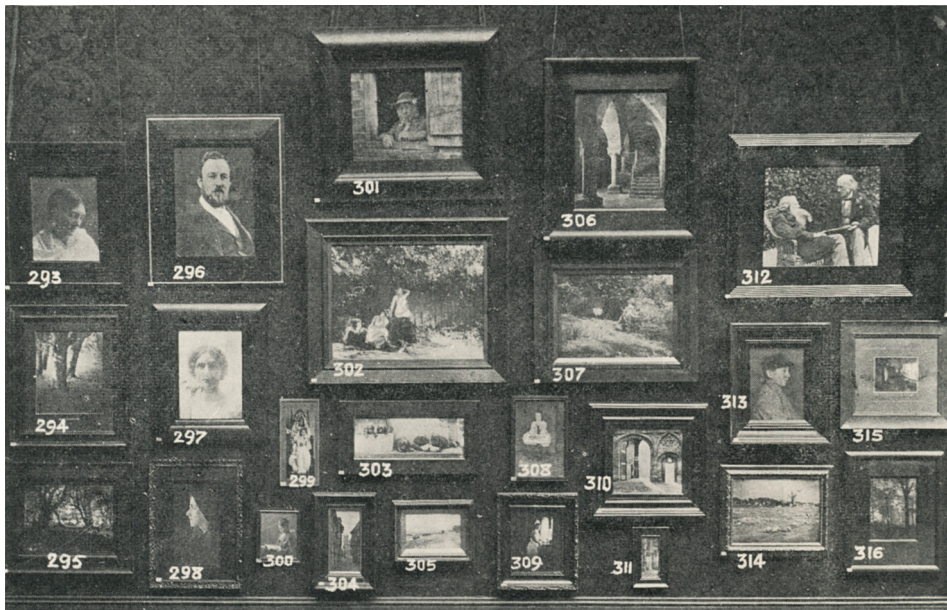


Fig. 3.34 Miss Acland's portrait of Ruskin and her father as hung in the RPS exhibition in 1900 (no. 312). Other works seen are portraits by Evelyn Boden (293) and Snowden Ward (296, of Hollier), and a genre study and *Wild Roses* by H. P. Robinson (302 & 307) (*Photograms of the Year*, 1900, p. 162).

described as "far and away the best class in the exhibition", she swept the board with "a grand series of head studies".¹³⁷ In the 1897 exhibition, which moved to the Assembly Room in the Town Hall, she "naturally" took the only two awards in the portraits class with studies of Impey (cat. no. 486) and her friend Mary Trinder Barney, née Allen (1825/6–1903).¹³⁸

When Miss Acland exhibited in Torquay in 1893 she had limited experience of photographic exhibitions even as a spectator. The first national exhibition she attended was the annual exhibition of the Royal Photographic Society in 1893. "The Photographic Exhibition was very interesting to me", she told Willie, "I had not seen a London one before. In some ways it was not so good as the Torquay one."¹³⁹ In subsequent years she made a habit of attending both the 'Royal' and the Photographic Salon every autumn.¹⁴⁰ She sent her own work to the RPS for the first time in 1899, choosing lantern slides of famous figures photographed in previous years: Gladstone, Ruskin, Salisbury and Sanderson. The contribution earned her nomination to the membership of the Society on 14 November 1899.¹⁴¹ In 1900 she sent six lantern slides of a solar eclipse (cat. nos. 649–54) and her portrait of Ruskin (cropped to a rather uncomfortable landscape format) (fig. 3.34). This was selected for reproduction in the exhibition catalogue (albeit as a rather gruesome line drawing) and in the review that appeared in *Photography*.¹⁴² Her portrait of Salisbury was seen at the Society in 1903, to mark his death earlier in the year. "A few

137. "Oxford Camera Club", *Oxford Times*, no. 1786 (21 Nov 1896), p. 7e

138. "Oxford Camera Club Exhibition", *Oxford Times*, no. 1922 (18 Dec 1897), p. 3h

139. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 263–265 (SAA to WADA, 9 Oct 1893)

140. See Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 19–20 (SAA to WADA, 9 Oct 1898)

141. National Media Museum, RPS archive, "Minutes of Council, 1899–1905", meeting 14 Nov 1899

142. "The Pictures at the New Gallery", *Photography*, vol. 12, no. 621 (4 Oct 1900), pp. 661–670, p. 669

more portraits of this class, and fewer damp woods, would have been preferable", Albert Charles Robinson Carter (1864–1957) wrote in *Photograms of the Year*.¹⁴³ In the 1900s Miss Acland became a fixture of the RPS exhibition with her colour work, which led to her nomination as a fellow of the Society on 1 February 1905.¹⁴⁴ In the overall rank of the most prolific women exhibitors at the RPS before 1916 she appears seventh, rising to fourth if the professionals are excluded (table 3.4).

Although Miss Acland exhibited at the RPS as an individual, in the two largest exhibitions in which her work was ever seen she again exhibited under the collective banner of the Camera Club. At the "International Photographic Exhibition" at Crystal Palace in 1898 (the blockbuster exhibition of its day) the Club exhibited six lantern slides, democratically selected by a ballot of members.¹⁴⁵ Miss Acland's portraits of Impey was one of those chosen. Miss Acland was absent when the Club won a collective gold medal for seventeen exhibits at the "Imperial International Exhibition" at White City in 1909.¹⁴⁶ However, she returned in 1911 for the "Imperial Exhibition and Festival of Empire", when her portrait of Lord Salisbury and two colour prints made up three of the Club's twenty-four exhibits.¹⁴⁷

The Great and the Good, the Humble and the Poor

Miss Acland's portraits of Gladstone, Ruskin and Salisbury were a form of homage to three of the giants of Victorian public life. By celebrating these men as heroes she was partaking of the cult of celebrity that defined the age, as well as following the lead of her father, whom she described on his 70th birthday as "just as full of interest in everything & everybody — as good to everybody as ever & as full of hero-worship."¹⁴⁸ As portraits of celebrities, her photographs were capable of contributing to the national cause: as James Paget remarked of her portrait of Gladstone, it was "historically valuable".¹⁴⁹ However, unlike the hero-worship in which others indulged, the homage she paid these men was of a more personal kind. Gladstone, Ruskin and Salisbury were not only Oxford graduates (and Christ Church men at that), but long-standing friends of the family: Acland had known Gladstone since the age of seventeen and had given Salisbury advice on his health when an undergraduate; Mrs Gladstone was a regular visitor to Broad Street before and after the death of Mrs Acland, who had known Lady Salisbury from Leytonstone from before both their marriages. The individuality Miss Acland's

143. Carter, "The Two Great Exhibitions / The Royal", *Photograms of the Year*, 1903, pp. 154–172, p. 156

144. National Media Museum, Royal Photographic Society archive, "Minutes of Council, 1899–1905", meeting of 1 Feb 1905. Miss Acland was recommended by the Fellowship Admissions Committee, Scientific & Technical Section, which met on 10 January and on which Sanger Shepherd sat. On or after that date she was also appointed a life fellow of the Society.

145. Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 764, fol. 9. The exhibition took place from 25 April to 14 May 1898.

146. "Photographic Section / Oxford Camera Club", *Imperial International Exhibition, London, 1909, Official Catalogue* (Derby and London, 1909), p. 43

147. "Photographic Section / Oxford Camera Club", *Festival of Empire, Imperial Exhibition and Pageant of London ... Official Guide and Catalogue* (London and Derby, [1911]), pp. 90–91

148. Ms. Acland d. 107, fols. 176–177 (SAA to WADA, 23 Aug 1885)

149. Ms. Acland d. 162, fols. 41–42 (Paget to SAA, 16 Nov 1892)

Table 3.4: Women Exhibitors at the Royal Photographic Society, 1854–1915, ranked in order of total number of exhibits (top 50 of 266 women only)

Rank	Exhibits	Years	Name	Biography
1	73	5	Catherine Susanna(h) Edmonds (b. 1872)	Professional portrait photographer; born near Abingdon, Berkshire; daughter of Charles W. Edmonds, farmer of 488 acres and employer of 26 in 1881; proprietor of the “Abingdon Studio”, 118 Westbourne Grove; untraced after 1904 (not buried with the rest of her family in Longworth, Berkshire)
2	68	6	¹ Adelin Beatrice (‘Lena’) Connell, later Cundy (1875–1949)	Professional portrait photographer, St John’s Wood, London; daughter of Frederick Henry Connell, photographer; in 1914 married Jack Arthur Cundy, mechanical engineer
3	56	8	² Julia Margaret Cameron, née Prattle (1815–1879)	Daughter of James Pattie, Bengal Civil Service; wife of Charles Hay Cameron, jurist; her work also exhibited posthumously
4	51	8	³ Maria Payne, née Smith (1842–1929)	Professional portrait photographer, wife of Samuel Glendening Payne, “photographic artist”, Aylesbury
5	51	12	⁴ Emma Louisa Turner (1867–1940)	Amateur ornithologist; daughter of John Turner, grocer and draper; later lived at the Old Rectory, Giron
6	48	12	⁵ Emma Boaz Barton, née Rayson (1872–1938)	Daughter of Ambrose Rayson, railway porter; wife of George Albert Barton, solicitor, Birmingham; learnt photography in the studio of her step-father’s brother-in-law, Walter Baker
7	37	7	Sarah Angelina Acland (1849–1930)	
8	35	2	Alice Margaret Garstin (1854–1937) and Dora Katherine Antrobus (1866–1919)	Professional portrait photographers, of the Cavendish Studio, 26 New Cavendish Street, London
9	31	2	⁶ Jane Napier Hignett (1851/2–1932)	Wife of Thomas Hugh Hignett, mechanical engineer
10	28	9	⁷ Elizabeth Alice Frances Hawkins-Whitshed (1860–1934), afterwards Main, afterwards Bernaby, afterwards Le Blond	Daughter of St. Vincent Bentinck Hawkins-Whitshed, 3rd baronet; three husbands
11	22	8	⁸ Marietta Ambrose Ralli, née Ralli (1863–1961)	Daughter of Stephen Augustus Ralli, merchant; in 1881 married Ambrose Pandia Ralli (d. 1899)
12	22	6	⁹ Mathilde Weil (1872–?1918)	Professional portrait photographer, of 1720, Pine Street, Philadelphia
13	22	1	Enid Wigram (1871–1907)	Professional photographer, 13A Pembroke Place, London; daughter of Robert Wigram, ship-owner and banker
14	21	4	¹⁰ Harriet Georgiana Caetani, née Ellis, Duchess of Sermoneta (1831–1906)	Daughter of Charles Augustus Ellis (1799–1868), 6th Baron Howard de Walden and 2nd Baron Seaford; wife of Michaelangelo Caetani (1820–1882), 13th Duke of Sermoneta
15	21	11	¹¹ Catherine Mary (‘Kate’) Smith (1861–1953)	Daughter of Joseph Gutteridge Smith, manufacture of artists’ papers, Hamper Mills, Watford
16	19	5	¹² Catherine Verschoyle, née Curtis (1802–1882)	Wife of Robert Verschoyle, barrister, son of James Verschoyle, Bishop of Killala, Co. Mayo
17	18	1	Queen Alexandra (1844–1925)	Queen of the United Kingdom and Empress of India
18	18	6	Kate Jemima Pigg, née Pigg (1869–1915)	Daughter of George Pigg, master baker and confectioner; wife of John Inderwick Pigg, photographic author
19	18	13	¹³ Agnes Beatrice Warburg (1872–1953)	Daughter of Frederick Warburg, foreign export merchant
20	17	4	¹⁴ Jeanne E. Bennett (dates unknown)	Professional portrait photographer, 5 East Hamilton St., Baltimore, USA
21	16	2	¹⁵ Mary Ann Booth (1843–1922)	FRMS; scientific author and lecturer, Springfield, Mass.; daughter of Samuel Booth, farmer; invalid
22	16	2	Sophie Marie Malachowska, aka Marie Léon (1865–?1956)	Professional portrait photographer, Regent Street, London
23	15	2	Constance Weaver Arding (1852–1923)	“Photographic Artist” in 1901; daughter of Francis Arding, “commission merchant”
24	15	5	¹⁶ Caroline Mary Holden-Hambrough, née Hood (1840–1890)	Daughter of 3rd Viscount Hood; wife of Oscar William Holden-Hambrough, High Sheriff of Northampton
25	15	4	¹⁷ Florence Anna Harvey (1862–1931)	Daughter of Robert Bateson Harvey, baronet, MP
26	15	2	¹⁸ Emma Lucy Moysey (1868–?1956)	Daughter of John Moysey, engineer, late Royal Navy

27	15	3	†Helen Messenger Murdoch (1862–1956)	Portrait and travel photographer, b. Boston, Mass.; d. of Joseph Murdoch, fire insurance broker / army captain
28	15	5	Frances Pitt (1888–1964)	Well-known natural history author; daughter of William Pitt, solicitor
29	14	2	Jane Davison (1826–?1884) and/or Margaret Davison (b. 1829)	Daughters of David Davidson, English Presbyterian Minister; in 1871 living next door to Bernard Quaritch; in 1901 Jane was living with the painter Eliza Turck (1832–1891)
30	13	1	Marg Schürgast (dates unknown)	Identity unknown
31	12	3	*Annie Eliza Blake (1848/9–1928)	Wife of William Blake, photographer
32	12	1	† Lilian Emily Bland (1878–1971)	Aviatrix; daughter of John Humphrey Bland, artist; lived Carmoney, Belfast
33	12	3	Grace Kearton (1892–?1978), later Mrs Charles H. Benthall ?	Daughter of Richard Kearton and niece of Cherry Kearton, nature photographers
34	12	2	*Charlotte Henrietta (Dusa) Roche (1859–1945)	Daughter of Antonin Roche, professor of French and teacher to the Royal Family
35	12	3	Lilian Jane Veley, née Nutcombe Gould (1861–1936)	Member of the Oxford Camera Club; daughter of John Nutcombe Gould, Rector of Stokeinteighhead, Devon
36	11	5	Constance Helen Ellis (1868–1926)	Daughter of Edwin Ellis, tanner and agriculturalist; renowned for her child photography
37	11	2	*Mary Wrigley, née Potter (1837–1930)	Wife of Edwin Grundy Wrigley (d. 1892, Cairo), paper manufacturer
38	10	3	*Muriel Blanche Gwendoline Bell, later Rogers (1873–1919)	Daughter of Charles William Morrison-Bell, baronet
39	10	6	Mary Crompton Eames (1857–1935)	Daughter of Thomas Boles Eames, physician and surgeon
40	10	4	Marjory Theodora Hardcastle (1876–1959)	Daughter of Edward Hardcastle (1826–1905), MP; niece of William James Herschel
41	10	3	*Susan Hodgson, née Townsend (1844–1912)	Daughter of Chambré Corker Townsend, Rector of Kilmacabea, Co. Cork
42	10	2	Lucy Roscoe, née Potter (1840–1910)	Wife of Sir Henry Enfield Roscoe, FRS, chemist
43	10	4	Hilda Stevenson (1872–1945)	Daughter of Louis Rudd Stevenson, iron merchant
44	9	1	*Blanche Arnott (b. 1857/8)	Wife of William Preston Arnott(t), late of the Indian Navy
45	9	2	*Anna ('Annie') Brassey, née Allnutt, Lady Brassey (1839–1887)	Daughter of John Allnutt, wine merchant; wife of Thomas Brassey, MP
46	9	6	Emma Louisa ('Louise') Marillier, née Robinson (1871–1940), or Robinson-Marillier, afterwards Blakeley-Marillier	Address when christened St Pancras Workhouse, no father; step-daughter of Robert Aspland Marillier, civil engineer; her mother Emma Robinson also exhibited at the Society; in 1926 married Edward Blakeley
47	8	5	*Cherrie Evelyn Boden (1868–1955)	Daughter of Henry Boden, JP, lace manufacturer
48	8	4	Catherine ('Carine') Mary Simpson Cadby, née Stevenson (1866–1957)	Daughter of Norman Sharp Stevenson, 9th Queen's Royal Lancers; in 1894 married Willie Arthur Cadby, son of Charles Cadby, pianoforte maker, of the Cadby Hall Manufactory, Hammersmith
49	8	6	Minna Keene, née Bergmann (1861–1943)	born Germany; daughter of Louis Bergmann, Superintendent of Police; in 1887 married Caleb Keene, "decorative designer"
50	8	6	Miss Margaret Watson (dates unknown)	Identity unknown; address 15 Via dei Servi, Florence, Italy

*Member or fellow of the Society, see also table 2.4 †Autochromist, see also table 7.4

As the catalogues of the exhibitions published in the *Photographic Journal* do not always state how many photographs made up each numbered exhibit these figures should be taken as indicative only. They include individual photographs exhibited in the Professional Section, when listed.

1. See Shirley Neale, "Mrs Beatrice Cundy, née Adelin Beatrice Connell, 1875–1949", *History of Photography*, vol. 25, no. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 61–67.
2. See P. B-S, "Miss E. L. Turner" [Obituary], *Nature*, vol. 146, no. 3700 (28 Sep 1940), p. 424; and "Turner, Emma Louisa", in Catherine M. C. Haines, *International Women in Science* (Santa Barbara, 2001), p. 310.
3. See S. D. Chapman, "Ralli, Stephen Augustus (1829–1902)", *Oxford DNB*.
4. See Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers* (2nd ed., New York, London, Paris, 2000), p. 356.
5. See Harry W. Lawton and George Knox, with Wistaria Hartmann Linton, *The Valiant Knights of Daguerre: Selected Critical Essays on Photography and Profiles of Photographic Pioneers*, by Sadakichi Hartmann (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1978).
6. See Brian Stevenson, "Mary Ann Booth, 1843–1922", *Miscapae*, no. 193 (Nov 2011) ([www.microscopy-uk.org.uk/mag/artnov11/bs-Booth.pdf], 2011).

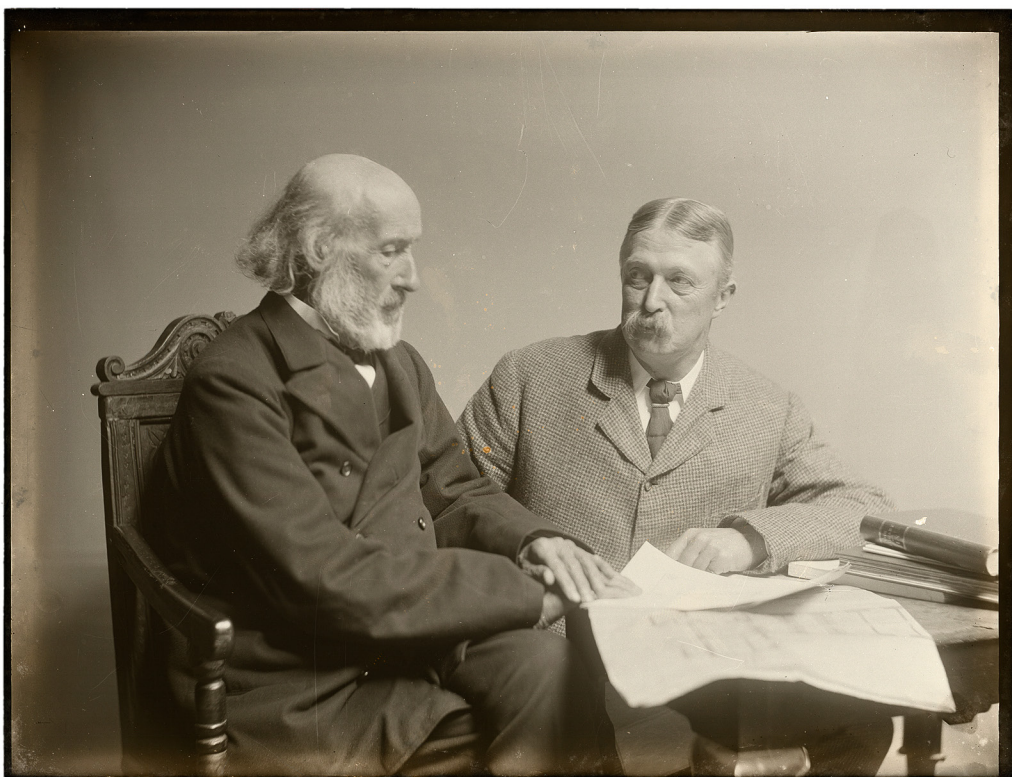


Fig. 3.35 (top) Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Sir Henry Acland & Dr. Billings*", gelatine negative (reversed), 10 to 15 Sep 1898 (cat. no. 528). Billings is showing Acland plans for the New York Public Library.

Fig. 3.36 (bottom) Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Rt Hon Max Müller and Sir Henry Acland*", gelatine negative (reversed), Aug or Sep 1898 (cat. no. 530)



Fig. 3.37 Miss Acland's presentation album given to the Bodleian in 1930 (Ms. Don. d. 14).

portraits acquired as a consequence of these personal links was not lost on the critics. Commenting on her portrait of Salisbury, for example, Carter wrote that it “naturally owes much to its personal interest”.¹⁵⁰ In her studies of her father “in conversation with various old friends of note”, such as John Shaw Billings and Max Müller, the personal nature of the encounters recorded and relationships at play is even clearer to see (cat. nos. 345 & 528–31) (figs. 3.35 & 3.36).¹⁵¹

Through her portrait albums Miss Acland created her own domestic portrait gallery analogous to the national institution (sharing many of its subjects). Her 1896 album contained seventy-two of her best portraits, presented for exhibition in the drawing room, and possibly also for circulation among family and friends (the value of which she had learnt from Willie's albums of the South Sea Islands). In 1929 she assembled two additional portrait albums containing forty-eight and sixty-four chocolate-brown carbon prints.¹⁵² Finely bound in blue cloth and black leather, these were inscribed on the title-page “Photographs taken in my old Home in Broad Street, Oxford”. One of the albums she kept for herself, the other she presented to the Bodleian Library for posterity (fig. 3.37).

The titles of Miss Acland's albums are indicative of the fundamentally domestic nature of her portrait undertaking. The men and women she photographed were not just individuals, they were also members of the society that centred around her home, personifying the values to which it subscribed. By publicizing her portraits, whether through correspondence, in print or in exhibitions, she was not only seeking acknowledgement of her creative skills as a photographer, but promoting the social, intellectual, artistic and scientific values of her family. Her portraits were emblematic of the home, carrying something of its character with them beyond

150. Carter, “The Two Great Exhibitions / The Royal”, p. 156

151. “Miss Acland on Home Portraiture”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 5a

152. Ms. Don. d. 14 and MHS Ms. Museum 417

the threshold. Just as “the history of what had been accomplished in the world is at bottom the history of the great men who had worked here”, to quote Carlyle, so too the history of the Acland house was the history of the men and women who were fostered within its walls. Miss Acland’s albums are a visual record of this domestic history; a means of commemorating not only the people but the place, inseparable as these were. “Here end the Day Dreams of my Beloved Home & some of its Visitors”, Miss Acland wrote as a codicil to the Bodleian album, adding in the accompanying letter that “Mine was a wonderful home & from force of circumstances there could never be another like it.”¹⁵³

In using photographic portraiture to memorialize the society that gathered around her home Miss Acland was not alone. In 1893 H. H. Hay Cameron published a collection of portraits by his mother under the title *Alfred, Lord Tennyson and His Friends* (London, 1893). Prefaced by reminiscences of the Camerons’ life on the Isle of Wight, the volume (despite its title) was a visual record of their friendships, which, according to Frederick Evans (1853–1943), were “among the most notable in the intellectual world”.¹⁵⁴ Eveleen Myers too was a woman “exceptionally fortunate in her sitters”, her portraits a record of the “political, literary, and artistic celebrities” who congregated in the home she made with Frederic William Henry Myers (1843–1901) on Grange Road in Cambridge.¹⁵⁵ What distinguished the work of Miss Acland from these other women was not primarily her visual approach to portraiture, but the domestic values that underpinning it. The Camerons were known for their “unconventional rules for life”: the “philistine domestic rule, by which, from earliest hour in the morning, the women of the house are expected to be at the receipt of custom, to live in public, to receive any casual stranger, any passing visitor, was utterly ignored by them.”¹⁵⁶ Myers was also quite unlike Miss Acland in social outlook, living for parties (according to her granddaughter), liable to make the most “fantastic and uninhibited” remarks, and possessed of many eccentricities, such as carrying her keys on a garter around her leg.¹⁵⁷

The virtues Miss Acland’s portraits were intended to communicate were the same as those identified by Palmerston in his vision for the National Gallery: mental exertion, noble actions and good conduct. These qualities were far from the sole preserve of the famous men she photographed. In reflection (and fulfilment) of her parents’ social ideals her portraiture also included many sitters of more humble birth, and many women. As the *Oxford Magazine* noted in her obituary, Miss Acland “inherited her father’s genius for making friends of all classes and conditions”.¹⁵⁸ At the opposite end of the social scale to Salisbury and Gladstone she photographed Domenico Guastelli (1815–1902), a maker of plaster casts (cat.

153. Ms. Don. d. 14, fol. 48v; Ibid., letter inside cover (SAA to Edmund Craster, 16 Feb 1930)

154. Cameron, Cameron and Ritchie, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson and His Friends*, p. 13; Frederick H. Evans, “Exhibition of Photographs by Julia Margaret Cameron, at 118, Westbourne Grove, E.”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 40, no. 1033 (21 Jul 1904), pp. 43–44, p. 43

155. “Chronicle and Comment”, *Bookman*, vol. 3, no. 5 (Jul 1896), pp. 383–397, p. 391–392; “Mrs. Frederic Myers / Camera Portraits” [Obituary], *The Times*, no. 47632 (13 Mar 1937), p. 14c

156. Cameron, Cameron and Ritchie, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson and His Friends*, pp. 12–13

157. Trinity College, Cambridge, Add Ms. a. 401 (“Mrs F. W. H. Myers as remembered by her Granddaughter Deenagh Goold-Adams”), fol. 2

158. “Obituary / Miss Sarah Angelina Acland”, *Oxford Magazine*, vol. 49, no. 9 (22 Jan 1931), p. 332



Fig. 3.38 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Mrs Cotmore Ordinary Plate*", lantern slide, 5 Jun and 9 Aug 1899 (cat. no. 571)



Fig. 3.39 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Mrs. Barnett*", lantern slide, May 1892 ? (cat. no. 122)

nos. 395–9); Theodore Furneux Brown (1838–1925), a boatman in Torquay (cat. no. 219); and John Barrow (1861–1915), a miner from Murton Row Colliery in Northumberland (cat. no. 385–6). Of the women seen in her photographs, Mary Barney was the widow of an Oxford chimney sweep and lived in deep poverty (fig. 3.40); Sarah Cotmore (1821–1902) was the landlady of the Fox public house in Boars Hill (and an old patient of Acland's) (cat. no. 571) (fig. 3.38); and Mrs Frederick Borwick (dates unknown) kept the lodgings in Grasmere where Miss Acland stayed after photographing Ruskin (cat. no. 273). Celebrated in her portraits were also local heroines, albeit from the middle classes, such as Miss Smith; the social reformer Henrietta Octavia Weston Barnett, née Rowland (1851–1936) (cat. no. 122) (fig. 3.39); and Charlotte Byron Green, née Symonds (1842–1929), secretary of the Association for Promoting the Education of Women in Oxford, an academic wife who became a district nurse in her widowhood (cat. nos. 139–40).¹⁵⁹

Miss Acland photographed these women not primarily for their beauty or symbolism, as Cameron had done, but for the virtues they personified, whether charity, kindness, hard work, loyalty, fortitude, humility, or otherwise. Their inclusion in her œuvre, in what are some of her most memorable portraits, is a reflection of her belief that portraiture served a moral as well as an artistic purpose, and that the two went hand in hand. According to the ideals promoted by her parents, men and women of modest upbringing and achievements were capable of occupying a moral standing equal to that of their more celebrated contemporaries. All of Miss Acland's sitters were, without exception, noble men and women, not due to their wealth, social position, or celebrity, but because of the way they lived their lives and overcame the struggles of daily existence: noble in spirit and character, in actions and intentions, and in their attitude to others; noble because, in

159. Charlotte's brother John Addington Symonds (1840–1893) was photographed by Myers and wrote the introduction to the issue of *Sun Artists* devoted to the her work.

the words of her father, they were “a part of the whole army of workers who from the beginning of the world have striven in all Arts, and all Times, and all Places to do their duty in the station of life in which they have laboured.”¹⁶⁰ Unlike other photographers, there was no place in Miss Acland’s portraiture for the faces of the corrupt or the criminal, the vagabond or dissolute. The value of her portraits was the reflex of the lives of their sitters. As Ruskin taught, her effort at portraiture was good for art because the men and women portrayed were good, not otherwise.

*

In a context where women’s role in public life was under constant renegotiation, portrait photography, as a domestic art form with relevance to the affairs of the nation, undertaken in the private space of the home but exhibited beyond the threshold, provided Miss Acland with a means of extending her visibility and involvement in the public and parochial spheres.¹⁶¹ Through portraiture she could obtain a degree of public exposure without the risk of being accused of departing too far from domestic safety. In February 1899 she took advantage of the opportunities the Oxford Camera Club offered to lecture in public for the first time, choosing portraiture as her subject (see ch. 4). The links that had been forged between the local and national photographic communities then facilitated her advance onto the metropolitan stage and an incursion into the traditionally male-dominated environment of the Royal Photographic Society. In both Oxford and London she was careful to be seen to be keeping within the accepted modes of conduct of an upper middle-class woman and to be conforming to the highly gendered expectations of her audiences, not least in regard to women’s perceived inexperience and lack of expertise by comparison to men.¹⁶² At the Camera Club, for example, she opened her lecture with a self-conscious display of modesty, claiming that “she felt some anxiety as to whether she could make her paper of sufficient value or interest to those far beyond her in photography.”¹⁶³ At the Royal Photographic Society her reticence was even more expressly stated:

It is with great diffidence that I stand before you to-night. Indeed I could not have ventured to acquiesce when the Secretary asked me to read a paper before you, had it not appeared to me a duty, as well as a pleasure, to take any trouble in my power at the request of the Royal Photographic Society, which has so recently conferred the honour of a Fellowship upon me. I am no practised lecturer, having never addressed any audience except friends and acquaintances, and would therefore beg for an indulgent hearing.”¹⁶⁴

In both places she was judged, by both women and men, by how she presented

160. Henry Wentworth Acland, *Memoir on the Cholera at Oxford, in the Year 1854* (Oxford, 1856), p. 144

161. Since I wrote this chapter Margaret Denny has published an instructive study of Catharine Weed Ward that explores a number of similar themes to those I deal with here in relation to Miss Acland, see “Catharine Weed Ward: Advocate for Women Photographers”, *History of Photography*, vol. 36., no. 2 (May 2012), pp. 156–171.

162. This pattern of conduct by women in the political sphere earlier in the century is discussed in Kathryn Gleadle, *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain, 1815–1867* (Oxford, 2009), esp. ch. 2, pp. 61–91 “Women, the public sphere, and collective identities”.

163. “Miss Acland on Home Portraiture”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 3b

164. ‘Miss Acland’, “A Visit to Gibraltar”, *Photographic Journal*, vol. 45, no. 7 (Jul 1905), pp. 232–238, p. 232

herself, as much as by the content of her lectures or the quality of her work. Harry's mother-in-law, for example, Maria Rogers, née Hitchens (1822/3–1911) (daughter of John Jope Rogers (1816–1880), secretary of the Arundel Society and close friend of George Scharf), wrote that her paper had

interested me exceedingly it is so practical and helpful and while teaching those who are studying photography you win the attention of all your audience by making them feel you are something more than a photographer, a sympathetic cultivated woman — a true child of your Father ...¹⁶⁵

Felicia Skene was equally impressed by the personal qualities on display:

I should think it was eminently useful to all who have to do with photography but what struck me greatly was more in my own department & that was its literary merit — your language throughout was admirable & in some places quite beautiful — in perfect taste from first to last.¹⁶⁶

"I want to congratulate you most warmly on your great success", Skene also remarked, adding that "what your father said about it in his note to me was completely true, 'Angie's lecture was perfect both in matter & manners'."¹⁶⁷

165. Ms. Acland d. 166, fols. 44–45 (Maria Rogers to SAA, 7 Mar 1899)

166. Ms. Acland d. 166, fols. 46–47 (Skene to SAA, 4 Mar [1899])

167. Ibid.

Fig. 3.40 Sarah Angelina Acland,
"Mrs Barney",
gelatine negative (reversed),
summer 1897? (cat. no. 488)



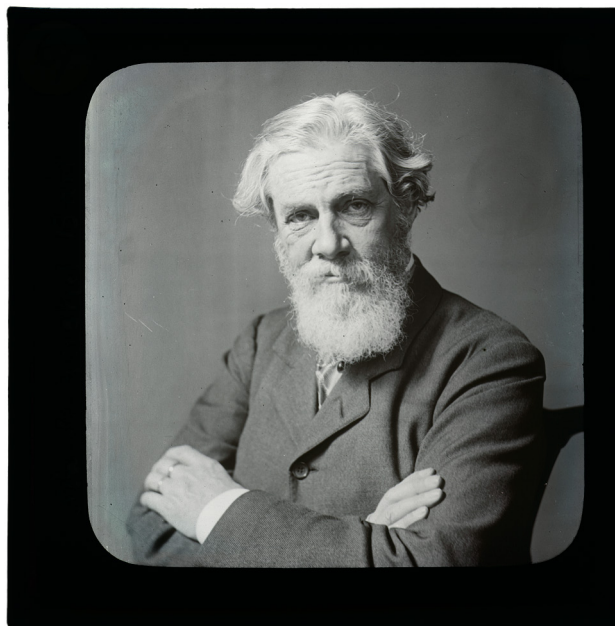


Fig. 4.1 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Sir W. Herschel Bart.*",
lantern slide, February 1899 (cat. no. 546)

For the last lantern slide in her Home Portraiture lecture Miss Acland exhibited a portrait of her friend, the President of the Oxford Camera Club, Sir William James Herschel. Sir William was the son of John Frederick William Herschel, discover of the method of fixing the photographic image and inventor of the cyanotype.

CHAPTER 4

Miss Acland on Home Portraiture, *circa* 1895–1899

The domestication of the studio and the progress of pictorial portrait photography

“To the more ambitious spirit home portraiture opens up an enormously wide field for practical experiments, which, if successful, lead to fine pictorial results.”

Amateur Photographer, June 1891¹

“I have got rather tired of the very words ‘art and artistic,’ and at times am inclined to say rude things about those who insist so strenuously that they are artists, with a big A, and seem to forget that they ought first and foremost to be photographers.”

“Art in Photography: An Interview with Mr. Frederick Hollyer”, *Studio*, November 1893²

“With but one or two exceptions the finest portraiture of the day proceeds from studios little known or heeded, in many cases from rooms which are not ‘studios,’ as generally understood, at all.”

“A Sumptuous Studio”, *Photography*, April 1900³

Miss Acland made her debut as a public speaker at the Oxford Camera Club on the evening of Monday 27 February 1899, when she lectured on the subject of “Home Portraiture”.⁴ Her remarks were delivered in the “large lecture theatre” at the University Museum, where a “considerable number” of ladies was in attendance, the *Oxford Times* reporting that it was “not often that quite such a big gathering of the feminine sex is to be seen at an ordinary meeting.”⁵ During the evening the audience was treated to sixty-seven “beautiful examples of portraiture”, presented, as the Club’s *Proceedings* made a point of recording, as lantern slides “made by Miss Acland herself” especially for the occasion.⁶ All but four of the slides survive, their

1. “Home Portraiture”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 13, no. 348 (5 Jun 1891), p. 403

2. Horace Townsend, “Art in Photography: An Interview with Mr. Frederick Hollyer”, *Studio*, vol. 1, no. 5 (15 Aug 1893), pp. 192–196, p. 194

3. “Spirit of the Times / A Sumptuous Studio”, *Photography*, no. 12, vol. 597 (19 Apr 1900), pp. 261–263, p. 263

4. “Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 1 (Apr 1899), pp. 3–5

5. *Ibid.*, p. 3b; ‘Carbon’, “Our Photographic Column / Leaves from a Dark Room Note-book”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, no. 7616 (4 Mar 1899), p. 9c

6. “Home Portraiture” [Report of Miss Acland’s lecture], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2027 (10 Mar 1899), pp. 151b–152a, p. 151a; “Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on

distinctive creamy brown emulsion suggestive of the collodion process (table 4.1, p. 232). An additional nineteen unused slides also come down to us, nine of which are duplicates but colder black in tone. The portraits were taken from her previous seven years' work, with the exception of the last slide, for which Sir William Herschel, as President of the Club, sat for her specially in February (fig. 4.1).⁷ After the lecture, on behalf of the Club, Herschel thanked her for her "most interesting and important paper" and expressed the hope that it might be "circulated amongst other societies as well as their own".⁸ Detailed reports duly appeared in *Amateur Photographer*, *Photography* and the *Oxford Times*.⁹ In the *British Journal of Photography* the paper was described as "a very comprehensive and able one", while 'Carbon', in his "Leaves from a Dark Room Note-book" in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, remarked that it "went beyond everyone's expectations, and they were by no means small."¹⁰

Miss Acland's lecture was an important moment in her photographic career: her first formal opportunity to explain her approach to portraiture and to justify the time she had devoted to the subject since 1891. Her choice of title was also highly significant. As will be argued in this chapter, between 1880 and 1899 "home portraiture" became a distinct, widely recognized, and highly influential photographic genre. The term signified a practical and ideological approach to portraiture that privileged the home as the location of the creation of artistic portraits and amateur photographers as their creators. Placed in juxtaposition with all that had gone before in the way of professional work, home portraiture was regarded as one of the most important fields in which artistic expression in photography could be exercised. In her lecture Miss Acland elucidated the theory and practice of home portraiture through a critical evaluation of her best work. In doing so she aligned herself visually and critically with a number of influential amateur advocates of pictorial photography, including Peter Henry Emerson, Frederick Evans and Alfred Stieglitz, all of whom exhibited "At home portraits", "home studies" and other synonymous types in exhibitions during the 1880s and 1890s. The principles she promoted were also those espoused by the leading professional portraitists of the day, among them Frederick Hollyer, Henry Herschel Hay Cameron and William Crooke (1849–1928). These photographers eschewed the extremism of the more radical votaries of pictorial photography, choosing instead a pragmatic "middle course" in portraiture that preserved aspects of the best of previous decades, valued likeness over stylistic effect, and placed limits on photography's claims to rank as a fine art. At the same time they transformed their studios into home-like places, fitting them out in the guise of tasteful interiors of artistic houses: a change that led to the domestication of portraiture, literally

Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 5b

7. See Ms. Acland d. 137, fols. 49–50 (HWA to SAA, 19 Feb 1899).

8. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 5b

9. See, in addition to the reports cited above, 'Lux', "Personal Paragraphs", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 29, no. 753 (10 Mar 1899), p. 182; "Home Portraiture / By Miss Acland", *Photography*, vol. 11, no. 540 (16 Mar 1899), p. 169; "Oxford Camera Club / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 7616 (4 Mar 1899), p. 5a–b; and "Oxford Camera Club / Miss Acland on Home-Portraiture", *Oxford Times*, no. 7616 (4 Mar 1899), p. 8c–d.

10. "Home Portraiture" [Report of Miss Acland's lecture], *British Journal of Photography*, p. 151b; 'Carbon', "Our Photographic Column / Leaves from a Dark Room Note-book", p. 9c

and symbolically, and that was contributed to crucially by women, opening up the profession to them in the process.

The Rise of Home Portraiture

The 'pictorial movement in photography', exemplified by the Brotherhood of the Linked Ring and the exhibitions of the Photographic Salon, has received a great deal of attention from historians.¹¹ However, studies have tended to focus on landscape rather than portraiture, as reflected in the importance assigned to *An Old Farmstead* by George Davison (1855–1930). Portraiture was, nevertheless, one of the most important fields on which the battle for artistic photography took place. As Frederick Evans commented in relation to the Salon, "it is on portraiture that the future of pictorial photography mainly depends".¹² The branch of portraiture in which artistic principles were first advanced was home portraiture. Like interior photography, the rise of home portraiture was a phenomenon of the 1880s (not as often stated the late 1890s and 1900s).¹³ In a paper on "Portraiture in the Drawing-Room" in 1880, George Frederick Williams (1842–1912), explained the change that had taken place:

a year ago the title of my paper would have been deemed an impossibility, a fanciful illusion, or, perhaps, a joke; but a slight glance at the rapid strides made in the science of photographic chemistry within a very brief period—dating no farther back than from the beginning of 1878—now places the photographer altogether in a different sphere, compared with the days of even wet collodion at its best, saying nothing of the epochs of collodion positives and daguerreotypes.¹⁴

Isolated examples of portraits taken in the homes of photographers or their sitters were not unknown before this date. In 1863 and 1864, for example, Lady Hawarden photographed friends and family in the first-floor drawing room of her London home (fig. 4.2) (albeit most of her photographs were figure studies rather than

11. See Harker, *The Linked Ring: The Secession in Photography in Britain, 1892–1910*. The pictorial movement is often anachronistically referred to as 'pictorialism' and its advocates 'pictorialists'. These terms were not in common use before 1900 and are historiographically problematic as they create a false dichotomy between pictorial and non-pictorial workers.

12. Evans quoted in Ward Muir, "A Chat with the Designer of the Salon", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 36, no. 939 (2 Oct 1902), pp. 271–274, p. 274a.

13. Several of the canonical histories make passing reference to the genre of home portraiture but confuse its chronology. See, for example, Helmut Gernsheim, *Creative Photography: Aesthetic Trends, 1839–1960* (Boston, 1962), p. 246, and Naomi Rosenblum, *A History of Women Photographers* (2nd ed., New York, London and Paris, 2000), p. 73, who identifies its rise as a phenomenon of the late 1890s. In a more detailed account, Christian A. Peterson, "Home Portraiture", *History of Photography*, vol. 35, no. 4 (Nov 2011), pp. 374–387, examines the rise of the genre in America, proposes 1899 as the pivotal year, and identifies Clarence White as one of the first amateurs to embrace it, circa 1902. A letter in which I pointed out the importance of the genre of home portraiture to women was published in the *Daily Telegraph* in May 2011: Giles Hudson, "Letters to the Editor / Angel in the house in Anglo-American portraits", *Daily Telegraph*, no. 48519 (30 May 2011), p. 17.

14. George F. Williams, "Portraiture in the Drawing-Room", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1040 (9 Apr 1880), pp. 175–176



Fig. 4.2 Clementina, Lady Hawarden, *Figure Study*, albumen print, c. 1862–63 (VAM, PH 293-1947/D558)

Lady Hawarden took a number of photographs in the brightly-lit first-floor rooms of her London home, usually keeping close to the large windows, but few were portraits in the strict sense of the term.

portraits proper).¹⁵ However, it was the general run of things that mattered, as the editor of the *British Journal of Photography* pointed out in January 1881:

One very striking lesson conveyed by the late photographic exhibition was the successful manner in which portraits could be taken in a room in an ordinary dwelling-house. Many such portraits—some of them cleverly and beautifully executed—have been taken, as we need not say, for many years past, and hints upon the subject have appeared in our columns; but they represent simply an occasional piece of photography—a mere episode in the routine of work of a different style. They were often a kind of *tour de force*, and like the mere production of a portrait of any kind in the earliest days of photography, gained praise for their very singularity and from the knowledge of difficulties overcome, those really successful in an artistic sense being decidedly in the minority. It is now, however, evident that the old difficulties are removed, or, if not removed, reduced to very small proportions, and a branch of working interesting to the amateur and profitable to the professional—a hitherto almost unworked mine, in fact—is now opened out.¹⁶

In the same month, in a column on “Recent Progress in Photography”, *The Times* provided a more succinct statement of the state of affairs: “Drawing-room photography by amateurs now becomes a possibility and a practicability which before it was not”.¹⁷

During the 1880s home portraiture was exhibited with increasing regularity at the Photographic Society by artistically-minded professionals. In 1880, for example, *Studies taken in an Ordinary Drawing Room* by the “artist and photographer” Thomas George Whaite (1834–1895), made on plates of his own preparation, were regarded

15. See Virginia Dodier, *Clementina, Lady Hawarden: Studies from Life, 1857–1864* (London, 1999).

16. “Indoor Portraiture”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 28, no. 1081 (21 Jan 1881), pp. 26–27, p. 26

17. “Recent Progress in Photography”, *The Times*, no. 30082 (4 Jan 1881), p. 3e

by the *British Journal* as “amongst the finest examples of gelatine that we have ever seen”.¹⁸ The following year John Thomson (1837–1921) (better known for his photographs of the Far East) exhibited “At home photography” of Queen Victoria, and the Princesses Beatrice and Louise, executed in drawing rooms at Osborne and Kensington Palace. In 1884, when Hayman Seleg Mendelssohn (1847–1908) submitted a series of portraits of aristocratic ladies ‘at home’, winning a medal, they were still described as “a somewhat new style of picture”, in contrast to the “more conventional” type produced by the Lafayette studio.¹⁹ Mendelssohn’s success was emulated by Miss Acland’s fellow exhibitor in Torquay, William Joseph Byrne, who won a medal at the Photographic Society in 1885 for a series of “At Home—Direct Portraits of Ladies in Court Dress, taken in ordinary dwelling rooms”, before going on to dominate the field for several years.

For professionals home portraiture offered a new line in their established portrait practice; for the majority of amateurs it opened up the field of portraiture per se. Despite the achievements of Dodgson and Cameron, to name but two, conventional opinion in the 1880s held that portraiture had never been popular with amateurs. In 1883, for example, James Kinnison Tulloch (b. 1851), in a paper on “Parlour Portraiture” at the Dundee and East of Scotland Photographic Association, wrote that it was “a pity that amateurs confine themselves so much to landscape photography or to the occasional taking of a group out of doors. Portraiture has received very little attention from them.”²⁰ This lack of interest was attributed by other writers to the need for a glasshouse:

For many years portraiture has been to the amateur a practically unworked field, not that amateurs did not attempt portraiture—for who is not too well acquainted with the miserable work in that line that generally represented the earlier efforts of the tyro?—but simply because none but the wealthier, who could afford to erect a portrait studio, were in a position to cope with the difficulties of lighting.²¹

One of the first amateurs to achieve recognition in the new genre of home portraiture was William Adcock, who exhibited portraits taken in his dining room at the Photographic Society in 1880, alongside his interiors (see ch. 2).²² In March 1883, when Adcock’s *Pleased with Herself* was published as a supplement to the *British Journal of Photography*, it was described as an “admirable example of what can be done in an ordinary room”.²³ Three years later *Amateur Drawing Room Photography* by William John Alexander Grant (1851–1935), a Devonian graduate

18. “The Photographic Exhibition / [First Notice]”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1066 (8 Oct 1880), pp. 483–484, p. 484a. On Whaite see “Thomas George Whaite”, in Stephen C. Askey (ed.), *Charles Allen Du Val: His Life and Works* ([http://charlesduval.org/thomas_george_whaite], n.d.)

19. “The Photographic Exhibition / [First Notice]”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 31, no. 1275 (10 Oct 1884), pp. 643–644, p. 644a

20. J. K. Tulloch, “Parlour Portraiture [A communication to the Dundee and East of Scotland Photographic Association]”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 30, no. 1188 (9 Feb 1883), pp. 76–77

21. “Amateurs and Retouching”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1068 (29 Jul 1887), pp. 466–467, p. 466a

22. See “The Photographic Exhibition / [Third Notice]”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1068 (22 Oct 1880), pp. 507–508, p. 507a.

23. William Adcock, *Pleased with Herself* [Photograph], “Our Illustration”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 30, no. 1192 (9 Mar 1883), p. 127, and opp. p. 138



Fig. 4.3 Cover of the *Amateur Photographer* "Home Portraiture" Extra Number, 30 Apr 1886

Fig. 4.4 Advertisement for the "Home Portraiture" Extra Number (*Amateur Photographer*, 16 Apr 1886, p. ii)

Amateur Photographer spared no expense in publishing a 24-page supplement describing the work of the competitors and illustrating the best entries in its inaugural Home Portraiture competition in early 1886.

of Merton College, also attracted favourable attention and was recommended by *Amateur Photographer* as deserving close study.²⁴

During the 1880s advice on the practicalities of home portraiture appeared in the photographic periodicals with increasing regularity. In June and July 1882 a series of four articles was published in the *British Journal of Photography* entitled simply "Portraiture for Amateurs", but addressing the new mode of working in ordinary rooms.²⁵ The articles proved popular with readers, leading to the resumption of the series in 1883 with an additional seven.²⁶ By 1886 interest in the genre had grown to the extent that *Amateur Photographer* was moved to organize a "Home Portraiture International Competition" (figs. 4.3 & 4.4). First announced

24. "Photographic Society of Great Britain / [Second Notice]", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 4, no. 106 (15 Oct 1886), p. 187. Grant had returned to the comfort of hearth and home after serving as a photographer on eight expeditions to the Arctic. See Willem F. J. Mörzner Bruyns, "Photography in the Arctic, 1876–84: The Work of W. J. A. Grant", *Polar Record*, vol. 39, no. 2 (Apr 2003), pp. 123–130.

25. "Portraiture for Amateurs", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 29, no. 1155 (23 Jun 1882), p. 352; continued in no. 1156 (30 Jun 1882), p. 365–366; no. 1157 (7 Jul 1882), p. 383; and no. 1158 (14 Jul 1882), pp. 396–397.

26. "Portraiture for Amateurs", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 30, no. 1200 (4 May 1883), p. 246; continued in no. 1201 (11 May 1883), pp. 260–261; no. 1202 (18 May 1883), p. 275 (as "Amateur Portraiture"); no. 1203 (25 May), pp. 289–290; no. 1204 (1 Jun 1883), p. 306; no. 1205 (8 Jun 1883), pp. 319–320; and no. 1206 (15 Jun 1883), pp. 335–336.

on 22 January, the competition was a great success, the editor reporting in March that “such an avalanche of photographs has fallen on our editorial office that we are practically snowed up”.²⁷ Four hundred and sixty-six portraits were entered in total, from seventy-five competitors, whose work was judged by the painter and illustrator Marcus Stone (1840–1921). “The competition, in short, was a revelation. No idea had previously been formed of the extent to which this branch of the art was practised by amateurs”, the editor also remarked.²⁸ To take advantage of the burgeoning interest a “Special Number” was printed as an “édition de luxe”, with notes on the photographs and numerous half-tone reproductions.

Stone awarded the gold medal and one guinea prize in the 1886 competition to *A Royal Academician at Work* by the amateur photographer Gilbert Elhanan Bicknell (1859–1933), grandson of the art collector Elhanan Bicknell (1788–1861). Second place was taken by Adcock for *Kitty* (fig. 4.5), and third went to Peter Henry Emerson for *Meditation*: a portrait of a young woman (fig. 4.6). Failing to win a prize, despite entering fifty-two prints, was Frederick Charles Lambert (1852–1932). Lambert was a member of the Linked Ring, which existed to promote the “highest form of Art of which Photography is capable”.²⁹ Another future ‘Link’ attracted to home portraiture was Henry Stevens (1843–1925), a regular contributor of “Home Studies”, “Home Groups” and other portraiture at the Photographic Society between 1882 and 1888. Other leading advocates of pictorial photography competed in subsequent *Amateur Photographer* Home Portraiture competitions, which took place every year from 1887 to 1892 except 1888. In 1887 the 1,500 entries from 138 competitors included examples from Lambert, Alfred (von) Liebig (dates unknown), Theodore William Graf Wratislaw (1871–1933), and the future figurehead of the American Secession, Alfred Stieglitz.³⁰ Stieglitz, Liebig and Lambert were all highly commended by the judges, who included another future Link, Valentine Blanchard (1831–1901), and George Davison (the Linked Ring’s “Deputy High Executioner”, to give him his nom de plume used in the society). Stieglitz was especially enthusiastic about the competition, writing in October 1887 to the editors of the Special Number to congratulate them on “undoubtedly one of the best ‘extras’ ever published of this sort”.³¹ In 1889 he entered the competition again, coming second to the Linked Ring’s “Forester” to be, Alexander Keighley (1861–1947). When Frederick Evans exhibited *At Home Portraits* at the RPS in the same year he wrote to the *British Journal of Photography* to publicize the achievement and stress that they had been obtained in “ordinary bay-windowed room”.³²

In turning to home portraiture in 1892 Miss Acland was an early woman to do so, but by no means the first. Only one woman had entered the *Amateur Photographer*

27. “Our Views”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 3, no. 76 (12 Mar 1886), pp. 121–123, p. 121. See “Home Portraiture Competition”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 3, no. 65 (22 Jan 1886), p. 37.

28. [Amateur Photographer], *Home Portraiture International Competition: Competitors and How they Worked* (“Supplement to the Extra Number of the ‘Amateur Photographer,’ April 30th 1886”) (Extra to *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 3, no. 82 (30 Apr 1886)), p. 4.

29. Harker, *The Linked Ring*, p. ix.

30. A list of entrants can be found as “Home Portraiture Competition”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 6, no. 144 (8 Jul 1887), p. 11. Liebig is listed as “Liebieg” in the Salon catalogues.

31. “Our Views”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 6, no. 159 (21 Oct 1887), p. 182.

32. Fred. H. Evans, “Letters / ‘At Home’ Portraiture”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 36, no. 1541 (15 Nov 1889), p. 755.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE EXTRA NUMBER OF THE "AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER," APRIL 30, 1886.

"AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER" PRIZE
HOME PORTRAITURE COMPETITION, 1886.



"Kitty."

Facsimile of Photograph by W. ADCOCK.

Fig. 4.5 William Adcock, "Kitty" [Kitty Powell], half-tone from gelatine negative, published 1886 (*Amateur Photographer*, Home Portraiture Extra Number, 30 Apr 1886, supplement). Early home portraiture was diverse, encompassing a wide range of approaches and styles.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE EXTRA NUMBER OF THE "AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER," APRIL 30, 1886.

"AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER" PRIZE
HOME PORTRAITURE COMPETITION, 1886.



"Meditation,"

Facsimile of Photograph by P. H. EMERSON, B.A., M.B. (Cantab.)

Fig. 4.6 Philip Henry Emerson, "Meditation", half-tone, published 1886 (*Amateur Photographer*, Home Portraiture Extra Number, 30 Apr 1886, supplement). Emerson won third prize with this portrait in the *Amateur Photographer* Home Portraiture competition in 1886.



Fig. 4.7 Gilbert Elhanan Bicknell, "Good-bye. Come Again Soon!", half-tone, published 1886 (*Amateur Photographer*, Home Portraiture Extra Number, 30 Apr 1886, p. 9)



Fig. 4.8 'Mr and Mrs R. J. Tomlin, jnr.,' "Lizzie", half-tone from gelatine negative, published 1889 (Charles W. Hastings (ed.), *The "Amateur Photographer" Home Portraiture Number*, 1890, p. 9)

Home Portraiture competition in 1886: Louisa Susanna Coxe (1830–1906). Louisa was the niece of Henry Octavius Coxe (1811–1881), Bodley's Librarian, who was one of the sitters in Acland's *Oxford Gallery of Portraits*.³³ Unusually, she was still working in wet collodion. In the 1887 competition seven women entered and achieved their first success, albeit a joint one, third prize going to the husband and wife team of Elizabeth Maria Tomlin, née Bernhard (1862–1930) and Robert John Tomlin (1856–1931) (fig. 4.8).³⁴ Other women in the competition included Jane Armstrong Young, née Smith (1846–1930), the wife of George Rainy Young (1839–1904), a wealthy East India merchant, who went on to exhibit studies "done at Home" at the Photographic Society in 1890 and at the Salon in 1902.³⁵ Dora Anderson was one of the fifteen women who competed in 1889, a year before her success in the *Amateur Photographer* Ladies' competition (see ch. 2). Her entries, in the opinion of the editor, were worthy of an award even though they had been overlooked by the all male panel.³⁶ The woman who attracted the greatest attention

33. [Amateur Photographer], *Home Portraiture International Competition*, p. iv. Louisa was the daughter of the Archdeacon of Lindisfarne, Richard Charles Coxe (1800–1865) and Louisa Arabella Coxe, née Maule (1800–1887), and a member of the Amateur Photographic Association.

34. "Our Views", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 6, no. 150 (19 Aug 1887), p. 73a

35. See "The Photographic Society's Exhibition", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 37, no. 1592 (7 Nov 1890), pp. 709–710, p. 710.

36. Charles W. Hastings (ed.), *The "Amateur Photographer" Home Portraiture Number*, 1890 (London, 1890), p. 24–26, p. 29, illustrated p. 29

in 1889, Susan Hodgson, won third prize for ten portraits reminiscent of Julia Margaret Cameron (see ch. 3). Hodgson was already an established exhibitor of home portraiture, six of her studies having been seen at the Photographic Society in 1887 and three in 1888, including *Colonel Yule*, *Portrait of a Lady*, *Living Flowers* (head studies of a girl) and *Miss Ethel Sherwood*.

Individuality and the Home

In England the artistic and domestic credentials of portraiture were both strong. Ruskin had taught that the first gift of English art was portraiture, its great characteristic domesticity: "All previous art contemplated men in their public aspect, and expressed only their public thought. But our art paints their home aspect, and reveals their home thoughts".³⁷ For William Lake Price portraiture was the primary art form by which the "domestic affections" were gratified, while Henry Peach Robinson (1830–1901) believed it to be favoured in Britain "because it appeals to the domestic sympathies; and this is the most domestic nation on earth."³⁸ Despite once being characteristic of the work of portraitists such as David Octavius Hill (1802–1870) and Robert Adamson (1821–1848), by 1880 both the artistic and domestic qualities of portraiture had been brought into question, undermined by the carte de visite, cabinet portrait, and other staples of the high-street studio. Studio portraiture was characterized by its detractors as inartistic: unnaturally illuminated, artificially posed, over-retouched, and nondescript. These faults were attributed to the commercial nature of the venture: the vulgarization of portrait photography as a "very low trade" and "easy means of money-making", by operators "low in the intellectual scale".³⁹ Reduced to little more than "a process of manufacture", Karl Marx placed it alongside the railways, steam navigation, telegraphy and the gas-works as one of the new branches of industry dependent on the "crudest form of manual labour".⁴⁰

Home portraiture offered the antidote to this malaise by virtue of the location where it was undertaken. In the Victorian domestic ideology the home was identified as the antithesis of everything industrial and mechanical. Simply by being created in the domestic space, portraits were instilled with culturally privileged values. Arguably the most important of these values was 'individuality' — a quality that contrasted with the uniformity of the mass produced products of manufacture. The principle of individuality was an old one, borrowed from

37. John Ruskin, "On the Present State of Modern Art, with Reference to the Advisable Arrangements of a National Gallery (A Lecture Delivered at the British Institution, 1867)", in Cook and Wedderburn, vol. 19 (1905), pp. 197–229, p. 200, §6

38. Lake Price, "On Composition and Chiar-oscuro—VII", *Photographic News*, vol. 3, no. 82 (30 Mar 1860), pp. 355–356, p. 355; H. P. Robinson, *Pictorial Effect in Photography* (3rd ed., London, 1886), p. 76

39. "Art / Mr. Wynfield's Photographs", *Reader*, vol. 3, no. 57 (30 Jan 1864), pp. 144–145, p. 145; Jabez Hughes, "Photography as an Industrial Occupation for Women", *Victoria Magazine*, vol. 21, no. 1 (May 1873), pp. 1–8, p. 3; Edward Dunmore, "The Evolution of Artistic Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 40, no. 1741 (15 Sep 1893), pp. 589–591, p. 590b

40. "Success in Portraiture", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1048 (4 Jun 1880), pp. 266–267, p. 267a; Karl Marx, ed. David McLellan, *Capital: A New Abridgement* (Oxford, 1999), p. 272

the fine arts, and held to be characteristic of all great art. However, during the 1870s and 1880s, prompted in a large part by Ruskin, the concept rose in critical importance as one of the central creeds of the Arts and Crafts Movement, William Morris describing it as “the breath of life to art” in his 1882 lecture on *The Lesser Arts of Life*.⁴¹ In the 1890s advocates of pictorial photography adopted the mantra as their own. As *The Times* reported in its review of the Photographic Salon in 1894:

Ideas of mathematical precision, monotony of treatment, and subservience to mechanism give place to broader views and an attempt at least to put prominently forward the individuality of the worker which distinguishes mechanism from art. This, we are given to understand, is the position maintained as the leading idea of what pictorial photography should be.⁴²

The evangelist of the pictorial movement, meanwhile, Alfred Ogle Maskell (1845–1912), described the “new photograph” as “personal, individual and absolutely apart from purely mechanical considerations”, while Emerson argued that photography’s claim to be a “medium for artistic expression” depended on “the power the artist has of showing his *individuality*”⁴³ Speaking on “Individuality in Photography” at the Photographic Convention in 1892, Robinson maintained that “of all the attempts made to prove that photography was not an art, that which would have most force, if proved, would be that it showed no evidence of individuality.”⁴⁴

In landscape photography opportunities for the expression of individuality existed in the choice of viewpoint, lens (or substitute), modification of development, and printing medium. In portraiture an additional consideration came into play: the individuality of the sitter. The aim of artistic portraiture was the portrayal of the sitter’s individual personality. This required the photographer to get behind the outward mask of his subjects to reveal their inner mind. “A truthful portrait is a perfect reflection of the inner man at his best,” which should show “the mind’s discernment in the face”, John Bartlett argued in 1889.⁴⁵ The extent to which portraits achieved this goal was one of the measures of their artistic success. In praising the “masterly quality” of the portraits at the Salon, for example, the *British Journal of Photography* described them as “possessing in every sense what the over-retouched, soulless, badly posed, woodennesses that pass for ‘portraits’ nowadays do not—that is, life, character, individuality, and power.”⁴⁶ When A. C. R. Carter reviewed the portraits of Gertrude Käsebier (1852–1934) at the Salon a few years

41. William Morris, “The Lesser Arts of Life”, in Reginald Stuart Poole, W. B. Richmond, J. T. Micklethwaite, E. J. Poynter and William Morris, *Lectures on Art Delivered in Support of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings* (London, 1882), lecture 6, pp. 174–232, p. 228

42. “The Photographic Salon”, *The Times*, no. 34383 (1 Oct 1894), p. 7a

43. Alfred Maskell, “The New Photograph”, *Studio*, vol. 4, no. 19 (Oct 1894), pp. 28–33, p. 28; P. H. Emerson, “The Artistic Aspects of Figure Photography”, *Magazine of Art*, vol. 14, no. 129 (Jul 1891), pp. 310–316, p. 310

44. H. P. Robinson, “Individuality in Photography”, *American Amateur Photographer*, vol. 4, no. 8 (Aug 1892), pp. 355–359, p. 357

45. John Bartlett, “About Good Expression”, *International Annual of Anthony’s Photographic Bulletin*, vol. 2 (1889–90), pp. 302–306, p. 302.

46. “The Photographic Salon”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 47, no. 1796 (5 Oct 1894), pp. 627–629, p. 628

later, it was due to their “insight of character” that he felt they deserved attention.⁴⁷ Crucially, the home was held to be the place where a sitter’s individuality was most faithfully expressed and could most clearly be discerned: home was the “first and most important school of character”, Samuel Smiles (1812–1904) wrote in 1876; the place where “the heart is opened, the habits are formed, the intellect is awakened, and character moulded for good or for evil.”⁴⁸ It was in the private sphere that the true, ‘home character’ of the individual was revealed; the place where the private person was perceptible beneath his public face.

In the late 1870s and 1880s the cultural link between individuality and the home was reinforced by a new journalistic genre which emerged in parallel with home portraiture: the so-called “Celebrities at Home” literature. The creation of the genre is usually attributed to a series of articles written for the *World* by Edmund Hodgson Yates (1831–1894), beginning in 1876 with “Mr. Tennyson at Hazlemere”.⁴⁹ Yates’s articles were extremely popular and widely reprinted, including in *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, which published “Dr. Pusey at Christ Church” and “Professor Ruskin at Brantwood” in 1877 (to name two scenes familiar to Miss Acland).⁵⁰ Just as in art, so in literature, it was said to be “the principle of individuality which gives the charm and interest to all biography.”⁵¹ In the early 1880s an important offshoot of the ‘at home’ genre appeared in the form of a genre of ‘Artists at Home’ literature, in which accounts of the personality of painters and sculptors were combined with descriptions of their studio-homes, thus revealing how they had “impressed more or less successfully their own individuality upon their dwellings.”⁵² The fashion for such pieces extended to the photographic periodicals, *Amateur Photographer* beginning a series of articles in 1886 “descriptive of the work and surroundings of eminent Amateur Photographers”, taking as its first subject the insurance magnate and photographer Henry Harben (1823–1911).⁵³

In 1884 the visual and literary at home genres were brought together when the Pre-Raphaelite author Frederic George Stephens (1828–1907) and the photographer Joseph Parkin Mayall (1839–1906) collaborated in the publication of *Artists at Home*, a part-work containing photogravure portraits and “biographical notes” of the leading painters (fig. 4.9).⁵⁴ Five years later Ralph Winwood Robinson

47. A. C. R. Carter, “The Two Great Exhibitions / The Photographic Salon”, *Photograms of the Year*, 1900, pp. 109–149, p. 133

48. Samuel Smiles, *Character* (New ed., London, 1876), pp. 31–32

49. [Edmund Hodgson Yates], “English Celebrities at Home / No. I / Mr. Tennyson at Haslelmere”, *World*, no. 112 (23 Aug 1876), pp. 4–5

50. “Celebrities at Home / Dr. Pusey at Christ Church / (From the *World*)”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, no. 6475 (5 May 1877), p. 4c-d; “Celebrities at Home / Professor Ruskin at Brantwood / (From the *World*)”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, no. 6495 (22 Sep 1877), p. 3e

51. Samuel Smiles, *Character*, p. 273

52. “The Reader” [Review of Marcus Adams’s *Artists’ Homes*], *Graphic*, no. 751 (19 Apr 1884), pp. 383b-c, p. 383c. On the genre see Caroline Dakers, *The Holland Part Circle: Artists and Victorian Society* (New Haven and London, 1999), p. 252.

53. “Our Views”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 4, no. 108 (29 Oct 1886), p. 205; “Amateur Photographers: Mr. Henry Harben at Home”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 4, no. 109 (5 Nov 1886), pp. 222–226

54. F. G. Stephens (ed.) and J. P. Mayall (photog.), *Artists at Home* (6 parts, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington; London, Mar to Aug 1884). See also Mark Bills and David Webb, *Victorian Artists in Photographs: The World of G. F. Watts* (Exhibition catalogue, Watts Gallery, Compton, Surrey, 2007).



Fig. 4.9 Joseph Parkin Mayall, "J. E. Millais, R. A.", photogravure, published 1884 (F. G. Stephens and J. P. Mayall, *Artists at Home*, London, 1884)

(1862–1942), elder son of H. P. Robinson, won a medal at the Photographic Society for a similar series of Royal Academicians 'at home' in their studios. Enthusing about Robinson's work, the *British Journal of Photography* summed up the benefit of the domestic setting:

Such an assemblage of the acknowledged aristocracy of fine art has never before been subjected to the comparatively lower grade of photographic representation, and very much interest will arise from a careful study of these very successful portraits, which derive great interest from their freedom of subjection of the usual photographic studio, being taken at the homes of the sitters. There is here no apparent posing for effect, and the whole series very forcibly bring to mind some remembrances of the Dutch school of portraiture, where the home surroundings of each portrait give an assurance of the personality and truthfulness of the sitter's every-day life. We arrive at the conclusion that the individuality of each sitter is very marked, consequently there is a peculiar charm and interest about these portraits, which not only reflect much praise upon the son of an accepted master of our art science, but also makes us familiar, in a very natural way, with the individualism of certain eminent men who have thus been brought into direct contact with the world.⁵⁵

A second swathe of portraits by Robinson was shown at the Photographic Society in 1890, the combined set published in 1892 as *Members and Associates of the Royal Academy of Arts 1891: Photographed in their Studios*.

55. "The Photographic Society's Exhibition", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 36, no. 1536 (11 Oct 1889), pp. 665–666, p. 665

With certain exceptions, such as her portrait of Ruskin at Brantwood, the Peards at Sparnon Villa and the Heathcotes at Beechwood, the majority of Miss Acland's portraits were taken not in the homes of her sitters but in Oxford. In order for portraiture to benefit from the values associated with the domestic setting it was unnecessary for sitters to be photographed in their own houses. The term 'home portraiture' came to imply portraits of friends and acquaintances taken in amateur photographers' own homes, just as in time it would signify portraits by professionals taken not only at the premises of their clients but also in their own domesticated studios.

One of the key advantages domestic surroundings possessed, wherever located, was that sitters were more likely to feel at ease than in a commercial space. The amateur was also believed to have an advantage over the professional in knowing his sitters personally. As the *British Journal of Photography* explained:

There can be no question whatever that the amateur is placed at a considerable advantage over the professional photographer with regard to his sitters, inasmuch as it is rarely that they are strangers to him; hence he has ample opportunity of studying their general characteristics well beforehand. Thus he is enabled to select a pose that is well suited to them and to secure an expression most natural, while the professional frequently has only the opportunity of seeing and conversing with his sitter for a few minutes before the portrait is actually taken. Again: the sitter will always feel more at ease in sitting for a portrait (often for "the fun of the thing") in the room of a friend or acquaintance than he will in the studio of a total stranger.⁵⁶

In a paper on "Home Portraiture" at the Photographic Convention in 1887 Thomas Newton Armstrong made a similar point: "the amateur is not handicapped, but in reality has advantages which his professional brother has not. One advantage which he has, and which is of great importance, is an intimate acquaintance with his sitters; he will most likely know his or her little soft points beforehand, and what little chord to touch and preparation to make so as to put them in the best of humours."⁵⁷

Miss Acland began her lecture on Home Portraiture at the Camera Club with a similar thought:

The dictionaries described a portrait as "a picture drawn after the real life." It was therefore necessary to draw out all that was best in our sitters in features, in expression, in attitude, and in characteristics. It was obvious, therefore, that the amateur often had the advantage of the professional, as the former rarely had a sitter he did not know well.⁵⁸

Professionals, she went on, were faced with the difficulty that customers came to their studios "overwhelmed by the consciousness that they were going to be

56. "Portraiture for Amateur Photographers: Hints on the Management of the Sitter", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 30, no. 1193 (16 Mar 1883), p. 142

57. T. N. Armstrong, "Home Portraiture", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 34, no. 1419 (15 Jul 1887), pp. 438–440, p. 439

58. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 4a

photographed, and it was difficult for the operator to put them at their ease.”⁵⁹ In the opinion of the *British Journal of Photography*, the “easy, unconstrained expression” of her portraits “fully bore out what was said at the beginning of the paper as to the advantages over the professional in this respect.”⁶⁰

In other preliminary remarks Miss Acland was at pains to distance the home portraitist from the uncultured, commercial portrait monger, stressing

how necessary it was to know something of mathematics, chemistry, and optics, not to mention French and German to keep up-to-date in the practice and literature of photography. To portraiture especially did one need to bring a trained and educated mind.⁶¹

The need for photographers to be familiar with the works of great artists was a message often preached by writers on artistic photography. Andrew Pringle, for example, wrote that the leading pictorial photographers had “in almost every case, systematically studied the principles of art”.⁶² The principal artistic authority to whom Miss Acland appealed in her lecture was not Ruskin, for once, but Joshua Reynolds. In discussing composition, for example, and the need to subjugate detail to overall effect, she quoted directly from Reynolds’s *Notes on the Art of Painting*:

Everyone that can paint at all can execute individual parts, but to keep those parts in subordination as a relative to the whole, requires a comprehensive view of the art that more strongly implies genius than perhaps any other quality.⁶³

Of the six lantern slides she exhibited not from her own portraits, three were “studies in black and white” by Reynolds in the University Galleries (unidentified), the remaining two engravings after miniatures by Adam Buck (1759–1833) (figs. 4.10 & 4.11). These she “carefully examined and criticised” in order to draw out the artistic lessons they taught.⁶⁴

Her introductory points out of the way, the bulk of Miss Acland’s lecture was devoted to advice on the practicalities of taking portraits at home. The suggestions she put forward broadly followed what by 1899 had become a codified set of recommendations for achieving artistic results without the use of a glasshouse studio. The first matter she addressed was the arrangement of an ordinary sitting room for photography:

For indoor portraiture a long room should be chosen if possible, with two windows on the north side. The sitter should be placed opposite one window, about six feet from it, and, should it be a high one, the blind should be drawn a little to cut off the top light, or a piece of muslin at the top to diffuse the light would be better. Should the window reach to the ground, it should be covered to about the height of the

59. ‘Carbon’, “Our Photographic Column / Leaves from a Dark Room Note-book”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, p. 9c

60. “Home Portraiture” [Report of Miss Acland’s lecture], *British Journal of Photography*, p. 152a

61. “Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 3b

62. Andrew Pringle, “The Naissance of Art in Photography”, *Studio*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Jun 1893), pp. 87–95, p. 90

63. ‘Carbon’, “Our Photographic Column / Leaves from a Dark Room Note-book”, *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, p. 9c

64. “Home Portraiture” [Report of Miss Acland’s lecture], *British Journal of Photography*, p. 151a



Fig. 4.10 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Mama don't make me beg in vain", after Adam Buck, lantern slide, 1898 or 1899 (cat. no. 551)



Fig. 4.11 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Sleep", after Adam Buck, lantern slide, 1898 or 1899 (cat. no. 552)

sitter's shoulders. The second window, near where the camera stands, is useful to diffuse the light, and need not usually be interfered with.⁶⁵

Aside from this basic arrangement of lights, the only additional tool required was a reflector, to allow the depth of shadow to be controlled on the side of the sitter's face opposite the windows. Familiar household items could be used for this: a white blanket was preferable to a plain tablecloth, she suggested, because it gave "a soft and tender reflection".⁶⁶ By adjusting the direction and relative position of the sitter and camera, as well as the amount of light passing through each window, this setup enabled a range of different styles of portrait to be obtained, from dramatic Rembrandt studies, with their deep shadows (e.g. cat. no. 431), to more evenly lit, high key studies (e.g. cat. no. 372). For a more detailed discussion of the variations possible Miss Acland directed her listeners to an article on "Portraiture in Rooms" by John Randall in the 1898 *Year Book of Photography*.⁶⁷ Almost identical approaches could be found in E. J. Wall's *Dictionary of Photography* and other sources.⁶⁸

After covering the general arrangements of lights, Miss Acland moved on to the detailed management of *chiaroscuro*. By emphasizing that successful artistic portraiture depended on careful attention to the "distribution of light and shade", she again agreed with other British writers, who had given prominence to the subject since discovering the "*gloria-in-excelsis* pictures" of Antoine Samuel Adam-Salomon (1818–1881) in the late 1860s.⁶⁹ In 1891, for example, Robinson had

65. Ibid.

66. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 4a

67. John A. Randall, "Portraiture in Rooms", *Year Book of Photography and Amateur's Guide*, 1898, pp. 200–226

68. E. J. Wall, rev. Thos. Bolas, *Dictionary of Photography* (8th ed., London, 1902), s.v. "Portraiture"

69. "Home Portraiture" [Report of Miss Acland's lecture], *British Journal of Photography*, p. 151a. For an example of the numerous commentaries on Salomon see "Scrutator", "An Analysis of The



Figs. 4.12–15 Sarah Angelina Acland, *"Effects of Different Lighting on the Same Face" / "Dante"*, lantern slides, printed 1899 (cat. nos. 547–50)

Miss Acland's studies of her father's cast of Alexander Munro's bust of Dante Alighieri: a demonstration of the importance of chiaroscuro in the depiction of character and of the detrimental effect of retouching. The retouched slide is bottom right.

adapted the classic work on chiaroscuro by the artist John Burnet (1784–1868) — *Practical Hints on Light and Shade* (London, 1826) — for a lengthy series of articles in *Amateur Photographer*.⁷⁰ For Robinson the management of chiaroscuro went to the nub of the purpose of portraiture: the attempt to reveal the true character of the sitter. Miss Acland chose to demonstrate its importance by showing four studies of a single compliant subject: her father's cast of Alexander Munro's bust of Dante Alighieri (cat. nos. 547–50) (figs. 4.12–4.15). To reveal the role of chiaroscuro in the perception of character she photographed Dante under three different lighting conditions. In the first study, she argued, the result was “notable for the strength and character of the mouth”.⁷¹ In the second, Dante had “no strength or character” at all, while in the third and fourth “the difference in the lighting had so changed the expression of the face, that had they been photographs of a living person, everyone would have said that the expression of the face had in truth changed.”⁷² The *British Journal of Photography* regarded these studies as “remarkable”, Dante seeming to have his “usual lugubrious expression” in one, but to be smiling in another.⁷³ For John Andrews (1837–1906), Estates Bursar at Wadham College, member of the Oxford Camera Club, and the author of *Studies in Photography* (a treatise on artistic photography published in 1892), they provided “an object lesson to all”.⁷⁴

Miss Acland also discussed the importance of chiaroscuro by reference to her portraits of living sitters. The principle of individuality dictated that sitters required their own bespoke lighting in order to bring out the essential traits of their inner character and avoid the monotonous falsehoods of the portrait production line. Isambard Brunel was a case in point, requiring a strong stop light to reduce the prominence of his double chin “which in life in the interest and charm of the man and his character was rarely noticed” (cat. no. 123).⁷⁵ Different approaches were needed depending on the sex of the sitter: “Women were far more difficult subjects than men, because everything depended on pose and lighting”, Miss Acland argued.⁷⁶ Her portrait of Eleanor Smith (cat. no. 422) was successful, she felt, because the lighting was “soft and tender”.⁷⁷ Large head studies of ladies were particularly challenging, although “happy results could be obtained occasionally”, such as in her portrait of Helen de Lacy (1864/5–?1949) (cat. no. 493).⁷⁸ Age was another factor affecting the choice of treatment, Miss Acland following William Crooke's advice that “the youthful female mouth may be treated with lips apart”.⁷⁹

Salomon Portraits”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 15, no. 402 (17 Jan 1868), pp. 28–29.

70. H. P. Robinson, “Composition, and Light and Shade: Selected and arranged for the use of Photographers, from ‘Burnet's Essays,’ with Introduction and Notes”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 13, no. 326 (2 Jan 1891), pp. 9–10; continued to vol. 14, no. 366 (9 Oct 1891), pp. 257–258

71. “Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 4a

72. *Ibid.*, p. 4a; p. 4a–b; p. 4b

73. “Home Portraiture” [Report of Miss Acland's lecture], *British Journal of Photography*, p. 151b

74. Ms. Acland d. 166, fols. 14–15 (John Andrews to SAA, 28 Feb 1899)

75. “Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 4b

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*

78. *Ibid.*, p. 5a

79. William Crooke, “Portraiture / [A paper read before the Edinburgh Photographic Society]”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2036 (21 Apr 1899), pp. 246–247, p. 246b

An important consideration for the home portraitist was choice of background. Although Miss Acland's most evocative portraits are often those in which the surroundings of the room in which they were taken are visible, the inclusion of furniture and fittings was not characteristic of early home portraiture. Portraits might equally be taken against a plain background or even outdoors. The proper rendering of the background was, nevertheless, no trivial matter, as Miss Acland stressed by quoting an anecdote from one of the old masters. Rubens, she stated,

on being asked to take a young painter into his studio, was told that he was already somewhat advanced in the art of painting backgrounds. Rubens smiled, and replied that if he understood backgrounds he was in no need of instruction from him, as the management of them required the most comprehensive knowledge of art.⁸⁰

Two months after her lecture the same anecdote was retold by William Crooke in a paper on portraiture at the Edinburgh Photographic Society.⁸¹

The best natural backdrop for portraits outdoors and the choice of artificial backgrounds for indoor work were both addressed by Miss Acland. The former presented many difficulties, as shown by her portrait of Ruskin at Brantwood, in which "ivy made nearly as bad a back-ground as could be."⁸² Indoors, wallpaper was rarely successful, but a woollen blanket would usually be serviceable. Her own preference was for a purpose-made fabric sheet fixed to a roller. Slate was the most useful colour, she advised, since it could be made to appear any shade from white to black depending on the lighting. Most of her portraits were taken using such a background, the edges of which can be seen in her negatives. However, on occasion she photographed her sitters against the backdrop of the Mess room and O'Shea's fireplace (fig. 4.16). Taking the sitter "amidst his own surroundings" or "at his usual occupation" was another strategy she recommended, as seen in her portraits of station master Robert Davis (b. 1849) (cat. no. 313), boatman Theodore Furneux Brown (cat. no. 219), and bank clerk William Haines (1824/5–1901) (cat. no. 391) (figs. 4.17 & 4.18).⁸³ To be avoided at all costs, it went without saying, was the painted scenery and stock-in-trade accessories characteristic of commercial studio photography of earlier decades.

In her lecture Miss Acland took pains to avoid saying anything contentious. In discussing the second of her studies of Dante, for example, she artfully steered around one of the most controversial subjects in photography: retouching. As Alfred Horsley Hinton (1863–1908), editor of *Amateur Photographer*, remarked in 1893, "upon no subject connected with artistic photography is there such diversity of opinion as the question of what is and what is not permissible in the way of 'touching up' the negative or print by way of perfecting pictorial result."⁸⁴ Extensive working with a lead pencil to remove facial blemishes and wrinkles was rejected by all artist-photographers as a mechanical vice and one of the prime causes of the "putty and dough" uniformity of studio portraiture. However, as small amount

80. 'Carbon', "Our Photographic Column / Leaves from a Dark Room Note-book", p. 9c

81. William Crooke, "Portraiture", p. 247a

82. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 4b

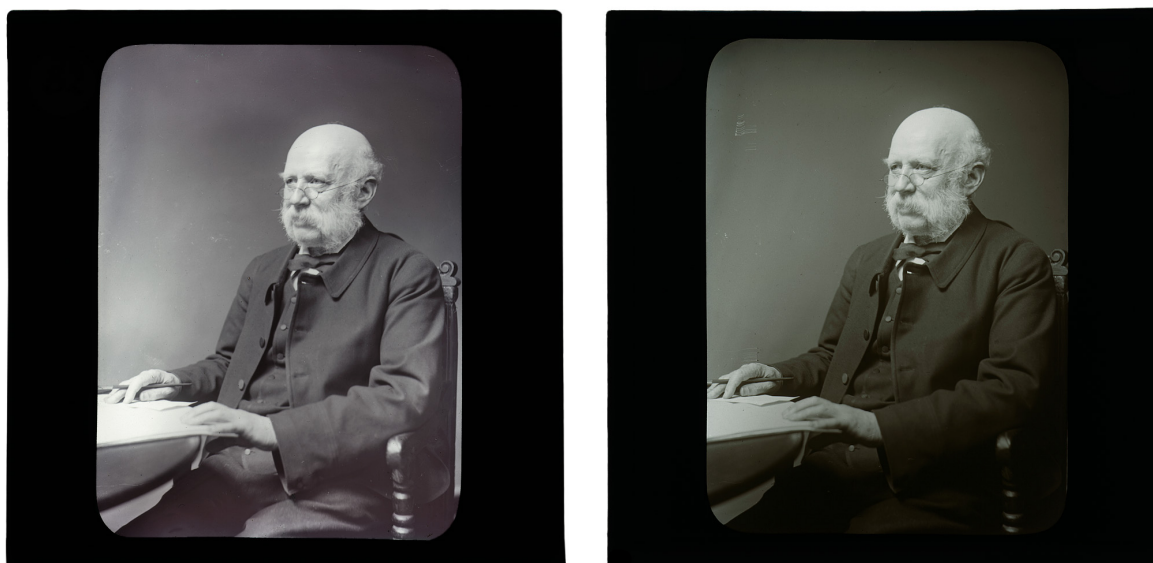
83. *Ibid.*, p. 5a

84. "The Legitimate in Photography", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 17, no. 437 (17 Feb 1893), p. 113



Fig. 4.16 Sarah Angelina Acland, *"Miss Denniston" (standing by the Mess-room fireplace)*, gelatine negative (reversed), 4 Oct 1895 (cat. no. 401)

In home portraiture the home in question could be the photographer's, the sitter's, or neither. The furniture and fittings of the room might be visible, or a plain background used. Including a hearth in the composition was a popular strategy, serving as a symbolic link to deep-rooted ideas about the nature and value of domesticity.



Figs. 4.17 & 4.18 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Mr William Haynes", lantern slides, c. 23 Sep 1895 ? (cat. no. 391)
 William Haines was chief cashier at the Old Bank, High Street, Oxford. Miss Acland portrays him "at his usual occupation".
 She prepared two lantern slides for her Home Portraiture lecture, one warmer in tone than the other.

of retouching was accepted by most workers as "absolutely necessary".⁸⁵ Crooke recommended retouching for removing excessive detail in the "intervening spaces" of a portrait, for example, while Lambert spoke of "the Scylla of misuse" on the one hand and "the Charybdis of total abstinence" on the other.⁸⁶ For some portraitists it was a source of pride that their work needed no retouching at all. Evans, for example, complained that the catalogue of the Photographic Society exhibition had failed to mention that his 1889 *At Home Portraits* were untouched, despite him pointing out the fact on his entry form.⁸⁷ In Miss Acland's opinion "retouching was occasionally necessary, but she felt the more attention paid to composition and light the less need there was of it."⁸⁸

The most divisive practical matter Miss Acland addressed was sharpness of focus. The virtues and vices of clarity in the photographic image had been disputed since at least 1853, when William John Newton (1785–1869), at the very first meeting of the Photographic Society in London, expressed the heterodox view that "I do not consider it necessary that the whole of the subject should be what is called *in focus*".⁸⁹ Extreme diffusion of focus and motion blur had become a *cause célèbre* due to Julia Margaret Cameron, while in the late 1880s Emerson's ideas on 'naturalistic' focussing ('differential' or 'selective' focus, as opposed to 'general softness') were

85. "Our Views", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 9, no. 231 (8 Mar 1889), p. 154

86. Crooke, "Portraiture", p. 247; F. C. Lambert, "Letters to the Editor / Touching Retouching", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 9, no. 231 (8 Mar 1889), pp. 155–157, p. 156–157

87. Evans, "Letters / 'At Home' Portraiture", p. 755

88. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 4b

89. Wm. J. Newton, "Photography in an Artistic View, and its Relation to the Arts", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (3 Mar 1853), pp. 6–7

widely debated.⁹⁰ In the early 1890s Davison's experiments in pinhole photography brought the issue to the forefront again. Miss Acland could hardly avoid dealing with the subject, but preferred to avoid any possibility of controversy by approaching the matter obliquely, as a question of lens choice. Perfect lenses were unnecessary for portraiture, she argued. Her first success, her portrait of her father (cat. no. 116), had been taken with an "old-fashioned Wray" lens.⁹¹ The lens she now employed was the "common lens" supplied with her enlarging lantern.⁹² The use of optically imperfect lenses was already fashionable with pictorial portraitists and even catered for by photographic manufacturers. In April 1899, for example, two months after Miss Acland's lecture, Cherrie Evelyn Boden (1868–1955), the first woman to be elected to the council of the Royal Photographic Society, published an article on "Portraiture with Single Lenses", advocating the use of a Dollond Monocle — a simple lens advertised as suitable for taking portraits "of the most artistic character".⁹³

The Middle Course in Pictorial Portraiture

The portraits Miss Acland exhibited during her lecture extended across her photographic career, from the early Cameronesque studies, dominated by strong contrasts and dark backgrounds, to her mature work of more recent years. In her mature portraiture Miss Acland departed from the slavish imitation of Cameron and moved towards a visual style characterized by retention of detail in the highlights and shadows, fine rendering of chiaroscuro, the preservation of a broad range of mid-tones, and the widespread use of selective rather than uniformly diffuse focus, albeit with a very narrow depth of field (figs. 4.19 & 4.20). This visual approach was one she shared with a number of leading portraitists of the 1890s, who practised what was increasingly recognized as a "higher phase" of portrait work, the "new school of portraiture", or even "pictorial portrait photography".⁹⁴

90. For a recent discussion of the focus debate see Mirjam Brusius, "Impreciseness in Julia Margaret Cameron's Portrait Photographs", *History of Photography*, vol. 34, no. 4 (Nov 2010), pp. 342–355.

91. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 5a.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 5b.

93. Evelyn Boden, "Portraiture with Single Lenses", *Photogram*, vol. 6, no. 64 (Apr 1899), pp. 109–110.

94. For the use of these terms see: T. Moreley Brooke, "Figure Studies and Pictorial Portraiture", *Photographic News*, n.s. vol. 40, no. 45 (6 Nov 1896), pp. 726–727, p. 726 ("By pictorial portraiture I mean something that is a little different to the ordinary marble and putty studio likeness"); Harold Baker, "Notes on Portrait work in the Studio [Read before the Royal Photographic Society]", *Photography*, vol. 9, no. 444 (13 May 1897), pp. 295–296, p. 295 ("In the provinces, at any rate, there is little or no demand for pictorial portrait photography"); "Progress in the United States", *Photograms of the Year*, 1898, pp. 37–46, p. 42 ("an exchange collection of purely professional pictorial portraiture should be gathered in Britain"); Edward L. Wilson, "Plain vs. Pictorial Portraiture", *Photographic Mosaics*, 1900, pp. 24–27; "The Photographic Exhibition", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 34, no. 1431 (7 Oct 1887), pp. 625–626, p. 625b ("it is most gratifying to record that the desire is very evident to produce, by photographic means, either a higher phase of portrait work, or to embody the more ambitious aspirations in beauty, grace, and sentiment"); "Editorial / The Higher Portraiture", *Practical Photographer*, vol. 10, no. 116 (Aug 1899), pp. 248–249; H. S. W. [Henry Snowden Ward], "Camera Craft", *Art Journal*, n.s. vol. 19, no. 738 (Dec 1899), p. 381 (the "new school of portraiture").

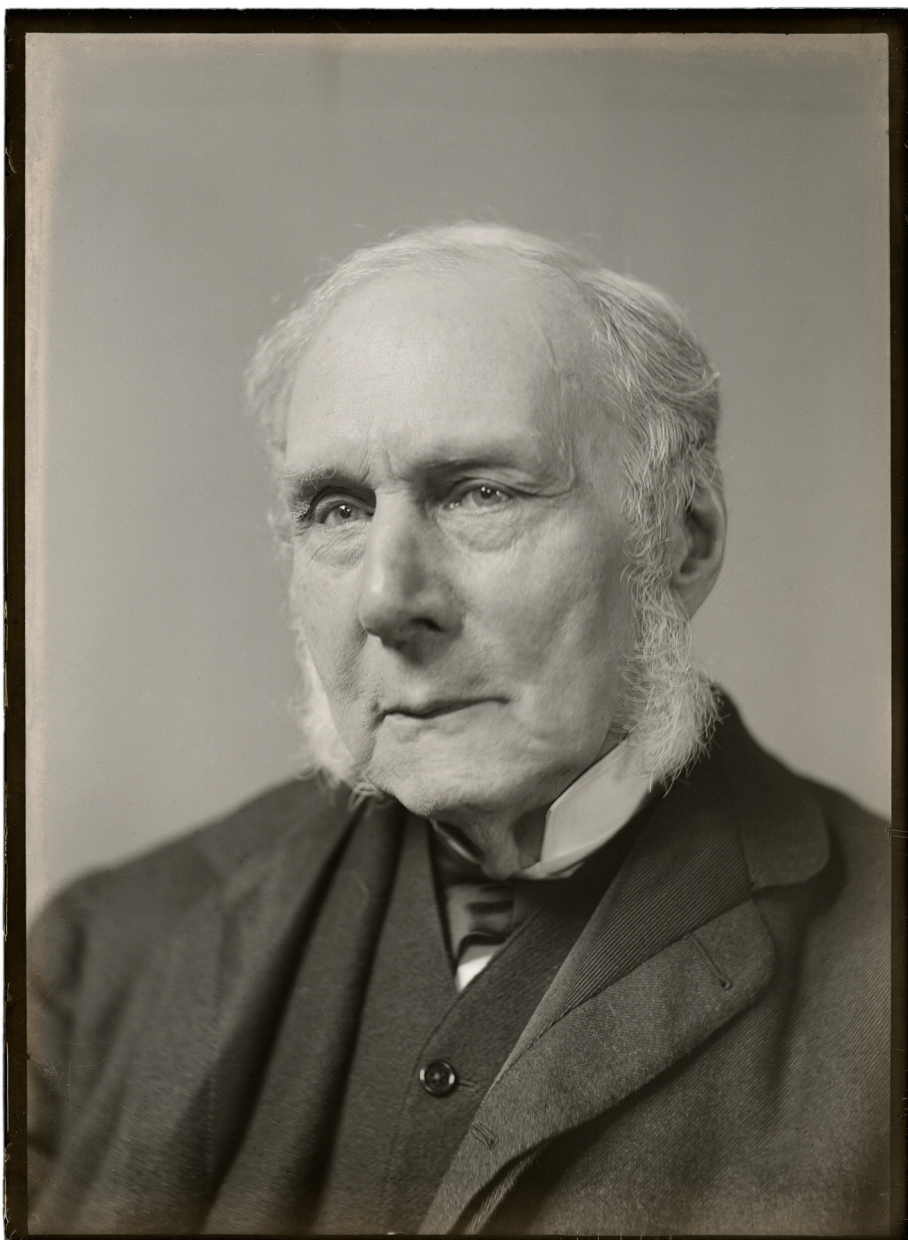


Fig. 4.19 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Lord Selborne*", gelatine negative (reversed), 13 Aug 1894 (cat. no. 363)

Miss Acland's mature portraiture abandons extremes of contrast and uniformly diffuse focus in favour of a wide range of mid-tones, carefully defined chiaroscuro, and selective focus, albeit with a narrow depth of field.



Fig. 4.20 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Dr. John Shaw Billings, D.C.L.*", gelatine negative (reversed), 29 Jun to 5 Jul 1896 (cat. no. 450)



Fig. 4.21 Eveleen Myers, "Photograph of Miss Dorothy Tennant bust – looking up profile", platinum print, 1890 (NAL, Copy 3/168)



Fig. 4.22 Albert Dew-Smith, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, platinum print, 1885 (NPG x1345)

The portraiture in question occupied a transitional place between, on the one hand, the contrasting work of Cameron and the commercial studios of the 1860s and 1870s, and on the other, extremism in contemporary pictorial photography and the modernism of the twentieth century. Advocates of advanced pictorial portraiture set themselves to be artist-photographers, but the ground they occupied was that of moderates. Aiming to produce portraits of artistic value, far removed from the "old conventional school", they nevertheless strove to avoid artistic over-indulgence, preferring instead to navigate a middle course in photographic portraiture.⁹⁵

Advocates of the middle course in portraiture can be found among the leading amateurs and te professionals of the 1890s. Among the amateurs, Eveleen Myers and her Cambridge collaborator Albert George Dew-Smith (1848–1903) offer the most striking comparison with Miss Acland, both stylistically and by virtue of the intellectual context in which they operated. Myers, like Miss Acland, photographed Gladstone. Instead of Salisbury, she obtained Arthur Balfour. Francis Galton (1822–1911) also sat for her, cousin of Miss Acland's sitter, Douglas Strutt Galton. Dew-Smith was a year older than Miss Acland, a graduate of Trinity College, and co-founder with Horace Darwin (1851–1928) of the Cambridge Scientific Instrument Company.⁹⁶ Several of his portraits were exhibited at the Photographic

95. "Art Notes and Reviews / Photographic Society", *Art Journal*, n.s. no. 23 (Nov 1886), p. 349

96. See M. J. G. Cattermole and A. F. Wolfe, *Horace Darwin's Shop: A History of the Cambridge Scientific Instrument Company, 1878 to 1968* (Bristol and Boston, [1987]).

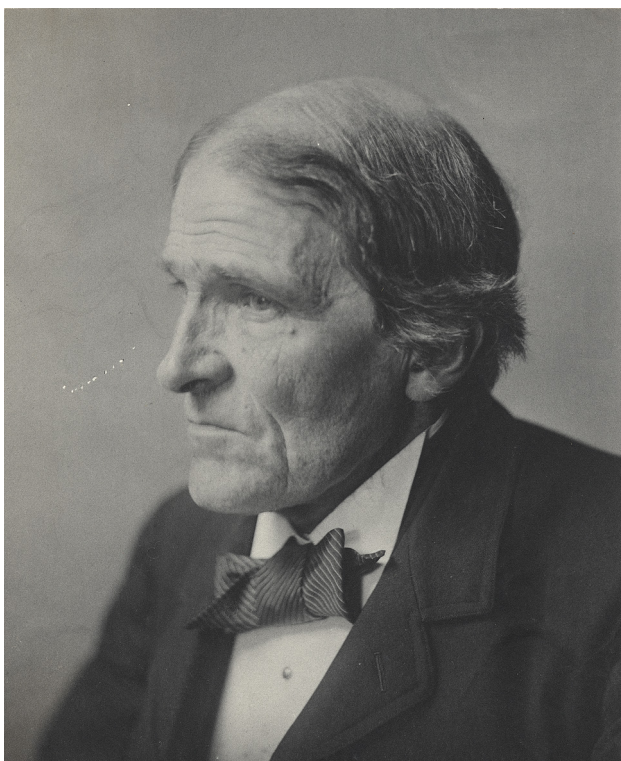


Fig. 4.23 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Sir John Burdon-Sanderson, Bart.", platinum print, allegedly 1894 (cat. no. 301c)

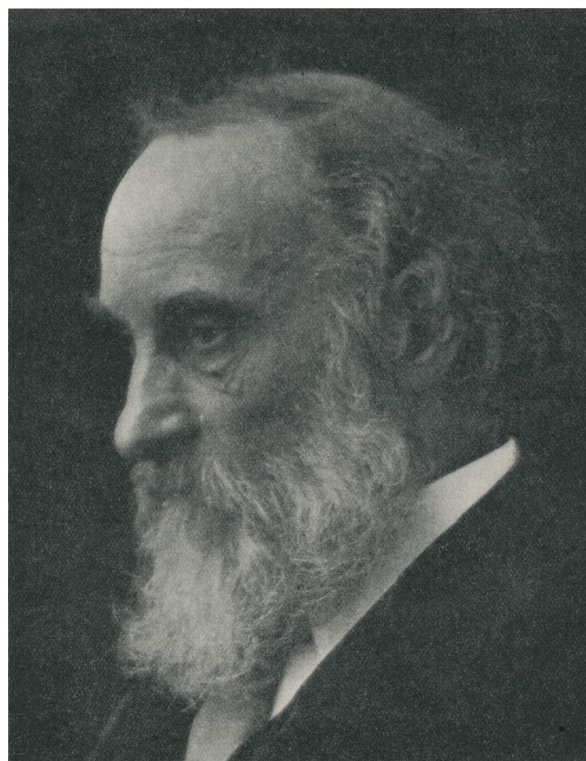


Fig. 4.24 Frederick Evans, "Portrait Direct: Dr. John Todhunter / Salon 150", half-tone, exhibited 1899 (*Photograms of the Year*, 1899, p. 57)

Society in 1885 and others published in his lifetime.⁹⁷ His sitters were drawn from an analogous cross-section of Cambridge academia to Miss Acland's in Oxford: Arthur Cayley (1821–1895), Sadleirian Professor of Mathematics; John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor (1825–1910), Professor of Latin; and John Peile (1838–1910), Master of Christ's College. Of other amateurs of note, Frederick Evans, although now chiefly remembered for his architectural photography, was also devoted to portraiture, which according to Horsley Hinton "at one time was likely to form a serious part of his life".⁹⁸ In addition to his 1889 studies, Evans exhibited 'At Home' Portraits at the Royal Photographic Society in 1891, *Salammô – Character Study at Home* in 1897, and other portraits in 1899, 1900 and 1901 (fig. 4.24). His famous likeness of Aubrey Beardsley was seen at the Photographic Salon in 1894, *An Exercise in Line (character*

97. See, for example, A. G. Dew-Smith, Photograph of Robert Louis Stevenson, in Rosaline Masson, *I Can Remember Robert Louis Stevenson* (Edinburgh and London, 1922), opp. p. 112; Arthur Cayley, *The Collected Mathematical Papers of Arthur Cayley* (13 vols, Cambridge, 1889–97), vol. 11 (1896), frontispiece; "Our Chronicle: Michaelmas Term, 1891", *The Eagle: A Magazine Supported by Members of St. John's College*, vol. 17, no. 96 (1893), pp. 75–111, p. 82. A small collection of Dew-Smith's photographs is held by the National Portrait Gallery, London.

98. A. Horsley Hinton, "Artistic Photographers of To-Day: As Illustrated by the Works of Representative Men / Mr Frederick Evans: A 'Romanticist' in Photography", *Magazine of Art*, n.s. vol. 2 (Jun 1904), pp. 372–377, p. 377. On Evans see also Anne Hammond (ed.), *Frederick H. Evans: Selected Text and Bibliography* (Oxford, 1992), esp. "A Contextual Chronology", pp. xiii–xvii.



Fig. 4.25 Frederick Hollyer, "Mrs. Jopling", half-tone, exhibited 1902 (*Photograms of the Year*, 1902, p. 124)



Fig. 4.26 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Ada Barnett", lantern slide, Oct 1895 ? (cat. no. 414)

study at home) in 1897, and a *Portrait Study "at Home"* (Thomas Curtis) in 1898.⁹⁹ The champion of what he later called "straight photography", in 1900 Evans wrote that

What is wanted in portraiture is the portrait, and nothing more; no obvious intrusion, that is, of the personality of the producer; a true portrait, of course, an evocation, true to the spiritual and mental as well as the physical. And in that lies the potentiality, the individuality of the photographer; that he can arrange a lighting, choose a pose, elicit an expression, which shall say the whole truth of the sitter, inside and out.¹⁰⁰

The type of portraits he preferred were "round and soft and full in modelling and lighting", "rich in grading", and revealing of "character and sense of identity": precisely the qualities to which Miss Acland also aspired.¹⁰¹

The most notable professional photographers who chose the middle way in portraiture were Hollyer, H. H. Hay Cameron, William Crooke, James Craig Annan

99. Photographic Salon, *Catalogue, Photographic Salon, 1894 (Second Year)* (Dudley Gallery, London, 1 Oct to 3 Nov 1894) p. 23, cat. no. 211; Photographic Salon, *Catalogue of the Fifth Exhibition of the Photographic Salon* (Dudley Gallery, London, 4 Oct to 7 Nov 1897), p. 22, cat. no. 134 and p. 24, cat. no. 163; Photographic Salon, *Catalogue of the Sixth Annual Exhibition* (Dudley Gallery, London, 30 Sep to 5 Nov 1898), p. 20, cat. no. 38

100. Frederick H. Evans, "Art in Monochrome (Continued from last week)", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 47, no. 1219 (11 Feb 1900), pp. 129–130, p. 129–130. The term 'straight' was applied to Evans's architectural work more than portraiture, but for its use in opposition to 'freak' in relation to portraits see "Old vs. New Methods in Portraiture", *Wilson's Photographic Magazine*, vol. 37, no. 519 (Mar 1900), pp. 97–100, p. 99.

101. Evans, "Art in Monochrome", p. 130

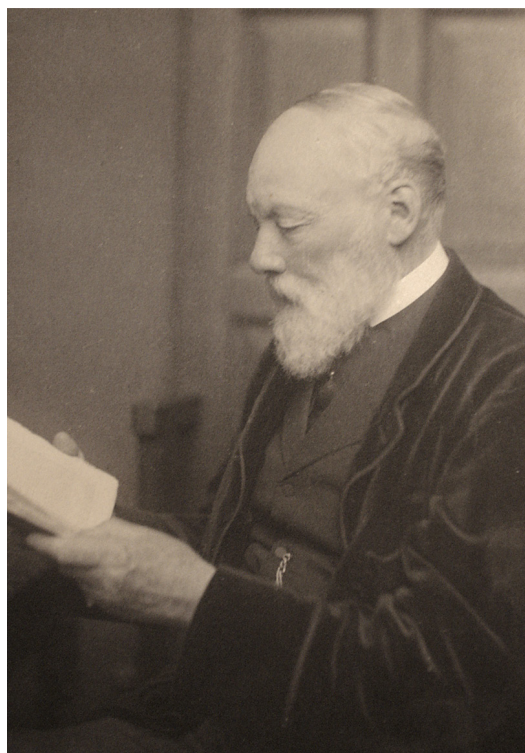


Fig. 4.27 Frederick Hollyer, *Samuel Smiles*, platinum print, 1885 (NMeM, RPS Collection)

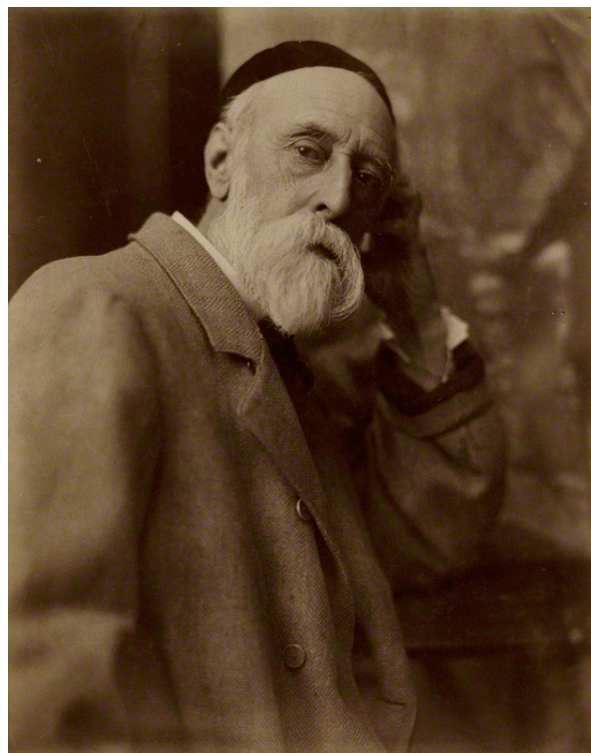


Fig. 4.28 Henry Herschel Hay Cameron, "*George Frederick Watts, R.A. (from life)*", albumen print, 1885 (NPG x20030)

(1864–1946) and Henry Walter Barnett (1862–1934) (figs. 4.25– 4.31).¹⁰² Although a member of the Linked Ring, Hollyer continued to exhibit at the Photographic Society during the 1890s, as did Barnett from 1898 and Crooke from 1900 (calling into question the depth of the divide between the two societies). Hollyer's main business was the reproduction of artworks — he was said to have done as much for the Pre-Raphaelites with his camera as Ruskin did with his pen. However, from 1882 he reserved Mondays for portraiture. His portrait of Burne-Jones, taken during such a sitting, was seen at the Salon in 1898, when it was described as "one of the very finest pieces of portraiture ever shown".¹⁰³ Cameron set up in photography *circa* 1884 to supplement his career as an actor.¹⁰⁴ Styling his business "The Cameron Studio", he leant heavily on his mother's celebrity, but in time secured a reputation as a portraitist on his own merit.¹⁰⁵ Crooke began his career as a photographer's apprentice in Dublin in 1864, before opening a studio in Edinburgh in 1884.¹⁰⁶ "That

102. See "The Photographic Year: in the United States", *Photograms of the Year*, 1897, pp. 28–31, p. 30.

103. "The Two Great Exhibitions / The Photographic Salon", *Photograms of the Year*, 1898, pp. 93–112, p. 105

104. See Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron: 19th Century Photographer of Genius*, p. 70

105. On H. H. H. Cameron, see Gleeson White, "Constructive Criticism / No. XI / The Work of H. H. Hay Cameron", *Photogram*, vol. 3, no. 33 (Sep 1896), pp. 224–226; and G. W. [Gleeson White], "Photographic Portraiture: An Interview with Mr. H. H. Hay Cameron", *Studio*, vol. 2, no. 2 (15 Dec 1893), pp. 84–89.

106. On Crooke see "Interview with William Crooke", *Professional Photographer* (Jul 1914), pp. 163–167.

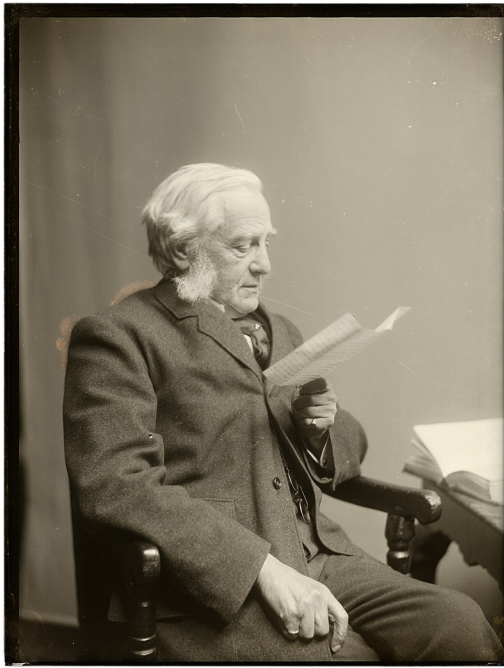


Fig. 4.29 Sarah Angelina Acland, "The Right Honble Friedrich Max Müller", gelatine negative (reversed), Aug or Sep 1898 ? (cat. no. 532)

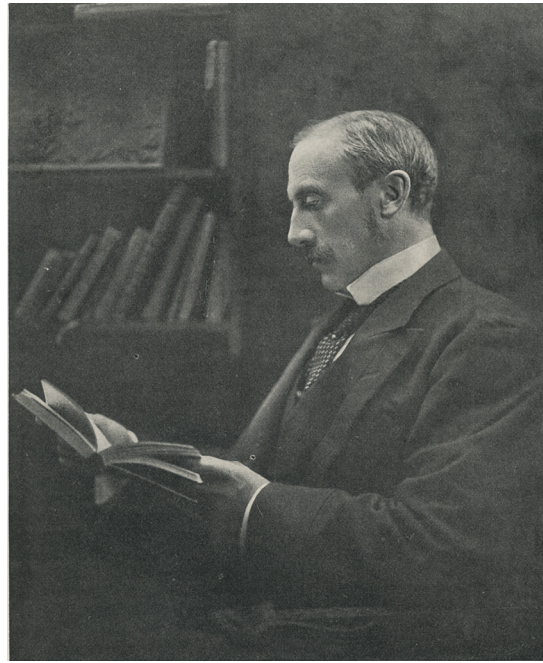


Fig. 4.30 H. Walter Barnett, "Lord Milner of Capetown", half-tone, exhibited 1901 (*Photograms of the Year*, 1901, p. 137)

W. Crooke is accepted as the greatest portrait photographer, by many competent judges, need not be challenged", the critic of *Photograms of the Year* asserted in 1897.¹⁰⁷ Like Hollyer, Annan, the second son of Scottish photographer Thomas Annan (1829–1887), had specialized in the reproduction of artworks before his portraiture came to notice at the 1893 Salon.¹⁰⁸ Barnett was born and trained as a photographer in Australia, before founding a portrait studio at Hyde Park Corner in 1897, which attracted the patronage of the metropolitan elite.¹⁰⁹

In their visual style, Miss Acland and other advocates of the middle way were at pains to differentiate themselves from the radical fringe of the pictorial movement. Criticism of the radicals, who were described in such extreme terms as "paper spoilers", "faddists", "cranks" and even "crétines", was voiced not only by the conservative wing of photography, but by many of its more progressive proponents.¹¹⁰ Pringle, for example, when taking a stance in the focus debate, was critical both of the unrelenting "topographical" detail favoured by "scientific" workers and the excessive blurriness cherished by some at the Salon. "This crusade

107. "The Two Great Exhibitions / The Photographic Salon", *Photograms of the Year*, 1897, pp. 93–114, p. 106

108. See "Interview with J. Craig Annan", *Professional Photographer* (Aug 1913), pp. 163–167, p. 164; and William Buchanan, *The Art of the Photographer J. Craig Annan, 1864–1946* (Edinburgh, 1992).

109. See P. H. de Serville, "Barnett, Henry Walter (1862–1934)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (17 vols, Melbourne, 1966–2002), vol. 7 (1979), pp. 182–183.

110. R. E. Chesterman, "The New Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 38, no. 1630 (31 Jul 1891), pp. 486–487, p. 486; Ibid.; 'AQC', "Decadents and the Salon", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 42, no. 1815 (15 Feb 1895), p. 101



Fig. 4.31 J. Craig Annan, "Granville Barker", half-tone, date unknown (*Professional Photographer*, Aug 1913, p. 181)

against superfluous detail led to many follies and extravagances", he argued in the "The Naissance of Art in Photography":

For a time we had quite a run on very rough papers for prints, even of the smallest sizes. These prints were simply smudges in most cases; true texture was lost. We ran riot in fuzziness. Pictures were, and are, made so much out of focus that the outlines are doubled, and spotty "areas of confusion" are seen with an effect almost sickening. One set of evils is eliminated at the expense of the introduction of another set not less objectionable; but it is to be hoped that in time we may return to moderation.¹¹¹

Salonites singled out for criticism for "extremist" portraiture included William Arthur Cadby (1864–1937), Rowland Briant (1861–1933) and Eustace Frederick Calland (1865–1959). In 1894 the *British Journal of Photography* condemned Calland's *Portrait of Mr. W. T. Peters* as a "vague, indefinable representation of a frizzy-headed young man, no doubt 'after' somebody".¹¹² The following year Cadby's *Study of a Head* was described as looking like it was photographed through a "film of light fog".¹¹³ In the same year, Briant, who adopted the Linked Ring pseudonym "Organist" (he was an FRCO and ARCM), was censured for the "vagueness and indecision" of his altogether unidentifiable *Portrait*.¹¹⁴ Underlying this criticism was distaste for an aesthetic radicalism that threatened to bring artistic photography into disrepute. "Individuality goes wrong when it is out of harmony with its

¹¹¹. Pringle, "The Naissance of Art in Photography", p. 94

¹¹². "The Photographic Salon", *British Journal of Photography* (5 Oct 1894), p. 628

¹¹³. "The Photographic Salon", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 42, no. 1847 (27 Sep 1895), pp. 611–613, p. 612

¹¹⁴. *Ibid.*

surroundings. Eccentricity is very easy, but it does not last”, Robinson argued at the Photographic Convention in 1892.¹¹⁵ In 1907 even Henry Snowden Ward, who took a more progressive approach than many critics, was prepared to concede that radicalism was not always for the best. In an article on “Modern Portrait Photography” in the *Photogram*, for example, in discussing the work of E. O. Hoppé (1878–1972), he attributed the ‘modernising’ of professional photography to two causes: “first, the desire for progress of the professional himself; second, the infusion of amateur ideas”.¹¹⁶ The drag on its progress had also been twofold, he argued: “firstly, the philistinism of the paying public; secondly, the belief in certain quarters that eccentricity is art.”¹¹⁷

A key conviction of the advanced pictorial portraitists was that individuality of artistic expression should not be allowed to obscure likeness. For professionals this was a necessity: no market existed for extremist portraiture, even the most artistically enlightened sitters seeking likenesses that were identifiably themselves. As Snowden Ward explained:

There are still photographers who cling to some of the old conventions and believe that money can only be made by giving the half-dozen stock poses, with the three of four stock lightings and the one retouched-to-death stock texture. At the other end of the scale are certain amateur and semi-amateur workers who seem to think that a portrait study must be something bizarre—something quite unrecognisable by friends of the sitters. / Between these two classes we have advanced professionals like Crooke, Annan, Hollyer, Barnet, Duhrkoop, Falk, Macdonald, Strauss, Hollinger, and many others; and the newer “amateur-professionals” of who Furley Lewis may be taken as a type. These people contend that there *is* a paying public for portraits combining recognisability with some attempt at pictorial quality.¹¹⁸

Rudolph Dührkoop (1848–1918) was based in Berlin, Benjamin J. Falk (1852–1925), Pirie Macdonald (1867–1942), Julius Caesar Strauss (1857–1924) and William M. Hollinger (b. c. 1855) in America, but all chose “a happy medium between the two extremes”.¹¹⁹ John Furley Lewis (1867–1939), an amateur turned artist-professional working in London, exhibited at the Royal Photographic Society for the first time in 1900 and rose quickly to attention for the fine portraiture (fig. 4.32). In 1908 his reputation as a moderate recommended him as a judge for the Oxford Camera Club exhibition. Miss Acland had largely stopped exhibiting portraiture in monochrome by 1908, but one of her landscapes gained Lewis’s approval. “One seldom finds a composition framed by an archway so satisfactory as in this print which takes an award for the fine sense of spaciousness and atmosphere it conveys. It gives an admirable rendering of landscape values”, he wrote.¹²⁰

115. H. P. Robinson, “Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom / Individuality in Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1681 (22 Jul 1892), pp. 468–469, p. 469b

116. Henry Snowden Ward, “Modern Portrait Photography / (The Work of E. O. Hoppé)”, *Photogram*, vol. 14, no. 166 (Oct 1907), pp. 311–314, p. 311. On Hoppé see Phillip Prodger and Terence Pepper, *Hoppé Portraits: Society, Studio and Street* (London, 2011).

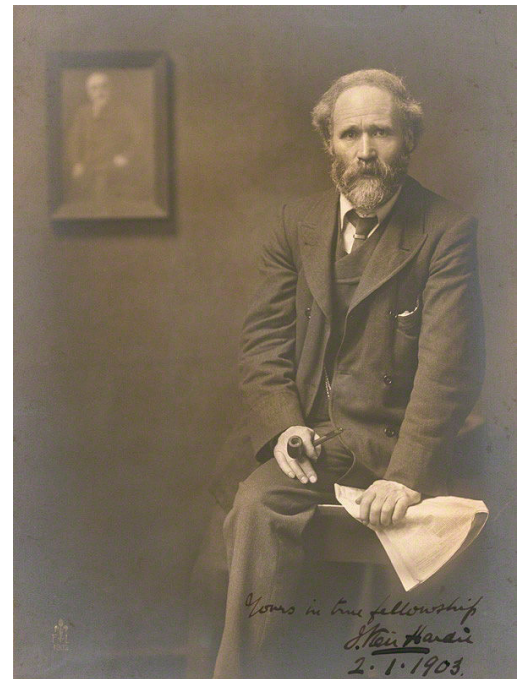
117. Snowden Ward, “Modern Portrait Photography”, p. 311

118. Ibid.

119. J. B. Schriever (editor in chief), *Studio Portraiture* (Complete Self-Instructing Library of Practical Photography, vol. 7, pt. 1, Scranta, P.A., 1909), p. 141

120. “City Camera Club Exhibition”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2473 (14 Mar 1908), p. 12d

Fig. 4.32 John Furley Lewis, *Keir Hardie*, bromide print? 1902
(NPG P1091)



As well as eschewing radicalism in their visual approach, moderate portraitists also shared many critical beliefs in common. On the burning question of the hour, for example — whether photography deserved to rank as a fine art — they held back from insisting that photographs deserved equal status to paintings and sculpture. When asked about the status of photography in an interview for the *Studio* in 1893, for example, Hollyer gave the following answer:

When, not so very many years ago, photography came into being, the marvellous results which were produced by the very earliest photographers, caused an exaggerated opinion to prevail as to its purely artistic future. When, later on, its well-defined limitations became apparent, there was the usual reaction in the other direction, and those who claimed that art might in any form enter into photographer's work were sneered at as presumptuous Philistines. Surely there is safety in the middle course.¹²¹

In Crooke's opinion "the painter has many advantages which are denied to the photographer", so the photographic portraitist should be "content to worship afar off".¹²² Annan, according to a reporter for the *Professional Photographer*, "does not care whether photography is fine art or not. It is sufficient for him that it is a medium which lends itself to artistic expression."¹²³ Other respected pictorial workers were also quick to emphasize photography's boundaries. In 1892 Catherine Weed Ward, in a lecture on "Photographic Limits" at the London and Provincial Association, argued that even the most ardent camera devotee "must own that the scope of his beloved instrument is limited".¹²⁴ Evans viewed these limits as beneficial:

121. Townsend, "Art in Photography: An Interview with Mr. Frederick Hollyer", p. 196

122. Crooke, "Portraiture", pp. 246b–247a

123. "Interview with J. Craig Annan", *Professional Photographer*, p. 164

124. Catherine Weed Barnes, "Photographic Limits" / [Before London and Provincial Photographic Association], *Anthony's Photographic Bulletin*, vol. 23, no. 13 (9 Jul 1892), pp. 616–619, p. 617

"Photographers seem at last to be perceiving their limitations. The more you do, the more you feel those limitations: and a good thing too."¹²⁵

Photography's place in the hierarchy of the arts was the issue Miss Acland chose to conclude her lecture with: "She had only used the word art in relation to photography in default of a better word, for she did not in the least infer or intend to imply that photography could ever compete with the art of painting portraits".¹²⁶ Quoting directly from a paper "On Photography as a Means or an End" by the artist John Leighton (1822–1912), delivered to Photographic Society in 1853, she went on to argue that "Sun pictures could only be the means of elevating taste, by rendering us more familiar with nature's infinite beauty and educating the eye by presenting her transient forms and effects imprinted by her own hand without fear or favour, causing true art to be better appreciated and more widely understood."¹²⁷ Whether these remarks were really intended to "deprecate" photography, as the *British Journal of Photography* suggested in its report of the lecture, or simply to demonstrate that she held moderate views, is difficult to judge, as is whether they reflected her private belief rather than the position she felt obliged to put forward in public.¹²⁸ The statement was no doubt partly symptomatic of her desire to avoid saying anything contentious, and partly to avoid appearing too ambitious in her claims for her own photography. It may also have been influenced by Alexander Macdonald, from whom she sought approval for her paper prior to its delivery.¹²⁹ Although her choice of words fell short of denying that photography was capable of serving as anything more than handmaiden to the arts, it was undoubtedly also influenced by Ruskin, who although unable to be present in person was presumably sent a detailed written report of everything his former pupil had to say.

Amateur Ideals and the Domestication of the Studio

The detailed coverage that Miss Acland's lecture received in the photographic press and the seriousness with which it was treated was symptomatic of a decisive shift that occurred in the relative status of the amateur and professional during the 1890s. In 1863 the view that "excellence is generally supposed to belong only to the professional photographer", as expressed by a writer in the *Photographic News*, was typical of the general consensus.¹³⁰ By 1895, three decades later, *The Times* for one, in reviewing the Salon, had become convinced of the opposite:

whether in landscape or in portrait, the photographic artist by profession does not exist. The productions of the so-called professional photographer are, as we

125. Evans quoted in Ward Muir, "A Chat with the Designer of the Salon", p. 274b

126. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 5b

127. *Ibid.*, p. 5b; John Leighton, "On Photography as a Means or an End", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 1, no. 6 (21 Jun 1853), pp. 74–75. Leighton was quoting a source I have been unable to identify.

128. "Home Portraiture" [Report of Miss Acland's lecture], *British Journal of Photography*, p. 152a

129. See Ms. Acland d. 137, fols. 41–42 (HWA to SAA, 13 Feb 1899).

130. "Amateur Portraiture", *Photographic News*, vol. 7, no. 239 (2 Apr 1863), pp. 157–158, p. 157a

have already pointed out in reviewing these exhibitions, unworthy of serious consideration from any artistic point of view.¹³¹

The argument that “artistic work in photography is almost wholly in the hands of what are called amateurs” was one the polemics of pictorial photography.¹³² As a consequence, professionals who wanted their work to be taken seriously were obliged “to free themselves from commercial considerations, and to become, in the best sense of the term, amateurs.”¹³³ The photographer who aspired to be an artist, Hollyer advised, “must find time for some hobby-work quite distinct from his business”; to maintain his artistic credentials he must ensure that “for every negative made for profit there should be another made for love.”¹³⁴

Driven by this requirement, the commercial photographic studio underwent a radical transformation at the turn of the century, as the trappings of the shop were replaced by those of the home. Artist-photographers converted their business premises into domestic spaces, designed to resemble the interiors of tasteful houses, filled with fine furniture and beautiful furnishings. Crooke’s studio, for example, was “fitted up in the style of an ordinary room, or rather of several ordinary rooms”, according to Pringle (fig. 4.33).¹³⁵ “The place might pass for the well-furnished room of a tastefully arrayed house”, *Practical Photographer* reported.¹³⁶ The same was true of Barnett’s premises: “From the reception room to the studio the furniture and decorations are simple and substantial, such as may be seen in any tastefully furnished house”.¹³⁷ Cameron worked in rooms decorated with “genuine work of good design in almost perfect preservation”, Gleeson White wrote in an article in the *Studio* that opened with a long paragraph describing the building before so much as a mention Cameron’s photography.¹³⁸

The need for studios to be home-like spaces led many artist photographers to relocate away from the commercial centres of towns and cities. Hollyer’s studio was situated in “a commonplace house in a quiet Kensington square”, for example (fig. 4.34); Mendelssohn worked “far from the madding crowd that surges about Piccadilly—deep in the recesses of Bayswater”; and Furley Lewis moved to the “sylvan solitude” of Acacia Gardens, St. John’s Wood, “which is so quiet and peaceful that the roar of the London traffic is scarcely heard, and one might be in the depths of the countryside” (fig. 4.35).¹³⁹ St John’s Wood was also where the

131. “The Photographic Salon”, *The Times*, no. 34692 (26 Sep 1895), p. 4a-b, p. 4a

132. A. M. [Alfred Maskell], “On Some Methods of Suppression and Modification in Pictorial Photography”, *Studio*, vol. 3, no. 13 (16 Apr 1894), pp. 13–16, p. 13

133. *Ibid.*, p. 14

134. “The Value of Studies: A Few Words with Frederick Hollyer”, *Photogram*, vol. 6, no. 63 (Mar 1899), pp. 65–69, p. 66

135. Pringle, “The Naissance of Art in Photography”, p. 94

136. ‘Matthew Surface’ [pseud.], “Our Leaders, No. 38: William Crooke”, *Practical Photographer*, vol. 9, no. 103 (Jul 1898), pp 189–196, p. 191

137. “Interview with H. Walter Barnett & Co. Ltd.”, *Professional Photographer* (Sep 1917), pp. 259–271, p. 260

138. White, “Photographic Portraiture: An Interview with Mr. H. H. Hay Cameron”, p. 84

139. Townsend, “Art in Photography: An Interview with Mr. Frederick Hollyer”, p. 193; Thomas Runciman, “The Artist As Photographer”, *Art Journal*, n.s. vol. 13, no. 100 (Apr 1893), pp. 113–117, p. 116; “Interview with Furley Lewis, F.R.P.S.”, *Professional Photographer* (Mar 1916), pp 67–74, p. 67; A. H. Blake, “The Man and His Aims / Furley Lewis”, *Photographic News*, n.s. vol. 52, no. 622 (29 Nov 1907), pp. 514–515, p. 515



Fig. 4.33 Unknown photographer, "Mr. Crooke's Reception Room", half-tone, c. 1914? (*Professional Photographer*, Jul 1914, p. [176])

professional portraitist Adelin Beatrice Connell (1875–1949) chose to set up as a photographer, in a building that was also her home, next door to the artist Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836–1912) (fig. 4.36 & 4.37).¹⁴⁰ Further afield, in Birmingham, the premises of Annie Clara Cooper (1877–1927) stood well back from the main road in "the best residential district": leafy Edgbaston (fig. 4.38).¹⁴¹ Those obliged to remain in the city centre moved to less commercial streets. In describing the Curzon Street premises of Lallie Charles (1869–1919), for example, one journalist was at pains to explain that it was located in a road of "ordinary private dwellings", rather than a "shopping thoroughfare", and that it looked like its neighbours, with no showcases outside to betray the business being transacted within.¹⁴² The same considerations applied as far away as Washington DC, according to the journalist Susan Hunter, Frances Benjamin Johnston's studio being situated in the "spacious garden surrounding of the comfortable house at 1332 v Street, where, with her father and mother, Miss Johnston makes her home."¹⁴³

Victorian mores placed women at an advantage when it came to exploiting the new domesticity in portrait photography. Women were in their element in the home setting and experienced in exercising taste in interior decoration. Another quality that attracted Hunter's attention about Johnston's studio was its beautiful interior and similarity to a normal room:

140. See Shirley Neale, "Mrs Beatrice Cundy, née Adelin Beatrice Connell, 1875–1949", *History of Photography*, vol. 25, no. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 61–67, p. 61.

141. "Interview with Miss A. Clara Cooper", *Professional Photographer* (Aug 1917), pp. 227–234, p. 227

142. "Interview with Madame Lallie Charles", *Professional Photographer* (Jun 1915), pp. 163–168, p. 164

143. Library of Congress, Washington, Manuscripts Division, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, Reel 23 (Susan Hunter, "The Art of Photography / A Visit to the Studio of Miss Frances Benjamin Johnston", circa 1895), fol. 2



Fig. 4.34 Article by Frank M. Sutcliffe, "A Pilgrimage to Pembroke Square" (*Amateur Photographer*, 12 Mar 1903, p. 211). Frederick Hollyer's studio was found in an unassuming townhouse in the pleasant residential surroundings of a Kensington square.

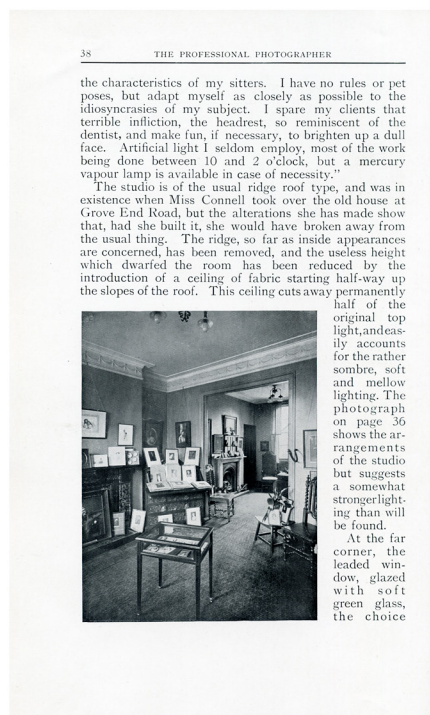


Fig. 4.35 Unknown photographer, "Inside the studio" (of Furley Lewis), half-tone, c. 1916? (*Professional Photographer*, Mar 1916, p. [73])



comfortable surroundings! It cannot be that men do not recognise comfort when they see it: that strikes everybody who enters Miss Connell's studio. And watching her at work it is easy to see that this cosiness is part of the scheme by which she gets on good terms with her sitters, who, before anything is attempted, are made to forget themselves and feel at home.

"Our lot as professional photographers would be a great deal easier if people suffered less from self-consciousness," said Miss Connell. "I have known them



the characteristics of my sitters. I have no rules or pet poses, but adapt myself as closely as possible to the idiosyncrasies of my subject. I spare my clients that terrible infliction, the headrest, so reminiscent of the dentist, and make fun, if necessary, to brighten up a dull face. Artificial light I seldom employ, most of the work being done between 10 and 2 o'clock, but a mercury vapour lamp is available in case of necessity."

The studio is of the usual ridge roof type, and was in existence when Miss Connell took over the old house at Grove End Road, but the alterations she has made show that, had she built it, she would have broken away from the usual thing. The ridge, so far as inside appearances are concerned, has been removed, and the useless height which dwarfed the room has been reduced by the introduction of a ceiling of fabric starting half-way up the slopes of the roof. This ceiling cuts away permanently

half of the original top light, and easily accounts for the rather sombre, soft and mellow lighting. The photograph on page 36 shows the arrangements of the studio but suggests a somewhat stronger lighting than will be found.

At the far corner, the leaded window, glazed with soft green glass, the choice

Figs. 4.36 & 4.37 Unknown photographer, *Lena Connell's studio and reception room, St. John's Wood, London*, half-tones, c. 1913 (*Professional Photographer*, Feb 1913, pp. 36 & 38)

Miss Johnston's artistic ideas have been carried out in this room with charming effect. ... A high shelf running round the entire room shows to advantage an interesting collection of ceramics and curios. The room is tastefully and comfortably furnished with piano, easy chairs and other belongings of a well-appointed drawing-room.¹⁴⁴

Johnston's aim was to create "a thoroughly artistic room, which does not suggest in any way the base chilliness of the usual 'gallery'".¹⁴⁵ Her success is evident in her famous self-portrait, posed in front of the domestic hearth, fire burning in the grate (fig. 4.40). Eva Le Mesurier (1862–1942) and Winifred Marshall (1862–1937) achieved the same effect in the studio in their "Red Brick House" in Kensington:

And a splendid room it is—a real artist's studio, with none of those terrifying photographer's instruments of torture in the way of head-rests or rickety balconies of papier maché to make one shudder. Pretty draperies, handsome chairs, big screens, and the walls hung with delightful little paintings — here a quaint street in a town in Brittany, there an English landscape, glowing with pale spring-tide tints. No horrid chemical smells here, but everything dainty, cost, and pretty.¹⁴⁶

Lena Connell's skill in creating a homely studio was contrasted with that of her male competitors:

144. Ibid., fol. 5

145. Ibid., fol. 11

146. Annie Morton Lane, "Photography as a Profession for Women: Miss Eva Le Mesurier and Miss Winifred Marshall [From *The Princess*]", *Photographic Life*, vol. 1, no. 9 (31 Mar 1897), pp. 206–207, p. 106



Fig. 4.38 Unknown photographer, "Miss Cooper's Studio" (Edgbaston), half-tone c. 1917? (*Professional Photographer*, Aug 1917, p. 228)

The studio has a delightful cosiness about it, and makes very favourable comparison with the workroom-like places in which so many photographers struggle to secure an artistic and pleasing effect. Perhaps it is that men are not so successful as women in creating comfortable surroundings! It cannot be that men do not recognise comfort when they see it: that strikes everybody who enters Miss Connell's studio.¹⁴⁷

The "homely, comfortable look everywhere" in Clara Cooper's studio, meanwhile, was said to be "largely due to the fact that the place is controlled by a woman."¹⁴⁸

Domestic surroundings offered clear advantages in portraitists' struggle to reveal the true character of their sitters. The Eastbourne photographer Annie Pestel (b. 1868), for example, tried to cultivate a "homely feeling" in her studio in order that her customers would experience sittings as "just like paying a call, and not a bit like being photographed."¹⁴⁹ Lena Connell's strategy was similar: "watching her at work it is easy to see that this cosiness is part of the scheme by which she gets on good terms with her sitters, who, before anything is attempted, are made to forget themselves and feel at home."¹⁵⁰ Ultimately, however, the most important function of this familiar domesticity was to inspire confidence in the artistic quality of women's work. "Nobody who goes into Miss Cooper's reception room can possibly associate the simple and harmonious surroundings with anything but pleasing and

147. "Interview with Lena Connell", *Professional Photographer* (Feb 1913), pp. 35–39, p. 36

148. "Interview with Miss A. Clara Cooper", *Professional Photographer*, p. 228

149. "Interview with Madame Pestel, Eastbourne", *Professional Photographer* (Oct 1917), pp. 291–296, p. 291

150. "Interview with Lena Connell", *Professional Photographer*, p. 36



Fig. 4.39 Clara Cooper, *Mother and Child*, half-tone, before 1917 (*Professional Photographer*, Aug 1917, p. 229)



Fig. 4.40 Frances Benjamin Johnston, *Self-portrait as the "New Woman"*, gelatine print, c. 1896 (Library of Congress). The new woman in an old setting: in front of the hearth in her studio.

tasteful portraiture", the correspondent of the *Professional Photographer* observed, drawing on the same association between domesticity and taste that made interior photography so profitable for women from an artistic standpoint.¹⁵¹

In the early decades of the 20th century the domestic transformation of the studio resulted in photography becoming more acceptable as a profession for middle-class women. Grace R. Deppen, in an article on "Photography for Women" in the *Photo-Era* magazine, advised that photography was

especially appealing to the wife and mother who longs to make some money independent of the husband's earnings; but who would have to neglect her home if she had outside employment. In photography, most of your patrons come to your home for you to make their pictures.¹⁵²

Frances Benjamin Johnston, in a lecture on "Professional Photography as a Career for Women", also highlighted the role of home portraiture in the professional development of women photographers. The ideal route into photography, she proposed, was "to gravitate into studio portraiture after a few years of careful apprenticeship and experience in the directions of interior and architectural photography, 'at home' portraiture, and photography for newspapers and

151. "Interview with Miss A. Clara Cooper", *Professional Photographer*, p. 227

152. Grace R. Deppen, "Photography for Women", *Photo-Era Magazine*, vol. 49, no. 2 (Aug 1922), pp. 71-72, p. 71



Fig. 4.41 Olive Edis, "Mrs. David Lloyd George", platinum print, Oct 1917 (NPG x15464). Women were often photographed by women at the interface of the two spheres.



Fig. 4.42 Lena Connell, "Ellen Terry—At home portrait", half-tone, before 1913 (*Professional Photographer*, Feb 1913, p. [49]). The infusion of domestic values into photography was accompanied by domestic visual motifs.

magazines".¹⁵³ Although Johnston was speaking largely of her own experience, another woman to follow just this path was Mary Olive Edis (1876–1955). Having been inspired to photograph visitors to the Notting Hill home she shared with her mother and sister, Edis went on to open studios in Sheringham and Cromer in Norfolk, and Farnham in Surrey.¹⁵⁴ Home portraiture was one of her specialisms, her skill in the genre clear to see in her portraits of the Prime Minister's wife, Margaret Lloyd George (1866–1941), 'at home' in Downing Street (fig. 4.41).¹⁵⁵ From home portraiture Edis then graduated to photography in the field, receiving a commission to photograph British servicewomen in France during WWI.

The increasing number of women active in portraiture in the early 20th century represented a minor revolution. In 1914 Edis reflected on the change she had witnessed over the previous decade:

It is more than eleven years since the late Mr. H. S. Mendelssohn, one of the pioneers of artistic photography in England, said to the present writer, 'Portraiture is now

153. Frances Benjamin Johnston, "Professional Photography as a Career for Women", *Photo-Beacon*, vol. 10, no. 10 (Oct 1898), pp. 268–170, p. 268

154. See Shirley Neale, "Olive Edis (1876–1955)", *History of Photography*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Winter 1992), pp. 371–378.

155. See Harold Spender, "Number Ten, Downing Street", *Century*, vol. 95, no. 6 (Apr 1918), pp. 771–779, p. 775.

in the hands of women.’ The number of women who since that date have taken up this work in all its branches goes far to justify his remark.¹⁵⁶

The seed of this transformation had been the influx of domestic ideas into photography in the 1880s and 1890s through home portraiture, which was then propagated by the women themselves. “That home portraiture plays an important part in modern portrait photography is largely due to women”, the influential photographic critic Sadakichi Hartman (1867–1944) concluded in 1912.¹⁵⁷ Home portraiture not only changed the nature of the profession but the character of the portrait itself. On the face of it, the artistic principles of portraiture in the 1900s were little different from those of forty years earlier. However, only after these principles had been successfully domesticated in the hands of amateurs did they become firmly established in photographic practice. The creation of an artistic genre of portraiture succeeded when the location of its production was divorced from the place of trade and married to values associated with the home. As much as they depended on new technology and techniques, pictorial portraits embodied a shift in expectations about the space where they were taken, from the commercial to the domestic, which also came to be reflected in the visual style of the images themselves. Miss Acland and other lady amateurs played a crucial role in this modernizing of portraiture, which as far as the domestic space was the sphere of women, constituted a feminizing of photography.

*

Miss Acland received numerous letters of congratulation after her lecture. George William Norton (1848–1950), conveying his official thanks as Secretary of the Club, described the paper as “the most valuable contribution we have ever had from any of our Members.”¹⁵⁸ Other correspondents commented on the magnitude of the achievement given the weakness of her health. Douglas Powell, for example, observed that the effort must have been “a strain”.¹⁵⁹ Harry was glad she could read the paper herself and did not need her understudy (him, presumably). Frank praised her in a way only a brother could: “It would take a great deal in your case to do it — but I own up — you surprised me.”¹⁶⁰ Writing to their father, Willie referred to his sister’s paper as “the best thing the Camera Club has produced”, adding that it was “a pity the capabilities of her body are not = to those of her mind.”¹⁶¹

Although Miss Acland’s lecture marked the conclusion of her intensive period of portraiture, she would continue to take portraits as the opportunity arose. In January 1900, for example, she photographed ‘Trooper’ Sidney Peel (1870–1938) in army uniform before he left Oxford for South Africa and the Second Boer War

156. Olive Edis, “Photography”, in *Careers: A Guide to the Professions and Occupations of Educated Women and Girls* (London, 1914), reprinted in Liz Heron and Val Williams (eds.), *Illuminations: Women Writing on Photography* (London, 1996), pp. 119–121, p. 119

157. Sadakichi Hartman, “A Review of the Picture Exhibit at the Philadelphia Convention”, *Photographic Times*, vol. 44, no. 9 (Sep 1912), pp. 329–334, p. 330

158. Ms. Acland d. 166, fol. 39 (Norton to SAA, 28 Feb 1899)

159. Ms. Acland d. 166, fol. 43 (Richard Douglas Powell to SAA, 6 Mar 1899)

160. Ms. Acland d. 166, fols. 7–8 (HWA to SAA, 28 Feb 1899); fols. 3–4 (FDA to SAA, 28 Feb 1899)

161. Ms. Acland d. 166, fols. 9–10 (WADA to HWA, 1 Mar 1899)

(cat. nos. 619–20). Herschel sat for her again in advance of the Photographic Convention, in a portrait published as a 'Rotograph' bromide print in a special supplement to the *British Journal of Photography* on the occasion (cat. no. 625).¹⁶² Portraits would also form a significant part of her colour photography, featuring extensively in her Sanger Shepherd slides of Gibraltar (see ch. 6) and as the first Autochrome she exhibited in public (see ch. 7). The fundamentally domestic nature of her programme of portraiture was evident to the last, in her presentation album for the Bodleian Library, which, in the spirit of Yates, she annotated with notes on the sitters, couched not as biographies, but as personal anecdotes illustrative of their private character, as revealed to her, like the portraits themselves, in the surroundings of her own home.¹⁶³

162. 'Miss Acland', "Sir William J. Herschel, Bart.", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 48, no. 2148 (5 Jul 1901), sup. p. 5. The portrait was an advertisement for the Rotary Photographic Company.

163. Ms. Don. d. 14, fol. ii^r

Fig. 4.43 Sarah Angelina Acland, "My Father and Willie Richmond" (at home), gelatine negative (reversed), 1896? (cat. no. 426).



Table 4.1: Lantern Slides Exhibited by Miss Acland at her "Home Portraiture" Lecture

No.	Title	Date on slide	Date of portrait	MHS Inv. no.	Cat. no.
1	"Mr Cooke Trench"	1898	Possibly May 1896	30280	432
2	Unidentified studies in black and white by Sir Joshua Reynolds from the University Galleries			Returned to the Museum?	
3					
4					
5	"Sir Henry Acland"	1898	May to Jul 1892	18219	116
6	"Mr. Ruskin."	1898	1 Aug 1893	17603	249
7	"Sir Henry Acland & Dr. Oronhyatekha"	no date	9 Jun 1892	17425	134
8	"Mr. A. E. Cotton and Katherine"	1899	Aug 1897?	34303	454
9	"Dante . 6 ft frm the light / "	1899	Before 27 Feb 1899	85313	547
10	"Dante Retouched."	1899	Before 27 Feb 1899	81267	548
11	"Dante four feet from Window"	1899	Before 27 Feb 1899	27439	549
12	"Dante Three Feet from Window"	1899	Before 27 Feb 1899	85966	550
13	"Sir W Richmond"	1898	circa 24 Jun 1896	25985	441
14	"Sir W. Richmond · Kt B"	1899	circa 24 Jun 1896 1896	84265	442
15	"Mrs. Peard"	1899	16 Mar 1893	88262	217
16	"Miss Smith"	1898	circa Jun 1896	36579	422
17	"Miss Peard."	1898	20 Mar 1893	29922	218
18	"Mr. Reginald Acland"	1898	3 Jul 1894	63421	312
19	"Miss M. A. Hope."	1899	Oct 1894	77820	373
20	"Mr Brunel."	1898	25 Jul 1894	64358	340
21	"The Marquis of Salisbury"	1899	9 Aug 1894	13971	348
22	"The Marchioness of Salisbury"	1899	9 Aug 1894	93428	349
23	"Sir Henry Acland"	1899	Jul 1898 ?	19138	527
24	"The Rt. Hon Mr. Muller "	1899	Sep 1898 ?	72716	532
25	"Lord Kelvin"	1898	10 Aug 1894	85681	352
26	"Bp of Oxford"	1898	21 Oct 1895	14928	403
27	"Mrs. Frank Acland."	1898	1898 or before	45721	537
28	"Miss de Lacy"	1898	1898 or before	76630	492
29	"Old Print Read to me:"	1899		93229	551
30	"Sleep."	1899		36283	552
31	"Theodore Brown"	1898	1898 or before	28222	219
32	"Mr William Haynes."	1899	c. 3 Jul 1894 or circa 23 Sep 1895	54826	391
33	"Mr. Brunel . Kodak"	1898	Apr or May 1892 ?	20319	123
34	"Ada Barnett"	1899	Possibly Sep 1895	78928	414
35	"Sir H. Acland."	1898	13 Dec 1893	85722	295
36	"The Marquis of Salisbury"	1899	9 Aug 1894	83985	346
37	"Colonel Impey"	1899	Before 9 Dec 1897	18052	485
38	"Principal of Hertford."	1898	20 Aug 1894	88644	369
39	"Miss Denniston"	1899	27 Feb 1899	95326	491
40	"Rev. S Schor as a scribe."	1899	circa Nov 1897	98302	516
41	"A Bethlehem Lady"	1899	circa Nov 1897	29034	520
42	"Signor Guatseli."	1899	1 Oct 1895	23754	395
43	"Milkman Milkmaid"	1899	c. 12 Jul 1896	26484	452
44	["Dr Oronhvatekha"]	1899	[1861]	19384	
45	"Harvey and The Boy."	1898	Feb 1898	27371	522

46	"Sally"	1898	1898 or before	24062	523
47	"Katherine and Peter"	1899	Summer 1896 ?	18336	453
48	"Children as Japanese"	1899	1898 or before	15265	455
49	Unknown			Missing	
50	"Sir H Acland & Mr Richmond."	no date	Jun 1896	14598	426
51	"Sir H Acland & Mr. Ruskin"	no date	1 Aug 1893	17293	246
52	"Sir H. Acland & Miss Smith"	1899	circa Jun 1896	29614	432
53	"Rt Hon Max Müller and Sir Henry Acland"	1899	Sep 1898 ?	28363	530
54	"Sir Henry Acland and the Rt Hon Max Müller"	1899	Sept 1898 ?	29362	531
55	"Sir Henry & Captain Acland / Levée Dress"	no date	1 Jun 1896	21591	436
56	"Dean Liddell & / Sir Henry Acland."	1898	circa 1897	18238	484
57	"Rt Hon[ble] W. E. Gladstone."	1898	25 Oct 1892	26541	214
58	"Rt Hon. / Sir Thomas Dyke Acland"	1899	5 Jul 1893	14445	231
59	"Dr. Billings." "No.8. Miss Acland. / Oxford."	1898	31 Oct 1895	32652	450
60	"James Cadett Esq."	1899	10 Oct 1898	18981	541
61	"Mr. Barrow"	1898	Aug 1895	19698	386
62	"Lord Selborne."	1898	13 Aug 1894	14357	363
63	"Professor Burden Saunderson."	1898	20 Jun 1894	17645	299
64	"Mrs Barney"	1898	Before 9 Dec 1897	18433	488
65	"Mrs. Barrett."	1899	Before 27 Feb 1899	16446	122
66	"Miss de Lacey"	1898	1898 or before	30830	493
67	"Sir W. Herschel. Bart."	no date	16–22 Feb 1899	15587	546

Numbered slides not used in the lecture

15	"Lady Esther Smith"	1898	26–27 Feb 1894	59718	429
34	"Mr. Cooper"	1898	23 Sep 1895	64695	407
42	"Signor Guatseli."	1899	1 Oct 1895	31044	395
52	"Sir Henry Acland / and Miss Smith."	1898	circa Jun 1896	23782	423

Unnumbered duplicates of slides used in the lecture

[6]	"Mr. Ruskin"	1898	1 Aug 1893	38098	249
[15]	"Mrs. Peard"	1898	26 Jul 1894 to 27 Feb 1899	69045	217
[32]	Nothing	nd	circa 3 Jul 1894 or 23 Sep 1895	74510	391
[35]	"Sir H. Acland"	1898	13 Dec 1893	39154	295
[36]	"The Marquis of Salisbury"	1899	9 Aug 1894	74722	346
[37]	"Colonel Impey"	1899	Before 9 Dec 1897	45803	485
[38]	"Rev Dr. Boyd . Hertford College"	1899	20 Aug 1894	25719	369
[44]	"Dr Oronhyatekha" [Negative Hills & Saunders]	1899	1861	17764	
[58]	"Sir Thomas Acland"	1898	5 July 1893	17040	231

Unnumbered slides not duplicates of any used in the lecture

	"Sir H. Acland Bart & Capt. Acland / RN. ADC."	1898	1 Jun 1896	14120	437
	"Captain Acland : R N A D · C. "	1898	1 Jun 1896	19896	438
	"Sir Henry Acland & Billings"	1898	8 Aug 1894 ?	52586	345
	"Mr Schor"	1898	circa Nov 1897	59648	517
	"Sir W. Richmond"	1898	Oct 1898?	65568	443
	"The Marquis of Salisbury"	1898	9 Aug 1894	81739	347
	"Colonel Impey"	1898	Before 9 Dec 1897	92759	486



Figs. 5.1 & 5.2 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Study of Dark Yellow Narcissi*",
lantern slides, March or April 1899 (cat. nos. 553 & 554)

These are not, as appears at first sight, a negative and positive of the same subject, but two positives taken on an ordinary plate (left) and an orthochromatic plate (right). They provided Miss Acland with a striking demonstration of the deficiencies of ordinary emulsions in rendering the correct relative tones of colour in monochrome. For such a dramatic effect to succeed the background was presumably a blue grey.

CHAPTER 5

The Spectrum Plate, circa 1899–1900

Theory, practice, and result in orthochromatic photography

“The first great mistake that people make in the matter, is the supposition that they must *see* a thing if it be before their eyes.”

John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 3, 1856¹

“The truth of nature is a part of the truth of God; to him who does not search it out, darkness, as it is to him who does, infinity.”

John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 1, 1843²

Miss Acland’s Home Portraiture lecture was followed almost immediately by a significant change in direction for her photography.³ On 17 April 1899, seven weeks after her exertions at the Museum, she entered the Oxford Camera Club’s “Flower Study” competition, picking up first prize two weeks later for *Studies of Dark Yellow Narcissi* (figs. 5.1 & 5.2).⁴ Ostensibly unremarkable subject matter, the studies marked her start of a programme of systematic experimentation in colour photography, in the broadest sense. The first problem to which she turned was not photography *in* colour, but photography *of* colour: the problem of how to reproduce the relative brightness of different hues accurately in monochrome, using ‘orthochromatic’ plates. Orthochromatic photography with the “Spectrum Plate” would soon supplant portraiture as her principal photographic specialism, explored in close

1. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (“Of Truth”), ch. 2 (“That the Truth of Nature is not to be Discerned by the Uneducated Senses”), §2, p. 46

2. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 2, §1, p. 60

3. The change coincided with a period of improved health following her recovery from a successful operation for haemorrhoids in March 1898, carried out by the surgeon and gynaecologist Mary Ann Dacomb Scharlieb (1845–1930) (see Ms. Acland d. 27, fol. 7 ff. and Ms. Acland d. 108, fol. 11 ff.). By August she was “better in body and mind than for years” (Ms. Acland d. 27, fols. 59–60 (HWA to WADA, 26 Aug 1898)).

4. “Second April Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 1 (Apr 1899), pp. 11–12, p. 11a



Fig. 5.3 'Miss Acland', *The Spectrum Plate: Theory, Practice, Result* (London, 1900)

collaboration with James William Thomas Cadett (1852–1949), the plate's inventor and manufacturer. On 23 April 1900 she presented her results in a second lecture to the Camera Club, under the simple title "Spectrum Plates".⁵ The lecture was illustrated with forty-four lantern slides (table 5.1), which she used to illustrate the benefits of orthochromatic plates over their older, 'ordinary' counterparts. In August 1900 the lecture was published in extended form in the journal *Photography* as "The Spectrum Plate. Theory: Practice: Result".⁶ This was then released as an eight-page offprint (fig. 5.3), which was well-received, the *Photographic Dealer*, for example, calling it "well got-up and excellently illustrated".⁷

Miss Acland's experiments with the Spectrum plate represent a transitional stage in the development of her photography, marking a turn to more technically challenging work that would culminate in her colour photography proper. They also raise issues of wider historiographical significance. Orthochromatic photography has received attention as little more than a step in the relentless march of scientific progress in photographic technology. Historians have assumed that the adoption of orthochromatic plates was largely inevitable, the emergence of the new

5. "Second April Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 5 (Oct 1900), pp. 38–40. The report in the *Proceedings* was reproduced from "Oxford Camera Club", *Oxford Times*, no. 2051 (28 Apr 1900), p. 8d–e. Detailed comments on Miss Acland's lecture also appeared in 'Half-tone', "Camera Notes", *Oxford Times*, no. 2051 (28 Apr 1900), p. 12c–d.

6. 'Miss Acland', "The Spectrum Plate. Theory: Practice: Result", *Photography*, vol. 12, no. 615 (23 Aug 1900), pp. 553–560.

7. "Trade Jottings", *Photographic Dealer and Optical and Scientific Apparatus Trades Journal*, vol. 9, no. 52 (Sep 1900), pp. 51–53, p. 51.

colour sensitizers leading inexorably to the development of a fully panchromatic plate, of obvious superiority to its predecessors, as accepted by all. However, as an examination of Miss Acland's efforts to promote the Spectrum plate reveals, from the outset the value of orthochromatic emulsions was highly contested: their status as accurate translators of colour into monochrome was a matter of controversy, not a self-evident matter of fact.⁸ Before orthochromatic photography was accepted as a 'transparent' form of visual representation consensus had to be constructed around its objectivity.⁹ Bound up in the controversy were wider issues about the merits of "Photography by Rule" or "Photography by Measure", as advocated by Miss Acland in relation to exposure meters and timed development, for example, and by Cadett in connection with standard measures of plate speed.¹⁰ Taken for granted in later decades, during the 1890s these innovative techniques were challenged by those who valued traditional photographic skills of hand and eye on both sides of the divide between art and science in photography. An example in photography of processes more often found in operation in the history of science, the controversy as a whole therefore offers a rich case study for analysis by an approach more familiar from science and technology studies.¹¹

The Problem of Orthochromatic Photography

In her lecture Miss Acland described orthochromatic photography as "the representation in the greatest perfection possible of a coloured object in a monochrome print".¹² The problem arose because conventional black and white plates responded unequally to different colours of the spectrum, silver salts being increasingly insensitive to green, yellow, orange and red light compared to blue and violet (hence the use of a red safelight in the darkroom). This difficulty was one of the longest-standing in photography and had wide-ranging practical implications:

8. Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography* (5th ed., New York, 1997), p. 126, recognizes that some photographers criticised orthochromatic plates but attributes this to workers who produced over-corrected skies.

9. Issues of objectivity in photography are considered in Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore, 2005); Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York, 2007), esp. pp. 125–138; and Kelley Wilder, *Photography and Science* (London, 2009), but none addresses the contested history of orthochromatic plates.

10. On photography by rule, see Thomas Bedding "Photography by Rule", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1682 (29 Jul 1892), pp. 485–487; and "Exposure Tables and Exposure Meters", *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1901, pp. 675–706. On standards in photography, see James Cadett, "On the Establishment of a Standard of Sensitiveness", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1066 (8 Oct 1880), p. 485, continued in no. 1067 (15 Oct 1880), pp. 496–497; James Cadett "On Mr. Dallmeyer's Proposed Alternation of the Standards for Lenses of the Photographic Society of Great Britain", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 34, no. 1416 (24 Jun 1887), pp. 394–395; Thomas Bolas, "Notions of the Week", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 42, no. 1095 (26 Sep 1905), p. 237; and correspondence in *Amateur Photographer* from Oct 1888 to Feb 1889 on the controversy over the decimal system.

11. Studies that have informed the approach in this chapter in particular include Simon Schaffer, "Accurate Measurement is an English Science", in M. Norton Wise (ed.), *The Values of Precision* (Princeton, 1995), ch. 6, pp. 135–172; Simon Schaffer, "Metrology, Metrification, and Victorian Values", in Bernard Lightman (ed.), *Victorian Science in Context* (Chicago and London, 1997), ch. 20, pp. 438–474; and Graeme J. N. Gooday, *The Morals of Measurement* (Cambridge, 2004).

12. "Second April Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Oct 1900), p. 38a

Table 5.1 *Lantern Slides Exhibited by Miss Acland at her "Spectrum Plates" Lecture*

Slide as numbered	Title	Plate type	Cat. no. or MHS Inv. no.	Notes
1	"Solar Spectrum"		32755	Copy of fig. 1 in James Cadett, <i>Orthochromatic and Three-colour Photography (Simplified)</i>
3	Sensitivity curves of orthochromatic plates		43076	Copy of fig. 2 in Sanger Shepherd, "The Scientific Translation of Colour into Monochrome" ¹
3	"Coloured Star"	"Ordinary Plate"	633	
4	"Coloured Star"	"Spectrum Plate Gilvus"	634	
5	"Coloured Star"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"	635	
*4	"The Maid of Wallington Wells"	"Ordinary Plate"	636	Both pairs of slides numbered 4 & 5 were shown at the lecture
*5	"The Maid of Wallington Wells"	"Spectrum Plate"	637	
6	"Two sons of Sir H. Acland"	"Ordinary Plate"	638	
7	"Two sons of Sir H. Acland"	"Spectrum Plate"	639	
8	"Cardinal Wolsey"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"	590	
9	Unknown			
10	Study of Dark Yellow Narcissi	"Ordinary Plate"	553	
11	Study of Dark Yellow Narcissi	"Spectrum Plate"	554	
12	"Posy"	"Ordinary Plate"	640	
13	"Posy"	"Spectrum Plate Gilvus"	641	Not located
14	"Posy"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"		
15	"Roses"	"Ordinary Plate"	644	
16	"Roses"	"Spectrum Plate"	645	
17	"Foxgloves"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"	562	
18	"Bog-Gardens Boars Hill"	"Spectrum Plate"	563	
19	"Pond Boars Hill"	"Spectrum Plate"	564	
20	"Boars Hill"	"Ordinary Plate"	566	
21	"Boars Hill"	"Spectrum Plate"	567	
22	"White Clouds on Blue Sky"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"	565	

23	"A Shaky Camera"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"	568		
24	"Glade in the New Forest"	"Spectrum Plate Gilvus"	614		
25	"Glades in New Forest"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"	615		
26	"Glade in the New Forest"	"Ordinary Plate"	616		
27	"After Glow"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"	569		
28	"Broad Street at Night"	Spectrum plate, no filter		Not located	
29	"Mrs Colmore"	"Ordinary Plate"	571		
30	"The Fortune Teller"	"Spectrum Plate Absolutus"	570		
31	"Christ Church [Upper] Library"	Presumably Spectrum plate	597		
32	"View in the Cathedral"	Presumably Spectrum plate		Not located	
33	"Young Cuckoo Spectrum Plate"	"Spectrum Plate"	577		
34	Clerk-Maxwell's Colour Sensation Curve		27920		Copy of fig. 3, <i>Orthochromatic and Three-colour Photography (Simplified)</i>
35	Superposition of red, green and blue lights		28198		Copy of fig. 37 in Sanger Shepherd, "Cantor Lectures: The Photography of Colour" ²
36	Gelatine discs, cyan-blue, pink & yellow		29308		Colour version of fig. 38 in Sanger Shepherd's "Cantor Lectures"
37	Colour analysis and superposition matrix		28938		Copy of fig. 7 in <i>Orthochromatic and Three-colour Photography (Simplified)</i>
38	Peacock feather, blue-green plate	[Cyanotype on glass]	29957		Cyan component of a Sanger Shepherd colour lantern slide
39	Peacock feather, magenta plate	[Carbon print on celluloid]	17178		Magenta component of a Sanger Shepherd colour lantern slide
40	Peacock feather, yellow plate	[Carbon print on celluloid]	21552		Yellow component of a Sanger Shepherd colour lantern slide
41	Peacock feather, full colour	Sanger-Shepherd process	16335		Photograph by Saville-Kent or Lincoln Cocks (see ch. 6) ³
42	Gloxinias	Sanger-Shepherd process	20283		Photograph by Saville-Kent ³
[43]	"John Ruskin by Millais"	"Spectrum Plate"	643		Now unnumbered, but presumably shown as the last slide of the lecture

1. E. Sanger Shepherd, "The Scientific Translation of Colour into Monochrome", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 22, no. 11 (26 Jul 1898), pp. 347–359, p. 349 (delivered 28 June 1898)
2. E. Sanger Shepherd, "Cantor Lectures: The Photography of Colour – Lecture III"; *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol. 48, no. 2495 (14 Sep 1900), pp. 781–788
3. See W. Saville-Kent, "Three colour Photography Applied to the Correct Delineation of Natural History Subjects", *Transactions of the Croydon Microscopical and Natural History Club* (1899–1900), pp. 17–22: "A justly admired peacock's feather, in which the characteristic tints were most realistically reproduced, brought Mr. Saville-Kent's demonstration to its conclusion".

If the cheek be very brilliant in colour, it is as often as not represented by a dark stain. If the eye be blue, it turns out as colourless as water; if the hair be golden or red, it looks as if it had been dyed, if very glossy it is cut up into lines of light as big as ropes. This is what a fair young girl has to expect from the tender mercies of photography.¹³

In landscape photography overexposure of the blue of the sky led to a “falling off of artistic effect”, with loss of cloud detail, underexposure of greens and yellows in the terrain, and the creation of false local contrast.¹⁴ When attempting photography in evening light the problems were multiplied, as George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) — a keen photographer and advocate of orthochromatic films — complained in a letter to *Amateur Photographer* in 1902:

Like most people who have any feeling for landscape, I do not waste films on the noonday sun. It is when the shades are long, and the light begins to colour a little that my shutter begins to click. Even the most prosaic bank holiday Philistine gets tempted by the sunset that looks so pretty in his viewfinder. He snaps at it with a lens working at *f*/11 at best, and forms high hopes of the result, especially when his daughter poses in the foreground in a blue dress with her fair face shining in the declining rays. Result? a faint suggestion of a negress in a white frock sitting in a coal cellar.¹⁵

“As to golden cornfields and contrasts of dark foliage and bright sward,” Shaw added, “they are unattainable at any hour.”¹⁶

Attempts to extend the colour sensitivity of photographic media formed part of the researches of the early photographic chemists, including Herschel and Claudet, Robert Hunt (1807–1887) and John William Draper (1811–1882).¹⁷ In Oxford, Nevil Story Maskelyne developed a bromide process in an attempt to obtain a more accurate record of the foliage of trees (fig. 5.4).¹⁸ William Crookes was also credited as “a pioneer of eminence” in the field, “long before any iso- or ortho-chromatic process was thought of” (prior to 1900 the terms isochromatic, orthochromatic and panchromatic were used interchangeably).¹⁹ Crookes’s reputation stemmed from a column on copying paintings in the *Photographic News* in 1858, in which he recommended the use of yellow glass to cut down the powerful “actinic rays” in the invisible, violet and “lavender” regions of the spectrum.²⁰ Doubting whether the problem of orthochromatic photography would ever be comprehensively solved, he nevertheless hoped, as if foretelling Miss Acland’s contribution, that his work might induce “some experiment-loving amateur to take the subject up *con*

13. [Elizabeth Eastlake], “Photography”, *London Quarterly Review*, no. 202 (Apr 1857), pp. 241–255, p. 251

14. *Ibid.*, p. 252

15. “George Bernard Shaw on the Use of Orthochromatic Films and Screens”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 36, no. 932 (14 Aug 1902), pp. 123–124, p. 123

16. *Ibid.*, p. 124

17. For a contemporary survey of the history of the subject see Walter E. Woodbury, “Orthochromatic Photography”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 5, no. 132 (15 Apr 1887), pp. 177–179; and “The Origin of Orthochromatic Photography”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 36, no. 944 (21 Aug 1902), p. 145.

18. See [Hans. P. Kraus and Larry J. Schaaf], *Llewelyn, Maskelyne, Talbot: A Family Circle* (Sun Pictures, Catalogue Two, New York, [1989?]), p. 15.

19. E. J. Wall, rev. Thos. Bolas, *The Dictionary of Photography* (8th ed., London, 1902), p. 419

20. “On Copying Paintings by Means of Photography”, *Photographic News*, vol. 1, no. 6 (15 Oct 1858), pp. 61–61, p. 62

Fig. 5.4 Nevil Story Maskelyne,
Oak Tree at Basset Down,
paper negative, c. 1846



amore, and assist further in elucidating this most difficult application of the science of photography.”²¹

For Miss Acland and most other commentators, as she explained in her lecture, the history of orthochromatic photography proper began in 1873 with the discovery by Hermann Wilhelm Vogel (1834–1898) that coralline extended the sensitivity of silver salts towards the red end of the spectrum.²² Vogel’s insight initiated a race to find other ‘colour sensitizers’, the new aniline dyes extracted from coal-tar receiving most attention. A long list of sensitizer discoveries followed, the most notable in contemporary eyes being Vogel’s methyl-violet, naphthalene red and quinoline red; eosin, suggested in 1875 by James Waterhouse (1842–1922) (with whom Miss Acland corresponded); and erythrosine, proposed by Joseph Maria Eder (1855–1944) in 1884.²³ The discoveries of Vogel and Waterhouse were made in the era of the collodion wet plate and explored only by the most experimentally-minded amateurs. However, with the advent of commercially-manufactured gelatine dry plates in 1878, the opportunity arose for mass-production of orthochromatic plates. Although the dry-plate industry was of British origin, the first orthochromatic dry plates were marketed by the Parisian partnership of Pierre Alphonse Attout-Tailfer and John Clayton, the joint holders of the French and British patents for the eosin

21. Ibid.

22. On Vogel see Klaus Hentschel, *Mapping the Spectrum* (Oxford, 2002), p. 188 and pp. 248–254, and Eder, note 23 below.

23. See Ms. Acland d. 175, fols. 92–97 (3 letters, Waterhouse to SAA, 1905 and 1906).

treatment of gelatine emulsions.²⁴ Samples of “Tailfer & Clayton’s Isochromatic Plates” were exhibited in Ireland in 1883, but were not advertised widely in Britain until 1885.²⁵ Plates sensitized with erythrosine became available in 1884, manufactured by two Viennese companies.²⁶ “Dr. Vogel’s (Obernetter) Azaline Plates” followed in 1886, sold through the London dealer John Rudolph Gotz.²⁷ By 1887 the English photographic press also carried advertisements for plates from Dr. Carl Schleussner of Frankfurt am Main, and from John Carbutt, whose “Keystone Orthochromatic Plates” were shipped from Philadelphia.²⁸

English manufacturers displayed little interest in orthochromatic plates until 1886, when Adolf Braun & Cie., of Dornach and Paris, were given permission to use them to photograph the “British national pictures”.²⁹ The incursion of a foreign company onto the hallowed ground of the National Gallery caused a small furore, inspiring Henry Dixon (1820–1893) and William Edward Gray (1864–1935) to produce their own series of reproductions by the “Dixon and Gray Instantaneous Orthochromatic Process”.³⁰ Dixon and Gray also released an eosin-based plate, the first of English manufacture. Unfortunately, their right to market the plate was challenged after its release by Benjamin Joseph Edwards (1838–1914). B. J. Edwards & Co. were the licence holders of the eosin patent in “Great Britain and the Colonies” and with it the exclusive right to use the descriptive title “Isochromatic”.³¹ Edwards’s intervention was criticized by some, who feared that a potentially beneficial advance was being “strangled in the hope of a monopoly”.³² These fears proved justified when, in January 1887, Edwards forced Dixon and Gray to withdraw their plates.³³ Edwards went on to enjoy his monopoly for several years, promoting isochromatic plates heavily. Surprisingly, perhaps, he did so against a continuing background of scepticism about the value of isochromatic

24. Josef Maria Eder, trans. Edward Epstean, *History of Photography* (New York, 1945; translation of the 4th ed. of 1932), ch. 64

25. See Greenwood Pim, “Isochromatic Plates”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 30, no. 1228 (16 Nov 1883), pp. 688–689; “Tailfer & Clayton’s Isochromatic Plates” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 32, no. 1301 (10 Apr 1885), p. ix.

26. Victor Angerer (1839–1894) and Joseph Székely; and Joseph Löwy and Josef Plener. See Angerer and Székely, “On the Use and Treatment of Orthochromatic Plates”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 32, no. 1324 (18 Sep 1885), pp. 603–604; Eder, *History of Photography*, p. 468.

27. “J. R. Gotz” [Advertisement], *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 11, no. 2 (“Catalogue Number”, 2 Oct 1886), p. vii

28. “Keystone Orthochromatic Plates” [Advertisement], *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1887, p. cciii; see “Orthochromatic Plates / Dr. C. Schleussner, Frankfort-on-Maine” [Advertisement], *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1887, p. cciv.

29. See W. S. Bird, “Note on Negatives of Pictures in the National Gallery Taken by Messrs. A. Braun et Cie., of Dornach”, *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 10, no. 4 (29 Jan 1886), pp. 68–71.

30. “Dixon & Gray instantaneous orthochromatic process” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 33, no. 1381 (22 Oct 1886), p. xvii

31. “Correspondence / Isochromatic Plates”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 33, no. 1389 (17 Dec 1886), p. 804; continued in no. 1390 (24 Dec 1886), p. 819; and vol. 34, no. 1392 (7 Jan 1887), p. 15. See also the advertisements in the same issues.

32. W. H. Hyslop, “Orthochromatic Photography”, *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1888, pp. 360–361, p. 360

33. “Dixon & Son / Notice”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 34, no. 1395 (28 Jan 1887), between pp. xiv & xv. Another English orthochromatic plate, “Frieze-Green & Collings’s New Instantaneous ‘Spectrum’ Plates”, announced only the previous week, met the same fate (“Frieze-Green & Collings’s New Instantaneous ‘Spectrum’ Plates” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 34, no. 1394 (21 Jan 1887), p. xi).

emulsions. In March 1887, for example, William de Wiveleslie Abney (1843–1920) claimed that “for ordinary work they were very little good”.³⁴ Others felt there was too little difference between ordinary and isochromatic plates to justify “the extra trouble and cost”.³⁵ Attitudes were influenced by a bitter counter-campaign fought by Edwards’s competitors. In 1892, for example, R. W. Thomas & Co. placed an uncompromising advertisement in the photographic press:

To see how certain YELLOW Sensitive Plates are being touted for general purposes one would almost be driven to the conclusion that the face of nature was becoming covered with a bile-suffused epidermis, and hence a great necessity had arisen for them, but we are convinced that the jaundiced film only exists over the retinas of the propagators of such inane logic, and that our peerless landscapes and healthy complexions are still what they were.³⁶

Other advertisements spoke of “‘True translation of Colour’ twaddle” and claimed that “the special plates possess no advantage whatever over the ordinary for Landscape or Portrait work, in fact rather the reverse”.³⁷

James Cadett and the Spectrum Plate

Thomas & Co.’s opinions may have struck a chord with the mass ranks of amateurs and a majority of professionals, but during the 1890s the photographic elite began to modify its opinion about isochromatic plates. Articles appeared in the photographic press promoting recent advances in the field, the subject even receiving attention in the *Queen*, which recommended isochromatic films to ladies for portraits of sitters with freckles.³⁸ The variety of plates available also widened, as manufacturers innovated around protected patents, the Lumière Company in particular bringing out three new brands in September 1894.³⁹

In England undoubtedly the most influential manufacturer to enter the field of orthochromatic photography was Miss Acland’s future collaborator, James Cadett (fig. 5.5). Cadett was highly active in British photographic circles between 1880 and 1904. Born in Jersey to a Spanish father and English mother, he was educated at the Lycée de Toulon and at the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute under the physicist William Edward Ayrton (1847–1908) and the engineer John Perry (1850–1920).⁴⁰ For several years he was engaged in the chemistry of

34. “Notes / Photographic Conference of the Camera Club”, *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 11, no. 6 (25 Mar 1887), pp. 101–112, p. 109

35. J. B. B. Wellington, “Orthochromatic Photography”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 6, no. 162 (11 Nov 1887), pp. 229–233

36. “Thomas’s Negative Plates and Films / R. W. Thomas & Co.” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1658 (12 Feb 1892), p. xi

37. “A Problem (The Chromatic ‘Pons Asinorum’) / R. W. Thomas & Co.” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1659 (19 Feb 1892), p. xii

38. “Photography for Ladies / Chap. IX Portraiture and Figure Subjects”, *Queen*, no. 2397 (3 Dec 1892), p. 935

39. See “Lumière’s Colour-sensitive Plates”, *Photography Annual*, 1894, p. 424.

40. “James William Thomas Cadett”, *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers*, vol. 162, no. 1 (1950), p. 137. His father, Thomas Cadett of Denmark Hill, is described in the 1881 census as a “rink proprietor” (Census of England and Wales, 1881, RG11/673, fol. 94, p. 53).



Fig. 5.5 Sarah Angelina Acland, "James Cadett Esq.", gelatine plate (reversed), 9 or 10 Oct 1898 (cat. no. 541)

Cadett stayed in the Acland house when visiting Oxford to give the opening address of the 1898–99 session of the Camera Club, when Miss Acland took this portrait on one of his own plates. The light was bad, leading to what she regarded as an unsatisfactory result.

perfumery in France, before moving to England to become manager of Mawson & Swan's photographic-plate factory in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Cadett styled himself variously a "mechanical engineer", "chemical engineer" or "photographic chemist"; his seventy patent applications between 1873 and 1928 suggest he may more accurately be described as a mechanical and chemical inventor-entrepreneur.

By March 1885 Cadett claimed to have four years' experience of gelatine-plate making, his efforts having been directed mainly at developing rapid plates for landscape work and improving manufacturing techniques.⁴¹ Among his most significant inventions was a "Photographic Coating machine" patented in July 1886.⁴² 'Cadett plates' were sold by Marion & Co. from the same year (or earlier), with the result that his name became "almost a household word in plate making".⁴³ The step that would eventually lead to the Spectrum was made in 1892, when Cadett joined in partnership with his brother-in-law, Walter Neall (1855–1920), as Cadett & Neall, "Photographic Chemists, Dry Plate and Film Manufacturers".⁴⁴ The

41. [Royal Photographic Society], "Transactions / Ordinary Meeting" [10 Mar 1885], *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 9, no. 6 (27 Mar 1885), pp. 95–99, p. 97–98; James Cadett, "Rapid Plates for Landscape Work", *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1884, pp. 152–153

42. James William Thomas Cadett, "Photographic Coating Machine", United Kingdom Patent no. 9,886 of 1886 (filed 31 Jul 1886). This was at least Cadett's tenth patent application.

43. "Marion & Co.'s Dry-plate List" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 33, no. 1359 (21 May 1886), p. iii; "Apparatus / The Cadett 'Lightning' Plates", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 16, no. 416 (23 Sep 1892), p. 216

44. On Cadett and Neall see also Michael Pritchard, "Cadett and Neall Dry Plate Ltd.", in Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, vol. 1, pp. 234–235. Cadett married Emily Neall (b. 1854) in 1890. For Neall's death notice see "Deaths" [Walter Neall], *The Times*, no. 42336 (17 Feb 1920), p. 1b.

company was based at the Greville Works, in Ashstead, Surrey, a plant previously occupied by Mawson & Swan. On 1 August Cadett and Neall launched their own series of plates, all non-orthochromatic.⁴⁵ These were immediately successful. In December Cadett & Neall were forced to stop production of their normal speed plates in consequence of the huge demand for their faster, “Lightning” brand plate, until a second factory could be erected.⁴⁶ Demand continued to grow, necessitating the construction of a third factory in 1896.⁴⁷ When Cadett & Neall’s business was incorporated in 1897 it was described as one of “‘mushroom’ growth”.⁴⁸

The Spectrum plate was a venture embarked upon by Cadett twice. In the last week of December 1895 a full-page advertisement appeared in the *British Journal of Photography* announcing: “NOW READY. The New Orthochromatic Plate. The SLOW Series of the ‘CADETT’ SPECTRUM PLATE” (fig. 5.6).⁴⁹ Prior to 1895 Cadett had not concerned himself with orthochromatic photography (despite being present at the Photographic Society in 1887 when Dixon’s plates had been discussed). Instead, his attention had first been drawn to the subject by the release of the Lumière plates. Despite the acclaim these received, Cadett thought he could do better. As he explained in “Colour Correct Photography and a New Plate”, a paper at the Photographic Society in November 1895, there was “a gap or gaps in the green, or yellow, or red” of all existing isochromatic plates — gaps he promised the Spectrum plate would plug.⁵⁰

As much as Cadett’s success depended on his technical expertise in plate making, it also benefitted significantly from the rampant publicity in which he was prepared to engage. In 1896 he declared that the slow version of the Spectrum plate was the “only truly orthochromatic plate” and “a great advance upon anything that has been made before”.⁵¹ The claim was a little premature. Although certainly a theoretical advance, from the practical point of view it left much to be desired. As William Gamble (1864–1933) commented at a meeting of the Photographic Society in 1897, “there are disadvantages which almost debar the use of this plate, or at any rate would prevent it even becoming popular.”⁵² Firstly, it was “remarkably slow, much slower than a wet collodion plate”.⁵³ Secondly, its sensitiveness to the whole spectrum meant that it had to be handled and developed in complete darkness.⁵⁴

45. “Ready August 1st / The Cadett Plate” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1681 (22 Jul 1892), supplement, p. [E]

46. “Important Announcement / Cadett & Neall” [Advertisement], *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 16, no. 427 (9 Dec 1892), p. vi

47. “The ‘Cadett’ Lightning Plate” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 43, no. 1896 (4 Sep 1896), *Lantern Record*, p. L

48. [Editorial], *Dry Plates*, n.s. vol. 3, no. 3 (Jun 1897), p. 18; National Archives, BT31/31523/52633/2 (“Memorandum and Articles of Association of Cadett & Neall, Limited”)

49. “Now Ready / The New Orthochromatic Plate / The Slow Series of the ‘Cadett’ Spectrum Plate” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 42, no. 1860 (27 Dec 1895), p. x

50. James Cadett, “Colour Correct Photography and a New Plate”, *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 20, no. 6 (29 Feb 1896), pp. 161–170, p. 163

51. “Cadett / ‘Spectrum’ Plate / Cadett & Neall” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 43, no. 1862 (10 Jan 1896), p. xiv; “Now Ready / The Slow Series of the ‘Cadett’ Spectrum Plate”, *British Journal of Photography* (27 Dec 1895), p. x

52. “Photo-Mechanical Meeting / Colour Processes”, *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 22, no. 6 (28 Feb 1897), pp. 166–170, p. 169

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY. [December 27, 1895]

NOW READY.

The New Orthochromatic Plate.

The SLOW Series of the

'CADETT'

SPECTRUM PLATE

Speed Equivalent to Lantern Plates.

Development is Rapid and should not exceed one minute when full Exposures are given.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

These Plates are a great advance upon anything that has been made before for orthochromatic purposes. With a proper light filter, absolutely correct representation of colour luminosities may be obtained, no matter what the colour may be. Where perfectly orthochromatic results are desired, a light yellow screen must be used with these plates. With the following light filter all visible colours are rendered correctly according to their luminosities. The filter should be made with a cell 1-in. wide internally, containing a solution of pure Chromate of Potash, one part of the salt to 250 of distilled water, made slightly alkaline with pure caustic Potash or Carbonate of Potash; the chemicals should be of *absolute purity*, those obtained from Messrs. HOPKIN & WILLIAMS, of 16 Cross Street, Hatton Garden, London, being suitable, but their purest chemicals must be asked for. We will endeavour, shortly, to supply these cells at moderate cost for use with our plates, each cell being made from solutions tested photographically and photometrically, and can be guaranteed correct when issued by us.

Quarter-Plates.	Half-Plates.	Whole-Plates.
1/6	3/8	6/6

&c. &c.
OF ALL DEALERS.

CADETT & NEALL, ASHTEAD, SURREY.

June 17, 1898. ADVERTISEMENTS. THE AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER. ix

THE "CADETT"

IN VARIOUS RAPIDITIES.

Spectrum Plate

NEW RAPID SERIES.

LIGHTNING PLATE PRICES.

CONSISTS OF FOUR SPEEDS—

SPECTRUM ORDINARY,
SPECTRUM PROFESSIONAL,
SPECTRUM SPECIAL RAPID AND
SPECTRUM LIGHTNING.

SPLENDID TRIUMPH

Photographic Chemistry.

Sensitive to RED, GREEN, and BLUE.
Brilliant Negatives of Excellent Colour. Very Clean.

The best Plates for ALL purposes, replacing all others for general and Colour Photography.

CADETT & NEALL, Limited, ASHTEAD, SURREY.

Figs. 5.6 & 5.7 Cadett & Neall Ltd., Advertisements for the slow version of the Spectrum plate, released in December 1895, and for the rapid series, announced in June 1898 (*British Journal of Photography*, 27 Dec 1895, p. x; *Amateur Photographer*, 17 Jun 1898, p. xi).

Cadett was unrepentant: "I personally do not see that a plate should be made imperfect for the sake of ease in manipulation", he argued.⁵⁵ A third disadvantage was the need for a light filter to obtain absolutely correct results, since the emulsion was still over-sensitive to blue and violet. Cadett was up-front about this deficiency, his advertisements containing an "IMPORTANT NOTICE":

Where perfectly orthochromatic results are desired, a light yellow screen must be used with these plates. With the following light filter all visible colours are rendered correctly according to their luminosities. The filter should be made with a cell 1/8-in wide internally, containing a solution of pure Chromate of Potash, one part of the salt to 250 of distilled water, made slightly alkaline with pure caustic Potash or Carbonate of Potash; the chemicals should be of *absolute purity*, those obtained from Messrs. Hopkin & Williams, of 16 Cross Street, Hatton Garden, London, being suitable, but their purest must be asked for.⁵⁶

The advertisements also stated his intention to supply the cells at moderate cost, but whether he actually did is doubtful, as relatively soon after its first announcement the Spectrum plate was dropped from Cadett & Neall's advertising.

As far as is known, Miss Acland never used the slow Spectrum plate. The version she would champion was released in the week of 5 June 1898 as the "Rapid

55. Cadett, "Colour Correct Photography and a New Plate", p. 163

56. "Now Ready / The Slow Series of the 'Cadett' Spectrum Plate", *British Journal of Photography* (27 Dec 1895), p. x

Series of the Cadett Spectrum Plate" (fig. 5.7).⁵⁷ The series as originally announced consisted of two "rapidities": the "Spectrum Ordinary" and "Spectrum Special Rapid".⁵⁸ By 17 June the "Spectrum Professional" and "Spectrum Lightning" had been added.⁵⁹ The Lightning version would prove the most popular, largely by necessity, since the plates still had to be used with a light-hungry correction filter. In most other respects the rapid plates were entirely different from the slow version. Somewhat *volte-face*, Cadett incorporated a deliberate gap in the sensitivity of the emulsion in the extreme red, which avoided the need to manufacture and handle it in complete darkness. This had cost him more trouble than making the slow plate in the first place, he lamented.⁶⁰

Miss Acland's Orthochromatic Photography

When Miss Acland first took up photography in 1891 Cadett had yet to release either version of the Spectrum plate. Edwards's plates had been available for four years and it was these that she used on 20 May 1893 for *Figures in Old Mayors Parlour* (cat. no. 220) and *Flintlocks used in the Civil War* (cat. no. 221) (fig. 5.8). The dark wooden panelling in the Mayor's Parlour is a surprising choice for a colour-corrected plate, but seven years later, in her lecture, Miss Acland would argue specifically that interiors with "dark oak seats and woodwork" benefitted such treatment.⁶¹ In the Lake District in August and September 1893 more conventional subjects for orthochromatic photography drew her attention. When tackling *From Boathouse Fawe Park, Skiddaw* (cat. no. 283) (fig. 5.10) and *Fawe Park, Derwentwater* (cat. no. 279) (fig. 5.11) she used Edwards's "Isochromatic Film", presumably hoping it would help in rendering the flora and foliage of the beautiful gardens. The choice of the same medium for *Gondola on Derwentwater* (cat. no. 281) (fig. 5.12) is more difficult to understand, an almost identical view on an "England Ordinary Plate" (cat. no. 282) (fig. 5.13) showing no appreciable difference in the rendering of tones, as proven by the fact that she confused the two prints from the negatives, transposing their labelling in her albums.⁶²

The exposure details with which Miss Acland annotated her two earliest albums cease in 1894, making the development of her use of isochromatic plates between 1895 and 1900 difficult to follow. However, other evidence points to her increasing interest in the chemistry of colour. On 9 October 1896, for example, the *British Journal of Photography* reported that a Mr W. J. Simmons in Calcutta had succeeded in making photographs with a "brilliant blackness of the tone", by

57. "The Spectrum Plate, New Rapid Series / Ready Next Week" [Advertisement], *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 27, no. 713 (3 Jun 1898), p. xii; "The Spectrum Plate, New Rapid Series" [Advertisement], *Dry Plates*, n.s. vol. 4, no. 3 (Jun 1898), front page

58. "The 'Spectrum' Plate, New Rapid Series", *Dry Plates*, n.s. vol. 4, no. 3 (Jun 1898), pp. 20–21

59. "The 'Cadett' Spectrum Plate" [Advertisement], *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 27, no. 715 (17 Jun 1898), p. ix

60. See Cadett's comments in the discussion after E. Sanger Shepherd, "The Photographic Reproduction of Paintings [continued]", *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 12, no. 151 (Dec 1898), pp. 189–190, p. 189

61. "Second April Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Oct 1900), p. 38b

62. See Ms. Photog. c. 177, fols. 12v–13r

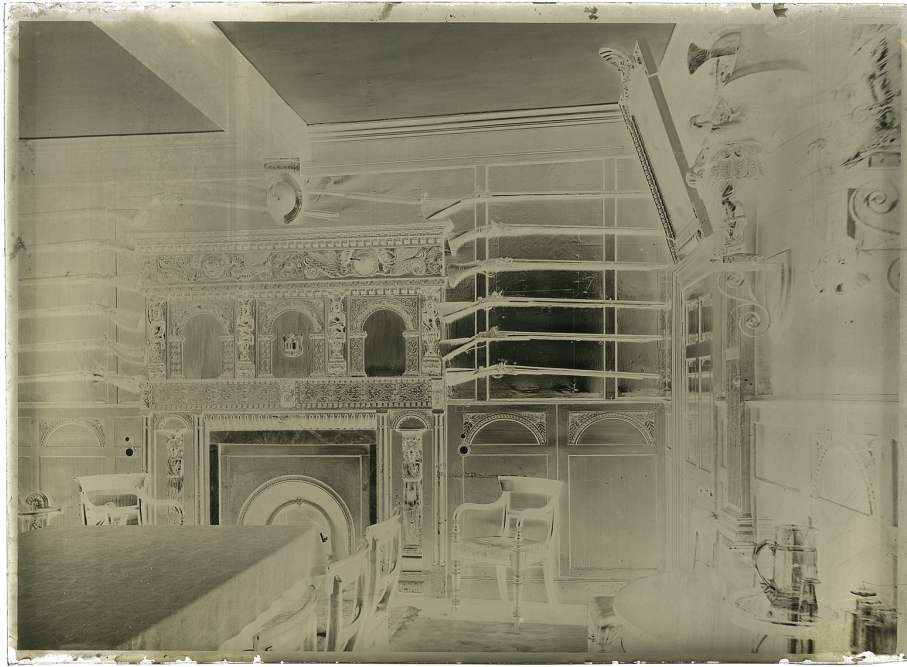


Fig. 5.8 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Flintlocks used in the Civil war", gelatine plate, 20 May 1893 (cat. no. 220). A trace of the yellow sensitizer added to the emulsion of this Edwards Isochromatic plate is still visible.

printing them under deep green glass.⁶³ Two weeks later Miss Acland wrote to the journal with her own experiences of the phenomenon:

Gentlemen,—Seeing in your issue of last week a letter about the colour of albumen prints made under green glass, I beg leave to enclose two prints from a negative of a monkey, the grey one printed under green glass, the brown one in the ordinary way. The grey print became grey during printing, and did not change colour at all during toning. The paper used for both prints was from the same sheet of Edwards' double albumenised paper, and toned in the same bath.—I am, yours, &c., S.A.A.⁶⁴

Copies of the two prints survive, one showing a definite lack of contrast, but both now faded brown with age (cat. no. 467) (fig. 5.9). Two years later, at the Camera Club, Miss Acland exhibited "a slide of a curious colour", this time due to long immersion in "hypo" (hyposulphite of soda / sodium thiosulphate, aka photographic fixer).⁶⁵ A month before her lecture she sent a similar slide to *Photography* in response to a discussion about hypo's reducing effect, observing that a loss of colour occurred when lantern plates were thoroughly washed between development and fixing.⁶⁶ In the immediate run-up to her paper she experimented with the "copper toning"

63. "News and Notes / Printing Under Deep Green Glass", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 43, no. 1901 (9 Oct 1896), p. 652a

64. "Correspondence / Printing under Green Glass", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 43, no. 1903 (23 Oct 1896), p. 687a

65. 'Carbon', "Our Photographic Column", *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 7604 (17 Dec 1898), p. 9b

66. "Spirit of the Times / The Reducing Action of Hypo", *Photography*, vol. 12, no. 589 (22 Feb 1900), p. 118; "Spirit of the Times / The Reducing Action of Hypo", *Photography*, vol. 12, no. 591 (8 Mar 1900), p. 151



Fig. 5.9 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Rhesus Macaque*, albumen prints, 26 Sep 1896 (cat. no. 467)
Albumen prints made under green glass (left) and plain glass (right). The monkey was not, as sometimes claimed, Acland's pet, but was brought to Broad Street by an Italian boy attending St Giles's Fair.

process of her father's former pupil William Bates Ferguson (1853–1937), in an attempt to mimic the orange light of the evening in some of her lantern slides (cat. no. 569) (fig. 5.14).⁶⁷

Miss Acland's programme of experiments into the capabilities of the Spectrum plate was greatly assisted by the friendship she formed with Cadett. She was probably introduced to Cadett on 13 December 1897 when he visited Oxford to speak to the Camera Club on "The Photographic Plate: its present & future capabilities".⁶⁸ When he returned a year later, on 10 October 1898, to discuss "Latest Views of Development", she lodged him in Broad Street, which gave her the opportunity to take his portrait "on some of his own plates" (cat. no. 541) (fig. 5.5).⁶⁹ She also availed herself of a lesson in development, which put her at an advantage in the "Developing competition" that Cadett judged at the Club the following month, which she entered under the nom de plume "Indus".⁷⁰

The first recorded use of one of Cadett products by Miss Acland is for portraits she took in June 1894, when she chose the 'Lightning' brand of his ordinary plates (cat. no. 307 ff.). After meeting him personally she strengthened her allegiance to his materials, claiming in her Home Portraiture lecture that by 1899 she "always

67. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 157.

68. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 624, fol. 95v (13 Dec 1897); Ms. Acland d. 172, fols. 195–196 (Herschel to SAA, 12 Dec 1897)

69. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 19–20 (SAA to WADA, 9 Oct 1898); Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 764, fol. 12r (10 Oct 1898); "Oxford Camera Club", *Oxford Times*, no. 1971 (15 Oct 1898), p. 11e; Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 19–20 (SAA to WADA, 9 Oct 1898)

70. Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 764, fol. 13v (28 Nov 1898)



Fig. 5.10 Sarah Angelina Acland, *"From Boathouse Fawe Park, Skiddaw. Evelyn Powell"*, albumen print, 4 Sep 1893 (cat. no. 283)

Fig. 5.11 Sarah Angelina Acland, *"Fawe Park, Derwentwater"*, albumen print, 2 Sep 1893 (cat. no. 279)

Isochromatic plates were recommended for portraits and scenes with large amounts of foliage. Their disadvantage was the long exposure required. Evelyn Powell (1878–1921), daughter of Miss Acland's doctor, sat still for 8 seconds for her photograph.





Fig. 5.12 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Derwentwater, looking towards Borrowdale", albumen print, 2 Sep 1893 (cat. no. 281)

Fig. 5.13 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Gondola on Derwentwater, Douglas & Scott Powell", albumen print, 2 Sep 1893 (cat. no. 282)

Miss Acland confused the captions of these two prints. The example below was the longer exposure on the isochromatic plate, as betrayed by the movement of the water.





Fig. 5.14 Sarah Angelina Acland, "A Shaky Camera" / "Clouds", lantern slide, Jun or Jul 1899 (cat. no. 568). Probably toned with the Ferguson copper toning process.



Fig. 5.15 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Cardinal Wolsey" (after a portrait attributed to Sampson Strong (c. 1550–1611)), lantern slide from Spectrum plate, Aug 1899 (cat. no. 590)

used Mr. Cadett's plates".⁷¹ Her defection was no doubt influenced in part by the unrelenting and unashamedly brazen advertisements Cadett & Neall placed in the photographic press. For their ordinary plates their marketing strategy centred on speed (figs. 5.16 & 5.17). Styling themselves the "pioneers of speed", they adopted "Swift as Light" as their motto and boasted that their plates were "acknowledged by the best Professional and Amateur Photographers and the entire Photographic Press to be of a Speed and Quality hitherto unknown in the history of the Gelatine Dry Plate".⁷² The hype was not entirely unjustified, *Amateur Photographer* reporting in 1892 that the Lightning plate was "the most rapid yet placed upon the market".⁷³

With the Spectrum plate Cadett's approach was equally unabashed, but focussed on its novelty and accuracy. The Spectrum plate was a "revolution in photography" — "the most wonderful Photographic Plate ever made".⁷⁴ "A SPLENDID TRIUMPH in Photographic Chemistry", it was "the only truly Colour-correct Plate manufactured", allegedly.⁷⁵ Later Cadett would also appeal to pictorial photographers, claiming that the Spectrum plate was capable of producing

71. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (April 1899), p. 5a

72. "Pioneer of Speed / The 'Cadett' Plate" [Advertisement], *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 18, no. 1 ("Catalogue Number", 2 Oct 1893), p. xxvii.

73. "Apparatus / The Cadett 'Lightning' Plates", *Amateur Photographer* (23 Sep 1892), p. 216

74. "Revolution in Photography by the use of the Spectrum Plate." [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2029 (24 Mar 1899), supplement p. 8; "An Anglo-American Exhibition / Spectrum Plate" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 37, no. 2111 (19 Oct 1900), p. xvii

75. "The 'Cadett' Spectrum Plate", *Amateur Photographer* (17 Jun 1898), p. ix; "The 'Spectrum' Orthochromatic" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 43, no. 1867 (14 Feb 1896), p. xv

vi THE AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER. DECEMBER 9, 1892.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

In consequence of the enormous demand for the

"CADETT" LIGHTNING PLATE

(RED LABEL.)

We very much regret having to discontinue the manufacture of our ORDINARY Plate (Yellow Label) for a short period, in order to allow us to cope with the daily increasing orders for the Lightning and Lantern Plates.

The recent additions and alterations to our present Factory being insufficient to meet the demand for our goods, we are compelled to at once commence the erection of additional works. These new works will be fitted with Steam and Electric Machinery, embodying the latest improvements.

The Hurter and Driffield Speed Numbers of our latest deliveries are:

130	105	120
Equal to Watkins'		
195	157	180

CADETT & NEALL, ASHTEAD, SURREY

CHIEF DEPÔTS.

London—W. WATSON & SONS, 313, High Holborn, W.C.
Aberdeen—G. W. WILSON & CO., 25, Crown St.
Bradford—PERCY LUND & CO., St. John Street.
Brighton—HARDCASTLE & CO., 71, East Street.
Burton-on-Trent—R. KEENE, 52, High Street.
Dundee—G. LOWDEN, 65, Reform Street.
Edinburgh—J. M. TURNBULL, 6, Rose Street.
Glasgow—G. MASON & CO., 180, Sauchiehall Street.

Hull—G. P. GIBSON, 16, Whitefriar Gate.
Jersey—J. RENOUF, Junr., 45, Don Street.
Leeds—REYNOLDS & BRANSON, 14, Commercial Street.
Liverpool—J. J. ATKINSON, 87, Manchester St.
Manchester—J. T. CHAPMAN, 7, Albert Square.
Newcastle—F. K. HURMAN & CO., 2, St. Nicholas Buildings.
Norwich—A. E. COE, 32, London Street.
Sheffield—J. PRESTON, 4, High Street.

OTHER TOWNS IN FUTURE ADVERTISEMENTS.

February 14, 1896 THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY. xv

SPEED NUMBERS.

We rigidly carry out ALL the conditions for Speed-Testing laid down by Messrs. Hurter & Driffield. Our Speed Numbers are accordingly

GENUINE and RELIABLE!

Can any one else say this? Our Goods are all we claim them to be, and the ENORMOUSLY INCREASING SALE proves it.

THE "CADETT" LIGHTNING PLATE

IS THE

QUICKEST IN THE WORLD,

and has a LARGER SALE in the United Kingdom than any other Brand at similar prices.

THE "SPECTRUM" ORTHOCHROMATIC

is the only truly Colour-correct Plate manufactured.

PRICE LISTS FREE ON APPLICATION.

CADETT & NEALL, ASHTEAD, SURREY.

Figs. 5.16 & 5.17 Cadett & Neall Ltd., Advertisements for the Cadett Lightning Plate, 1892, and for the Spectrum Plate, 1896 (*Amateur Photographer*, 9 Dec 1892, p. vi; *British Journal of Photography*, 14 Feb 1896, p. xv). Speed was one of the battlegrounds on which the photographic plate wars of the 1890s were fought.

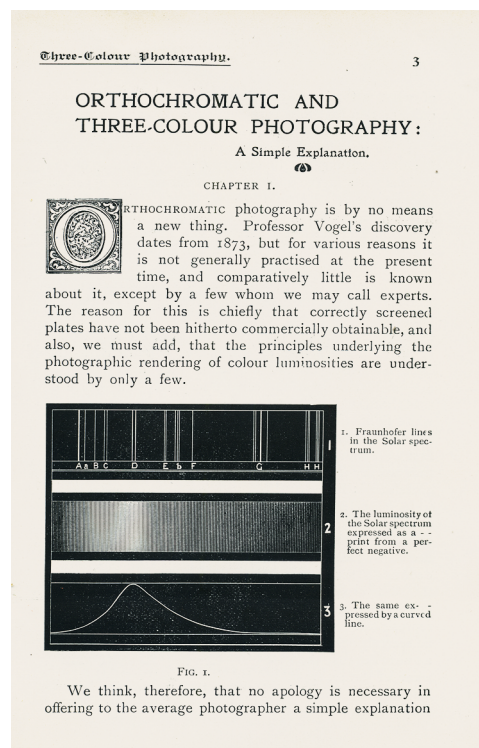
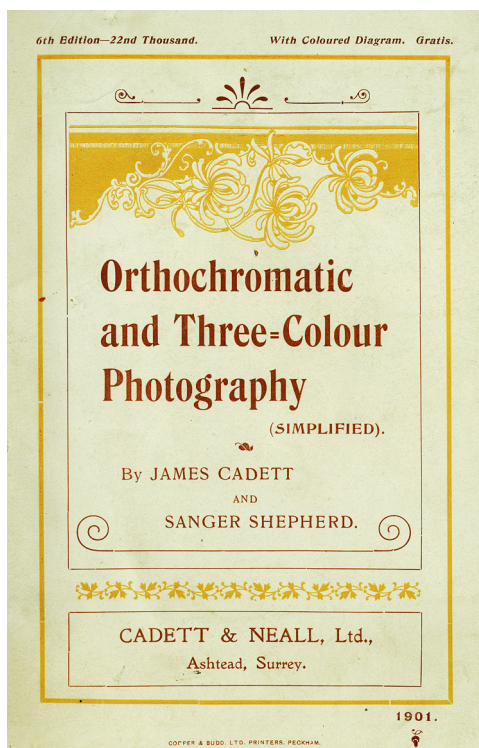
"Astounding Pictorial Results" and "PICTURES instead of Photographs".⁷⁶ "After one trial you will never take a pictorial landscape without these plates", he promised.⁷⁷

Miss Acland's first confirmed use of a Spectrum plate is for her *Studies of Dark Yellow Narcissi* in the April 1899 Camera Club competition, which came nine months after the release of the rapid series, which she nevertheless probably tested as soon it was available. In her lecture she exhibited two photographs of "Dark Yellow Daffodils", one on an ordinary plate, the other a Spectrum plate — these were presumably also her competition entries (cat. nos. 553 & 554) (figs. 5.1 & 5.2). Other lantern slides in her lecture from datable negatives include seven scenes in Boars Hill taken during her holiday from 5 June to 9 August 1899 (cat. no. 562 ff.). On leaving Boars Hill she wrote to her father that she was looking forward to "busying myself with my photographs of the Colleges", many of which were also taken on Spectrum plates, including the interior of the Upper Library in Christ Church (cat. no. 597) and the Cathedral (possibly cat. no. 593).⁷⁸ For her Christ Church history she also used a Spectrum plate to copy a portrait of Cardinal Wolsey owned by the college: a highly appropriate subject given the amount of scarlet in his cardinal's robes (cat. no. 590) (fig. 5.15).

76. "Cadett Spectrum Plate and Measured Light Filters" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2039 (2 Jun 1899), *Lantern Record*, p. 8; "Cadett Spectrum Plate and Light Filters" [Advertisement], *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 24, no. 1 (23 Sep 1899), p. lxxvii

77. "Cadett Spectrum Plate and Measured Light Filters", *British Journal of Photography* (2 Jun 1899), *Lantern Record*, p. 8

78. Ms. Acland d. 27, fols. 123–124 (HWA to WADA, 22 Sep 1899)



Figs. 5.18 & 5.19 James Cadett and Sanger Shepherd, *Orthochromatic and Three-colour Photography (Simplified)* (Ashstead, 1901). Much of Miss Acland's knowledge of the theory of orthochromatic photography came from Cadett's pamphlet, first published in 1899, which was also the source of the first slide in her lecture.

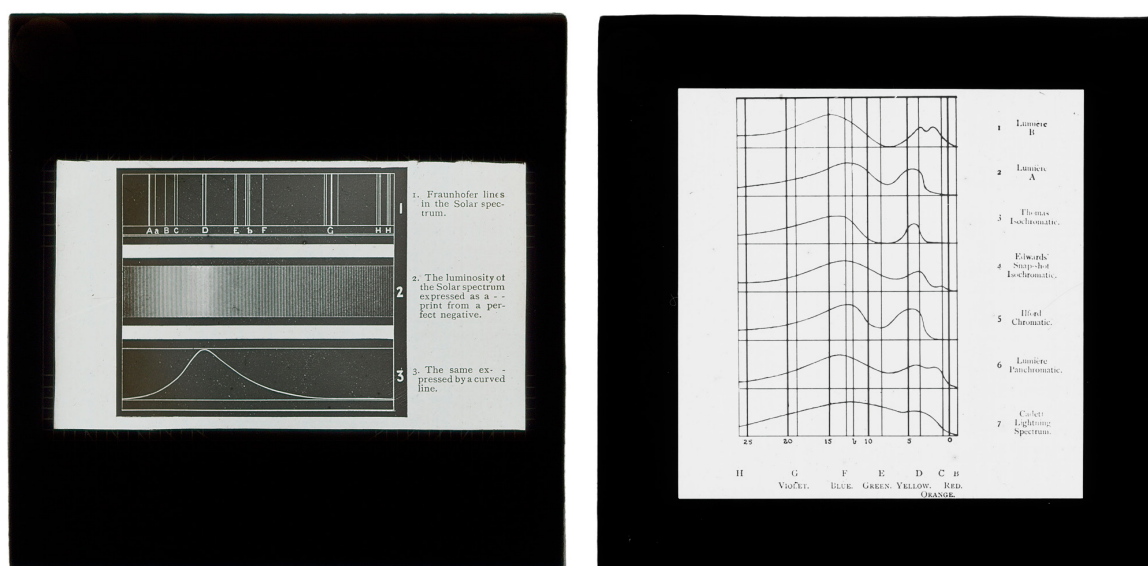
Miss Acland on the Spectrum Plate

Miss Acland's decision to read a second paper at the Camera Club was a response to an appeal for contributions issued by the secretary prior to the beginning of the autumn session 1899. Her title was announced in January 1900, but already in November, according to her father, she was engaged for several hours a day "making lantern slides in large numbers, (some difficult process) for a lecture in February on scientific Photography".⁷⁹ In the immediate run up to the meeting she spent "most days from 3 to 6 hours in the Dark Room on scientific experiments".⁸⁰

Acland's characterization of his daughter's endeavours as "scientific photography" was born out in her paper. In contrast to her remarks on home portraiture, her treatment of the Spectrum plate was overtly technical from the outset and contained extensive discussion of scientific theory. Approaching her subject under the broad headings of "theory", "practice" and "result" (as reflected in the title of the paper as published), she began by rehearsing a rationalization of the problem of orthochromatic photography generally favoured during the 1890s, explaining that it was due to the disparity between the sensitivity curve of silver salts and the perceived luminosities of different colours in the retina. Cadett was the

79. Ms. Acland d. 27, fols. 85–86 (HWA to WADA, 19 Nov 1899)

80. Ms. Acland d. 27, fol. 158 (HWA to WADA, 5 Apr ? 1900)



Figs. 5.20 & 5.21 [Sanger Shepherd & Co.], "Solar Spectrum"; *Sensitivity Curves of Orthochromatic Plates*, 1899, lantern slides (MHS 32755 & 43076). Miss Acland's Spectrum Plates lecture was overtly technical from the outset. The second slide illustrates the sensitivity curves of the Lumière B, Lumière A, Thomas Isochromatic, Edwards's Snap-shot Isochromatic, Ilford Chromatic, Lumière Panchromatic, and Cadett Lightning Spectrum plates.

immediate source of this explanation, having adopted it for a pamphlet published in May 1899 under the title *Orthochromatic Photography Simplified* (fig. 5.18).⁸¹ Miss Acland followed Cadett almost verbatim. Her debt to him was also visual, her first slide a copy of the first figure in the pamphlet: a diagram of the Fraunhofer lines juxtaposed against two different graphical representations of the luminosity of the spectrum (figs. 5.19 & 5.20). The second slide (fig. 5.21) and its explanation she took not from Cadett, but from a paper Sanger Shepherd had given at the RPS in 1898 on "The Scientific Translation of Colour into Monochrome".⁸² However, when she came to elaborate on the use of "colouring matters" to increase and "make uniform" the spectral sensitivity of photographic plates, she departed from her mentors, citing "Draper's Law of Absorption" and "Kundt's law" of abnormal dispersion". Draper was well-known for his scientific work, a paper he gave at the BAAS in Oxford in 1860 having precipitated the famous dispute between Huxley and Wilberforce.⁸³ August Adolf Eduard Eberhard Kundt (1893–1894) was more obscure, but Miss Acland quoted his law directly from *The Chemistry of Photography* (London, 1889) by Raphael Meldola (1849–1915), the standard work in the field.⁸⁴

81. I have not seen the first edition of this pamphlet. A report of its publication appears in "Ex Cathedra", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2039 (2 Jun 1899), pp. 337–339, p. 338, with extracts in the same issue, as James Cadett, "Orthochromatic Photography: A Simple Explanation", pp. 344–345. The most commonly found edition is James Cadett and Sanger Shepherd, *Orthochromatic and Three-Colour Photography (Simplified)* (6th edition, Cadett & Neall, Ashted, Surrey, 1901).

82. E. Sanger Shepherd, "The Scientific Translation of Colour into Monochrome", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 22, no. 11 (26 Jul 1898), pp. 347–359, p. 349.

83. Draper's Law was well-known and stated that rays must be absorbed by a compound to produce any chemical effect.

84. Op. cit., p. 313. Kundt's law stipulates that the absorption band of a coloured material is displaced towards the red as the refractive power of the medium in which the substance is

In moving from the theoretical part of her paper to the practice of photography with the Spectrum plate, Miss Acland continued her systematic approach to the subject by showing comparative results obtained by photographing the same test subject on ordinary and orthochromatic plates. The first test subject she used, which was reproduced with her paper as a separate plate, was the “coloured design” or “colour star” Cadett included with *Orthochromatic Photography Simplified* (fig. 5.22). Cadett had adapted the design from figures in the 1872 edition of Cassell’s *Technical Educator*, where they accompanied “Six Lessons on the Theory of Colour” by Arthur Herbert Church (1834–1915).⁸⁵ Church was a graduate of Lincoln College, the authority on the science of art, a former student of Crookes, and sometime assistant to Brodie in the University Museum.

Miss Acland exhibited lantern slides from three different negatives of Cadett’s star: one taken on an ordinary plate, one on a Spectrum plate using a “Gilvus” filter, and one on a Spectrum plate through an “Absolutus” filter (cat. nos. 633–5). When seen side by side the slides offered vivid proof of the benefits of the orthochromatic emulsion (figs. 5.23 to 5.25). As Miss Acland explained, on an ordinary plate the pale yellow point of the star came out “fairly dark”, the green point “dark”, and the orange and red “very dark”.⁸⁶ In the circle of leaves the blue was rendered lighter than the red, while the stripes appeared in the order light-dark-light. With the Spectrum plate and Gilvus filter “the correct representation of the luminosity of the colours is greatly improved, though there is still much to be desired”.⁸⁷ With the Spectrum plate and Absolutus filter the transformation was dramatic, the tone of the circle of leaves and the stripes reversed compared to the ordinary plate: “the correction is complete, and the colours are represented in their relative luminosities.”⁸⁸

The use of an Absolutus or Gilvus filter, which Cadett supplied, was essential for orthochromatic photography with the Spectrum plate. The relative merits of the filters were addressed by Miss Acland in some detail. Originally Cadett had provided a single type of filter, the one later referred to as the Absolutus, she reported.⁸⁹ A step on from the liquid cell required for the slow version of the Spectrum plate, it was strong orange in colour and made from stained pairs of gelatine and collodion films. Although it produced perfect orthochromatic rendering, exposures were increased a staggering twenty times in the studio or about forty times outdoors (counter-intuitively).⁹⁰ With “great reluctance”, therefore, Cadett had placed

dissolved increases. Meldola received an honorary D. Sc. from Oxford in 1910.

85. [Cassell & Co.], *The Technical Educator: An Encyclopædia of Technical Education* (2 vols., Cassell, Petter and Galpin, London, [1872]) [BOD 260 h. 15 & 16]. The article was also released as an offprint, A. H. Church, *Colour* (Cassell’s Technical Manuals, London etc., [1872]) [BOD 185 g. 8]. Church used the diagram to demonstrate the “Effects of the Admixture of Pigments”. The leaf diagram that Cadett also incorporated into his design can be found in the latter work as fig. 28, opposite p. 62, “Colour as related to ideas of Distance”. The stripes are fig. 26, “Indistinctness of Related Colours in contact”.

86. Miss Acland, “The Spectrum Plate”, p. 555.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 556

88. *Ibid.*

89. The 6th edition of Cadett’s pamphlet contained only two reproductions of his star diagram: on an ordinary plate and “on a Spectrum Plate with Light Filter”.

90. Cadett had often been asked to explain the difference: “when photographing out-of-doors, without a light filter, a great number of the ultra-violet, violet, and blue rays are used, which

the yellow Gilvus filter on the market as a compromise solution for when rapid exposures were needed.⁹¹ Although not correct “from a scientific point of view”, leaving the red luminosities too dark, the Gilvus gave correct rendering of colour as far as orange and increased exposure only by three to four times.⁹²

On turning to the results of work with the Spectrum plate in the third part of her paper, Miss Acland discussed orthochromatic photography of a range of different genres, including copy-work, flower studies, landscapes, interiors, and photography in low light. Portraiture was omitted from her survey since exposures were too long with the Absolutus filter, although she had once tried it with success, she claimed, possibly for the portrait of her friend and former assistant to Pasteur, the bacteriologist Waldemar Mordecai Wolff Haffkine (1860–1930) (cat. nos. 572–4).⁹³

Copying paintings was the most important application of orthochromatic photography and also provided a “simple further test of the spectrum plates for practical use”.⁹⁴ The subject was particularly close to Miss Acland’s heart, given her father’s long-standing interest in the subject and the requests she often received for copies of work from his collection. As she remarked in the lecture, the “copying in monochrome of coloured pictures has always been a difficulty, but I think that now with a spectrum plate, and orange light filter, an amateur will find the difficulties greatly diminished.”⁹⁵ Illustrations of paintings featured prominently in her published paper, two versions of Millais’s portrait of Ruskin heading the article, one taken on an ordinary plate, the other a Spectrum plate with Absolutus filter (fig. 5.3). “The difference between the two plates is very noticeable”, she pointed out, explaining that Ruskin’s coat was dark blue with “a good deal of red and yellow colour in the face.”⁹⁶ For a second painting she reproduced Willie Richmond’s portrait of Frank and Alfred, *Two Sons of Sir Henry Acland* (cat. nos. 638–9) (figs. 5.26 & 5.27). Richmond’s palette was more vibrant than Millais’s, making the effect of the Spectrum plate even more pronounced: “The difference between these two reproductions is even more remarkable than between those of the former example. Notice particularly the stocking of the boy sitting down. It hardly seems credible that the two plates can be taken from the same picture.”⁹⁷ In her lecture she also showed slides of *The Maid of Wallington Wells*, a painting her father had made during a visit to the Pre-Raphaelite patrons Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan (1797–1879) and Pauline, Lady Trevelyan (1816–1866) (cat. nos. 636–7) (figs. 5.28 & 5.29).⁹⁸ These, however, were omitted from the paper as published.

Flower photography, Miss Acland’s second practical application of the Spectrum plate, provided another important example of the use of orthochromatic

are cut off to a great extent when photographing under the glass of a studio, which glass cuts the red and green rays relatively less, thus acting partially as a filter.” (*Orthochromatic and Three-Colour Photography (Simplified)*, p. 12).

91. Miss Acland, “The Spectrum Plate”, p. 555

92. *Ibid.*

93. “Second April Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Oct 1900), p. 39a

94. Miss Acland, “The Spectrum Plate”, p. 557

95. Miss Acland, “The Spectrum Plate”, p. 557

96. *Ibid.*

97. *Ibid.*

98. On the painting see Ms. Acland d. 10, fols. 109–103 (HWA to SA, 2 Aug 1855).

3rd Edition.

The "CADETT"

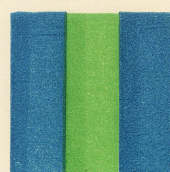
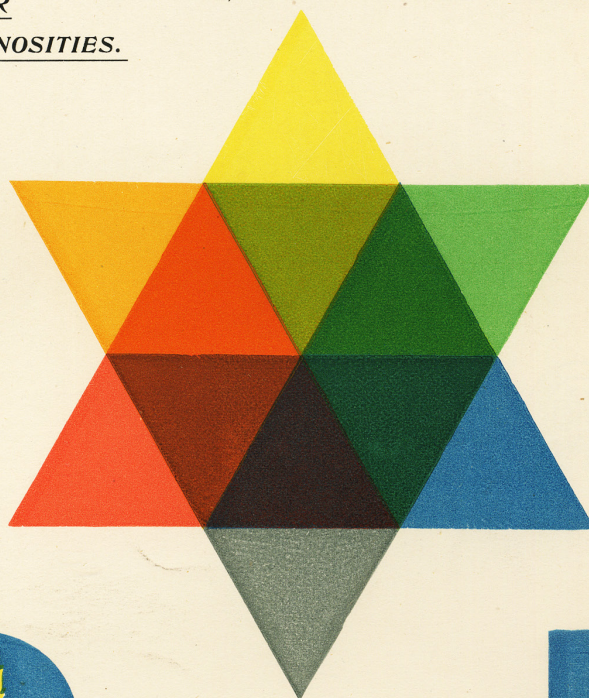
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COLOR

LUMINOSITIES.

Spectrum Plate.



The only Plate in the Market at present made that will stand Captain Abney's test.

COMPARE WITH THE ENCLOSED PRINT FROM A NEGATIVE OF THE ABOVE DIAGRAMS.

SOLE MANUFACTURERS:

CADETT & NEALL, Ashted, Surrey.

LTD.

Diagrams from "Cassell's Technical Educator,"
by permission.

Fig. 5.22 Cadett & Neall Ltd., *Cadett Spectrum Plate Coloured Star Test Diagram*, 1900 (Miss Acland, *The Spectrum Plate*, 1900, plate [BOD oxfaleph 017504813]).

Cadett & Neall's colour diagram was included as a full-page supplement with Miss Acland's *Spectrum Plate* paper as published in *Photography* and as an offprint.

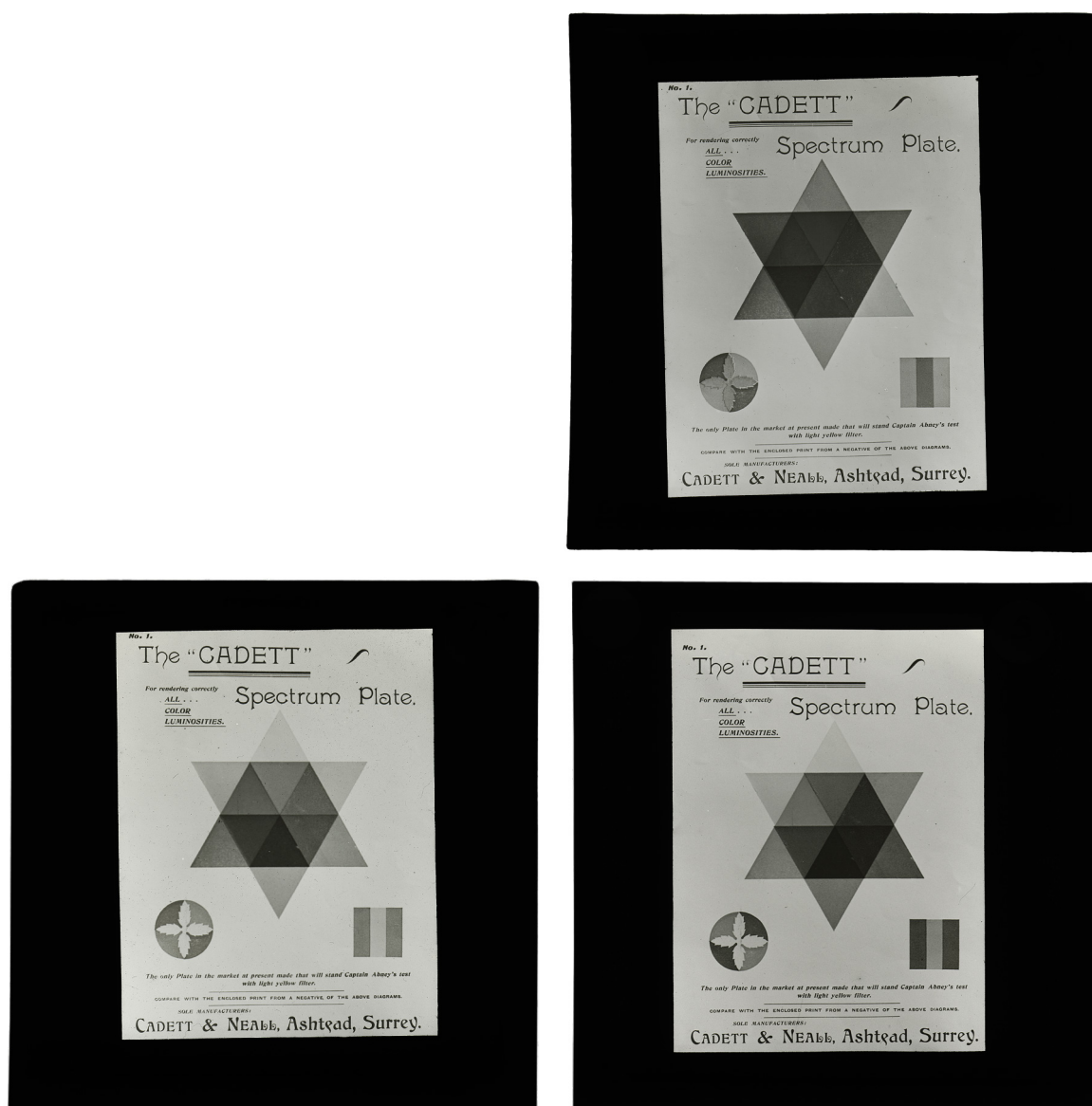


Fig. 5.23 to 5.25 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Coloured Star", lantern slides, shortly before 23 Apr 1900 (cat. nos. 633–5)

Miss Acland used these lantern slides of Cadett & Neall's colour diagram to illustrate the crux of the problem of orthochromatic photography: the relative underexposure by an ordinary plate (top) of, in increasing order, green, yellow, orange and red. The Spectrum plate when used with the yellow Gilvus filter (bottom left) partly corrects the bias. The problem is fully resolved by the use of the Spectrum plate in combination with the deep orange Absolutus filter (bottom right). The demonstration is startling, the tones of the leaf diagram and bars below the star being completely reversed between the ordinary plate and Spectrum plate with Absolutus filter.



Figs. 5.26 & 5.27 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Two sons of Sir H. Acland*" (after William Blake Richmond), lantern slides from an ordinary plate (left) and a Spectrum plate (right), shortly before 23 Apr 1900 (cat. nos. 638–9)

Figs. 5.28 & 5.29 "Sarah Angelina Acland, *The Maid of Wallington Wells*" (after Henry Wentworth Acland), lantern slides from an ordinary plate (left) and a Spectrum plate (right), shortly before 23 Apr 1900 (cat. nos. 363–4)



Figs. 5.30 & 5.31 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Posy", lantern slides, Mar or Apr 1899 or 1900 (cat. nos. 640–1)
 Photographed by Miss Acland on an ordinary plate (left) and Spectrum plate with Gilvus filter (right).

emulsions. Prior to the advent of orthochromatic plates flower studies were relatively uncommon in photography. Although the subject might have been expected to appeal to women, they showed little preference for it during the 1880s and 1890s. When *Amateur Photographer* instituted a "Flower Studies" competition in July 1896, for example, men walked off with the main prizes, despite the competition being judged by Carine Cadby (Catherine Mary Simpson Cadby, née Stevenson (1866–1957)).⁹⁹ A year before Miss Acland's lecture, Henry Thomas Malby (1845–1928), one of the leading exponents of the genre, offered his own explanation for its poor following:

All persons of refined taste recognise the beauty of flowers, yet how few really attractive photographs of this class of subject do we see? Can it be that the hideous misrepresentation of colours caused by the use of Ordinary plates has frightened the average worker into a belief that great difficulties beset the path of one who attempts a faithful rendering of such vari-coloured subjects?¹⁰⁰

Amateur enthusiasm for flower studies had begun to increase in 1898, Christian Hood Curle (1868–1956) commenting on the trend in "Flower Photography in a Garden", a prize essay at the Edinburgh Photographic Society in 1899.¹⁰¹ However,

99. "Flower Study Competition", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 24, no. 630 (30 Oct 1896), p. 350 and Carine Cadby, "Flower Study Competition", pp. 355–357. The situation was unchanged two years later, when the "Flowers Studies and Still-Life" competition was won by Ernest W. Jackson, who went on to write several articles on the subject ("Flowers and Still-Life Competition", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 27, no. 723 (12 Aug 1898), p. 638).

100. H. T. Malby, "Notes on Photographing Flowers", *Photography*, vol. 11, no. 537 (23 Feb 1899), p. 126. See also H. T. Malby, "Some Notes on the Correct Rendering of the Colours of Flowers", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 21, no. 10 (19 Jun 1897), pp. 240–242; and "The Work of the Year / A Fragmentary Retrospect", *Photograms of the Year*, 1898, pp. 47–74, p. 51.

101. Christian H. Curle, "Flower Photography in a Garden", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2028 (17 Mar 1899), pp. 166–168

according to Curle the “awakened interest” owed more to the hot summer than it did to the availability of orthochromatic plates. While noting that they were “much recommended for flower photography”, and for some colours were “indispensable”, like others workers she was sceptical about their absolute value.¹⁰²

On this point Miss Acland certainly disagreed. Her *Dark Yellow Daffodils* provided a dramatic demonstration of the benefits of orthochromatic plates, in her view, the colours almost appearing reversed from their correct values on the ordinary plate, with the yellow of the trumpets rendered a muddy grey. The same effect of the ordinary plate was seen in her beautiful *Posy* (cat. nos. 640 & 641) (figs. 5.30 & 5.31). With the Spectrum plate the improvement was dramatic in both instances. The flower study she reproduced in her published paper, *Yellow and Dark Red Roses* (cat. nos. 644 & 645), provided a more subtle illustration of the benefits of the orthochromatic plate. On the ordinary plate the roses looked “solid, but the representation of the vase is very poor”, she commented, while on the Spectrum plate “they gain in delicacy what they lose in solidity.”¹⁰³

Contested Views

In her treatment of the benefits of the Spectrum plate for copy work and flower photography Miss Acland was on relatively safe ground. When it came to their use for landscape photography she found herself in more uncertain territory. The first issue she considered in relation to landscapes was the depiction of “atmospheric perspective”: the illusion of distance produced by haze (fig. 5.32). Opinions on the desirability of depicting aerial perspective in photography had changed significantly over the decades. For Elizabeth Eastlake, in her celebrated article in the *London Quarterly Review* in 1857, the indistinct rendering of distance was one of photography’s failings:

The photograph seems embarrassed with the treatment of several gradations of distance. The finish of background and middle distance seems not to be commensurate with that of the foreground; the details of the simplest light and shadow are absent; all is misty and bare, and distant hills look like flat, grey moors washed in with one gloomy tint.¹⁰⁴

By 1888 this fault had come to be regarded as a virtue, William Frederick Donkin, for example, at the peak of his success as an alpine photographer, complaining that with orthochromatic plates “the blue sky came rather too dark against white-topped mountains ... the distance was brought too near, and atmospheric effects were totally destroyed.”¹⁰⁵ Miss Acland, for her part, confessed that many distant landscapes were “as well interpreted by an ordinary as an orthochromatic plate with a filter if not better”.¹⁰⁶ However, orthochromatic plates might still be of value

¹⁰². Ibid., p. 168

¹⁰³. Miss Acland, “The Spectrum Plate”, p. 559

¹⁰⁴. [Eastlake], “Photography”, p. 253

¹⁰⁵. [Royal Photographic Society], “Monthly Technical Meeting”, *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 12, no. 4 (27 Apr 1888), pp. 126–131, p. 129

¹⁰⁶. Miss Acland, “The Spectrum Plate”, p. 559



Fig. 5.32 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Father Sketching Langdale Pikes", albumen print, 2 Aug 1893 (cat. no. 251). A classic example of 'aerial perspective': the impression of distance in landscape due to the affect of haze.

where brightly coloured objects, such as a cornfield, appeared in the scene, such as in her views from Boars Hill (cat. nos. 566 & 567) (figs. 5.33 & 5.34) or when clarity in the distance and definition in clouds was sought (cat. no. 565) (fig. 5.35). For autumn colours, she maintained, their superiority was unambiguous (cat. nos. 614–16) (figs. 5.36–5.38). Unfortunately, not everyone agreed. In contrast to the broad consensus that greeted her remarks on home portraiture, a "lively discussion" followed her Spectrum plates lecture, the disputed nature of her claims being reflected in "the keenness with which the members regarded the subject", as the *Oxford Times* put it euphemistically.¹⁰⁷ Claude Rippon was bold enough to suggest that "if Miss Acland had given more exposure to her photograph of a forest glade on an ordinary plate, the results would have more nearly approached that obtained from the spectrum plate."¹⁰⁸ Another member of the Club, Henry Michael John Underhill (1855–1920), who had already experimented with orthochromatic plates, reported that he found them little use for a winter scene, forcing Miss Acland to concede that since this largely was "a study in black and white" he was probably right.¹⁰⁹ Later, in the pages of *Amateur Photographer*, Underhill would also dispute the claim that orthochromatic plates were beneficial for photographing clouds.¹¹⁰

107. 'Half-tone', "Camera Notes" (28 Apr 1900), p. 12c

108. "Second April Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Oct 1900), p. 39b

109. Miss Acland, "The Spectrum Plate", p. 559. One of Underhill's albums now in the Oxfordshire History Centre contains "Three pictures illustrating orthochromatic photography" [COS Album 56, fol. 23].

110. "Practical Lessons for Beginners / The Fifty-Seventh Lesson", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 42, no. 1091 (29 Aug 1905), pp. 163–165, where a letter from Underhill is quoted.



Figs. 5.33 & 5.34 Sarah Angelina Acland, "From Boar's Hill", lantern slides, Jun or Jul 1899 (cat. nos. 566–7)

The advantage of the Spectrum plate for landscapes with golden cornfields. The ordinary plate (left) was taken at $f/64$ in 1 second, the Spectrum plate at $f/16$ in 8 seconds. Miss Acland's nurse Lawrence is visible bottom right.

Keen differences of opinion also existed among members of the Camera Club over whether the Absolutus and Gilvus filters were useful under all conditions. Alfred Robinson (1862–1938), assistant at the University and Pitt Rivers museums, and Gustav Mann (1864–1921), Demonstrator in Physiology, had conducted their own trials with Cadett's coloured star, from which they attributed the main improvement of the Spectrum plate to the use of the filters rather than the sensitivity of the emulsion — a Spectrum plate without a filter producing a print almost identical to that from an ordinary plate, they claimed. Mann in particular was adamant that orthochromatic plates were "useless without a light filter".¹¹¹ Among photographers more widely, controversy existed about whether filters were needed at all times of day. George Bernard Shaw, for example, felt that nature not only offered her most tempting pictures around sunset, but that she "provides her own orange screen to cut off the blue rays" — a view shared with no lesser authority than Abney.¹¹² Miss Acland seemed to be in two minds on the issue. For *Afterglow* (cat. no. 569) (fig. 5.39), which was taken "a long time after the sun had actually set and the sky was red and gold", she used the Absolutus filter.¹¹³ For *Broad Street at Night* (cat. no. 589) (figs. 5.40 & 5.41), which was taken in an exposure of four hours from 8 p.m. to midnight, she dispensed with a filter entirely.

In the photographic community at large debate over the use of filters with orthochromatic plates continued for several years. Some regarded the yellow filter as the photographic equivalent of a quack medicine: neither beneficial nor detrimental. In a strategy diametrically opposed to that of Cadett, Edwards took advantage of the uncertainty by boasting in his advertising that "Edwards Iso

111. 'Half-tone', "Camera Notes", *Oxford Times* (28 Apr 1900), p. 12c

112. "George Bernard Shaw on the Use of Orthochromatic Films and Screens", p. 123

113. Miss Acland, "The Spectrum Plate", p. 560



Fig. 5.35 (above) Sarah Angelina Acland, *"White Clouds on Blue Sky" / "Summer Clouds"*, lantern slide, Jun or Jul 1899 (cat. no. 565). Miss Acland won third prize in the Landscapes class of the 1900 Camera Club exhibition with a print of this view from Boars Hill. The Spectrum plate shows more contrast in the clouds than an ordinary plate due to the darker rendering of the blue sky.



Figs. 5.36 to 5.38 (right, top, middle & bottom) Sarah Angelina Acland, *"Glade in New Forest"*, lantern slides, 1899 (cat. nos. 614–6). The top slide is taken on an ordinary plate; middle on a Spectrum plate with Gilvus filter; bottom with Spectrum plate and Absolutus filter.



Fig. 5.39 (below) Sarah Angelina Acland, *"Afterglow"*, lantern slide toned by the Ferguson copper toning process, Jun or Jul 1899 (cat. no. 569)







Figs. 5.40 & 5.41 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Broad Street at Night*", gelatine negative, Aug 1899 ? (cat. no. 589)

One of Miss Acland's most unusual photographs, this plate was taken in four hours from 8 p.m. to midnight: 1 hour at $f/11$ and 3 hours at $f/5$ (the maximum aperture of the lens). The lamps hanging on the roadworks were deep red.

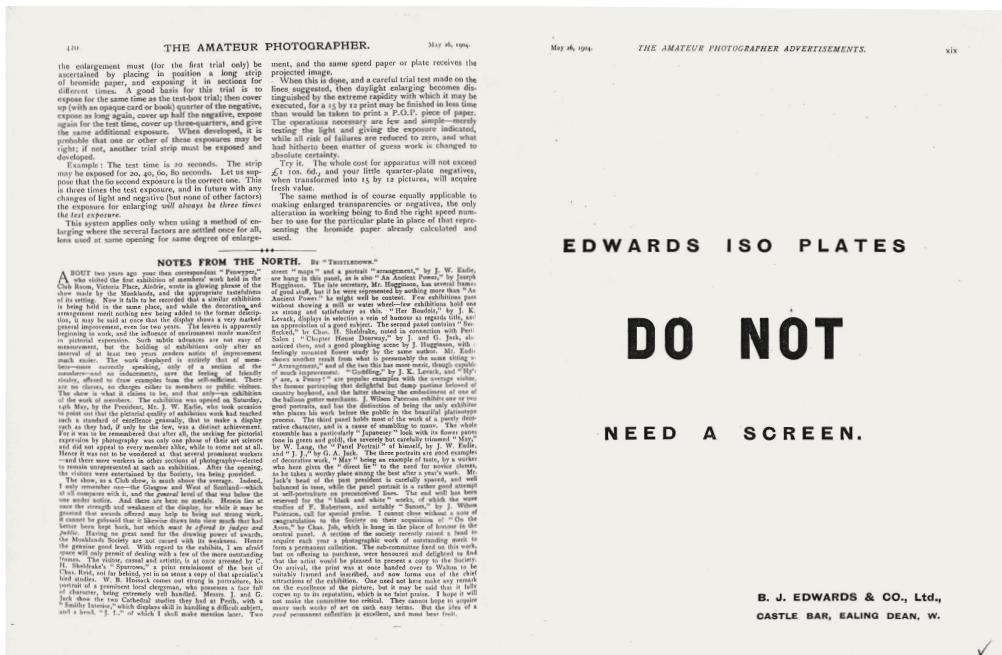


Fig. 5.42 B. J. Edwards & Co., Ltd., Advertisement for Edwards Iso Plates, 1904 (*Amateur Photographer*, 26 May 1904, p. xix). Edwards's message was clear but he still came a poor second to Cadett in the use of outrageously large type.

Plates DO NOT need a screen" (fig. 5.42).¹¹⁴ Cadett's argument that his filter only worked with his own plates was also disputed by some, notably Frederick Evans, who tested them with Kodoid films:

I was interested in trying this Gilvus screen, as I had been assured by some wiseacre that it was of no real use except on the spectrum or other plate it was made for. These experiments, however, prove it to be a very valuable screen, and quite true enough for the majority of subjects.¹¹⁵

In explaining the "somewhat general preference" amongst photographers for the Gilvus over the Absolutus screen for landscape work (contrary to his own advice), Cadett was forced to admit that "anything may be said to be legitimate in Art which gives a desired effect", even if this was "at the cost of true rendering", and however hard it might be "for the scientist to concede principles to the artist".¹¹⁶

Marketing Measures and Orthochromatic Objectivity

Cadett's admission about the Gilvus filter went against his tactics for the promotion of the Spectrum plate as a whole, which rested on the absolute certainly and scientific objectivity implicit in its design and manufacture, and that of its accessories. In her lecture Miss Acland adopted a similar rhetoric, stressing the importance

114. "Edwards Iso Plates Do Not Need a Screen" [Advertisement], *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 39, no. 1025 (26 May 1904), p. xix

115. Frederick H. Evans, "Orthochromatic Rendering of Kodoid Films", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 41, no. 1078 (30 May 1905), pp. 434–435

116. *Orthochromatic and Three-Colour Photography (Simplified)*, p. 13; p. 15

Conditions and Entry Forms of Snap-Shot Competition included in this Number.
Post Free on application. Separate forms obtainable of all Dealers.

SCIENTIFIC SPEED TESTS

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ORDINARY, between 20 and 80 (as may be ordered) H. and D.	} Our Formulas as given.
PROFESSIONAL „ 100 „ 160 „ „ „	
SPECIAL RAPID, about 170 H. and D.	
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QUICKEST AND BEST,
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Experts at Speed Testing confirm our statements. Irrespective of Price, there is no Plate obtainable to equal our Brands for Speed, Density, and Quality combined. Full Price List post free.

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8 [Supplement] THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY. [March 31, 1899]

AT LAST!

The Cadett Orthochromatic Light-Filter for the Spectrum Plates.

FOR the first time in the History of Photography **Measured** Orthochromatic Light-Filters for the Camera are placed on the Market.

These Light-Filters are adjusted to our Rapid Spectrum Plates, and will enable Paintings, Flowers, Landscapes, and any coloured subjects to be rendered in accordance with their colour luminosities, a desideratum which until now the Photographic Public has been unable to obtain commercially. **They are of no value whatever with any other colour-sensitive Plate.**

Each Light-Filter will be tested by Mr. Cadett before sending out, and passed within a slight limit of error, the testing instrument being Captain Abney's Colour-Sensitometer. The best work can therefore be relied on with our Light-Filters and Plates.

SIZES AND PRICES OF LIGHT-FILTERS.

1½ in. square.	2 in. square.	2½ in. square.	3¼ in. square.	4 in. square.
10/-	12/6	18/6	25/-	40/-

Larger Sizes to order.

ALL OUR LIGHT-FILTERS ARE OPTICALLY WORKED.

CADETT & NEALL, Ltd., Ashtead, Surrey.

Figs. 5.43 & 5.44 Cadett & Neall, Ltd., Advertisements for the Cadett Plate, 1896, and measured light filters, 1899 (*Dry Plates*, Spring 1896, p. 218; *British Journal of Photography*, 31 Mar 1899, Supplement p. 8). Cadett's appeal to the rhetoric of science and measurement in his advertisements.

of accuracy and measurement in orthochromatic photography. Her overall strategy was two-fold. Firstly, she educated her audience in the rational basis of orthochromatic photography, portraying it as a definable problem to which there was a scientifically correct solution. Secondly, she presented the Spectrum plate, and the equipment supplied with it, as the definite solution, by virtue of the scientific principles it embodied. Drawing on deep-seated beliefs about the importance of scientific accuracy and standards to the prosperity of the nation and success of the Empire, she portrayed the Spectrum plate as an achievement born of the alliance of science and trade, attained through the application of accurate measurement and instrumentation in the commercial sector.¹¹⁷ Only recently had amateurs been able to obtain a plate and screen “correctly adjusted” to each other, she pointed out.¹¹⁸ Abney's invention of the “colour sensitometer” had enabled Cadett “to produce the correct light filters commercially”, their accurate manufacture depending on “a most perfect apparatus” devised for measuring “the luminosities”.¹¹⁹ Inspection by eye was of little value; instead each filter was scientifically tested before being sent out, with as many as four or five out of ten failing. The same emphasis on the value of precision and measurement were made by Cadett. “For the first time in the History of Photography Measured Orthochromatic Light-Filters for the

117. On the currency of these values in Victorian culture, see the works by Schaffer and Gooday cited in note 11.

118. Miss Acland, “The Spectrum Plate”, p. 554

119. Ibid.



Fig. 5.45 Cadett & Neall, Ltd.; Advertisement for the Cadett Spectrum Plate and Measured Light Filters; 1899 (*British Journal of Photography*, 2 Jun 1899, supplement p. 8)

Cadett styled his screens for use with the Spectrum plate "Measured Light Filters". He was also keen to stress the benefits of orthochromatic plates for pictorial work. In Miss Acland's mind the Spectrum plate was valuable as a scientific advance by virtue of its artistic applications

Camera are placed on the Market", his advertisements announced in large type (fig. 5.44).¹²⁰ His adherence to scientific principles of manufacture and testing had also made possible another prerequisite of orthochromatic photography: a suitable safelight.¹²¹ "Every Safe Light is spectroscopically examined before leaving the factory", he proclaimed when they were ready for sale in January 1899 (fig. 5.45).¹²²

In her lecture Miss Acland's emphasis on the need for objectivity in the use of the Spectrum plate extended to her recommendations about their exposure and development. "The Spectrum plate should be exposed according to its H. and D. number", she advised, and "development carried on by time".¹²³ In 1900 both pieces of advice were highly contentious. The very idea that a numerical measure of plate speed determined in the laboratory might be of assistance in judging exposure in the field was questioned by many, while common practice in the darkroom was to continue development until plates looked correct to the eye (rather than placing a lid over the tray and developing for a fixed time). The "H. and D." numbers to which she referred were a relatively new measure of plate speed, worked out by Ferdinand Hurter (1844–1898) and Vero Charles Driffield (1848–1915).¹²⁴

120. "At Last! The Cadett Orthochromatic Light-Filter for the Spectrum Plates" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2030 (31 Mar 1899), supplement p. 8

121. Although Spectrum plates had a gap in the red, the broad output of normal safelights was enough to fog them; a bespoke light was therefore required, accurately matched to the gap.

122. "Cadett / Safe Lights / Spectrum Plate", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2018 (6 Jan 1899), *Lantern Record* p. 9

123. "Second April Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Oct 1900), p. 38a; Miss Acland, "The Spectrum Plate", p. 559

124. On Hurter and Driffield see W. B. Fergusson (ed.), *The Photographic Researches of Hurter and Driffield* (London, 1920) and Ron Callender, "Hurter, Ferdinand (1844–1898) and Driffield, Vero Charles (1848–1915)", in Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, vol. 1, pp. 732–734. The "commotion" caused by Cadett & Neall's early use of the system is noted in

Pioneered by Marion & Co. and adopted early on by Cadett & Neall, they were still far from accepted as a universal standard by the photographic community, not least because they were felt by some to be tainted by the commercial interests of the few companies granted authority to use them.¹²⁵ In November 1892, for example, the Imperial Dry Plate Company sought to take on Cadett over speed, quoting higher H. & D. numbers for their products (fig. 5.46).¹²⁶ Unfortunately, they had not actually carried out Hurter and Driffield's tests, but had derived H. & D. values by equivalence from the rival Watkins scale. Without Cadett saying a word, Hurter and Driffield wrote to the journals disassociating themselves from the Imperial Company's claims. "Whatever connection Mr. Watkins may have stated to exist between his speed and our own has never in any way been acknowledged by us", they pointed out.¹²⁷ Responding to the Imperial Company's protest that Cadett had quoted Watkins numbers derived from H. & D. values, Hurter and Driffield replied with a statement typical of the incommensurabilities existing in such controversies:

we gather that you have failed to understand the position we have taken up. We have no objection whatever to plate manufacturers who have adopted our system deducing the Watkins' speed from ours, but we do object to our speed being inferred from Mr. Watkins'.¹²⁸

Cadett & Neall were therefore given carte-blanche to advertise as "the only Manufacturers who mark the Speed Numbers on our Boxes, as ascertained in accordance with the conditions imposed by Messrs. Hurter and Driffield."¹²⁹ Cadett revelled in the privilege, deploying it as part of his arsenal of scientific marketing:

Why won't Plate Makers commonly adopt a test, AS WE DO, in support of their many statements that their Plates are the quickest? Why do they hesitate to use Hurter & Driffield's System of speed determination through a succession of densities, and mark their boxes with Speed Numbers, AS WE DO? Buy only the makes that are so marked, and test ours against any other. OUR PLATES ON COMPARISON WILL BE FOUND TO EXCEL IN SPEED AND PERFECTION OF QUALITY AND DENSITY ALL OTHERS.¹³⁰

Cadett's polemic stressed the absolute certainty offered by these "scientific speed tests".¹³¹ "Our Speed Numbers are accordingly GENUINE and RELIABLE!"; "Can any one else say this?"¹³² The Imperial Company could not, and was left to challenge the fundamental basis of Hurter and Driffield's right to be the arbiters of

Henry Sturme (ed.), *Photography Annual*, 1893, p. 419 and "The 'Cadett' Lightning Plate", *Dry Plates*, no. 11 (Jul 1893), Supplement p. [7].

125. See Ron Callender, "Driffield's Predicament: The Year of 1896", *History of Photography*, vol. 36, no. 2 (May 2012), pp. 199–210.

126. "Imperial Plates / The Imperial Dry Plate Company Ltd." [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1697 (11 Nov 1892), supplement p. C

127. F. Hurter and V. C. Driffield / T. E. H. Bullen, "Correspondence / The Sensitiveness of Plates", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1700 (2 Dec 1892), p. 782

128. *Ibid.*

129. "Standard Speed Numbers / Important", *Dry Plates*, n.s. vol. 3, no. 10 (Jan 1898), p. 79

130. "The Cadett Lightning Plate" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 39, no. 1699 (25 Nov 1892), supplement p. C

131. "Scientific Speed Tests" [Advertisement], *Dry Plates*, no. 24 (Spring 1896), p. 218

132. "The 'Cadett' Lightning Plate" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 43, no. 1909 (4 Dec 1896), *Lantern Record*, p. H

NOVEMBER 11, 1892. THE AMATEUR PHOTOGRAPHER. v

IMPERIAL PLATES

"EXTREME RAPIDITY"
ARE THE
QUICKEST PLATES MADE,
SHOWING

150

WATKINS' SCALE.

100

HURTER & DRIFFIELD'S.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT.
"Hereford, Sep. 26th, 1892.
"They are **Certainly** the **Quickest** I have tried,
the speed on the scale of my Instrument (or rather
above the scale yet provided) being **150**.
"Signed, ALFRED WATKINS."
Of all Dealers. 1/plate, 1s. 6d. per doz.

THE IMPERIAL DRY PLATE COMPANY, LTD.,
CRICKLEWOOD, LONDON, N.W.

November 25, 1892] THE BRITISH JOURNAL OF PHOTOGRAPHY. [Supplement

FOR WINTER WORK.

(STUDIO AND LANDSCAPE).

"PHOTOGRAPHY," Nov. 17, says:—"It is very evident that
THE

CADETT

LIGHTNING PLATE

has come to stay."

Why won't Plate Makers commonly adopt a test, AS WE DO, in support of their many statements that their Plates are the quickest?
Why do they hesitate to use Hurter & Driffield's System of speed determination through a succession of densities, and mark their boxes with Speed Numbers, AS WE DO?
Buy only the makes that are so marked, and test ours against any other.

OUR PLATES ON COMPARISON WILL BE FOUND TO

EXCEL

IN SPEED AND PERFECTION OF QUALITY AND DENSITY

ALL OTHERS.

CADETT & NEALL, ASHTEAD, SURREY.

CHIEF DEPOTS: London.—W. WATSON & SONS, 315 High Holborn, W.C.
ABERDEEN.—G. W. WILSON & CO., 25 Crown Street. JERSEY.—J. HENOUF Junr., 45 Don Street.
BRADFORD.—PERCY LUND & CO., St. John Street. LEEDS.—REYNOLDS & BRANSON, 14 Commercial Street.
BRIGHTON.—HARDCASTLE & CO., 71 East Street. LIVERPOOL.—J. J. ATKINSON, 37 Manchester Street.
BURTON-ON-TRENT.—R. KEENE, 52 High Street. MANCHESTER.—J. T. CHAPMAN, 7 Albert Square.
DUNDEE.—G. LOWDEN, 65 Reform Street. NEWCASTLE.—F. K. HURMAN & CO., 2 St. Nicholas Buildings.
EDINBURGH.—J. M. TURNBULL, 6 Rose Street. NORWICH.—A. E. COE, 22 London Street.
GLASGOW.—G. MASON & CO., 180 Sauchiehall Street. SHEFFIELD.—J. PRESTON, 4 High Street.

OTHER TOWNS IN FUTURE ADVERTISEMENTS.

Figs. 5.46 & 5.47 Imperial Dry Plate Company, Ltd., Advertisement for Imperial Plates, 1892; Cadett & Neall, Ltd., Advertisement for the Cadett Lightning Plate, 1892 (*Amateur Photographer*, 11 Nov 1892, p. v; *British Journal of Photography*, 25 Nov 1892, supplement p. C)

the standard.¹³³ Other workers were prepared to go further and to challenge Cadett's faith in the value of scientific measurements in the first place, holding that they were un-artistic and diminished the essential creative input of the photographer. "There are many who pretend to dislike working by measure, and their dislike is as real to them as the abhorrence of an unpleasant medicine, or a dental operation, is to a child", Henry Chapman Jones (1854–1932), who sided with Cadett, pointed out in a paper on "Photography by Measure" in 1902.¹³⁴ "Do Photographers Want 'Science?'" he asked in an article for *Amateur Photographer* in 1905, criticizing the tendency of some "not only to be empirical, but to prefer to remain so".¹³⁵ "The idea that working by measure makes the artist into a mere artisan seems to me absurd", he concluded, although "to develop in a dark box for a fixed time" was a step too far even for him.¹³⁶

Miss Acland's willingness to promote the Spectrum plate so heavily is surprising. In aligning herself with Cadett — who was in business to make money and was not afraid of engaging in rampant publicity to do so — she was adopting an

133. "Correspondence / The Speed of Plates", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 29, no. 1701 (9 Dec 1892), p. 798

134. Chapman Jones, "Photography by Measure", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 36, no. 912 (27 Mar 1902), pp. 251–253, p. 251

135. Chapman Jones, "Do Photographers Want Science?", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 42, no. 1095 (26 Sep 1905), pp. 248–249, p. 248

136. Chapman Jones, "Photography by Measure", p. 251; "Do Photographers Want Science?", p. 248

unusually partisan commercial position, which placed her in danger of breaching the genteel mores of her class. To protect herself from this risk she portrayed the Spectrum plate as synonymous with the ideal orthochromatic medium. Her paper was couched not as a set of trials of a particular brand of plate, but as an objective assessment of orthochromatic photography as a whole, which offered benefits that could be scientifically validated. This abstract approach was made possible by Cadett's success in elevating the Spectrum plate to the de facto universal standard of orthochromatic photography, a cause which she herself was furthering by the way in which she presented her results. Miss Acland and Cadett both promoted the Spectrum plate not primarily as a commercial venture, but as a scientific advance and contribution to photographic progress. It was not simply better at reproducing colours in monochrome, it produced "absolutely correct representation of colour luminosities".¹³⁷ "No words are needed from us to point a moral or adorn a tale; it is obvious to all", Cadett stated matter-of-factly in an advertisement in the *British Journal of Photography* in 1899.¹³⁸

Truth of Nature

Despite (and perhaps because of) the debate it precipitated, Miss Acland's Spectrum Plate lecture received good reviews, the *Oxford Times* judging it "of the greatest importance in itself".¹³⁹ The editor of *Photography*, after deciding to publish the paper in extended form, took the unusual step of prefacing it with his personal stamp of approval:

We would take this opportunity of commending it to the careful attention of those of our readers who are interested in the truthful rendering of colour values by photographic means. As a summary of the qualities of the spectrum plate and an account of the power which its intelligent use places in the hands of photographers, it should be read by every member of that class of careful workers to whom it is our aim to make *Photography* appeal.¹⁴⁰

In the *Photo Miniature*, meanwhile, the paper was described as giving "as complete a demonstration of the *Spectrum* plate and its uses as could be desired", while *American Amateur Photographer* recommended it to readers in the following terms:

We have done all that we can to induce photographers to take to plates that are sensitive to colors, so far as they are yet obtainable, and if we could only put this paper, accompanied by the illustrations, into the hands of everyone in the land, it would do much to forward the good work. We have often said before, and we say again, that it is beyond our comprehension to understand why photographers persist in using plates sensitive only to one end of the spectrum when they can get,

137. "Now Ready / The New Orthochromatic Plate / The Slow Series of the 'Cadett' Spectrum Plate", *British Journal of Photography* (27 Dec 1895), p. x

138. "Cadett Plates / Spectrum Plates" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2045 (14 Jul 1899), supplement p. 3, quoting the editor of the *Photographic News*, 30 Jun 1899.

139. 'Half-tone', "Camera Notes", *Oxford Times*, no. 2051 (28 Apr 1900), p. 12c-d

140. Editorial introduction to Miss Acland, "The Spectrum Plate", p. 553

and at the same price too, those that will give an account of right up to near the other end.¹⁴¹

Awakened in part by the publicity Miss Acland's paper generated and by the success of Cadett's *Orthochromatic Photography Simplified*, during the 1900s other manufacturers also commissioned pamphlets to promote their orthochromatic plates.¹⁴² Mawson & Swan aped Cadett with *Orthochromatic Photography for Amateurs* in 1902, for example, and Wratten & Wainwright with *Real Orthochromatism* in 1907.¹⁴³ The photographic periodicals also got in on the act, *Practical Photographer* promoting a 1905 issue with the question "Orthochromatic Photography?" and the answer "You will find the whole subject dealt with in a simple and strictly practical manner in the June number".¹⁴⁴

In spite of these moves, sales of orthochromatic plates remained low. In 1902 their take-up was only 1% or less of ordinary plates, one writer regarding the period as merely an "Orthochromatic Prolegomena".¹⁴⁵ Suspicions continued to linger that plate-makers had "conspired to force orthochromatic plates and spectrum filters upon an apparently unwilling photographic public".¹⁴⁶ In May 1909, thirty-six years after Vogel's discovery of colour sensitizers, and despite the advent of 'fully panchromatic plates', doubts were still sufficiently widespread to warrant a column on "Orthochromatic and Ordinary Plates" in *The Times*.¹⁴⁷ Photographers "seemed to hang back" from using orthochromatic plates, the newspaper reported: "there is a large and increasing sale for them, no doubt; but they are still very far from taking the place of plates that are not orthochromatic."¹⁴⁸

*

In her Home Portraiture lecture it was primarily Miss Acland's artistic skills that were on display; in her Spectrum Plates lecture she demonstrated her scientific knowledge and understanding. Part of her motivation for doing so was to prove to her father that she, as well as her brothers, was capable of continuing his legacy. By

141. "Notes", *Photo Miniature*, vol. 2, no. 18 (Sep 1900), pp. 269–272, p. 271; "Our Table / The Spectrum Plate", *American Amateur Photographer*, vol. 12, no. 11 (Nov 1900), pp. 524–527, p. 526–527

142. Sanger Shepherd made his own lecture on "Orthochromatic Photography", with lantern slides, available for circulation among the Royal Photographic Society Affiliation Societies (*Photographic Journal*, vol. 25, no. 3 (30 Nov 1900), p. 121). Another colour worker to-be, Thomas Thorne Baker, contributed a series on "Orthochromatic Photography" to *Amateur Photographer* in 1905 ("Orthochromatic Photography / Its Theory and Practice Simply Discussed", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 42, no. 1091 (29 Aug 1905), pp. 167–169; continued in no. 1092 (5 Sep 1905), pp. 187–188; and no. 1093 (12 Sep 1905), pp. 207–208).

143. Mawson & Swan's pamphlet was authored by Arthur Payne, who in 1903 published *Practical Orthochromatic Photography* (London, 1903), under his own name.

144. "Do you really understand the all-important subject of orthochromatic photography? / Practical Photographer" [Advertisement], *Practical Photographer* in *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 41, no. 1081 (20 June 1905), p. xxxvii

145. G. T. Harris, "Orthochromatic Prolegomena", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 51, no. 2301 (Jubilee Number, 10 Jun 1904), pp. 482–485

146. G. T. Harris, "Orthochromatic Prolegomena", *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1905, pp. 841–848, p. 843

147. "Photography / Orthochromatic and Ordinary Plates", *The Times*, no. 38950 (4 May 1909), p. 19e

148. *Ibid.*



Fig. 5.48 Sarah Angelina Acland, *The Old Panelled Room*, gelatine negative (reversed), Sep or Oct 1900 ? (cat. no. 682). Acland's bedroom shortly before his death on 16 October 1900 or as he left it. Miss Acland had been born in the room 51 years earlier. The 23 August 1900 issue of *Photography* in which her Spectrum Plate paper was published lies on the Davenport on the desk on the left.

1900 Theodore had published several works in medical science, Willie could boast contributions to anthropology, and Harry had papers on geology to his name.¹⁴⁹ Acland set great store by the scientific achievements of his sons, heaping praise on them in letters to his daughter. In October 1892, for example, he wrote of their "industry & sagacity in this scientific work"; in April 1894 that Harry was "quietly strengthened from his practice of a modest earnest Christian life, and the constant acquisition of knowledge, and useful active occupation."¹⁵⁰ The shoe would be on the other foot after Miss Acland's lecture, Acland praising Angie to her brothers in similar terms. "Angie's power, energy and usefulness all round, for Africa, for Oxford, for scientific photography is something absolutely amazing", he wrote to Willie.¹⁵¹ The pride and pleasure he took in the publication of her Spectrum Plates

149. See T. D. Acland and C. A. Ballance, *Cerebellar Abscess Secondary to Ear Disease* (London, 1896); Theodore Dyke Acland, *Actinomycosis and Madura Foot* (London, 1897); Theodore Dyke Acland, *Vaccinia in Man* (London, 1897); H. D. Acland, "Volcanic Series in the Malvern Hills", *Geological Magazine*, n.s. vol. 1, no. 1 (Jan 1894), p. 48; H. D. Acland, "On a Volcanic Series in the Malvern Hills, near the Herefordshire Beacon", *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. 54, no. 3 (Aug 1898), pp. 556–563.

150. Ms. Acland d. 129, fols. 323–326 (HWA to SAA, 10 Oct 1892); Ms. Acland d. 132, fols. 87–88 (HWA to SAA, 29 Apr 1894)

151. Ms. Acland d. 27, fols. 171–172 (HWA to WADA, 17 Sep 1900). Africa is a reference to her charitable work in support of soldiers in the Boer War.



Fig. 5.49 Sarah Angelina Acland, "John Ruskin by Millais", lantern slide, 1899 (cat. no. 643)

paper is shown by the prominent position the August number of *Photography* occupies on the Davenport in his bedroom in a photograph taken shortly before he passed away (or perhaps as he left the room) (cat. nos. 681–2) (fig. 5.48).

Although artistic and scientific photography are conventionally portrayed as adversaries during the 1890s, no conflict existed between the two in Miss Acland's mind. Scientific photography was not to be depreciated, nor did it undermine the pursuit of pictorial ideals. Art and science enjoyed a privileged status in her home as complementary parts of the study of nature, her father championing the two in tandem, convinced of their mutual benefit. Miss Acland, in common with the majority of photographers (in contrast to the minority of secessionists), believed that progress in scientific photography could only serve to advance pictorial ends. Photography's inability to translate colour correctly, and therefore to produce anything more than nature "more accurately falsified" (as Lady Eastlake put it) was a reason cited by its detractors why it could never rank as fine art.¹⁵² In promoting the Spectrum plate as a more accurate form of pictorial representation than anything that had gone before, Miss Acland was therefore contributing to its artistic as well as its scientific advance.

Miss Acland's decision to include Millais's Glenfinlas portrait (that most photographic of paintings) as the last slide in her lecture (fig. 5.49) and at the top of her published paper was no doubt partly sentimental, coming soon after Ruskin's death on 20 January 1900. However, it also served to cast orthochromatic photography as a Pre-Raphaelite undertaking: a search for greater truthfulness of representation of colour in monochrome. Miss Acland's experiments in orthochromatic photography were carried out in the Ruskinian and Aclandian paradigm, in which "truth of nature" was a general principle and fundamental aim of art and science. Nevertheless, with the Spectrum plate she was prepared to go

¹⁵². [Eastlake], "Photography", p. 251

further than Ruskin had allowed, and further than she had gone in her portraiture lecture. Truths of nature were not to be discerned by the uneducated senses, nor, for Ruskin, by the ordinary photographic plate. For Miss Acland, in contrast, the Spectrum plate was capable of educating the camera's eye and therefore of lending photography a degree of validity denied by her teacher: it helped photography to strive for truth, even if it could never reach it. The use of orthochromatic plates united the artistic and scientific sides of photography because the quest for truth and objectivity in both disciplines was guided by their ultimate, higher purpose. As Ruskin set down in *Modern Painters*, the highest results in art could only be achieved by the search for "moral as well as material truth".¹⁵³ As her father wrote in the preface to the *Oxford Museum*, quoting Pusey, "The desire to acquire scientific knowledge and the power to attain it are alike the gift of God, and are to be used as such."¹⁵⁴ Both sides of the argument were encapsulated in the motto Miss Acland chose to close her lecture with and to quote at the top of her published paper. To strive for greater accuracy of photographic representation through the use of orthochromatic plates was a moral imperative that followed from the incontrovertible certainty underlying all right-minded scientific and artistic endeavour: "The Truth of Nature is a part of the Truth of God".¹⁵⁵

153. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 1, pt. 1 ("Of General Principles"), sect. 1 ("Of the Nature of the Ideas Conveyable by Art"), ch. 5 ("Of Ideas of Truth") §2, p. 25

154. Henry W. Acland and John Ruskin, *The Oxford Museum* (Original edition with additions, London and Orpington, 1893), p. ix

155. Miss Acland, "The Spectrum Plate", p. 553, quoting Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 1, pt. 2, ch. 2, §1, p. 60

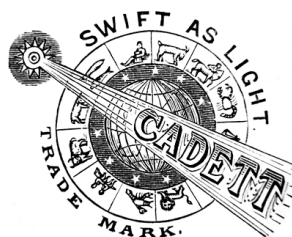


Fig. 5.50 Cadett's Trade Mark



Fig. 6.1 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Virgin and Child*, after Luca Della Robbia, Sanger Shepherd process 3-colour negative (digitally recomposed), before 23 May 1901 (cat. no. 769)

For one of her earliest colour photographs Miss Acland chose the Della Robbia given to her in 1877 by Ruskin, mounted on the polychrome brickwork of the Maalstofa, an extension to the North Library, Benjamin Woodward's Pre-Raphaelite experiment in architecture. The photograph survives only as a separation negative, from which the illustration here has been digital recomposed.

CHAPTER 6

Conquering Colour, circa 1900–1907

The Sanger Shepherd process of natural colour photography

“Some colour workers favour a method of making three film slides in colour, and then cementing them together to form a single slide, which may be shown in the ordinary lantern. This is the method adopted by Miss Acland, a lady amateur who has devoted some years to this process, and is *facile princeps* amongst three-colour workers. Many of her slides, made by the Sanger Shepherd process, leave nothing to be desired in the direction of perfect colour rendering. A similar process to that just mentioned has been worked out by the distinguished French experimenters, the Brothers Lumiere.”

R. Child Bayley, *The Complete Photographer*, 1906¹

With the last ten lantern slides in her Spectrum Plates lecture Miss Acland departed from the subject of orthochromatic plates in order to introduce her audience to their most important application: colour photography proper. The slides included diagrams illustrating the theory of colour (figs. 6.2 & 6.3), which she discussed, and examples of the “Sanger Shepherd process of natural colour photography” lent to her by its inventor (figs. 6.4 & 6.5). The sight of colour slides caused considerable excitement, Sir William Herschel speaking of their “wonderful beauty” and enthusing that “they had had a pleasure that evening that they could hardly have expected in their lives.”² After the lecture the *Oxford Times* wrote that the slides were “decidedly the best of their kind and a great advance on any previous attempts”, noting that the process would soon be on the market “so that anyone who can afford the time and the money may do similar work.”³ Miss Acland was one such person. “I am very busy clearing off all my arrears so as to devote myself to 3 colour photography. I want to do it stereoscopically in time”, she wrote to Willie on

1. R. Child Bayley, *The Complete Photographer* (2nd edition, London, 1906), p. 290

2. “Second April Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 5 (Oct 1900), pp. 38–40, p. 39b

3. ‘Half-tone’, “Camera Notes”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2051 (28 Apr 1900), pp. 12c–d, p. 12c



Figs. 6.2 & 6.3 [Sanger Shepherd & Co.], "Clerk Maxwell's Colour Sensation Curves"; "The Superposition of Red, Green and Blue Lights", lantern slides with coloured plastic overlays (MHS Inventory nos. 27920 & 28198)

These slides were used by Miss Acland at the end of her Spectrum Plate lecture to explain the theory of colour photography.

8 July 1900.⁴ For the next seven years most of her photography would be dedicated to exploring the capabilities of the Sanger Shepherd process and developing variations on the technique. Her success in the field would culminate in the four lectures she gave at the Royal Photographic Society in 1905 and 1906, which were illustrated with lantern slides made from three-colour separation negatives she took in Gibraltar in 1903 and 1904. These were regarded by her contemporaries as the finest colour photographs that had ever been seen and as marking the commencement of amateur colour photography as viable undertaking.

The Sanger Shepherd process receives brief mention in technical surveys of the history of colour photography.⁵ However, as a distinct and important system in its own right, recognized as such during the period, its significance has escaped attention and the extensive work in the process before 1907 carried out by Miss Acland and other photographers passed over entirely unnoticed. This chapter will address this oversight by examining Miss Acland's work in the context of the history of the process and the contributions of other practitioners. Miss Acland's fascination with the Sanger Shepherd process, it will be shown, owed much to the enthusiasm for colour photography in the Oxford Camera Club, where she first met Sanger Shepherd. Although she devoted considerable time and effort to the technically demanding challenge of creating colour prints on paper, and was recognized for her contribution to progress in the field, it was her colour lantern slides of Gibraltar that had the greatest impact. This was due not only to the quality

4. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 45–46 (SAA to WADA, 8 Jul 1900)

5. Coe describes Sanger Shepherd's method as, misleadingly, a derivative of a Lumière patent of 1895 (*Colour Photography*, p. 100) and as a "colour print process" (p. 134). Coote refers to it as a "dyed gelatine relief process" (*The Illustrated History of Colour Photography*, p. 29) and places it chronologically after a 1903 patent of Jumeaux and Davidson (p. 71).



Figs. 6.4 & 6.5 William Saville-Kent or Robert Lincoln Cocks, “*Peacock’s Feather*”; “*Gloxinias and Morpho*”, Sanger Shepherd process colour lantern slides, 1900 (MHS 16335 & 20283). Slides exhibited by Miss Acland in her Spectrum Plate lecture. The orange cast is due to the yellow layer turning liquid over time (see also figs. 6.12–14). Saville-Kent showed the slides at the Croydon Microscopical and Natural History Club on 20 March 1900. A “*Peacock’s Feather*” from “negatives and prints by E. Sanger Shepherd and R. Lincoln Cocks” was also seen at the RPS in the same year.

of the slides, it will be argued, but also to her skill in situating her work within the linked discourses of colonialism and scientific exploration, to which her audiences could strongly relate. Miss Acland was by no means alone as a practitioner of the Sanger Shepherd process, as the large number of colour slides exhibited at the RPS by other workers before 1907 testifies. However, she was widely recognized as the leader in the field and was singled out for her contribution as a woman, betraying the extent to which the discourse of photography remained highly gendered in the period and the degree to which women were recognized as an important market in their own right by the manufacturers of photographic goods and materials.

Colour and the Camera Club

When Miss Acland acquired her first camera in 1891 colour photography was still an unrealized dream. A method of recording subjects in their “natural colours” had long been sought, but proved elusive, notwithstanding progress made along the way. In 1861 a significant step towards a solution was taken when James Clerk Maxwell, building on the theories of Hermann von Helmholtz and Thomas Young, demonstrated that a colour image could be created by combining photographs taken through red, green and blue filters. Before plates sensitive to the red end of the spectrum were available the applications of this discovery were limited. However, during the 1890s, as orthochromatic emulsions improved, excitement around colour photography increased. Three techniques in particular attracted attention: the “interference method” of Gabriel Lippmann (1845–1921), demonstrated at the Académie des sciences in February 1891; a ‘screen-plate’ process patented

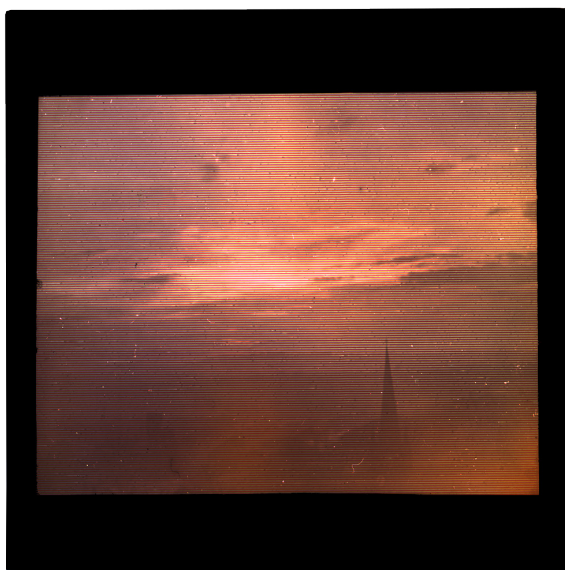


Fig. 6.6 Charles Barker Howdill, "Summer", Joly colour process, 1900 (Private Collection)



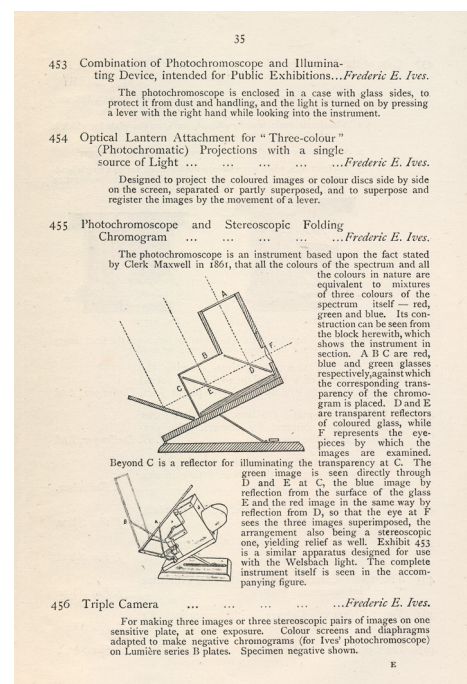
Fig. 6.7 [Natural Colour Photography Co., Ltd.], *Daffodils*, Joly colour process demonstration slide, c. 1899

independently by James William McDonough (1844/5–1897) in 1891 and John Joly (1857–1933) in 1894; and a system of diffraction colour photography communicated to the *Philosophical Magazine* by Robert Williams Wood (1868–1955) in 1899. In time, versions of the Lippmann and McDonough-Joly processes aimed at amateurs would all be released, but none was commercially viable. Lippmann's process, which required the use of a mercury-filled dark slide, was unworkable outside the laboratory. The McDonough-Joly system, in which photographs were taken and viewed through a series of parallel red, green and blue lines, was more widely attempted, but the results were considered poor (figs. 6.6 & 6.7) and the plates cost ten times more to manufacture than their selling price.⁶

In the terminology of the period, the Lippmann, McDonough-Joly and Wood processes were all 'direct' methods of colour photography, because they allowed a colour image to be created in a single exposure on a single plate. The 1890s also saw advances in the 'indirect' method, in which separate red, green and blue exposures were 'superimposed' after exposure and development. The most active promoter of the indirect method was the American inventor Frederic Eugene Ives (1856–1937). Ives travelled to England in 1892, bringing with him a camera for taking small circular separation negatives and a "photochromoscope" in which they could be

6. Apparatus for the Lippmann process was released through Penrose & Co. in 1900 ("Notes and News", *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 14, no. 170 (Jul 1900), p. 87). The International Color-Photo Company of Chicago was founded in 1898 to promote the McDonough process, with Dwight Kasson Tripp (1825–1911) as President ("Notes", *American Amateur Photographer*, vol. 10, no. 12 (Dec 1898), pp. 563–564). The Joly process was released by the Natural Colour Photography Co. Ltd., of 36 College Green, Dublin, in 1897, with Newman & Guardia as sole agents in England in 1899 ("Photographic Notes", *Pharmaceutical Journal*, 4th series, vol. 6 (27 Nov 1897), p. 477; "Colour Photography / 'Joly Screen' / The Natural Colour Photography Co., Ltd.", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 59 (5 May 1899), p. 6). The company was wound up in Aug 1901 ("Administration Order", *Photographic Dealer*, vol. 11, no. 63 (Aug 1901), p. 45).

Fig. 6.8 Ives's Photochromoscope and "Folding Chromogram" as illustrated in the 1897 RPS exhibition catalogue (*Photographic Journal*, 25 Sep 1897, p. 35).



viewed.⁷ In 1894 he patented the "Krömsköp" (fig. 6.8), an improved form of viewer designed for viewing "kromograms" printed from stereo separation negatives. The "Photochromoscope Syndicate" was established in June 1897 to manufacture and market this device and a booklet on *Krömsköp Color Photography* (London, 1898) was published the following spring. However, the Ives process soon went the way of all before, the Photochromoscope Syndicate ceasing to trade as early as July 1899.⁸

Despite their limited commercial success, in Oxford these innovations in colour photography attracted significant attention. Oxford photographers were able to keep abreast of developments from as early as 1886, when Abney lectured on "Colour in Relation to Photography" at the University Photographic Club.⁹ Returning in June 1897 to deliver the Junior Scientific Club's sixth annual "Robert Boyle Lecture", Abney chose "The Scientific Requirements of Colour Photography" as his title and the Krömsköp as the basis of the discussion.¹⁰ Colour photography made its debut at the Oxford Camera Club on 22 November 1897, when Sir William Herschel lectured on the subject.¹¹ During the lecture Herschel exhibited specimens of the Joly and Lippmann processes, as well as a colour photograph of the spectrum given to his father in 1845 by Edmond Becquerel (1820–1891).¹² A

7. See Frederic E. Ives, *Hand-book to the Photochromoscope* (London, 1894) and Frederic E. Ives, "Camera", United States Patent no. 475,084 (17 May 1892).

8. See National Archives, BT31/6881/48396 (Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Photochromoscope Syndicate Ltd). The company was finally liquidated on 13 Nov 1903.

9. See "Oxford University Photographic Club" [Notice, 1886], [G. A. Oxon. b. 147, fol. 45r].

10. Captain Abney [William de Wiveleslie Abney], *The Scientific Requirements of Colour Photography, being the Sixth Robert Boyle Lecture Delivered before the Oxford University Junior Scientific Club on June 1, 1897* (London, 1897).

11. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 624, fol. 94r (22 Nov 1897); "Passing Notes / Colour Photography", *Oxford Times*, no. 1919 (27 Nov 1897), p. 5e

12. The plate is preserved at the National Media Museum, accession no. 1943–48.

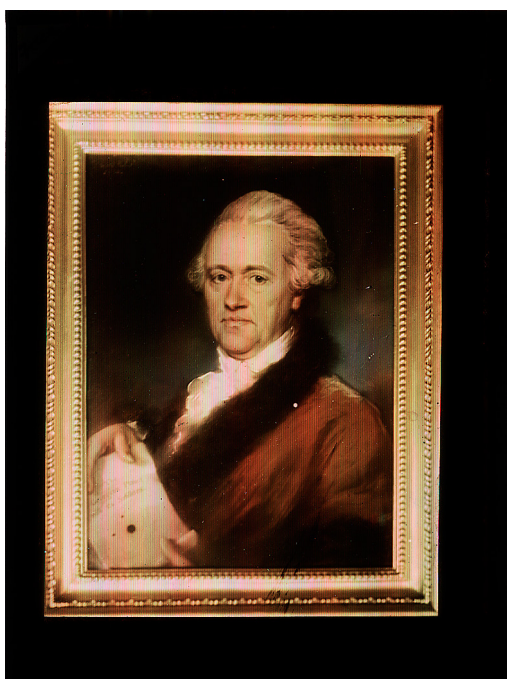


Fig. 6.9 W. J. Herschel and A. V. Kenah, *Portrait of William Herschel, after John Russell, McDonough process colour transparency, 1901* (Private Collection)

Krömsköp was also on display and “an assistant to Mr. Ives” used a three-colour lantern attachment to project a series of “magnificent coloured photographs” on the screen.¹³ On 13 December 1897 the Krömsköp was seen at the Club again, when Cadett talked about colour photography at the end of his lecture on the photographic plate.¹⁴ At the Club’s annual exhibition a week later, specimens of “Dr. Joly’s curious coloured slides” were passed through the lantern and members could inspect their own Krömsköp, Herschel having raised a subscription to purchase one.¹⁵ The following February, at a meeting at which Ives was present, rules were passed for the Krömsköp’s hire by members, at 5 shillings a time.¹⁶

Further examples of colour photography were seen at the Camera Club in December 1899, when Alfred Robinson exhibited poppies taken by the Joly process. Robinson was unimpressed by his results, commenting that “the execution of that kind of three-colour work was not so easy as some made it out to be, for very small differences in working caused the resulting colours to vary greatly from those of nature.”¹⁷ In September 1900 Herschel lectured on Wood’s interference method, exhibiting a photograph of a rose in which the colours stood out with “astonishing intensity”, but only when viewed from exactly the right angle.¹⁸ With colour very much in vogue at the Club, at the beginning of October the novelist and amateur photographer Edward Douglas Fawcett (1866–1960) visited to demonstrate the

13. “Passing Notes / Colour Photography”, *Oxford Times* (27 Nov 1897), p. 5e

14. Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 624, fol. 100r (3 Dec 1897)

15. “Oxford Camera Club Exhibition”, *Oxford Times* (18 Dec 1897), p. 3h. On the acquisition of the Krömsköp see Ms. Top. Oxon. e. 625, fol. 33r (24 Nov 1897) and Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 764, fol. 1v (Annual Report, 7 Feb 1898). The instrument survives as MHS Inventory no. 16735.

16. Ms. Top. Oxon. c. 764, fol. 7v (28 Feb 1898)

17. “First December Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 3 (Jan 1900), pp. 21–22, p. 22

18. “September Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 5 (Oct 1900), pp. 40–41, p. 41

Lippmann process, but was unable to show any specimens, as his entire œuvre of six photographs was on display at the Royal Photographic Society.¹⁹ In June 1901 the McDonough process became the focus of attention when Herschel received a visit from one of its promoters, Arthur Vivian Kenah (1880–1935), an employee of the “International Color-Photo Company”. Aware of Miss Acland’s interest in colour photography, Herschel wrote to her with the news:

I have just secured the opportunity of thoroughly examining the new Macdonough color process — their assistant Mr Kennah, who quite understands all the rationale & the practice of it is coming here (to Littlemore) for Saturday next 15th to work it out before me — He will indeed come on Friday night, and if you would like to come and dine that evening we could (I only expect one Research Student, Physics, from Cambridge on the same mission intent) only three or four of us, get a quiet introduction to the method that evening, and then next day, if you come over at the hour then arranged we should practise it, in company indeed of some three or four more “intelligent beings” ...²⁰

Whether Miss Acland accepted this invitation is unknown, but on the Friday in question Herschel used the McDonough process to photograph the veranda of his house at Lawn Upton in Littlemore and to copy John Russell’s 1794 portrait of his grandfather (fig. 6.9).

The volume of interest in colour photography among members of the Oxford Camera Club was unusual for a provincial society and would only increase when Miss Acland turned her attention to the issue. Oxford’s expertise in the subject became well known. In November 1903, for example, when the Lumière representative in England, Thomas Knight Grant (1870–1940), visited to give a demonstration of one of the company’s early three-colour systems, he would remark that “his predicament in coming to Oxford to lecture on colour photography could be compared with that of a man who attempted to take coals to Newcastle.”²¹

Sanger Shepherd and his Process

The assistant to Ives who attended the Oxford Camera Club in November 1897 was Edward Sanger Shepherd (1868–1927). Sanger Shepherd was born in Kensington, the son of Edward Shepherd (b. 1836/7), an accountant turned “dealer in decorative materials” or “paper stainer”, and Maria, née Collins (1832/3), daughter of a Bristol maltster.²² In 1887 he witnessed the “great thunderstorm” of 17 August,

19. “First October Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 5 (Oct 1900), pp. 41–43; “Editorial”, *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38, p. 37. Fawcett was the brother of archaeologist Percival Harrison Fawcett (1867–1925).

20. Ms. Acland d. 172, fols. 197–198 (Herschel to SAA, 9 Jun 1901)

21. “First November Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 10 (Jan 1904), pp. 87–88, p. 87b

22. London Metropolitan Archives, St. Giles, Camberwell, Register of marriages, P73/GIS, item 30, p. 208; Census Returns of England and Wales, 1871, RG10/44, fol. 74, p. 53; 1881, RG11/36, fol. 39, p. 7). On his baptism on 11 Nov 1868, when his father was listed as a “Traveller”, Sanger Shepherd’s name was recorded as Edward Sanger Shepherd (St. Stephen, Shepherds Bush, Register of Baptisms, P80/STE, item 4, p. 72). In the 1881 census he is listed as Edward Seagar Shephard. The only study of him to date is a short article, Everett Roseborough, “Story of a

photographs of which marked his debut at the Photographic Society exhibition in the autumn and saw him elected a member while still in his teens.²³ In the early 1890s he established himself an authority on photogravure, before joining Ives in May 1896 “as a color expert and experimental chemist in connection with the Chromoscope”.²⁴ He remained until Ives left for America in late 1898. According to Ives it was while “employed as my assistant in London” that Sanger Shepherd developed the system afterwards known as the “Sanger Shepherd process of natural colour photography”.²⁵

The Sanger Shepherd process was a method of colour photography in which stained carbon prints were used to produce a colour image on paper or glass. The idea of using carbon printing (in which the image is formed in a thin relief of bichromated gelatine hardened by the action of light) for making colour photographs was nothing new: Louis Ducos Du Hauron (1837–1920) and Charles Emile Hortensius Cros (1842–1888) both independently proposed the method in 1869 and produced small numbers of specimens.²⁶ During the 1890s several attempts were made to adapt the idea to a workable process, Gustav Adolph Selle (1854–1902) and the Lumière brothers both patenting such systems.²⁷ In February 1897 an important contribution to the dissemination of practical information about the technique appeared in the *British Journal of Photography*, in the form of an extract on “Transparencies in Colours” translated from *Die Dreifarbenphotographie* (Hale, 1897) by Arthur, Freiherr von Hübl (1853–1932).²⁸

Simple in principle, in practice three-colour carbon printing was fraught with difficulties. Ives spoke of the process as capable of producing exquisite results, but requiring “a master of the science to recognise and keep the conditions which guarantee a high degree of accuracy in the results.”²⁹ What Sanger Shepherd set out to do was simplify and improve the reliability of the method in order to make it commercial and workable by amateurs. Like Cadett, with whom he collaborated

Forgotten Pioneer: E. Sanger-Shepherd”, *Photographic Canadiana*, vol. 19, no. 5 (Mar/Apr 1994), pp. 10–11.

23. In 1888 Sanger Shepherd accompanied Anthony Taffee’s expedition to Brazil as a chemist and assayer: see “Candidates for the ‘Royal’ Council”, *Photography*, vol. 11, no. 534 (2 Feb 1899), p. 76

24. “Shop / The Sanger Shepherd Measured Colour Filters”, *Process Photogram*, vol. 6, no. 66 (Jun 1899), pp. 94–96, p. 95.

25. Frederic E. Ives, *The Autobiography of an Amateur Inventor* (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 61. In November 1899 the *British Journal of Photography* wrote that Sanger Shepherd had “for many years has been associated with Mr. F. E. Ives” (“Colour Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 46, no. 2061 (3 Nov 1899), *Lantern Record*, pp. 85–86). In December 1902 Sanger Shepherd described Ives as “his old and trusted friend” (E. Sanger Shepherd, “Colour Photography on Paper”, *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 17, no. 201 (Feb 1903), pp. 19–22, p. 19).

26. Louis Ducos du Hauron, *Les couleurs en photographie: solution du problème* (Paris, 1869); Charles Cros, *Solution générale du problème de la photographie des couleurs* (Paris, 1869)

27. See “Photographs in ‘Natural Colours’: Selle’s Process”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 32, no. 1872 (20 Mar 1896), pp. 182–183; and Auguste and Louis Lumière, “Photographie / Sur la photographie en couleurs naturelles, par la méthode indirecte”, *Comptes rendus*, vol. 120 (Jan–Jun 1895), pp. 875–876.

28. A. Freiherr von Hübl, trans. H. Dietrich, “Transparencies in Colours”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 44, no. 1918 (5 Feb 1897), *Lantern Record*, pp. 12–13

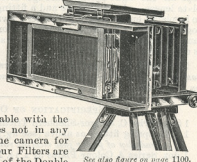
29. F. E. Ives, “Colour Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 42, no. 1815 (15 Feb 1895), pp. 103–105, p. 105

SANGER-SHEPHERD COLOUR KIT No. 2.**The Standard Lantern Slide Attachment and Set £10**

With this outfit even the beginner, who is presumed to already have a glass plate focussing camera, will secure three-colour negatives with the ease and certainty of an ordinary photograph.

For general work, Landscapes in changing light, Portraiture or Photomicrography, where rapid exposures in succession are necessary, the Repeating Back with Colour Filters is recommended as the best all-round appliance.

It may be attached to any $\frac{1}{4}$ or whole plate camera or plate Kodak by means of a panel cut to correspond and interchangeable with the ordinary dark slide. This does not in any way interfere with the use of the camera for ordinary work. The three Colour Filters are held in a frame, clipped in front of the Double Dark-Slide which carries the two plates, each large enough to record the three negatives side by side, when the slide is pushed past the opening in the outer case.



See also figure on page 1100.

SPECIFICATION OF OUTFIT, No. 2.

Lantern Slide Repeating back for attachment to any focussing camera, fitted with a set of Sanger-Shepherd New Rapid Series measured Colour Filters for use with the Sanger-Shepherd Colour Plates, focussing glass, and one double dark-slide, with best ebonite draw-out shutters, taking plates 8 by 3½ inches, large enough for full-size lantern slides, allowing for the space taken out of 3½ inches square by the binding strips (extra slides 10/6 extra)	4 10 0
Milled Knob and quick-change rack fitted to Repeating-Back (see illustration in Outfit 3)	15 0
Safelight Lantern fitted with Ruby, also safelight glass for the Sanger-Shepherd Colour Plates (state whether for Gas, Oil or Electric Light)	17 6
Complete Lantern-slide Developing and Printing Outfit, containing all necessary plates, developer, special printing frame, clips, films, solutions and materials for developing the negatives, printing the separate sensation transparencies and mounting (see list on opposite page)	4 4 0
Or if all the above ordered together	10 6 6
	£10 0 0

SANGER-SHEPHERD & Co.

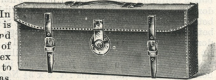
SANGER-SHEPHERD COLOUR KIT No. 3.**Latest Model, Quick-Change Triple Quarter Set £15**

Highest Efficiency and very best quality throughout. For Landscape, Portraiture, Lantern Slide and general purposes where portability is essential. Takes three Quarter-Plate images on one Plate, 9½ x 4½.

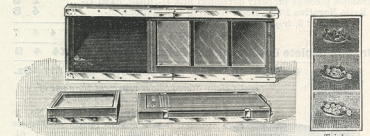
We confidently recommend this as the best all-round attachment manufactured.

Size and Portability.—In best leather carrying case it is neither bulky nor heavy and whilst very suitable for most of the modern $\frac{1}{4}$ -Plate Reflex Cameras, it also attaches well to $\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$ or Studio Cameras.

For lantern slides it is not necessary to work up to the extreme edge of the Negative, as in the 8 x 3½ size, and the best part of the picture may be selected. Whilst small for a contact print on paper, it is possible with care to make daylight enlarged sets of negatives up to 12 x 10.



Solid Leather Carrying Case.



Details of Triple Quarter Repeating Back.

Triple Negatives.

Details of Manufacture.—The Double Dark Slide in this model is of the book-form preferred by many of our clients. This, and the outer case are of polished mahogany specially selected and seasoned. Springs and catches of polished German silver. To order we can cover the outer case in black leather, and finish the Dark Slide, Focussing Glass and Panel in dead black at an additional cost of 10/-. By a special device it is impossible to expose through the Filters except in the correct order, viz.—Red, Green, Blue.

SANGER-SHEPHERD & Co.

Figs. 6.10 & 6.11 Sanger Shepherd & Co., Advertisements for the "Sanger-Shepherd Colour Kit", Nos. 2 and 3, (*British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1908, pp. 1102 & 1104).

The kits include a repeating back of the type Miss Acland used.

closely, this, he believed, would be achieved by the application of scientific principles to the design and manufacture of apparatus and materials for the process. As Cadett himself explained in 1899:

Three-colour photography had hitherto depended too much upon trial and error, but it was clear that some elements of certainty must be introduced if the method was to become popular; Mr. Shepherd had brought his work to a very great degree of certainty, and he (the speaker) was much pleased to hear that it was to be commercially developed.³⁰

Sanger Shepherd concentrated his efforts in three main areas: the manufacture of scientifically-correct filters for obtaining accurate three-colour separation negatives; the production of reliable materials for three-colour carbon printing on transparent media (for making lantern slides); and the development of suitable dyes for printing on paper. His preliminary results were shown as "Sixty Sealed Screens" at the RPS exhibition in 1897, his perfected "trichromatic light filters for natural-colour photography" (adjusted for the Cadett Rapid Spectrum plate) in 1899. The practical details of his fully worked out colour lantern slide process were first described at the London Camera Club on 5 October 1899, those of his paper process in December 1902.³¹

The success of indirect methods of colour photography, whether on glass or paper, rested on the creation of accurate separation negatives. As practiced by Miss Acland, negatives for the Sanger Shepherd process were taken in a "repeating back" attached to a normal field or studio camera (figs. 6.10 & 6.11). In the back, three

30. E. Sanger Shepherd, "Natural Colour Photography", *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 13, no. 163 (Dec 1899), pp. 195–198, p. 198

31. Ibid.; Shepherd, E. Sanger, "Colour Photography on Paper", *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 17, no. 201 (Feb 1903), pp. 19–22



Figs. 6.12–6.14 [Sanger Shepherd & Co.], *Cyan, magenta and yellow components of a Sanger Shepherd lantern slide of a peacock's feather by William Saville-Kent*, cyanotype and carbon prints, 1900 (MHS 29957, 17178 & 21552). Miss Acland showed these slides during her Spectrum Plate lecture. The yellow carbon print in Sanger Shepherd slides does not withstand the test of time, partly explaining why the importance of the process has been overlooked by historians.

successive exposures through red, green and blue filters were made side by side on a single, long, narrow Spectrum plate (see also figs. 6.43 & 6.46). In the lantern slide process positives from these negatives were then printed as a “greenish-blue” cyanotype on glass and as “pink” and “yellow” carbon prints on separate sheets of celluloid (figs. 6.12–6.14).³² “If these prints are superposed and bound up,” Sanger Shepherd explained, “we have a slide that may be shown in any ordinary lantern, and without any extra apparatus for projection; and I think that is, perhaps, the most satisfactory indirect method of obtaining a photograph in colours.”³³ The method was rendered workable by his adoption of a pure, soluble gelatine containing a small amount of silver bromide (to reduce rather than increase the relief, as sometimes claimed) coated on a fine, water-white celluloid that had only just become available on the market.

In September 1899 Sanger Shepherd founded a company, “Sanger Shepherd & Co., of 5, 6 & 7, Gray's Inn Passage, Holborn”, to manufacture and sell apparatus and materials for his process (fig. 6.15).³⁴ Entering into partnership with him were two established photographers: William Saville Kent (1845–1908) and Robert Lincoln Cocks (1876–1937). Saville Kent was a nature photographer and former Commissioner of Fisheries for Western Australia (where he emigrated after his sister confessed to killing their half-brother, in one of the most celebrated murder cases of the period).³⁵ By 1898 he had already created a set of at least fifty colour separation negatives of orchids, lizards and other natural history subjects, which were exhibited by triple projection at the London Camera Club in early 1899 (whether he was already working in collaboration with Sanger Shepherd by this

32. *Ibid.*, p. 196

33. *Ibid.*, p. 197

34. “Sanger Shepherd & Co.” [Advertisement], in *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 24, no. 1 (23 Sep 1899), Illustrated Catalogue of the Royal Photographic Society's Exhibition, 1899, p. lxiii. See also “Trade”, *Photogram*, vol. 6, no. 72 (Dec 1899), p. 387.

35. Saville Kent and his sister Constance (1844–1944) both have entries in the *Oxford DNB*.



Fig. 6.15 Unknown photographer; *The workshop of Sanger Shepherd & Co.*, half-tone (retouched) (*Photogram*, Jan 1901, p. 24). Sanger Shepherd belonged in a long tradition of British precision scientific instrument making.

date is unclear).³⁶ Lincoln Cocks, who was Sanger Shepherd's nephew, was the son of Robert Macfarlane Cocks (1852–1934), a well-known publisher of sheet music and amateur photographer who would later serve as Secretary of the London Salon of Photography. Lincoln Cocks and Saville Kent's role was to provide photographs for use as demonstration slides (figs. 6.16 & 6.17). Their formal involvement in the company was relatively short-lived, Saville Kent leaving at the end of 1899, Lincoln Cocks in 1902.³⁷ Lincoln Cocks went on to become a respected pictorial worker in bromoil. Saville Kent used the Sanger Shepherd process until his death in 1908, showing eight-two colour lantern slides at the RPS exhibition in 1906 "illustrative of the fish, fauna, and coral grottos of tropical Australian and Polynesian waters."³⁸

The first advertisements for the Sanger Shepherd process appeared in July 1900 (fig. 6.18).³⁹ In the same month example slides were shown at the Newcastle meeting of the Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom.⁴⁰ In September Sanger Shepherd took a stall in the trade section of the RPS exhibition and gave

36. W. Saville-Kent, "Kromskop Lantern Illustrations: An Amateur's Essays in Three-Colour Photography", *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 13, no. 154 (Mar 1899), pp. 53–54; continued in vol. 13, no. 155 (Apr 1899), pp. 57–58

37. [Notice], *London Gazette*, no. 27159 (30 Jan 1900), p. 630; idem, no. 27522 (6 Feb 1903), p. 782

38. *Photographic Journal*, vol. 46 (supplement), no. 9 (20 Sep 1906), p. 42

39. See "Natural Colour Photography" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 47, no. 2098 (20 Jul 1900), p. xvi; "Natural Colour Photography / Sanger Shepherd Process" [Advertisement], *Photogram*, vol. 7, no. 79 (Jul 1900), p. ix; "Natural Colour Photography by the Sanger Shepherd process" [Advertisement], *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 14, no. 170 (Jul 1900), opp. p. 100.

40. "Newcastle Convention Notes", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 47, no. 2098 (20 Jul 1900), pp. 452–453



Figs. 6.16 & 6.17 E. Sanger Shepherd and R. Lincoln Cocks, "Roses"; "Japanese Dolls", Sanger Shepherd colour process, 1899 or 1900 (Private Collection). Slides by Sanger Shepherd and Lincoln Cocks with these titles were exhibited at the Royal Photographic Society exhibition in 1900.

a number of illustrated lectures to promote the process.⁴¹ His specimen slides were favourably received, the *British Journal of Photography* reporting that they were "of striking beauty and fidelity" and "generally admired by visitors".⁴² The correspondent of the *Photographic Times* wrote that they were "certainly far superior to anything I have ever seen by any other process", while Snowden Ward, who had a financial interest in the rival McDonough-Joly system, admitted that they were "very magnificent transparencies".⁴³

A Demonstration of the Sanger-Shepherd Method of Indirect Colour Photography

Sanger Shepherd's contribution to colour photography was formally recognized by his peers by the award of the Royal Photographic Society's Progress Medal in 1906, in succession to Lippmann, Du Hauron and Ives. When his portrait was reproduced in the *British Journal of Photography* in February 1907 to mark the honour (fig. 6.19) it was explained that "colour-photography as a craft cannot be said to have come into existence until Mr. Sanger-Shepherd had carried out the work needed for the regular manufacture of the screens, filters, and dye-mixtures."⁴⁴ "The proof of the pudding is in the eating," the journal also noted, "and no higher testimony

41. "Illustrated Lecture on Colour Photography", given on 11 October, 22 October and 3 November ("Lantern Arrangements", *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 25, no. 1 (29 Sep 1900), p. xxxvi).

42. "Ex Cathedrâ", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 47, no. 2112 (26 Oct 1900), pp. 673–674, p. 674

43. William H. Half, "Natural Colour Photography—The Sanger Shepherd Process", *Photographic Times*, vol. 33, no. 3 (Mar 1901), pp. 104–107, p. 104; H. Snowden Ward, "The McDonough-Joly Process of Colour Photography", *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 25, no. 4 (31 Dec 1900), pp. 141–148, p. 141

44. "The R.P.S. Progress Medal—Award for Colour Photography", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 1, no. 2 (1 Feb 1906), p. 12

Fig. 6.18 Sanger Shepherd & Co., Advertisement for the Sanger Shepherd Process (*British Journal of Photography*, 20 Jul 1900, p xvi)

NATURAL COLOUR PHOTOGRAPHY

(SANGER SHEPHERD PROCESS).

A simple, inexpensive, and reliable process, based upon sound scientific principles, for obtaining photographs of any object in its natural colours, faithfully reproducing every shade and tint, in a manner absolutely satisfying to the eye.

No complicated Viewing Instrument to get out of order, no special Lantern required, as the Slides can be seen in the hand either by day or artificial light. There are no lines or dots to irritate the eyes, and brilliant pictures can be shown on a 10 ft. Screen with Limelight, or up to 20 ft. with the Electric Light.

A number of examples are always on view at our premises.

NATURAL COLOUR LANTERN SLIDES, STEREOSCOPIC VIEWS, and all APPARATUS and MATERIAL for working the process NOW READY.

DESCRIPTIVE CIRCULARS ON APPLICATION.

SANGER SHEPHERD & CO.,

Manufacturers of Scientific Apparatus, Cameras and Stands, Rotating Sectors, Instruments for the Measurement of Light and Colour, Speed Determination, &c., Light Filters for Orthochromatic Work, Photo-micrography, and the Three Colour Process. (Medal Royal Photographic Society, 1899.)

Factory and Offices: 5, 6 & 7 Gray's Inn Passage, Red Lion Street, Holborn, London, W.C.

Fig. 6.19 Article on Sanger Shepherd in the *British Journal of Photography* Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography [portrait by Edward Le Jeune] by Edward Le Jeune (*BJP*, Supplement, Feb 1907, p. 12).

THE R.P.S. PROGRESS MEDAL—AWARD FOR COLOUR PHOTOGRAPHY.

In awarding the Progress Medal for the year 1906 to Mr. E. Sanger-Shepherd, the Royal Photographic Society have for the fourth time recognised the work of investigators in this important branch of the photographic art. Ten years ago Professor Gabriel Lippmann was the recipient of the Progress Medal for his discovery of the interference process of colour-photography, in 1900 M. Louis Ducos du Hauron received a similar honour in recognition of his labours in initiating colour heliochromy as a working process, and three years later, Mr. F. E. Ives received the medal for his contributions to three-colour photography. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Sanger-Shepherd, in a different way, has done as much to advance the practice of colour-photography as any of his predecessors in the honours of the Royal Photographic Society. His particular claim rests not so much upon the origination of any one method or process, though he has introduced several, as upon the application of scientific methods to the making of filters and dyes for colour-photography, and for the testing of plates as regards their fitness for the purposes of the colour photographer. Work of this kind is not that to interest the public even if the latter possesses as much technical knowledge as may be attributed to users of orthochromatic plates, but the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and no higher testimony to the value of Mr. Sanger-Shepherd's labours could be adduced than the colour photography such as that of Sir Wm. Abney, Miss Acland, Drs. Hutchinson and Norman, and Mr. Savile Kent.

The principles of trichromatic photography, as we pointed out in the January "Supplement," were outlined forty years ago by M. du Hauron, yet colour-photography as a craft cannot be said to have come into existence until Mr. Sanger-Shepherd had carried out the work needed for the regular manufacture of the screens, filters, and dye-mixtures. In other words, up to the point which appears possible at present, he transformed colour-photography from the qualitative state to the quantitative. At the Royal Photographic Society's exhibition of 1897 he showed sixty sealed screens in various strengths of colour selected from a series made for preparing an atlas of spectrum absorptions of various colouring matters, and recording their relative fastness to light. At the 1899 exhibition of the Society he showed trichromatic light filters to which a medal was awarded. It will be in the remembrance of many that at a meeting of the R.P.S. at this time, a remarkable set of lantern-transparencies made with these light-filters by the Sanger-Shepherd process was shown and was recognised as the finest work of its kind which had been seen.

To the design of apparatus for colour-photography, Mr. Sanger-Shepherd has equally devoted himself, and has advanced the practice of colour work by the provision of convenient and accurately constructed instruments which have been generally accepted as models embodying the soundest scientific principles in the most convenient form.



MR. E. SANGER-SHEPHERD. Photograph by Ed. Le Jeune.

to the value of Mr. Sanger-Shepherd's labours could be adduced than the colour photography such as that of Sir Wm. Abney, Miss Acland, Drs. Hutchinson and Norman, and Mr. Savile Kent."⁴⁵

Miss Acland's journey to a place in this list of the leading colour photographers of 1906 began seven years earlier, in February 1899, when she exhibited a Krömsköp portrait taken by Ives (at the request of Herschel) after her Home Portraiture lecture, no doubt having already hired the instrument from the Club to experiment with at home.⁴⁶ A number of Krömsköp separation negatives from her hand survive, at least some of which were taken before she left Broad Street in May 1901, although their exact dates are uncertain (cat. nos. 749–62) (figs. 6.20 & 6.21). That she had already gained first hand experience of the Sanger Shepherd process when she

45. Ibid.

46. "Second February Meeting / Miss Acland on Home Portraiture", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Apr 1899), p. 5. The kromogram survives as MHS Inventory no. 39802.



Figs. 6.20 & 6.21 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Yellow-white and Blue Irises in a Decorated Vase*, stereo three-colour negative and digital composite, c. 1899–1901 (cat. no. 756).

delivered her Spectrum Plates lecture in April 1900 seems likely, given the degree of detail in which she described the working method. When her lecture was published in *Photography* on 23 August 1900 three separation negatives of a still life were reproduced as illustrations (albeit in monochrome). The same photographs survive as stereoscopic slides for use in a Kromaz viewer: a rival colour system to the Krömskōp, marketed in England from July 1899 by Watson & Sons.⁴⁷

The first concrete evidence of Miss Acland exhibiting Sanger Shepherd colour slides from her own hand comes with a members' lantern slide night at the Camera Club on 25 March 1901. The delay in bringing her work before the public was due to the death of her father in October 1900, immediately after the commencement of the autumn session of the Club. She sent six slides, including "Queen's chocolate box", two "views in New College gardens" and "a group of fruit" (the Kromaz still life). The New College slides were much admired, "especially the very fine one of the roses trailing over the entrance to the Gardens" (fig. 6.22).⁴⁸ The three-colour negative for this photograph (cat. no. 764) must have been taken in June or early July 1900, as the roses, which were later exhibited as *Crimson Rambler in New College Gardens*, are an early-flowering variety. The subject of the *Queen's Chocolate Box* (untraced) was a gift she received between 16 March and 22 May 1900 from Archibald Coward (1873–?1918), a soldier serving with the Rifle Brigade in the Boer

47. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 194.

48. "Second March Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 7 (May 1901), p. 58



Fig. 6.22 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Crimson Rambler in New College Gardens", digital composite from 3-colour negative, Jun or early Jul 1900 (cat. no. 764)

War, with whom she corresponded.⁴⁹ A complete outfit for the Sanger Shepherd process, including a repeating back, one double dark-slide for $8 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inch plates and a developing kit (but no camera or lenses) sold for the hefty sum of £8 14s (about £695 at 2012 values), which suggests she may have needed to justify the expense as a 51st birthday present on 26 June 1900.⁵⁰

No consolidated record of Miss Acland's experiments with the Sanger Shepherd process between 1900 and 1907 is available, making it necessary to trace her progress from scattered references in her correspondence, the *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, the *Oxford Times* and from her separation negatives themselves, ninety-seven of which survive (along with three positives and five assembled colour slides). Before she left her old home in Broad Street for the last time on 23 May 1901 she made several exposures, including views from the front of the house towards New College (cat. nos. 770 & 771) (see figs. 6.32 & 6.33) and a beautiful photograph of her Della Robbia on the external wall of the Maalstofa (cat. no. 769) (fig. 6.1). Her mourning confinement over, in July 1901 she attended the Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom in Oxford. Colour photography was given a prominent place in the Convention from the outset, when Herschel lectured on progress in the field as his opening address. During the address he

showed some landscapes lent by Mr. Sanger Shepherd, and an exceedingly beautiful one taken from the Malvern Hills by Miss Acland, which, he said, opened up a

49. See Ms. Acland d. 148, fols. 15–16 (Coward to SAA, 16 Mar 1900); Ms. Acland d. 148, fols. 23–24 (Coward to SAA, 22 May 1900).

50. "Sanger Shepherd & Co. / 1904 Price List", *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1904, pp. 1339–1346a, p. 1342



Fig. 6.23 Sarah Angelina Acland, “View from Great Malvern”, digital composite from 3-colour negative, before 9 Jul 1901 (cat. no. 775)

most hopeful field for work. He exhibited a very satisfactory spectrum, and, lastly, the first portrait of a lady by this process taken in open shade in a few seconds, under Miss Acland’s hands.⁵¹

Miss Acland’s photograph from Malvern (cat. no. 775) (fig. 6.23) was probably taken in first week of June 1901 during a visit to her brother Harry.⁵² Her “portrait of a lady” (untraced), which was almost certainly the first colour photograph ever taken of a woman by a woman, probably depicted either her goddaughter Mary Agnes Hope, her paid companion Jenny Grimston, or her sister-in-law Emily (‘Emmie’) Anna Acland, née Smith (1859–1942).⁵³ After the Convention Miss Acland continued her trials during her annual holiday in the south of England. In the week of 5 August she could be found in Falmouth, staying at ‘Lamorva’, the home of Harry’s mother-in-law, from where she took a colour photograph of the Bay (cat. no. 777) (fig. 6.24).⁵⁴ The following week she was invited onto HMS *Magnificent*, Willie’s flagship as second-in-command of the Channel Squadron. In her letter of thanks she mentioned a photograph she had taken on the ship: “I have developed the 3 colour negative taken out of my window & the result is fairly satisfactory & I hope that it will print well. I shall not of course be able to do that until my return in about 3 weeks”.⁵⁵ On 18 November a “coloured slide of the whole fleet”

51. “Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom / Oxford Meeting”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2117 (13 Jul 1901), p. 8, p. 8c

52. See Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 99–100 (SAA to WADA, 6 Jun 1901).

53. “Photographic Convention of the United Kingdom”, *Oxford Times*, p. 8c

54. See Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 105–108 (SAA to WADA, 5 Aug 1901).

55. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 109–110 (SAA to WADA, 14 Aug 1901)



Fig. 6.24 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Falmouth Bay from Lamorna*, digital composite from 3-colour negative, c. 5 Aug 1901 (cat. no. 777)



Fig. 6.25 Sarah Angelina Acland, "'Strelitzia Reginae' South African Plant", digital composite from 3-colour negative, before Sep 1901 (cat. no. 766)

(untraced), presumably from this negative, was shown at the Camera Club, as were monochrome photographs she had taken from the bridge of the *Magnificent*.⁵⁶

Miss Acland made her debut as a colour photographer at the Royal Photographic Society in September 1901, exhibiting six colour lantern slides: *Crimson Rambler in New College Gardens*; *Portrait of a Lady*; *View from Great Malvern*; *Queen's Chocolate Box*; *Strelitzia Regina—South African Plant* (cat. no. 766) (fig. 6.25); and *Frogbowl, Ribbon and Fruit*. These were briefly noted by the critics, the *British Journal of Photography* writing that they "speak well for her grasp of the details of this process", *Photography* referring to them as "commendable".⁵⁷ Her first opportunity to submit colour work to the Camera Club exhibition came in March 1902.⁵⁸ Colour was something of a theme of the exhibition, Sanger Shepherd giving a lecture on his process on the opening night. Miss Acland's slides were "curiously left unnoticed" by the judges, but they attracted considerable interest from the members, in response to which she was invited to give her third lecture to the Club.

Miss Acland's "Demonstration of the Sanger-Shepherd method of indirect colour photography" was delivered at the Camera Club on 7 April 1902.⁵⁹ Compared to her previous lectures it was more practical in nature and also differed in being a

56. "Second November Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 8 (Feb 1902), pp. 64–65

57. "Royal Photographic Society's Exhibition / [First Notice]", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 48, no. 2161 (4 Oct 1901), pp. 629–633, p. 633; "The Technical and Trade Exhibits at the R.P.S.", *Photography*, vol. 13, no. 674 (10 Oct 1901), pp. 699–690, p. 690

58. "The Exhibition", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 9 (Oct 1903), pp. 72–73

59. *Ibid.*, p. 73b; "April Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 9 (Oct 1903), pp. 74–75



Fig. 6.26 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Coastal Path*, Sanger Shepherd process lantern slide, Aug 1901 ? (cat. no. 778)



Fig. 6.27 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Summer Flowers*, Sanger Shepherd process lantern slide, Jun or Jul 1900 ? (cat. no. 767)

joint presentation, delivered in partnership with her fellow member Harry Minn.⁶⁰ Minn had worked closely with Miss Acland from early in her colour photography, having previously acted as something of a general factotum for her in monochrome work. A clock and watchmaker by trade (apprenticed to his father, who was also a member of the Camera Club), he later took a position as engineer at the University Press. His working-class background meant he would always remain in Miss Acland's shadow as a photographer — he never exhibited or became a member of the Royal Photographic Society, for example — but the friendship between them was close and the collaboration not without its benefits, not least because it gave him access to the expensive equipment required for colour photography.

As the senior partner it fell to Miss Acland to open the lecture, which she did by explaining the history and theory of colour photography, including the work of Maxwell, Du Hauron and Ives. Her remaining comments consisted largely of advice on exposure and development of the separation negatives required for three-colour work.⁶¹ Securing perfect negatives was essential but difficult, she pointed out, the ratio of exposures for the red, green and blue negatives varying not only with the set of filters used but also with each batch of plates. A test exposure was therefore necessary, for which she photographed a white origami frog, a black focussing cloth and a coloured ribbon (cat. no. 749). The filters she was currently using required ratios of exposure of 1 red, 4.5 green and 12 blue, but the brilliancy of the ambient light considerably affected these figures, the red needing much longer exposure in dull conditions. Separation negatives should be developed with a rapid developer (Metol, Adurol, or pyro-soda without bromide), she advised, as

60. "The Late Henry Minn", *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Jul 1963), pp. 65–66.

61. "April Meeting" [Report of Miss Acland and Henry Minn's demonstration of the Sanger-Shepherd process], *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 75a



Figs. 6.28 & 6.29 Henry Minn, *Yellow Dahlias*; *Roses in a Blue Vase*; Sanger Shepherd process lantern slides, c. 1901 (MHS 20111 & 93032). Minn photographed similar subjects to Miss Acland; their work is often difficult to tell apart.

plates full of detail and medium contrast were best: under-exposure gave harsh colours, over-exposure a flat effect with dirty whites.

For the explanation of how to make colour slides from these negatives, Miss Acland handed over to Minn, who assembled an example on the spot from pre-prepared prints. Largely passed over by him were many of the intricacies of what was a lengthy and time-consuming process, the full details of which ran to sixteen pages in Sanger Shepherd's *Working Instructions* for the system.⁶² The process was so involved, in fact, that Miss Acland claimed she had never been able to make up a slide in anything less than a fortnight, although several could be on the go at the same time. The difficulty of making Sanger Shepherd slides was something that particularly struck the photographic correspondent of the *Oxford Times*:

Miss Acland's and Mr. Minn's demonstration of Sanger Shepherd's method of indirect colour photography was most interesting and the attention of the large audience of members and their friends was held to the full during the whole time. I cannot, however, help feeling some little doubt as to the demonstration achieving the object that Miss Acland hoped it would, that is induce other members to take up the work. I don't mean for a moment that the demonstration was not well and clearly done, but I think it made the ordinary photographer realise more fully than he had ever done before the many difficulties that had to be overcome before a successful result could be obtained.⁶³

"It was, however," the correspondent added, "a happy trait in the Englishman's character that the harder the thing is to do the more he wishes to do it, so that after all the number of workers who attempt this branch of photography will probably continually grow."

62. Sanger Shepherd & Co., *Working Instructions for the Sanger Shepherd Process of Natural Colour Photography* (Instruction booklet, London, [1900]) [MHS Lewis cat. no. 680/3].

63. 'Half-tone', "Camera Notes", *Oxford Times*, no. 2150 (12 Apr 1902), p. 10e

As if the challenge of making Sanger Shepherd lantern slides was not enough, at the end of their demonstration Miss Acland and Minn revealed they had been experimenting with a more demanding branch of colour photography yet: “printing on paper supports”.⁶⁴ This, they admitted, was “a far more delicate and difficult process than that of making transparencies.”⁶⁵ Specimens of their work had already been seen in the Camera Club exhibition a few weeks earlier, when they were described as “remarkable prints in colour” of the “greatest curiosity and interest”.⁶⁶ However, as the *Photogram* noted in its report of the lecture, Miss Acland and Minn were not yet ready with the practical details — a circumstance that disappointed Herschel especially, “for it was undoubtedly a great improvement on much that had been done before”.⁶⁷

Miss Acland would continue to experiment in colour printing on paper for several years (whether with or without Minn is unclear), submitting examples to the Camera Club and Royal Photographic Society as she improved her technique. In the 1902 RPS exhibition she exhibited five colour prints: the *X Fleet in Torbay* (untraced), *The Hon. Lady Acland* (untraced), *Charles II* (“From a miniature given by him to Jane Lane after the Cattle of Worcester”, untraced); *Jane Lane* (another miniature, untraced); and *A Red Lily* (untraced). In 1903 she sent four prints from negatives taken in Gibraltar, in 1904 two. She was absent from the exhibition proper from 1905 to 1908, giving lantern lectures instead, but in 1909 she returned, for the last time, with *In a Madeira Garden* and *Study of Crimson Bougainvillea, Madeira* (both untraced).

Miss Acland’s 1902 print of the *X Fleet in Torbay* was notable in being hung in the “Selected Pictorial Photographs” section of the RPS exhibition rather than with the “Scientific, Technical and Photo-Mechanical Exhibits”, where colour work was conventionally placed. As such, it lays claim to the accolade of the first pictorial colour photograph ever exhibited at the Society. “Miss Acland seems to have yielded to the glamour of the pictorial. Should we blame the ‘X Fleet in Torbay’?” the *British Journal of Photography* commented when reviewing her work the following year.⁶⁸ As an exhibitor of colour photographs at the Society per se Miss Acland was pre-empted by three photographers: Walter Edwin Brewerton (1870–1947), Alice Worsley (1870–1940) and Alfred Watkins (1855–1935). Brewerton offered a colour *Still Life* on paper in 1898, made by imposing yellow and pink gum bichromate prints over a blue cyanotype (for which he was awarded a medal). In 1901 he showed *Iris*, which was assembled by carbon printing in yellow and pink over a cyanotype. The same method was for *A Poppy Field* and *Group of Fruit* in

64. “April Meeting” [Report of Miss Acland and Henry Minn’s demonstration of the Sanger-Shepherd process], *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 75b

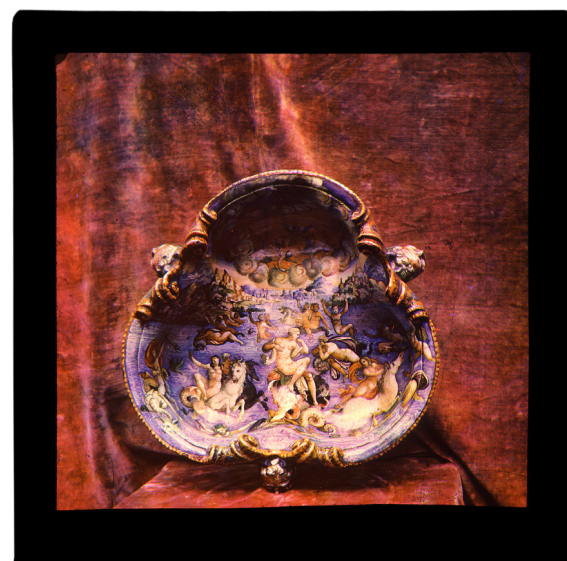
65. *Ibid.*

66. “The Exhibition”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 8 (Feb 1902), pp. 67–68, p. 68b; “Editorial”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 8 (Feb 1902), p. 61

67. “April Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 9, p. 75b. See “What’s What”, *Photogram*, vol. 9, no. 101 (May 1902), p. 150.

68. “The Scientific Section at the ‘Royal’ Exhibition / Trichromatic Photography”, *Photography*, vol. 18, no. 829 (1 Oct 1904), pp. 287–288, p. 287

Fig. 6.30 Auguste and Louis Lumière, *Ceramic Bowl*, 3-colour Woodburytype or 3-colour carbon print, c. 1901 (Private Collection)



1902. Worsley exhibited six transparencies of flowers by the Joly process in the 1899 exhibition, alongside Miss Acland's monochrome portraits. She then disappears from sight until 1912, when she wrote an article for *Amateur Photographer* on "A Visit to the Home of the Autochrome".⁶⁹ Alfred Watkins was a well-known inventor and manufacturer of exposure meters.⁷⁰ At the RPS in 1900 he exhibited *Sunset over Borth Sands* and *The Hillside*, both as Sanger Shepherd transparencies.

Also exhibiting colour prints alongside Miss Acland at the RPS in 1902 was the "Lumière North America Company" — the Lumière agents for Great Britain, in the person of Thomas Knight Grant. Colour transparencies by the "Lumière N. A. Company" had been exhibited alongside Miss Acland's work once before: at the 1901 Photographic Convention.⁷¹ In 1902 the Company's three prints were listed as being by the "Lumière Process" and produced "by superposition of three stained films".⁷² The description was ambiguous, as the Lumière brothers developed at least four different colour processes before the release of the Autochrome in 1907, all based on carbon printing.⁷³ The second, which was the one

69. Alice Worsley, "Colour Photography: A Visit to the Home of the Autochrome", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 55, no. 1422 (1 Jan 1912), p. 10. A cousin of Samuel Butler, Worsley lived in Bristol where her father, Philip John Worsley (1834–1917), was a benefactor of the University. The address she gave on exhibiting in 1899 was Aboyne, R.S.O. [Railway Sub-Office], Aberdeenshire, where she was staying at May Villa for the summer ("Summer Visitors, Lists", *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, no. 7912 (30 Aug 1899), p. 8b) (I am indebted to Dorothy Dewar, Aberdeenshire Libraries, for this reference).

70. See R. G. Fellowes, "Watkins, Alfred (1855–1935)", *Oxford DNB*.

71. 'Half-tone', "Camera Notes", *Oxford Times*, no. 2118 (20 Jul 1901), p. 10c

72. [Royal Photographic Society], *Illustrated Catalogue of the Royal Photographic Society's Exhibition, 1902*, cat. nos. 314, 315 & 319, pp. 19–20

73. In the first process, outlined in a patent of 1895 but not released commercially, three coloured films of "glue", gelatine or "other mucilages" were coated, exposed and developed with water on top of each other on the same glass plate, to make a transparency. Each layer was isolated by an impermeable film of collodion, silver bromide having been added to the mucilage in order to obtain a thin film that could be developed directly from the front (the side in contact with the negative) to avoid the need to remove it from the plate, unlike in normal carbon transfer printing. See "Patents Chronology / Prints without Transfer, No. 7,188, 1895", *British Journal*

usually referred to as the “Lumière process of colour photography”, was a carbon transfer process, worked using translucent baryta paper and a collodion-coated glass plate edged with masticated rubber. It was first demonstrated in London in January 1902 and released commercially at £2 12s 6d for a set of materials.⁷⁴ The third process was marketed as the “L.N.A. Process of Colour Photography” and was similar to the Sanger Shepherd process, except that three rather than two gelatine films were used, all of which were mounted on mica rather than glass.⁷⁵ Announced to the press at the Holborn Restaurant on 25 September 1902, the L.N.A. process proved relatively popular, kits costing only 25 shillings. At the Photographic Convention in July 1903, for example, Gustav Mann gave a lecture on “Microphotography” illustrated with colour slides made using the system.⁷⁶ It was this process that Grant had brought to the Club in November 1903 (coals to Newcastle, as it were). After his demonstration Miss Acland enquired “of the difference between the Lumiere and the L.N.A. process of colour photography”, to which Grant replied that the L.N.A. process was “a simplified Lumiere process, the original proving too exacting for amateurs.”⁷⁷

The various Lumière processes are relevant to Miss Acland’s work not only as competition to the Sanger Shepherd process but also because Miss Acland explored very similar techniques herself, in her attempt to improve on Sanger Shepherd’s methods. Her first prints at the RPS in 1902, for example, were listed as being by a “Modified Sanger Shepherd Process” (meaning a modification of the lantern slide process, his paper process not yet being released). In the catalogue all that was revealed about this modification was that “the blue image is a specially treated bromide paper print, and the pink and yellow images bichromated gelatine films subsequently stained and superimposed.”⁷⁸ As part of its review of the exhibition the *British Journal of Photography* published a more detailed account of Miss Acland’s process, revealing that she had used a transfer method involving collodion-coated, rubber-edged glass plates, similar to the (second) Lumière process.⁷⁹

of *Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 1, no. 4 (5 Apr 1907), p. 32; and Auguste and Louis Lumière, “Photographie / Sur la photographie en couleurs naturelles, par la méthode indirecte”. The fourth method was used for their off-the-peg stereoscopic colour views, which according to Hübl had such high relief they could only have been produced as three-colour Woodburytypes (A. F. Von Hübl, “Tricolour Transparencies for Projection and the Stereoscope / Other Methods for the Preparation of Three-colour Transparencies / 2 Lumière’s Process”, *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1900, pp. 813–824, p. 822).

74. T. K. Grant, “The Lumière process of colour photography”, *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 16, no. 191 (Apr 1902), pp. 47–52; and ‘Hermes’, “The Camera Club / The Lumiere Process of Colour Photography”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 35, no. 902 (16 Jan 1902), p. 44; “Lumière Process of Colour Photography / Lumière N. A. Co., Ltd.” [Advertisement], *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 35, no. 903 (23 Jan 1902), p. xxvii; “Lumière Process of Colour Photography” [Advertisement], *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 35, no. 909 (6 Mar 1902), p. vi

75. See “Color Photography by the Lumiere Process”, *Photographic Times Bulletin*, vol. 34, no. 12 (Dec 1902), pp. 544–546.

76. “The Three-Colour Process for Amateurs / Demonstration by the Lumière North American Company”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 39, no. 939 (2 Oct 1902), p. 279; “Lumière Three-Colour Process of Photography”, *The Times*, no. 36884 (27 Sep 1902), p. 4c; “L.N.A. Process of Colour Photography” [Advertisement], *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1903, pp. 32–33

77. “First November Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Jan 1904), p. 88

78. Illustrated Catalogue of the Royal Photographic Society’s Exhibition, 1902, p. 20

79. “The RPS’s Exhibition / [Second Article]”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 49, no. 2214 (10 Oct 1902), pp. 811–813, pp. 812–813. For the details see *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 214.

The attention furnished on Miss Acland's work by the *British Journal of Photography* testifies to the seriousness with which her contributions to the technical advance of colour photography were received. Unfortunately, the critical response to her prints as a form of artistic expression was less positive, notwithstanding admiration for the *X Fleet in Torbay*. In 1902, for example, *Photography* complained that her *Red Lily* was "altogether impossible", i.e. the colours too vivid.⁸⁰ She was not, however, alone in attracting such criticism: *Photography* also condemned the Lumière exhibits as "more garish than convincing", *Nature* wrote that Brewerton's specimens were "admirable, but they are not convincing", and *Amateur Photographer* felt that there was a "general yellow cast" to both the Lumière and Miss Acland's photographs.⁸¹

No details are available of the prints that Miss Acland exhibited at the RPS in 1903, except that they were enlarged "nearly three diameters" (an impressive feat in itself with colour carbon printing). Come 1904, perhaps because of the earlier criticism, she had decided to try a new technique. In the catalogue it was explained that her "base is a pink carbon print, the yellow and blue being added by the imbibition process."⁸² The "imbibition process" was an innovation in colour photography patented by Sanger Shepherd and his employee Owen Mortimer Bartlett (1879–1955) in November 1902. It relied on the revelation that

when a gelatine relief or film with a selective absorption is stained with an aniline or other suitable dye-stuff and placed in contact with a dampened surface of gelatine softer than that of the relief or film, the colouring matter will be absorbed by the softer gelatine, the colour forming a perfect image of the coloured gradations.⁸³

As *Amateur Photographer* remarked, the discovery of this phenomenon, which had been made by Bartlett by accident, recalled the story of the Florentine goldsmith Maso Finiguerra (1426–1464), who "by a somewhat similar casual observation, is said to have been made to realize the possibility of printing from an intaglio engraved plate."⁸⁴ The advantages of the method were explained by Sanger Shepherd in a lecture on "Colour Photography on Paper" at the London Camera Club in December 1902: not only did it leave a gelatine-free impression in "pure aniline colour" on the chosen support, but the gelatine matrix could be repeatedly re-used, much like a normal printing plate.⁸⁵

Sanger Shepherd had started experimenting with the imbibition process in autumn 1901. By the date of his lecture, over a year later, he could only muster

80. "The New Gallery Exhibition", *Photography*, vol. 14, no. 725 (4 Oct 1902), pp. 678–686, p. 685

81. Ibid.; "The Scientific and Technical Exhibits at the RPS's Exhibition", *Nature*, vol. 66, no. 1719 (9 Oct 1902), p. 582; "RPS's Exhibition", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 39, no. 939 (2 Oct 1902), pp. 263–264, p. 264

82. Illustrated Catalogue of the Royal Photographic Society's Exhibition, 1904, p. 32

83. Edward Sanger Shepherd and Owen Mortimer Bartlett, "Improvements in Photographic Printing", United Kingdom Patent no. 42,234 of 1902 (filed 5 Nov 1901, accepted 10 Sep 1903). Coote states incorrectly that Sanger Shepherd introduced a dye-transfer printing process in 1906 (*The Illustrated History of Colour Photography*, p. 234); Thomas Bedding that it was first described before the Camera Club in 1900 ("Three-Colour Photographic Printing Processes", *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1907, pp. 628–649, p. 636).

84. "Colour Photography at the Camera Club", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 36, no. 950 (18 Dec 1902), p. 488

85. E. Sanger Shepherd, "Colour Photography on Paper", pp. 19–22

COLOUR PHOTOGRAPHY UPON PAPER.

Paper Prints by the Carbon Process.

The carbon process is the oldest method of printing upon paper from three colour record negatives. The carbon tissues are supplied coated upon paper in the usual manner and are sensitized in a 2 per cent. dichromatic bath, squeezed upon prepared collodion and allowed to dry. Printing takes place through the collodion as described on page 1291, and the prints are developed in warm water. The weak point of this method lies in the fact that the pigment is locked up in the gelatine and the only power of adjustment is by washing down the print as a whole by long soaking in warm water. The fact that the three colours require different times of exposure also complicates the method. When three satisfactory prints are obtained the yellow print is mounted with a solution of gelatin on a sheet of non-stretching paper, dried, and the collodion temporary support stripped off. The pink and cyan blue prints are successively transferred in the same way to complete the picture. This method gives good results from suitable negatives, but it is not suited to all classes of subjects; some examples shown at the Royal Photographic Society's Exhibition in 1900, are as perfect as when first printed, and as the pigments are treated colours they should prove quite permanent.

Price List Three Colour Pigment Paper.

The Tissues are put up in packets containing four sheets of each of the colours, cyan blue, pink and yellow, and four sheets of final support.

Size.	1	1	1	10 x 8	10 x 10
Per Packet.	1/9	1/6	2/9	3/6	5/-

Pigment Stripping Films for Trichromatic Photography

These are thin collodion films of German manufacture, coated with pigmented gelatine. They require to be sensitized in a dichromatic bath, and are printed, developed and transferred as described above.

Size.	1	1	1	10 x 8	10 x 10	10 x 12
Price	4/1 x 3 1/2	5 x 4	6 1/2 x 4 1/2	8 1/2 x 6 1/2	10 x 8	12 x 10
Price	2/-	3/-	4/6	8/-	12/-	18/-

The Films are put up in packets containing four of each of the colours, cyan blue, pink and yellow and four sheets of mounting paper.

PRICES.

Sanger-Shepherd & Co.'s One Exposure Stripping Films for Paper Work

These films are similar to our regular Lantern Slide Transparency Film, but on a thinner collodion base, prepared for stripping—three prints are made from the three negatives, and as temporary pigment (chrome of silver) is the same in all the prints, they can be exposed and developed together. After being developed the prints are fixed and stained up in the colour baths as described on page 1301, and after drying transferred to paper by the method described above. This method has great advantages over the use of three coloured pigment tissues. The gelatine film is alike for all three negatives and the correct scale of gradation is preserved, a desideratum impossible with separate films containing different coloured pigments. The ease of adjustment in the staining up process enables results of the very greatest accuracy to be obtained, and paper prints by this method will stand comparison even with prints by our Lantern slide process from the same negatives.

The films are put up in packets of one dozen, together with four sheets of mounting paper.

Size.	1	1	1	10 x 8	10 x 10
Price	2/3	3/3	4/9	9/9	12/6

Concentrated Staining Baths, cyan blue, pink and yellow—
Small bottles 4/6, large bottles 9/6, per set of three.

SANGER-SHEPHERD & Co.,

Sanger-Shepherd & Co.'s Patent Paper Process.

SANGER-SHEPHERD & BARTLETT'S PATENTS.

This process is based upon the discovery that if a gelatine relief, stained with a suitable dye-stuff, in squeezed in contact with a damp sheet of gelatinized paper, the whole of the colouring matter will leave the hardened gelatine relief and transfer to the softer gelatine coating upon the paper. Once the principle of this important discovery is grasped, it is easy to see how perfect prints upon paper may be made from trichromatic negatives, for it is only necessary to apply the three stained reliefs successively to the same sheet of damp gelatinized paper in order to secure a colour photograph, consisting of nothing but the colouring matter locked up in a single film of gelatine upon the paper base.

The Patent Flexible Printing Plates used in this process, consist of a stout collodion base coated with a similar emulsion to our ordinary transparency process films, but containing considerably more benzoate of silver in order to keep the relief as low as possible.

WARNING. The use of a gelatine relief or Carbon Print soaked in a dye-stuff as a printing surface is protected by Letters Patent, and warning is hereby given that any such use of a gelatine relief, except by our Licensees, renders the user or seller liable to an action for infringement.

Further Particulars and Copy of Licenses on application.

Price List of Outfits and Renewals.

	4 1/2 x 3 1/2	6 1/2 x 4 1/2	8 1/2 x 6 1/2
Outfit, including limited license	20/-	30/-	40/-
RENEWALS TO LICENSEES.			
Patent Flexible Printing Plates	3/-	6/-	10/6
For 3 prints, 5 x 3 1/2 6 1/2 per doz. 9 1/2 x 6 1/2	1/-	2/-	3/9
Patent Gelatine Coated Paper	2/6	6/6	10/-
Gelatine Coated Opaque White Collodion	1/6	3/6	6/6
Gelatine Coated Ground White Opals	1/-	1/9	2/6
Thin Polished Plate Glass Slabs for Glazing Prints	1/9	1/3	2/-
Patent Water Colour Printing Inks, each, small bottle, 1/9, large bottle, 3/6	1/9	1/3	2/-

A NEW ONE-PLATE ONE-EXPOSURE CAMERA.

Patents Applied For.

A new one-exposure camera for colour photography. In this form of camera the three negatives are taken upon one plate, by one look, at one exposure. The camera is very compact and portable, whilst the arrangements for the dividing of the image from one lens into three parts are particularly free from liability to derangement, and we can confidently recommend the new model for use both at home and abroad. The adjustment for varying sensitiveness of different batches of plates is accomplished by a novel form of diaphragm, so that the setting of the camera to ratio is merely a question of setting the diaphragm—no compensating screen being necessary. Three models are now ready—

No. 1.—The smallest size is particularly intended for use as a cycle camera. It takes three negatives 2 1/2 x 2 1/2 in. on a single plate 6 1/2 x 2 1/2 in. (half of a 1-plate). The dark slides in this model are beautifully made in imitation of the book pattern. The body is covered in black Persian Morocco; fittings in black bronzed brass.

No. 2.—Takes a plate 8 x 3 1/2 in. the same size as our No. 1 repeating back; the dark slides are the same pattern and interchangeable with those in the No. 1 repeating back.

No. 3.—For stereoscopic pictures; takes the three stereoscopic pairs of images on an 1 1/2 x 2 1/2 plate.

These cameras open quite a new field for colour photography, as they enable beautiful pictures to be obtained even when movement occurs during the exposure, for as the movement occurs equally in all three negatives all irritating colour fringes are avoided, besides the greater facility in working, due to only one exposure being required.

Price from £25.

5, 6 & 7, GRAY'S INN PASSAGE, LONDON, W.C.

Fig. 6.31 Sanger Shepherd & Co.; Advertisement and explanation of Sanger Shepherd's commercially marketed processes of colour printing on paper, 1907 (*British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1907, pp. 1308–9)

two specimens to show to the audience, prompting him to remark wryly that “he did not think he could offer his process to the members of the Linked Ring yet”.⁸⁶ The press initially found the process “scientifically interesting”, but doubted whether it would be “epoch-making”.⁸⁷ Undeterred, Sanger Shepherd forged ahead with its commercialization, in order “to popularise this class of colour work and place it within the power of every amateur”.⁸⁸ To achieve this, he argued, the process needed to be “easy to work”, “be cheap”, and “be capable of being used for portraits, which can be retouched.”⁸⁹ The public would not be satisfied with colour photography, in his view, until equally beautiful results could be obtained on paper as on glass, since “to most people a photograph in natural colours means a photograph showing all the natural colours of the object when viewed just as we view a water colour drawing”.⁹⁰

Sanger Shepherd had first advertised the imbibition process in January or February 1903 as “Sanger Shepherd & Company's Process for Natural Colour Photography on Paper” or “Sanger-Shepherd & Co.'s Patent Paper Process”, only later rechristening it the “Sanger Shepherd Imbibition Process”.⁹¹ A complete kit, without any equipment to make the negatives, sold for £1 in 1/4-plate size.

86. “Colour Photography at the Camera Club”, *Amateur Photographer* (18 Dec 1902), p. 487

87. *Ibid.*

88. *Ibid.*

89. E. Sanger Shepherd, “Colour Photography on Paper”, p. 19

90. Sanger Shepherd & Co., *Colour Photography on Paper* (Instruction booklet, 3rd ed., London, [1903 or 1904?]) [MHS Lewis cat. no. 680/1]

91. See “Sanger Shepherd & Co.”, *Wilson's Photographic Magazine*, vol. 40, no. 554 (Feb 1903), p. 64; “Sanger Shepherd & Co. / 1906 Price List”, *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1906,



Figs. 6.32 & 6.33 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Rooftops from Broad Street*, three-colour carbon print (or variant); imbibition print (or variant); Jul or Aug 1900 (negative) (cat. no. 771). The same negative printed by Miss Acland by two different processes.

Miss Acland was probably introduced to the imbibition process in March 1903, when Sanger Shepherd visited Oxford.⁹² Her 1904 prints managed to circumvent the precise wording of Sanger Shepherd's patent, in which he contemplated printing all three colours by imbibition, or pink and yellow by imbibition over a cyanotype.⁹³ Her 1909 prints were also probably printed by the imbibition process: they cannot have been three-colour carbon prints because the *British Journal of Photography* stated that none was shown in the exhibition.⁹⁴ Unlike other methods of colour photography on paper, the imbibition process was widely admired for its artistic character. George Brown, for example, editor of the *British Journal Photographic*

pp. 1331–1354, p. 1341; "Colour Photography on Paper / Sanger-Shepherd & Co.", *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1908, pp. 1112–1113, p. 1113.

92. "Second March Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 9 (Oct 1903), pp. 82–83

93. Sanger Shepherd required workers of the imbibition process to purchase a licence and promised that "we shall rigorously defend the rights of ourselves and our licensees" (Sanger Shepherd & Co., *Colour Photography on Paper*, p. 8).

94. "The Royal Photographic Society's Exhibition", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 56, no. 2577 (24 Sep 1909), pp. 738–751, p. 747

Almanac, wrote that imbibition prints had “a beauty of colouring which is quite distinctive”.⁹⁵ E. J. Wall, meanwhile, praised them for “a softness of colouring and texture which is really very remarkable, partaking rather of the character of an oil painting than a colour photograph”.⁹⁶

Today only three colour prints by Miss Acland are known to survive. Two are views from Broad Street towards the pinnacles of New College (cat. no. 771), one of which is a carbon print (or carbon prints over a blue bromide) (fig. 6.32), the other an imbibition print (or variant) (fig. 6.33). The third is a carbon print of her brother Harry dressed for the Oxford Historical Pageant of July 1907 (cat. no. 862). These must be but a fraction of her total output. All are small, bordering tiny (Harry’s portrait approximately $1\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the New College prints $4 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches).⁹⁷ Their size, coupled with the difficulty of recognizing the process for what it is, probably explains why so few have been found.

Images of Empire: A Visit to Gibraltar

Miss Acland’s experiments in colour photography on paper were highly innovative and technically demanding. However, it was her lantern slides rather than her prints that brought her to widespread public notice as a colour photographer. The train of events that led to her four triumphant lectures at the Royal Photographic Society in 1905 and 1906 began on 8 August 1902, when Willie — or Sir William Acland as he had become after succeeding to his father’s baronetcy — was appointed Admiral Superintendent of the Dockyard at Gibraltar. Following his appointment, Miss Acland joined Willie on the Rock for two month-long visits, in May 1903 and May 1904.⁹⁸ “By your permission I am bringing a good supply for photography & a lamp so that I hope to be able to get some good colour negatives”, she wrote before leaving England on the first occasion.⁹⁹ Her hopes were realized: sixty-one colour separation negatives taken by her in Gibraltar come down to us (cat. nos. 797–857). They depict a variety of subjects, from views of the Rock and the coast of Africa (fig. 6.34), portraits (fig. 6.35), to the colourful gardens of ‘The Mount’, the Admiral’s official residence (figs. 6.36 & 6.37). First seen as prints in the 1903 RPS exhibition, they were also among her “latest colour slides” available for inspection “on application” at Sanger Shepherd’s trade stand in the same year.¹⁰⁰

95. [George E. Brown], “Three-Colour Photographic Printing Process / The Sanger-Shepherd Imbibition Process”, *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1907, pp. 628–649, p. 637

96. E. J. Wall, “An Exhibition of Colour Photography / A Review of the Exhibition”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2386 (26 Jan 1906), pp. 64–67, p. 64

97. Miss Acland’s Sanger Shepherd three-colour negatives are $8 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and yield images by contact printing with a maximum area of approximately $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ inches, which suggests that the New College prints are enlargements or taken in a camera without a repeating back.

98. In 1903 Miss Acland left from London on 24 April or from Plymouth on 25 April, on the *India* or *Somali* respectively, arriving in Gibraltar on 28 or 29 April. She returned on 1 June on the *Caledonian*, disembarking Plymouth on 4 June. In 1904 she left on 15 or 22 April from London on the *Britannia* or *Persia*, or may have left later if embarking at Plymouth, arriving at Gibraltar on 19 or 26 April and returning on 30 May on the *Moldavia*, disembarking Plymouth on 2 June.

99. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 130–131 (SAA to WADA, 12 Apr 1903)

100. “The R.P.S. Conversazione”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 38, no. 991 (1 Oct 1903), p. 265. See also Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 153–155 (SAA to WADA, 13 Sep 1903). At the RPS in 1903 she exhibited *Rear-Admiral Sir William Acland*, *Field-Marshal Sir George White*, *Conda the Moor*, and *Spanish*

Fig. 6.34 Sarah Angelina Acland, *The Coast of Morocco from the Mount, Gibraltar*, digital composite from 3-colour negative, May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 812)



The first of Miss Acland's lectures on Gibraltar was originally scheduled to take place in Oxford on 14 March 1904, before she sailed to the Rock for the second year, but had to be cancelled because she had a cough.¹⁰¹ However, when she embarked on the P. & O. steamer in April slides from her previous year's work must have accompanied her, since in August the Gibraltar harbour pilot, William Stevens (b. 1860), wrote to thank her for an "entertainment" she had given at the Mount, commenting (without actually mentioning the slides) that he had never seen anything "more beautiful by way of Spectacular effect".¹⁰²

After returning to Oxford Miss Acland's Camera Club lecture was rescheduled for 19 December 1904.¹⁰³ Impressed by reports of her slides, the Royal Photographic Society then invited her to speak on the subject at an ordinary meeting of the Society at 66 Russell Square, in Bloomsbury.¹⁰⁴ The paper was delivered on 6 June 1905 and was originally billed "'The Negative in Three-Colour Work.' Demonstrated". However, by the time it appeared in the *Photographic Journal* the title had changed to "A Visit to Gibraltar: Demonstrating the use of Three-Colour Photography in

Gipsies as prints, the first two "enlarged three diameters", the others "two diameters"; in 1904 *The Home of the Osprey* and *Silk Handkerchief and Case* as colour prints "enlarged nearly two diameters"; *Europa Point*, *Vice-Admiral Sir Wm. Acland*, *In the Almeda Gardens*, *The Mount Garden*, *The Wilderness*, and *From My Window, Gibraltar* as lantern slides.

101. See "Programme, 1904", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 10 (Jan 1904), p. 89; "Editorial", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 11 (Oct 1904), pp. 91–92, p. 91; and Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 166–169 (SAA to WADA, 13 Dec 1903).

102. Ms. Acland d. 174, fols. 242a–242b (William Stevens to SAA, 6 Aug 1904). She also gave the lecture to a private audience at home in Oxford before leaving, see Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 183–184 (SAA to WADA, 18 Mar 1904).

103. "Second December Meeting" [Miss Acland, "A Visit to Gibraltar"], *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 12 (Apr 1906), pp. 104–105

104. See "Meetings of Societies / Royal Photographic Society" [Miss Acland, "A Visit to Gibraltar"], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 52, no. 2353 (9 Jun 1905), pp. 456–457.



Fig. 6.35 (above) Sarah Angelina Acland, *"Sir Willoughby Verner"*, digital composite from 3-colour negative, May 1903 (cat. no. 800)

Fig. 6.36 (opposite top) Sarah Angelina Acland, *The Mount Gardens*, digital composite from 3-colour negative, May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 821)

Fig. 6.37 (opposite bottom) Sarah Angelina Acland, *"From My Window, Gibraltar"*, digital composite 3-colour negative, May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 818)





Fig. 6.38 Sarah Angelina Acland, "On the Shore, Linia", lantern slide, May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 717)

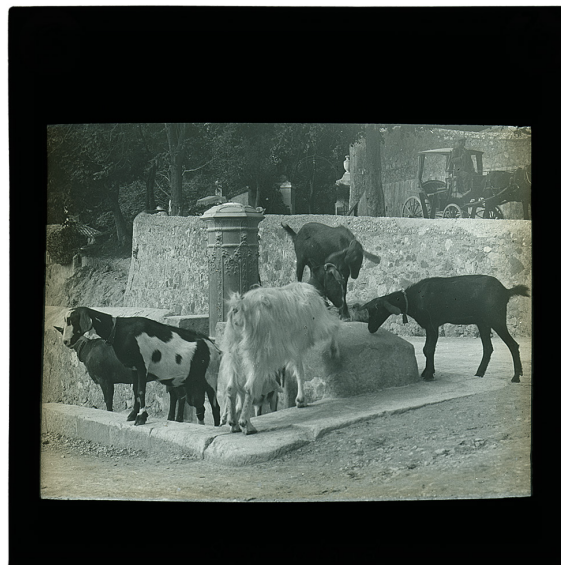


Fig. 6.39 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Gibraltar Milkman", lantern slide, May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 720)

giving a more faithful impression of a place than could otherwise be obtained".¹⁰⁵ The enthusiasm with which the paper was greeted by members and friends then promoted the Society to invite her to give the lecture before an audience of the general public, during the annual exhibition in the autumn. "A Visit to Gibraltar" was presented as the seventh in the series of "lantern lectures" arranged for the exhibition season, at 8 p.m. on Thursday 5 October 1905, in the North Room of the New Gallery, 121 Regent Street.¹⁰⁶ The success of this lecture obliged Miss Acland to repeat it twice: as an unscheduled event on the last night of the exhibition, Saturday 28 October 1905, and "by special request" as the opening event of the following year's exhibition season, on Thursday 20 September 1906.¹⁰⁷

In both Oxford and London the response to Miss Acland's Gibraltar colour slides was unrestrained. After the Camera Club lecture a report appeared in *Photography* under the prominent heading "Three-colour Work from Nature", in which she was described as the "most untiring and successful exponent" of colour photography to date.¹⁰⁸ In the discussion immediately after her Russell Square lecture the editor of *Photography*, Roger Child Bayley (1869–1935), "speaking as one who had seen perhaps, as many three-colour slides as most people", expressed the view that those present:

had had a treat that night of no ordinary kind. It was no reflection on the audience

¹⁰⁵ *Photographic Journal*, vol. 45, no. 7 (Jul 1905), pp. 232–238

¹⁰⁶ "Programme of Lantern Lectures", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 45 (supplement), no. 9 (21 Sep 1906), p. 4

¹⁰⁷ "News and Notes", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2418 (7 Sep 1906), p. 717; "Programme of Lantern Lectures", *Photographic Journal* (21 Sep 1906), p. 4. Catherine Weed Ward gave the date as 31 October 1905 (Catherine Weed Ward, "Woman in Photography", *Photogram*, vol. 12, no. 144 (Dec, 1905), pp. 373–374, p. 373).

¹⁰⁸ "Three-colour Work from Nature: Notes on a Lecture by Miss Acland on Gibraltar, Delivered to the Oxford Camera Club", *Photography*, vol. 19, no. 846 (24 Jan 1905), pp. 154–155



Fig. 6.40 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Across the Bay*, Sanger Shepherd process lantern slide, May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 819)



Fig. 6.41 Sarah Angelina Acland, *"Mustapha"*, Sanger Shepherd process lantern slide, May 1903 (cat. no. 804)

to say he was sure that fifty per cent. of them, though they must have admired Miss Acland's work, could not have formed any idea of the labour and the amount of skill that was required to attain such a triumph as she had that night. They had had in that room on previous occasions examples of three-colour photography by gentlemen who were acknowledged experts, but no experts that he had seen or heard of had ever shown them half a dozen slides as good as any one of twenty or thirty of Miss Acland's, and he was sure he did not exaggerate when he said that no one had shown them any slides to equal half a dozen of Miss Acland's best. ... He thanked her not only for her splendid paper but for her magnificent representation of a process the difficulties of which were only understood by those who had ever attempted it.¹⁰⁹

In an editorial in July 1905, Child Bayley wrote of how "the quality and quantity of her colour slides were a surprise. Certainly nothing approaching the best of them had ever been shown before, while even the poorest of them were as good as the best of other workers."¹¹⁰ Horsley Hinton, commenting in *Amateur Photographer*, was of a similar opinion:

Miss Acland's lecture on Gibraltar, illustrated by colour photographs taken by the Sanger Shepherd process, has been the most popular feature of the lecture season at the New Gallery. It was delivered two or three weeks ago and received an "encore," with the result that it was repeated before an overflowing audience on the last night of the R.P.S. exhibition. Miss Acland explained her methods with the utmost freedom. ... Her pictures are certainly entitled to rank as amongst the "best yet" in colour photography.¹¹¹

Catherine Weed Ward, in her column on "Woman in Photography" in December

109. Miss Acland, "A Visit to Gibraltar", *Photographic Journal*, p. 238

110. "Spirit of the Times", *Photography* (13 Jul 1905), p. 548

111. "Notes and Comments", *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 42, no. 1101 (7 Nov 1905), pp. 361–362, p. 361

Table 6.1. Reconstruction of Lantern Slides Exhibited by Miss Acland at her Gibraltar Lectures

Slide	Subject Matter	B & W	Colour	Cat. no.
1	"The first slide showed the west side of the Rock, towards the Bay"	•		
2	"an unusual [view of the] north end of the Rock [rising] 1,400 feet"	•		
3	"view ... from the neutral ground on the north front"	•		
4	"landing-place ... known as the King's Stairs"	•		
5	"women with stalls, under one of the wonderful Bella Sombra trees"	•		
6	The Convent ?	•		
7	"Miss Acland exhibited as the first colour photograph a portrait of Sir George White"		•	
8	Alameda Gardens	•		721
9	"In the Alameda Gardens"		•	
10	"a slide of a group of prickly pears"		•	851
11	"across the harbour a peep of the town in the distance"	•		
12	"The lunatic asylum at Gibraltar was a very large building"	•		
13	"the entrance gate of the grounds of the Mount"		•	815
14	"a steep dusty road with constant traffic ... mule carts ... soldiers, workmen, traction engines"	•		
15	"inside the lodge gates into the cool shade of the trees with their undergrowth of brilliant flowers"		•	816
16	"The garden of the Mount ... arranged in terraces like King Solomon's gardens of old."		•	
17	"heliotrope hanging down some ten feet"		•	836
18	"up the drive ... masses of geraniums, monthly roses, and yellow-eyed daisies"		•	842 ?
19	"shade deepens as we go further up the drive and get under the heavy pines"		•	
20	View in the Mount gardens ?		•	
21	View in the Mount gardens ?		•	
22	View in the Mount gardens ?		•	
23	View in the Mount gardens ?		•	
24	View in the Mount gardens ?		•	
25	View in the Mount gardens ?		•	
26	Portrait of Captain Arthur Murray Farquhar (1855–1937) ?		•	
27	Portrait of Charles Henry Cecil Kerr-Pearse (1873–1957), flag-lieutenant at Gibraltar ?		•	
28	"dining table at the Mount arranged as it was when the King lunched with the Admiral"		•	808–9
29	"A portrait of Queen Victoria ... presented to her brother by her late Majesty"		•	
30	"the wonderfully decorated envelope which contained a message sent from the Emperor of Morocco to the King"		•	810–11
31	"the flora as seen from the windows of the dining-room"		•	817?
32	"From my Window" ?		•	818?
33	Wild flowers in the garden, including Ixias ?		•	
34	"Near the house was a handsome pergola covered with creepers of every variety"		•	820
35	"an ivy-leaf geranium had climbed right over the trellis"		•	831?
36	"sweet-scented verbena near the house, some fifteen or sixteen feet high"		•	
37	"the orange trees"		•	846?
38	"a slide representing the smoke from the firing of the 100 ton gun"	•		
39	"Spanish gipsies"		•	806–7
40	"straight across the bay of Gibraltar is the town of Algeciras"		•	819?
41	Street scene, Algeciras ?	•		718
42	"a beautiful view towards the coast of Morocco ... over Rosia Bay with its fort and barracks"		•	812
43	"a Moor named Conda [in the] ordinary dress of his country,"		•	801
44	Conda, his dress "covered in the winter by a warm thick brown burnous with a hood"			
45	Conda in white burnous		•	803
46	Glenrocky ?	•		
47	"goats feeding amongst the rocks"	•		720
48	"looking north, with the coast of Andalusia in the distance"		•	813
49	"Sir George White's 'cottage'"		•	814

50	Mustapha		•	804	
51	Mustapha as a girl		•	805	
52	The Jews' cemetery, showing a tombstone by the roadside	•			
53	The military prison and the naval signal station ?	•			
54	Rain-water catchments ?	•			
55	"white Bermuda lilies"		•	829–30	
56	Portrait of Colonel Willoughby Verner		•	800	
57	The town of Linea ?	•			
58	Smuggler's boat ?	•		715?	
59	Dogs being trained in Linea ?	•			
60	Monkeys ?	•			
61	Luxuriant flora, including lilac ivy-leafed geraniums		•	841?	
62	Flora in the gardens of the Mount ?		•		
63	Mediterranean fleet with the Channel and Cruiser Squadrons ?	•			
64	"panorama of three negatives ... showing the fleet anchored in the harbour and bay"	•			
65	"telephoto view of ... the <i>Good Hope</i> , the flagship of the cruiser squadron, coaling in the harbour"	•			
66	"The last of the Gibraltar slides was that of Vice-Admiral Sir William Acland"		•		
		24	42		
		66			

1905, also praised the slides, referring to them as "remarkably fine work, quite the best I have ever seen."¹¹²

The contents of Miss Acland's lectures was essentially the same in both Oxford and London: sixty-six lantern slides, forty-two or forty-three of which were in colour, twenty-four in monochrome (figs. 6.38 & 6.39).¹¹³ None of the colour slides (as opposed to the original negatives) are known to survive, except two duplicates (figs. 6.40 & 6.41) — the original set was burnt out by the Royal Photographic Society's powerful lantern projector during or after her last lecture.¹¹⁴ An approximate list of those shown can be reconstructed from the various published reports (table 6.1). The slides that tended to impress her lay audiences were those that depicted brightly coloured flowers in The Mount gardens. The colour aficionados, on the other hand, were struck by examples in which neutral tones predominated (fig. 6.43). Child Bayley, for example, spoke of the

acclamation for the subtler effects, in which Miss Acland seemed supreme. Portraits with the most faithful renderings of flesh colour, distances grey or blue, as the case might require, and hardest of all whites and blacks that were white and black, testified to the skill and knowledge brought to bear upon the most difficult process photography has to offer the enthusiast.¹¹⁵

The *British Journal of Photography* also had a "special word of praise" for the scenes

112. Ward, "Woman in Photography" (Dec 1905), p. 373

113. The *Photographic Journal* stated that forty-two of her slides were in colour, *Photography* forty-three.

114. Ms. Acland d. 114, fols. 138–139. Possibly after the projector had been modified with a brighter lamp for showing the notoriously dense Autochrome.

115. "Spirit of the Times", *Photography* (13 Jul 1905), p. 548

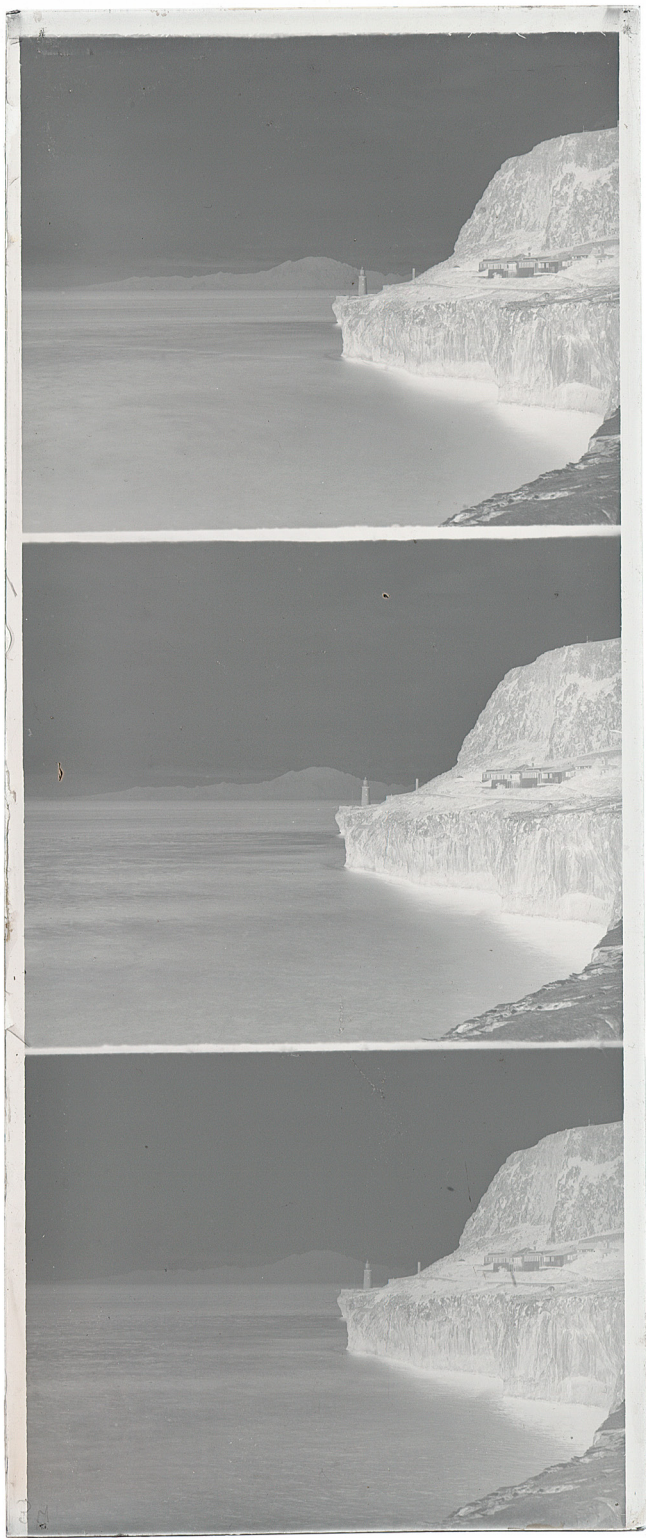




Fig. 6.42 (opposite) Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Europa Point, Gibraltar*", 3-colour negative, May 1903 (cat. no. 814) (actual size)

Fig. 6.43 (above) Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Europa Point, Gibraltar*", digital composite from 3-colour negative, May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 814)



Fig. 6.44 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Sir G. White", digital composite from 3-colour negative, between 29 Apr and 15 May 1903 (cat. no. 797)

with neutral tones, noting that certain slides of the sea in grey weather were a "severe test" of her mastery of the process.¹¹⁶

As beautiful and impressive as Miss Acland's slides clearly were, the success of her lectures also owed much to the sagacity with which she engaged her audiences' interest in the subjects depicted. Although it contained "technical remarks of great value", unlike her earlier demonstration with Minn at the Camera Club "A Visit to Gibraltar" was far from a specialist account of the theory and practice of colour photography. Instead, Miss Acland presented her slides as the result of an expedition to Gibraltar, using them to punctuate a first hand narrative account of what she found there, interspersed with details of history and geography of the Rock, the customs of the inhabitants (indigenous and alien), and the work of the military garrison.

By 1904 there were few corners of the globe that had not been illuminated by the light of the lecture lantern, illustrated accounts of far away places having long been popular with audiences, women in particular (albeit without the added novelty of colour). Gibraltar was an exception, the reason why well known: "the use of a camera is strictly prohibited there, and even the carrying of a hand-camera through the street is apt to get [the visitor] into trouble".¹¹⁷ Fortunately, this rule did not seem to apply to sisters of the Superintendent of the Dockyard — a fact not lost on the correspondent of the *Oxford Times*, who noted that Miss Acland had "exceptional opportunities for obtaining photographs of an absolutely unique

116. "Meetings of Societies / Royal Photographic Society", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 52, no. 2353 (9 Jun 1905), p. 456.

117. Charles Simpson, "The American Amateur Photographer", *American Amateur Photographer*, vol. 5, no. 5 (May 1893), pp. 198–200, p. 200



Fig. 6.45 Sarah Angelina Acland, "The Admiral", digital composite from 3-colour negative, May 1903 (cat. no. 799)

character", nor Child Bayley, who pointed out that "it was no doubt owing to her official connections that Miss Acland's camera could be used so often."¹¹⁸

In describing Gibraltar Miss Acland drew not only on its visual novelty but the colony's fascination for the British public as an outpost of the Empire.¹¹⁹ The pervasive discourse of colonialism is evident throughout her remarks, providing a familiar framework in which her listeners could digest the unfamiliar spectacle of colour before their eyes. At the RPS she signalled the context in which she expected the slides to be viewed at the top of the lecture by announcing her desire to interest her audience "in that most fascinating of all stations, Gibraltar" and by reminding them that it had "remained in our possession" since the peace of 1783.¹²⁰ Her photographic tour began at the King's Stairs, "so named because at them landed King Edward VII, the first English monarch who has ever visited this, his colony".¹²¹ As a reminder of her family's links to the monarch, who had visited the Aclands whilst a student at Oxford in 1860, she exhibited a slide of the dining table at the Mount, arranged as it had been when the King lunched there as Willie's guest, a week before her own visit in 1903 (cat. nos. 808–9).¹²² Also visible in the photograph was a portrait of Queen Victoria Her Majesty had presented to Willie after he stepped down as her Naval Aide-de-Camp in 1896.

118. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times*, no. 2298 (17 Dec 1904), p. 10e; "Three-colour Work from Nature", *Photography*, p. 154

119. On imperialism and photography see James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London, 1997).

120. Miss Acland, "A Visit to Gibraltar", *Photographic Journal*, p. 232; p. 233

121. *Ibid.*

122. "Second December Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 104b

From the King's Stairs Miss Acland's virtual journey around the Rock continued at 'The Convent', the Governor's official residence. The first colour slide she exhibited was a portrait of one of the Empire's most well-known military leaders: the Governor of Gibraltar and 'Hero of Ladysmith', Field Marshall Sir George White (1835–1912) (cat. no. 797) (fig. 6.44).¹²³ Another of her most admired slides was a portrait of her brother in full dress uniform (cat. no. 799) (fig. 6.45). A "moderate Conservative and a strong Imperialist", Willie took the "White Man's Burden" very seriously, according to his wife (who was the daughter of the former First Lord of the Admiralty and Secretary of State for War).¹²⁴ Other officers to be "immortalised in colour" by Miss Acland included Willie's flag-lieutenant, Charles Henry Cecil Kerr-Pearse (1873–1957), and Captain (later Admiral) Arthur Murray Farquhar (1855–1937) (both untraced).¹²⁵ She was also introduced to Admiral Robley Dunglison Evans (1846–1912), "Fighting Bob" of the United States Navy "who sank the Spanish fleet at Cuba".¹²⁶ Whether she photographed him is unknown, but he gave her "a most graphic account of his interview with the Empress of China", which she repeated for her listeners.

These representatives of the colonial powers were juxtaposed by Miss Acland with portraits of the indigenous people of Gibraltar and Southern Spain. The local people interested her greatly, as they had her father when he visited a decade earlier.¹²⁷ In one of her earliest monochrome photographs, for example, she drew attention to local women tending their stalls under the Bella Sombra trees (untraced). In *Spanish Gipsies* she photographed two pedlars who visited The Mount to sell baskets (cat. nos. 806–7) (figs. 6.46 & 6.47). Occupying an ambiguous position between colonist and colonised was a Moor named Conda, who worked in the Mount gardens and who dressed for his portrait in the clothes he felt a foreign visitor would expect him to wear (cat. nos. 800–02).¹²⁸ At his suggestion Miss Acland also photographed his brother, Mustapha (cat. nos. 804 & 805) (fig. 6.43):

One day when walking in the garden Conda the Moor came up to me and said in his broken English, "Missus, little brother come." I replied that it was very pleasant for him, not guessing that I had anything to do with it. "Ah," said Conda, "Little brother come to be photographed"; so we had many tries, as the boy could talk nothing but Arabic, and he was only eight years old, and the exposure was long. You will see that even in this photograph he did move a little. With much forethought Conda had made his brother bring some girl's clothes with him that I might also have a photograph of a Moorish girl—even if a made-up one! Notice the expression of disgust on Mustapha's face.¹²⁹

Which side of the divide between observer and observed the stronger colonial preconceptions lay in these meetings is debatable. The subtle nature of Miss Acland's

123. Miss Acland, "A Visit to Gibraltar", *Photographic Journal*, p. 234

124. *Admiral Sir W. A. D. Acland, Bt., C.V.O.: A Short Memoir* (n. pl. [1925?]) [BOD 23141 e. 201(17)], p. 6; Mrs William Acland [Emily Anna Acland], *Mi Ricordo* (London, 1932), p. 215

125. Ms. Acland d. 172, fols. 57–58 (Farquhar to SAA, 16 May [1903]). For Kerr-Pearse's sitting see Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 193–194 (SAA to WADA, 25 Jun 1904). His wife Muriel Mary Monica, née Mostyn (1876–1933) was also photographed by Miss Acland.

126. Miss Acland, "A Visit to Gibraltar", *Photographic Journal*, p. 235

127. See, for example, Ms. Acland d. 127, fols. 96–101 (HWA to SAA, 25 Oct 1890) and *passim*.

128. See *First Lady of Colour Photography*, pp. 216–217.

129. Miss Acland, "A Visit to Gibraltar", *Photographic Journal*, p. 235

colonial encounters is also apparent in the ambiguous ground her photographs occupy between ethnographic studies and portraits.¹³⁰ How they were interpreted depended partly on the perspective and preconceptions of the viewer. To Miss Acland, for example, the studies of Conda and Mustapha were portraits because she knew the individuals concerned; to *Amateur Photographer*, on the other hand, viewing them from the distance of England, they were photographs of “Spanish and Moorish types”.¹³¹

Miss Acland claimed that her lecture did not deal with Gibraltar “in its military aspect”, but this was little more than lip service to those who might have questioned the wisdom of allowing her to photograph in the garrison.¹³² Several photographs depicted the military installations, which she described in rich detail. One slide (now lost) showed smoke from the firing of the 100-ton gun, for example, which she explained consumed 638 lbs of powder for each shot. Another, exhibited in a panorama of three slides (also lost), captured the entire Mediterranean fleet at anchor in the Bay: eighteen battleships, eighteen cruisers, twenty-four torpedo boats, artificers’ ships, and the hospital ship *Maine*. Together these ships carried about 30,000 men, she reported. The largest, the *Good Hope* and the *Drake*, displaced 15,000 tons; the most powerful gun was the 12-inch, weighing 56 tons and throwing a shot of 850 lbs; the fastest ship could do about 30 knots if necessary; each burned 10 tons of coal a day when in harbour, or 250 tons at sea at full speed. A telephoto view of the *Good Hope* coaling in the Bay, taken from the signal station at the top of the Rock (lost), particularly interested the *Oxford Times*:

Unlike most telephotographic results as exhibited by amateurs, every detail was sharp and the print was exceptionally plucky though fully exposed. No wonder the artillery evinced such interest in the results, for surely the introduction of telephotography might be of great use in obtaining permanent records at a safe distance of the position and features of defensive work by other nations.¹³³

The photograph also prompted the paper’s correspondent to muse on the merit of establishing a School of Photography for the united services: “we cannot see why such a school should not be organised with advantage, and a complete and permanent record kept of any valuable work performed by aid of this branch of photography”.¹³⁴

The order created by the military was one of the characteristics of Gibraltar Miss Acland emphasised. Her belief in the efficiency of British government was betrayed by references to the management of her brother’s busy office and the constant activity of orderlies, blue jackets and messengers in the grounds (which made the long exposures necessary for colour photography even more difficult). Conditions in the colony were contrasted with the shambles found on Spanish soil. Only a few hundred metres across the neutral ground was “a most deplorable place called Linea”, she explained, where, even with a population of 30,000, “there

130. On the development of ethnographic photography of racial types see Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, ch. 5, pp. 140–182, “Photographing the Natives”.

131. “Notes and Comments”, *Amateur Photographer* (7 Nov 1905), p. 361

132. Miss Acland, “A Visit to Gibraltar”, *Photographic Journal*, p. 233

133. “Matters Photographical”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2299 (24 Dec 1904), p. 10c

134. *Ibid.*





Fig. 6.46 (opposite) Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Spanish Gipsies*", 3-colour negative, May 1903 (cat. no. 806) (actual size)

Fig. 6.47 (above) Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Spanish Gipsies*", digital composite from 3-colour negative, May 1903 (cat. no. 806)

were no schools, water supply, or drainage" — the very touchstone of British civilization.¹³⁵ British engineering prowess in taming the challenging physical geography of the Rock could be seen in her photographs of the large corrugated iron catchments used to collect drinking water and the huge tanks in the caves where it was stored. Man's mastery of nature was also evident in the gardens of The Mount, where Miss Acland photographed the brilliant pelargoniums, dazzling bougainvillea and other cultivars. The challenges faced by Gibraltar's gardeners were analogous to those of its colonial administrators. "One of the difficulties of gardening on the Rock", she explained, "was the rapidity with which plants reverted to the original type. Ivy-leaved geraniums return to the original lilac colour from a cultivated pink" (fig. 6.48).¹³⁶ Her colour photographs of the gardens served as a visual metaphor of the benefits of British rule, seen from a woman's perspective: a barren "wilderness" transformed into a beautiful flower garden.

At the Oxford Camera Club Miss Acland closed her lecture with her colour portrait of Willie, describing him as "a fine officer, a true friend, and the best of brothers—my Admiral!"¹³⁷ The slide served to bring the Empire home to Oxford and ensured that her audience went away

filled not only with wonderment at the possibilities of this new branch of photographic art, but with delight at having had the beauties of one of Britain's smallest but most jealously guarded possessions exhibited in the natural colours, and described so graphically by the sister of one of the most popular Admirals of our Navy, the only native of Oxford, we believe, who has attained 'flag rank.'¹³⁸

At the Royal Photographic Society she also emphasized the value of her colour slides in another undertaking of crucial relevance to Imperial advancement: the use of photography as a tool of scientific exploration. Colour photographs offered "a more faithful impression of a place than could otherwise be obtained", she stressed in subtitle of her paper.¹³⁹ The exploratory nature of the undertaking and the importance of colour photographs as accurate, objective transcripts of nature were discussed early on in the lecture: "I trust that it may be of some interest to show the results which have been brought back by an amateur from an expedition south, as I hope to demonstrate to you the advantage of this process in bringing before you a more vivid and correct idea of the places described, than could be the case if only slides in monochrome were exhibited."¹⁴⁰

The degree to which Miss Acland's rhetorical strategy was successful in inserting her colour photography within the discourse of scientific exploration and colonialism is reflected in the context in which they were discussed in the press. The *Oxford Times* made a comparison with another lecture that owed its popularity to its imperialistic subject matter: "The Kodak in Peace and War", by Henry Charles Shelley (1866/7–1936), war correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* and the *King*.¹⁴¹

135. "Second December Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 105a

136. *Ibid.*

137. *Ibid.*, p. 105b

138. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times* (24 Dec 1904), p. 10c

139. Miss Acland, "A Visit to Gibraltar", *Photographic Journal*, p. 232

140. *Ibid.*, p. 232

141. See "First December Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 12 (Apr 1906), pp. 103–104.

Fig. 6.48 Sarah Angelina Acland,
Exotic variety of Pelargonium, digital
 composite from 3-colour negative,
 May 1903 or 1904 (cat. no. 841)



“While our opinions of Mr. Shelley’s oratorical powers remained unchanged”, the paper’s critic remarked, “we must now admit that his best slides—prize slides as many of them were—were totally eclipsed by the feast of colour, so naturally and harmoniously rendered, exhibited by Miss Acland at the Camera Club on Monday night”.¹⁴² In judging the historical significance of the slides, the paper drew a parallel with the photographic spoils of another famous expedition south:

In matters of historical value there is one other collection which can claim the foremost place, and that is a series of 40 views brought home by the Antarctic expedition under Commander R. Falcon Scott. These slides were the results of two years’ labour, while Miss Acland’s were all taken in two visits to Gibraltar, each of a month’s duration.¹⁴³

After the Oxford lecture Sanger Shepherd (who had been present) was keen to stress the superiority of Miss Acland’s Gibraltar slides over an existing set with Royal associations. Her work, he announced, was “the finest collection of slides in colour photography yet produced on one subject”, surpassing the previous holder of this title: “another fine collection of 25 slides representing early miniatures in His Majesty’s collection”.¹⁴⁴

142. “Matters Photographical”, *Oxford Times* (24 Dec 1904), p. 10c

143. Ibid. The expedition was Scott’s first, the British National Antarctic Expedition of 1901–04, on the *Discovery*. See Robert F. Scott, *The Voyage of the ‘Discovery’* (2 vols, London, 1905); and J. V. Skelton and D. M. Wilson, *Discovery Illustrated: Pictures from Captain Scott’s First Antarctic Expedition* (Cheltenham, 2001).

144. “Second December Meeting”, p. 104; “Matters Photographical”, *Oxford Times* (24 Dec 1904), p. 10c

The colour photographs of miniatures mentioned by Sanger Shepherd were the work of Richard Rivington Holmes (1835–1911), Royal Librarian at Windsor Castle.¹⁴⁵ Holmes's slides (which may have been inspired by Miss Acland's miniatures at the RPS in 1902) were first seen in public on 11 May 1904, during a lecture at the Society of Arts. On 26 May they were exhibited to the King, Queen and Princess Victoria after dinner at Windsor Castle. In the opinion of *The Times* they were "little short of marvellous", managing to capture not only every line and shadow, but "every tint and shade of colour; so that the perfect miniatures came out perfect and those that were flawed or faded appeared as such".¹⁴⁶

Holmes was a member of a surprisingly large group of photographers who practised the Sanger Shepherd process between 1900 and 1907. That these colour workers have been written out of the history of photography is surprising. In the seven years after its release in 1900 twenty different exhibitors showed a total of 311 photographs by the Sanger Shepherd process at the RPS exhibition alone (table 6.2). In the 1901 exhibition, for example, Miss Acland was joined by four men: John Allen (1871–1944), Charles Barker Howdill (1863–1941), William Edward Bond (1852–1938), and Andrew Pringle (1850–1929). Allen, who was the son of Ruskin's publisher George Allen (no less), showed six slides of Swiss scenes; Bond, a Huddersfield photographer, three still lifes. Howdill, who submitted eight slides of stained glass windows taken during the Photographic Convention at Oxford in 1901, subsequently became a well-known speaker on colour photography, lecturing extensively in the North of England. Pringle, who was an authority on photomicroscopy as well as a photographic writer, exhibited fifteen slides of crystals. His enthusiasm for the Sanger Shepherd process had been apparent the previous year, when he lectured on the subject at the London Camera Club and published a series of articles on the technique in *Photography*.¹⁴⁷

Of those who exhibited Sanger Shepherd photographs at the RPS after 1901, the most notable are Albert Norman (1882–1964), Donald Henry Anketell Hutchinson (1873–1930), Oliver Gregory Pike (1877–1963), and Edmund Johnston Garwood (1864–1969). Norman, who was a pathologist, and whose 1903 exhibits were regarded as "almost epoch-making photomicrograph slides", followed Miss Acland by giving a demonstration of the Sanger Shepherd process at the RPS in 1906.¹⁴⁸ Hutchinson was a Lowestoft doctor and amateur entomologist; his exhibits

145. See "Court Circular", *The Times*, no. 37405 (27 May 1904), p. 4e; and "Early Miniatures", *The Times*, no. 37392 (12 May 1904), p. 10e. Holmes was presumably assisted by Sanger Shepherd.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 10e.

147. See Andrew Pringle, *Practical Photo-Micrography* (3rd ed., London, 1902) and A. Pringle, "Colour Photography by the Sanger Shepherd Process", *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 15, no. 180 (May 1901), pp. 61–63; Andrew Pringle, "Colour Photography by the Sanger-Shepherd Process", *Photography*, vol. 13, no. 668 (29 Aug 1901), pp. 569–570; continued in no. 669 (5 Sep 1901), pp. 594–595; no. 670 (12 Sep 1901), pp. 602–604; and no. 673 (3 Oct 1901), pp. 671–672. Pringle's *Photography* articles were noted in 'Half-tone', "Camera Notes", *Oxford Times*, no. 2070 (7 Sep 1900), p. 10d.

148. "Royal Photographic Society", *The Times*, no. 37195 (25 Sep 1903), p. 4b. See Albert Norman, "Practical Demonstration: Making Lantern Slides by the Sanger Shepherd Process", *Photographic Journal*, vol. 46, no. 6 (Jun 1906), pp. 212–215.

Table 6.2: Exhibitors of Sanger Shepherd Lantern Slides at the Royal Photographic Society, 1900–10 (in order of appearance)

Exhibitor	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Sanger Shepherd & Robert Lincoln Cocks (1876–1937)	8										8
Alfred Watkins (1855–1935)	2										2
Sarah Angelina Acland (1849–1930)		6			6						12
John Allen (1871–1944)		6									6
Charles Barker Howdill (1863–1941)		8									8
William Edward Bond (1852–1938)		4									4
Sanger Shepherd & James Cadett (1852–1949)		8									8
Andrew Pringle (1850–1929)		15									15
John Henry Jahn (b. 1861)			1								1
Albert Norman (1882–1964)				24							24
Edward Parker Reynolds (1862–1924)				15							15
Walter Edwin Brewerton (1870–1947)				9							9
Bertram Julius Beckton (1878–1943)					6						6
Donald Henry Anketell Hutchinson (1873–1930)						28	14				42
Walter Longley Bourke, 8th Earl of Mayo (1859–1939)						8					8
Frank Goldby (b. 1858 Oxford, d. 1953)						16					16
Oliver Gregory Pike (1877–1963)							24				24
William Saville Kent (1845–1908)							81				81
Arthur William Everest (1874–1937)								8			8
Owen Mortimer Bartlett (1879–1955)										1	1
Edmund Johnston Garwood (1864–1969)											9
	10	47	1	48	12	52	119	8	0	1	9
											307



Figs. 6.49–52 Unknown photographer or photographers, *Wisteria*; *Clematis*; *Orchid*; *Aloe arborescens*; quarter-plate Sanger Shepherd process colour transparencies, c. 1900–07 (MHS 96285, 34790, 16203 & 30216)

These slides are present in a box of twenty-four that may have been given to the Museum of the History of Science by Harry Minn in 1930. It is possible some are by Miss Acland.

*Examples of Quarter-plate Sanger Shepherd
Transparencies by other Photographers*

Fig. 6.53 James Cadett ?, *Sunset*, quarter-plate Sanger Shepherd process colour transparency, c. 1905 ? (MHS 94556)

In the RPS trade section in 1901 Sanger Shepherd & Co. exhibited "Sunset Cloud studies from negatives by James Cadett".



Fig. 6.54 William Casson, *Dolomites*, quarter-plate Sanger Shepherd process colour transparency, c. 1905 ? (MHS 30972)

Casson was active in colour photography during the 1900s and exhibited Autochromes at the Royal Photographic Society in 1911, including of Venice. This slide was given to the Museum of the History of Science by his brother Stanley Casson (1889–1944), Reader in Classical Archaeology at Oxford.



Fig. 6.55 Partially digitally restored



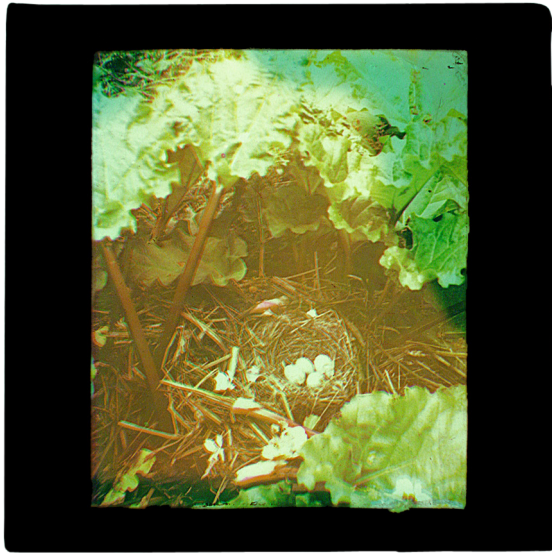


Fig. 6.56 Oliver Gregory Pike, “Nest of Blackbird (*in situ*)”, Sanger Shepherd process, 1906 (exhibited at the RPS in 1906 as “Blackbird under Rhubarb Clump”) (NMeM)

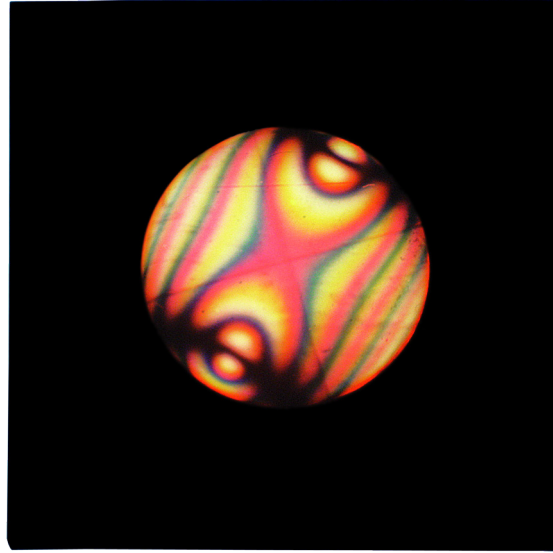


Fig. 6.57 Edmund Johnston Garwood, “Interference Figure of Muscovite / Retardation $1\frac{1}{2}$ -Wave length / Convergent light / x -Nicols”, Sanger Shepherd process, 1902–04, exhibited at the RPS in 1910 (NMeM 1949-172/8).

explored the usefulness of colour photography in the identification of butterflies. Pike was a leading nature photographer and later became a famous natural history filmmaker. In 1906 he exhibited twenty-five Sanger Shepherd slides of “Nests of British Birds in their natural situations” (fig. 6.56).¹⁴⁹ Garwood, Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at University College, London, contributed rock and mineral sections, several of which survive in the National Media Museum (fig. 6.57).¹⁵⁰

Miss Acland was the only woman to exhibit Sanger Shepherd photographs at the Royal Photographic Society. How many of her female contemporaries practised the process in the privacy of their own homes or exhibited at local photographic societies remains to be seen. In 1906, in the first exhibition in Britain devoted exclusively to colour photography (see ch. 7), Miss Acland was joined by a woman who, if not using the Sanger Shepherd process in name, exhibited a colour photograph based on a similar technique: Mary Helena Fraser, née Grattan-Bellew (1863–1940), wife of the Scottish peer Alexander William Frederick Fraser, 19th Lord Saltoun.¹⁵¹ Lady Saltoun exhibited a single whole-plate colour transparency made from two glass positives and an interposed film. In 1907 she and Miss Acland were joined at the same venue by a third woman: Constance Adeline Westlake, née Wilson (1887–1957), the daughter of a wealthy Liverpool cotton broker.¹⁵² Mrs Westlake’s contribution was a plate in which the red print was stained with

149. See “Mr. Oliver Pike: A Pioneer of Nature Photography”, *The Times*, no. 55835 (18 Oct 1963), p. 15b.

150. NMeM Accession no. 1949–172. See W. B. R. King, “Edmund Johnston Garwood, 1864–1949”, *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society*, vol. 7 (1 Nov 1950), pp. 107–113.

151. “Colour Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2391 (2 Mar 1906), p. 163

152. Society of Colour Photographers, *First Annual Exhibition* (Exhibition catalogue, House of the British Journal of Photography, London, 30 Sep to 26 Oct 1907) [St Bride Library, London, 8322 Box 206], cat. no. 115.

Sanger Shepherd Process Lantern Slides by other Workers

Fig. 6.58 Henry Taverner, "Water Mite", c. 1906 (MHS 31127)

Fig. 6.59 Unknown photographer, *The Hillside*, c. 1900-07 (NMeM)

Fig. 6.60 Unknown photographer, *Daffodils*, c. 1900-07 (NMeM)

Fig. 6.61 Sanger Shepherd and Arthur Evans, "Griffin Couchant" (Palace of Knossos, after Piet de Jong), 1923 (Institute of Archaeology, Oxford)

Fig. 6.62 Sanger Shepherd and Arthur Evans, "Captain of the Blacks" (Palace of Knossos, after Piet de Jong), 1923 (Institute of Archaeology, Oxford)



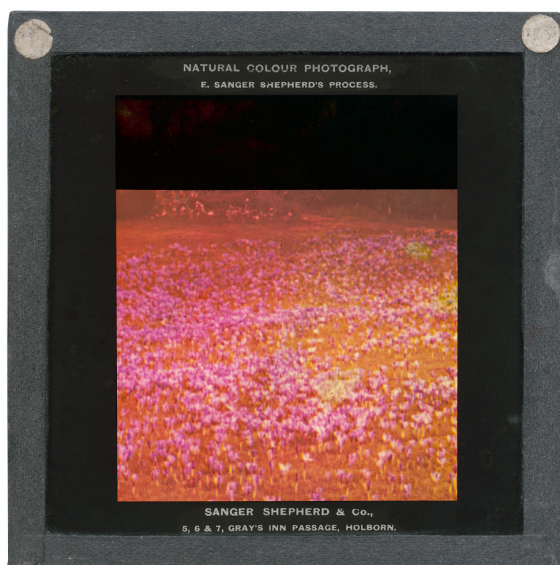


Fig. 6.63 Ellen Willmott ?, *Crocuses at Warley Place*, Sanger Shepherd process, c. 1901 (MHS 23865)

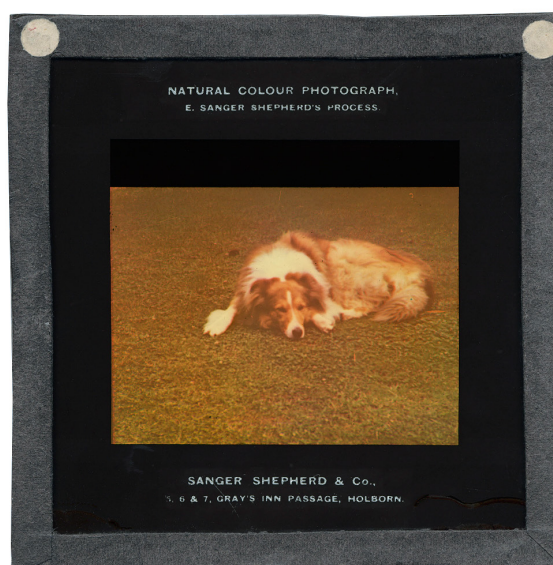


Fig. 6.64 Unknown photographer, *A Collie Dog*, Sanger Shepherd process, c. 1901 (MHS 30105)

Erythrosine and the yellow with Aurophenine, but which was otherwise again analogous to a Sanger Shepherd slide. A woman who is known to have owned Sanger Shepherd slides was Ellen Ann Willmott (1860–1934), the creator of a large garden at Warley Place, near Brentwood in Essex. During the 1890s Willmott competed in photographic competitions in the *Garden*, before publishing *Warley Garden in Spring and Summer* (London, 1909), a volume illustrated with large photogravure plates.¹⁵³ Sanger Shepherd lantern slides of Warley survive amongst her photographs in the Museum of the History of Science (fig. 6.63), but their mounts are printed with the address of Sanger Shepherd & Co., suggesting they were made for, rather than by her.¹⁵⁴

Sanger Shepherd and his competitors were keen to encourage women to take up colour photography, clearly regarding them as a market rich for exploitation in their own right. Advertisements for the L.N.A. process, for example, were illustrated with a drawing of a young lady in a long flowing dress, accompanied by the promise of “photography in colours made easy” (fig. 6.65).¹⁵⁵ After Miss Acland’s lectures, Sanger Shepherd and his supporters talked up the suitability of his process for women, and vice versa, stressing the advantage to the colour worker of such stereotypical feminine qualities as delicacy of touch, thoroughness and perseverance. Cadett was of the opinion that “the many details to be carried out

153. See “Photographic Competition, 1896”, *Garden*, vol. 48, no. 1258 (28 Dec 1895), pp. 509–510; “Photographic Competition, 1896”, *Garden*, vol. 50, no. 1305 (21 Nov 1896), pp. 423–424.

154. MHS Inventory nos. 24378, 23865, 27063 and 25230. Many of the Sanger Shepherd slides that survive in museums have mounts inscribed in letterpress with Sanger Shepherd & Co.’s name and address. This suggests they were made by the company itself, even though they seem to depict bespoke subjects primarily of interest only to their owners. It is possible that kits for the process included these printed masks. However, none of Miss Acland’s slides have them.

155. “Photography in Colours Made Easy by the L.N.A. Process / The Lumiere N.A. Co. Ltd.” [Advertisement], *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 36, no. 940 (9 Oct 1902), p. xvi

Fig. 6.65 Lumière N.A. Co., Ltd.,
Advertisement for the L.N.A. Process of
colour photography (*Photogram*, Nov
1902, p. 111)

in three-colour photography were best done by ladies; men were too impatient to study them as they required to be studied.”¹⁵⁶ “With all branches of photographic work the difficulties were found in matters of cleanliness”, Sanger Shepherd argued, which partly explained his finding that “many ladies had exceeded the men in the quality of their results.”¹⁵⁷ Child Bayley could not say whether the “greater patience or skill of Miss Acland’s sex” had contributed to her success, but he hoped that “some day they might have someone of his own sex to rival her”.¹⁵⁸ Before an audience of men at the London Camera Club (from which women were excluded), Sanger Shepherd adopted a more chauvinistic stance in arguing for the need for a practicable colour process: “No lady would ever be satisfied until colour photography was an accomplished fact, so that all her coloured dresses, her jewellery, and, above all, her complexion, could be properly rendered”.¹⁵⁹

The gendered appraisal of Miss Acland’s achievements was not restricted to men. Catherine Weed Ward, for example, in the *Photogram* in February 1905, attributed her reputation for producing fine work to her “perseverance and determination, added to artistic taste”.¹⁶⁰ When Ward learnt that Miss Acland had been invited to repeat her Gibraltar lecture she wrote of her hope that “she will have

156. Miss Acland, “A Visit to Gibraltar”, *Photographic Journal*, p. 238

157. “Second December Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, p. 105; ‘Half-tone’, “Camera Notes”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2051 (28 April 1900), p. 12c–d

158. Miss Acland, “A Visit to Gibraltar”, *Photographic Journal*, p. 238

159. E. Sanger Shepherd, “Colour Photography on Paper”, p. 19

160. Catherine Weed Ward, “Woman in Photography”, *Photogram*, vol. 12, no. 134 (Feb 1905), pp. 43–44, p. 43

good support from the lady members of the society and women photographers generally.”¹⁶¹ Miss Acland’s colour photography certainly made her a role model for women. “Such work as hers ought to encourage other women to go and do likewise”, Ward argued in her August column on *Woman in Photography*.¹⁶² When the author of “Photographic Chat” in the journal *Womanhood* introduced her readers to the subject of “Colour Work” in October 1905, she was of a similar view, but declined to limit Miss Acland’s influence to members of her own sex, arguing simply that her lecture at the Royal Photographic Society had “given an impetus to this pursuit among amateurs.”¹⁶³

*

Already by 1903 Miss Acland’s reputation in the field of colour photography was attracting visitors to Oxford to see her results. In July, for example, William Hawkins Wilson (1868–1956), Professor of Physiology at Cairo University, undertook the pilgrimage. He “came to see my colour photographs as he is thinking of taking it up to help him in his pathological work at Cairo”, Miss Acland told Willie.¹⁶⁴ Other visitors included William Rann Kennedy (1846–1915), Lord Justice of Appeal, and the stage magician John Nevil Maskelyne (1839–1917).¹⁶⁵

Miss Acland’s colour slides made her a household name in photographic circles and were seen as a point of reference for many years to come. She was “*facile princeps* amongst three-colour workers”, Child Bayley wrote in his best-selling book, *The Complete Photographer* in 1906, concluding that her slides “leave nothing to be desired in the direction of perfect colour rendering.”¹⁶⁶ For several years after her death her work was still regarded as without match, as reflected in Henry Oscar Klein’s 1936 comment that “the colour transparencies of Miss Acland, done with the Sanger-Shepherd process, have never been surpassed in brilliancy and truthfulness of colour, and only Technicolor of to-day can approach them.”¹⁶⁷ Miss Acland’s Royal Photographic Society demonstration in 1905 was considered ground-breaking by her contemporaries: “Altogether, it was a memorable night for the R.P.S., marking as it did the definite assumption of three-colour work as a process for the travelling amateur.”¹⁶⁸

The Sanger Shepherd process occupies a pivotal place in the history of photography, despite its absence from the canonical accounts. In light of the achievements of Miss Acland and other workers of the process before 1907, conventional assumptions about the early history of colour photography need to

161. Ward, “Woman in Photography”, *Photogram*, vol. 13, no. 154 (Oct 1906), pp. 317–317, p. 316

162. Ward, “Woman in Photography”, *Photogram*, vol. 12, no. 140 (Aug 1905), pp. 241–242, p. 241

163. “‘Womanhood’ Photographic Club / Photographic Chat / Colour Work”, *Womanhood*, vol. 14, no. 83 (Oct 1905), pp. 319–322, p. 320

164. Ms. Acland d. 108 fols. 146–149 (SAA to WADA, 11 Jul 1903)

165. Ms. Acland d. 108 fols. 170–173 (SAA to WADA, 19 Dec 1903); Ms. Acland d. 173, fols. 227–228 (John Nevil Maskelyne to SAA, 6 Dec 1904)

166. Bayley, *The Complete Photographer*, p. 290

167. H. O. Klein, “Colour Photography of To-day”, *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1936, pp. 172–85, p. 173

168. [Child Bayley], “Spirit of the Times” [Editorial], *Photography*, vol. 19, no. 866 (13 Jul 1905), pp. 548–549, p. 548

be reassessed. By the time of the release of the Autochrome the Sanger-Shepherd process, as practised by Miss Acland, had already reached a high degree of perfection. The birth of colour photography took place not in 1907 but in 1900, the prize for the first commercially viable, practicable system of colour belonging to Sanger Shepherd, not to his French competitors.

The significance of Miss Acland's work with the Sanger Shepherd process is difficult to overstate. Miss Acland was the first photographer to attempt to conquer the world in colour, and the first of myriad photographers to follow. Her photographs of Gibraltar created an appetite for colour among the lecture-going public and instilled a belief amongst photographers (especially women) that it was an achievable goal. The quality of her slides aside, her success before 1907 was important in preparing the ground for the reception of future systems of colour photography, to which she and an ever increasing number of colour photographers would soon turn.

Fig. 6.66 Sarah Angelina Acland, *A Lady in Powder*, digital composite from 3-colour negative, Jul 1907 (cat. no. 864).





Fig. 7.1 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*A Portrait Outdoors*",
Autochrome plate, September 1907 (cat. no. 869)

When Miss Acland submitted this portrait to the Society of Colour Photographers
First Annual Exhibition in September 1907 it was, as far as is known, the first
Autochrome by a woman ever to be exhibited in public.

CHAPTER 7

A Revolution in Photography Foretold, *circa 1906–1915*

Pre-history, practitioners and alternatives to the Autochrome

“An excellent Autochrome portrait by Miss Acland, FRPS, which, though catalogued, had been overlooked in arranging the transparencies, is now in place, and should be mentioned as a good example of restraint in applying the new process. Miss Acland’s long practice in colour photography by the Sanger-Shepherd process has kept her from the common mistake of indulging the appetite for colour to excess. The portrait (No. 131) may well serve as a model of what should be attempted in a portrait of a lady by the process.”

“The Society of Colour Photographers”, *British Journal of Photography*, October 1907¹

On 10 June 1907, nine months after Miss Acland had given her final lecture on Gibraltar at the Royal Photographic Society, an event took place at the Photo-Club de Paris that would change the way she, and all other photographers, approached colour photography: the first demonstration by the Lumière brothers of their new Autochrome plates.² The Autochrome caused an “immense sensation” and was responsible for making 1907 the *annus mirabilis* of the history of colour photography.³ In England the most vocal evangelist of the new process was Miss Acland’s former champion, Roger Child Bayley, who converted to the French cause after seeing Autochromes by the American photographer Edward Steichen (1879–1973).⁴ In a special issue of *Photography* on 16 July entitled “Colour Photography: A Revolution”,

1. “The Society of Colour Photographers” [Report of the 1907 exhibition], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 54, no. 2475 (11 Oct 1907), pp. 766–767, p. 766

2. Accounts of the Autochrome can be found in the standard histories of photography. See also [Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, France], *La photographie des couleurs: Autochromes Lumière, 1907–1935* ([www.autochromes.culture.fr], 2008) and Bertrand Lavédrine and Jean-Paul Gandolfo, *L’autochrome Lumière: Secrets d’atelier et défis industriels* (Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, [France], 2009).

3. R. Child Bayley, “My Own Experiences with the Autochrome Plates”, *Photography*, vol. 24, no. 975 (16 Jul 1907), pp. 41–44, p. 41

4. “An Interview with Mr. Edouard J. Steichen”, *Photography*, vol. 24, no. 975 (16 Jul 1907), pp. 45–7

Child Bayley wrote in delirious terms of the “abysmal depths of possibilities” offered by the new plates (fig. 7.2).⁵ Significantly, in justifying his remarks it was Miss Acland’s Gibraltar slides, as the existing benchmark in colour photography, to which he turned for comparison. The public had become too hungry for saturated colours, he argued, as “never shown better than at a lecture by Miss Acland which we attended”, when the applause had been “strictly quantitative”: the more colour the greater the appreciation of the audience.⁶ A “real triumph of colour rendering”, he complained, such as the flesh tones seen in her portraits and the grey and blue distances in her seascapes, “passed almost unnoticed.” “The time has surely come for a revision of this attitude, and we hope that the advent of the most remarkable ‘Autochrome’ plates of Messrs. Lumière will help to bring it about.”⁷

Ironically, perhaps, the “autochrome atrocities” of Steichen, Coburn, Heinrich Kuhn (1866–1944) and other leading pictorial photographers would be derided within the year for exactly the kind of “harsh colouring” Child Bayley railed against.⁸ However, in July 1907 Child Bayley judged Steichen’s “the finest colour work by pure photography that we have seen”.⁹ His comments marked the end of Miss Acland’s reign as the leading colour photographer of the day. She would, however, hold on to her position as the leading woman colour photographer for a little while longer. Having conducted her own experiments with the new process as soon as it was available in England, in September 1907 she became the first woman to exhibit an Autochrome at a public exhibition: a portrait of her goddaughter Maggie Hope on the garden steps of Clevedon House (cat. no. 869) (fig. 7.1).¹⁰ “Miss Acland’s long practice in colour photography by the Sanger-Shepherd process has kept her from the common mistake of indulging the appetite for colour to excess”, the *British Journal of Photography* remarked in reviewing the work, proving that, unlike her famous contemporaries, she had already taken Child Bayley’s criticisms on board.¹¹

Encouraged by her early success, Miss Acland would embrace Autochrome photography, particularly on the island of Madeira, where she overwintered every year from 1908 to 1915. She left 152 Autochromes in total, almost all of which are French size, metric plates, 9 × 12 cm, taken in a new ‘Una’ camera she probably purchased from James A. Sinclair & Co. early in 1908 (fig. 7.3).¹² Her output of Autochromes is large by the standards of other early amateurs, but small by comparison to her monochrome photography. This disparity highlights difficulties with the assumption often found in the historiography that the Autochrome was as easy to work as black and white plates and, as a consequence, attempted by almost

5. “Spirit of the Times”, *Photography*, vol. 24, no. 975 (16 Jul 1907), pp. 53–54, p. 53a

6. *Ibid.*, p. 53b

7. *Ibid.*

8. ‘Magpie’, “The ‘A.P.’ Causerie / Chromatic Idiosyncrasies”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 1247, no. 48 (25 Aug 1908), p. 172; “Studio-Talk”, *Studio*, vol. 45, no. 188 (Nov 1908), pp. 50–74, pp. 53–54, p. 54

9. “Spirit of the Times”, *Photography* (16 Jul 1907), p. 54a

10. Society of Colour Photographers, *First Annual Exhibition* (Exhibition catalogue, House of the British Journal of Photography, London, 30 Sep to 26 Oct 1907) [St Bride Library, London, 8322 Box 206]. It is possible that an Autochrome by a woman was exhibited in France in July, August or September, but none is recorded in the readily available sources.

11. “The Society of Colour Photographers” [Report of the 1907 exhibition], p. 766

12. The camera survives as MHS Inventory no. 80709.

PHOTOGRAPHY
A JOURNAL FOR EVERY CAMERA USER.
EDITED BY R. CHILD BAYLEY.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

JULY 16TH, 1907.
TUESDAY.
No. 975, Vol. XXIV.

COLOUR PHOTOGRAPHY.
A REVOLUTION.

The new Lumiere Autochrome Plates, which are creating an immense sensation in France, give a direct positive in colours in a single operation. There is only one exposure needed, and no printing, or superposing.

Special to "PHOTOGRAPHY."

An Interview with Mr. Steichen, who has obtained some most remarkable colour pictures by this process; with some account of his results.

THE FIRST DETAILED ACCOUNTS OF AMATEURS' EXPERIENCES TO BE PUBLISHED.

DEMAND SO GREAT IN FRANCE THAT THERE ARE NO PLATES FOR ENGLAND AT PRESENT.

My Own Experiences with the Autochrome Plates.
By R. Child Bayley. Special to "Photography."

THE "discovery of photography in natural colours" is loomed in some quarter or another almost every week. "Wolf! wolf!" has been cried so frequently that I should not be greatly surprised if a number of my readers pass the announcement we make this week with some such phrase as "Oh! the old story."

Yes. It is the old story, down to its very details, but with the difference that what has hitherto appeared as a theoretical possibility is **Actually a Practical Commercial Fact.**

"What is that?" says the reader. Just this. That it is now possible, or it was last week, to go into a shop in Paris, and to purchase a special form of dry plate, which, exposed much as any other plate is exposed in the camera, gives within half an hour of exposure, a finished and dry positive transparency on glass, in all the colours of nature, as true as the best three-colour work I have ever seen—far and away better than most.

No Skill Required. There is no difficulty about the process whatever. It calls for no skill or knowledge that it is not the common property of every photographer. There is no balancing of one screen against another, no dyeing

or washing out, no triple exposures and triple treatment of any kind, no registration or want of it, not even any waiting. It is a simpler and a far easier process to produce a perfect colour photograph on these plates than it is to make an ordinary negative and to print it in P.O.P.

No Imperfect Rendering Needing Apology. Nor is there any imperfect colour rendering to be apologised for. One or two shades are not quite right, but as a whole the colours are true; certainly there is none of that general weakness of some one colour often seen in three-colour work.

The Severest Test Passed. An expert knows that the severest test of three-colour photography is to get a white and a black. Many a process, which will deal fairly well with coloured subjects, breaks down completely when tested by its power of dealing with white, black, and grey, giving them with a marked tint. This does not. In the midst of the most brilliant colours faithfully rendered, black, white, and grey come out without the faintest tinge.

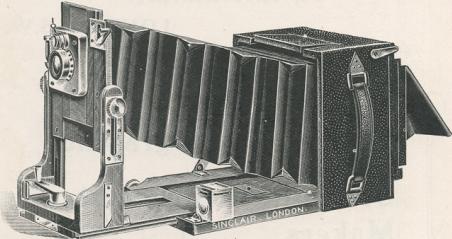
Transparencies on Glass. The results are positive transparencies on glass with a fine grain, so fine that they can be used very satisfactorily as lantern slides; but people with good sight

Fig. 7.2 Child Bayley's announcement of the Autochrome "revolution", 16 Jul 1907 (*Photography*, 16 Jul 1907, p. 41).

1050 THE BRITISH JOURNAL ALMANAC ADVERTISEMENTS

The SINCLAIR
"UNA" CAMERA.

THE ONLY PERFECT UNIVERSAL CAMERA.



Showing Camera with Long Extension and the Double Rising Front.

The Sinclair "UNA" Camera is THE BEST of its Class,

BECAUSE—

- IT is suitable for every class of work;
- IT will take short, medium, or long-focus lenses.
- IT may be fitted with any shutter.
- IT has great latitude in all movements.
- IT is made of the finest Spanish Mahogany.
- IT is covered with the best Morocco Leather.
- IT is constructed on practical and scientific lines.
- IT has a very great rising front.
- IT is simple in construction and use.
- IT is suitable for Telephoto work.
- IT can be fitted with any Changing Arrangement, Dark Slides, Changing Box, Eastman Roll Holder or Premo Film Pack.

JAMES A. SINCLAIR & Co., Ltd., 54, Haymarket, London, S.W.

Fig. 7.3 James A. Sinclair & Co., Ltd., Advertisement for the Sinclair 'Una' camera, 1908 (*British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1908, p. 1050).

every photographer at one time or another, irrespective of their skill or financial resources. As will be argued in this chapter, Miss Acland's early experience of the Autochrome process, the limited extent to which it was practised by members of the Oxford Camera Club, and the evidence of other women exhibitors at the Royal Photographic Society suggest that the uptake of the process was more limited in its early years than often proposed. Nevertheless, that the Autochrome was technically challenging was part of its attraction for many women, as demonstrated by the high proportion of women Autochromists with family backgrounds in science and medicine.

Miss Acland's work also exposes as problematic other tenets of Autochrome historiography, much of which has unquestioningly adopted the rhetoric of the Lumière company as its own. Two assumptions in particular will be examined in what follows: that the large increase in activity in colour photography in the late 1900s was due to the Autochrome and the Autochrome alone; and that none of the rival "screen-plate" processes that arose in competition to the French process attracted any significant following.

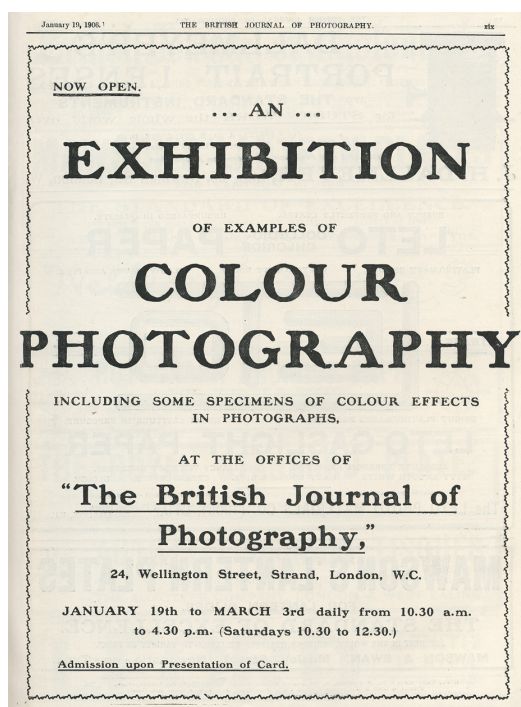


Fig. 7.4 Announcement of an Exhibition of Examples of Colour Photography, Jan 1906 (*British Journal of Photography*, 19 Jan 1906, p. xix). The announcement pre-empted the release of the Autochrome in France by seventeen months.

Institutions and Instruments of Colour

That the Autochrome was solely or even mainly responsible for the increase in interest in colour photography seen in Britain during the 1900s is called into question not only by the enthusiasm that greeted Miss Acland's lectures in 1905 and 1906 (as discussed in the previous chapter), but also by three important instruments and institutions of colour (often overlooked by historians) in which she was closely involved before 10 June 1907: the first public exhibition in Britain exclusively devoted to colour photography, which took place in January 1906 (fig. 7.4); the foundation of a Society of Colour Photographers in October 1906; and the inauguration of a *Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography* by the *British Journal of Photography* in January 1907.

By 1906 colour photography had not only secured a regular place in exhibitions and lectures (mainly in the form of Sanger Shepherd lantern slides), but the "great and increasing interest" in the subject had also reached a level that made a public exhibition viable and worthwhile.¹³ On 16 January 1906 the *British Journal of Photography* announced in a full-page advertisement:

Now Open. AN EXHIBITION OF EXAMPLES OF COLOUR PHOTOGRAPHY including Some Specimens of Colour Effects in Photographs, at the Offices of "The British Journal of Photography," 24, Wellington Street, Strand, London, W.C. January 19th to March 3rd daily from 10.30 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. (Saturdays 10.30 to 12.30.) Admission upon Presentation of Card.¹⁴

13. "Ex Cathedrâ / An Exhibition of Colour Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2384 (12 Jan 1906), p. 22

14. "An Exhibition of Examples of Colour Photography" [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2385 (19 Jan 1906), p. xix

The exhibition was the first in Britain devoted solely to colour photography, the only equivalent event abroad an “Exposition de Photochromie” that was organized by Leon Vidal (1833–1906) in association with the 9th *Salon international de photographie* in Paris in May 1904.¹⁵ Submissions to the British exhibition were originally by invitation only, a policy the organizers were later forced to defend on the grounds that “the wall space at our disposal is not unlimited, and we were anxious not to ask for contributions which we could not hang. Moreover, we believed that we were in touch with all the people likely to have examples for exhibition.”¹⁶ However, after receiving a large number of letters of complaint from photographers “who tell us they would have gladly contributed to the collection had they been notified of its projection”, unsolicited entries were also accepted.¹⁷

When the exhibition opened on 19 January 1906 it contained 150 colour photographs, a total that increased by twenty-one with the late submissions.¹⁸ Although a catalogue was presented to each visitor on arrival, none is known to survive, making it necessary to reconstruct the list of exhibits from contemporary reviews (table 7.1, p. 338).¹⁹ The majority of exhibits were examples of indirect colour photography using variants of the three-colour process, of which approximately seventy were prints, the remainder transparencies. Most of the transparencies were by the Sanger Shepherd process, but the prints spanned a range of emerging techniques, from the pigment stripping films of the Rotary Photographic Company, through the “Solgram”, “Sinop” and “Pinatype” processes, to the experimental methods of Benjamin Jumeaux (1851/2–1917), William Norman Lascelles Davidson (1869/71–1934) and others. At least fifty-four photographers contributed work: more than would exhibit Autochromes at the RPS for the first time two years later. Established colour workers who took part included Abney, Brewerton, Hutchinson, Kenah, Norman and Vidal, while among the newcomers, many of whom would soon become well-known in colour circles, were the retired steel manufacturer Edwin Tranter Butler (1841–1938); Henry John Comley (1868–1953), a professional photographer from Stroud, Gloucestershire (see figs. 7.5 & 7.6); and Thomas Thorne Baker (1881–1962), a research chemist who would later invent Day-Glo paint and transmit the first photograph by wireless telegraphy. Miss Acland’s contribution was a selection of Sanger Shepherd transparencies, including Gibraltar work.

The colour exhibition was a great success, 200 people placing their names in the visitors’ book within the first four days of the opening, among them Coburn, Eveleen Myers and George Bernard Shaw, who later took up Autochrome

15. The Paris exhibition was originally scheduled for 15 Feb to 15 Mar 1904 (“Photographic Exhibitions and Competitions”, *Photo-Era*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Mar 1904), p. 49) but was moved to coincide with the Salon from 3 May to 3 Jun 1904 (“Sciences pures et appliquées / Revue Photographique”, *Revue Universelle*, vol. 14 (1904), p. 334; “Expositions nouvelles”, *Bulletin de l’art ancien et moderne*, no. 219 (7 May 1904), p. 146). The colour section was organized under the auspices of a “Comité d’Études Photochromiques”, of which Vidal was president.

16. “An Exhibition of Colour Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2386 (26 Jan 1906), p. 64

17. *Ibid.*

18. “Ex Cathedrâ / Summary / Colour Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2391 (2 Mar 1906), p. 161

19. “Ex Cathedrâ / Summary / An Exhibition of Colour Photography”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2385 (19 Jan 1906), p. 42

Table 7.1: Reconstruction of the First Exhibition of Colour Photography, House of the British Journal of Photography, 19 January to 17 March 1906

Cat. no.	Exhibitor	Subject	Process
1–5	Rotary Photographic Co., Ltd.	A portrait from life & others	Rotary stripping pigment films (three-colour carbon prints)
6		Turner's "Temeraire"	
7–8	Walter Edwin Brewerton (1870–1947)	"Flower studies"	Three-colour carbon prints
9		"Tulips"	
10	Leon Vidal (1833–1906)	Copy of a painting	Three-colour carbon print
11	Sanger Shepherd & Co.	Portrait	Imbibition print
12	Benjamin Jumeaux (1851/2–1917)	Group of fruit	Prints by "Dr. B. Jumeaux's process" (stained films over a blue bromide)
13–17		"Portrait of the King"	
18–22	Messrs Fuerst Bros. & Co. Ltd., and others		Pinatype prints
23	Ernest Robert Grills (1884–1970)	"Vegetables"	Pinatype print
24–38	Edward Ferdinand Grün, afterwards Greene (1861–1938)		Prints by Grün's "modified" process
33		Group of fruit	
31 & 36		Figure studies ?	
37–38			
39	William Norman Lascelles Davidson (1869/71–1934)	[Four exhibits ?]	"Dyed celluloid films uncemented"
40	Unknown		Prints
41	Otto Pfenninger (1855–1929)	Portrait	Print
42–44	Unknown		
45	Otto Pfenninger (1855–1929)	"Portrait"	Print
46–49	Dr Adolf Heseckel & Co. of Berlin		Prints by Gustav "Selle's stripping carbon process"
49–50	Dr Heinrich Bachmann, of Graz, Austria	"Winter landscapes"	"bi-gum prints in three colours"
51 & 51a	Autotype Company	"Fruit studies from paintings"	Print from "double transfer carbon tissues"
52–56	William Gamble (1864–1933)	'Lithophanes'	Prints by the bleach-out process of Jan Szczepanik
57–58	Julius Ferdinand Ludwig Moeller (1857/8–1931)	"Autumn landscapes"	"bi-gum prints in three colours"
59	Walter Edwin Brewerton (1870–1947) ?		Three-colour gum print
60–62	Lumière N. A. Company		Prints by "Lumière superimposed carbon process"
63–64	Dr Adolf Heseckel & Co. of Berlin		Prints on "Multico' paper"
65–68	Presumably Lascelles Davidson		Prints by the "Mars Star" process"
69–70	Mr J. Burgess	Portraits	Prints by "a secret process"
80	Thomas Thorne Baker (1881–1962)	Diffraction spectrum	Sanger Shepherd transparency

	Edgar Senior (1856–1937)		Spectrum	Lippmann process photograph	
95–98	Albert Norman (1882–1964)			Sanger Shepherd transparencies, shown at St Louis	
99–103	Donald Henry Anketell Hutchinson (1873–1930)		"Butterflies"	Sanger Shepherd transparencies	
	William de Wiveleslie Abney (1843–1920)			Sanger Shepherd transparencies	
	Sarah Angelina Acland (1849–1930)		Portrait of WADA, Gibraltar subjects, "landscapes subjects"	Sanger Shepherd transparencies	
71–150 ?	Victor Selb			Sanger Shepherd transparencies	
	Lumière N. A. Co., or the Lumière Company			Stereo slides, probably by a Lumière or L.N.A. process	
	William Norman Lascelles Davidson (1869/71–1934)		"Snap-shots in colour"	Two prints	
	Lent by Edward John Wall (1860–1928)		"Roses"	Two Joly process transparencies	
	J. H. Smith & Co., of Zurich			Three negatives on Dr John H. Smith's "multi-colour plate"	
	Edwin Tranter Butler (1841–1938)		"Landscape subjects"	Prints from one-shot negatives by "Pre-dyeing method"	
	Rotary Photographic Co., Ltd.		Portrait	Rotary stripping pigment films (three-colour carbon print)	
	Johnson Barker (1860–1945)			Prints by ferro-prussiate and gum processes	
	Henry John Comley (1868–1953)			Six Pinatype prints and one print on Rotary stripping film	
	Mary Helena Fraser, née Grattan-Bellew, Lady Saltoun (1863–1940)			"Three-colour transparency, on two glass plates with film interposed. Enlarged to whole plate from quarter-plate negatives"	
Late additions	William Friese-Greene (1855–1921)			Unknown	
	Ernest Robert Grills (1884–1970)		Portrait of the King	Sanger Shepherd process print	
	Arthur Vivian Kenah (1880–1935)			Transparency by the McDonough-Joly process	
	Henry Oscar Klein (1871/2–1951)			Unknown	
	Otto Pfenninger (1855–1929)			Two transparencies by the Jumeaux process	
	Samuel George Yerbury (1862–1934)		Turner's "Temeraire"	"Sinop' print"	
	Unknown			"Solgram' colour print"	

Compiled from E. J. Wall, "An Exhibition of Colour Photography / A Review of the Exhibition", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2386 (26 Jan 1906), pp. 64–67; "Colour Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2391 (2 Mar 1906), p. 163; "Exhibition of Colour Photography", *The Times*, no. 37926 (25 Jan 1906), p. 11c; and C. J., "Photography in Natural Colours", *Nature*, vol. 73, no. 1892 (1 Feb 1906), pp. 330–331.



Figs. 7.5 & 7.6 Henry Comley, *Still Life with Vegetables*, imbibition prints, c. 1904 (MHS 75649 & 56971). Miss Acland owned these two prints by Comley. She annotated the back of the second "Sanger Shepherd paper, ½ strength dyes".

photography (see fig. 7.7). By 9 February the attendance had increased to 500.²⁰ In the *British Journal of Photography* the annalist of colour photography E. J. Wall described the exhibition as one of "extreme interest to every professional and amateur".²¹ *Nature*, meanwhile, congratulated the organizers in bringing together "a more representative collection than has ever been on view before."²² The general press also covered the event, reviews appearing in such unlikely places as the *Daily Graphic*, *Daily News*, *Westminster Gazette*, *Daily Express* and *Sunday Sun*.²³ Miss Acland's contributions were singled out for praise by Wall as "very fine".²⁴ The *Morning Advertiser* highlighted her imperial exhibits, commenting that "Miss S. A. Acland, FRPS, working with the Sanger-Shepherd process, has produced (as a transparency) a notable portrait of her brother, Admiral Acland, and her scenes of Gibraltar also deserve attention."²⁵

20. "The Exhibition of Colour-Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2388 (9 Feb 1906), p. 107

21. E. J. Wall, "An Exhibition of Colour Photography / A Review of the Exhibition", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2386 (26 Jan 1906), pp. 64–67, p. 64;

22. C. J., "Photography in Natural Colours", *Nature*, vol. 73, no. 2386 (1 Feb 1906), pp. 330–331, p. 330b

23. "The London Morning and Evening Press on the Exhibition", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2386 (26 Jan 1906), p. 64

24. Wall, "An Exhibition of Colour Photography / A Review of the Exhibition", p. 66b;

25. "The London Morning and Evening Press on the Exhibition", p. 64b

Fig. 7.7 George Bernard Shaw, "Landscape", half-tone from an Autochrome, published 1908 (*Studio*, "Colour Photography" Special Number, 1908, pl. 93)



Interest in the exhibition led to the closing date being postponed by two weeks to 17 March 1906. Afterwards many of the exhibits were transferred to Glasgow for display, and thence to Edinburgh.²⁶ Simultaneously, efforts were made to secure the photographs for posterity. In a letter to the *British Journal of Photography* on 2 March, Ernest Howard Farmer (1860–1944) (of Farmer's reagent fame) lobbied for the preservation of the collection as a whole, arguing that its dispersal would be "a public calamity".²⁷ Many photographers agreed, including Miss Acland, who signalled her willingness to donate her work, should a suitable home be found.²⁸ The most obvious place for such a collection was the Royal Photographic Society.²⁹ The Council of the Society was therefore approached and unanimously recommended that the photographs be accepted, "first as a nucleus of a section at the Annual Exhibition and afterwards as a three colour section in the Permanent Collection."³⁰ By 7 May the Secretary of the Society had received the bulk of the exhibits and was awaiting the remainder from Scotland.³¹

The foundation of the Society of Colour Photographers in October 1906 was a direct consequence of the *British Journal of Photography* colour exhibition. The idea for a Society had first been raised by Butler in a letter to the *British Journal* on

26. "Ex Cathedrâ", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2395 (20 Apr 1906), p. 302

27. Howard Farmer, "Correspondence / The Exhibition of Colour-Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2387 (2 Mar 1906), p. 198

28. "Ex Cathedrâ / The Exhibition of Colour Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2393 (16 Mar 1906), p. 203

29. "Ex Cathedrâ / The Exhibition of Colour Photography", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2394 (23 Mar 1906), p. 221

30. National Medium Museum, Royal Photographic Society Archives, Minutes of Council (26 Apr 1905 to 1908) (12 Mar 1906)

31. *Ibid.* (7 May 1906). The exhibits no longer survive as a coherent set in the collections of the National Media Museum and none of Miss Acland's photographs have been identified.

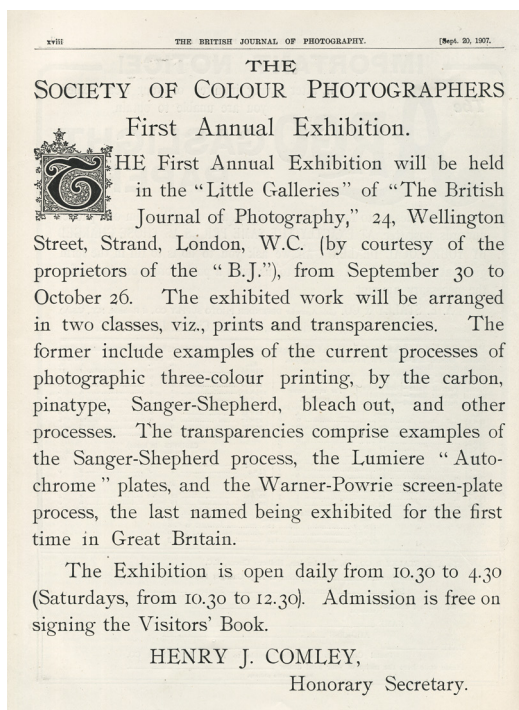


Fig. 7.8 [Henry J. Comley], Advertisement for the Society of Colour Photographers First Annual Exhibition, 1907 (*British Journal of Photography*, 20 Sep 1907, p. xviii)

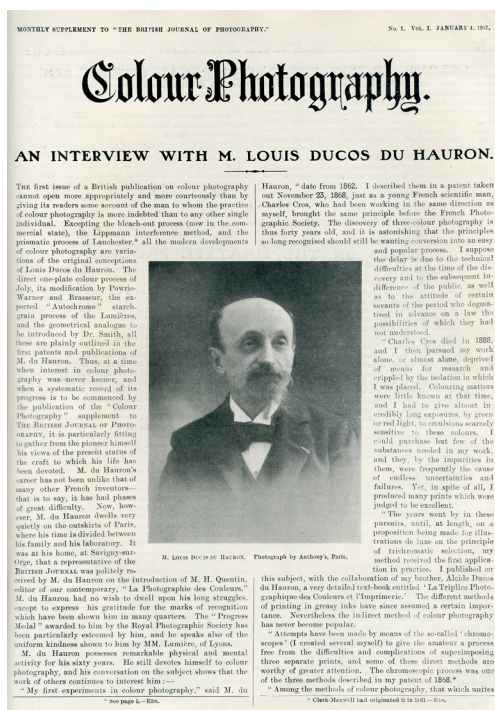


Fig. 7.9 First page of the first issue of the *British Journal of Photography* "Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography", Jan 1907

16 March 1906.³² Comley then took up the idea, appointing himself secretary of the Society *pro tempore*.³³ "Gratified and encouraged by the hearty response and general interest which has been accorded to the proposal", he called a meeting in London on 16 October to appoint a committee and draft rules.³⁴ Seventeen gentlemen attended this meeting, including Butler, Wall, Snowden Ward, Howdill and Frederick Thomas Hollyer (1870–1952), son of Frederick Hollyer.³⁵ Sanger Shepherd sent a telegram with his apologies. The Society commenced on the same date, but with only eleven members.³⁶ With a subscription of 5 shillings per annum, its stated purpose was four-fold: the mutual interchange of "ideas and experiences", assisted by the circulation of a portfolio of prints and transparencies; the provision of advice to members by correspondence through the Secretary; the organization of an annual exhibition; and the formation of a permanent collection of photographs and apparatus.³⁷ By the first AGM a year later the membership had increased to seventy-three, of which twenty-five members lived in London, the others as far

32. Edwin T. Butler, "Correspondence / A Colour-Photography Society", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2393 (16 Mar 1906), pp. 218–219, p. 219

33. Henry J. Comley, "Correspondence / Proposed Society of Colour Photographers", *British Journal of Photography*, no. 53, vol. 2410 (13 Jul 1906), pp. 557–559, pp. 558–559

34. Henry J. Comley, "Correspondence / Proposed Society of Colour Photographers", *British Journal of Photography*, no. 53, vol. 2412 (27 Jul 1906), p. 599

35. "The Society of Colour Photographers", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2424 (19 Oct 1906), pp. 831–832

36. "Meetings of Societies / Society of Colour Photographers", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2429 (23 Nov 1906), pp. 936–937

37. "The Society of Colour Photographers", *British Journal of Photography* (26 Oct 1906), pp. 849–850

away as South Africa, India and America.³⁸ Twenty-three subscribers were merely interested observers, without first-hand practical experience of colour work, who wished to support the venture and to receive the four portfolios of colour prints and two boxes of colour transparencies that had already been put into circulation.³⁹

Whether Miss Acland, or any other woman, was a member of the Society of Colour Photographers is difficult to confirm with certainty, since the archives of the organization are now lost. However, in October 1907 she contributed to its most visible undertaking: its first public exhibition (fig. 7.8). Plans for the exhibition pre-empted the release of the Autochrome, large advertisements promoting the event appearing from 7 June 1907, inviting exhibits from “all workers in colour processes”, whether or not members.⁴⁰ The exhibition opened at the “Little Galleries” of the *British Journal of Photography* on 30 September 1907 and closed on 26 October.

Like its predecessor at the same venue, the Society of Colour Photographers exhibition was an astonishing success, albeit aided by the addition of specimens of the newly release Autochrome process, which made up 23% of exhibits. Over 1,000 members of the public visited during the first seven days, among them Frederick Evans, William Friese-Greene (1855–1921) and Agnes Beatrice Warburg (1872–1953).⁴¹ The exhibition contained 170 numbered exhibits by 54 photographers (table 7.2, p. 344) and constituted “as complete a presentation of colour photography of to-day as could well be desired”.⁴² Miss Acland submitted sixteen photographs, fifteen of which were Sanger Shepherd slides. These included work seen in Oxford and London before, as well as examples probably exhibited for the first time, such as *Christmas Motto* (cat. no. 774), *Flowering Bank* (possibly cat. no. 792), *Branch of Coral Tree* (cat. no. 854), the evocatively titled *Grey East Wind at Babbacombe* (possibly cat. no. 775) and *Land’s End, Torquay* (untraced).⁴³ Her sixteenth exhibit was her Autochrome of Maggie Hope, which was entitled simply *Portrait*.

The success of the Society of Colour Photographers inaugural exhibition led to a second, which took place from 1 to 27 June 1908, when Autochromes by German pictorialist Rudolph Dührkoop (1848–1918) and reproductions from Autochromes by Coburn and Steichen were displayed.⁴⁴ A third exhibition was organized from 20 June to 9 July 1910, and a fourth from 1 to 8 June 1912.⁴⁵ The Society itself flourished

38. “The Society of Colour Photographers / Annual Meeting”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 54, no. 2477 (25 Oct 1907), pp. 813–814

39. E. J. Wall, “The Circulating Portfolios of the Society of Colour Photographers”, *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 1, no. 4 (5 Apr 1907), pp. 31–32

40. “The Society of Colour Photographers”, *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 1, no. 6 (7 Jun 1907), p. 46

41. “The Society of Colour Photographers” [Report of the 1907 exhibition], p. 766; “The Society of Colour Photographers / An Echo of the Exhibition”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 54, no. 2478 (1 Nov 1907), pp. 828–829, p. 828

42. “The Exhibition of the Society of Colour Photographers”, *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 1, no. 10 (4 Oct 1907), pp. 73–75, p. 73b

43. Society of Colour Photographers, *First Annual Exhibition* (catalogue), *passim*

44. “The Society of Colour Photographers / Second Annual Exhibition” [Advertisement], *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 55, no. 2508 (29 May 1908), supplement p. 2; J. M. B., “Photographic Notes”, *Pall Mall Gazette*, vol. 86, no. 13459 (2 Jun 1908), p. 4a; E. J. Wall, “The Society of Colour Photographers’ Exhibition”, *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 2, no. 18 (5 Jun 1908), pp. 41–43

45. See “The Exhibition of the Society of Colour Photographers”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 57, no. 2616 (24 Jun 1910), pp. 471–472; “The Exhibition of the Society of Colour

Table 7.2: Exhibits at the First Exhibition of the Society of Colour Photographers, 30 September to 26 October 1907

Exhibitor	Number of Exhibits				Processes
	Prints	Slides	Autochr.	Total	
Sarah Angelina Adland (1849–1930)		15	1	16	Sanger-Shepherd transparencies; Autochrome
Autotype Company	2			2	Presumably prints from Autotype carbon tissues
Johnson Barker (1860–1945)	2			2	Gum-bichromate prints on a ferro-prussiate base
John Bean (1872/3–1939)	1			1	Three-colour carbon prints by the Autotype process
Ernest Alfred Beckett (1872–1946)	2			2	Not stated
Ernest ('Ernie') Edgar Blake (1879–1961)			1	1	Autochrome
Ernest Braun (1858/9–1938)	2			2	Uto bleach-out paper prints
George Edward Brown (1872–1934)			6	6	Autochromes
Brown and Comley			9	9	Autochromes
Brown and Thomas Knight Grant (1870–1940)			1	1	Autochrome
Ernest Ashton Burchardt (1854–1932)	4			4	Bichromated size process prints
Percival James Burrell (1884–1954)	1			1	Three-colour carbon print by the Rotary process
Edwin Tranter Butler (1841–1938)	3	8		11	Sinop print (collotype); Butler's "pre-dyeing process"
Achille Carrara (identity unknown)	1	3		4	Rotary carbon prints from Sanger Shepherd negs; Sanger Shepherd transparencies
Henry John Comley (1868–1953)	12		3	15	Carbon prints by the Rotary process; Autochromes
Paul Walford Corder (1879–1942)	3	1		4	Rotary process prints from negatives by the Sanger-Shepherd process
Edwin Daniel Doncaster (1871–1950)	2			2	Sanger Shepherd stripping film; carbon print on Sanger Shepherd pigment papers
Francis Martin Duncan (1873–1961)	4			4	Monochrome photomicrographs of Autochrome plates
Arthur William Everest (1874–1973)		4		4	Sanger-Shepherd transparencies
Thomas James Fairfield (1882–1939)	1			1	Carbon process print
John Henry Gear (1864–1946)			3	3	Autochromes
William Gill (1854–1912)	12			12	Prints from Rotary stripping films
Ernest Robert Grills (1884–1970)	4			4	Pinatype print
Karl Gundlach (b. 1878)			7	7	Autochromes
Frederick Thomas Hollyer (1870–1952)	1			1	Three-colour collotype
Harold William Hood (1872–1955)	1			1	Three-colour carbon print by the Rotary process
Donald Henry Anketell Hutchinson (1873–1930)		12		12	Sanger-Shepherd transparencies
Benjamin Jumeaux (1851/2–1917)	3			3	Jumeaux process prints

Hugh Charles Knowles (1875–1940)					2	2	Autochromes	
Arthur Lander (1872–1947)				1	1	1	Fruit study, Autochrome	
Edwin David Lloyds (1863–1941)				1	1	1	Autochrome	
Students of London C. C. Bolt Court School	1					1	Three-colour half-tone print	
James Douglas Lysaght (1849/50–1919)	2					2	Three-colour carbon prints by the Rotary process	
Charles Edward Kenneth Mees (1882–1960)	4					4	Spectra and photomicrographs of Autochrome and Warner-Powrie plates	
Arthur Mellor (1867–1943)				1	1	1	Autochrome	
Frank Pelham Moffat (1854–1912), as John Moffat	2					2	Three-colour carbon prints	
Lewis Potter Muirhead (1846–1931)	2					2	Three-colour carbon prints by the Rotary process	
Alfred James Newton (1873–1931)	[1]					1	Examples of defects in three-colour printing	
William Page Jr (1831–1915) or Snr (1858–1911)					1	1	Autochrome	
H. J. Pinnock (Henry John Pinnock?, b. 1880)	1					1	Pinatype print	
Charles Welborne Piper (1864–1919)				8	8	8	Autochromes	
John Harry Pledge (1875–1952)	1					1	Monochrome photomicrographs of Autochrome plates	
John H. Powrie & Florence M. Warner (d. 1926)		20				20	Warner-Powrie screen plate	
Ern(e)st Rheinberg (1879–1951)				2	2	2	Autochromes	
John Riley (identity unknown)	2					2	Sinop (collotype) prints	
Rotary Photographic Company, Ltd	8					8	Three-colour carbon prints by the Rotary process	
Mary Helena Fraser, Lady Saltoun (1863–1940)		1				1	“Three dyed films” (transparencies)	
Sanger Shepherd & Co.		16				16	Sanger-Shepherd process transparencies	
William Henry Tayler (b. 1873)	1					1	Three-colour carbon print by the Autotype process	
John Cimon Warburg (1867–1931)				2		2	Autochromes	
Constance Adeline Westlake (1887–1957)		1				1	“Red print stained with erythrosine, yellow with auropheino, blue, an iron-toned lantern plate”	
Alfred John Woolway (1857–1924)				1 ?		1 ?	Autochrome; mentioned in Wall’s review but not in the catalogue	
Samuel George Yerbury (1862–1934)	1					1	Sinop print (collotype)	
Sidney Lloyd Young (b. 1873) ?	1	1				2	Pinatype print	
Total	88	82	50	220				
	40%	37%	23%					

Compiled from Society of Colour Photographers, *First Annual Exhibition* (Exhibition catalogue, House of the British Journal of Photography, London, 30 Sep to 26 Oct 1907)

until at least 1920: Comley remained Secretary until 1912, Alfred James Newton (1873–1931) taking over in 1913, Arthur Ernest Morton (1866–1932) in 1914.

The *British Journal of Photography* began publishing a *Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography* on 4 January 1907, a full six months before the Autochrome's release (and not, as sometimes suggested, in preparation for the event). The first issue contained eight pages of articles, beginning with "An Interview with M. Louis Ducos du Hauron" (fig. 7.9). The back page was taken up with a "Congratulatory" section, reproducing letters of support from photographers already established in colour photography. Norman, for example, wrote that the *Supplement* would be "of great use to furthering the progress of this fascinating subject", while Thomas Knight Grant (of the Lumière N.A. Co.) felt it would prove "a boon to many of us whose interests are of a practical and commercial nature".⁴⁶ Miss Acland, still the only woman to contribute, bestowed her blessing on the project thus: "It will be a great help to all interested in the different processes of colour photography to have a publication at hand which will give them full information of the progress made in different methods. I wish the Supplement every success."⁴⁷ Success the *Supplement* certainly achieved, immediately becoming the authoritative source for information about colour photography, the technicalities of which were described in detailed articles by a range of contributors. Each volume contained ninety-six pages a year until 1910 (excluding the advertisements), sixty-eight pages from 1911, fifty-six from 1912, and forty-eight from 1913 until at least 1934, when the publication was still going strong.

Autochrome Problems and Prices

By the time the Autochrome was released in June 1907 it had been so long in the offing that many doubted whether it would ever actually materialize.⁴⁸ Miss Acland was able to learn of its technical basis on 7 January 1905, if not before, when a detailed account of the relevant Lumière patents as given in the "Matters Photographical" column in the *Oxford Times*.⁴⁹ Although Autochrome plates became available in France almost immediately after the Photo-Club announcement, photographers across the Channel had to wait for several months before retailers obtained them. The *Oxford Times*, true to the City's reputation in colour photography, was one of the first publications to record their arrival, reporting on 7 September that the "Lumiere plate for the production of transparencies in natural colour is now on the English market"⁵⁰ (*Amateur Photographer* only learnt of their availability as the

Photographer", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 6, no. 66 (7 Jun 1912), pp. 25–26.

46. "Congratulatory", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 1, no. 1 (4 Jan 1906), p. 8, p. 8a; *Ibid.*, p. 8b

47. *Ibid.*, p. 8a

48. See Wall, "An Exhibition of Colour Photography / A Review of the Exhibition", p. 66.

49. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times*, no. 2307 (7 Jan 1905), p. 10d–e. For the technical basis of the process, see *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 37 and p. 234.

50. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times*, no. 2446 (7 Sep 1907), p. 10h

Fig. 7.10 Sarah Angelina Acland,
*"Autumn Colours in New College
 Gardens"*, Autochrome, Sep 1907
 (cat. no. 875)



17 September issue was going to press, *Photography* on the same date repeating the assumption that they were “not yet on the British market”).⁵¹

Exactly when Miss Acland exposed her first Autochrome is difficult to ascertain with absolute certainty. The first documentary reference of her use of the plates is from 28 September 1907, when the *Oxford Times* cited her results (anonymously) as “local experiments with the Autochrome plate” (referring to photographs identifiable as *Worcester Old Building* (cat. no. 872) and *Autumn Colours in New College Gardens* (cat. no. 875) (fig. 7.10)).⁵² She was first mentioned by name as an Autochromist on 11 October, when the *British Journal of Photography* commented on her portrait of Maggie Hope in the Society of Colour Photographers exhibition:

An excellent Autochrome portrait by Miss Acland, FRPS, which, though catalogued, had been overlooked in arranging the transparencies, is now in place, and should be mentioned as a good example of restraint in applying the new process.⁵³

Assuming this portrait was submitted on time, it must have been taken before the closing date for entries of 13 September; if submitted late, it may date from any time up to the end of the month.⁵⁴ The inscription “S. A. Acland” on the front was added when the plate was entered in the Oxford Camera Club exhibition in March 1908. The same inscription also appears on six more plates exhibited at the same

51. “Colour and the Photograph”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 46, no. 1198 (17 Sep 1907), pp. 265–266, p. 266; “Colour Photography”, *Photography*, vol. 24, no. 984 (17 Sep 1907), pp. 250–251, p. 251

52. “Matters Photographical”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2449 (28 Sep 1907), p. 10e

53. “The Society of Colour Photographers” [Report of the 1907 exhibition], pp. 766–767

54. For a more extensive discussion of the dating of this plate, see *First Lady of Colour Photography*, p. 236.



Fig. 7.11 Sarah Angelina Acland, *"Worcester Pond"*, Autochrome, Sep 1907 (cat. no. 873)

Fig. 7.12 Sarah Angelina Acland, *"On the Exe at Bolham"*, Autochrome, Oct 1907 (cat. no. 880)

place: *Worcester Old Building*; *Autumn Colours in New College Gardens*; *Worcester Pond* (cat. no. 873) (fig. 7.11); *On the Exe at Bolham* (cat. no. 880) (fig. 7.12); *A Garden Study* (cat. no. 871); and *First of House* (cat. no. 870).

On 1 January 1908 Miss Acland's photograph of the Exe was mentioned in the *Oxford Times* in a report of a lecture that Grant had given on the Autochrome at the Camera Club four days earlier (Grant was making his third appearance at the Club, but only the second as a representative of the Lumière company).⁵⁵ Miss Acland had shown the plate after the lecture, explaining that it had been taken in "16 seconds at noon, the light by a Wynne meter having a value of 6 with F. 12".⁵⁶ Grant's lecture was the first official demonstration of the Autochrome "outside the Metropolis", as befitted Oxford's status as the provincial capital of colour photography.⁵⁷ During the evening he developed a plate of his own — "a charmingly delicate study of a group of jugs and Japanese vases" — in an effort to demonstrate the "paramount simplicity" of the process, which he claimed could be completed "in as many minutes as the earlier processes required hours".⁵⁸

The simplicity of the Autochrome was a key part of the Lumière rhetoric. When news of the Autochrome first reached England (but before anyone had actually used it), *The Times* reported that it was in essence "a beginner's process" and that it made colour work "even simpler than the making of an ordinary print".⁵⁹ The *Oxford Times* was of the same opinion, writing on 20 July, on little or no evidence, that "colour photography will in a short while be within the reach of every amateur of average ability and income".⁶⁰ The reality was rather different. The process proved sufficiently complex and temperamental to defeat Miss Acland on more than one occasion, even with her seven years' experience of colour photography. On 14 October 1907, for example, Harry reported that she had tried to develop two plates but both had failed.⁶¹ In April 1908 plates she was using to teach the process to her young friend Mildred Blandy Cossart (1879–1966) (see fig. 7.13), in Madeira, went the same way.⁶² The experience of other workers was equally frustrating, a plethora of problems being reported in the photographic periodicals. Some complained that the colour of the image disappeared completely, for example, others that the emulsion was left badly stained and blistered.⁶³ One of the most common annoyances was the tendency of the sensitive layer to detach from the plate: a fault known as "frilling" and the cause of Miss Acland's early failures.⁶⁴ Frilling had "exhausted the ingenuity of many careful workers", the

55. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times* (11 Jan 1908), p. 10f

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. "Oxford Camera Club Meeting / Autochrome System of Colour Photography", *Oxford Times*, no. 2463 (11 Jan 1908), p. 9h; "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times* (11 Jan 1908), p. 10f

59. "Colour Photography", *The Times*, no. 38385 (15 Jul 1907), p. 3d

60. "Matters Photographical", *Oxford Times*, no. 2439 (20 Jul 1907), p. 10c–e, p. 10d

61. Ms. Acland d. 48, fols. 30–31 (HDA to WADA, 14 Oct 1907)

62. MHS Ms. Gunther 30 ([*"Holiday Diary of Sarah Angelina Acland, 5 March to 10 April, 1908"*]), fol. 24r (7 Apr 1908)

63. See, for example, "Readers' Experiences", *Photography*, vol. 24, no. 981 (27 Aug 1907), pp. 188–189 and "Readers' Experiences", *Photography*, vol. 24, no. 983 (10 Sep 1907), p. 224.

64. See, for example, C. Welborne Piper, "The Frilling of Autochrome Plates", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 54, no. 2472 (20 Sep 1907), p. 711.



Fig. 7.13 Mildred Cossart, "Basket Work: Camacha", half-tone, published 1909 (W. H. Koebel, *Madeira Old and New*, London, 1909, opp. p. 90)

Oxford Times noted on 28 September, in what was probably another reference of Miss Acland's experiences.⁶⁵ The problem persisted in one form or another for years, William James Herschel complaining to the *British Journal of Photography* in August 1911 that his plates had contracted "a plague of puckering" during a bout of hot weather.⁶⁶ Autochromes that survived frilling were rarely free from other defects. Dark sooty specks are common in Miss Acland's examples, apparently caused by flaws in manufacture. The green spots that many also display are probably due to water entering through pinholes in the emulsion. Persistent dampness has caused some to turn completely green (see cat. nos 921, 925, 929, 967–8, 997, 1040, 1064 & 1088–9).⁶⁷ Most Autochromes taken before 1911 also display significant colour casts: blue when under exposed, pink when overexposed, although this lends them much of their character and charm.⁶⁸ By late September 1907 these problems led the *Oxford Times* to modify its opinion about the plates: "Early workers in any process expect to find difficulties, but there is a limit to patience when plates about quarter-plate size and costing 5s. for four, develop freaks without warning that entirely spoil the picture."⁶⁹

65. "Matters Photographical" (28 Sep 1907), p. 10e

66. W. J. Herschel, "Correspondence / A Curious Case of Frilling with Autochromes", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 5, no. 56 (4 Aug 1911), p. 52. See also W. J. Herschel, "Correspondence / A Strange Case of Frilling with Autochromes", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 5, no. 57 (1 Sep 1911), pp. 55–56, p. 56.

67. Autochromes apparently turn green because the green dye is more soluble than the others. See George E. Brown and C. Welborne Piper, *Colour Photography with the Lumière "Autochrome" Plates* (London, 1907), p. 4.

68. See F. Monpillard, "Of the Causes of Prevailing Tints in Autochromes", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 4, no. 38 (4 Feb 1910), pp. 10–11; continued in no. 39 (4 Mar 1910), p. 22.

69. "Matters Photographical", 28 Sep 1907, p. 10e

As these remarks suggest, the expense of Autochrome photography for the average amateur was prohibitive. At five shillings for four quarter-plates (about £20 at 2012 values when compared on the retail price index) the cost was about fourteen times that of ordinary black and white plates, which by 1907 had standardized at 1s per dozen (1d per plate).⁷⁰ “As a novelty the Lumiere process will certainly receive attention from the opulent”, the *Oxford Times* concluded.⁷¹ These financial hurdles were not, of course, unique to the Autochrome. In 1905 the paper’s correspondent had also pointed out that the main deterrent to Sanger Shepherd colour photography was “the expense”, coupled with “the extreme care required in manipulation”.⁷² Developing chemicals excluded, Sanger Shepherd lantern slides cost just under 1 shilling each to make (4s 5d per dozen for the separation negative, 2s 3d for the cyanotype, and 5s 10d for a set of a dozen celluloid films).⁷³ This led many workers to conclude that colour photography required “unlimited time and a thousand a-year”; feelings that changed little after the Autochrome’s release.⁷⁴ Notoriously, Autochromes were also more expensive in Britain than France. “One sometimes wonders why such a beautiful process as the Autochrome is not more practised in England, and one is driven to the conclusion that the price of the plates has a good deal to do with the matter”, the wealthy amateur John Cimon Warburg (1867–1931) (brother of Agnes) complained in April 1909.⁷⁵

Autochrome Exhibitors

Warburg’s remarks testify to the fact that the Autochrome was less widely used during the first two years of its existence than has sometimes been suggested, finding favour with a comparatively narrow section of relatively affluent photographers and those with an existing interest in colour photography or advanced technical skills. At the Oxford Camera Club exhibition in March 1908, for example, Autochromes were contributed “mainly by Miss Acland and Mr. Coventry” — two out of ninety members.⁷⁶ Bernard Okes Coventry (1873–1960) was a mature student at Balliol College, studying chemistry on the order of the Secretary of State for India prior to taking up an appointment as Imperial Forest Chemist in Dehradun.⁷⁷ Details of his Autochrome photography in 1907 and 1908 are scarce, but fifteen years later he would use the process to great effect in illustration of the *Wild Flowers of Kashmir* (3 vols, London, 1923–30) (fig. 7.14). Coventry had been proposed for membership of the Club in October 1907 by Miss Acland and seconded by Minn, who, despite

70. “Colour and the Photograph”, *Amateur Photographer*, vol. 24, no. 985 (24 Sep 1907) p. 305;

“Colour and the Photograph”, *Amateur Photographer*, no. 24, vol. 986 (1 Oct 1907), p. 330

71. “Matters Photographical”, *Oxford Times* (28 Sep 1907), p. 10e

72. “Matters Photographical”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2338 (16 Sep 1905), p. 10d–e

73. See “Sanger-Shepherd & Co. / 1904 Price List”, p. 1343.

74. The words of a Mr Knight after E. Sanger Shepherd, “Colour Photography on Paper”, *Journal of the Camera Club*, vol. 17, no. 201 (Feb 1903), pp. 19–22, p. 21.

75. J. C. Warburg, “Autochrome Prices — A Protest”, *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 3, no. 29 (7 May 1909), p. 40

76. “City Camera Club Exhibition”, *Oxford Times* (14 Mar 1908), p. 12d

77. Edward Hilliard (ed.), *The Balliol College Register, 1832–1913* (Oxford, 1914), s.v.



Fig. 7.14 Bernard Okes Coventry, "*Aster diplostephioides*, Benth.", half-tone from an Autochrome (*Wild Flowers of Kashmir*, London, 1923)

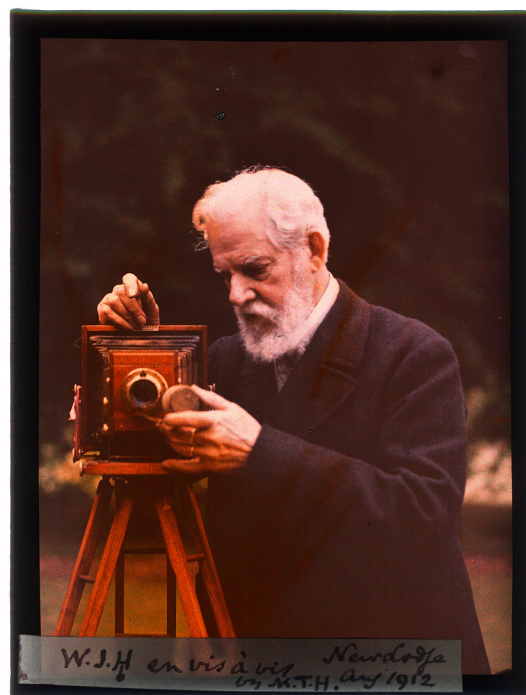


Fig. 7.15 Marjory Hardcastle, "W. J. H. en vis à vis" (New Lodge), Autochrome, Aug 1912 (Private Collection)

his own previous experience and love of colour photography, is only known to have taken three Autochromes.⁷⁸

In April 1909 the deterrents to Autochrome work were reduced considerably when the Lumière Company dropped the price of the plates to 3s a box and introduced a simplified method of development (itself an admission that the original process was less straightforward than claimed).⁷⁹ After this move photographers turned to the process in greater numbers. Herschel exhibited *Rainbow in May* at the RPS in autumn 1911 (fig. 7.16), for example, having earlier failed to embrace the process as fully as might be expected as well. His Autochrome photography started in earnest after he moved to Warfield Rectory in Berkshire, where much of his work was carried out in collaboration with his wife's niece, Marjory Theodora Hardcastle (1876–1959). Marjory was already an accomplished photographer in monochrome and was closely associated with the Oxford Camera Club when Herschel lived in Littlemore (but never a formal member). In 1910, 1911, 1914 and 1915 she showed nine Autochromes at the RPS, including Swiss and Egyptian scenes, and flower studies.⁸⁰ Other members of the Camera Club to attempt

78. MHS Inventory nos. 20565, 17083 and 25623. A further four Taxiphote format stereograms may also be by Minn: Inventory nos. 50709, 56278, 94454 and 88012.

79. "Revised Prices of Autochrome Plates", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 3, no. 28 (2 Apr 1909), p. 32

80. Marjory won a twenty-one guinea bicycle in the *Lady's Realm* "Pictorial Photography for Amateurs" competition in 1901 ("Result of Prize Competition No. II", *Lady's Realm*, vol. 11, no. 61 (Nov 1901) p. 70.) The winning picture was reproduced as "Autumn" in *Lady's Realm*,



Fig. 7.16 William James Herschel, "Rainbow in May" (from Rectory House, Warfield, 6.15 p.m., exposure 20 secs), Autochrome, 28 May 1910 (Private Collection)

Autochrome photography included Albert Harry Hamm, né Ham (1862–1951), Ernest Charles Hall (1868–1952), and Janet Laing. An "inseparable part of Oxford entomology", according to *Nature*, Hamm exhibited Autochromes of insects at the RPS in 1913 and 1915.⁸¹ Hall left several magnificent half-plate portraits apparently taken in his studio close to Magdalen Bridge.⁸² The date that Laing, the Club's most famous Autochromist today, first used the plates is unclear. Most depict her daughters Marian Laing (1898–1985) and Iris Carola Laing (1903–1994), posed among their father's prize-winning flowers in the garden of Bury Knowle House, Headington.⁸³ In 1978, Iris, aged 75, dated these portraits 1908, on the basis that she looked about 5 years old.⁸⁴ However, she could easily be seven or eight, which is perhaps more plausible given the Autochrome's history and Laing's exhibition record: her monochrome photographs were seen at the Camera Club in 1904 and 1906, but there is no mention of her exhibiting Autochromes in the March 1908 or

vol. 11, no. 61 (Nov 1901), p. 60 and in 'By the Prize-Winner of The Lady's Realm Twenty-one Guinea Bicycle' [Marjory Hardcastle], "Pictorial Photography for Amateurs", *Lady's Realm*, vol. 12, no. 71 (Sep 1902) pp. 638–642.

81. "Obituaries / Mr. A. H. Hamm", *Nature*, vol. 167, no. 4241 (10 Feb 1951), p. 220. Hamm's work was also shown at the University Museum Club in April 1914, see "Members' Night at University Museum Club", *Oxford Times*, no. 2761 (11 Apr 1914), p. 10c.

82. MHS Inventory nos. 25945, 82946 and 62619. The plates are of such high quality that they are suggestive of specimen plates from the Lumière company.

83. Charles Miskin Laing beat Camera Club member Edmund Augustine Bevers in the orchid class at the Royal Oxfordshire Horticultural Society show in 1893 ("Royal Oxfordshire Horticultural Society / Show at All Souls' College", *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 7313 (20 May 1893), p. 5f–g).

84. National Media Museum, Janet Laing typescript (Letter from Iris C. Leslie, née Laing to J. P. Ward of the Science Museum, 4 Dec 1978)

1910 exhibitions.⁸⁵ Laing's finest Autochromes are half-plate in size and probably date from 1913 — a particularly hot summer, when the flowers were glorious, according to Miss Acland.⁸⁶

The relatively slow uptake of the Autochrome between 1907 and 1911, and its popularity mainly among the wealthy is also apparent from the cross-section of women who exhibited specimens at the Royal Photographic Society before the First World War (tables 7.3 & 7.4, p. 356). The oldest, Elizabeth Matthews (1847–1928), was the daughter of Thomas Matthews (1836/7–1883), a gentleman farmer of 1,650 acres in Sporle, Norfolk; the youngest, Gladys Openshaw (b. 1882), one of nine children of James Henry Openshaw (1844–1902), a Lancashire cotton spinner with a workforce of 230.⁸⁷ Annie Gertrude Weaver (1870–1949), meanwhile, inherited money through her mother, Mary Berry Wright (d. 1909), another cotton baron's daughter, while Mabel Elaine Hamilton (1868–1959) was the daughter of solicitor and stockbroker Walter Child Clark (1844–1929), who left a fortune of £312,162 on his death (about £70 million today). Less affluent women were not entirely unrepresented. However, the two of the most modest means were both married to professional photographers: Kate Jemima Pigg, née Pigg (1869–1915) to John Inderwick Pigg (1870–1911), FRMS, author of the popular *Photographic Instructor* (London, 1903); and Rose Jane Watts, née Anquetil (b. 1874) to Ernest Watts (b. 1871), a "photographic artist" in East Grinstead, with whom she exhibited jointly.⁸⁸

Of other women Autochromists who exhibited at the RPS before 1916 three have already secured a place in the history of photography: Helen Messinger Murdoch (1862–1956), Emma Boaz Barton (1872–1938), and Olive Edis. Murdoch picked up where Miss Acland left off in Gibraltar, photographing foreign lands to become "the first woman who has girdled the globe with a record of colour photography".⁸⁹ Her portraiture was also admired, especially of ladies.⁹⁰ Mrs Barton, who married a solicitor and lived in a succession of large houses in the Birmingham suburbs, was known as an amateur portraitist when she turned to the Autochrome in 1911.⁹¹ Edis, who was typically late in taking up the Autochrome

85. "The Biennial Exhibition", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 11 (Oct 1904), pp. 95–96, p. 96a; "The Annual Exhibition", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club* (Apr 1906), p. 112a. , Some of her plates are labelled "E J Laing", indicating they were shown at the Club at some point, but when is unknown.

86. See Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 38–39 (SAA to WADA, 4 Jul 1913).

87. See Joseph T. Openshaw, transcribed Ross D. Andrews, "The Openshaw Pedigree", *Openshaw Genealogy Archive* 1893, transcribed 1999, [www404.pair.com/vtandrew/openshaw/openshaw/index.html]. Elizabeth Matthews left an estate valued at £41,800 gross ("Wills and Bequests", *The Times*, no. 45130 (18 Feb 1929), p. 15d).

88. See David Simkin, "Professional Photographers in East Grinstead (T-Z)", *Sussex PhotoHistory* ([www.photohistory-sussex.co.uk/EGrinsteadPhotgrsTZ.html], [2005–10]).

89. "Miss Helen Messinger Murdoch", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 8, no. 96 (4 Dec 1914), p. 47. See also "News and Notes / Autochromes by Miss Helen M. Murdoch" *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 7, no. 78 (6 Jun 1913), p. 24; and Pamela Glasson Roberts, "The Intrepid Helen Messinger Murdoch", *The Magazine Antiques* ([www.themagazineantiques.com/articles/the-intrepid-helen-messinger-murdoch/], [1999]).

90. "A Collection of Autochromes", *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 5, no. 55 (7 Jul 1911), p. 48

91. See Peter James, Tessa Sidey and John Taylor (eds.), *Sunlight and Shadow: The Photographs of Emma Barton, 1872–1938* (Exhibition catalogue, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 1995).

in 1912, used the process for professional portraiture and documentary work overseas.⁹²

Weaver and Edis have a characteristic in common with Miss Acland: they were both members of medical families. Weaver's father, Frederick Poynton Weaver (1834–1913), was house-surgeon to the Liverpool Northern Infirmary; Edis's an obstetrician and gynaecologist at the Chelsea Hospital for Women, Arthur Wellesley Edis (1840–1893).⁹³ Nor were they alone in their medical family backgrounds. Mabel Hamilton and Melita Margaret Dashwood Howard, née Betts (1877–1859), for example, exhibited Autochromes at the RPS with their husbands, George Gibson Hamilton (1858–1915), a retired surgeon from Liverpool, and Arthur Dashwood Howard (1866–1926), honorary physician to the Walsall and District Hospital. Sarah Jane Dugdale Shaw, née Harland (1848–1923) (see fig. 7.17), whose work was also seen at the Society of Colour Photographers, was another physician's daughter, albeit she is better remembered as lecturer in mathematics at Newnham College, Cambridge, and as the wife of William Napier Shaw (1854–1945), the "father of modern meteorology". A strong scientific background was something Margaret Baker (b. 1890/1) could also claim: her father, Harry Baker (1859–1935), was an industrial chemist and former assistant to Henry Enfield Roscoe (1833–1915) at Owens College; her eldest brother, Henry Wright Baker (1893–1969), was Professor of Mechanical Engineering at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology; and her youngest brother, Wilson Baker (1900–2002), was demonstrator at the Dyson Perrins Laboratory in Oxford under William Henry Perkin (1860–1929).⁹⁴ Hannah Beck (1865–1935), meanwhile, who was in the first group of women to exhibit Autochromes in 1908, was the third daughter of the distinguished camera and optical instrument maker Joseph Beck (1828–1891) (of R. & J. Beck). Another woman with a similar background was Marjory Hardcastle, who belonged to a scientific family celebrated not only for the contributions of men, but also William Herschel's great aunt, Caroline Herschel (1750–1848). Alice Worsley (to complete the list) was a day student at the Faculty of Arts and Science of Bristol University in 1907 and 1908, where she assisted the psychologist Conwy Lloyd Morgan (1852–1936) (a drawing after one of her photographs appears in his *Animal Behaviour* (2nd ed., New York and London, 1908)).

Women from families with backgrounds in the fine arts certainly exhibited Autochromes at the RPS, but in smaller numbers than their scientific counterparts. Catherine Mary ('Kate') Smith (1861–1953), for example, was the eldest of three daughters of Joseph Gutteridge Smith (1822–1914), a manufacturer of "Superfine Writing and Book Papers, Hand-made, and Drawing, Lithographic, Plate Papers &c".⁹⁵ She lived with her father at Hamper Mills, in Oxhey, near Watford,

92. For Edis's autochrome work, see Shirley Neale, "Olive Edis: Autochromist", *History of Photography*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 150–153.

93. See "Obituary / Frederick Poynton Weaver", *British Medical Journal*, vol. 1, no. 2724 (15 Mar 1913), p. 588; and "Obituary / Arthur Wellesley Edis", *British Gynaecological Journal*, vol. 9, no. 35 (Nov 1893), pp. 285–286.

94. See J. F. W. McOmie and D. M. G. Lloyd, "Wilson Baker / 24 January 1900 – 3 June 2002", *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, vol. 49 (2003), pp. 15–38. He later became Professor of Organic Chemistry at Bristol University. Henry unravelled the Dead Sea Scrolls.

95. *The Paper Mills Directory for 1866* (6th ed., London, 1866), p. 11. Kate Smith's death is reported in "Council Proceedings / Obituary" [Miss Kate Smith], *Photographic Journal*, series A, vol. 93 (Jun

Table 7.3: Number of Autochromes Exhibited by Women at the Royal Photographic Society, 1907–15 (in order of appearance)

Exhibitor	Number of Exhibits									
	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	
Hannah Beck (1865–1935)		2								
Lilian Emily Bland (1878–1971)		11								
*Melita Margaret Dashwood Howard, née Betts (1877–1859)		2								
Anni Oppenheim (b. c. 1878)		1								
Catherine Agnes Denman, née Conant (1859–1917)				1	1					
Sarah Jane Dugdale Shaw, née Harland (1848–1923)				1			1	1	2	
Kate Jemima Pigg, née Pigg (1869–1915)				2						
Marjory Theodora Hardcastle (1876–1959)				3	2			1	3	
Emma Boaz Barton, née Rayson (1872–1938)					7?			1		
Helen Messenger Murdoch (1862–1956)						4	6	3		
Annie Gertrude Weaver (1870–1949)						3				
*Mabel Elaine Hamilton, née Clark (1868–1959)						1				
Olive Edis (1876–1955)							3			
Gladys Openshaw (b. 1882)							4			
Elizabeth Matthews (1847–1928)							1			
Catherine Mary ('Kate') Smith (1861–1953)								1	1	
*Rose Jane Watts, née Anquetil (b. 1874)								1	3	
Bertha Gilkes (identity unknown)									1	
**Margaret Baker (b. 1890/1)										
Total number of women	0	4	0	4	3	3	5	6	6	
Total number of men	19	40	40	21	48	28	52	66	45	
women as % of total	0%	7%	0%	15%	6%	10%	9%	8%	12%	

*Exhibited with husband **Exhibited with father

Table 7.4: *Family Background of Women Exhibitors at the Royal Photographic Society, 1907–15*

Exhibitor	Details
Margaret Baker (1890–1985)	Daughter of Harry Baker (1859–1935), chief chemist of the Castner-Kellner Alkali Company, Runcorn, Cheshire; sister of Henry Wright Baker (1893–1969), Professor of Mechanical Engineering, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology, and of Wilson Baker (1900–2002), Professor of Organic Chemistry, Bristol University
Emma Boaz Barton, née Rayson (1872–1938)	Daughter of Ambrose Rayson (1840–1885), railway porter; wife of George Albert Barton (1867–1950), solicitor, Birmingham; learnt photography in the studio of her step-father's brother-in-law, Walter Baker
Hannah Beck (1865–1935)	Third daughter of Joseph Beck (1828–1891), optical instrument and camera maker, of R. & J. Beck, Cornhill, London
Melita Margaret Dashwood Howard, née Betts (1877–1859)	Daughter of Walter Betts (1810–1885), of Gately Hall, Norfolk, farmer of 330 acres employing nine men and two boys in 1881; wife of Arthur Dashwood Howard (1866–1926) MD, MRCS, LRCP
Lilian Emily Bland (1878–1971)	Aviatrix; daughter of John Humphrey Bland (1828–1919), artist; granddaughter of Robert Winttingham Bland (1794–1880), Dean of Belfast; lived in Carmoney, Co. Antrim
Catherine Agnes Denman, née Conant (1859–1917)	Daughter of Edward Nathaniel Conant (1820–1901), barrister, JP; wife of Sir Arthur Denman (1857–1931), Clerk of Assize
Olive Edis (1876–1955)	FRPS; professional photographer; daughter of Arthur Wellesley Edis (1840–1893), obstetrician and gynaecologist
Bertha Gilkes (identity unknown)	Unidentified; her address as given in the 1915 RPS exhibition catalogue was the same as that of George Hawkings (1863–1937), President of the Hammersmith Photographic Society
Mabel Elaine Hamilton, née Clark (1868–1959)	Daughter of Walter Child Clark (1844–1929), stockbroker and solicitor, Liverpool, who left an estate valued at £312,162 net; wife of George Gibson Hamilton (1858–1915), surgeon, Liverpool Royal Infirmary;
Marjory Theodora Hardcastle (1876–1959)	Daughter of Priscilla Buxton Hardcastle, née Hoare (1833–1920) and Edward Hardcastle (1827–1905), cotton merchant and Conservative MP, the brother of Anne Emma Haldane Hardcastle (1836–1873), Mrs William James Herschel
Elizabeth Matthews (1847–1928)	Daughter of Thomas Matthews (1836/7–1883), gentleman farmer of 1,650 acres in Sporle, Norfolk
Helen Messinger Murdoch (1862–1956)	FRPS; professional photographer; born Boston, Massachusetts; youngest of five daughters of Joseph Murdoch (1810–1884), fire insurance broker turned army captain, and Caroline Dorcas Smith (b. 1817), accomplished watercolourist; niece of John Murdoch (1852–1925), librarian of the Smithsonian Institution
Gladys Openshaw (b. 1882)	Daughter of James Henry Openshaw (1844–1902), cotton spinner with a workforce of 230
Anni Oppenheim (b. c. 1878)	Daughter of Hugo Otto Josef Oppenheim (1847–1921), banker, of Berlin, and Anna Rosa, née Oppenheim (1849–1931); member of the Mendelssohn family; Sister-in-law of the painter Josef Block (1864–1943)
Kate Jemima Pigg, née Pigg (1869–1915)	Daughter of George Pigg (1836–1888), grocer and master baker, Wokingham; wife of John Inderwick Pigg (1870–1911), author of the <i>Photographic Instructor</i> (London, 1903)
Sarah Jane Dugdale Shaw, née Harland (1848–1923)	Daughter of Thomas Harland (1794–1882) MD, physician to the Salford Dispensary; lecturer in mathematics at Newnham College, Cambridge; wife of Sir William Napier Shaw (1854–1945), FRS, meteorologist
Catherine Mary ('Kate') Smith (1861–1953)	Daughter of Mary Elizabeth Hepburn (1834–1885) and Joseph Gutteridge Smith (1822–1914), paper manufacturer, of Hamper Mills, Watford, an employer of twelve men, one boy and eight women in 1881
Rose Jane Watts, née Anquetil (b. 1874)	Daughter of Henry William Anquetil (1845–1919), nurseryman; wife of, and collaborator with, Ernest Watts (b. 1871), photographer, East Grinstead
Annie Gertrude Weaver (1870–1949)	Daughter of Mary Berry Wright (d. 1909) and Frederick Poynton Weaver (1834–1913) MD, MRCS, MRCP, surgeon, Liverpool Northern Infirmary; granddaughter of Edward Abbott Wright (1808/9–1891), cotton manufacturer, of Castle Park House, Frodsham; sister of Harriet Shaw Weaver (1876–1961), feminist, patron and publisher of James Joyce



Fig. 7.17 Sarah Jane Dugdale Shaw,
Olive Edis, Autochrome, c. 1911
(NPG x38479)

which Coburn visited in June 1910, at a time when she was gaining attention for her “nymph photography”.⁹⁶ Lilian Emily Bland (1878–1971), who lived in Carnmoney, near Belfast, was the daughter of the artist John Humphrey Bland (1828–1919), but otherwise follows the technical trend. Unconventional at the same time as highly practically-minded, she attempted a career in sports photography before exhibiting eleven Autochromes of nightjars, owls and other birds at the RPS in 1908.⁹⁷ The avian theme was significant: in 1910 she became the first woman to design, build and fly her own biplane, the “Mayfly”.⁹⁸

The medical and scientific backgrounds of these women Autochromists is striking. Only partly can it be explained by the scientific bias of the membership of the Royal Photographic Society as a whole, compared, for example, to the Salon. The pattern is one that echoes the early history of monochrome photography, when several of the most prominent women (as remembered today) belonged to scientific families, among them Anna Atkins, née Children (1799–1871), whose father John George Children (1777–1852) was the founding President of the Entomological Society; Cecilia Louisa Glaisher, née Belville (1828–1892), wife of James Glaisher (1809–1903), President of the Meteorological and Microscopical Societies; and Mary Parsons, née Field, Lady Rosse (1812–1885), wife of William Parsons (1800–1867), 3rd Earl of Rosse, President of the Royal Society and builder of the world’s largest

1953), p. 210. For her work, see “On Three Pictures by Miss Kate Smith”, *Photography*, vol. 23, no. 959 (26 Mar 1907), pp. 248–249, p. 242 and p. 271.

96. See Miss Kate Smith, “Nymph Photography—the Charm of the Woodland”, *Photogram*, vol. 17, no. 100 (Jul 1910), pp. 161–164.

97. See L. E. Bland, “A Method of Turning Silver into Gold”, *Photogram*, vol. 14, no. 169 (Jan 1908), pp. 19–21.

98. See “A Lady’s Aeroplane”, *The Times*, no. 39201 (21 Feb 1910), p. 10e; Lilian E. Bland, “Correspondence”, *Flight*, vol. 2, no. 81 (16 Jul 1910), p. 561 ff.; and Peter Lewis, “Lilian Bland and the Mayfly”, *Flight International*, vol. 85, no. 2863 (23 Jan 1964), pp. 140–141.

telescope at Birr Castle. In the 1890s and 1900s the Oxford Camera Club could also claim a number of women with scientific backgrounds and interests, Miss Acland aside. Emily Poulton, née Palmer (1856–1939), for example, one of the committee members, was the wife of Edward Bagnall Poulton (1856–1943), Hope Professor of Zoology (who illustrated his lectures on resemblance and mimicry in 1902 with Sanger Shepherd lantern slides).⁹⁹ At the Camera Club in 1903 Emily “discoursed on the Basalt rocks of Ireland, and showed several geological slides”.¹⁰⁰ Lilian Jane Veley, née Nutcombe Gould (1861–1936), one of Professor Poulton’s Natural Science students at Somerville College, was the Club’s librarian.¹⁰¹ While still a student she published in the *Journal of the Entomological Society* and after marrying the chemist Victor Herbert Veley (1856–1933), FRS (an expert in photogravure) co-authored papers in *Nature*. Her photographic speciality was animal studies, examples of which were seen at the RPS from 1907 to 1909 and later at exhibitions organized by two women’s clubs in London, the Lyceum Club and Halcyon Club (she sat on the committee of the Halcyon Club with Agnes Warburg).¹⁰² The most exceptional woman of science in the Oxford Camera Club was the physiologist and pathologist Mabel Purefoy FitzGerald (1872–1973).¹⁰³ Mabel studied physiology informally in the University, including under Gustav Mann.¹⁰⁴ She is now remembered for work in high altitude physiology, carried out in collaboration with John Scott Haldane (1860–1936) and published in *Philosophical Transactions* in 1913.¹⁰⁵ Scientific women in the Club about whom less is known include Muriel Baker, née Powell (1875–1944) and Elizabeth Janet Mackenzie, née Forbes (1873–1961). Muriel jointly published papers on nitrous oxide with her husband Herbert Brereton Baker, Lee’s Reader in Chemistry, assisting him in the Christ Church laboratory.¹⁰⁶ Janet was elected to the Club in 1903 after being proposed by Miss Acland. In the 1901 census she was described as a “Scientific and Medical Student”. However, she seems to have given up the idea of following a scientific career after marrying Kenneth Donald Mackenzie (1876–1966), Dean of Pembroke College and Bishop of Brechin.

99. See *The Times*, no. 36712 (11 Mar 1902), p. 10d; and no. 36879 (22 Sep 1902), p. 12a.

100. “Third February Meeting”, *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 9 (Oct 1903), p. 81

101. On Veley see Marilyn Ogilvie and Joy Harvey (eds.), *The Biographical Dictionary of Women in Science* (2 vols, New York, 2000), vol. 2, p. 1325; and Janet Howarth, “‘Oxford for Arts’: The Natural Sciences, 1880–1914”, pp. 457–497 in M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part 2* (History of the University of Oxford, vol. 7, Oxford, 2000), p. 470.

102. See “Exhibitions / Photographs by Members of the Lyceum Club”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 56, no. 2543 (29 Jan 1909), p. 86–87; “News and Notes”, *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 57, no. 2636 (4 Nov 1910), p. 845

103. See *Oxford DNB*; and W. J. O’Connor, *British Physiologists, 1885–1914: A Biographical Dictionary* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 108–111.

104. Mann assisted FitzGerald in research published as Mabel Purefoy FitzGerald, “An Investigation into the Structure of the Lumbo-sacral-coccygeal Cord of the Macaque Monkey (*Macacus sinicus*)”, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, vol. 78 (1906), pp. 88–144.

105. See Mabel Purefoy FitzGerald, “The Changes in the Breathing and the Blood at Various High Altitudes”, *Philosophical Transactions*, series B, vol. 203 (1913), pp. 351–371 and R. W. Torrance, “Mabel’s Normalcy: Mabel Purefoy FitzGerald and the Study of Man at Altitude”, *Journal of Medical Biography*, vol. 7, no. 3 (Aug 1999), pp. 151–165.

106. See, for example, Herbert Brereton Baker and Muriel Baker, “Gaseous Nitrogen Trioxide”, *Journal of the Chemical Society*, vol. 91 (1907), pp. 1862–1866.

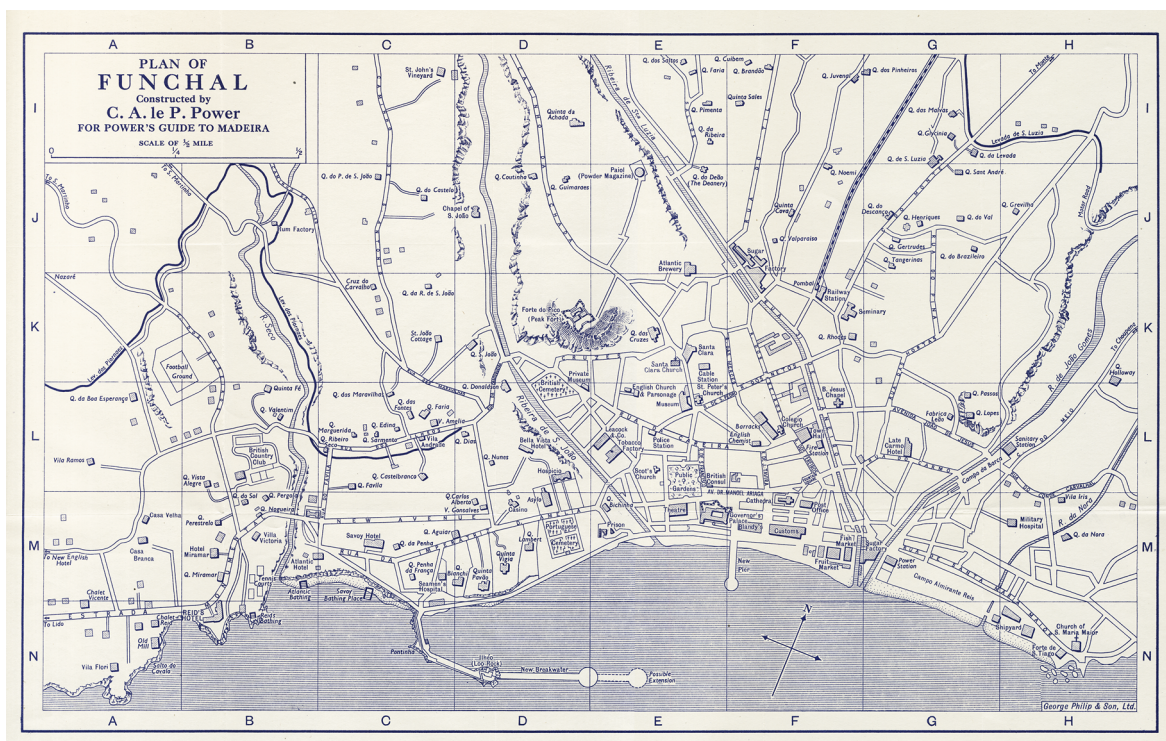


Fig. 7.18 [George Philip & Son, Ltd.], *Map of Funchal, as Miss Acland would have known it, 1914* (C. A. le P. Power, *Tourist's Guide to the Island of Madeira*, London, 1914)

The Island of Sugar Cane and Bananas

Medicine would affect Miss Acland's Autochrome photography in other ways, through her decision to spend winters in Madeira from 1908. She departed Southampton for Funchal for the first time on 6 March 1908, staying for eleven weeks, only to return on 21 November (table 7.5, p. 362). Where to go to escape the Oxford climate had been an issue for her since the death of her father, with Morocco an early candidate. That her photography as well as her health had a bearing on the decision is suggested by a letter from Louise Cecile Béchet de Balan, née de Calonne (1854/5–1941), a resident of Tangiers, to William Standert Bewicke (1851–1895), British Vice-Consul in Tetuan. "We know cousins of the Aclands & should be delighted to see your friend here", Louise told Bewicke, adding that "from this very house she would do lovely things in the way of coloured photography."¹⁰⁷

Madeira was a more conventional destination for an invalid than North Africa. In 1856 Acland accompanied Liddell to the island, in 1858 Willie. "How well I remember Mr. Gladstone saying at my table here about Dean Liddell. 'Liddell was supposed to be in a decline, but Dr. Acland took him to Madeira and he has grown into the grand old man we know him now'", Thomas Herbert Warren (1853–1930),

107. Ms. Acland d. 171, fols. 108–109 (Balan to Bewicke, 14 Jan [1906]). Balan's husband was Etienne Desire Frederic Bechet de Balan, of the Château des Rosiers, Ardennes.

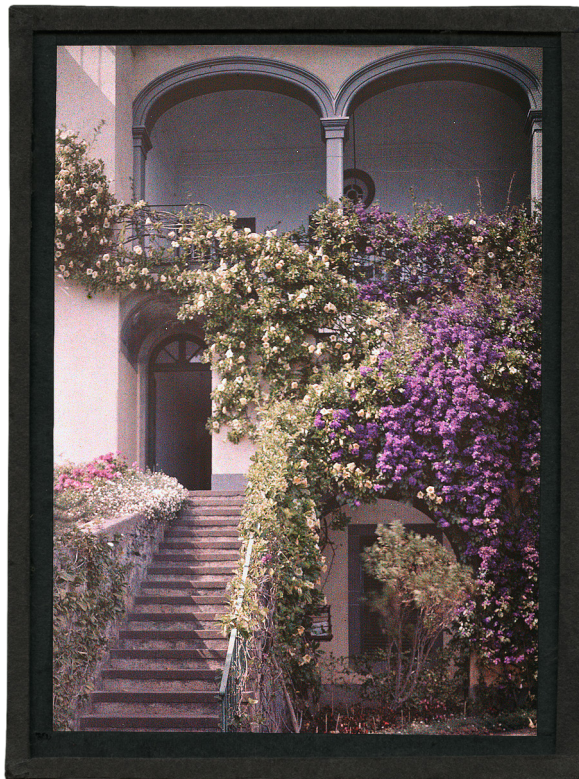


Fig. 7.19 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Reid's Hotel*, Autochrome, 1908–09 ? (cat. no. 916)



Fig. 7.20 Sarah Angelina Acland, "*Bananas*", Autochrome, 1908 ? (cat. no. 902)

President of Magdalen, reminisced in 1912.¹⁰⁸ In 1870 Michael Comport Grabham (1840–1935), the English physician in Funchal, described the benefits of the island for invalids as

resources which supply the necessities and comforts of life bounteously and without restraint, and minister especially to the exigencies of enfeebled persons; also of a climate characterised by a pleasant and healthful uniformity, which affords direct and valuable benefit by constantly permitting exercise, open-air life, and healthful amusement, and assists the treatment of disease by its remarkable freedom from the exciting causes of irritation and complication.¹⁰⁹

Grabham would become Miss Acland's doctor in Madeira and a close friend.

On her first visit to Madeira Miss Acland was accompanied by her companion Jenny Grimston, with Harry acting as their "Esquire and escort".¹¹⁰ They left England under snow, arriving in Funchal via Lisbon five days later, where they were met by Alfred Edward Reid (1867–1924) and William James George Reid (1850–1928), proprietors of the famous Reid's hotel (cat. no. 888) (fig. 7.19). To begin with the island was a let-down: "All the very little I have seen of Madeira disappoints me", Miss Acland complained on the first day.¹¹¹ However, within

108. Ms. Acland d. 175, fols. 88–89 (Warren to SAA, 25 Nov 1912)

109. Michael C. Grabham, *The Climate and Resources of Madeira, as Regarding Chiefly the Necessities of Consumption and the Welfare of Invalids* (London, 1870), p. 5

110. MHS Ms. Gunther 30, fol. 1r (18 Mar 1908)

111. Ms. Acland d. 109, fols. 54–56 (SAA to WADA, 10 Mar 1908)

Table 7.5: Miss Acland's Winters in Madeira, 1908–15

	Departure Southampton	Passage out	Arrival Funchal	Accompanied by	Departure Funchal	Passage back	Arrival Southampton
1908	6 Mar 1908	Avon	11 Mar 1908	Harry & Jenny Grimston	26 May 1908	Kinfauns Castle	30 May 1908 Harry back earlier
1908–09	21 Nov 1908	Kenilworth Castle	c. 24 Nov 1908	Jenny & Mabel ?Grimston	1 Jun 1909	Walmer Castle	5 Jun 1909
1909–10	27 Nov 1909	Kenilworth Castle	1 Dec 1909	Jenny & Mabel (a maid)	10 May 1910 Mabel back 5 Apr	Kenilworth Castle	14 May 1910
1910–11	26 Nov 1910	Edinburgh Castle	30 Nov 1910	Jenny Grimston	23 May 1911	Kenilworth Castle	27 May 1911 Jenny not on board
1911–12	18 Nov 1911	Walmer Castle	22 Nov 1911	Lawrence	28 May 1912	Edinburgh Castle	1 Jun 1912
1912–13	30 Nov 1912	Walmer Castle	4 Dec 1912	Helen Douglas & "maid Browne"	20 May 1913	Walmer Castle	25 May 1913
1913–14	22 Nov 1913	Balmoral Castle	26 Nov 1913	Carrie Massey & "maid (Brown)"	15 May 1914	Balmoral Castle	19 May 1914
1915	29 Jan 1915	Balmoral Castle	Unknown	Carrie Massey	Unknown	Balmoral Castle	2 Jun 1915

a week she had been converted to its charms: "We are having a very good time indeed here — the climate seems to me to be perfect".¹¹² The more she returned the more she loved the place:

Do you know the saying about Madeira? That Adam came back to the world & went to Europe France England Germany etc & said that what with trains & motor cars & airships these countries did not suit him at all. America was worse. So he then tried Madeira & found it just as he had left it & he was thus able to settle down comfortably! I wonder if this is why I like it? It is nearer to primeval man.¹¹³

In a letter to Willie on Christmas Day 1911 she bestowed the highest accolade on the island that a member of the Acland family could: "I always feel that Madeira is a kind of glorified Devonshire."¹¹⁴

As events transpired, Madeira would be less of an oasis of health than Miss Acland had hoped. In early 1910 typhoid broke out at Reid's. "The panic is intense and people are flying off at a tangent everywhere", she wrote on 13 February.¹¹⁵ Her maid Mabel was struck down, but escaped with her life after enduring a fever of 104½°F for several weeks. Others were less fortunate. Of the fifty-five cases of typhoid, Miss Acland mentioned only six or seven deaths, but some reports put the figure at sixteen or seventeen. The outbreak was over by the end of March, but all in all it was a "dreadful time".¹¹⁶ Almost as soon as Miss Acland had set foot back in Funchal in autumn 1910 an epidemic of Asiatic cholera broke out.¹¹⁷ Few of the residents in the hotel were directly affected, but again the strain took its toll. "I am not strong enough to do any photography", she told Willie in January 1911, adding shortly before returning home in May that "I have had to lead a very quiet life this winter & have only taken two coloured photographs" (cat. nos. 969–70).¹¹⁸

Jenny Grimston (fig. 7.21) had joined Miss Acland from the Heathcotes in 1900, her salary initially funded by Willie. She accompanied Miss Acland to Madeira on the first four visits. One of Jenny's main qualifications as a companion was her photographic skills, which saw her elected to Oxford Camera Club in her own right.¹¹⁹ During her annual leave she was always sorely missed by Miss Acland: "I tried very hard to get something finished", Miss Acland commented to Willie in December 1903, in reference to her Gibraltar slides, but "I could not manage it with Jenny away".¹²⁰ In summer 1911 Miss Acland's ability to progress in colour photography with the Autochrome and other screen-plate processes was thrown into disarray when Jenny decided to leave her employ, after forming an attachment to another winter visitor to Madeira, Miss Alice Winifred Cookson

112. Ms. Acland d. 109, fols. 57–60 (SAA to WADA, 2 Apr 1908)

113. Ms. Acland d. 109, fols. 99–100 (SAA to WADA, 10 Jan 1909)

114. Ms. Acland d. 110, fol. 220 (SAA to WADA, 25 Dec 1911)

115. Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 16–17 (SAA to WADA, 13 Feb 1910)

116. Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 40–41 (SAA to WADA, 30 Mar 1910)

117. See "Cholera in Madeira", *The Times*, no. 39443 (30 Nov 1910), p. 5b.

118. Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 122–123 (SAA to WADA, 17 Jan 1911); fols. 144–145 (SAA to WADA, 29 April 1911)

119. Jenny was elected to the Club on 21 October 1901, having been proposed on 7 October by Miss Acland ("First October Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 8 (Feb 1902), p. 62; "Second October Meeting", *Proceedings of the Oxford Camera Club*, no. 8 (Feb 1902), pp. 62–64). She exhibited at the Club, although infrequently.

120. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 166–169 (SAA to WADA, 13 Sep 1903)



Fig. 7.21 Sarah Angelina Acland, "J. G." [Jenny Grimston], Autochrome, Sep 1907 ? (cat. no. 879)

(1862–1939).¹²¹ "I am trying too to begin my photography but I find that very hard work without Jenny as she always helped me so much," Miss Acland lamented in December 1911.¹²² After more than ten years of companionship Jenny's defection was also difficult to bear on a personal level: "It is all so sad for me & I cannot help fretting a good deal at times & wake with the tears running down my cheeks."¹²³ It was also socially awkward, since Madeira was "a very small & gossipy place".¹²⁴ For the winter of 1912–13 Miss Acland engaged a new companion, Grace Helen Douglas (1885–1984). Somewhat extraordinarily, Helen was the daughter of one of Julia Margaret Cameron's favourite sitters, Elizabeth Louisa ("Topsy") Douglas, née Keown (1858–1951). Although "a remarkably nice girl" and "very anxious to be helpful", she was somewhat inexperienced.¹²⁵ In February 1913 disaster struck when she gave Miss Acland ½ oz of terebene (a mixture of terpenes used as an expectorant) instead of the prescribed five drops, which required Grabham to pump Miss Acland's stomach.¹²⁶ Helen was left behind in England the following year, but Miss Acland was relieved of any guilt for having done so when she announced her engagement to stockbroker George Grant Briggs (1881–1945).¹²⁷

121. See Ms. Acland d. 110, fol. 166 ff.

122. Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 217–218 (SAA to WADA, 9 Dec 1911)

123. Ms. Acland d. 110, fol. 222 (SAA to WADA, 15 Jan 1912)

124. Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 191–192 (SAA to WADA, 9 Sep 1911)

125. Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 269–270 (SAA to WADA, 21 Sep 1912); fols. 267–268 (SAA to WADA, 14 Sep 1912)

126. Ms. Acland d. 111, fol. 4 (SAA to WADA, 9 Feb 1913)

127. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 107–108 (SAA to WADA, 2 Mar 1914)



Fig. 7.22 [Sarah Angelina Acland], *Miss Acland, Sousa Calceteira, Jacintho Fernandes and Grace Helen Douglas*?, Autochrome, 11 Jan 1913? (cat. no. 1014)

The climate aside, the principal boon of Madeira for Miss Acland were the “rêdes” — hammock — that were a traditional form of transport on the island (fig. 7.22). She employed two hammock bearers for the duration of her visits, Sousa Calceteira and Jacintho Fernandes, paying them 40,000 Reis a month (about £8 6s).¹²⁸ The hammock made it easy to accept social invitations. “People are wonderfully kind to us here & we get asked out to tea often”, she wrote in May 1909.¹²⁹ As in England, her social life in Madeira was oiled by family connections. For two years from 1912 Charles Bruce Harrison (1865–1917), widow of her cousin Mary Hook (1865–1911), was English chaplain in Funchal (cat. no. 526). Her friends among the English residents also included Charles Alexander Browne (b. 1841), a former Lieutenant on one of Willie’s ships, who lived at the *Quinta da Fé*.¹³⁰ Of the fellow guests in the hotel she particularly enjoyed the company of Mary Selina Gladstone, recipient of the Prime Minister’s portrait a decade earlier, whom she described as “one of the most amusing people that I have ever known”.¹³¹ Her closest friends among the permanent residents were the leading figures of the English-speaking community. Her friendship with Dr Grabham, or “Grabby” as she called him, extended to his wife Mary, née Blandy (1843–1914), their youngest daughter Elizabeth Bayman Grabham (1873–1949), who lived in the *Quinta do Revoredo* in

128. Miss Acland noted in her journal that 200 Reis was equivalent to 10 pence (MHS Ms. Gunther 30, fol. 21r (1 Apr 1908)). When Jacinth was ill his brother-in-law João Branco took over.

129. Ms. Acland d. 109, fols. 107–108 (SAA to WADA, 3 May 1909)

130. Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 226 (SAA to WADA, 17 Feb 1912)

131. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 14 (SAA to WADA, 30 Mar 1913). Mary visited Madeira with John Robert Gladstone (1852–1926), her brother.

Santa Cruz, and their son George Walter Grabham (1882–1955), a geologist in Anglo-Sudan who would visit her in Oxford with “quantities of photographs” of Africa.¹³² Dr Grabham was a capable organist, owner of a house organ by August F. H. Gern (1837–1903) (foreman to Cavallé-Coll), and one of a circle of musician friends Miss Acland cultivated in Madeira that also included John Guedes Scott (1871–1931), an accomplished pianist who gave concerts in the Municipal Theatre.¹³³

Madeira Photographic

In the journal she kept during her first visit to Madeira Miss Acland described the collective interest she shared in photography with Harry and Jenny:

We are all photographers and have 7 cameras between us and I take both Lumière autochromes and Sanger Shepherd negatives — two three coloured processes, but the last can only be done leisurely and with a stand so that it cannot be done on expeditions.

I have however taken several colour pictures by the autochrome process, people being most kind in asking me to go to their gardens.¹³⁴

None of the Sanger Shepherd negatives Miss Acland exposed in Madeira survive, if indeed she ever took any. Her Autochromes from the island number 109, to add to 43 taken in England. They range from photographs of interiors, to portraits of the local people, seascapes, and views of the beautiful gardens of the Funchal “quintas” (private houses). The seascapes, most of which were taken from the cliff on which Reid’s was perched, capture the changing pattern of shipping in Funchal Bay, as liners and yachts are gradually replaced by coaling hulks and warships in the build up to the First World War (fig. 7.23). Miss Acland took great interest in the naval movements, noting the arrival of the Russian fleet in February 1909 and the Italian Dreadnought *Dante Alighieri* in March 1913, for example.¹³⁵

Gardens and plants make up the majority of Miss Acland’s colour photographs from Madeira, just as they did in Gibraltar, as she tested the ability of the Autochrome and other screen-plate processes to capture their vibrant colours. As well as photographing the luxurious terraced gardens of Reid’s, she was invited into many of the private quintas with her camera.¹³⁶ On 24 March 1908, less than two weeks after her arrival, she made a note of one such invitation in her diary:

One day when we were out in a Carro two ladies asked us to look at their garden if we liked. They turned out to be two Miss Hintons and have a charming old house built long ago in the Italian style the garden being laid out in the same. The bougainvillea was wonderful. Masses of it roses, wisteria, giant strelitzia and many

132. See Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 84–86 (SAA to WADA, 30 Jul 1910); fols. 87–88 (SAA to WADA, 6 Aug 1910); fols. 82–82 (SAA to WADA, 23 Jul 1910).

133. On Scott, see Luiz Peter Clode, *Registo Bio-Bibliográfico de Madeirenses Sécs. XIX e XX* (Caixa Económica do Funchal, 1983). He lived in the Quinta Aguiar.

134. MHS Ms. Gunther 30, fol. 9r–10r (24 Mar 1908)

135. Ms. Acland d. 109, fols. 101–102 (SAA to WADA, 21 Feb 1909); Ms. Acland d. 111, fol. 13 (SAA to WADA, 21 Mar 1913)

136. On the quintas, see Marjorie Hoare, *The Quintas of Madeira: Windows into the Past* (Francisco Ribeiro & Filhos, Funchal, 2004).



Fig. 7.23 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Battleship in Funchal Bay*, Autochrome, 1913 or 1914 ? (cat. no. 1065)



Fig. 7.24 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Miss Hinton's Roses" (Quinta do Til), Autochrome, Mar 1908 (cat. no. 898)

plants and the trunk of an enormous chestnut which had been burnt. The Miss Hintons invited us to photograph which I did. The Quinta is called Quinta Til after a great teal tree a wood rather like mahogany but darker.¹³⁷

The eighteenth-century *Quinta do Til*, which Coburn photographed many years later, was the home of the daughters of William Hinton (d. 1904), sugar merchant.¹³⁸ In *The Flowers and Gardens of Madeira* (London, 1909), Florence Du Cane (1869–1955) described its Italianate terraces, the upper laid out in beds surrounded by box hedges "filled with an infinite variety of well-grown plants" (fig. 7.24), the lower "almost entirely a rose garden" (cf. cat. nos. 898 & 1052).¹³⁹ Closer to Reid's was the more modest *Quinta del Sol*, the home of Bickerton Cross Edwards (1874–1942), Harrison's predecessor as English chaplain. In its "bright cheerful garden" Miss Acland photographed the Scarlet Trumpet Vine, *Distictis buccinatoria* (cat. nos. 990–991).¹⁴⁰ The dazzling colours of the island's other creepers are the most conspicuous feature of many of her Autochromes: the radiant orange of *Bignonia venusta* (cf. cat. no. 1045, fig. 7.25) and *Streptosolen jamesonii* (cat. no. 904), and the brick red and bright purple of *Bougainvillea* (cat. nos. 905 & 924). However, it was not only the flowering plants that caught her attention:

137. MHS Ms. Gunther 30, fol. 10r (24 Mar 1908)

138. The Miss Hintons Miss Acland knew were probably Alice Mary Hinton (d. 1913) and Mary Knox Hinton (1848/9–1943). Coburn's photographs are held by George Eastman House.

139. Ella and Florence Du Cane, *The Flowers and Gardens of Madeira*, p. 56; p. 58

140. MHS Ms. Gunther 30, fol. 11r (24 Mar 1908)



Fig. 7.25 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Bignonia venusta* in the Crosthwait's Garden, Autochrome, 23 Jan 1914 (cat. no. 1045)



Fig. 7.26 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Red Palm* in Dr Watney's Garden, 5 Apr 1913, Autochrome (cat. no. 1015)

This afternoon we went by invitation to see Dr. Watney's garden and have tea. He took us round, I in my hammock. It is wonderful, such a variety of palms 30 varieties and some most curious trees. The screw pine is one of the most curious.¹⁴¹

Herbert Watney (1843–1932), former assistant physician to St George's Hospital and medical examiner at Cambridge, owned the *Quinta Magnolia*, about a third of a mile from Reid's.¹⁴² Miss Acland returned there frequently "to study palms", being particularly interested in a variety that threw up red leaves (cat. no. 1015, fig. 7.26).¹⁴³

Tempting as it might be to stereotype floral and garden photography as a dilettante female pursuit, during the 1900s the genre attracted serious attention, including in learned lectures on botany and horticulture. It was also one of the most economically important branches of the new medium. "Colour photography is peculiarly the need of the florist and seed merchant, for the obvious reason that the exhibition of his products to customers at a distance is a matter of extreme difficulty on account of their perishable character and fragility", the editor of the *British Journal of Photography* had already pointed out in May 1906, before

141. Ibid., fol. 27r (8 Apr 1908)

142. See "Dr. Herbert Watney", *The Times*, no. 46146 (30 May 1932), p. 14d. In 1911 Watney's eldest son William Herbert Watney married Mary Edith Gull (b. 1887), the eldest daughter of William Cameron Gull (1860–1922), Theodore Acland's brother-in-law.

143. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 97–98 (SAA to WADA, 13 Jan 1914)



Fig. 7.27 Henry Essenhig-Corke, "Oriental Poppies", half-tone (*Garden Flowers as they Grow* (London, 1913), frontispiece)

the Autochrome's release.¹⁴⁴ His comments were made in anticipation of a paper at the Royal Horticultural Society on "Colour Photography in Horticulture" by Fred Enock (1845–1916), who was already well known for his popular lectures on insects illustrated with Sanger Shepherd slides.¹⁴⁵ Two years later the significance of the genre was highlighted in the *Gardener's Magazine*:

Colour Photography is a subject of the greatest interest, and its development is a matter of the greatest importance. When plants and flowers can be photographed in their natural colours at a moderate cost the seedsman's and nurseryman's traveller will have no need to graphically describe the special plant, flower, or fruit he wishes to push among his clientele.¹⁴⁶

With the Autochrome these hopes could begin to be realized. Photographers to make a speciality of Autochrome photography of gardens and plants included Thomas Ernest Waltham (1868–1950), who showed colour slides of the Japanese Garden at Holland House at the RHS in 1908; Henry Essenhig-Corke (1883–1919), who assembled a collection of colour plates to illustrate his popular books and lectures on "English Wild Flowers" and "Garden Flowers as they Grow" from 1910 (fig. 7.27); William Edward Marshall (1869–1935), an artist and photographer

144. "Ex Cathedrâ / Colour Photography in Horticulture", *British Journal of Photography*, vol. 53, no. 2403 (11 May 1906), p. 362

145. See "Extracts from the Proceedings of the Royal Horticultural Society / General Meeting / April 17, 1906", *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, vol. 32 (Jun 1907), p. xxii.

146. "Notes of the Week / Colour Photography" [Note on a lecture by Thomas Waltham on "Self-coloured Photographs of Alpine Flora"], *Gardener's Magazine*, vol. 51, no. 2830 (25 Jan 1908), pp. 61–63, p. 62

from Henley-on-Thames, who showed 140 Autochromes in a lecture in January 1911, including of the famous alpine garden of Frank Crisp (1843–1919); and Mabel and George Hamilton, whose Autochromes of Cuffnells (the home of Alice Liddell after her marriage) were said to be “gems of their kind” when shown at the Southampton Camera Club.¹⁴⁷ At the RHS Flower Show in 1911 one of the most unusual exhibits was a display of ninety-four Autochromes on the stand of Messrs Kelways, “illustrating the products of this firm of nurserymen”.¹⁴⁸ At a time when new theories of planting were being developed, colour photography also had a role to play in garden design and its dissemination, as exemplified by the Autochromes of Munstead Wood published in the works of Gertrude Jekyll (1843–1942). Jekyll, however, even in 1912, felt that colour photography, and the Autochrome in particular, had still “not yet reached such a degree of precision and accuracy as can do justice to a careful scheme of colour grouping”.¹⁴⁹

Alternative Screen-plate Processes

The phenomenal success of the Autochrome prompted manufacturers to launch countless rival processes in the hope of claiming their own slice of the new market for colour photography. Less pleasing to the modern eye than Autochromes, these processes have tended to be dismissed by historians, their place in the history of photography reduced to the chronology of colour patents. The evidence of Miss Acland’s work suggests this conclusion may need to be reassessed.

Miss Acland left sixty-five photographs of Madeira taken on colour plates other than the Autochrome, and eighteen of England. The first alternative she experimented with was the “Omnicolore” process (she may also have tried the “Thames Colour” plate, released in 1908, but no examples can be attributed to her unequivocally).¹⁵⁰ Omnicolore plates were released on the French market in January 1909 (not in 1907 as often stated) and became available in England in May

147. See “Photography in Natural Colours / (Abstract of Lecture delivered by T. Ernest Waltham, F.R.H.S., January 28, 1908)”, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, vol. 34, pt. 1 (Sep 1908), p. 40; H. Essenhigh-Corke and H. H. Thomas, *Garden Flowers as they Grow: Photographed in Colour Direct from Nature* (London etc., 1913); T. Ernest Waltham, *Common British Wildflowers Easily Named* (London, 1927); “Autochromes of Flower and Garden Subjects” [Note of a lecture by William Marshall], *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 5, no. 50 (3 Feb 1911), p. 16; and “Meetings of Societies / Southampton Camera Club” [Report of a lecture by George Gibson Hamilton on “The Gardens of Bournemouth”], *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 6, no. 62 (2 Feb 1912), pp. 88–89. The National Media Museum holds examples of Essenhigh Corke’s work.

148. “Colour Photography at the Royal Horticultural Flower Show”, *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 5, no. 55 (7 Jul 1911), p. 48

149. Gertrude Jekyll, “A Border of Irises and Lupines”, *Garden*, vol. 76, no. 2144 (21 Dec 1912), p. 639. See also Judith B. Tankard and Martin A. Wood, *Gertrude Jekyll at Munstead Wood: Writing, Horticulture, Photography, Homebuilding* (Stroud, 1996), p. 56.

150. MHS Inventory nos. 29635 and 31803 are Thames plates once attributed to Miss Acland; Inventory no. 62815 is a bare negative that may be by her. Inventory nos. 24426, 28951, 43718 and 99673 are Thames plates by Minn.

(the author of the “Matters Photographical” column in the *Oxford Times* described them in February, but had yet to see them with his own eyes).¹⁵¹

Omnicolore plates had several advantages over the Autochrome, the most important of which was greater transparency, which allowed shorter exposure times ($\frac{1}{5}$ th second in full sunlight, 1 to 2 seconds for a well-lighted subject, or 8 to 10 seconds for portraits in the studio at f/6). However, in England they were never popular, none being exhibited at the RPS exhibition.¹⁵² Miss Acland seems to have been unusual in persevering with the plates, eleven from her hand surviving, including views of her drawing room at Clevedon House (cat. no. 966), “*Sweet Williams*” in her Oxford garden (cat. no. 935), *Jacaranda mimosafolia* in the streets of Funchal (cat. nos. 956) (fig. 7.28) and “*Christmas Flowers*” (cat. no. 970). Only the last can be dated with certainty, a calendar in the image displaying December 1910. “*Sweet Williams*” may have been taken in summer 1909 or 1910. Several of the plates are near duplicates of Autochromes, indicating that she was carrying out strict comparative tests of the two processes (cf. figs. 7.32 & 7.33). Four are labelled “Miss Acland, FRPS Oxford”, suggesting they were submitted for exhibition outside the City, presumably at the Society of Colour Photographers.

The second alternative to the Autochrome Miss Acland used was the “Diophtichrome” process of Louis Dufay (1874–1936). The Dufay Diophtichrome was originally scheduled for release in May 1909.¹⁵³ However, it was another year before any plates were seen in England, when the Autotype Company and the journalist Colin Noël Bennett (1882–1978) exhibited specimens at the Society of Colour Photographers exhibition in June 1910. In August 1910 Essenhigh-Corke discussed his experiences with the process in the *Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*.¹⁵⁴ Only three Diophtichrome photographs by Miss Acland survive: a view of the garden door of Clevedon House (cat. no. 965) (fig. 7.29), a scene in the *Quinta Vigia* in Funchal (cat. no. 982), and a portrait taken at Reid’s of a young woman dressed as a jester (cat. no. 978).¹⁵⁵ The first two are no longer in good condition. The garden door has lost all colour, turning a uniform brown, and the emulsion is severely wrinkled. The *Quinta Vigia* is less faded, but a large split has developed across the plate due to shrinkage of the gelatine emulsion. Such faults are typical of specimens of the process as they survive in collections across the world. None of Miss Acland’s plates is dated, but they appear to be from two distinct periods, as the structure of the filter screens is different. When the garden

151. “Matters Photographical”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2521 (13 Feb 1909), p. 10h. Coe incorrectly states that they were “sold from 1907” (*Colour Photography*, p. 56), Wall that they were “introduced commercially” in 1907 (*The History of Three-color Photography*, p. 576). For the correct date see “Colour Photography—A New Plate”, *The Times*, no. 38863 (22 Jan 1909), p. 10f) and “Matters Photographical”, *Oxford Times*, no. 2521 (13 Feb 1909), p. 10h.

152. Only one is recorded in the photographic journals as exhibited at the Society of Colour Photographers, in 1910: “The Exhibition of the Society of Colour Photographers”, *British Journal of Photography* (24 Jun 1910), p. 472b

153. “The Dufay ‘Diophtichrome’ Screen-Plates”, *British Journal of Photography Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 3, no. 29 (7 May 1909), p. 39

154. H. Essenhigh Corke, “The Dufay Diophtichrome Plate”, *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 4, no. 44 (5 Aug 1910), pp. 57–58

155. A fourth Dufay plate in the Museum of the History of Science previously attributed to Miss Acland, of a woman in profile, Inventory no. 26048, has two small white disks to indicate the orientation it should be placed in a projector — a style of labelling she never used.



Fig. 7.28 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Jacaranda mimosafolia* (Travessa das Almas, Funchal), Omnicolore, Apr or May 1910? (cat. no. 956)



Fig. 7.29 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Garden Door, Clevedon House*, Dufay Diophtichrome, Aug 1910? (cat. no. 965)

door is examined under the microscope green lines and red and blue squares are visible, the lines running parallel to the edges of the plate and spaced at about 90 per cm. The *Quinta Vigia* and the portrait have red and green lines crossing blue (and possibly yellow) lines, running at 45° to the edges of the plate and spaced at more than 140 per cm. The existence of these two different types of Dufay screen is poorly documented in the secondary literature.¹⁵⁶ The first is the version commonly reproduced in illustrations of the process. However, early in 1911 a modified plate was released, referred to as the “Diophtichrome B”.¹⁵⁷ This was reported to have a finer screen and to show less predominant green than its predecessor, and is presumably the version Miss Acland took out with her to Madeira.

The third competitor to the Autochrome Miss Acland experimented with, the “Paget Colour” process, was the first successful screen-plate of English manufacture. It was officially placed on the market on 4 April 1913.¹⁵⁸ Miss Acland lost no time in testing the plates, writing of her experiences in a letter to Willie on 8 May, while still in Madeira, having presumably obtained samples from a local

¹⁵⁶ Coe briefly mentions the existence of a second plate, without identifying it as Diophtichrome “B” (*Colour Photography*, p. 60).

¹⁵⁷ V. Cremier, “Experiments with the Diophtichrome Colour Screen-Plate”, *British Journal of Photography Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 5, no. 53 (5 May 1911), pp. 37–38

¹⁵⁸ See Geoffrey E. Whitfield and C. L. Finlay, “A Demonstration of the Paget Colour Plate”, *Photographic Journal*, n.s. vol. 53, no. 4 (Apr 1913), pp. 142–148, p. 145. Sets of sample slides had been circulated around the societies in autumn 1912.



Fig. 7.30 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Chummy and Caroline Massey* ?, screened Paget Colour negative, Jul or Aug 1913 ? (cat. no. 1034A)



Fig. 7.31 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Chummy and Caroline Massey* ?, Paget Colour transparency, Jul or Aug 1913 ? (cat. no. 1034B)

dealer in Funchal. "I am really getting on & have been exposing some of the new Paget plates & am taking them home for development ... It is rather difficult to use in my weakness & I could not do it at all if it were not for Sousa & especially Jacintho, who remind me if I forget anything!"¹⁵⁹ Fifty-six different photographs by Miss Acland on Paget plates come down to us, thirty-eight taken in Madeira, eight in Oxford. Only twenty-six are finished colour slides: in the Paget process the monochrome negative was separate from the filter screen that gave the plates their colour, which meant any number of copies could be made by printing off monochrome positives and binding them up with a coloured "viewing screen" (figs. 7.30 & 7.31). Forty-six survive as monochrome 'screened' negatives exposed in the camera, recognisable under a magnifying glass by the characteristic diamond-shaped pattern left by the filter elements. Ten of the finished colour slides have no corresponding negative.

Duplicate Autochromes exist of several of Miss Acland's early Paget Colour transparencies (cf. figs. 7.34 & 7.35), but none from later years, suggesting that by 1914 she had come to prefer the process over the Autochrome outright. In Madeira she exposed Paget plates on a familiar range of subjects: plants and gardens (cat. no. 1016 ff.), interiors of the hotel (cat. no. 1022), views of the Bay (cat. no. 1075), and the mountains surrounding Funchal (cat. no. 1069 ff.). On 12 January 1914, for example, she could be found in the *Quinta Magnolia* trying to capture a new leaf

159. Ms. Acland d. 111, fol. 23 (SAA to WADA, 8 May 1913)



Fig. 7.32 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Tennis Court and Coral Tree (Quinta Vigia or Reid's Hotel)*, Omnicolor, May 1910 ? (cat. no. 959)

Fig. 7.33 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Tennis Court and Coral Tree (Quinta Vigia or Reid's Hotel)*, Autochrome, May 1910 ? (cat. no. 958)

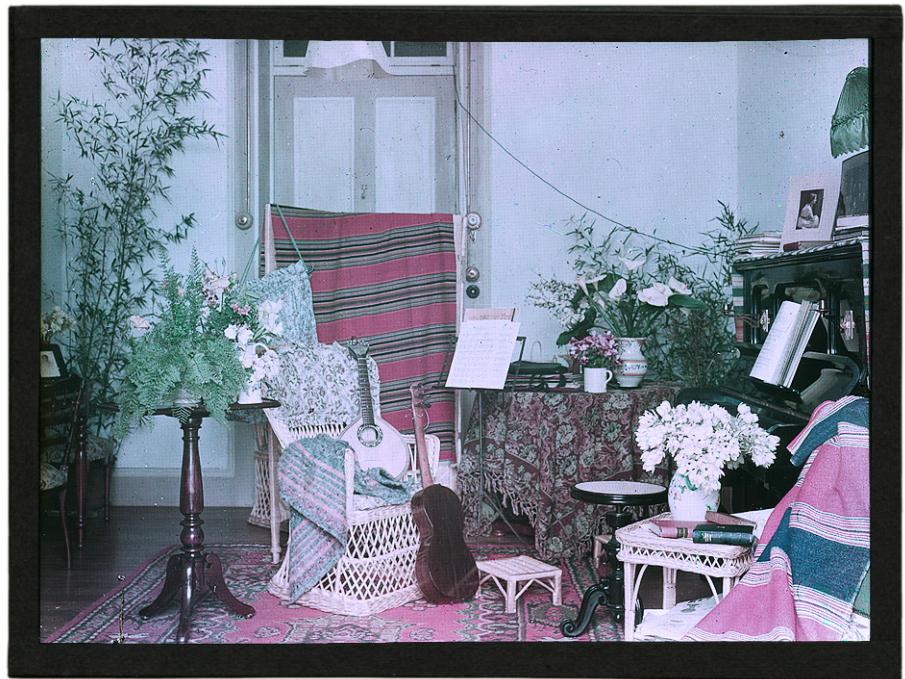


Fig. 7.34 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Miss Acland's Sitting Room, Reid's Hotel*, Paget Colour transparency, Apr or May 1913 ? (cat. no. 1022)



Fig. 7.35 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Miss Acland's Sitting Room, Reid's Hotel*, Autochrome, Apr or May 1913 ? (cat. no. 1020)



Fig. 7.36 J. H. Dallmeyer Ltd., Advertisement for the Dallmeyer 'Adon' telephoto lens, 1903 (*British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1903, p. 1554)



Fig. 7.37 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Pico Grande in Snow*, screened Paget Colour negative, 12 Apr 1914 or shortly after (cat. no. 1070)

put up by one of Dr Watney's palms.¹⁶⁰ Twelve days later she was in the *Quinta das Maravilhas* "doing studies of the *Begonia Venusta* which is glorious there now" (cat. nos. 1046–8).¹⁶¹ On Easter Monday she set about photographing the snow on the Serras with her 'Adon' telephoto lens (fig. 7.36), the speed of Paget plates making telephotography more viable than with the Autochrome (cat. nos. 1067–8) (fig. 7.37).¹⁶² The speed of Paget plates also made them useful for portraiture, as shown by portraits of Harry and his wife, her maids, her Yorkshire Terrier 'Chummy', and several self-portraits taken in the garden of Clevedon House (cat. nos. 1030 ff.).

Miss Acland's preference for Paget Colour plates over the Autochrome is unexpected, given the dominance the Autochrome is alleged to have exerted over colour photography for several decades. In the years immediately following its release in 1913 the Paget process was highly praised and widely used. In the RPS exhibition in 1913, for example, nineteen plates were exhibited by nine different workers; in the 1914 exhibition fourteen by ten workers. In May 1914 the avid amateur colour photographer Henry D'Arcy Power (1857–1939), Dean of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in San Francisco, gave his experiences of the process in the *British Journal Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*. "How did the plates work in practice?", he asked, answering:

160. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 97–98 (SAA to WADA, 13 Jan 1913)

161. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 100–101 (SAA to WADA, 24 Jan 1914)

162. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 114–115 (SAA to WADA, 12 Apr 1914)



Fig. 7.38 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Ponta do Garajau*, screened Paget Colour negative, 1913 or 1914 ? (cat. no. 1067)

Very much better than I expected. I have tried them on flowers, landscape, genre and portraiture, and while I have had difficulties which might discourage an inexperienced worker, I have overcome them and obtained coloured lantern slides that are sharper and much easier to project than Autochromes, while yet of equal colour accuracy to the very best of these latter. ... the Lumière plate has met a real rival, one destined to occupy a field of its own.¹⁶³

In November 1914 the Balliol graduate and barrister Henry Schultes Schultess-Young (1851/2–1933) offered his own appraisal of the plates in the *BJP Monthly Supplement*, commenting that “there are practically two kinds of colour photography” — the Lumière and Paget processes — concluding that “a good Paget is equal to a good Lumière ... a perfect Paget is a perfect picture.”¹⁶⁴

*

“Six months is a long time to be in an Hotel”, Miss Acland remarked in May 1909, at the end of her first winter in Madeira.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, she always had “heaps to do”: “the days never seem to be long enough — & the interests are endless.”¹⁶⁶ The sun did not always shine on the island, as shown by the surprisingly high number of Autochromes in which she photographed heavy cloud over Funchal (cat. nos. 890, 892–3, 897, 917 & 989) (e.g. fig. 7.39). Her decision to photograph these leaden skies was reflected the dual foundation, artistic and scientific, on

163. H. D’Arcy Power, “Experiences with the Paget Colour Plate”, *British Journal of Photography Monthly Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 8, no. 89 (1 May 1914), pp. 17–18. Henry D’Arcy Power, who was born in Germany, should not be confused with Sir D’Arcy Power (1855–1941), an eminent surgeon, antiquary and Freemason.

164. H. S. Schultess Young, “Some Notes on the Autochrome and Paget Processes”, *British Journal of Photography Supplement on Colour Photography*, vol. 8, no. 95 (6 Nov 1914), pp. 41–42

165. Ms. Acland d. 109, fols. 107–108 (SAA to WADA, 3 May 1909)

166. Ms. Acland d. 109, fols. 61–62 (SAA to WADA, 17 Apr 1908)



Fig. 7.39 Sarah Angelina Acland, *Sunset over Funchal Bay*, Autochrome, 1908 ? (cat. no. 892)

which her love of photography rested. Ruskin had taught the artistic value of studying clouds, dedicating several chapters to the subject in *Modern Painters* and placing examples in the teaching collections (similar in style to several of Miss Acland's watercolours).¹⁶⁷ Acland often emphasized the scientific importance of studying meteorology, setting up a stand for meteorological instruments in the garden at Broad Street and including a lengthy chapter on "The Meteorology of the Epidemic" in his *Memoir on the Cholera at Oxford* (London and Oxford, 1856), complete with tables of data compiled by Harry's second godfather, the Radcliffe Observer and art collector Manuel John Johnson (1805–1859).¹⁶⁸

In later life meteorology would become Miss Acland's second passion after photography. In Madeira she set out to compile a systematic record of the sunlight, taking daily readings from a sunshine recorder in the garden at Reid's.¹⁶⁹ The results of her researches from 1908 to 1915 were published as "Winter Sunshine at Funchal, Madeira" in the *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society* in 1917, soon after she had been elected a fellow of the Society.¹⁷⁰ She kept up her

167. See Hewison, Warrell and Wildman, *Ruskin, Turner and the Pre-Raphaelites*, pp. 265–269.

168. On the meteorological stand see Ms. Acland d. 53, fols. 125–126 (SA to WADA, 16 Nov 1858).

169. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 89–90 (SAA to WADA, 6 Dec 1913)

170. [Royal Meteorological Society], "Proceedings at the Meetings of the Society", *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society*, vol. 42, no. 179 (Jul 1916), p. 180; "Winter Sunshine at Funchal, Madeira", *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society*, vol. 43, no. 181 (Jan 1917), pp. 41–42. Miss Acland was elected on 15 March 1916, having been proposed for membership on 16 February "from personal knowledge", by Wilson L. Fox, Walter Sedgwick and Henry Mellish. Sedgwick was Secretary of the Society, Mellish President from 1909 to 1911. I am indebted to Malcolm Walker for this information. Her observations were communicated by "A. H. B.", the assistant secretary to the society, Arthur Hampton Brown. See also "Obituary: Miss S. A. Acland", *Quarterly Journal of the Royal Meteorological Society*, vol. 57, no. 239 (Apr, 1931), p. 239.

weather journal in Oxford, where a rain gauge proved more useful. Johnson's successor, Arthur Alcock Rambaut (1859–1923), advised her on the best form to use, his recommendation "the standard 'Meteorological Office' pattern, consisting simply of a funnel and copper can."¹⁷¹ Her barograph and psychrometer are visible in her Autochrome and Omnicolore plates of the drawing room and conservatory at Clevedon House (see cat. nos. 966 and 1088–9).

In September 1910 Miss Acland corresponded with Rambaut on another of the scientific interests she had begun to pursue in parallel with photography: astronomy. Earlier in the year she had observed Halley's Comet from Reid's, making a drawing which she sent to the Radcliffe Observer. "It must have been a glorious object as seen in the clear air of Funchal", he replied.¹⁷² Comets were challenging subjects for amateurs to photograph without the assistance of an equatorial mount and clock drive. Instead, Miss Acland combined her two passions by photographing eclipses. As well as the eclipse of 28 May 1900 (lantern slides of which she sent to the RPS in 1900) (fig. 7.40), she also attempted the partial eclipse of 21 August 1914 (plates untraced) and the annular eclipse of 8 April 1921.¹⁷³ Six negatives of the latter survive, together with an intriguing print of clouds (cat. nos. 735–41). Entitled "Shadows Cast by the Sun when Partially Eclipsed" (fig. 7.41), it serves as a fitting metaphor for the state of her photography, at a time when, at the age of 71, she had largely given up new work and was beginning to think about organizing her lifetime's achievements in preparation for her last journey.

171. Ms. Acland d. 174, fols. 101–102 (Rambaut to SAA, 11 Sep 1910)

172. Ibid. See also Ms. Acland d. 110, fols. 44–46 (SAA to WADA, 21 Apr 1910)

173. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 150–151 (SAA to WADA, 22 Aug 1914)

Fig. 7.40 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Eclipse of the Sun", lantern slide, 28 May 1900 (cat. no. 653)



Fig. 7.41 Sarah Angelina Acland, "Shadows Cast by the Sun when Partially Eclipsed", gelatine print, 8 Apr 1921 (cat. no. 735)



Exhibitor	Biographical Details											
	1898 RPS	1899 RPS	1900 RPS	1901 RPS	1902 RPS	1903 RPS	1904 RPS	1905 RPS	1906 BIP	1906 RPS	1907 RPS	1907 SCP
Henry Oscar Klein (1871/2–1951)									•			FRPS; translated <i>Three-colour Photography</i> (London, 1904)
Hugh Charles Knowles (1875–1940)										A	A	FRPS, FSA; of Merton College; his brother benefactor Fitzwilliam & Ashmolean museums
Students of London C. C. Bolt Court School												• School of printing and engraving, Fleet Street
⁷ Arthur Lander (1872–1947)												A Pharmaceutical chemist, photographer and instrument maker, Canterbury; later JP
Edwin David Lloyd (1863–1941)										A	A	MRPS; piano retailer, 83 Mortimer Street, where he had a public darkroom; also composer
Lumière N. A. Company				•	•	•			•			“Lumière North American Company”, Lumière agents in Great Britain, Ireland and US
Jean Lacroix (dates unknown)				•								of Lacroix fils, photographers, 1, Rue de Candolle, Geneva
James Douglas Lysaght (1849/50–1919)											•	FRPS; Colonel in the Army Pay Department
John McIntosh (d. 1920)											A	FRPS; Secretary of the Royal Photographic Society
Charles Edward Kenneth Mees (1882–1960)												• FRPS; photographic chemist; MD of Wratten & Wainwright; Vice-president of Kodak
Arthur Mellor (1867–1943)										A	A	Manager of a silk mill, Macclesfield; author of article on silk in <i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i>
Julius Ferdinand Ludwig Moeller (1857/8–1931)									•			German subject; inventor; manager of the Incandescent Gas Light Company Ltd., London
Frank Pelham Moffat (1854–1912)											•	FRPS; portrait photographer, Edinburgh; traded under name of his father, John Moffat
Lewis Potter Muirhead (1846–1931)												• F.R.Met.S.; jeweller & chronometer maker, Helensburgh, turned photographer, Glasgow
Richard Neuhauss (1855/6–1915)			•									‘Professor’, MD, Berlin; writer on anthropology
Alfred James Newton (1873–1931)								•			•	FRPS; Principal, Bolt Court School; afterwards head of photomechanical division, Kodak
Albert Norman (1882–1964)					•			•				Photomicrographist; founder, Pathological & Bacteriological Lab. Assistants Association
William Page, Jr. (1831–1915) or Snr. (1858–1911)											A	Portrait photographers, father and son, Shoreham and East Grinstead ⁸
Otto Pfenninger (1855–1929)							•		•			Portrait photographer, Brighton ⁹
Oliver Gregory Pike (1877–1963)										•		FRPS; nature photographer and pioneer of natural history cinematography
H. J. Pinnock (dates unknown)												• Henry John Pinnock (b. 1880) ?; showed “Evening in Tewksbury”, a Pinatype print
Charles Welborne Piper (1864–1919)											A	MRPS, ARIBA; on staff of <i>British Journal of Photography</i> ; co-inventor of the Bromoil process
John Harry Pledge (1875–1952)											•	FRPS, FRMS; Worked with Mees at Wratten & Wainwright; First curator, Kodak Museum
John H. Powrie & Florence M. Warner (d. 1926)											•	• Promoters of the Warner-Powrie (line-screen) process, of Chicago and/or New York
C. Pretty (dates unknown)											A	Identity unknown
Andrew Pringle (1850–1929)				•								FRPS, FRMS; of Trinity College, Cambridge; Photomicroscopist & writer on photography
Edward Parker Reynolds (1862–1924)					•							Gentleman; concert pianist; s. of Edward Reynolds (1825–95), MD of Vickers, Sons & Co.
Ern(e)st Rheinberg (1879–1951)											A	FRPS; lived London; brother of Julius, microscopist, of Rheinberg darkfield illumination
John Riley (dates unknown)												• John Lounds Riley, photographer, Leicester ?; or John Riley, President Dundee Photo. Soc. ?
Rotary Photographic Co., Ltd									•			• Manufacturers of photographic papers and apparatus
Richard Bruno Roxby (1868–1920)				•								“Commission agent”; involved with New Marine Rope Company and with telegraphy
Percy R. Salmon (b. 1872), aka Richard Penlake										A		FRPS; lived Melbourn, Cambs; author of <i>Home Portraiture</i> (London, 1899) and other works



Fig. 8.1 Sarah Angelina Acland, "An Old Friend" [Sarah Angelina Acland], gelatine negative, 1928 (cat. no. 743)

CONCLUSION

Final Photography, *circa* 1915–1930

“Angie is marvellous in her energy & in her goodness. She photographs for 4 or 5 hours at a time down the Dark Room, besides her love of letters, of work & kindness. I meant to write a life of her life. Of all I could not be certain. I do not even know the places abroad she has been sent to. I believe 15 besides all her diverse usefulness in this home”.

Henry Wentworth Acland to his son William Alison Dyke Acland, 10 August 1900¹

“All my teaching about art has been — and more definitely would in future be, the assertion of it being the expression of the morality of man, in certain directions, and with respect to certain elements & subjects, and of its being a mere vicious vanity separated from this root.”

Ruskin to Acland, 11 December 1866²

Miss Acland visited Madeira for the last time on 29 January 1915, after the outbreak of the First World War. When she left England there was little threat to her safety, Portugal remaining neutral in the conflict. However, on 4 February the German Admiralty declared the waters around the British Isles a war-zone, making her return journey in June (the sailing times of which were kept secret) more perilous. The German blockade meant her decision to stay at home in future years was inevitable, although it was not made without regret. “I have most pathetic letters from Madeira of sorrow at my not coming out”, she wrote in January 1916, “I feel horribly mean at throwing them all over who have shown me so much kindness

1. Ms. Acland d. 27, fols. 173–174 (HWA to WADA, 10 Aug 1900)

2. Ms. Acland d. 81, fols. 171–172 (Ruskin to HWA, 11 Dec 1866). The reading of “vicious” is uncertain: 



Fig. 8.2 Angela Cicely Mary Acland, *Veterinarians Attending a Horse*, 3 Base Remount Depot, B.E.F., gelatine print, Dec 1916 (Ms. Acland d. 152, f. 229)



Fig. 8.3 Unknown photographer, 191533 Sapper Harry B. Panting, *Royal Engineers*, gelatine print, Jul 1917 (Ms. Acland d. 154, f. 74)

as I am very much missed there & should not be missed by anyone here".³ As conditions on the island deteriorated she did what she could to help from a distance, lobbying Arthur Annesley, 11th Viscount Valentia (1843–1927), MP for Oxford, to intervene over trade restrictions that were starving the island of income, and communicating to *The Times* an account of the shelling of Funchal by a German U-boat sent to her by Grabham.⁴

During the War Miss Acland found the prospect of photography increasingly daunting. In November 1917, for example, when her Oxford doctor and former neighbour, John Charles Richard Freeborn (1853–1932), asked her to take colour photographs of a "Pensioner Robins" whose tattoos had "broken out poisoned", it was "a great strain".⁵ Aside from dealing with her worsening domestic situation ("I fear to run this house with less than three maids", she wrote in May 1918), most of her energy was devoted to charitable work, which had always occupied an important part in her life (in late 1905 she even helped organize a fund for the relief of the impoverished Ducos du Hauron).⁶ Soon after hostilities began she coordinated the efforts of sixteen people in knitting clothes to send out to soldiers and sailors; by January 1918 her personal total stood at 53 pairs of socks, 13 mufflers, 10 pairs of mittens, 8 pairs of seaboot stockings, and 2 sleeveless jerseys.⁷ Continuing the practice started during the Boer War, she also corresponded with several dozen

3. Ms. Acland d. 112, fols. 1–4 (SAA to WADA, 15 Jan 1916)

4. Ms. Acland d. 175, fol. 44 (Draft of SAA to Viscount Valentia, 14 Apr 1916). See "The Shelling of Funchal", *The Times*, no. 41361 (28 Dec 1916), p. 5b.

5. Ms. Acland d. 112, fols. 237–239 (SAA to WADA, 30 Nov 1917). "Mr. Minn did it really, with my camera" (ibid., fols. 240–241 (SAA to WADA, 7 Dec 1917)).

6. See Ms. Acland d. 175, fols. 92–97 (3 letters, James Waterhouse to SAA, Dec 1905 and Jan 1906).

7. Ms. Acland d. 111, fols. 170–171 (SAA to WADA, 31 Oct 1915); Ms. Acland d. 113, fols. 1–2 (SAA to WADA, 4 Jan 1918)

servicemen and women, as well as keeping in touch with her nephews and nieces, all but the youngest of whom were on active service (fig. 8.2). Her 'Tommies' (fig. 8.3) provided "a never failing source of interest & pleasure" and were invited to Christmas dinner in 1914, where they met the two Russian Poles she had taken in as refugees, Alina Brylinska and Helena Repsegovina.⁸

Inevitably there were casualties among Miss Acland's friends. One of her godsons, Hugh Bone (1892–1980), whom she photographed in his mother's arms aged 2 (cat. no. 307), suffered multiple gunshot wounds in July 1917, but survived. Scott Powell (1885–1916), one of the boys on the Fawe Park gondola (cat. nos. 280–2), was less fortunate, losing his life in April 1916 at the age of 30. Another godson, Reginald James Ford (1888–1916), son of Acland's assistant at the Radcliffe Library, whom she nominated for membership of the Camera Club in 1902, died with every other officer in his company in the Turkish trenches in July 1916.⁹ Her female friends were also affected. Joan England (d. 1917), steward on the Union Castle steamers to Madeira, drowned when the hospital ship *Salta* was sunk by a mine in April 1917, a few weeks after Joan had visited Miss Acland in Park Town.¹⁰

By the time of the Peace in November 1918 increasing frailty had caused Miss Acland, aged 69, to give up most of her photography. Nevertheless, she continued to take photographs from time to time, relying on Minn for help in developing them. In October 1919 her nephew William Henry Dyke ('Robin') Acland (1888–1970), who had flown air reconnaissance missions over France and Belgium in the War, visited to choose from the equipment she no longer needed:

It has been quite a solemn day for me clearing out my things, & as it were preparing for my last journey & I do not pretend that I do not feel it. I do so very much. But it is much wiser to face it & to see for myself that my things go where I should like them to go.¹¹

Despite the pessimism about her health, Miss Acland saw out another decade of life, during which she devoted considerable time to consolidating her previous photographic work. From 1923 to 1928 she produced a series of photographic Christmas cards in collotype (cat. no. 742) (fig. 8.4), sending them out, as usual, to her correspondents around the world, from Andrew Carnegie Ross (dates unknown), British Consul in San Francisco, to Shirō Takasu (1884–1944), a commander in the Japanese Imperial Navy whom she had helped with English conversation when he was studying in Oxford.¹²

Another recipient of Miss Acland's Christmas cards was Sanger Shepherd, who, returning thanks, brought her up to date with his own history.¹³ After 1907 he had continued in business in colour photography, in 1909 setting up the MSS Press Ltd., "Colour Printers by Photographic Methods", which specialized in reproducing

8. Dates unknown. Ms. Acland d. 112, fols. 97–99 (SAA to WADA, 14 Oct 1916). When Miss Acland returned to Madeira Miss Brylinska went to Elizabeth Wordsworth (1840–1932).

9. See Ms. Acland d. 151, fol. 43 (Lois K. Ford to SAA, 7 Jul 1916).

10. See Ms. Acland d. 172, fols. 36–42 (3 letters, Joan England to SAA, Mar and Apr 1915) and Ms. Acland d. 153, fols. 127–131 (3 letters, L. M. England (Joan's sister) to SAA, Apr 1917).

11. Ms. Acland d. 113, fols. 226–228 (SAA to WADA, 28 Oct 1919)

12. Ms. Acland d. 165, fols. 111–112 (Shirō Takasu to SAA, 21 Dec 1923)

13. See Ms. Acland d. 165, fols. 105–107 (Sanger Shepherd to SAA, 2 Jan 1924).

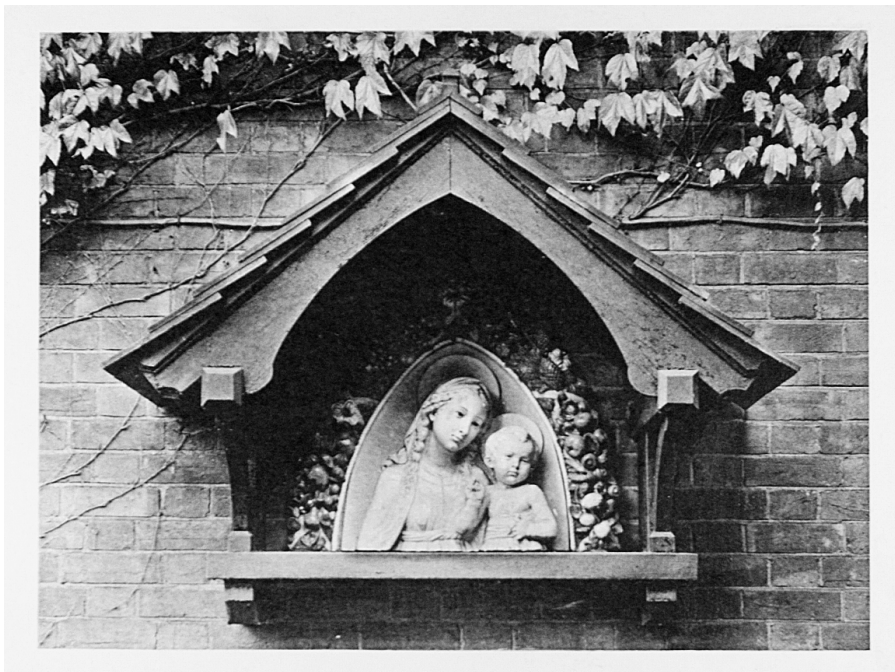


Fig. 8.4 Sarah Angelina Acland, "A Remembrance and a Greeting", collotype print, 1927 (cat. no. 742)

Autochromes (figs. 8.5 & 8.6).¹⁴ During the War, due to his expertise in precision optical instruments, he was awarded a contract with the Ministry of Munitions for sight clinometers; after the War he increasingly specialized in equipment for cinematography. Despite the popularity of the Autochrome, the Sanger Shepherd process continued to be regarded as a superior method of colour photography for some purposes, particularly scientific applications. In September 1910, for example, in reviewing the RPS exhibition, *Nature* commented that Garwood's collection of slides of mineral sections "by the side of the autochromes of similar subjects, demonstrates the superior brilliancy of the Sanger Shepherd plates, and that this process, although more trouble to work than the other, still holds its own."¹⁵ As late as 1920 Sanger Shepherd created a set of colour slides for Arthur Evans (1851–1941), Keeper of the Ashmolean, to illustrate his archaeological excavations of Knossos in Crete.¹⁶ Sanger Shepherd also had news of Cadett, who was "very busy on a new invention", having sold his company to Kodak in July 1903 and branched out into the motorcar business, obtaining a series of patents for gearing and carburettors with F. C. Lambert and other members of the London Camera Club.¹⁷

14. "The MSS Press Ltd. / Makers of Fine Colour Reproductions" [Advertisement], *British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1911, pp. 1063–1066, p. 1065

15. "The Royal Photographic Society's Exhibition", *Nature*, vol. 84, no. 2131 (1 Sep 1910), pp. 273–274, p. 273

16. See Ms. Acland d. 165, fols. 105–107

17. The company continued trading as Cadett & Neall under Kodak. It appears in trade lists until 1921 and was finally wound up in 1946. Neall retired to Highmount in Guildford, a house designed by architect Douglas Gray Round (1882–1936), son-in-law of James Randolph Courtenay Gale (1857–1937), co-author with Cadett of *First Aid in Photography: The Beginners' Book* (Ashstead, 1896). The garden at Highmount was designed by Gertrude Jekyll.



Fig. 8.5 Elwin S. Neame and E. D. Doncaster; *Figure Study*, three-colour half-tone from Sanger Shepherd separation negatives, published 1908 by the Sanger Shepherd Colour-printing Syndicate (*British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1908, opp. p. 1108)

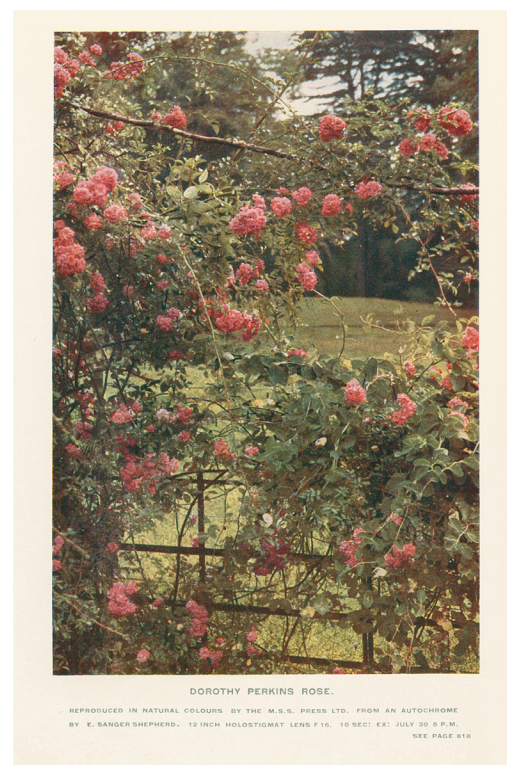


Fig. 8.6 E. Sanger Shepherd, "Dorothy Perkins Rose", three-colour half-tone from an Autochrome, published 1915 by the M.S.S. Press (*British Journal Photographic Almanac*, 1915, opp. p. 566)

In the late 1910s and 1920s Miss Acland developed new domestic interests to fill the gaps left by photography. In May 1917 she had a hen house erected in the garden.¹⁸ Her "Ladies" were a valuable source of food as well as amusement, laying 657 eggs in the first eight months of 1918.¹⁹ In October 1924 she acquired a wireless set, which quickly became "a source of great interest & especially of pleasure", and gave her an excuse to correspond with Oliver Lodge (1851–1940).²⁰ Declining health inevitably obliged her to spend more time at home. "I have been very unwell all through the summer & have only been twice beyond my garden gate since August 1924", she told one of her godsons in November 1925.²¹

In the last years of her life Miss Acland watched as many of her relatives and friends passed away. Her uncle Arthur Benjamin Cotton died on 6 February 1918, Alexander MacDonald in 1921. The first of her brothers to join Herbert was Reginald, in February 1924. Willie followed in November 1924. She lost Ellie Heathcote in 1925, her cousin Arthur Acland in 1926. The deaths among her correspondents included Queen Alexandra in 1925. As she explained to her godson, she felt the passing keenly:

18. Ms. Acland d. 112, fols. 175–176 (SAA to WADA, 4 May 1917)

19. Ms. Acland d. 113, fols. 84–86 (SAA to WADA, 16 Aug 1918)

20. Ms. Acland d. 173, fol. 191 (Oliver Lodge to SAA, 3 Apr 1925)

21. Ms. Eng. c. 6036, fols. 132–133 (SAA to Robert Metcalfe, 24 Nov 1925)

The loss to me is a very personal one as she has been a kind friend to me for 56 years & I had a charming message of thanks from her as lately as last October for a little present which I had sent the Queen.²²

Of the childhood friends with whom she had been photographed by Dodgson in the Deanery garden three-quarters of a century earlier, Ina Liddell predeceased her by thirty-four days, on 29 October 1930, having married William Baillie Skene (1838–1911), treasurer of Christ Church, and moved into her old house in Broad Street — as if to underline the intertwined nature of their lives. Alice Donkin survived her by nine years, passing away on 23 February 1940 at the age of 90, having lived her life as a spinster in the home of her brother Edward, Classical Lecturer at Royal Holloway College, and taught art in a nearby school.

Sarah Angelina Acland, Photographer

When Catherine Weed Ward began her inaugural column on “Woman in Photography” in the *Photogram* in February 1905 (before Miss Acland had even delivered her Gibraltar lectures), she started by giving a list of women photographers “who have accomplished really valuable work”, in the hope that “it will forcibly illustrate what share women have taken, and are increasingly taking, in photography as a serious study.”²³ The list was headed by “Mrs. Julia Margaret Cameron”, whose “individuality was so strong that, although photographic taste has passed through many phases since her time, her pictures will always be worth careful study.”²⁴ After Cameron came Isabella Lucy Bishop, née Bird (1831–1904), a renowned traveller and photographer; Alice Mary Dumas, née Minchin (1863–1942), who was admired for her woodland scenes; Carine Cadby, “for children’s pictures and isolated bits of nature”; and Gertrude Foggitt, née Bacon (1874–1949), who photographed the pioneering balloon ascents of her father, John Mackenzie Bacon (1846–1904). Miss Acland completed the list: “Miss Sarah A. Acland has entered the difficult field of colour photography, not attempted, I believe, and certainly not successfully, by any other woman. Her perseverance and determination, added to artistic taste, are winning her a deserved reputation for fine work.”²⁵

Although the choice of women included in this list might now, with hindsight, be questioned, Miss Acland’s place remains secure. By the standards of the day she was “one of our leading English workers”, to use Ward’s phrase.²⁶ Whatever priority claims other photographers, known or as yet undiscovered, may be able to make, Miss Acland’s work marks a turning point in photographic history by virtue of the credit she was given by her contemporaries for inaugurating the field of colour photography “as a process for the travelling amateur” and for

22. Ibid.

23. Catharine Weed Ward, “Woman in Photography”, *Photogram*, vol. 12, no. 134 (Feb 1905), pp. 43–44, p. 43

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Catharine Weed Ward, “Woman in Photography”, *Photogram*, vol. 12, no. 136 (Apr 1905) pp. 122–123, p. 123

bringing it before a large, appreciative, lecturing going public.²⁷ Miss Acland was the first amateur photographer to create and exhibit a significant body of work in colour photography outside the experimental setting, and to received widespread acclaim, popular and critical, for doing so. Other claims that can be made for her merely reinforce this achievement: the first woman to take a colour photography of a woman; to show a colour print in public; to win a competition for colour work; to exhibit an Autochrome in Britain (if not anywhere in the world), etc. etc. No register of those who attended her crowded lectures or saw her colour photographs exhibited in Oxford, Gibraltar, London or elsewhere survives, but it must have included many of the leading colour photographers of the future, made aware of the potential of the medium for the first time. That her contribution was passed over by the canonical histories of photography may be attributed in part to the common fate of women, across a range of creative and intellectual fields, who worked from home rather than informal institutional settings. However, it is also due to the survival of so few Sanger Shepherd slides and colour prints in the world's major collections, the impermanence of Sanger Shepherd slides as a whole, and the blinding success of the Autochrome, with its consequent monopoly over the historiography.

Like other nineteenth-century women photographers, in portraiture Miss Acland will always remain in the shadow of Julia Margaret Cameron. Cameron's hold over women had both advantages and disadvantages, as reflected in Miss Acland's early portrait of Gladstone, which although imitative of her predecessor's style, led to her first success as a photographer. As Ward suggested, no matter how much Cameron's work was admired, by 1905 tastes had moved on. Miss Acland's mature portraiture had different aims from Cameron's, existed in a different historical context, and must be interpreted in different terms. Her finest portraits, as examples of the transitional pictorial portraiture of the 1890s, hold their own against the work of her contemporaries. Through her careful manipulation of chiaroscuro, discriminate use of diffusion of focus, and ability to put her sitters at ease, they succeeded both as artistic photographs and in their goal of conveying the individual personality and moral character of their subjects. Their quality is clear to see in the photogravures of Ruskin and her father, in the carbon prints in her presentation albums, and in the examples she printed by other permanent processes, such as a beautiful bromide enlargement of a portrait of her father that now hangs in the Manor Hospital, Oxford.

To judge the significance of Miss Acland's photography by aesthetic criteria alone would be a mistake. The principal value of her work as a subject of historical study lies in the insights it offers into the history of photography of the period and its relationship with the wider social, artistic and scientific culture of the age. Her photographs of interiors, involvement with the Camera Club, home portraiture, orthochromatic photography, and contribution to the progress of colour all offer examples of the operation within photography of issues of wider historiographical significance, whether the domestic ideal, the increasing influence of women in civic society, the gendered nature of the photographic discourse, the power of

27. [Child Bayley], "Spirit of the Times" [Editorial], *Photography*, vol. 19, no. 866 (13 Jul 1905), pp. 548–549, p. 548

the rhetoric of precision and measurement, or the pervasiveness of the imperial narrative. Her work opens the way for further research on the implications of these issues outside the confines of her own photographic biography.

For Miss Acland, photography was both an artistic and scientific pursuit. From 1891 to 1899 the emphasis of her work was on the artistic side of the subject, from 1899 to 1907 the scientific. Her experiments with the Spectrum plate represent a transitional period, her Autochromes and other colour screen-plates a consolidation of both themes. Through her interior photography and portraiture Miss Acland recorded and contributed to the artistic legacy of her home; a legacy inherited through Ruskin and her father. By casting her orthochromatic photography as a Pre-Raphaelite undertaking she appealed directly to the most celebrated aspect of this shared visual heritage. To identify her colour photography or portraiture as primarily Pre-Raphaelite would be misleading.²⁸ In imitating Cameron she departed from Pre-Raphaelite precepts, not least because Cameron's own work, as Watts pointed out, was "more *anti* pre Raphaelite than anything I have seen".²⁹ In her mature portraiture she was influenced by a plurality of sources, not only the modern works of Pre-Raphaelite art that hung on the walls of her home, but also those by Richmond, Miller and others, not to mention the contemporary artist-photographers with whom she shared exhibition space. Her critical approach to photography, as set out in her Home Portraiture and Spectrum Plates lectures, was undoubtedly heavily reliant on the ideas of Ruskin. However, by the very act of giving photography the attention she did, she was prepared, in practice, to go further than Ruskin had allowed, and to pursue it as a fine art. The artistic intention and reception of her portraiture is reflected in the response to her work. "Many thanks for the Photos — one I think very good — & both very Artistic", Mrs Liddell wrote in 1892.³⁰ "Permit me to thank you most heartily for the photographs just received which are certainly most creditable to yourself and your artistic skill", William Stevens Perry (1832–1898), Bishop of Iowa, commented in 1894.³¹ The culmination of Miss Acland's artistic achievements came with her Home Portraiture lecture, after which, in his photographic column in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 'Carbon' concluded that "it was abundantly evident as she read her paper, not only that she had worked very hard and with great system, but also that she was, as Sir Henry Acland told the President, a born artist."³²

28. Her choice of *Anstis Cove* [Anstey's Cove] (cat. no. 779) for one of her earliest colour photographs is intriguing nevertheless, given the importance of the accurate depiction of colour to the Pre-Raphaelites, on which see Alison Smith, "'The Enfranchised Eye'", pp. 11–21 in Stanley and Newall, *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, p. 17; *ibid.*, cat. no. 6, pp. 38–39; and Scott Wilcox and Christopher Newall, *Victorian Landscape Watercolours* (Exhibition catalogue, Yale Centre for British Art, 1992), p. 36. Millais described Inchbold's painting as "exquisitely truthful" and Ruskin also admired his work.

29. Watts to Cameron, 21 Jun 1865 (NPG P125 (1a)). Cameron's portraiture is included in Diane Waggoner, *The Pre-Raphaelite Lens: British Photography and Painting, 1848–1975* (Washington and Paris, 2010–11), although as Waggoner herself notes (p. 95), it would not have been termed Pre-Raphaelite in the period.

30. Ms. Acland d. 173, fols. 181–182 (Mrs Liddell to SAA, 30 Jul [1892])

31. Ms. Acland d. 159, fol. 22 (William Stevens Perry to SAA, 7 Jul 1894)

32. 'Carbon', "Our Photographic Column / Leaves from a Dark Room Note-book", *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, no. 7616 (4 Mar 1899), p. 9c

In orthochromatic and colour photography Miss Acland found fertile ground in which to pursue her scientific interests. The choice of photography as a scientific pastime was by no means unique to her, as shown by the many women Autochromists and women of the Oxford Camera Club.³³ Nevertheless, in a context where the increasing importance of photography in engaging women's scientific sensibilities has yet to be fully recognized, she offers an important example of the trend.³⁴ Her very public photographic alliance with Cadett, her reliance on the rhetoric of precision and measurement in promoting the Spectrum plate, and her portrayal of colour photography as a tool of scientific enquiry are particularly noteworthy because they challenge conventional historiographical assumptions about the marginalization of women within the institutions of science and trade during the period, their exclusion from scientific photography in particular, and the domination by men of the hegemonic structures on which the construction and management of scientific objectivity depended.³⁵ How far Miss Acland's experience was peculiar to Oxford or the Royal Photographic Society, as opposed, for example, to other provincial cities or the Salon, and how much it had in common with the experience of women in other learned societies or civic enterprises, remains to be determined.

For Miss Acland personally, the success of her photography allowed her to compete on a par with her brothers in the eyes of their father. The virtue of art and science for Acland was a given, stemming from his belief in everyone's moral obligation to study the works of God "in Nature generally, and in Man" (as he reminded his daughter on her birthday in 1896).³⁶ Since setting up home in Oxford Acland had witnessed the fortunes of both disciplines transformed: "we had nothing in 1846, either in Science or Art", he wrote in 1897.³⁷ His heroes were the men who dedicated their lives to advancing artistic, scientific and medical causes: Richmond and Ruskin, Charles Newton, Burdon Sanderson, and even Haffkine.³⁸ Through her photography, Acland believed, his daughter was following in their footsteps: "You have earnestly loved and followed them. And had it pleased God that your life should be without so much pain and bodily weakness you would have done even more."³⁹ By 1900 her photographic knowledge and skill had so surpassed his expectations that one of his few hopes in the time remaining to him

33. The importance of the family background of scientific women is discussed in Roy MacLeod and Russell Moseley, "Fathers and Daughters: Reflections on Women, Science and Victorian Cambridge", *History of Education*, vol. 8, no. 4 (1979), pp. 321–333.

34. Photography is passed over, for example, by Patricia Phillips, *The Scientific Lady: A Social History of Women's Scientific Interests, 1520–1918* (London, 1990); Marina Benjamin (ed.), *Science and Sensibility: Gender and Scientific Enquiry, 1780–1945* (Oxford, 1991); and Ruth Watts, *Women in Science: A Social and Cultural History* (Abingdon and New York, 2007).

35. On women's marginalization in scientific photography see Jennifer Tucker, "Gender and Genre in Victorian Scientific Photography", pp. 140–163 in Ann B. Shteir and Bernard Lightman (eds.), *Figuring it Out: Science, Gender and Visual Culture* (Hanover, New Hampshire, 2006), esp. pp. 148–153.

36. Ms. Acland d. 134, fols. 136–139 (HWA to SAA, 26 Jun 1896)

37. Ms. Acland d. 26, fols. 171–172 (HWA to WADA, 12 Nov 1897)

38. Haffkine was "a man active in more good works of Science, Art, and sound duties, than any man I have ever known" (Ms. Acland d. 134, fols. 34–35 (HWA to SAA, 21 Jan 1896)).

39. Ms. Acland d. 134, fols. 136–139

was to “learn if I can something of your famous Photography, scientific & pictorial equally”.⁴⁰

Photography allowed Miss Acland to advance her artistic and scientific reputation to an extent unavailable to her through formal education or employment, due to the gender, generation and class to which she belonged. It allowed her to obtain a form of credit different from that received through service to her father or philanthropy, without endangering her ability to undertake either. Photography was rooted in, yet extended beyond the home, was learned and recreational, intellectual and practical, spanned the hinterland between City and University that she inhabited, benefitted her health (body and mind), and was compatible with her wealth, social status, and the moral values to which she subscribed. Despite her pessimism in 1900, it also provided her with an “object” and “interest in life” independent of her father, which she was able to continue after his death, saving her, at least in part, from the loss of “position” she so feared.⁴¹ During the 1890s and 1900s the public contributions of women to photography continued to be characterized and constrained by expectations relating to their gender. Miss Acland was able to negotiate these constraints and expectations in a way that brought her public recognition for her creative skills and abilities at the same time as acknowledgement for her contribution to the home life she so cherished. As her father wrote to Holman Hunt six months before his death, she was “a very remarkable person in many ways”, and above all “a photographer of real eminence & skill”.⁴²

*

Photography remained uppermost in Miss Acland’s mind until the last. Her final photographic Christmas card, in 1928, was a self-portrait, presumably taken with the help of Minn or her maids (cat. no. 748) (fig. 8.1). In June 1929 she began compiling her photographically-illustrated memoirs. The account finished abruptly, with blank pages left for photographs never inserted. The final paragraph was a passage from Cardinal Newman, whom she had entertained to tea in Broad Street half a century earlier: “Now the shadows lengthen rapidly for us all & the evening is come, for us the busy world is a thing apart for our main work is done, the fever of life is over.”⁴³

Miss Acland died at Clevedon House on Tuesday 2 December 1930, aged 81 years, 5 months and 7 days. She passed away peacefully after several months when “her sufferings had been acute”.⁴⁴ Her funeral was held in Christ Church Cathedral on 5 December. She was laid to rest with her parents and brother Willie in the family grave in Holywell Cemetery (fig. 8.7). Her cross bears the inscription “Happy and Blest are They who have Endured.”

40. Ms. Acland d. 137, fols. 127–138 (HWA to SAA, 26 Jun 1900). The reading of “pictorial” is uncertain: *punctate*

41. Ms. Acland d. 108, fols. 64–65 (SAA to WADA, 22 Oct 1900); fols. 74–75 (SAA to WADA, 22 Nov 1900); see ch. 1.

42. Ms. Acland d. 71, fols. 24–27 (HWA to Holman Hunt, 15 Mar 1900)

43. DRO 1148M/7/1, p. 138

44. Ms. Eng. c. 6036, fols. 140–141 (Katherine Acland to Robert Metcalfe, 8 Jan 1931)



Fig. 8.7 Giles Hudson, *Grave of Sarah Angelina Acland*, Holywell Cemetery, Oxford, Sony Cybershot DSC-W300 digital camera, 18 July 2012



Fig. B.1 Silver Medal won by Miss Acland for "*Perseverance*", in "Class L (three-colour slides)", Lantern Slide Competition Awards, organized by *Photography* (5 Nov 1904) (MHS Inventory no. 61577)

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- Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. d. 3376 (Letters, George Richmond to the Acland family, c. 1843–90)
- Bodleian Library, Ms. Eng. e. 3399 (Autograph book of Sarah Angelina Acland, 1872–76 and 1899)
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- Bodleian Library, Ms. Photogr. b. 35–37 (Photographs by William Alison Dyke Acland, c. 1883–93)
- Bodleian Library, Ms. Photogr. b. 34 (Album of photographs collected by Henry Wentworth Acland, c. 1850–63)
- Bodleian Library, Ms. Photogr. c. 175 (Album of photographs collected by Sarah Angelina Acland, c. 1860–78)
- Bodleian Library, Ms. Photogr. c. 176 & 177 (Albums of photographs by Sarah Angelina Acland, 1891 to c. 1895)
- Bodleian Library, Ms. Photogr. c. 178 (Album of photographs collected by Sarah Angelina Acland, c. 1860–80)
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Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers, Reel 23 (Susan Hunter, “The Art of Photography / A Visit to the Studio of Miss Frances Benjamin Johnston”, *circa* 1895)

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Private collection, Acland Family Bible (Bible presented to Henry Wentworth Acland and Sarah Cotton on their marriage, 1846)

Private collection, Book of Watercolours (Sarah Angelina Acland, Book of watercolour sketches, 1878–83)

Trinity College, Cambridge, Add. Ms. a. 401 (“Mrs F. W. H. Myers as remembered by her Granddaughter Deenagh Goold-Adams”, typescript)

Table B.1: Schedule of Correspondence of Sarah Angelina Acland in the Bodleian Library, Oxford

Shelfmark	No. letters to or from SAA	From	To	Contents
Ms. Acland d. 036	35	HWA	SAA	Letters from HWA to his children during a tour of Egypt in 1886
Ms. Acland d. 042	1	SAA	SA	One letter of 8 Sep 1865
Ms. Acland d. 047	14	SAA	HDA	Personal correspondence, also SAA to her other brothers, 1857–78
Ms. Acland d. 051	4	SA and RBDA	SAA	One letter of 20 Mar 1870; three of Oct 1895 concerning copyright infringement
Ms. Acland d. 056	21	James Beresford Atlay	SAA	Concerning Atlay's memoir of HWA, 1901–08
Ms. Acland d. 057	3	Sophia Isabella Marriott	SAA	Memories of Sarah Acland, née Cotton
Ms. Acland d. 097	17	RBDA and others	SAA	Ruskin's photograph at Brantwood, including copyright infringement, 1894–95
Ms. Acland d. 098	1	Peter Leopold Dyke Acland	SAA	One letter of 6 Dec 1895
Ms. Acland d. 104	15	Royalty	SAA	Letters from Edward VII, Princesses Helena and Louise, and others, 1886–1926
Ms. Acland d. 105	56	SAA	HWA	Personal correspondence, 1862–99
Ms. Acland d. 106	84	SAA	SA	Personal correspondence, 1852–73
Ms. Acland d. 107	100	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1865–93
Ms. Acland d. 108	78	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1894–1904
Ms. Acland d. 109	64	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1904–09
Ms. Acland d. 110	145	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1909–12
Ms. Acland d. 111	102	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1913–14
Ms. Acland d. 112	65	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1916–17
Ms. Acland d. 113	113	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1918–19
Ms. Acland d. 114	113	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1920–21
Ms. Acland d. 115	56	SAA	WADA	Personal correspondence, 1922–24
Ms. Acland d. 116	104	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1864–79
Ms. Acland d. 117	80	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1862, 1871, and 1880–81
Ms. Acland d. 118	107	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1882
Ms. Acland d. 119	104	HWA and others	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1883
Ms. Acland d. 120	92	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1884
Ms. Acland d. 121	32	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1885
Ms. Acland d. 122	108	HWA and Emily Acland	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1886
Ms. Acland d. 123	88	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1887
Ms. Acland d. 124	81	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1887

Ms. Acland d. 125	135	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1888–89
Ms. Acland d. 126	100	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1889–90
Ms. Acland d. 127	47	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1889–91
Ms. Acland d. 128	129	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1890–91
Ms. Acland d. 129	159	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1892
Ms. Acland d. 130	93	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1893
Ms. Acland d. 131	84	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1893
Ms. Acland d. 132	97	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1893–94
Ms. Acland d. 133	37	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1895
Ms. Acland d. 134	145	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1896
Ms. Acland d. 135	84	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1897
Ms. Acland d. 136	97	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1897–98
Ms. Acland d. 137	60	HWA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1899–1900
Ms. Acland d. 138	108	HWA, SA and others	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1869–70
Ms. Acland d. 139	149	SA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1868–76
Ms. Acland d. 140	55	SA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1872–76
Ms. Acland d. 141	141	SA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1869–70, 1876–78
Ms. Acland d. 142	66	SA	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1876–78
Ms. Acland d. 143	83	Her brothers	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1879–1925
Ms. Acland d. 144	91	Her brothers	SAA	Personal correspondence, mostly from HDA, 1875–1925
Ms. Acland d. 145	87	WADA and Emily Acland	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1893–1925
Ms. Acland d. 146	107	Acland relatives	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1895–1925
Ms. Acland d. 147	35	Cofton relatives	SAA	Personal correspondence, 1855–1919, including Arthur Benjamin Cotton
Ms. Acland d. 148	84	Servicemen	SAA	Boer War letters, mostly from the field, 1899–1901
Ms. Acland d. 149	15	HDA, ADA and WHDA	SAA	War letters, from family members on active service, 1914–16
Ms. Acland d. 150	56	Servicemen and women	SAA	War letters, from family and soldiers on active service, 1915–19
Ms. Acland d. 151	52	Servicemen and women	SAA	War letters, mostly from soldiers, invalided, 1916
Ms. Acland d. 152	114	Servicemen and women	SAA	War letters, from soldiers, 1916
Ms. Acland d. 153	109	Servicemen and women	SAA	War letters, including from overseas residents, 1917
Ms. Acland d. 154	62	Servicemen and women	SAA	War letters, servicemen and relatives, 1917

Ms. Acland d. 155	63	Servicemen and women	SAA	War letters, servicemen, HDA, and Cicely Acland, 1918
Ms. Acland d. 156	49	Servicemen and women	SAA	War letters, servicemen, and Katherine Acland with the BAOR, 1918–19
Ms. Acland d. 157	63	Servicemen and women	SAA	War letters servicemen, interneers, nurses, 1917–19
Ms. Acland d. 158	38	Japanese friends	SAA	Masujima family and Keimim Matsudaira, and others, 1885–1926
Ms. Acland d. 159	101	Clergymen	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1865–1924, including ten from Cardinal Newman
Ms. Acland d. 160	36	Artists	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1885–1924
Ms. Acland d. 161	79	Doctors, A–L	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1879–1924
Ms. Acland d. 162	58	Doctors, O–M	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1879–1924
Ms. Acland d. 163	68	Richard Douglas Powell	SAA	SAA's Physician, 1890–1925
Ms. Acland d. 164	36	Various	SAA	Condolences on the death of WADA, 1924
Ms. Acland d. 165	72	Various	SAA	SAA's dog Toby, 1888; Thanks for photographic Christmas card, 1923
Ms. Acland d. 166	31	Various	SAA	<i>Home Portraiture</i> lecture congratulations, 1899
Ms. Acland d. 167	34	Various	SAA	Death of Eleanor Smith, 1896; Camperdown tragedy, 1893
Ms. Acland d. 168	31	Brothers	SAA	The division of HWA's effects, SAA investments etc., 1901 and 1916
Ms. Acland d. 169	13	Various	SAA	Letters of sympathy on the removal of HWA's eye, 1888
Ms. Acland d. 170	118	John Ruskin	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1870–88
Ms. Acland d. 171	121	Correspondents, A–C	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1878–1926
Ms. Acland d. 172	129	Correspondents, D–H	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1878–1926
Ms. Acland d. 173	133	Correspondents, I–M	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1878–1926
Ms. Acland d. 174	136	Correspondents, M–S	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1878–1926
Ms. Acland d. 175	94	Correspondents, T–Y	SAA	Personal Correspondence, 1878–1926
Ms. Acland d. 176	11	Various	SAA and others	Princess Louise and others, c. 1878
Ms. Acland d. 177	96	Royalty	SAA	Queen Alexandra, her lady-in-waiting, and others, 1882–1926
Ms. Acland d. 178				Miscellaneous papers, including valentines, menus, etc.
Ms. Acland d. 196	1	Felicia Skene	SAA	Volume is mainly diary of HWA on HMS <i>Volage</i> , Sep 1891
Total	6,175			

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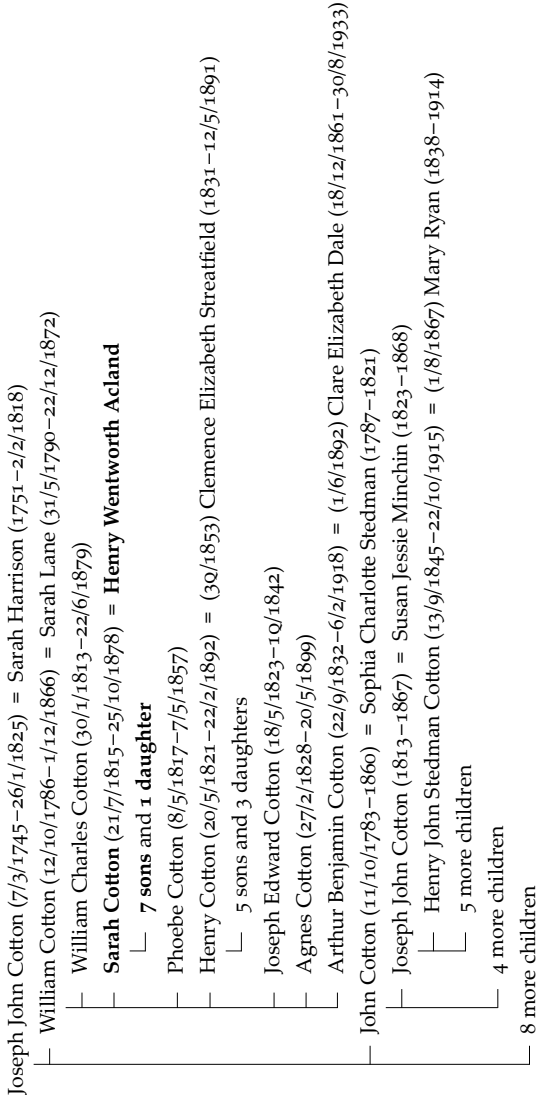
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APPENDIX

Table A.1 Family Tree of the Acland Family of Oxford

Henry Wentworth Acland (23/8/1815–16/10/1900), 1st Bart. = (14/7/1846) Sarah Cotton (21/7/1815–25/10/1878)	
— William ('Willie') Alison Dyke Acland (18/12/1847–24/11/1924), 2nd Bart. = (7/7/1887) Emily ('Emmie') Anna Smith (3/3/1859–28/1/1942)	
— William Henry ('Robin') Dyke Acland (16/5/1888–4/12/1970), 3rd Bart. = (26/4/1916) Margaret Emily Barclay (30/6/1894–21/5/1967)	
— Hubert 'Guy' Dyke Acland (8/6/1890–6/5/1978), 4th Bart. = (21/8/1915) Lalage Mary Kathleen Acland (18/2/1899–5/5/1961)	
— Sarah Angelina ('Angie') Acland (26/6/1849–2/12/1930)	
— Henry ('Harry') Acland (14/10/1850–4/4/1936) = (16/11/1878) Margaret ('Maggie') Hichens Rogers (29/8/1849–16/1/1939)	
— Sarah Dyke Acland (28/8/1879–3/9/1879)	
— Theodore ('Theo') Dyke Acland (14/11/1851–16/4/1931) = (12/4/1888) Caroline ('Carrie') Cameron Gull (2/4/1851–20/3/1931)	
— Aimee Sarah Agnes Dyke Acland (14/5/1889–17/9/1889)	
— Theodore ('Bobby') William Gull Acland (7/11/1890–13/10/1960)	
— Herbert ('Herbie') Dyke Acland (9/4/1855–4/6/1877)	
— Reginald ('Reggie') Brodie Dyke Acland (18/5/1856–18/2/1924) = (12/8/1885) Helen Emma Fox (10/1858–31/8/1843)	
— Hilda Mary Acland (18/6/1890–3/8/1964)	
— Edward Fox Dyke Acland (9/11/1891–31/5/1878)	
— Wilfred Reginald Dyke Acland (26/6/1894–1/10/1937)	
— Ruth Helen Acland (10/3/1899–14/11/1977)	
— Francis ('Frank') Edward Dyke Acland (12/5/1857–14/3/1943) = (8/1/1885) Marion Sarah Macrorie (5/2/1864–14/3/1943)	
— Herbert Arthur Dyke Acland (9/10/1886–25/5/1968)	
— Charis Agnes Acland (14/6/1888–24/10/1963)	
— Clemence Margaret Acland (9/10/1889–10/3/1973)	
— Kenneth Francis Dyke Acland (16/10/1890–30/4/1975)	
— Alfred Dyke Acland (19/8/1858–22/3/1937) = (30/7/1885) Beatrice ('Be') Danvers Smith (18/2/1864–4/12/1942)	
— Angela 'Cicely' Mary Acland (26/8/1888–2/11/1953)	
— Katherine Acland (28/11/1892–6/12/1966)	
— Sarah ('Sally') Beatrice Acland (11/9/1896–27/7/1979)	
— Arthur William Acland (20/11/1897–2/1992)	
— Peter Bevil Edward Acland (9/7/1902–9/1/1993)	

Table A.2 Family Tree of the Cotton Family of Leytonstone



Q = quarter; + indicates Christened

Table A.3 *Family Tree of the Acland Family of Killerton*

Thomas Dyke Acland (29/3/1787–22/6/1871), 10th Bart. = (7/4/1808) Lydia Elizabeth Hoare (16/9/1786–23/6/1856)	
— Thomas Dyke ('Tom') Acland, 11th Bart. (25/5/1809–29/5/1898) = 1stly (14/3/1841) Mary Mordaunt (24/8/1811–11/6/1851)	
	= 2ndly (18/6/1856) Mary Erskine (1807–14/5/1892)
— Charles Thomas Dyke Acland, 12th Bart. (8/8/1853–5/8/1920) = (1/11/1879) Gertrude Walrond (16/7/1842–18/2/1919)	
— Francis Gilbert ('Gib') Dyke Acland (1843–24/8/1874)	
— Lucy Marianne Acland (1845–3/2/1845)	
— Mary ('May') Lydia Acland (19/6/1846–19/1/1918) = (30/10/1872) Richard Hart Hart-Davis (19/5/1845–4/1/1928)	
— Katherine Lucy Davis (b. 5/5/1874)	
— Mary Davis (b. 21/5/1875)	
— Annie Charlotte Davis (b. 23/10/1876–28/6/1879)	
— Agnes Cecily Davis (b. 11/4/1880)	
— Stella Frances Davis (b. 6/1/1882)	
— Helen Verena Davis (b. 25/7/1883)	
— Hugh Vaughan Hart-Davis (b. 25/7/1883)	
— Sylvia Charity ('Cherry') Davis (b. 24/10/1884)	
— Arthur Herbert Dyke Acland, 13th Bart. (1Q/1849–5/7/1935) = (14/6/1873) Alice Sophia ('Elsie') Cunningham (13/10/1847–9/10/1926)	
— Francis Dyke Acland (7/3/1874–9/6/1939), 14th Baronet	
— Cuthbert Charles Dyke Acland (30/5/1875–14/4/1882)	
— Mabel Alice ('Maimie') (17/4/1891–13/2/1975)	
— Emma Cecily Acland (1849–5/1851)	
— Agnes Henrietta ('Pussy') Acland (3/1851–22/3/1935) = (11/8/1885) Frederick Henry Anson (12/1848–23/12/1925)	
— Mary Acland Anson (1886–19/9/1975)	
— Frances Gertrude Acland Anson (b. 1891)	
— Arthur Henry Dyke Acland, later Troyte (3/5/1811–19/6/1857) = (15/9/1835) Frances ('Fanny') Williams (1820–4/8/1856)	
— Frances Lydia Dyke Acland, later Troyte (+21/8/1836–19/4/1922) = (21/7/1863) Charles Sandford Bere (22/2/1829–29/5/1889)	
— Harriet ('Ettie') Dyke Acland, later Troyte (15/3/1838–6/11/1921) = (8/9/1863) George Griffith (1834–7/5/1902)	
— Arthur ('Artie') Troyte Griffith (19/6/1864–17/1/1942)	

—	Frances ('Fanny') Harriet Griffith (3Q/1866–4/8/1938) = (19/8/1899) William Randall Lee
—	Sarah Lucy Troyte Griffith (1Q/1867–1942) = (3/11/1901) Montague Acland Bere
—	Ethel Dorothea Griffith (4Q/1869–25/10/1849)
—	Gertrude Lydia Troyte Griffith (+8/4/1871–19/11/1949)
—	Charles Leopold Griffith (+29/6/1872–26/8/1941 or 29/8/1941)
—	Edward Nevil Troyte Griffith (+8/9/1873–23/12/1931)
—	Herbert Troyte Griffith (+5/1/1875–6/7/1946)
—	John Troyte Griffith (b. 4Q/1876)
—	Lilian Joan Dyke Griffith (+31/5/1878–11/6/1960)
—	Angelina Anne Dyke Acland, later Troyte (+7/7/1839–9/4/1935) = (22/7/1865) James Dunn (1840/1–22/10/1919)
—	Charles Arthur Dunn (2/10/1867–8/6/1949)
—	Mary A. Dunn (b. 1867)
—	Stephen Troyte Dunn (1869–11/4/1938)
—	Joanna Dorothea D. Dunn (b. 3Q/1874)
—	William Acland Dunn (b. 2Q/1877)
—	Frances Cecilia T. Dunn (b. 2Q/1878)
—	Robert Louis Acland Dunn (b. 4Q/1882)
—	Mary Dyke Acland, later Troyte (4Q/1840–18/8/1924) = (30/6/1864) Walter Hook (1840–27/3/1899)
—	— Mary ('May') Hook (2Q/1865–20/7/1911) = (2Q/1900) Charles Bruce Harrison (1865–22/5/1917)
—	Charles ('Charlie') Arthur Williams Acland, later Troyte (11/5/1842–11/4/1896) = (21/6/1864) Katherine Mary Walrond (8/4/1846–5/6/1934)
—	— Arthur Troyte (30/3/1865–30/3/1883)
—	— Five more children
—	Joanna Dorothea Dyke Acland, later Troyte (+23/7/1843–8/5/1917) = (30/6/1864) Leonard Harper
—	Sarah Lucy Dyke Acland, later Troyte (+28/12/1845–19/4/1863)
—	Edward Augustin Acland (+31/1/1845)
—	John Edward Acland, later Troyte (20/2/1848–15/2/1932) = (26/10/1882) Norah Letitia Nugent Banks (1856–1/3/1938)
—	Reginald Henry Dyke Acland, later Troyte (8/6/1850–17/4/1932) = (8/1/1879) Charlotte Elizabeth Price (d. 24/7/1917)
—	Charles Baldwin Acland (1/11/1812–10/5/1837)
—	Lydia Dorothea Acland (14/5/1814–14/3/1858)

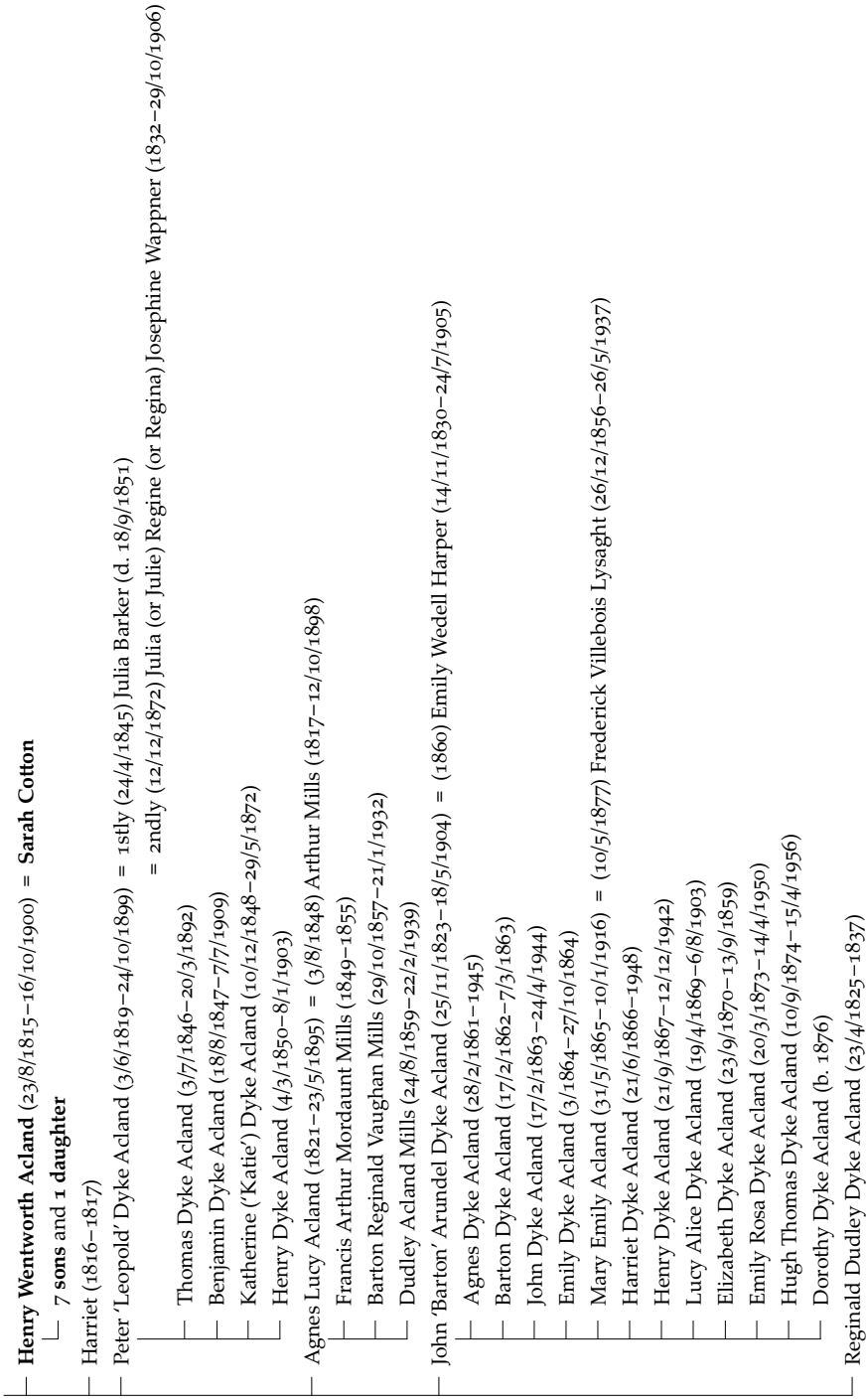




Fig. A.1 Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, "*S.A.A. & H.D.T. photographed by Mr Dodgson*", albumen print, Spring 1860 (Sotheby's Belgravia, *Sale catalogue*, 26 Jun 1975, lot 265)

Miss Acland's cousin Harriet ('Ettie') Dyke Acland, later Troyte (1838–1921), placed this portrait in an album given to her at Christmas 1861 by her future husband George Griffith (1834–1902), Deputy Professor of Experimental Philosophy at Oxford. The album (location unknown) also contained photographs by David Brewster.

