Doubling the Vision:

Women and Narrative Stereography: The United States, 1870-1910

Volume I

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Preface

When I resumed graduate studies in Art History, with the declared intention of specializing in Photography History, my Aunt Ferndeina deposited a box in my lap with a laconic, "these belong to you." In it were two stereoscopes and a small collection of stereographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ferndeina told me that the stereographs and scopes had belonged to our family and that they spent many an hour looking at them. My initial reaction (unvoiced) was--oh, how quaint—after which I gave polite thanks. A couple of days later in the quiet of my study I gave them a look, just in case they had any peripheral interest to photography that Art Historians consider important. I fiddled with the stereoscopes and quickly achieved fusion (the replication of the third dimension). Once I saw one view in 3D, I had to see them all. It was as though a vacuum were attached to my eyes, and through vision alone I was sucked into each scene. I stood on the brink of a crater splitting a street in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. I could have fallen in. I stood in a garden of irises in Kyoto, the chromolithographed colors swimming my brain with iridescent blue and sharp gold kimonos. I followed perspective lines to infinity along with every solid, space-swallowing object between myself and the diminishment of discernment. I beheld in the haze the distant mountain range with craggy peaks properly arranged, with space between one another. I stood witness to the battery of a "rat" with a boot heel; a beleaguered father marching a howling baby, while his mother slept soundly in her bed; a salon resplendent with light, floating colors and yards upon yards of skirts that could barely move between, much less fit in chairs; and a fishing "smack" (kiss) beside a lake that swelled, American-sized, as big as youthful dreams.

Constructed stage-set or "eye witness" account, these stereographs depended, I was well aware, on photography's naturalizing process, its careful co-mingling of the actual

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and the truth-seeming, all organized by the title, or word. Yet, in spite of my years as a photography historian and much informed discourse, I was swept away. That my first experience with stereography so exactly corresponds with nearly every nineteenth-century person's testimonial I have since read, says something about the power of this medium and its ability to yank many of us from our preconceptions. I came to stereography well-trained by photography criticism, but the stereoviews induced me to lose that present position in discourse, pulling me by my eyes into a swimming sort of bodily awareness, my solidity floating into spaces replicated before me, where I inhabited the nineteenth-century air, displacing its gray-toned hues with perception thrown in media res, my breathing and the volumetric machine of corporeal self relocated there. I knew this hovering was completely reconstructed, but my senses believed in it. Gone were overly linguistically determined ideas, and absent, too, was any sense of myself as a body gravity bears upon, locked in positions of physical limit and judgment. "Re-innocented" (albeit temporarily), I viewed, big-eyed and sponge-like to the world as are children.

It was the genre, or narrative views, with groups of women that most captivated me. Many of these were chromolithographs of cheap quality. The older stereographs of mounted photographs were, I would later learn, mostly pirates (stolen against copyright and rephotographed from the stereoviews directly, not from negatives). None of them was of much value, and all of them were well-worn, and used. Nonetheless, they were the most complete vision of nineteenth-century life, conditions, and culture I had ever witnessed. All historians experience a keen longing, at some point or other, to step into a magical time machine and go back just for an hour to find out, for instance, what sort of camera Vermeer knew. The child-like wish fulfillment impulse thinks this an entirely reasonable request. Nothing like stereography had I ever nor have I since experienced that can so fulfill the child-like day-dreamer's wish to be there, in person, in history, kicking with an eye-foot that stone. Never mind that we know it a replication. With the constructed, stagy,

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narrative scenes, it is a double sort of replication, entirely play-acted, and, yet photographed, viewed in three dimensions, it seems that one is there on stage with the actors. This is how a majority of nineteenth-century persons wanted to view others and themselves, and the self as an otherness, too.

After hours of viewing, and losing myself over and over in the narrative scenes, I put the stereoscope down and said out loud, "these were for women." It was a gut reaction—I knew nothing of the history of stereography and not enough of nineteenth-century culture—but I felt it strongly, and I have always worked, for better or worse, from an intuitive assumption that requires considerable effort to refine to something presentable. That was nine years ago. Little did I know that I would end up traveling the country to look at hundreds of thousands of narrative stereographs, assemble a database of over 1,800 images, expand upon my collection, and spend years reading in libraries and museums before I could say that with confidence.

In many ways I will ask the readers of this thesis to suspend themselves—in time, in the views—seen with a hand-held viewer—and perhaps also in assumptions. I hope that I am able to induce a little of the surprise and the transport I experienced with narrative stereography. That a box set on my lap, which had come from my uneducated, farm family, could challenge my conception of photography history and inspire me to take a stereoscope into a replication of a past era in order to rethink much of photography's canon was nothing I had ever expected. It was certainly nothing I had left home for—only to find myself circling back, examining works related to these artifacts, for how the dominant form of nineteenth-century photography catered to women and their families. With a sense of humbling awe and rediscovery, I wish to dedicate this work to my aunt, Ferndeina Dillman, who unbeknownst to either of us at the time, gave me the gift that started me on this path. I also give thanks to M. M. Smith, who, in the 1870s and 1880s, started our family's stereograph collection, to which more views were added until about 1910. The "M.

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M" belongs to the Michael Smith who was either my Great or Great Great Grandfather, both Pennsylvania farmers. I wish to dedicate this work, as well, to my family from whom I received the inestimable gift of a sense of belonging, experienced during a childhood from which has occasionally resurfaced since then the ability to step outside myself.

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Acknowledgments

Writing a book on narrative stereography is a navigation with a minimum of charts and many guesses toward a land less surveyed than believed in. The journey was not efficient, but it was (and continues to be) exciting, especially as speed, faith, and direction often came through the help of individuals and institutions.

The idea for this book emerged from a graduate seminar, "Positivism and the Photographically Illustrated Book," taught by Dr. Carol Armstrong at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. A little confused by the blend of theory and much sleep-deprived as the mother of an infant, I did not understand at the time how profound an influence Prof. Armstrong's thinking would have on me over the years. I am indebted to her nuanced and sophisticated readings of photographs, theory, and image-text relation, which have taught me much about how to look. Under the tutelage and with the great support of my adviser at the Graduate Center, Dr. Rose-Carol Washton Long, this dissertation has come into being. I owe much to her guidance and critical judgment. Dr. Geoffrey Batchen has also given unstinting support, valuable criticism, and devotion as a reader.

A dissertation fellowship in American Art from the Henry Luce Foundation and the American Council of Learned Societies enabled me to travel to many institutions with large collections of stereographs, assembling my data base and locating rare books. I cannot express my gratitude for this generous support, which made my work possible, nor could I either have proceeded without the dedicated staff of the institutions I visited and the often unlimited access they permitted me, as well as permissions to make slides from the collections. The National Stereoscopic Association's Oliver Wendell Holmes Library, and the late Raymond Holstein, Librarian, gave the data base a great start. The more-than-patient Mr. Holstein helped me make innumerable slides and accessed the library's

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holdings. The vast collection of the American Antiquarian Society and the helpfulness of Georgia Barnhill made my stay unforgettable. Shannon Perich of the Photographic History Collection, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, allowed me to travel through perhaps a hundred thousand views, pulling and recording many; Helena Wright, also of the Smithsonian, has offered ready support. I am grateful to The New York Public Library's Robert Denis collection and the knowledgeable and ever-helpful Sharon Frost; and to Steven Thomas and Jonathan Green with the Keystone Mast Collection of the California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside. Martha Sachs, curator of the Alice Marshall Collection of women's images at the Pennsylvania State University Library, Harrisburg, has gone beyond the call of duty in helpfulness. Permissions to reproduce photographs and art works have graciously come from these institutions, as well as from The Tunbridge Wells Museum and Art Gallery; The National Gallery of Ireland; Kings College, London; The New York Historical Society; stereoview collector, Jeffrey Krauss, and comics collector, Douglas Wheeler. Thanks also go to Becky Simmons, Librarian, and George Strubel, Archivist, at the George Eastman House; Beth Guynn of the Getty Research Institute; and the Getty Museum.

Other stereoview collectors have aided this project: Dave Belcher, Dave Spahr, and the late T. K. Treadwell. I am especially indebted to Mr. Treadwell's comprehensive scholarship, upon which I have often relied, and his readiness to answer e-mail queries regarding finer points of historical understanding. The National Stereoscopic Association's annual conventions with superb trade fairs have been invaluable to me, as has been the society's publication, *Stereo World*, and its back-issues editor, Don Gibbs.

I owe especial thanks to the libraries where I researched and to many librarians who never showed impatience with innumerable inter-library loan requests: the Mina Rees Library of the Graduate Center, The City University of New York; The Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg, and Pattee Libraries; The New York Public Library, Prints and

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Photographs Division, Art Library, Rare Books, and Main Library; The State Library of Pennsylvania; The Library of Congress; The Bernardsville Public Library; and the Newport Public Library, with the exemplary Jeanne Heicher.

From the vantages of both research and personal support, this book would not have been complete without the help of Douglas Wheeler, whose collection of Victorian comics and knowledge of their artists is beyond compare. I owe to his research many of the cartoons both referenced and reproduced in this text and cannot offer sufficient thanks for his readiness to help, uncovering finer points of Victorian periodical history, finding an obscure volume or citation, sorting through stereoviews, purchasing them as surprise gifts, and even returning over-due library books. His encouragement, patience and faith have at all times given me strength. I have also found strength, at times commingled with exhaustion, from my children, Ariel and Zachary, who have—in stereo—recreated the abiding themes of family narratives, giving my world depth.

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182. George Griffith, *Sew on Your Own Buttons—I'm Going for a Ride*, 1901.

183. Keystone View Co., *Getting Her Hair Banged*, 1897.

184. J. B. King/Pan American Photo Art Co., *No More Babies for Me!*, 1895.

185. Keystone View Co., *The New Woman Barber*, 1896.

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Introduction

Between the years 1870-1910, approximately one third of all commercial photographers in America were stereographers.[1] The stereograph presented two photographs taken from a normal distance separation of two and one half inches, mounted side by side on a card. They are not duplicates but separate and slightly different photographs, whose vantage points are meant to replicate the distance between the two eyes, and which are exposed either simultaneously or one after the other. When seen in a stereoscope or free-viewed--fused without the aid of an instrument--the stereograph presented an astonishingly life-like replication of a photographed scene in three dimensions, as though the viewer stood *in media res* where the photographer did. The popularity of stereographic imagery in the nineteenth century established a market the size of which a photographer, if he wished to make a living, did well not to ignore. Quite simply put, stereographs sold remarkably well, establishing the medium as a primary one for photography.

The stereoscope and stereograph were omnipresent in homes of the upper and upper middle class in the 1860s and in virtually every home by the late 1890s. Forty to fifty years of American history saw the stereograph as a form of photography owned by nearly everyone, and, aside from family portraits, the doubled image was what people expected the photograph to be and mean. If numbers tell anything, the century was "view crazy." Published primarily in Europe and America, stereoviews were exported world-wide in untold numbers. By the mid 1860s, one U.S. firm and three European firms were selling 2,000 stereoviews per day.[2] Stereoprinter, Charles Pollock of Boston and Foxboro, Mass.,

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produced printing jobs for independent stereographers to the tune of 4,000 views per day in 1874.[3] Also in the 1870s, the Kilburn Brothers of Littleton, New Hampshire, began publishing between 1,800 to 3,000 stereographs daily, up to a half million per year.[4] In continuous operation from 1865-1909, the Kilburn Brothers had a mechanized factory by 1869, with six expansions to the building, beginning in 1885.[5] Between 1880 and 1910, there were more than a dozen major publishers of stereographs in the U.S., one of the largest of which was Underwood and Underwood, which in 1901 produced 25,000 views per day, or seven-nine million per year, and 300,000 stereoscopes annually.[6] When the Keystone View Company ceased publishing in 1939, it had acquired more than two million negatives from the stock of its competitors.[7] Stereography historian, William C. Darrah, has estimated that six million titles, or different views, were produced in the U.S. (1860-1920s).[8] From the vast numbers in museums and libraries and available today for sale, I would say that this is a low estimation. Keeping in mind that each photographic pair could produce an untold number of prints, it is fair to say that in this country alone billions of stereographs were published. George Swan Nottage's famous motto for the London Stereograph Company, "a stereoscope for every house," was effectively realized not in Britain, when in the 1860s these words were more hopeful than accurate, but in America, where, by the 1890s, they crossed over from luxury to established household items.

The popularity of the medium and the expectations of the population for not only the veracity which we associate with photography but also the seemingly real-life space of the stereoscope cannot be over-emphasized. Detail, clarity, exactitude, the arrested moment, or, to borrow Victorian terms, "truth to nature" were desired, just as they are sought in some measure today in photographic media, but equally important was their environmental space. In the twentieth century's historical neglect of stereography, this is the element lost upon even some educated observers, who may look at the stereograph as simply two small, monocular photographs. The spatial replication, or stereopsis, is also the

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hardest quality to articulate as it is no symbolic thing (sign, code, object) but, rather, an envelope of position, the breadth of volume, the sensation of "being there." For the nineteenth-century viewer, this space was essential to the photographic experience. Through its perception, the viewer saw more than objects; he/she beheld, depending on the degree of concentration and investment of interest, a replication of environment and a surrogate world to visually enter.

It is my task, in part, with this study to put for the non-specialist in stereography the breath of dimension back into this medium, which from the years of 1851 to approximately 1915 required no such resuscitation. The words "historical neglect" I have just used to describe the response to stereography might better be called, for the promulgators of photography history, "determined erasure." Because of this, it is necessary to define terms at the outset, for no one but the specialist can be expected to share this *weltansicht* without some definition. "Stereography," a term coined by Oliver Wendell Holmes, is misleading historically.[9] Nineteenth-century persons referred to the medium as "stereoviews" or, simply, "views." Academics today prefer that term which literally means "solid-representation," while collectors, trades people, and some critics still use the historically accurate "views." Preferring to remain on the fence, I will use both, with the nuance that "views" indicates a more nineteenth-century perspective. I also sometimes use "scope" for "stereoscope," which to the nineteenth century was a "viewer," or simply "glass." I prefer the term "viewer" to indicate the person viewing, though occasionally I use "viewer" to mean the apparatus, since that was its nineteenth-century usage. Context will make clear which viewer I mean. The word "narrative," also, is synonymous with the term still used in stereoscopic trade circles, "comics and sentimentals," sometimes dubbed simply "genre" scenes. For its meaning suggestive of the activity of the imagination in entering and constructing a story, I privilege "narrative." As for scientific terms, the distinction between stereopsis and binocular vision is necessary to define. Binocular vision is seeing in

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unison with two eyes, while stereopsis means seeing in depth. These are believed to be two aspects of a single process.[10]

Definitions are required at the outset with a study like mine, for despite stereography's dominant presence, it is dismaying to understand the extent to which its history has been negated and ignored. To give an idea of the problem, I will cite a few classics of photography history, such as J. A. Whipple's telescopic daguerreotype of the moon in 1860, Charles Waldack's photographs by magnesium flare in Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, in 1866, the instantaneous photography of George W. Wilson in 1857, the travel photography of Francis Frith, and the photographs of the American Civil War, as well as the majority of the expedition photographs taken by Timothy O'Sullivan, William Henry Jackson, Carleton Watkins, and others in the American Southwest. What "histories" of photography neglect to mention, when such photographs are reproduced by a single image, is that these are all stereographs.[11] The canon of photography history has been established for the early years of the medium by the repeated reproduction of the half stereoview, thereby promoting a history that is a falsification, with misleading examples that transform the images into something they are not nor were ever meant to be. Nearly every photograph of the Civil War, most of the century's photography of the American Indian, of the Crimean War, of early scientific or stop-action views, much that has been since termed "documentary," indeed, practically every facet of nineteenth-century life was recorded as a stereograph and was meant to be seen in the three dimensions of its medium. To substitute a half stereoview is like taking the voice out of the actor, yet this muting and distortion of the photographic example has become standard.

To enter the stereograph is to step across a threshold that opens visual perception and allows us to witness in full volume historical persons and places, as well as fictional conceptions. It is paradoxically both an imaginary inner "reality" and a "virtual reality" that requires active participation on the part of the viewer, a process of vision that is slower,

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more mediated, and more imaginative than much of today's viewing of imagery—whether photographic or of other media. In order to view F.G. Weller's *Eavesdroppers Dropped*, 1876 (fig. 1) or the Kilburn's *The Pillow Fight*, 1899 (fig. 2), the typical nineteenth-century American would have placed them, one at a time, in a stereoscope, or "viewer" or "glass" of the Holmes-Bates type.[12] Then, depending on the skill of the person viewing, fusion would occur in less than a second, for the practiced, or in up to fifteen seconds for the less experienced. Fusion is the replication of the third dimension from the pair of photographs mounted side by side on the three and a half by seven inch card. The reader today does not require a Holmes-Bates viewer but may instead use the hand-held lorgnette viewer accompanying this text. The view should be evenly illuminated and squared to the orientation of the head, either placed on a flat surface or held up straight to the eyes and well-lit. Place the viewer towards the end of the nose and draw the head close to the pair of images, or pull the images towards the eyes, and the details will come into focus, with a third image, a little blurry at first, then in sharp focus, in the center of the pair. This is the fused image—the third dimensional view.[13] Alternatively, one may free view, without the assistance of a viewer.[14] It may take a little practice to achieve fusion for the first several times.

Quite obviously, the apparatus of the stereoscope slows the process of perception. In should be noted, however, that stereopsis, or seeing in depth, is in itself a slow psycho-physiological process. Stereopsis occurs only after the images on the retinas travel through the corpus callosum, cross brain hemispheres, and reach cell clusters in the visual cortex at the back of the brain.[15] To see in 3D, as we do normally, is an information gathering and time consuming process for the brain, which, like breathing, we are physiologically structured to assume without thought, focusing on dimensions as properties belonging to the world, not our internal processing of the image.[16] Stereography, therefore, has a slower "in-take" time than a monocular photographic image. It requires participation

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from the viewer, from the operation of the apparatus to the images' route along the neural pathways of stereoptical vision. The medium of stereography presumes that the viewer will have the patience and desire to participate in the very structure of the scene, and, through that process, it makes the properties of depth explicit not as a given of the world but as formed mysteriously within our minds. Fascinating for its demonstration of perceptual principles and even more so for its optical experience, the stereograph can induce a visual greediness. The eyes roam the details and relax into the resplendently full space of the depiction, which seems to open up from the end of the nose to the furthest horizon on a magic-carpet that blooms volume onto every particle over which it glides.[17] Between regarding the stereoview as two flat, joined images and its view in the scope is a world of difference in appearance and meaning. One notices from the little photographs a wealth of detail, in the flat images appearing as simply form, that in the stereoscope rushes into prominence and significance--the umbrella fallen like a bent bird, the propped boot, crushed hat, and the joints of the barrel, and artificial painted backdrop on *Eavesdroppers Dropped* (fig. 1); or the chamber pot, the striped stockinged foot which echoes the stripes on the gentleman's jacket, lace on the lady's pillow which juts towards the viewer's space, and the top hat, leaning photograph, plants, and Rococo-style bust which will surely be smashed in the frolic of *The Pillow Fight* (fig 2). The implied narrative of each of these scenes sets up a before and after (Weller's *Eavesdroppers Dropped* is the second card in a series of two) that the viewer imaginatively completes, either introducing the action or following it through. The erotics of active participation in completing the story, or following through the suggestiveness of the tension, can seduce the viewer into day-dreaming the remainder of the sequence, or vicariously enacting it through the depiction.

Even if the details of a scene are simple, the optical experience of the stereoview can make it a richly detailed environment, inviting the viewer to identify with the scene and emotions depicted. In *Trials of Married Life*, by the Kilburn Company, *1897* (fig. 3), the

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heads of the children, barely discernable as flat images, in stereo appear rounded and soft, downy with that fine, sweet-smelling hair; and the grain of the headboard, the hovering needle, the little white dress on the wall, and the lace and jacquard curtain framing the husband forced to do his own sewing, one sock on and one sock off, all add to the inclusion of the viewer in the domestic space, a source of security and comfort, *and* a mighty inconvenience for the husband who finds his wife too busy and/or enthralled with the children to cater to his needs. This view is both sentimental and comic, playing with the home-as-haven idea and simultaneously down-sizing it to reality level in the comic upset to the natural order of things by having a man doing his own sewing. The themes of the havoc children wreck upon hierarchy, as well as the subordinate status symbolized by who gets to do the sewing and washing, will occur again and again in subsequent chapters. Here, one can identify with any character, with the "that's the way it is" humor, or simply with the tenderness of depicted domesticity itself.

The stereoview shared in the prevailing cultural attitude of the time that sentiment, well and artistically expressed, could move common symbols through the vehicle of shared emotion to a transcendence of their mere types. In this, it had common ground with the narrative, composite photograph in nineteenth-century Britain.[18] The narrative stereoview, however, was not as much geared to an art-critical audience as was the composite photograph, and the American tradition, especially, did even less to imitate the model of narrative or history painting. It found a real home in the domestic and the comic, depicting the very parlor of its physical location. Its doubled nature triumphed in retort—a witty "one-two" of sequence, pictured or implied. The narrative stereograph, such as *Trials of Married Life*, is structured by a predicating language and the ideology of gender roles. The activity of narrativizing—story building through a sequence in time—echoes the complex brain work in viewing stereoptically, a process that the stereograph and stereoscope make apparent. The story of space perception concatenates in the story spatially depicted *and* in

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the viewer's imaginative extension, which is both conceptual and physiological. Unsurpassed even today in its simulation of the actual, uniting photographic accuracy and three-dimensional evocation, the stereoview remains the most convincing of replications. I use the word replication advisedly, for stereography effectively simulates the information gathering of the two eyes in stereopsis. I will elucidate this further in the next chapter, as well as the perceptual differences between natural stereopsis and stereography. It should be noted at the outset, however, that the space of the stereoview is not, as some have erroneously written, an illusion. The three dimensions perceived from a stereoview is as real as a photograph is.[19] Psychically speaking, it achieves a "being there," which is unsurpassed even today.

Stereoviews, inspiring a sense of transport, provided a surer route to commercial success than most other forms of photography. Often working in multiple formats, photographers of the time switched between single and double images for differing markets. Many nineteenth-century photographers are known to us today exclusively through their stereographs, others through a combination of stereography—often the bulk of their production—and single photographs. The sale of stereography was not distinguished from the sale of other types of photographs in terms of status, and this staple of business provided a livelihood for many photographers now celebrated by history for their work in "mono."[20] Most nineteenth-century photographers were more than comfortable selling prints in whichever media gained them as wide an audience as possible. The broadest market was stereography's, since it was the most affordable as well as the easiest, because of its small size, for photographers to use. The privilege of the monocular print, as well as the artificial divide of artist from commercial photographer occurred later, spurred in the 1890s by art-world mavericks such as Alfred Steiglitz.[21]

By 1938, this divide had become decisive, as we can observe in Robert Taft's *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889,* which is notable for its

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wealth of information on early American photography, in particular a chapter on stereography, and for its cultural and historical approach.[22] Taft notes:

> The American stereograph...has the longest history of any form of photograph. The introduction of new and popular varieties of other photographs would temporarily cause a decrease in the sales of the stereograph, but as soon as the new fad passed, the ubiquitous stereograph resumed the even tenor of its way as the leader in the trade.[23]

Later historians echoed these thoughts on the premier place of the stereograph. "The photographer, professional or amateur, was assumed to be a stereographer as a matter of course," according to Herbert McKay (1953); and the subsequent year Lorraine Dexter asserted that "aside from portraits for the family album and a few large pictures for framing, stereo photography was virtually the only kind of photography."[24]

Taft's 1938 text, though, deserves especial attention because of its concurrence with a new kind of photography "history," then beginning to be promulgated by Beaumont Newhall at The Museum of Modern Art.[25] In a lengthy aside on the question of art photography, Taft refers to an essay by Newhall published in an exhibition catalogue of the previous year, the very essay that laid the foundation for his revision of the history of photography. Newhall expanded this essay's initial work into his canon-defining *The History of Photography* twelve years later, a text book which would be reprinted in many editions over fifty years.[26] Taft raises the question of "aesthetics," then quickly defers to Newhall in a long footnote in which he cites literature of and correspondence with Edward Weston, Alfred Stieglitz, and Edward Steichen, three pillars of Newhall's brand of art photography.[27] Taft dodges the question of art by asserting that aesthetics is not truly the social historian's quest, which is centered on subject.[28] Significantly, though, he reproduces a half stereoview of Ben Kilburn's on the page beginning this discussion. In its form as a mono photograph, the half-view turns a mountain landscape and mirroring lake into an abstracted formal design, such as Newhall and subsequent curators at MoMA have repeatedly favored.[29] The Kilburn stereoview, however, was never intended to function as

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an abstracted and formal design declaring the inherent values of the photographic medium. It was photographed as a *view,* a doubled image belonging to the realm of three-dimensional replication of environment, and one that was determinedly reflective of its particular subject. Chopped in half, it is cannibalized into another system of signification, divorced from its subject and re-appropriated into an interpretation of art photography based on the single image. In the end notes, too, citations for the Kilburns, Keystone, and John Moran, all stereographic producers, abut the reference to the Newhall "aesthetic."[30] These choices are not coincidental. One paradigm is supplanting another.

The establishment of photography's canon as an art form, its institutionalization in museums and promulgation as a field of art history witnessed a shift in historical attention that excluded stereography. The falsification of the half-view, by now standard practice, was in the incipient days of establishing photography's canon no accident. The choice to ignore stereography's domination in the nineteenth century was a multivalent one serving a complex ideological position, which can be thought of as a series of negations—of the commercial, illustrative, domestic and pedestrian; of the literature-bound or instrument-dependent image; or of the highly heterogeneous image, difficult to class, whose plurality of codes may work to cross-purposes with the conceits of topical categorization. Women's cultural issues were especially hard to address as they frequently fell under more than one of the above negations, such as the domestic, illustrative, commercial, literary, fictive, or that uncomfortably coded with multiple ideas and contradictions in meaning. Stereography, especially the gender-demonstrative narrative view, points out the exclusions and dominant positions of the state of current photography history all too well, by representing an axiomatically different approach than the single image. The latter, in its current state of celebration by photography history and other image-based institutions, establishes, particularly in the United States, a consumerist-modernist contextualization by codes, meant to be rapidly read both within and around the image, signifying appropriate

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placement, i.e. art photo, portrait, documentary, scientific, news, evidentiary proof, identification, etc.[31] The "art photo" in this schema is carefully distinguished from commercial and other applications and is represented in the main by the monocular, single print, wall-mounted or published in high-quality reproduction, coded with high culture associations, and bidding for elite status. This type of modernist model, which I term "consumerist" to designate its dependency on codes of specialization and categorization, has come to dominate the history of photography, especially in this country. It has generated, in particular, the standard method of the contemporary museum—isolating an image from its context and hanging it singularly in a regulated, surrounding space that replaces the evidence of photographic production as well as the social significance of subject matter with an atmosphere that speaks "museum," or other rarified "art" placement.[32] The photograph, as a single image in the employ of art, is all too often sucked clean of whatever vestige of environmental space it may retain and swept free of subject matter signifying anything but "artistic" codification.[33] Re-environmentalized upon the hierarchally-coded wall, the photograph has an integral relation with it, assuming value from the physical, vertical surface of the institution—flat, regulated and value-relativized, one bit of plane made precious by another.

The stereoview pre-dates such modernist ways of handling and recontextualizing the image, of codification according to specialized types, with their forms of instant recognition. For one, it isn't much to see when mounted on a wall, looking unlike a painting, or anything similarly art-coded. The stereograph, like the vast majority of nineteenth-century photography, was never meant for the museum, or the deluxe coffee table book. It was never meant as an equivalent to painting. Its place was in the home, and, bound to the stereoscope, its spatiality was exclusively recreated within the cranium of each individual viewer, one at a time. A slow-tempoed, individuated medium dependent upon viewer investment, it does not fit well into contemporary modes such as décor, the art

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history slide lecture, the rapidly consumed, printed page, or the halls of venerated places. The stereograph was held in the hand, or viewed within books, inviting the viewer to leisurely inhabit its space, filling sense perception, and seducing with vicarious experience, extending narration through the imagination and projection into the scene.

Therein lies the big trouble for the consumerist-modernist model of photography history—the stereoview presents the wrong typology. The photographs in this text are repeatable types of scenes—stock characterizations, scenes, tropes, titles, and captions. They are structured and bound by conventions that facilitate their narrative readability, not their specialization as art, or another sub-field. Stereography was popular, domestic, favoring media transparency. The dominant American model of the twentieth century called for increasing specialization to subdivide consumerist desire and market to it. For the promulgators of the consumerist-modernist canon, art required specialists to mould it to the dictates of a culture, to borrow the terms of historian Lawrence Levine, of "reverent, informed, disciplined seriousness."[34] What the inventors of photography history needed to emphasize in order for their imagery to be taken seriously, as the result of erudition and a specialist discourse, was no less a codification than what the stereograph provided but one with an entirely different meaning and, most significantly, a different audience. In order to remove art from the populace and place it under the aegis of the trained professional,[35] the burgeoning industry of the photography historian distanced itself as much as possible from what the Victorians would call pictures of domestic life and at least one American, modernist critic would call "kitsch."

For the art critic, Clement Greenberg, "kitsch," designed to appeal to the masses, was fundamentally opposed to the high art of the painters, sculptors, and select few photographers he celebrated.[36] The influence of Greenberg's criticism has resonated through several generations of the art world, as evidenced by his followers as well as a generation of critics who have passionately reacted to his terms and challenged the canon

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they helped engender.[37] The Greenbergian model can be thought of as a "base line" for a specifically American version of modernism and for the photography history which was nascent at that time and has since gained internationally in influence. Greenberg favored painting, particularly Abstract Expressionism, and he privileged other arts to the extent that their example followed suit in emphasizing the formal values of the specific medium and de-emphasizing qualities of subject matter, or relegating it to properties that forced an awareness of the artist's materials. That Greenberg never considered stereography should come as no surprise, for such work would fall under the category of kitsch, as he defined it in the essay, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch." Kitsch was close to the people, formulaic and vicarious, and therefore short of his standards. The avant-garde artist, by contrast, "tries in effect to imitate God by creating something valid on its own terms, in the way nature itself is valid." Art, then, becomes an expression of the "original" and "unique," its content dissolved... completely into form."[38] The equivalence of the artist and God is thankfully seldom heard anymore, but its hubris is worth noting. The artist was, as a God-like creature, to recreate the natural with his own self-nature. "Nature" is a word that is heard in nineteenth-century appraisals of stereography, too, as we will examine in the next chapter. The difference is that stereography is equated with nature for the persons of the previous century, while for Greenberg only the nature of the artist is valid. The natural, or that considered exchangeable with it—i.e. the transparent, the self-effacing hand, what caters to readability—is not Greenberg's directive. Art and its progress in his standard are at a remove from the seemingly unadulterated, transparent, or symbolic. His art type redirects subject through a transcendental subjecthood in a symbiotic relation with pure media. The God-like artist, who not coincidentally in the critical literature is almost always white and male, creates nature, which is his art.

Just as importantly to Greenberg, art removes itself from popular appreciation and a commonplace locus, such distancing becoming a salient feature of the concept *avant-*

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garde.[39] For a Greenbergian criticism applied to photography, we can observe subject matter subsumed to formal properties of the medium, and form subsumed to styles borrowed from modernist painting. This includes the self-evident handling/hand-work of the pictorialist photographer, or flattened perspectives on slick paper with technical virtuosity echoing the *techne* of media, or styles, such as the fetishes of tonal values and acute focus, that reflect upon the medium, forcing awareness of its photographic-ness. In a much later essay of 1964, Greenberg did make room for narrative in photography, insisting that the art photographer tell stories, but he gave no direction for how this was to be accomplished, and the essay raises questions it leaves unanswered.[40] For the American, modernist canon as it was generally adopted from Greenbergian formalism, photography had a "narrative poverty."[41] These words from the Museum of Modern Art's Curator of Photography, John Szarkowski, make clear he certainly wasn't looking at stereography and missed a whole lot of monocular images, too. Stereography was the antipode of much of the modernist program of perspectival flattening, of the Greenbergian negation of subject matter for purely formal values, of the natural as engendered by the artist's subjectivity, and of medium-specific values, rather than those which are properties of the objects depicted.[42] The Greenbergian "base-line" was assumed by many, including Beaumont Newhall, whose stance toward stereography gradually rigidified from falsification of the medium to outright dismissal.

In an essay published in 1954, "Looking Back at Stereo," Newhall gives an uninflected, if not highly enthusiastic, brief history of the medium.[43] This essay, couched as it is in a text more how-to manual than anything else, strikes an unusual note for the by-then-renowned photography historian and curator, who hitherto had shown little interest in this photographic medium. By 1982, in the fifth edition of Newhall's *The History of Photography,* the position of the art photography establishment versus stereography had become settled: "throughout its history stereography has not appealed to photographers as

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an artistic medium. Its very virtue, that of creating an astonishing illusion of depth, is felt to be too close to reality."[44] Newhall's statement is patently false: we know with certainty that plenty of stereographers since called "artists" have devoted all or a principle part of their careers to the doubled image. We have only to examine the work of stereographers such as James Elliott or Carleton Watkins to understand that there was no conceptual separation at the time between art and stereography.[45] Artistry or artlessness, however, is not the issue; realism is. Newhall continues with a quotation from Craig Annan, pictorialist photographer whose work dates back to the 1890s:

> The stereoscopic effect is an endeavor to imitate nature, while the object of an ordinary photograph or drawing is only to reproduce an impression of nature. The failure of the stereoscope in its greater aim is more marked than the less ambitious but more practical endeavor to reproduce on a flat surface an impression of what we see.[46]

Newhall concludes, "..if the stereograph did not appeal to those to whom the aesthetic of the conventional graphic arts was the goal, it was the ideal technique for recording visual information....It is an image, not a picture."[47] In less than thirty years, from 1954 to 1982, we witness Newhall moving from a frank if not highly appreciative history to dismissal, historical falsehood, and a construction of stereography's history in terms of opposing tenants—art versus record—that do not bear up to any scrutiny. The absurd distinction of "image" and "picture" points up an ideological position that requires Newhall to contort history. The difference between the two terms lies not in the semantics but in the attendant meanings of "picture," which translate, here, to "pictorialist." Newhall's "history" ideologically begins with and is predicated on the values of the pictorialist art photography movement of the 1890s, by such practitioners as Mr. Annan, whom he quotes, and Alfred Steiglitz.[48] Newhall's slanted history duplicates that decade's crusade for photography as an art form, with a "high brow" culture of elite and inspired prophet-artists, an attendant industry of professional explicators, of art galleries, not publishers, and the codes which would help people instantly read the images as belonging to this rarified group.

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The photography then that made "the cut" into Newhallian history, and, indeed, into the canon as we now know it, has a certain aesthetic privilege. Stereography is by necessity excluded, generally ignored, and, when it cannot be avoided completely, is bastardized by reproduction of the half view. By thus appropriating the view to the cult of the single image and expressing (whether verbally articulated or not) absurd divisions such as image versus picture, the historian can reverse the radical inclusiveness of stereo and codify it by some comfortable division such as "early documentary." By disallowing stereo's *raison d'etre,* one can by-pass the double nature of the image pair and claim for the scene the singular expression of genius metaphorically represented by the single master print. Stereography's being-there-in-the-world, the reduced visibility of its makers by comparison with—to use Annan's words—the "greater aim" of including as much as two eyes can behold, is in opposition to the limited conceptions of this ideology in its bid for the photograph's high art status.[49] The modernist artist, to Greenberg et alia, recreates the world after his own image or imagery, and places it on par with the divine creation of nature. Likewise, the photographer demands the same rights and privileges accorded to artists, specifically, the exalted state of genius, or master, the rubric used in elevating some as worthy of inclusion in art's temple, and excluding the masses of others. The view, by contrast, allows the world with all its attendant detail and competitive volumes to crash the party; it is far too inclusive for much of the modernist vision. The short and faster lenses of the stereocamera, as well as its light weight, permitted greater portability, ease of use, and the ability to record more elements of the transitory world, including the stop-action of group sentimentalized scenes; because of this flexibility it became the medium of choice for the vast majority of photographed scenes. Yet, more than practical reasons dictated its popularity. How the medium addressed the scene—whether travel view or staged group--was deeply satisfying to the Victorian taste for maximum realism, fully textured and

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delineated detail, the evocation of environment, and of transport, transparency, and surrogate experience.

Any well-researched scholarship on stereography, therefore, is a contribution to a gravely neglected field, simply by helping to put the history back into photography "history." My focus in this study upon the narrative view draws to the fore not only exclusions based upon the inherent opposition of the medium to the consumerist-modernist demand for art categorization and codification but also upon the exclusions of gender. The genius/master artist of the Greenbergian ideal represented by the fine art print, whose trajectoried goal was a permanent place on the museum wall, and whose history was liturgized in volume after volume of hagiography--this artist was male. Perchance should she be the rare female, her work did not deviate from the vision—or the interpretation of it as vision—of the masculine values of the single-picture, master-print and its originary, "vintage" nature.[50] The cult of the single image remains a celebration of a unitary individualism, and its myth of talent is assumed to be unique and fundamentally dominating. Popular and domestic, narrative stereography was too full of babies, squabbling couples, duped men, stolen kisses, hoodwinked parents, and--worst of all—captions with puns and rhyming couplets. What the narrative stereograph presents is a subject that is most definitely not subsumed to formal, aesthetic concerns, one that is both a view and literary construct, and one who, as the person viewing, is an active participant in the vision of the Victorian woman. Narrative scenes, both topically and optically, reflect the tastes of the nineteenth-century woman, and the view of her place in society, as well as of her shifting roles at century's end. The values, concerns, desires, and interests of women and families were foremost in the minds of the publishers of stereographs. Celebrating genius and its assumed gender was not. Pedestrian and female-oriented, narrative stereography reflected values that were culturally subordinate to the exclusive vision of art, which the art photography movement continued in the spirit of Romantic

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conceptions of self and aesthetic inspiration, and which Greenberg echoed in his own fashion.[51] Plural and quotidian, stereoviews could only encumber the quest for self-evident codification within an elite core of imagery and its cadre of vaunted artists.

The stereograph did not take itself so seriously, and while it attempted universalizing inclusion by the physical nature of its medium, it was more modest in terms of contemporaneous ideals. By contrast, much of the tradition of the early art photography movement is notable for a drear lack of humor. Examples of visual or linguistic wit are widely spaced, as though the crusade for serious regard could not afford a joke. Narrative stereography, by contrast, abounds in comic views, for humor sold. It can be considered a palliative to the narrow constrictions and stresses of Victorian life. It was, however, double-edged—partaking in both the tension-relieving necessary to the maintenance of the status quo and also challenging that standard, albeit gently, by repetition which, beginning on the ground level of the ludicrous, may gradually progress to commonplace acceptance. Take for example Underwood and Underwood's *Translating a Love Letter from a Boston Girl—"Now, does that mean 'yes' or 'no'?"* 1903 (fig. 4). Woman is absent in this view but present by implication in the letter that the bewildered bachelor dangles from his hand. His love interest is a "Boston Girl," code for the college-educated and cultured female, possibly even a "New Woman," one who can use her words with clarity or obfuscation, whichever suits her advantage.[52] The details of his study point to the professional-class bachelor of the late Victorian age—fur rugs, books, escritoire, gas lamp, a miniature reproduction of the Nike of Samothrace, a Neoclassical-style bust, ceramic bas relief of a lion, framed photograph and art work, house and flowering plants, and a huge potted palm. The eye takes in the full range of the room and its items ransacked for a clue as to the meaning of this "Boston Girl," an ambiguous creature eluding definition, and, for the comic actor signaling his desperate exhaustion. Did this scene appeal to women or men, or was it designed to slip between a sense of identification for both sexes? We can imagine men

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identifying with his exasperation, which is a staple of the bachelor scene. We can also see, perhaps more clearly, women taking delight in perplexing the male, imagining themselves as powerful or motivating enough for a young man to ransack his home in order to discover *female* meaning. In what was likely intended as a sequel, an Underwood file view shows the same bewildered bachelor, holding a compress to his chin, and seated in the same set, this time utterly wrecked.[53] A small child as cupid makes a surprised whistle at the elegantly attired "Boston Girl," who frowns and firmly pulls on her gloves as though to leave. Unlike the bachelor and his room, she seems no worse for the havoc she has created. The mysterious female had clarified her position. Determined women and men at wit's end were stock conceptions of stereoviews in the 1890s. Such images contributed to the market success of narrative stereography and delegated its genres to that anathema of art photography—the commercial image.

Borrowing topics, tropes, and types from a great variety of narrative sources, such as cartoons, music hall themes, farces, tableaux vivants, advertising illustration, and theatrical convention—quite a few of which I touch upon—the stereoview was polygamous, anecdotal, plural, portable, and in every sense public. Stereographs, "considered to be publishing in the true sense of the word,"[54] belong to the culture of books, printed material, literary construct, of publishing houses and mass dissemination, of small producers, then large corporations. They therefore hold a curious position to photography and its security within art history. Perhaps for this reason more than others, Newhall chose to suppress and distort stereo-history. Its collectors were everybody, any neighbor, and its types were meant to be *read,* which in its time was not yet ideologically divorced from viewing. In this manner, stereography holds the greatest block of nineteenth-century photography in a space apart from our contemporary conceptual frameworks for its history. With its suppressed agrarian and pedestrian roots, and its vast numbers, it tugs at the edge of the master-photographer's magic focusing cloth, threatening "exposure."[55] For the narrative

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view, especially, we witness an ambiguous hybrid—real fiction, factual artifice, a surrogate experience and a stage-set entertainment. Tending toward transparency to the medium, it meanwhile signed staginess, in a three way intersection of photography, literature, and theatre. Its sources, as I have mentioned, come from every corner of nineteenth-century culture, yet as multiple as they are, it is above all else a photograph, twinned by nature, duplicating the world and duplicating itself in staggering numbers.

If one is to look for gender roles in the nineteenth century, stereography presents a treasure trove of images. The history of the medium in the United States presents an uninterrupted span of publishing, the evolution of documented marketing, and the bulk of the world's stereoscopic production.[56] Shortly after the inception of stereography in Europe, the narrative stereograph appeared. Though not as numerous as the topographic scene, it became immensely popular and offered millions of tableaux vivants with costumed actors, props, stage sets, backdrops and all the accouterments of theatre. The narrative or "group" view appeared in Britain between 1856-1857, in France between 1858-1859, and was swiftly imported to the U.S.[57] Following America's preoccupation with the Civil War, narrative scenes began to be published here tentatively from 1865, and actively from 1870 onwards. As the American production gained momentum, European publishing waned, curtailed for the British by pirating—illegal copying, usually from U.S. companies.[58] In France, production went into sharp decline with the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune of 1871.[59] German companies began to publish in the late 1860s, and their success grew in the decade of the 1870s, as they exported stereographs abroad, and found their work pirated in America.[60] Chapter Four will present the markets for stereography in greater depth. Sufficient to establish time frames at this point, we may note that American companies in the 1870s had considerable international competition, while some unscrupulous firms simply stole and recopied European views, contributing to the demise of the over-seas market. By the 1890s, American stereographic publishing had established a

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van garde, dominating the world market and pushing their competitors out of the "view." The industry continued in force through the next decade, waning only after 1906.

By looking principally at the American views, with British, French, and German examples where relevant, we can observe a continuous historical passage from the late Victorian world into the twentieth-century, industrial modern one. That story is told most revealingly for the everyday lives of men and women in the theatrical stages set by stereographic companies, what I term the "narrative stereograph," which recreated the world of gender and the domus, demonstrating their values and boundaries, at times by breaking them. From the genre and picturesque style of the mid-century to the later, personal narrative style of self-conscious theatricality, we can witness in comic and sentimental themes the evolution of gender types. My formation of these terms has been clarified by the thinking of Karen Halttunen's *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870*, which examines the shift from the cult of sincerity to an age of theatricality, where artificiality became the dominant mode of expression. Between what I term the picturesque and the personal narrative style of stereoviews, we witness a shift from a demonstration of sentimental, imaginative response, to scenes that exceed and invert their typological boundaries. For the latter, of the late Victorian period, we observe a sense of strain, increased speed, revealed in the greater reliance on sequentials, and the break down of typological significance, all of which is indicative of the shift in gender roles and greater accessibility afforded to women. Women becoming men, and vice versa, was a pronounced fear for many nineteenth-century persons, and one which American stereoviews in particular had the ability to present. Stereographs that catered to the sentimental conception of femininity were popular with women, but popular as well were those which did not—especially those which comically present the topsy-turvy of genders switching place. Purchased by the millions in the U.S. and abroad, these fictional views of gender have much to offer to the study not only of photographic

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history but to the ideological complexity of gender as well. By looking at both together, or "doubling" that already twinned stereoscopic space with the enactment of gender-intensive fictions, we can see in this medium an informal history of the trying on and casting off of masculine and feminine traits. Like so many coats an actress must don in playing a dizzying number of parts, the views bloom with multiple readings, codes, and contradictions for what it meant to be a nineteenth-century woman on the cusp of a more heterogeneous modernity, that actress who, with her male partner, played out the fears and fantasies of her audience.

The social place of narrative views was the domicile, which the market depicted and where it sought to gain access. This family-centered place remained in the nineteenth century squarely under the aegis of the women. That men and children also enjoyed these views is certain, but the governing rationale of their gendering was acceptability and/or appeal to the female viewer. In order to find the concerns of women in history, it is critical to look in the places where their power and agency had effect, where their choices and tastes prevailed, and where the market catered to female patronage. The U.S. narrative stereoview of 1870-1910 was marketed to women and their families—with the tastes, values, and purchasing power of the home and she who governed it given primary consideration in the depictions. Narrative stereoviews provide a vision of this purchasing woman, her values reflected in the staged depictions, and the locus of her power and real, if highly circumscribed, autonomy revealed.

The commercial nature of the stereograph, let alone the gendering of its ever popular narrative views, may have been enough for some to damn it, making uneasy whatever relationship it could have with an art history predicated on the rare object and the elite (male) artist. The attention that has been slowly returning to illustrative and commercial art in this country has brought a reexamination of many of the assumptions and core principles of the field of art history, such as the overvaluation of the singular and the hand-

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made.[61] In the case of narrative stereography, we have a commercial photography in a medium antipodal to the predicates of the Newhallian canon with a typology of sentimental and comic subject matter, which, by its very recognition as such, has been thought inferior. Though the lexicon of art or photography history as traditionally practiced is not successful for understanding stereoviews, art historians have begun a discourse on the medium. Where such studies fail, they do so from lack of experience with stereographs, which seems to be prevalent.

A feminist project, taxonomic in its initial approach, my work has required a wide spectrum of interdisciplinary models. Beginning first with the models of my own field, it should be noted that a taxonomic method is at some variance with my training. Within the discipline of art and photography history, I have never before felt the need, nor been required, to proceed by linguistic label to study the type. Rather, typing and typologies, and the notion that titles can serve to effectively group classes of art, scarcely has a place where the prevailing tenets still serve, in spite of shifts in theory, the high valuation of the unique, the hand-made, and the singular. Nevertheless, art history has always had its typologies, fundamental to the discipline, such as period styles and the iconographic method, which have been practiced in many stages of uncovering and identifying primary sources and their milieu. Because of the dearth of primary source information for the neglected medium of my topic, I established a data base of narrative stereographs (Appendix). This tool, indispensable to my project, also served to remind me from the stand point of methodology that categorization is fundamental. It may proceed implicitly and semi-consciously, as in the instant visual recognition of a particular artist's line, or more programmatically, as in the determination of a school or period style, but codes of one sort or another are how we sort the mass of visual data.

Even more problematic, my typological study is one of publisher's titles, not artistic oeuvre, of images produced by commercial companies, and often labeled by file

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number, where the photographers employed occasionally thought of themselves as artists but largely did not. Earlier stereographers, such as James Elliott, of the London Stereographic Company, F.G. Weller, and Seneca Ray Stoddard, did have artistic methods and conceits, but the stereographs they produced were nonetheless distributed as printed matter, and often through companies. Weller and many of his contemporaries used a numbering system for file negatives, handy for filling orders. By the time of companies such as Keystone in the 1890s, file numbers, printed on the stereoviews often in the bottom of the negative, were standardized to the title, and numbering systems—with gaps for insertions--went into the five digits. This is not to say that, since some never thought of themselves as artists to begin with, Newhall was right to exclude them from history. If one is to write a photography history, it needs be historical first of all, and the stereograph was a primary form of nineteenth-century photography.

We have, then, a mass of prints, of untold number, systematized, commercially produced and marketed as both "artistic" and "natural"—as views. Unfortunately, art history has often failed to come to terms with this medium and not for the reason that views lack artistry or beauty. What is more to the point is that as art, stereographs have always held an ambivalent place, a yes-ma'am, no-ma'am, whatever-you-please-ma'am position. The argument for their artistic merit will have to remain just there. As I have shown, the terminology of art is insufficient as of yet to understand stereographs as cultural products, and the art-or-not of photographs and stereographs is really not a productive form of thinking. What is necessary is a lexicon drawn from various disciplines, where reading takes its place alongside viewing, where it had been in the previous century, before subject matter was artificially divided between literary values and those of visual form. The view is couched in language, predicated by it, so that the word becomes "concretized" in the visual, naturalized by it.[62] The inclusive vision of the stereograph obversely structures the title/caption, environmentalizing it, and all too frequently upstaging its limited nature with

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superabundance, extraneous visual information, and contradiction of meanings between verbal and visual codings.[63] Rather than see the verbal-visual disjunction in some stereoviews as a shortcoming, I have chosen to regard it as an enrichment, for the plurality of codings can address several sets of cultural expectations at once, and contradictions can balance competing ideological vantage points, allowing subversive meanings to enter the scene and take their place alongside more conventional expectations.

A few historians besides Robert Taft have recognized the significance of stereography, among them George Potoniée, whose *The History of the Discovery of Photography* (1936) includes a section on stereoscopy.[64] In the last two decades, especially, art historians have returned to the stereograph with the theoretical models of deconstruction, which have shown less patience with histories of the monocular photograph based on the dominance of painting and more willingness to critically examine the photograph as a plural, cultural object. One of the first to challenge the painting-dominant model with rigorous ideological criticism was Rosalind Krauss. In "Photography's Discursive Spaces," first published two decades ago, Krauss challenged the convention that positioned the Western expedition photographer, Timothy O'Sullivan, as a master artist of the large format camera and print.[65] The museumification of photographers such as O'Sullivan and Eugene Atget, she wrote, was a "retrospective construction" for a body of work to function as art.[66] Though O'Sullivan photographed in large-format as well, he was, according to Krauss, far less a photographer of the mammoth print, and never one to intend his work for a museum audience that had yet to exist for it, than he was a producer of stereoviews. Krauss made clear that the ideology of art history had failed when it came to stereography and most nineteenth-century photography. Their form of presentation was not the museum, but, in O'Sullivan's case, the stereoviewer, and the file cabinet. No landscapes but pieces of a grid in a systematized knowledge, O'Sullivan's work was not that of an artist or author. It was the anonymous presentation of parts of a taxonomy,

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standardized and institutionalized. The importance of this essay in redirecting photography history to its neglect of stereography and to the serious consideration of the typology is not to be underestimated. Yet, it suffers from some misdirection. The study of stereography reveals that many of its practitioners had intentions on par with artists, quite a few were painters, and not many thought of themselves as anonymous. The simple fact of bold credits and copyrights, a standard for stereocards, and one maintained often with vigilance, is an argument to the contrary. Only toward the end of the medium do we come to photographers endeavoring to anonymously canvas the visual world for a paycheck. With companies such as Keystone at century's end, the photographer was rarely credited, but, in corporate style, he drew regular pay.[67] It was more the case that production of the type and artistic merit were not seen as divorced. That separation is a twentieth-century pretense. The first several generations of photographers were more fluid in their categorizations, both conceptual and technical. Operating in several media simultaneously, stereo being the simplest to market because of its lower-cost production and ease of handling, they switched media to captivate the widest possible audience and marketability.[68] Thematic conventions or types were valued in all media—including by painters—precisely because of their readability, which translated to a broad audience appeal, and therefore the sales upon which a career depended.[69]

Art historian, Mary Panzer, in her dissertation, *Romantic Origins of American Realism: Photography, Arts and Letters in Philadelphia, 1850-1875*, located a divide between photographers and stereographers of the 1850-1870s and those of the '80s and beyond. The earlier group valued subject above media and thought of aesthetic experience as an imaginative journey, descriptive and environmental. They conceived little separation between photography and other art media.[70] While I find the dates of her division somewhat problematic, for the "imaginative journey" within stereography is integral to the medium, I agree that there is a shift in production which, by century's end, reveals strain.

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At that point, as I will show, the type starts to fall apart, its categories stretched into an overtly theatrical, personal narrative style. We witness a plurality or layering of meanings and a splintering apart of codes, often devolving into contradictions. This would characterize stereographs of the 1890s and early 1900s. For most of the nineteenth century, including--though to a lesser extent—the last decade, the type served to guide the journey. It assured cognitive meaning to the visual excursion, for if one is to allow a sense of "being there" in alternate space, it is helpful to be able to safely link meaning to form. The type guarantees a visual grounding, since reading its signs is the only way the viewer has, with vision cut off by the apparatus from normative spatial interpretation, to prevent a drifting off into chaotic and confusing space, a "bad trip."

Regarding such a visual journey in the stereograph, Krauss employs a colorful simile, which, unfortunately, is inaccurate: "The actual readjustment of the eyes from plane to plane within the stereoscopic field is the representation by one part of the body (the feet) of what another would do in passing through real space."[71] While it is true that the viewer often feels as though he were entering stereoscopic space, it is not a sense of plodding through it, and never do the eyes refocus after the initial fusion of the images. If the view is seen clearly, the eyes remain at the same focal position, though conjugate movements (slightly turning the eyes in tandem) can increase the experience of stereopsis.[72] Krauss corrects herself in a footnote, where she mentions that the eyes do not refocus, yet her insistence on the sense of refocusing reveals a problem experienced by some people who are not accustomed to viewing--the difficulty in separating convergence (the crossing of the eyes) from accommodation (their focusing).[73] Stereography divorces convergence from accommodation, maximizing the former and relaxing the latter, which is unnatural, since objects held at close range are seen with a high degree of accommodation. Stereoviewing, therefore, requires a modicum of adjustment, or skill; otherwise, the process of viewing a stereograph essentially duplicates stereopsis and binocular vision. Because of the state of

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maximum relaxation of the muscles, the eyes, held at a state of zero accommodation, or infinity, can actually experience a deep sense of sinking into the space, that is not so much physically active, as it is trance-like. This facilitates the sense of being-there, by making it physically and psychically inviting to be—at least for those with patience. The trance-like state stereoviewing induces and the time element it involves are, however, aspects of the experience that Krauss well understood, and it is significant that she was one of the first in art history to do so.[74]

To regard a view such as *Always Take a Horse You Can Drive With One Hand*, by Keystone, 1901 (fig. 6), it is necessary to take the time for that space to develop between the information the eyes relay and its processing in the visual cortex. Seen monocularly, the view appears as a flat image, and seems to be a patriarchally coded image of a young man's eroticism. In the viewer, however, the type is enhanced, and one becomes deeply aware of the fallen foliage, the American woodland environment, and the road, the impacted dirt that curves down and away, a serpentine shape in the very same outline of a woman's torso, as the couple moves over the hip-curve of the road and onward, and thus the viewer is pulled along, in the space bending in, a waist-like narrowing in the distance beyond the woman's hat, to the journey this couple is on. The spatial sense of the slow and sensual road echoes the love-making, which the viewer is seduced to imagine and continue, and the path describes the young man's goal—a female body—the environment itself becoming as sinuous as she is and suggesting the movement towards her interiority. Space has become feminine, and, though still under patriarchal control, it is volumetric, a process, movement, and story, the entire field of view echoing her body's form, interiority the space not only of eros but of the imagination, and the possession of this space is not one of simple objectification but, more accurately, of space enveloping the consciousness, the viewer simultaneously acting and enacted upon.

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A function of subject, type was a means by which the viewer could hinge meaning to space. The manifold types were conventions not so different, though perhaps more honest, than many of ours today that categorize photographic media. Krauss perceived the type's ability to deconstruct the tenants of Newhallian-based photography history and its pretense that nineteenth-century photographers were surrogate landscape painters. If such goals are primary, the subjects of the stereoviews—as opposed to the process of viewing—can not be of much interest, other than as signs or codes, their types only signaling "type." For Jonathan Crary, as well, the subjects of stereoviews are beside the point. In *Techniques of the Observer*, Crary regards nineteenth-century optical instruments, of which the stereoscope is but one, as apparati that disengage the observer from corporeal experience and standardize vision to conform to observable units or modalities.[75] A decorporealized, unitized eye for consuming pre-packaged and serialized observation, the viewer is then visually mechanized, serving the interests of power, capital, and the standarization of the worker-purchaser in modernity.[76] As pure theory, Crary's criticism, in many places brilliant, succeeds if one does not examine any one of the apparti he studies too closely. Using the models of Michel Foucault and Marxist commodity theory, Crary's deconstruction of capitalism illuminates the way it has worked through scientific discovery to mechanize inventions towards the standardization of everything, most especially vision itself.[77] Crary's thesis concerning the deployment of power through the ocular apparatus is important, but when it meets with actual views falls short.

It is clear, however, that Crary was not interested in looking at stereoviews, for his work has serious limitations which we can only surmise have resulted from relative inexperience. Crary mentions the cardboarding effect, which can happen for some viewers in a minority of stereoviews, whereby a form will appear flattened in its respective plane, spatially separate from other forms, as though it were a figure in a pop-up book.[78] He assumes, quite erroneously, that this happens with all stereographs. The cardboarding

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effect is the result of a limitation of depth cues in certain areas of the image. While it does occur, it is far from the norm, and, to the accustomed viewer, happens only seldom and never across the full image.[79] He continues with other false generalizations: that spatially broad views have no three dimensional effect, and that stereographs have "no unifying logic or order," are a "derangement," and that we never see the full field in three dimensions.[80] Seriously hampered by his lack of interest in stereoviewing, Crary makes sweeping generalizations that are simply false. It is a fact that some people can't see the stereograph in 3D, lacking the desire or ability to develop the skills necessary to view stereoptically.[81] Other persons have only a degree of stereoptical ability, though the vast majority view with the full 3D effect. Whatever the author's experience may have been, it is worth noting that it aids Crary's thesis to see the stereoscope as a rather stupid instrument for an insipid crowd of oglers agog with crude sensation.[82] Its over sixty-year history and domination of the photographic field could only mean, then, that the people of the nineteenth century were simple-minded and ready to be led down capitalism's path of stamping them into preconceived vision. Content, the author asserts, was less important than the interchangeability of cards, "a compulsory real."[83] With his just-one-more-opiate-for-the-masses theory, Crary has come full circle to Newhall's dismissal, joining the ranks of the exclusionary ideologies, where women remain the subject of study or production, but what they valued remains unseen.

For Crary, the place of women in stereography is simply that of objects for the pornographer. He amplifies Baudelaire's reaction to genre stereographs, which was horror over a mechanism that could mediate between inner and outer vision.[84] For the Romantic artist, this was the privilege of genius.[85] A device had come to supplant the activity of the artist in creating worlds, uniting mental processes and the observable. Rather than the artist's exacting labor and the informed responses of sophisticated appreciators, the stereoscope offered a populist dexterity, so that the average person could take part, in a

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casual manner, in the activity that had always been, for the Romantics, the special province of inspired lives. Such an instrument could only abase vision by making it pedestrian, easy, "obscene."[86] With genuine Romantic disdain, Crary echoes that term, basing his judgment on the fact that the photographed subject seems so physically close to the viewer.[87]

The word "obscene" etymologically derives from "dirty," and in any shade of its contemporary usage is a strong term, one synonymous with pornography, and one usually employed where Puritanical interests prevail. The casual observer of stereography on the look-out for a few saucy views has more than once fallen into the misperception that all stereographs are allied with "dirty pictures," or at least an eroticism degrading to women. While the source of such judgments is a matter beyond the scope of this study, I can at least correct this error at the outset. While France did have a pornographic stereo industry, no scholar has been able to attribute a stereoview of a nude person to American production until the twentieth century.[88] The pornographic industry in France formed an export market, the size of which, compared with the overall production of group scenes in that country, is difficult to estimate. However, we can assert that it formed a small minority of all views depicting persons. Recent scholarship has begun to address this industry, which was the historical basis for France's world-wide reputation in such matters.[89] Chiefly exported to England, some French pornographic scenes made their way to American shores. They seem to have had comparatively little influence on American stereographic production of the nineteenth century.

The American, narrative stereograph predominantly depicted scenes of marriage, children, and courtship. These comprise approximately seventy-five percent of all genre scenes. The fourth most prevalent genre can be classed as erotic. Though eroticism was an element of the predominantly sentimental and comic marriage or courtship scene, these are mildly titillating and show no nudity (figs. 2 and 6). What I have classed as "erotic" represents approximately a fourteen-percent minority of scenes, whose chief aim is

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titillation, nearly all mild and, even for its day, family-safe--glimpses of ankles, calves, cleavage, crinolines, petticoats, and plenty of suggestiveness. Rare is the American stereograph of the time that goes further than such mild titillation. It does seem perplexing that no research has turned up American stereographic nudity prior to the twentieth century, and certainly an absence of evidence is not enough to conclude that it did not exist. Perhaps one way to theorize this lack may be that the genre of pornography was better established in mono-photography by the time that American stereography of staged scenes commenced in earnest in the 1870s. The European market had had two decades of selling stereography as domestic products, and, pornography, aimed at men, was not for home display and the social life of the family. Its symbolization, at least in Anglo societies, was delineated as apart from the meanings and importance of the domus. Erotic imagery of both European and American production did make its way into the home but remained typed by suggestiveness and a minimal amount of exposure. Therefore, though an industry in France and England, stereo-pornography's place in U.S. production until the twentieth century seems de minimis to present knowledge. I am not discussing here the erotic dynamics in the experience of stereoviewing, such as the voyeuristic encroachment which one can sense from feeling *in media res.* If this is what Crary meant by saying the space is "obscene," he certainly has an idiosyncratic usage, strongly censuring a medium for a discomfort with the visual space.

In viewing narrow samples of stereographs, or declining to view them stereoptically, the historian can draw biased conclusions, and, since there is a dearth of critical discussion on the medium, few will rush in to correct the misperceptions. One example of a slanted reading based on insufficient familiarity with stereoviews is Katherine DiGiulio's "The Representation of Women in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Narrative Stereographs."[90] In this essay, DiGuilio takes an atypical set of stereographs produced by the largely-pirate and cut-rate stereographic publisher, Webster and Albee

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(Rochester, NY), and attempts to construct a history for the whole of narrative stereography. Though she presents some salient information on the tableaux vivants, the essay suffers from over-generalization based on a small group of images, aimed at a niche market, which depict fully dressed women, only one of which is in a suggestive pose, with titles that imply they are prostitutes. Webster and Albee's views in this group, of which I have seen about six or seven, present an extreme example of salaciousness in *titles* only. These titles are outside of the types for the industry and in no manner define the medium. Typical, however, is the tendency to couple verbal suggestiveness with models either fully clothed, or, in two examples to which De Giulio doesn't refer, covered in undergarments. Other stereoscopic companies did not follow Webster and Albee's "over the top" example and used erotic suggestion in a more limited manner. The author ignores the dominant trends in narrative views for childhood, courtship and marriage scenes, most of which are not very erotic. In addition, DiGuilio brings in comparisons with early cinema that post-date these scenes and most of narrative stereography.

Another example of mixing a smattering of accurate social history with mistakes in reading the views is found in an essay by Shirley Wajda, where the writer has placed the stereograph back where it belongs—in the domestic realm of the parlor, linking it with women, play and leisure, and the proper comport of individuals in the domestic sphere.[91] By analyzing the Sears Comic Series of 1901, Wajda writes that the actors were portraying more modern concepts of "personality" as opposed to the Victorian modal character type,[92] conclusions which echo the more fully developed studies of cultural historians Katherine Grier and Karen Halttunen.[93] Unfortunately, Wajda chooses not to regard the views in stereo, but to reproduce the half view, and she offers no visual analysis, or understanding of their spatial evocation. She then concludes that the camera—which would imply the monocular viewer—is akin to the benevolent yet absent father, and the ridicule is his manner of retaining "social control," when there occurs a lapse of correct behavior proper to

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a space.[94] Though the concept of humor as a lapse of behavior that violates a room or interior space is quite interesting, it is a stretch to cast the viewer as the absent father, or paternal authority, separate and removed. The writer misses stereography's central defining feature, space, which in this medium, rather than a judgmental remove, tends to cast the viewer into the scene. This dynamic of stereo, tending toward imaginative projection and vicarious exchange, makes problematic theories of patriarchal control which view the depicted persons as simply objects to be possessed by the gaze. Almost an automatic analysis to some critics, such theories assume that women had no agency and were powerless to control, or they fully acquiesced in, derogatory depictions of themselves. The medium of stereography tends to imbricate the distance required for objectivizing, placing the viewer within the scene, which is not to say that patriarchy was not at work in its structuring. Rather, on a physical and intrinsic level, which will be examined at length in the next chapter, the stereoview often complicates the scene and any simplistic reading of power's operatives. Also complicating a simple reading of patriarchal control is the female market for stereography and the evidence of women collectors, as well as the topics, which, if anything, tend to over-enunciate women's cultural concerns. A common mistake with researchers, made by Wadja, is to view a small selection of stereographs, apply a theory, then make sweeping over-generalizations that do not bear up to the evidence of the medium as a whole. For example, over-generalizations regarding monolithic patriarchal domination in stereography are often made problematic by the comic view, the excessively sentimental, the male hysterical scene, or the feminine localization of the medium, as well as the disruptive forces of laughter and women's emotion.

Consider Keystone's *Murderation! Molly, Be Aisy*!, of 1899 (fig. 7). Here, the partly stripped, handsome man, an object for specular erotic delight, is "saved" by the pain and sadism of the mustard plaster, which his wife is, with some determination, ripping from his skin. Thus "flayed" by the stuck plaster (used to cure colds), the erotically displayed male is

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redeemed for the patriarchal gaze through pain, and the comedy of slapstick. A Marsyas figure, he is both available for the gaze—of women? of men?—and a site of punishment—for being a "sight"? Doubled by the mirror, which handsomely presents his taut muscles, stereoscopically volumetric, and without the howling face, this man is in the position of the eroticized woman. His partial undress and the mirror's added vantage are *her* signs, the duplication of the mirror also signaling stereo's doubled ability to depict the body. Patriarchal proscriptions against depicting men in this position shift the emphasis away from pleasure and onto sadistic comedy, for if he's a suffering joke, he can't be fully "womanized" by the gaze. (Or, can he? Is the howl the male, comic inversion of the female orgasmic "O"?) The title in dialect indicates that the speaker is lower class, possibly one of the many Irish immigrants in the U.S., thus further identifying him as "Aisy," or available. This stereoview plays in a number of ways at once, including the ethnocentric, and satisfies the women and men who desire a pretty male body to look at. The scopophilia hides behind a traditional disguise of patriarchal dictates—that such pleasure be corrected by punishment.[95] Further, the viewer can also enjoy the sadism, taking the place of the wife who inflicts it. Her position, too, plays double with patriarchal dicta. Under the guise of the nurse role, a traditional female one,[96] she is enacting upon the male, taking the masculine position of inflicting pain, comically topsy-turvy. With sadism, eroticism, and comedy so entwined, it is hard to read this view in any singular mode. Patriarchy comes in to punish, but it hardly gets the upper hand. Rather, the delight in seeing the beautiful male, and the aggression of the female upstage the token allegiance to patriarchal discipline.

For the most comprehensive knowledge of stereography, we must turn to a small band of individuals, outside of institutional support, who are versed in the primary sources and have taken it upon themselves to become scholars. The first was Harold Jenkins, who in 1957, wrote a slim volume that is marked by more than a few errors.[97] Following him in 1964, William C. Darrah, a Professor of Biology at Gettysburg College (PA), self-

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published *Stereoviews: A History of Stereographs in America and their Collection*, and, subsequently in 1977, his authoritative *The World of Stereographs.*[98] Also in the same year, with Richard Russack, he published an anthology of stereographic reproductions, *An Album of Stereographs: Or, "Our Country Victorious and Now a Happy Home."*[99] With thirty years of stereographic viewing experience and his own vast collection at hand, Darrah began an index file for his personal use of every stereoview he examined. Amazingly, Darrah amassed his unparalleled knowledge of stereography despite a handicap of blindness in one eye, which prevented him from seeing in stereo. As befitting his training as a botanist, Darrah's approach was taxonomic, excluding cultural conclusions, but what his work lacks in theory it more than compensates for by comprehensiveness, leaving *The World of Stereographs*, in spite of some factual errors, still the first source for information on the medium.

Darrah's work was continued by a professor of Oceanography, T. K. (Tex) Treadwell, who purchased a significant share of Darrah's collection and inherited his index file.[100] Treadwell's scholarship on stereography, published by his Photographic Research Institute, has been responsible for a large number of valuable articles, anthologies, and reprints of nineteenth-century texts, trade lists, and catalogues.[101] Of great assistance, despite its flawed method, is his data base, compiled and expanded from Darrah's card index file. Published as *Stereographers of the World*, by Treadwell and Darrah, this database, available on diskette, lists stereographers and companies from across the world, specifying them by country or state of origin, name or title of company, with brief informational notes about careers—when available.[102] It also lists the number of views by each publisher which have been examined. As a general reference, especially for the more obscure stereographers, it is invaluable, in spite of the fact that it does not list titles or topics of the views. The index is, however, unfortunately hampered by Mr. Treadwell's method of accepting data. Treadwell chose to accept verbal verification of data from many sources, without notation. Though he claims to have seventy-five percent of the views in his

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personal collection, he did not view first-hand or through reproduction an unknown quantity of the samples. Darrah had begun this data base with only first hand data.[103] Treadwell did not continue his method but asserts the trustworthiness of his sources. This leaves us with questionable results. Although I am indebted to Treadwell's great effort in regard to funneling data from a diverse group of collectors and cognoscenti and have used it myself in ferreting out hard-to-confirm pieces of information, I hesitate to advise anyone to rely solely upon it. As there are no images to this index, it can serve as a secondary reference only, and one that may require further confirmation for data. A comprehensive data base covering any major collection of stereographs has yet to be established, though several research institutions are making stereographic images available on-line and are moving toward more complete accessibility.[104]

Other collectors have published valuable studies, in particular, John Waldsmith, *Stereoviews: An Illustrated History and Price Guide*, Russell Norton, *Stereoviews Illustrated*, and Paul Wing, *Stereoscopes: The First Hundred Years*.[105] More than simply a price guide, Waldsmith's text contains plentiful information on identifying stereoviews, copy and pirate views, dating, and excellent chapters on photographers, publishers, and subject categories. Stereographer and collector of stereoscopes, the late Paul Wing published an unparalleled history of these instruments. Other impeccable research includes two studies on the Kilburn Brothers, by Linda McShane and Thomas Southall, respectively, and Shoala Lynch's nuanced reading of racist stereographs of African-Americans.[106] Another source, an anthology edited by Edward E. Earle, discusses scenic and ethnographic views from an American culturalist viewpoint, with essays on the illustrated print tradition, the dissemination of an image culture, and standardized vision.[107] The end result of a seminar at the Visual Studies Workshop (Rochester), this 1979 anthology is largely superceded by subsequent studies from various disciplines, but it has a place as the first attempt to integrate stereography's typologies and their cultural contexts.

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Historical sources have also aided my research, such as a testimonial in 1949 by the president of the Keystone Co., George E. Hamilton. His speech on the stereographic industry, subsequently published, included an account of his summers as a stereograph salesman for James M. Davis (1900-1903), thus providing a valuable glimpse into the methods and corporate indoctrination of the salesman.[108] In addition, he offered a short overview of the history of stereo publishing, charting the somewhat confusing course of who began certain sales techniques, and who subsequently imitated these methods, and who absorbed whom. Other sources such as salesmen's manuals from the time may be located at the Keystone Mast Collection, housed in the California Museum of Photography (Riverside), where also is the archive of hundreds of thousands of stereographs and negatives, a bequest from the heirs of the now defunct Keystone Company. Additional research tools include back issues of *Stereo World,* a journal published by the National Stereoscopic Association (Cleveland), which has consistently brought to the public excellent short research articles, such as one by William Brey on the Underwood and Underwood Company.[109] Robert J. Silverman's essay regarding the stereoscope as surrogate eyes is a welcome theoretical work, as is Miles Orvell's essay on the typologies of the nineteenth-century photographic aesthetic of the "artificial real."[110]

Across the Atlantic, scholars have contributed valuable studies to the understanding, in particular, of European stereography. Although outside of my topic in the strictest sense, European stereography, especially British work, has influenced American production. Sadly, there have been only two texts on stereography published in Britain—John Jones' general interest anthology; and a price guide, now outdated.[111] French scholars have been more productive, especially the excellent work of Dennis Pellerin, Pierre Tavlitski, Yvan Christ, and an anthology published by the Musée Carnavalet, Paris, requires note.[112] Research materials on stereopsis, the history of the development of stereography, and stereographic manuals are abundant. Of particular note

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in the early history and development of the medium is Nicolas Wade's *Brewster and Wheatstone on Vision*; for the development of the science of stereopsis, I will refer to historical texts by David Brewster and Herman von Helmholtz and more contemporary ones by Bela Julesz, and N. A. Valyrus.[113]

In my primary research, I found that narrative stereographs could be classed in genres, and each had stock titles or conceptions that one publisher repeated from the next. With the aid of my data base, I grouped views by genre, then type, then specific title clusters, relying upon the visual record for each in order to examine variations, style, and inventive usages. For instance, Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's *A Knight of Labor* (1899) (fig. 5) presents the Victorian theme of the "model" husband, whose task is to walk the fitful baby while his mother miraculously sleeps soundly through it all. Here, the fretted father is "cornered" by the intersection of the walls framing his head, and, though the stereographically rendered volume puts space between the farther walls' intersection and that head, this area is crowded with the bed and dresser, so that the gentleman seems pinned into the furniture and angles of the room, with nowhere to turn. Sometimes spelled, "A (K)night of Labor," this punning title was a highly popular sentimental theme, published by at least five different publishers, two of whom issued multiple versions.[114] We will view more of them in Chapter Seven, along with other similar subtypes. Quite obviously, the idea of getting a good night's sleep, thanks to the husband, is appealing to women.

This view fell under the "marriage" genre, which had twenty-two different thematic groupings, and a survey of each reveals how the titles repeated and differed in variations. The type of the "model husband" is represented by titles such as "A Knight of Labor," "Oft in the Stilly Night," "A Model Husband," "Three O'Clock in the Morning," and "The Floor Walker by Night," among other variations. Through the program for the data base, I can filter for any word or group of words, thereby proceeding linguistically and conceptually

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through the many narrative scenes. What I will present in this text is not, however, a positivist typology of my findings. Although such a typology was necessary to my method, because of the lack of previous identification of primary sources, it is a tool and not my thesis. I will select representative types and present them by their groupings according to the guiding principle that such narratives catered to the taste of women and their families. What marketers imaged as a culture that they could sell to women was also duplicated on a physical level by the mechanism and its doubled, slightly different pictures. A subtheme of my thesis on the feminine-oriented market and its topics will be the presentation of a set of evaluative and structural aspects of "doubling." The twinned pictures doubled (crossed) the visual field, allowing stereopsis to be added to the view. This doubling of the picture opened space, a visual path that meant, when it came to narrative, a doubling of the audience. Both sexes enjoyed stereo—an important point to note, though the market placement gave to the vast majority of the narratives a female aegis and feminine signs. The coupling of the verbal caption and photographic space frequently allowed comic and sentimental *double entendres,* a visual-linguistic play on plural meanings. The mechanism and its typologies therefore tend to mirror each other, increasing, pluralizing, crossing established forms and rendering new spatial interpretations. Associatively as well as topically, these concepts relate to the female body and experience, while the home use of the view regulated it by feminine sensibility, values and taste. At the end period of my study will emerge another historical development of the doubling and increase theme: we see that both what is required of the medium in terms of attenuation and multiple codes becomes strained. This strain and excess, hinged as it is upon gendered roles, reveals that the constructed, composite nature of conceptions regarding the sexes was over-loaded and stressed to the point of extremity.

From women's and social history I have gleaned a great deal, and I am also indebted to models from literature, especially reader response theory. In the latter I have

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found theoretical precedent for returning attention to excluded fields. The sentimental typologies of woman's fiction, as with the narrative stereoview, present challenges to conventional standards of art valuation. In the nature of its medium, antipodal to the dominant canon of photography, and with a subject matter of common women and men in domestic dramas, the narrative stereograph is an exception to the American, modernist structuring of the subject in art. To regard seriously the communicative properties of these narratives is to choose to spend our time among disregarded objects. The reasons for taking the risk is not merely to provide a necessary corrective to history but more compellingly to engage with an imagery of women that reflected their tastes. Feminist scholars have found that female patronage and taste have played significant roles in the art of Ingres, Rubens, and Hogarth.[115] Similarly, narrative stereography, made by men, presents us with the vision of women, as the subjects of views, and as the consumers of them. They have remained principally outside the discourse of art and photography history for all of the reasons I have already mentioned but also, perhaps most significantly, because they represented the lives and concerns of the common woman. Their popularity and ubiquitousness as well as their obvious female gendering have contributed to generations ignoring them, with the assumption generally made for works widely appreciated and for most things feminine that they are beneath comment.

Jane Tompkins, in her pioneering study of 1985, *Sensational Designs: the Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860*, wrote that she has learned to value everything that as a student of literature she was schooled to despise.[116] A reader response theorist, she has reexamined the canonically shunned literature which in the nineteenth century had blockbuster status, the woman's novel, with its sentimental morals, and typologies of stock characters and sensational plots, written for an eager audience of women readers. From her analysis and those of other reader response theorists, I have learned a great deal about the implicit critique of masculinist society within the products of women's culture, which,

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typical for the nineteenth century, took as given the very limits imposed on women. Rather than an outright defiance of these limits, which would have been dangerous if not outright lethal and certainly of limited practicability, such a culture defined itself from within these constrictions as a place constitutive of female positions and terms. For stereoviews, the preeminent danger was lack of acceptance, or sales, so the market could not afford to overtly challenge conventions for female roles, or it would risk not being broadly understood. Furthermore, as men made these images for commercial purposes, it is doubtful that they had any especial desire to be on the vanguard in terms of social issues. Rather, they were seeking a piquancy by applying pressure to the social points which might cause a reaction, in order to generate an emotional response, summed up simply with an "I'll take that one!" Working within social convention, the market found a way to flatter its "matronage," to view women and female power in manners just challenging or unusual enough, or with just enough room for different interpretations to appeal to a wide customer base. Interest was the key. Narrative stereographers were not trying to reform anything. They were attempting to generate sales to a home market eager for interesting views--dramatized, a few social buttons pushed, but nothing revolutionary. The narrative stereoview, then, is in a curious position of flattering the woman whose purchasing power was sought, she whose control and authority over her own life was sharply curtailed, by depicting her within the framework of social acceptability that yet allowed a sphere of agency. That the opposition of these dynamics would suffer strain becomes apparent in the last years of stereography's popularity. For the fifty plus years of high popularity, however, men published stereoviews marketed squarely at the home, a location identified as feminine in the nineteenth century, and a location that would guarantee a female gendering as well as an exclusion from the male-dominant worlds of art validation.

Though we can easily call these views "comic" and "sentimental," my choice of the word "narrative" is theoretically defining, for these scenes tell stories, are indivisible from

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the word, language as predicating idea, and the sense of time involved in inserting one's response into segments of an unfolding fiction. Conceived in the spirit of story telling and reading, these views all employ, at minimum, titles, and some use spoken dialogue for that purpose. After 1900, companies such as Keystone and Underwood and Underwood employed the extended legend, or narrative paragraphs, on the card backs.[117] The viewer enters into the scene and forms the narrative, inserting not only vision but imaginative will, recreating from the suggestion of the plot her own experience.

Because the stereoview was not ever "high-brow" art but was bourgeois in the most literal sense of the term, meaning middle class, it could afford to disengage somewhat from ideals and was free to experiment. Its puncturing of social convention, without the risk of complete deflation, provided a tension release desirable to its market. Because it belonged to the home, the parlor, and the domain of women, it was not, however, too "free." Just as titillating as a low-cut opera dress, the narrative stereoview could flirt, tease, suggest, and dally with voyeurism, but it had to remain within acceptable limits. Similarly, the limits that patriarchy imposed on women do not often find a direct challenge in the views. Rather, their challenge is sideways and sly, through the comic, and through by-passing masculine "law" for the realm of female feeling as defined in sentiment.

A number of scholars have found that women's literature and culture of the time articulated a subtle critique of patriarchal control, without a direct confrontation. In 1969, Barbara Welter's essay, "The Cult of True Womanhood," concluded that the culture of the "true woman" in the nineteenth century, which the author presents with a pervasive sarcasm, carried with it the seeds of its own destruction in its evolution into the New Woman, who took her much touted and presumed moral superiority over man as self-affirming destiny.[118] Without Welter's embattled tone, Carol Smith Rosenberg published "The Female World of Love and Ritual..." in 1975, wherein she discussed the women's culture of the nineteenth century in terms of forms of support, which have been lost to our

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world today.[119] Becoming a model for ensuing critics, Rosenberg took one of the first uninflected looks at women's culture not simply in terms of bondage but of bonds formed between women, their separate culture valued precisely for being apart from men. In seeking to understand these bonds, literary critics have turned not to the canon of established literature, which had ignored them, but to the woman reader and woman's novels. Novelists such as Augusta Evans or Susan Warner have provided examples of fiction based on sentimental ideology, women's culture, and the choice of the domestic setting for the narrative voice.[120] Such works were "feminist" to the extent that their plots were female-local, their characters strong women, and the evolution of their prose decidedly revolved around issues of behavior determined by and exceeding sex-roles. Woman's fiction was written for an audience of female readers large enough to grant "blockbuster" status to the works of Evans, Warner, and some of their contemporaries. The interpretation of this readership has been an object of study for reader response theorists. I have been able to locate in narrative stereography a thematic consonance with this criticism, as well as learn from the example of those who study not exclusively works of art but the audience and market for them.

One of the earlier literary critics of woman's fiction, Sally Mitchell, in 1977, studied sentimental literature ignored by the literary establishment, yet very popular in its day, and found themes of empowerment to women within the feminine culture of the home.[121] Another reader response critic, Nina Baym, found in her 1978 study, *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and About Women in America*, that novels of women established a feminine space, with domesticity as a locus of power, which radiated toward political influence.[122] Jane Tompkins, to whom I have made reference, similarly found that works written by women for a female audience constituted an effort to "reorganize culture from the woman's point of view."[123] Analyses by Nina Baym (1984) and Kate Flint (1994) of the practices of women readers, and the perception of reading as an innately female activity, further aid my

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discussion in locating the market for narrative with the woman consumer and the alignment of narrativizing with the female gender.[124] An essay by James Machor, in 1993, focuses on the patriarchally controlling attitudes of male reviewers towards fiction they automatically presumed appealed to the woman reader, and their often contradictory attitudes towards the greater morality of the female as well as her weaker, more self-indulgent nature.[125]

Though the term patriarchy belongs, mainly, to twentieth century discourse, the nineteenth century was every bit as obsessed with gender, its terms centered in the widely promulgated idea of "separate spheres," which was held almost sacred and accepted by nearly everyone except the vanguard of "woman's righters." Among historians, Linda Kerber, in a 1988 essay on "Separate Spheres," has presented a critical response to this separation as not simply a means of containment but, rather, a vehicle by which to build a subculture empowering to women.[126] Kerber's essay offers an enhanced interpretation of the woman's sphere as a physically separate space, double in nature, serving both patriarchy and the needs of women for a place of their own, useful and emotionally sustaining.

Further social history has come from Katherine Grier's sophisticated reading of the sentiment and theater of Victorian parlors; Ellen Garvey's intertexual analysis of how advertising structured the literature of magazines and popular conceptions of consumers and their products; Ellen Rothman's scholarship on American courtship rituals and expectations; Catherine Clinton's women's history; Harvey Green's informative study of the nineteenth-century culture of the home; and, again, Karen Halttunen's study of middle class American culture.[127] I have also greatly benefited from the scholarship in theatre of Michael Booth, Nicholas Vardac, and John Fell; and in British narrative painting and prints from that of Mark Bills, Helene Roberts, and Rodney Engen.[128] In understanding the objective-subjective nature of narrative scenes and the audience response to art as an

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external-internal reality, I am indebted to M. H. Abrams' classic study, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition.*[129]

In reading the view, I have also turned to theories of the comic, and to contemporaneous cartoons. Both women and men were objects of the comic jab and slapstick, but, it's safe to say, the men seem to come out worse for wear. Between the sentimental and the comic, it is in the latter that the men appear more "comfortably," and with pronounced frequency. In the last chapters I will explore the nature of the comic in stereography, with the support of theories from critics of the day, Henri Bergson and Freud, and contemporary writers, Nancy Walker, Mary Douglas, and Barry Sanders.[130] Throughout the study, I will present cartoons relating stereoview types to their larger social framework.

The social view of these common-woman fictions merges in my study with the view of the medium, and my goal is to speak for both exclusions. The uncanny property of the stereoscope, whose emphasis is space, is the evidence that space is not objective but a mental construction recreated in one perceiver at a time and built from the play of differences in the almost-twinned images, like that of the sexes, dissimilar only by degrees. Stereoviews gloried in demonstrating the supposed nature of the sexes and their specific roles, but, in as much as it made them unprecedentedly life-like, it opened them to doubt. Artificial-real, the fictions of these narrative views are both overtly "present" and overtly a construction. We witness in the scope of narrative views a dizzying array of roles, contradictory values, impossibly freighted meanings, and hopeful attempts to play-act a situation that can never be satisfactorily balanced or resolved. Woman, I will show, was a construct of piled-up meanings, under which real women had to pick and choose as best they could, sorting out the fictional characters who best spoke to their sense of value, and consuming through these marketed, commercial products more and more types to fulfill multiple roles through fantasy. Contradiction marks the attitudes toward female gendering

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in the nineteenth century, and it will be a subtheme of my study. The weak, sentimental, self-indulgent women presumed by reviewers of literature were often depicted in narrative stereography as the physically as well as morally stronger, more reliable, governing sex, who, in spite of being responsible for every member of the household, were nonetheless tender, and compassionate—when they weren't "planking down the law." This strange conglomerate of conflicted qualities was the view of the nineteenth-century woman, and in order to view her in the stereoscope, we need to have another sort of "double vision"—one eye trained on the attitudes of her century with an uninflected and accepting vision of their impossible tenets, and another kept on today with the knowledge that anything so built on oppositional elements, no matter the strength of belief in each individually, is bound to suffer strain or fall apart. In narrative stereoviews, we witness an imagery made by men for the aegis of women, depicting women (along with men) in stage-sets chock full of the contradictions of patriarchy yet nonetheless exhibiting a deference to female taste, and therein offering a ballast to the male-centered world, which was presumedly the source of all authority. None of these images exist independently from patriarchal governance, but within it they show alternate and more various values than today we might conceive for the recent past, educated by that very word-of-the-father that informs us *not* to see the mother. Stereoviews offer a world of mothers, and what little they depict of fathers remains marginal, and frequently derisive. The bachelor and the suitor have their place, but always in relation to women, who are the locus, and, while in American erotic imagery the viewer may be presumed male (this would be the typical reading), she is also, I will show, female, or a child.

The following two chapters I intend as an extended and theoretical introduction. "The Space and Type of Stereography, Part One: Unity as a Function of Difference," examines the medium of stereography, briefly charting its development from discovery to contemporary knowledge of stereopsis. Guiding this history is a by-now classic essay by

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Oliver Wendell Holmes, which I will use to show how the viewer is defined *within* stereoscopic space. The Holmes essay reads in a biographist manner, as the writer imagines the growth of the individual as well as his own desire projected into stereoscopic space. The twin principles of type and space in stereography provide environments that allow Holmes to recognize himself as defined by vicarious experience. By then defining the nature of depth perception and the "double vision" of the stereoscope, we come to understand stereopsis as an entirely mental and learned construction, an analogue for gender construction.

Chapter Three, "The Space and Type of Stereography, Part Two: Parlor, Stage, Actor, Narration" offers the various spaces of stereo. I examine stereography's role as an object within these conceptual frameworks, and as objectively depicting them. From its placement in the parlor, to that room's social evolution to a type of publicity, or stage, I will show that stereographic culture mirrors the space of its own consumption. Theatrical history came to inform the home, and the participants in stereo and the parlor were increasingly seen as actors, with narrative functioning as mortar in this structure. The influence of narrative in painting and print culture, as well as novel-reading as female-gendered in the nineteenth century, help to link the spaces of the parlor and stereoview with the fictional titles or dialogue that determine them. In terms of the styles of stereo-history, I will here define the transition from the picturesque to the naturalistic picturesque and personal narrative styles. Chapter Four, "Egg Money: The Market for Women," looks at the market for stereography and presents the history of its American publishers. From the sole stereographer to the large corporation, with an aggressive sales force, stereographs were marketed in this country to the home and the lady of the house, her tastes and purchasing power given consideration. I will present the example of women as collectors through their inscriptions on card backs. Lastly, I will discuss the waning of stereography, in terms of speed of consumption.

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Part Two--Chapters Five through Eight--present "The Types." Each chapter will examine a different topic of the narrative view, focusing upon their appeal to women, the nature of their depiction, and the transposition of gendered signs that we see in the late century. "Probable Presidents and Mashers Mashed" addresses childhood and courtship views with respect to their depiction of women's values and the persons and events that defined female life. In this chapter I will address the relationship of stereography to cinema, as we see the serial expand from two to four views to sets of six to twelve. Cinema borrowed many topics from the earlier stereograph, while stereo was stylistically influenced by the title-scene-title-scene rhythm of the early movies, and the attenuation of the scene into a series. The chapter, "Family Jars," addresses the views of brides and wives, from the promise of a commodity-intensive wedding as symbolic of the extent of the home's power to the "it's all over now" humor of the baby-beleaguered family and the termagant wife. In contrast to clichés of female passivity and idleness, the marriage views present determined, active women who decisively "rule their roost," and thereby contribute to that not-so-subtle critique of masculine culture which contemporary theorists have discussed as domestic feminism. "Side Dishes" is the chapter reexamining the erotic or sexually alluring stereograph. I show that it, too, bowed to conventions of female taste and regulation. Through narrative structure that incorporates a clear definition of boundaries, and consequent punishment for their transgressions, the story types catered to a feminine sense of what was allowable. The feminine lingua of undergarments, and the gender-reversal of exposed male scenes add to the erotic mix, suggesting that more than just the patriarchal gaze was satisfied in viewing. The examples of women collectors of erotic views, in addition to the multiple codes playing through this group, indicate that the whole family was part of the viewing audience. The final topical chapter, "The Old Man and The New Woman," presents views of the comic "ineptitude" of men in domestic matters and the equal "ineptitude" of women as they attempt to imitate the male. By examining the cultural

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concept of the New Woman, we witness a version of the male hysteria over gender-role reversal that was part of the over-turning of expectations that the industrial, modern world seemed to threaten. The New Woman views also present a backhanded appreciation of women's courage and pluck, and, through the catharsis of over-enunciation, contributed to the gradual acceptance of widened roles for women.

The Conclusion begins by discussing stereography's exclusions, then moves to how it inclusively defines through narrative a world of marketing to women and the home. The narrative view was an immensely popular fiction, designed to entertain, blind to the vast majority of social issues, but obsessed with one—the role of Woman. By use of sentiment and comedy, her values come to the fore—even within views meant to ridicule her presumptions. The sheer quantity of depictions of her role, whether as termagant wife or New Woman in bloomers, along with the tenderness of domestic space within the ideology of the home, contribute to a world view where the domus and family and she whose values determined it would remain foremost in the view of Americans.

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[1] William C. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (Gettysburg, PA: William C. Darrah, 1977; reprint, Nashville: Land Yacht Press, 1997), 237. Darrah surveyed the ratio of carte de visite photographers versus stereographers for the years 1860-1885. This data can be misleading, however, for the number of stereographers versus photographers does not indicate the number of photographs taken, nor prints made. With the publication of views, photographic pairs could well outstrip single photographs in quantity, if not in the count of producers.

[2] Ibid, 45.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid. Linda McShane reports their production as between 1,400-1,800 daily or up to 400,000 a year in 1872: *When I Wanted the Sun to Shine: Kilburn and Other Littleton, New Hampshire Stereographers* (Littleton, NH: Sherwin Dodge, 1993), 52. Thomas Southall has placed the Kilburn production at 2,000 views daily in 1874: *The Kilburn Brothers Stereoscopic View Company* (M.A. thesis, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1977), 58.

[5] Southall, 39. McShane, 67.

[6] William C. Darrah, *Stereoviews: A History of Stereographs in America and Their Collection* (Gettysburg, PA: Times and News Publishing Co., 1964), 109. William Brey has estimated the Underwood and Underwood production in 1901 at nine million views annually: "Ten Million Stereo Views a Year," *Stereo World*, vol. 16, no. 6 (January-February, 1990), 6-12.

[7] Margaret Loke, Ed., *The World As It Was: 1865-1921: A Photographic Portrait from the Keystone Mast Collection* (New York: Summitt Books, 1980), preface.

[8] Darrah, *Stereoviews*, 7.

[9] Oliver Wendell Holmes first used the term in two articles published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the most reprinted one being the 1859, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," in *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present*, ed. Vicki Goldberg (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press), 100-114.
in Goldberg: 100-114.

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[10] See Barton L. Anderson and Ken Nakayama, "Toward a General Theory of Stereopsis: Binocular Matching, Occluding Contours, and Fusion," *Psychological Review*, vol. 101, no. 3 (July 1994), 414-445; Izumi Ohzawa, Gregory C. DeAngelis, and Ralph D. Freeman, "Stereoscopic Depth Discrimination in the Visual Cortex: Neurons Ideally Suited as Disparity Detectors," *Science Weekly*, vol. 249 (31 Aug., 1990), 1037-1041.

[11] Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, "A Subject Guide to Stereographs," 145-196. For cites to the above mentioned: 18-19, 147, 151-53.

[12] See chapter two, fig. 12.

[13] The views accompanying this text are slightly reduced in size to accommodate page requirements. Fusion is not in any way hampered by this.

[14] To free view, place the image under even illumination and square to the body as previously described. Then, at a comfortable reading distance, hold the card, and cross the eyes. A third image will appear between the pair, sometimes a little above it. The image in the center is the fused, third dimension view. While crossing the eyes may seem uncomfortable at first, no harm is done to the vision, and, after some practice, the viewer is able to relax the focus of the eyes and hold the view for some time in 3D. The eyes in this method are actually focused on infinity, and thus in the most relaxed position.

[15] Anderson and Nakayama; Ohzawa, et. al.

[16] Helmholtz explains that we are not accustomed to observing our own sensations, but, rather, disregard these as of "no importance to the apprehension of external objects." Herman Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz, *Helmholtz's Treatise on Physiological Optics*, Ed. by James P. C. Southall, Vol. III (New York: Dover, 1962), 6.

[17] In the fused view, the eyes are actually focused on infinity and therefore at their most relaxed. One can become sensitive to this physical relaxation of focus and hold the view for a long interval, experiencing a feeling of deep sinking into the space.

[18] Katherine Mary DiGuilio has studied British narrative photography and its quest to imitate the theory and iconography of painting: "Narrative Photography Exhibited in Britain, 1855-1863," Vol. 1 (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis, 1986). Also of note are two studies on the composite narrative photographer, Oscar Gustave Rejlander: Stephanie Spencer, *O. G. Rejlander: Photography as Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985); Edgar Yoxell Jones, *Father of Art Photography, O. G. Rejlander, 1813-1875* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1973).

[19] The photograph's "message without a code," to borrow from Roland Barthes, is real-enough-seeming to pass, more often than not, for credibility. That real objects reflected light to record the photographic image is sufficient enough realism. Still a method of proof, even in the digital age, the photograph is our psychic reality and visual "nature," constructed, manipulated, semiological, and ideological as it may be. Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Message," in Vicki Goldberg, *Photography in Print: Writings from 1816 to the Present* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 521-533. Allan Sekula has argued against Barthes' theories, asserting that no denoted understanding is possible; all of the photograph belongs to discourse; all is connoted. The function of photography is to "render transparent" these meanings. Sekula, "On the Invention of Photographic Meaning," Victor Burgin, Ed., *Thinking Photographically* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 84-109. Whether one calls this functioning "transparency," the "denoted," or "the message without a code," the factor of seeming reality, or acute verisimilitude, is the fundamental of photography.

[20] Research is once again turning to the importance of stereography to the careers of many nineteenth-century photographers. One example is Douglas Nickel, *Carleton E. Watkins: The Art of Perception* (San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1999). In Yosemite, for instance, Watkins practiced large plate photography in the early morning, and stereography in the afternoons. It was the latter on which he mainly depended for financial solvency. See, also, Peter B. Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape* (Phila.: Temple University Press, 1988), 124-26. Stereoviews represented the bulk of Jackson's production.

[21] See Richard Whelan, *Alfred Steiglitz: A Biography* (Boston: Little Brown, 1995); Alfred Steiglitz, *Camera Work: The Complete Illustrations* (Cologne: Taschen, 1997). Jane Calhoun Weaver, *Sadakichi Hartmann: Critical Modernist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Hartmann was an important critic of the Steiglitz circle and early modernist photography. Regarding Steiglitz, who was at the forefront of this divide, Michele Bogart has written: "He [Steiglitz] sought to make opposition to 'professional' photography one of the basic operating premises of pictorial

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photography, and was reasonably successful in theory, if not always in practice. The differences here were partly class-related, representing the interests of leisured pictorialists versus middle and working-class photographers. To a lesser extent, the differences reflected an antagonism between metropolitan and provincials." *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 174-75.

[22] Robert Taft, *Photography and the American Scene: A Social History, 1839-1889* (New York: Macmillian, 1938; reprint: New York: Dover Books, 1964). See Chapter Ten, "The Stereoscope," 167-185.

[23] Ibid, 185.

[24] Herbert McKay, *Three-Dimensional Photography: Principles of Stereoscopy* (New York, NY: Herbert McKay, 1953), 91. Lorraine Dexter, "American Collections of Stereoscopic Photographs," *Eye to Eye: Bulletin of the Graphic History Society of America*, no. 5 (June 1954): 5.

[25] Beaumont Newhall was the first Curator of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art, in New York, 1937-1940.

[26] Beaumont Newhall, *Photography, 1839-1937* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1937). The text and illustrations were reprinted the following year as *Photography: A Short Critical History* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1938). In 1949, Newhall published *The History of Photography from 1839 to the Present Day* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art), which in many editions since has become a canon-defining text.

[27] Taft, 486-497, n, 341.

[28] "From the historian's point of view the subject is more important than the artistic qualities displayed in its delineation and in recording the subject as it is—or was—the photograph has the advantage over any graphic art." Ibid, 314.

[29] Ben Kilburn, *Echo Lake and Mt. Lafayette, Franconia Notch, New Hampshire*, 1874. Ibid.

[30] Ibid, 496.

[31] By consumerist-modernist, I mean a specifically American brand of modernism by which "art" is separated from commercial and other applications and is re-packaged according to the marketing and self-promotional directives of art institutions. For an example, See Abigail Solomon-Godeau, "Cannon Fodder: Authoring Eugene Atget, in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 28-51.

[32] The thrust of this thinking runs through Solomon-Godeau's essays in *Photography at the Dock*. In this type of critique, she is not alone, as it is a dominant theme of deconstructionist, post-modern criticism. The message runs through a significant body of critical literature on photography. For the sake of brevity, I direct the reader to a few representatives: Christopher Phillips, "The Judgment Seat of Photography," in *The Contest of Meaning*, ed. Richard Bolton (Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1993), 15-17; Douglas Crimp, "The Museum's Old/The Library's New Subject," in *The Contest of Meaning*, 3-14; Victor Burgin, "Photography, Phantasy, Function," in *Thinking Photography*, ed. Victor Burgin (New York: Macmillan, 1982), Part V, 208-212. The "fall guy" in much of this criticism is John Szarkowski, former Curator of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art, and his program of formalist photography. The situation of the modernist canon as promulgated by The Museum of Modern Art and Mr. Szarkowski's choices, is, however, a much broader issue often targeted in the criticism upon this particular institution and man. Hal Foster examines the concept of modernist "purity" [of the medium and form in American modernism]: "Purity" abets a division of labor within culture which, as a result, comes to partake of both the special professionalism of the academy and the commercial commodity-production of industry. It also affirms the idea of art as its own issue, engendered from a special history; and this is indeed how art history is institutionally presented: as a line of works, a lineage of artists, in the historicist terms (*post hoc, ergo propter hoc*) of influence and continuity. "Re: Post," in *Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation*, ed. Brian Wallis (New York and Boston: The New Museum of Contemporary Art and David R. Godine, 1984), 189-202.

[33] Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 528. Art photos use the coded, connoted message to signify themselves as art, or to complicate the signifieds of their connoted message.

[34] Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 229.

[35] Levine.

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[36] Clement Greenberg, "Avant Garde and Kitsch"(1939), in *Art and Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961): 3-21.
[37] Representatives from this generational response include but are certainly not limited to the following critics. Rosalind Krauss notes that the Greenbergian denial of method to art criticism—art as a "universal," "unbreachable, seamless continuity" met by its sympathetic like in the critic—stands in contradiction to "practically everything" in her volume of essays, *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* Cambridge (MA: The MIT Press, 1986), 1-2. Victor Burgin, "Photography, Phantasy, Function," links Greenbergian criticism to the establishment of the modernist and photography canon and critiques the internal inconsistency between Greenberg's positing of narrative for success in photography and his denial of it as well as suppression of the relevance of subject matter for painting. Martha Rosler deconstructs Greenberg's reliance on subjective taste, in the tradition of Kant, asserting that it represents "the impossibility of a sense of responsibility to any audience." "Lookers, Buyers, Dealers," in *Art After Modernism Rethinking Representation*, ed. Brian Wallis (New York and Boston: The New Museum of Contemporary Art and David R. Godine, 1984), 318-321. For an appreciative, nuanced meta-criticism on Greenberg, see Donald B. Kuspit, *Clement Greenberg, Art Critic* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1977).
[38] Ibid, 5-7.
[39] Popular art, once it becomes esoteric, is revalued "when it becomes or is rendered inaccessible to the types of people who appreciated it earlier." Levine, 233. By these terms, the revaluation is a cynical task, or another form of elitism, masked. This dynamic, which certainly plays a part of the validation of antiques, becomes complicated when we bring gender into consideration. The simple bifurcation of high culture versus low, then, is no longer sufficient to understand exclusions. From a stand point of women's culture, it is necessary to look seriously at the popular or low art of the past, for this is precisely the sort of art to which women had access. It is not simply a matter of elite versus common and finding new ways through historicism to redefine the elite. For women, the task may be, rather, of finding the communication that was allowed to our predecessors. Whether we repopularize this past art is beside the point.
[40] "The art in photography is literary art before it is anything else...The photograph has to tell a story if it is to work as art. And it is in choosing and accosting his story, or subject, that the artist-photographer makes the decisions crucial to his art." Clement Greenberg, "Four Photographers," *New York Review of Books*, 23 January, 1964.
[41] John Szarkowski, *The Photographer's Eye* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1964), n. pag. See Bergin, 211, for a critique. Szarkowski associated the narrative with symbolic meaning, antipodal to his position of the self-sufficiency of the photograph. See Christopher Phillips, 37.
[42] To be fair to Greenberg, here, I must add that the essay from which I have drawn, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," was written in 1939, on the cusp of World War II, when fascist art was the state-enforced style in Germany, and great works by European, modernist artists had been banned and destroyed, along with some of the people who made and supported them. Greenberg's "kitsch" takes on the light of opposition to fascist "art of the people," which was state propaganda of questionable popularity. The over-tone of protest in this social context has had, however, a far more generalized and deleterious effect as it rippled outward in influence beyond its original resistance to fascism. See Stephanie Barron, ed., *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles and New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and H. N. Abrams, 1991).

[43] Beaumont Newhall, "Looking Back at Stereo," in William D. Morgan and Henry M. Lester, Eds., *The Stereo Realist Manual* (New York and London: Morgan and Lester, the Fountain Press, 1954), 375-394.
[44] Beaumont Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 5th ed. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), 115.
[45] John S. Waldsmith claims that the early stereo photographers called themselves artists: *Stereoviews: An Illustrated History and Price Guide* (Radnor, PA: Wallace-Homestead Book Co., 1991), 4. See also Dennis Pellerin and Pierre Tavlitzski, "The English Colors of James Elliott," *Stereo World*, vol. 20, no 1(2001), 28-29; and Nickel, 24.
[46] Newhall, *The History of Photography*, 115. Also, Craig Annan, *The Amateur Photographer*, vol. 15 (1892), 328.

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[47] Newhall, ibid. These false and dismissive remarks are, interestingly, absent from the 4th edition of Newhall's *History of Photography*, 1964. In that edition, the text on stereography comprises approximately two pages—72, 74, plus numerous illustrations. The textual information, though scant for the significance of the medium, is not incorrect. Newhall, however, promotes the falsification of the medium with reproductions of half stereoviews. Between the 4th and 5th editions, 1964 to 1982, a significant shift has occurred. Stereography, never privileged by Newhall, now has come with a disclaimer: not art but information record. The author takes pains to create a definition that is simply, to anyone with even cursory knowledge, biased beyond repair.

[48] For criticism regarding the early art movement in photography, see, Alan Trachtenberg's "Camera Work, Social Work," in *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989): 164-230.; also, Abigail Solomon–Godeau, "Photography After Art Photography," in *Photography at the Dock: Essays on Photographic History, Institutions and Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 107-114.

[49] Colin Westerbeck claimed that "the excessive realism" of the stereograph "made it more difficult for the photographer to insinuate himself in the making of an image." "Points of View: The Stereograph in America and American Stereographs, A Selection from Private Collections," Review, Grey Art Gallery, *Artforum*, vol. 19, no. 2 (October, 1980), 76-78.

[50] There are many to reference for criticism of the modernist canon in photography. Solomon-Godeau's essays in *Photography at the Dock*...are, I find, among the inciteful.

[51] The separation of the artist from the general populace and the cultivation of an elite status for his talents, biography, as well as the use of personal material in the primary process of art, were fundamental to the appreciation of the work in the Romantic era. See M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953).

[52] The New Woman was a creature hybrid from signs of what men feared that the female sex was becoming: pants-wearing, dominatrixes indifferent to their families, wanting only to read, smoke, lecture, and gad-about on bicycles. The term came into use in the 1870s and 1880s to describe a bold and anti-conventional type of heroine in novels. A. R. Cunningham, "The 'New Woman' Fiction of the 1890s," *Victorian Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2 (December 1973), 177-186; Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader, 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 219-315; Linda Dowling, "The Decadent and the New Woman in the 1890s," *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, vol. 33 (1979), 434-452.

[53] Underwood and Underwood file negative, x7073, from the Keystone Mast Collection. It is uncertain whether this view was published.

[54] Darrah, *World of Stereographs*, 7.

[55] Stereocameras were hand held and rarely had focusing cloths. I mention this cloth to indicate the sign of the nineteenth-century photographer, with his implied showman-like magic and association with the slight-of-hand of the artist.

[56] Stereography was established in the lenticular model view in Britain and France in 1851, and presented at the Crystal Palace exhibition of that year. Paul Wing, *Stereoscopes: The First One Hundred Years* (Nasua, NH: Transition Publishing, 1996). Swiftly imported to the U.S., production in this country followed, concentrating upon topographic scenes, and the Civil War.
Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 21-22: American production begins as early as 1854 with the Langenheim Brothers, of Philadelphia. D. Appleton Brothers, of New York, were importing foreign views for sale since 1853, while they began to photograph their own in 1856. See, also, Marcus Aurelius Root on the Appleton Brothers, in *The Camera and the Pencil or the Heliographic Art.* New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1864; reprint, Pawlet, VT: Helios, 1971.

[57] Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 36-42, 57: British dates. For the French, see Denis Pellerin, "The Origins and Development of Stereoscopy," in *Paris in 3D* (Musée Carnavalet, 2000), 43-48.

[58] See T. K. Treadwell, *Stolen Stereoviews.* Bryan, TX: The Institute for Photographic Research, 2001.

[59] Ibid; also, Pellerin, *La Photographie Stéréoscopic sous le Second Empire* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1995), 36.

[60] For short histories of European publishing, including the German production, see Darrah *The World of Stereographs*, 57-60, 121-125.

[61] In addition to Michele Bogart's study, see Carol Armstrong, "Photographed and Described: Traveling in the Footsteps of Francis Frith," In *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875* (Cambridge, MA: the MIT Press, 1998): 277-359.

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[62] See Roland Barthes, "The Rhetoric of the Image," in Alan Trachtenberg, Ed., *Classic Essays on* Photography (New Haven, CT: Leete's Island Books, 1980), 278-279. The connoted of a photo is "read," while the denoted naturalizes and "innocents" the signs.
[63] For visual-textual analysis that has served as a model for my thinking, see Armstrong.
[64] George Potoniée's *The History of the Discovery of Photography*, trans. Edward Epstean (New York: Tenant and Ward, 1936), 240-244.
[65] Rosalind E. Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1986), 131-150.
[66] Ibid, 134. Her term for what defines the art object in modernist typology is worth quoting: "this constitution of the world of art as a representation of its own space of exhibition is in fact what we know as the history of modernism." Ibid, 133.
[67] See Loke for a history of Keystone's management.
[68] M. H. Abrams has called this a "pragmaticist theory," which serves the demands of an audience, , and for which rules prevail, as opposed to the "expressive theory" of Romanticism, which can ultimately serve an audience of one—the artist: 17, 25.
[69] See Nickel on Carleton E. Watkins for an example of this sort of marketing. For the readability of narrative painting, see Melvin Waldfogel, "Narrative Painting," in Josef L. Altholtz, Ed., *The Mind and Art of Victorian England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 159-174; Richard Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 271-278; E.D. H. Johnson, *Paintings of the British Social Scene from Hogarth to* Sickert (New York: Rizzoli, 1986). Helene E. Roberts, "Exhibition and Review: the Periodical Press and the Victorian Art Exhibition System," in T*he Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolf (Leicester University Press and University of Toronto Press, 1982): 80. Mark Bills, *Art in the Age of Queen Victoria* (Bournemouth: Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, and Lund Humphries, 2001), 26-27.
[70] Mary Panzer, *Romantic Origins of American Realism: Photography, Arts and Letters in Philadelphia, 1850-1875.* (Ph.D. diss, Boston University, 1990).
[71] Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," 138.
[72] "...eye movements performed when stereoscopic pictures are viewed are similar to those performed in observing a real object. As the gaze is transferred from one object to another the eyes perform conjugate movements directed to the subjectively most important regions, and at the same time coordinated convergence movements take place." N. A. Valyus, *Stereoscopy* (London and New York: The Focal Press, 1966), 51.
[73] See McKay for an explanation of this separation, 54.
[74] Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces," 137-38.
[75] Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*: *On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990).
[76] Jib Fowles in an essay that does not depart significantly from Crary's ideas, echoes this: "Stereography and the Standardization of Vision," *Journal of American Culture*, vol. 17 (Summer 1994), 89-93.
[77] In his work on the nascences of photography, Geoffrey Batchen discusses Crary's method: *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1997), 82-84, and "Rethinking Photography," 200-202.
[78] Crary, 124.
[79] For stereoscopic images: "The brain calculates the relative depths of a small number of reference points on each image and constructs a three-dimensional representation in which these reference points are positioned in depth in accordance with the result of the calculations. At first, the rest of what is perceived in three dimensions is most probably inferred from the usual monocular indicators, but little by little the relief that is calculated using stereoscopy gradually adds detail to—and corrects if needed—the relief obtained by other methods...If the viewer lacks skill, three dimensions will form in specific areas only and will dissolve as the eye moves, while the more skillful viewer will create a complete three-dimensional interpretation in which the acquired elements gradually come together in a harmonious way." Jacques Ninio, "Three Dimensional Perception," *Paris in 3D* (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 2000), 17-21.
[80] Crary, 124, 126.

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[81]Dalzell reports that in 1850 all the members of the Physical Section of the Acadèmie des Sciences of France were physically or psychically defective in stereoscopic vision, and the first presentation of the stereoscope by the Abbé Moigno narrowly escaped condemnation. J. Moir Dalzell, *Practical Stereoscopic Photography*, 1936 (London: The Technical Press, 1953), 10.

[82] These echo the sentiments of Charles Baudelaire's oft-quoted, "The Salon of 1859," in *Photography in Print*, ed., Vicki Goldberg (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981): 123-26.

[83] Crary, 132.

[84] Ibid, 131. Baudelaire, 124.

[85] "...characteristic of Romantic poetry is an interaction, the joint effect of inner and outer, mind and object, passion and the perceptions of sense." Abrams, 51.

[86] Baudelaire, 124.

[87] Crary, 131.

[88] Darrah, 20. One text reproduces a nude woman from an American stereoview, dated 1903: Edward E. Earle, Ed., *Points of View: The Stereograph in America—A Cultural History* (Rochester: The Visual Studies Workshop, 1979), 73.

[89] See Denis Pellerin, "File BB3 and the Erotic Image in the Second Empire," *Paris in 3D,, 91-95*; and Elizabeth Anne McCauley, "Braquehais and the Photographic Nude," Chap. 4, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

[90] Katherine DiGiulio, "The Representation of Women in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Narrative Stereographs," in *Ideas About Images: Essays on Film and Photography by Fanny Knapp Allen Fellows, Art and Art History Department, the University of Rochester* (Rochester, NY: The George Eastman House, 1990): 1-15.

[91] Shirley Wajda, "A Room with a Viewer: The Parlor Stereoscope, Comic Stereographs, and the Psychic Role of Play in Victorian America," in Kathryn Grover, Ed., *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940* (Rochester, NY: The Strong Museum, 1992), 112-138.

[92] Ibid, 134.

[93] Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930* (Washington and London: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988). Grier reads the Victorian parlor as a form of theater and the centerpiece of self-presentation in an age of sentiment. Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1930-1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982) studies the transition in American culture from the cult of sincerity to a self-conscious theatricality.

[94] Wajda, 123, 130, 132.

[95] For the use of sadomasochistic depiction as a form of patriarchal punishment and as a device for making available the erotic image of the male body, see Melody Davis, *The Male Nude in Contemporary Photography* (Phila.: Temple University Press, 1991), 10-16.

[96] The role of nurse is traditionally devoted to the female sex in the nineteenth century. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 2, Part I (Summer 1969), 163.

[97] Harold F. Jenkins, *Two Points of View: The History of the Parlor Stereoscope* (Elmira, NY: World in Color Productions, 1957).

[98] Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*; and *Stereoviews*..

[99] William Culp Darrah and Richard Russack, *An Album of Stereographs: Or, Our Country Victorious and Now a Happy Home* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977).

[100] Treadwell died in 2003, and his vast collection is currently being auctioned on-line by the Canadian firm of John Saddy. "A Tex Memorial: T. K. Treadwell, 1920-2003," *Stereo World*, vol. 29, no 4 (Summer, 2003), 4-9.

[101] The following texts by Treadwell are available: *The Stereoviews of F. G. Weller and Related Companies*, 1992; *English Masters of Genre Stereoviews*, 2002; *The Genre Stereoviews of Melander and Brother*, reprint of trade catalogue, 2000. *Stolen Stereoviews*, 2001. A list of other articles and titles may be obtained from the National Stereographic Association's Oliver Wendell Holmes Library, Cleveland, OH.

[102] T. R. Treadwell and William C. Darrah, *Stereographers of the World* (Bryan, TX: National Stereoscopic Association, 1994) [database on diskette]; available from the National Stereoscopic Association, Cleveland, OH and the Institute for Photographic Research, Bryan, TX.

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[103] Mr. Darrah bequeathed 25,000 of his stereoviews to the University of Georgia (Athens). The remainder of his collection of over 110,000 stereoviews was auctioned in 1979 at the Hastings Gallery, New York. Many of them became part of the T. K. Treadwell collection.
[104] The George Eastman House has placed selections from its stereography collection on-line at www.geh.org. This is by far the best site I have seen, with thumbnails enlargeable to steroptical size. Selections from the New York Public Library's Robert Dennis collection are on view on-line at: www.nypl.org. The Library of Congress has an eclectic mix of 500 stereographs viewable on-line, though, regrettably, the images are miniscule: http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin. The Smithsonian Institution's Archives Center at the National Museum of American History has hundreds of items from the Underwood and Underwood collection viewable on-line at: www.siris.si.edu, though I have not been able to access the narrative views from their browse images through subjects option. Only the views of historical and topographical interest appeared this way.
[105] Waldsmith. Russell Norton, *Stereoviews Illustrated* (New Haven, CT: Stereoviews Illustrated Press, 1994); and Paul Wing, *Stereoscopes: The First One Hundred Years.*
[106] McShane; Southall. Shoala Lynch, "The Coon Series Stereographs and the H.C. White Company: Stereotypes, 'Facts,' and Perceptions," (M.A. Thesis, Riverside: The University of California, 1995).
[107] Earle, Ed., *Points of View..*
[108] George E. Hamilton, *Oliver Wendell Holmes: His Pioneer Stereoscope and the Later Industry.* New York: San Francisco, and Montreal: The Newcomen Society in North America, 1949. This text was a written version of a lecture he gave at the Newcomen Society.
[109] Brey, "Ten Million Stereo Views a Year."
[110] Robert J. Silverman, "The Stereoscope and Photographic Depiction in the Nineteenth Century," *Technology and Culture*, vol. 34, no 4 (October, 1993), 729-756. Miles Orvell, "Almost Nature: The Typology of Late Nineteenth-Century American Photography," in Daniel P. Young, Ed., *Multiple Views: Logan Grant Essays on Photography, 1983-1989* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 139-167.
[111] John Jones, *Wonders of the Stereoscope* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976). H. A. James, *The Price Guide to Photographic Cards* (London: Brishopsgate Press, 1982).
[112] *Paris in 3D* (Paris: Musée Carnavalet, 2000): a superb picture anthology with informed essays by Francoise Reynaud, Catherine Tambrun and Kim Timby; Jacques Ninio; Anne McCauley; Michel Frizot; and Denis Pellerin. See also: Denis Pellerin, *La Photographie Stéréoscopic sous le Second Empire* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1995). The scholarship of Pellerin and Tavlitski has been published frequently as a column in *Stereo World.* Yvan Christ, *"Le Temps Des Crinoline à Tavers Les Vue Stéréoscopiques," Jardin Des Arts*, 91 (June 1962): 23-29.
[113] Nicholas J. Wade, *Brewster and Wheatstone on Vision* (London, New York: Academic Press and the Experimental Psychology Society, 1983). Sir David Brewster, *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory and Construction* (London: John Camden, 1870); Bela Julesz, *Foundations of Cyclopean Perception* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, with Bell Laboratories, 1971). Helmholtz; Valyrus.
[114] Keystone issued this title in 1896 and 1898. Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood issued it in 1895 and 1897 (Strohmeyer and Wyman's stock was reprinted and distributed by the Underwood Brothers). Underwood and Underwood published their own version in 1896. Griffith and Griffith published it a title in 1903, and an unidentified firm published another version.
[115] See: Carol Ockman, *Ingres' Eroticized Bodies: Retracing the Serpentine Line* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Sheila Ffolliott, "Catherine de Medici as Artemisia: Figuring the Powerful Widow," in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, Margaret Ferguson, Ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 227-241; Nadia Tscherny, "An Un-Married Woman: Mary Edwards, William Hogarth, and a Case of Eighteenth Century British Patronage," in *The Other Hogarth: The Aesthetics of Difference*, eds. Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal, eds. (Princeton University Press, 2001), 212-223.
[116] Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: the Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), xvi.
[117] Narrative paragraphs were used in particular in the lithograph series of T.W. Ingersoll, beginning in 1898, and the most of the Sears series.
[118] Welter, 174.

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[119] Carol Smith Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," *Signs*, vol. 1 (Autumn, 1975), 1-29.
[120] Augusta Evans' *St. Elmo* was published in 1867 and became a blockbuster hit (reprint; New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1960), while Susan Warner's *Wide, Wide World* of 1851 was one of the best-selling books of the nineteenth century (reprint; New York: The Feminist Press of the City University of New York, 1987.)
[121] Sally Mitchell, "Sentiment and Suffering: Women's Recreational Reading in the 1860s," *Victorian Studies*, vol. 21 (1977), 29-45.
[122] Nina Baym, *Women's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and About Women in America*, 1820-1879 (second printing: Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
[123] Tompkins, 124.
[124] Nina Baym, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984). Flint, *The Woman Reader....* Baym's study concentrates on contemporaneous reviews of literature, while Flint's focus is a meta-criticism of reader response theory, analyzing both contemporary critics and those of the study's time period.
[125] James L. Machor, "Historical Hermeneutics and Antebellum Fiction: Gender, Response Theory, and Interpretive Contexts," In *Readers in History: Nineteenth Century American Literature and the Contexts of Response* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993): 54-84.
[126] Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 75, no 1 (June 1988): 9-39.
[127] Grier; Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s-1910s* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996). See, especially, chapter four, "Reframing the Bicycle: Magazines and Scorching Women," 106-134; Ellen K. Rothman, *Intimate Acquaintance: Courtship and the Transition to Marriage in America, 1770-1900* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1980); Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth* Century (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984); Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).
[128] Michael Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre* (New York, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981); John Fell, *Film and the Narrative Tradition* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974); Nicholas Vardac, *Stage to Screen: Theatrical Methods from Garrick to Griffith* (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1968). Mark Bills, *Art in the Age of Queen Victoria* (Bournemouth: Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, and Lund Humphries, 2001.) Rodney K. Engen, *Victorian Engravings.* (London: Academy Editions, 1975.) Roberts, Helene E. "Exhibition and Review: the Periodical Press and the Victorian Art Exhibition System," in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolf, 79-107 (Leicester University Press and University of Toronto Press, 1982).
[129] Abrams.
[130] Henri Bergson, *Laughter: an Essay on the Meaning of the Comic (Le Rire)*, Cloudesley Brereton, Trans. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928); Sigmund Freud, "Jokes and The Species of the Comic" (1905), S.E. vol. 8, 181-236; Freud, "Humor" (1927), S.E. vol. 21, 160-166; Mary Douglas, "Jokes," in *Selected Essays in Anthropology* (second edition, London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 148-164; Nancy Walker, *A Very Serious Thing: Women's Humor and American* Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); Barry Sanders, *Sudden Glory: Laughter as Subversive History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

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Chapter Two

The Type and Space of Stereography Part I:

Unity as a Function of Difference

More than simply a realistic and convincing medium, stereography became, for writers in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a means for a feeling of physical presence and an extension of the viewer's body. The optical instrument and view seemed to disappear, becoming entirely transparent, so that the scope became the eyes, and the view became nature itself.[1] In one testimony after another, writers have substituted the stereoview for experience, its vision for reality, and marveled that the medium could transport them, bodily it seemed, to the very place or situation their eyes beheld. The stereograph, when it was not likened to magic, was considered a surrogate reality, from its exaltation in the popular press as "the exact image of all that is physically remarkable...at least at much as can be appreciated by the sense of vision,"[2] to the testimony of the renowned scientist of physiological optics, Herman von Helmholtz:

> These stereoscopic photographs are so true to nature and so life-like in their portrayals of material things, that after viewing such a picture and recognizing in it some object like a house...we get the impression, when we actually do see this object, that we have already seen it before and are more or less familiar with it.[3]

Hyperbole expanded the sensation, publishers with an interest, as one might figure, taking this "to the dozens." Here are but a few examples:

> We are selling you the experience of seeing the place itself.[4]
> ...we have only the plain unvarnished truth: the actual is absolutely before us...[5]

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> ...the stereoview brings the original scene directly before us in a way that seems almost like magic...[6]
> ...as...if he were carried unconsciously to the place and permitted to look at it...while this state of consciousness lasts, it can truly be said that the person is in the place seen.[7]
> ...arousing states of consciousness...produced when one is in the actual presence of those scenes or objects.[8]
> Nature as it is.[9]

Whether the source is the promotion of a publisher, a scientific treatise, or an article for periodic literature, prose describing the stereoscope and view almost always contains one or more of the following terms: "nature," "windows," "truth," "perfect realization," "facts," "actual sight," "experience," even the "soul."[10] A substitute for presence, the stereoscope was assumed equivalent to the eyes, while the stereograph seized an unmediated nature, feeding it directly to the consciousness, so that the viewer found himself, in a proto-science-fiction style transport, mentally "there." Contemporary historian Robert Silverman has suggested that the stereoscope was the "mechanical analogue for the nineteenth-century mind."[11]

In most nineteenth and early twentieth-century writings on stereography is an unexamined emphasis on consciousness and mental constructs. We see three layers of transparency—the assumption that nature can be had in a glimpse, or look, the assumption that cameras can seize it in their short exposure time, and the assumption that, fed binocularly to the stereoscopic sensors within the cranium, the image can jump a body to the spot for first-hand experience. The presumption is that nature-camera-stereoscope form a unity that can "down-load" straight into the mind. The notion of camera-brain equivalency, in fact, is still among us with the term "photographic memory," as it was in the nineteenth century with examples of memory and impression likened to a photographic plate.[12] The photograph and stereograph were assumed to be of the very same stuff as mental processes and, with the latter's addition of 3D, thus were thought capable of transporting consciousness, lending worlds and situations without the bother of actually witnessing them. The experience of the stereograph—and I wish to see it both in the terms

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of its nineteenth-century viewers, accepting on one level all these levels of transparency, and also in terms of contemporary criticism--is the missing link between the photograph's testimony of "it was" and cinema's "being there."[13] The history of early cinema is not so much a development from the technology of photography, as it is a natural extension of stereographic practice.[14]

Like three panes which seem to be glass but are processes of mediation, the nature-camera-stereoscope offers a view in which is sandwiched the inducement to forget body and self, an assumed position of floating, ocular witness, a disembodied eye, God-like. Like the complete absorption offered by cinema, the stereograph recreates an environment, not through the motion of camera, actor, or cutting, but through a stimulation of depth cues whose fusion occurs deep within the viewer's mind in the posteriorly-located visual cortex.[15] A developed or learned skill, which newborns do not possess, the brain's comparison of depth cues in the construction of volume occurs automatically on a neurological level.[16] The nineteenth-century authors' emphasis on consciousness was descriptive not only of a sense of being "swept away," with the aid of the scope's hood or lid blocking the present environment, but also of the real site of stereoscopic sight—the mind. The stereographic view takes us out of ourselves and surroundings, while the stereoscope itself reveals that all is simply at home in the head.

This split of the stereograph between a sense of transport and the consciousness of our manipulation by methods that we cannot visually observe, insists that such reality, and by inference perhaps all reality, is unobservable, located—if anywhere—within perception. The viewer can lose all consciousness of him or herself as a perceiver, only to waken to the vehicle of such transport resting in the hand, recognizing that stereopsis has taken place, yet unable to comprehend from the visual information alone how this occurs. The nerve thread of the stereograph is revealed: we are witness to a created experience that substitutes for the real, yet cannot be any more real than the unobservable and automatic

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actions that must only be the brain's. It further suggests that pictures or glimpses are the manner we have come to know this real, its partial information selected by vantage point, split, pasted together and mentally reassembled below the consciousness. In what follows, I will examine this double or twain nature of stereography for how it, when reassembled within the unconscious processes of the brain, informs a consciousness of nature. From the general comments just presented on stereography's "truth to nature," I will move to a more sophisticated, contemporaneous response to the medium in two essays by Oliver Wendell Holmes. Adopting a biographist theme, Holmes imagines the body and consciousness constructed within the medium, then leaps into a metaphysical stereographic future of pure cognition that strikes an uncannily prescient note for future studies in stereopsis. I will then incorporate a brief history of the science of stereoptical vision and the early stereoscopes in order to examine the dialectic that appeared from their inception between theories of the empirical nature of space and those that regarded depth perception as a constructed, mental property. What appears to be an objective, volumetric unity is an unconscious, neurological dialectic of difference within the perceiver. When we look at the topic of gender in stereography, an echo of this dialectic appears. Conceptions of gender appear to be empirically grounded, finding a physical location in stereographic depiction. Yet, they are, within the stereoscope, presences that have been selected and subconsciously fused within the automatic and subconscious binocular-stereoptical process, which forms a replicatory, volumetric unity. We have in stereography an analogue to gender's process of separating human qualities in mental construction dependent upon bifurcation and automatic comparison and its fusion of these into an image that doubles or replicates the natural.

A dualism is also apparent in methods of looking at historical stereographs. One manner sees the medium as constructed by coded fields, determined by subject, class, or file, and another recognizes in the view a cognitive space, an extension of consciousness, and a

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permission to exchange for a moment an awareness of physical and psychic limitation for a borrowed sensation of presence. It is obviously easier to talk about the first than the second, the latter lending itself less to description than poetry. Risking the danger of waxing metaphorical, I will speak of this hovering, borrowed, a-coded, evoked "consciousness," since that is, more than anything, the stereograph's appeal. Hinging meaning to space, I will also discuss the types, for they carry the story line within the space. The word "type" in this chapter will be linked to the legible sign—convention, code, or symbol, in short, all that can be visually "read" in a one-to-one correspondence. Space is that which holds it, and which we stereoptically enter, through which we move, project, and vicariously assume position. Type also carries the nuance, strongly cultivated in Victorian times, of a picture language through which the viewer synthesizes both artificial and realist elements in order to assume a subject position as an interpreter and member of his/her society in a culture highly integrated with visual "text." Type and space are thus complementary, the first offering an empirical grounding for objective vision, the second environmentalizing this vision and extending it to subjective construction.

In Oliver Wendell Holmes' prose, the stereograph functioned by type, but it also fully depicted space, inducing the author to project into it his vicarious experience. Inventor of the most popular style of stereoscope and coiner of the term *stereograph*, Holmes was physician by trade, as well as a regular contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly*. In a pair of mid-century essays, which are worth noting in some detail, Holmes takes the reader through stereographic experience and builds a metaphor for the development of man through the device. More than offering a surrogate consciousness, the device is a process of physical and intellectual development for a new kind of man. In the first essay of this pair, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," of 1859, Holmes positions himself as an unabashed advocate of stereo, weaving a metaphor of biographical development from the collective, undeveloped body to his individual one, then forward to a place of pure cognition and an

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acculturated, stereoscopic future. Extending the experience of viewing to the progress of self and society, Holmes engages in imaginative and vicarious wanderings in the space of the stereograph. Getting caught up in his own ironic and logical extremes, he hits upon the truth that type and space in unison supercede reality. His conclusions assert that cognition is the superior real, and, though stimulated by faith in the empirical, it is in the mental process that nature resides. His preternatural vision of the typological structuring of the future sounds remarkably similar to our situation today with virtual reality in the digital age.

Holmes begins the essay with a classical reference prescient to photography—an idea of Democritus' wherein reflection is but a film or image shed from beings, which strikes the *consciousness* [my emphasis] behind the eye.[17] After a brief evocative description of photography and daguerreotypy, containing the famous phrase "the mirror with a memory," the author continues with an introduction to stereography.[18] He mentions the case of "Cheselden's patient," a man with cataracts who never saw in any degree stereoptically. This man felt all objects touched his eyes as they did his skin; this reference, part of the author's explanation of depth perception, is interesting for its association of undeveloped depth perception with tactility, as though one of the needs binocular vision satisfies is to divorce objects from one's own body and an infant-like plurality of touch within a sea of undefined sensation.[19] This is especially relevant since the remainder of Holmes' essay describes how the body, once separated from the "world," is pulled back into it via stereoscopic space, with initial fear and passivity, then with active interest. Common to writing on the medium is a passive sense of being suddenly "environmentalized" within stereoscopic space. Holmes will evoke this as well, after hinting that tactile separation comes first, followed by the developing human as he goes forward to seek a reconnection with space-body unity through the actively-sought ocular sensations of space and photographic detail.

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Holmes continues with a description of the making of a stereoscopic portrait and the mechanism of the stereoscope, with an ironic comparison: "we were just now stereographed...as if we were fugitives from justice," which makes us appear...as though we were "a *solid* man of Boston."[20] An equally guilty party is the stereographer, who has "stolen our double image."[21] The stereograph stops us from fleeing, arresting the image, stealing from us in turn—then making of us "solid" citizens, punningly respectable. "Such are the stereoscope and photograph..." he concludes the section, "by the aid of which *form* is henceforth to make itself seen through the world of intelligence"—as "the card of introduction to make all mankind acquaintances" [author's emphasis].[22] First, we witness a state without visual discrimination, but now that we have been stereographed, we are suddenly transformed from the crime of our hurried life to someone discriminating and respectable, and now can proceed *into* the stereograph, with the true calling card to society, culture, and intelligence—our "solid" image.

The transition from Cheselden's patient to the studio portrait is a little like the right of passage of the baby's first picture, or a school photo--the body transformed to craft and social norm--"form is henceforth to make itself seen through the world of intelligence." But before Holmes continues with this teasing idea, he plunges us into the second developmental stage, as we find ourselves, child-like, overwhelmed by photographic realism and stereoscopic space:

> The scraggy branches of a tree in the foreground run out at us as if they would scratch our eyes out. The elbow of a figure stands forth as to make us almost uncomfortable. Then there is such a frightful amount of detail, that we have the same sense of infinite complexity which Nature gives us. A painter shows us masses, the stereoscopic figure spares us nothing...The sun is no respecter of persons or of things.[23]

The stereograph is reaching out to grab, scratch, and threaten, not "respecting" us, as though its depicted objects were rough-housing "our" body, the collective physical. The third person plural protagonist is passive, sucked into the stereoscope's overwhelming space, no master of the objects but, rather, pulled into their environment with aggressive

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force. Stereography is threatening the collective, social body with a new knowledge of physicality, just as the development of stereopsis in a child must frighten or threaten as the blurry "world-I" separates into "I" and the many objects which could harm.

After a long, didactic section of prose, as though to send us to school, Holmes has us educated and prepared to regard these twin beasts, the photograph and stereograph. Now, the scene and tone change, and his description of the experience becomes not threatening but alluring, the emphasis shifting to the third person singular, the objects of his attention:

> There is before us a view of the Pool of David at Hebron, in which a shadowy figure appears at the water's edge, in the right-hand farther corner of the right-hand picture only. This muffled shape stealing silently into the solemn scene has already written a hundred biographies in our imagination. In the lovely glass stereograph of the Lake of Brienz, on the left-hand side, a vaguely hinted female figure stands by the margin of the fair water; on the other side of the picture she is not seen. This is life; we seem to see her come and go. All the longings, passions, experiences, possibilities of womanhood animate that gliding shadow which has flitted through our consciousness...[24]

Details can work other and contrary messages past the codings of these scenic types, space depicting objects and sensations outside the itinerary. With these, the author has begun to imaginatively fill in and respond to the environment. Rather than be pulled by scratchy fingers, he willingly enters us in the scenes. The shadowy female figures exist in only one print from each of the photograph pairs. This means that viewed stereoscopically these women will be present to one eye and not the other. If they are seen, it is because of the information in one eye completing for a moment the lack in the other. Lack of resolution in information relayed between the two eyes is called "retinal disparity." The stereoptical neurons in the visual cortex seek to resolve the differences between incompatible sets of images, so the figures, here, would be in any instance either seen or unseen. In a long term viewing, they might seem fleeting, because retinal fatigue would fade them from the view of the one eye, as the other took over in strength.[25] The figures might appear and disappear, teasingly, and perhaps that is why Holmes has us already writing "a hundred biographies in our imagination." Though cloaked by the collective tense, the veil is a thin one, and the

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author's own desire is apparent. Frustration adds fuel to such fire, and these shadowy women conform to a nineteenth-century type of eroticized poetic unavailability, fleetingness increasing their desirability.

"This is life..." the sentence is jarring. Holmes means that things, desires, and the objects of them come and go, but it is fascinating that he uses two examples of stereographic accidents—incompatible information in the image pair—as the metaphor for frustration. The singular image is posited against the coupled pair, stereoscopic frustration becoming the transference point for desire safely expressed, safe because it will always be just desire--unsatisfied. Retinal disparity, here, is the stereoptical counterpart to the allure of the unavailable and the puissance of longing. Holmes continues, then, to fill the scene with his own emotions, projected onto the visual suggestiveness of the photographs. He has willingly entered the scene, developed its suggestiveness with the fullness of his own emotion, thinly cloaking it with the collective "we," who are writing those "hundred biographies" for him. Once the environment is entered, narrative takes over, the viewer filling up the spaces and types with his own perceptions and desires.

We have a development in the essay so far from an infantile state of no stereoscopic perception, and its sea of indeterminacy, to a passage into an ironic stereoscopic respectability—because posed, crafted. Then we move towards the frightful sense of the world developing with new information and sense, leaping forward to carry the collective/social body out into space, and, at last, the collective body giving way to the allure of the singular object, especially singular as she exists for one eye only, her form unavailable to one side of the brain, as though sexual desire privileged one image over another, an emotional "retinal covering". Infant, child, young adult, the essay follows the development of a man. In the next paragraph, he will continue, as an active man, in the first person tense, in all the places of stereoscopic depiction:

> *I creep* over the vast features of Rameses...*I scale* the huge mountain-crystal...*I pace* the length of the three Titanic stones...*I dive* into some mass

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> of foliage...*I look* into the eyes of the caged tiger...*I walk* the streets of once buried cities...and leave my outward frame in the arm-chair at my table, while in spirit *I am* looking down upon Jerusalem [my emphases].[26]

Now, the man is on life's course, as the Victorians would call it. He is actively engaged with his environment, and, in fact, the environment *is* him. It cannot be otherwise, since, as stereoscopic perception, this environment is entirely mental. Witnessing and physical activity equate, and the viewer lives within the space of the depiction, his spirit sailing away from his chair to a God's-eye view of Jerusalem. From infant to infinite, Holmes has used stereography to chart the progress of an individual from the indeterminate to a transformation within the mechanism of space, one that awakens fear and desire, embarks him upon a conceptualization of the active life, and leads, finally, to a vision of the believer, *cogito* raised to spirit, a hovering consciousness.

Biographically employed by Holmes, the stereoscope provides a condensed passage of life, a new pilgrim's progress ending at the holy city with a view that emphasizes belief in mental construct only. Intensely personal, this stereoscopic journey does not reveal a process of simply apprehending objects for visual mastery; more accurately, it reveals a surrogate experience and life's course, its environments pulling the viewer along, demanding response. While the active surveying of types is easy to note in studying stereography, it is equally important to note that for Holmes, as for many of his contemporaries, stereoscopic space also represented a passive release into perception.[27] The author oscillates between descriptions of types (Ramses, tiger, Jerusalem) and his sense of environmentalization, which induces responding activity and desire.

Central to an understanding of Victorian art is an examination of this permissive tendency to typify, a task that a number of scholars have undertaken. John Reed has found that, to the Victorians, the type was not at all derogatory but a means for understanding the whole by breaking it into constituent parts. Society read itself in emblems, these

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conventions considered a form of sincere expression, more relational than objective.[28] Miles Orvell provides a concurring opinion that the type functioned metonymically, each individual example both functioning on its own terms and representing its class, such typification inherent to artistic representation, and lending itself to the grafting of idea to mimesis, an artificial real.[29] For Carol Armstrong's criticism, the type functions as an *a priori* which structures the individual examples of its class, though, according to Auguste Comte's usage, whose positivist theories she reads to and against the photo-illustrated book, the particulars induce their class without necessarily stating or committing to *a prioris*. This suggests the tautology of the photograph as evidentiary proof in the nineteenth century, whether it be in a scientific work or the tableaux of Julia Margaret Cameron: it naturalizes with a self-authenticating logic that, in Cameron's example, exposes its own underpinnings, pushing the evidence to the point of corroborating fantasy.[30]

The stereograph works quite similarly to Armstrong's conception, by taking an idea, class, or type and factualizing it with evidentiary proof to which is added a convincing sensation of eye-witness account within the scene. As such, its emblems and types become absorbed into the viewer and his or her assumptions and desires. On one level operating positivistically, the type of stereography also emphasizes the subjective nature of such functioning and, through the mechanism, reveals it as self-reflexive. It thereby throws doubt on the transparency of its "natural" code. I would like to suggest that the "type" becomes recognized as such only with time, the transition between pattern recognition and type being that between information gathering and transparent code, which, as soon as it becomes the latter, starts to reverse itself, becoming more apparent, eventually opaque. The type, then, functioning as relational emblem, metonymic part for whole, and the positivistic particular inducing classification, builds into the stereoscopic witness a "back door" for its escape into subjective fantasy. We can see the release into fantasy in Holmes'

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narration, as it moves between the activity of typing and classifying the world and the sense that space has included him within its typologies and is therefore also a process of active reformation according to the desires and life of the man *within* stereoscopic depiction.

Notable for its biographist reading upon and within the type, Holmes' essay concludes metaphorically, taking the subjective response to a socio-cultural level, a place for the author where irony reappears. Imagining the future of stereography, Holmes waxes into tongue-in-cheek rhapsody:

> Form is henceforth divorced from matter. In fact, matter as a visible object is of no great use any longer, except as the mould on which form is shaped. Give us a few negatives of a thing worth seeing, taken from different points of view, and that is all we want of it. Pull it down or burn it up, if you please...
>
> There is only one Coliseum or Pantheon; but how many millions of potential negatives have they shed...Matter in large masses must always be fixed and dear; form is cheap and transportable. We have got the fruit of creation now, and need not trouble ourselves with the core. Every conceivable object of Nature and Art will soon scale off its surface for us. Men will hunt all curious, beautiful, grand objects, as they hunt the cattle of South America, for the *skins*, and leave the carcasses as of little worth [author's emphasis].[31]

The author jests for effect—one cannot advocate dismantling the Coliseum or Pantheon, with such reckless faith in the ability of images to replace the physical. But maybe he is in small measure sincere, as the fool who hides a serious message in the extreme suggestion. From infant to spiritual man, Holmes has progressed, and now that he has mentally apprehended Jerusalem, he can move into the realm of pure spirit, or an entirely cognitive being, with no physical being at all. He has passed beyond the world of things and now lives in the world of images, virtual environments, mental constructs.

With a sadistic and ironic glee, Holmes slaughters the physical world. In fact, in "Sun Painting and Sun Sculpture, with a Stereoscopic Trip Across the Atlantic," published a few years later, he cannot help but equate the photographic image to the flaying of Marsyas.[32] He tours the world, strips it clean through imagery, then obliterates it. "The

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cream of visible creation has been skimmed off," he continues in that essay, no need to actually go any where.[33] In the conclusion of his first essay, he links Democritus' curious idea—the films of persons falling off their bodies like shed snake skins—with the "negatives" the Coliseum and Parthenon are constantly shedding. In his second essay, he substitutes for this "film" the horrible story of the satyr who challenged Apollo and was flayed alive for presuming his art of music to rival the Gods'. Stereography similarly ravages the world for Holmes, skinning and skimming it so that it exists to be seen less as a witnessed reality than as a recorded image, recreated as *cogito.* That cognition, as a conclusion to the biography, is the final and most highly evolved state of man. This represents a reverse direction to the Platonic ideal, for, though Holmes privileges the cognitive over sensation, the pictures on the cave wall win in the end. The sunlight of philosophy or the empirical real has been replaced by the photograph's sun.[34]

The bold statement, "*form* is henceforth to make itself seen through the world of intelligence," finds its logical culmination in these words from the last lines: "the divorce of form from substance."[35] Perhaps more than any other writer of his day, Holmes understood the implications of the fact that the stereograph required his completion as a viewer. Without the physical "apparatus" of binocular vision, the view does not exist, neither does any stereopsis, with or without a scope. Situated in the neurons of the visual cortex and working its way from there through to the cognitive, seducing the imagination, the stereoview makes evident that depth perception is a process, and it locates the real in just that perception. It takes the empirical truth and flays it alive, selling it like mink pelts for skins we wear.

These skins, like so many coats in a shop, whose form we try on and whose properties of identification the stereoview induces us to share, were for Holmes the new standard for the world. He advocates libraries of skins or forms, comprehensive systems of exchange, like currency paid in "solid substance," and a stereographic *metre* for determining

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distances.[36] The stereograph was to be the new world-standard for knowledge and quantification, *the* medium for museums and libraries, everything knowable pictured, and each stored stereoscopically, as a hologram or computer-generated 3D interactive system today. Virtual, supplanting the real, faith in witnessing alone would refashion a positivistic universe, in which tactility is subsumed to ocular experience, and the linguistic frames it. Stereography represented, in part, a positivist system of knowledge for the author, yet it also represented the development of intuitive response. As a system, the stereoview can function encyclopeadically, by class, as a large library; yet it also environmentalizes the viewer and requires imagination and skill. It is difficult to communicate the *effect* of nineteenth-century stereo viewing to a large assembled audience; it is experiential, for one individual at a time.[37] In this sense it is closer to prose fiction than to the single-image photograph, or its later manifestation, cinema. Its private nature marks the curious dichotomy of the medium, to which Holmes directs us without further comment. The type exists less with objective certainty than with subjective perception, its codes attached to non-coded, supra-verbal space.

As a scientist and appreciator of stereography's system of knowledge, Holmes leaned toward the type or code of knowledge, requiring the identification of fact or label. He held disdain for the group (narrative) view, feeling it to be artificial.[38] Yet, it is just this artifice that his essay reveals. Holmes crosses the threshold of understanding the image as mental construct, but, for all his ironic boasting about being able to dismantle the sights now we have their "skins," these constructs still require for him a grounding in tangible reality. His being there implies an empirical location, but this location is "a joint product of the objective and the projected," and both are key.[39]

As long as it remains the I/eye witnessed, the truth can be said to exist beyond the physical frame of the perceiver. However, considering what damage the author performs upon the observed, as well as what writerly reveries *within* views he puts forth as

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experience, his position becomes unstable. Both the flaying of objective reality and his imaginative discursive betrays the empirical. Holmes finds no value in continuing the existence of the physical once it has been apprehended ("like a fugitive from justice") and set down in the stereograph, from where it can meet its true mission as the cognitive space of imaginative wandering. The group view, however, takes that space one step farther, supplying the imagination cues from which to plot its space. Fully artificial, the group view makes little pretense to be anything other than the play-act it is. The mental construct announcing its reality as such, the group, or narrative view, is the *cogito* squared. It is also a profoundly feminine space, with female themes, crowded with sentiment. It takes its definition of gendered place into stereography's revelation of reality as construct. Thus, doubly constructed, as a mental spatiality and as a depiction of gender, the narrative view suggests that Holmes' privileging of replication for the benefit of cognition also applies for the realm of women and men, as they are defined by sex.

This syllogism of stereo's space as mental construct and stereo's space as gendered is not a leap that the nineteenth-century viewer would likely have made. Yet, the pieces are all there—in example after example of both imagery and critical text from this time period. Holmes' essay is one of the more prescient ones, where all the right observations exist for this conclusion, which we may assume belongs to a much later sensibility, one prepared to regard gender not as a natural given but in some measure as culturally propagated. Narrative stereographs and their reception in this period offer a view of the view that reveals how constructs are naturalized, and, conversely, how the natural is, in itself, information constructed by the play of difference.

Let us look at a group/narrative view of this time which would have not much interested Holmes. *The Music Lesson* (fig. 8) is a British, albumen-print, stereographic genre scene, hand-colored, from the early 1860s.[40] As there were very few American genre or narrative scenes before the late 1860s—most were imported British views—this would have

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been the sort of image for which Holmes wrote he had little regard.[41] It is a simple scene of two women engaged in examining a musical score, the left-hand woman, by her more severe dress, hair frizzing at the nape, and poised finger, suggesting a tutor. Her hand indicates the point to which she directs the attention of her more splendidly dressed pupil, the colored details of voluminous skirts and wide, ribboned collar, giving her a higher social status. The fixed gaze of the tutor, and her physical proximity to her pupil, structures the scene as private and intimate, and also quotidian—just another lesson--while her poised hand is prominently forward in space, moving into the viewer's foreground with its insistent, "just here" gesture, captured by the triangle of her student's elbows and palms. The whole effect is one of closeness and naturalness, between tutor and pupil, and two women. The viewer is physically close to the women, who in no way acknowledge the camera's presence, while the painted backdrop dips into a recessed, less focused space, thus imparting to the pair more immediacy.

The absence of musical instruments and the ambiguity of the book, which could be either a language text or vocal score, gives the viewer latitude in reading the image.[42] The specific information conveyed by the title is, visually speaking, less important than the sensation of feminine intimacy, familiarity, and sentimental naturalness, all of which are, here, coded as *haute bourgeois.* Shared reading of a text or score implies training, economic means, and leisurely pursuit. The female tutor sitting so close to her pupil evokes the type, bound to the middle or upper class, of the bond-forming activities of women in an age of sentiment, for which the cultivation of literature and music was a means to express true feeling, relation, and personal accomplishment. The viewer has a chance to eavesdrop upon this cultured, domestic intimacy at a just-across-the-tea-table distance. Besides being a depiction of a feminine activity and sentiment, the type, here, is also a realistically depicted moment of daily life that validates the comforts of a bourgeois home--the upholstered chair colored purple, the slightly ornate table, the large picture frame tinted gold. The fullness of

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depicted space draws the viewer into the calm of domestic ease and intimate gesture, as though we are shown a mirror of parlor life, just like our own.

If this scene is engaging, it is as a result of its types *and* its volume. While aspects of volumetric space can be typed, they usually depict on a more formal level than typifying details, gestures, and props of a scene; they make room for the signs, giving them world. The sense of presence of these women, so close to the viewer, perhaps erotically engaging, and yet distant, since we are not privy to their lesson, is what carries the view. The tutor offers a private education in self-cultivating pursuits, a metaphor for the activity of stereoviewing and collecting, equally domestic and cultured. The view is thus self-validating, safely couching its voyeurism in an environment that we read as the bourgeois home, where privacy is guarded assiduously, and so we are free to imagine the relation between the women and our relation to them, without violation of social code.

Another contemporaneous view depicts a woman looking forlornly at an unused cradle, within a similar domestic space (fig. 9). Entitled *The Empty Cradle,* this scene is a sentimental type depicting the grieving mother after her infant's death, a reality at mid-century when infant morality rates were high, in some places one in two.[43] The domestic space, neither elegant nor poor, we are meant to understand as decidedly middle class—an every-mother type of view. Her downcast eyes, shadowy cheek, hand on chin, and mournful reverie focus the viewer on the object of her gaze, the space within the space, the cavity of the cradle. The volume of her lap, with its apron plaid on the diagonal, echoes the depression of the cradle and the diamond pattern of its bedding. The square oil-cloth flooring pattern gives depth cues for the reading of the room, and also "squares" the domestic environment against the diagonal "kilter" of empty cradle and grieving mother's lap. For the Victorians, understandably absorbed with mortality, this scene was an instant type evoking automatic sympathy, confirmed in the many reports of the time that the death of an infant produced a life-long grief.[44] Between mother, house, and cradle, we have a triad

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of female-gendered spaces where this sympathy hinges both presence and absence as environmental space.

A third example, by Seneca Ray Stoddard, Adirondack stereographer, will shift the environmental depiction to American shores.[45] Though a little beyond the date of Holmes' essay, *Spring*, by Stoddard, c. 1870, is an excellent example of an early American stereographic genre scene of the time period beginning my study (fig. 10). Viewed as a single image, *Spring*, is bold and almost abstracted in design, with simple forms of children playing off the diagonals of boat, earth, and lake, and, so, one might be tempted to read it in two-dimensional, photographic terms, but that would be a partial and misleading perspective. Viewed stereoscopically, *Spring* retains the bold simplicity of its design, but each form rounds into its own space, particularly evident in the head of the girl in the boat—monocularly just a dark splotch, stereoscopically, a rounded girl's shoulder, hands and head looking down. One becomes aware of the shadowy underside of the boat, its meeting with the water, and sloping volume; the rock on which the boy is perched and its proximity to the boat, the slope—not just shape—of the spit of land; the ribbed insides of the boat, its hollowness; the water swallowing the girl's legs to the calves and mirroring her form, like a heron's; and, most particularly, the glossy expanse of the lake bouncing off the shadowy spaces of boat and girl and guiding the eye to the placid beyond of big, American space. On a typological level, *Spring* works by the sentimental coding of childhood as unspoiled, as nature was thought to be. The volume of the lake depicted the American natural scenery in its popular conception of transcendentalist beauty, which also served to symbolize national expansion, the children representing the youth of the country, innocence, unadulterated, originary nature, and opportunity. It also was meant to be read as *volume*, and, while studies linking Stoddard to the luminist movement in painting can present useful information such as the names of painters who flooded the Adirondacks and may have bumped into Stoddard, this is secondary to an understanding of his work in its

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medium and for its audience. The photographer was not just making another sort of light-filled canvas. As a painter himself, Stoddard could have continued with paint, but he chose to photograph and stereograph, for a different market, audience, space, and significance.[46]

Stoddard specialized in stereographs of scenery sold to tourists from New York and other urban areas coming to his native Adirondack mountains, a prime location for the growth of the vacation industry. The space of this scene enhances the pictorial codings, making this image clearly a nineteenth-century tourist-cum-genre scene that would appeal to a wide market—those interested in scenery and those interested in a view depicting the childhood-nature equation, in particular, women. While views of scenery appealed to both sexes, views of children appealed more to women. This stereograph was owned by a woman, Helen Mosey, who donated her large collection of childhood stereographs to the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library of the National Stereoscopic Association. The connection women felt to children could, in this example, lead them to a vicarious experience of the expansive space of the world. In the spatial reading, the eye travels between the locating triangles of children, earth, and prow of boat, and the slide into the gleaming wide surface of the water and hazy horizon of distant shore. The volumes, here, introduce a sense of becoming, near and far, youth and progress, locating detail and crystalline future. These may be read on a personal level and on a broader, socially symbolic one. Through the unspoiled children in an idyllic setting, also indicated by the regenerative suggestion of the title, *Spring*, the female viewer could associate sentiment toward children with an access to nature that was not reserved so much for herself as for someone else's future—in particular the expansiveness assumed by children and men. Through the children in this view, women, whose lives were circumscribed by the men they were born and married to, could feel access to the wide open spaces that Americans considered their destiny, but, which, in reality, was a territory that the vast majority of women would have feared to enter without male authority. Through the two little girls and a boy, the woman viewer could vicariously

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experience the pleasure of this space, coded as sentimental, unspoiled, young, expansive with nature and opportunity--the future of the adult man.

Coded in these three examples as a feminine location, or one appealing to women, these spaces are made evident as cognitive by the act of comparing the stereoscopic view with what initiates it—the two flat images mounted on a card. The gap between them, if not seen as magical, can only be considered a mental or ocular construction. From Holmes' essay, we have had a description of this space in its imaginary capacities, yet it also has a corporeal location. In order to understand the twain nature of the stereograph and how as an analogue it redoubles the construction of gender, we need to look briefly at the history and development of the medium.

My understanding of this history has been aided by an invaluable anthology, edited and with commentary by Nicolas J. Wade, *Brewster and Wheatstone on Vision*, in which are reprinted texts and correspondences of Sir Charles Wheatstone. These include his definitive papers of 1838 and 1852, as well as samples from Sir David Brewster's voluminous writings, including his important, early paper of 1844.[47] Wade's several introductions and his concluding assessment help clarify the positions of the two scientists, who seem, especially with the example of Brewster's claim of priority for the stereoscope, to be antagonistically at odds with one another.[48] Further examples of Brewster's rather obfuscating and repetitious writings can be found in the full volume he published in 1856, *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory, and Construction.*[49] Dexterously, Wade has edited Brewster's position down to essential works and has presented the fundamental differences between the two scientists in a manner that gives scope, volume and historical accuracy to their contributions. For the purposes of this study, I will examine only the differences between the Wheatstone and Brewster stereoscopes, in order to show that the models in tandem enunciate an empirical-perceptual split, which the historical application of the stereograph will emphasize. Scholars of stereopsis look to Wheatstone's work as the

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foundation of the science and have disregarded Brewster's theories as long-proven incorrect, relegating the latter to simply the status of inventing a useful instrument—the lenticular stereoscope. What is salient for scholars of historical stereography is that Brewster's contribution lies less in his theories than in his application, without which photographic stereoscopy would not have appeared when it did in 1850, nor would we have the cultural phenomenon that is the subject of this book. Brewster's stereoscope had a tremendous cultural impact, while Wheatstone's instrument gave direction to the scientific community. In the terms of the scientist John Herschel, an associate of both men: Wheatstone was the inventor of the stereoscope; Brewster invented a way of looking at stereoscopic pictures.[50]

According to Wade, Wheatstone's stereoscope demonstrated that stereopsis and binocular unity resulted from unconscious inference, proving "that the singleness of vision follows from the stimulation of non-corresponding retinal points."[51] Brewster, on the other hand, had a monocular model upon which he developed a theory of the eye's projection of space onto objects it beheld.[52] In his Conclusion, Wade asserts that there may not be as much disparity between the two theories as is at first apparent. Brewster had a physiological model based on the singular eye and points of convergence emanating from it, while Wheatstone had a perceptual model, locating space within the perceiver.[53] It is a matter of emphasis, asserts the author.[54] Wade's unusual assertion here gains clarity when we consider the exterior-interior, symbiotic duality that is inherent in the stereoscope and much thinking of the nineteenth century.[55] We will shortly see it occur in the discussion of Helmholtz and his commentator, J. V. von Kries. Space as a property of the empirical world versus space as a mental, interpretive construct marks a precarious balance in conception that the device of the stereoscope reveals.

The first stereoscope, invented by Sir Charles Wheatstone in 1832, was a device which had no practical purpose for the photographic stereography that was to come, but it

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had great import for understanding the principles of binocular and stereoscopic vision and so underlies all future development of it in terms of both applications and psychological experiments even to this day (fig. 11). Wheatstone's invention demonstrated the divorce of binocular vision and stereopsis from the perceived object, locating the sense of volume within the viewer.[56] Two simple line figures, drawn from the perspective of one eye at a time through an image in a mirror, were placed on slotted backboards at the opposite ends of a rail, facing each other. The observer's eyes were centered at the front of the stereoscope, and these drawings were reflected back to him by two mirrors at a forty-five degree angle whose point was closest to his eyes. The mirrors reversed the drawn, lateral inversion back to the correct orientation. After a few moments to adjust his vision, the observer saw one image of a simple figure in three dimensional volume hovering in space. The rail holding these images was horizontally adjustable to facilitate focus. Wheatstone presented this device in 1838 in a lecture before the British Association and a paper to the Royal Society.[57]

Purposefully, Wheatstone had placed the two line drawings at nether ends of a rail, reflecting them back to the observer as mirror images only. By divorcing the pair of depth cues respective to each eye and recombining them from flat, two-dimensional images, diametrically opposed and beyond the field of normal vision, Wheatstone proved that depth is not a property of any object before an observer, it is an effect of the stimulation of non-corresponding retinal points.[58] The perceived depth had no objective reality, and drawings were two dimensional renderings. It was solely the mental construct of the perceiver, occurring automatically on a physio-psychological level from the stimulation of visual cues. Vision is divorced in the Wheatstone model from the normal functioning of the eyes in tandem focused upon a frontally located referent. Rather, stereopsis can occur from oppositional comparisons and be artificially simulated to produce an illusion of three dimensional unity.

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Wheatstone's model of unconscious inference has become a theoretical base line for studies in experimental psychology to this day. Pure in his approach, he was concerned with imagery only as it served to demonstrate his points on binocular vision, which at the time had not been distinguished from the stereoscopic (unitary vision versus depth vision). At several points in his first paper he indicated that the imagination, the mind, interpretation, or *a priori* knowledge are all functions of depth perception.[59] The qualities of this perception, their demonstrations, limits and laws fascinated Wheatstone and spurred his continuing research. Though science had not yet advanced to the point of concluding that stereopsis was perceptual, Wheatstone's researches say about as much, repeatedly selecting the mind and its interpretive capacities as the controlling factor in binocularity. His stereoscope physically demonstrates that depth perception results from the play of difference between the two eyes as it is received within the subject. Indeed, it can be said that the Wheatstone stereoscope provides the first example of unity as a function of difference. His second paper in 1852 furthered these discoveries with the pseudo-stereoscope, which reversed depth and indicated that its reading was arbitrary to the object and dependent upon the orientation and placement of its image as received by the eyes.[60]

By this time another stereoscope had achieved a practical application for Wheatstone's principles. Sir David Brewster's invention in 1849 would become the model for stereoscopic photography, and, though the apparatus he constructed would change the course of history, the theory he sought to demonstrate by it was not altogether sound. Brewster was an external projection theorist and believed that the two dissimilar pictures on each eye coalesce to form the image out in space. Like a Euclidean geometer, he resolved to draw the lines from the axial convergence of the eyes to the three dimensions perceived upon the object itself, which he called the "the law of visible direction."[61] Wheatstone, too, understood that stereopsis is dependent upon axial convergence (the crossing of the eyes), and his stereoscope is configured so that this happens naturally, as the

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images in the mirrors are set close to the eyes so that they must converge to focus upon them.[62] He also had in his first paper a model of a Brewster-style lenticular viewing device without the lenses.[63] This model, we can assume, was not emphatic enough for Wheatstone, who removed his images from a forward orientation suggesting projection in space, to a lateral, 180 degree opposition, beyond the ability of any unaided visual focus.

Brewster insisted that the binocular image was nothing but a monocular one to which is added the continual minute motions (conjugate movements) of the eyes while they are converging upon the subject. The observer, he believed, could see no relief if the eyes were not continually changing the position of their optic axes, converging upon the image and moving it across the retina. Brewster believed that depth perception was a factor of this movement, the shift in the eyeballs turning the monocular image to a stereoscopic one and from there superimposing the three dimensions out into space.[64] An instrument that superimposes a sense of depth upon what it sees, the eye became Brewster's model, while the stereoscope was the instrument of the eye-instrument which, as a metonymic part of objective nature itself, measures and graphs matter.[65] The stereoscope, asserted Brewster, is "merely a substitute for the muscular power which brings the two pictures together."[66] The Brewster model emphasizes the mechanical physics of the eye and can therefore be thought of as an extension of the observable body, reaching outward to concretize depth, as though vision were a set of arms establishing objective truth upon the world.

The lenticular stereoscope achieves its effect by taking a full lens, cutting it in half, and reversing the halves so that the thinner portion is toward the middle and the thicker part is on the outside of both eye pieces. The eyes then converge, or cross, upon the photographic pair placed directly in front of them. Exposed from a distance separation of two and a half inches to replicate that of the eyes, the photographs also require lateral transposition of left and right images, or they can appear pseudoscopic, with depth values reversed.[67] Through the converging lenses, the viewer is able to see a third, or three

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dimensional image, which assumes the full view of the vision field. The lenses also magnify the images, increasing readability. The stereoscope divorces accommodation, or focusing of the eyes, from convergence, keeping the former completely relaxed at a zero level of distance focus and the latter at a maximum, since stereopsis is dependent upon the crossing of the eyes, or bringing the object near enough for a depth reading. Its readability increases the more the image fields of the two eyes are shared. In other words, proximity to the object aids stereopsis—up to the point of lack of focus. A hinged top with a reflective foil coating brings light to the stereoview.

Wheatstone's concept found an emphatic re-grounding in Brewster's stereoscope, a means by which the attention could be turned away from the uncertain place of perception and onto the tangible and objective environment. The frontal re-orientation of the images after Wheatstone's oppositional placement, the use of photography, and the application of lenses that cross the eyes and focus vision inward, as though to visually grasp the scene with extended visual arms, reflect this. Yet, for all its outward orientation, it ultimately reinforced the mystery of brain-work. Brewster sincerely believed he was correcting Wheatstone and had the prior claim to the stereoscope as an apparatus.[68] In these beliefs, he was wrong. Yet, he did succeed in the brilliant application of photography to the stereoscope (see figs. 13, 14), manufactured in Paris by the opticians Soleil and Dubosq in 1850.[69] It became the rage of London society after its display at the Crystal Palace exhibition the next year. Quite a few histories recount these events, and we need not repeat them.[70] Relevant, here, is the difference between the Wheatstone stereoscope and Brewster's. The Wheatstone instrument was "pure" in its demonstration, removing the stimulation of the process of stereopsis from any possible augmentation or interference. The bulky instrument, of no practical application, was of interest to mainly the scientific community, while Brewster's lenticular stereoscope built upon the introduction to the principles demonstrated by Wheatstone and opened them to the public and commerce. The

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lenticular stereoscope seemed to give reassurance that space was an objective property of the empirical world, not a figment of the mind stimulated or tricked into reading it where it did not occur. Its sense of transport to observable worlds sparked an industry, which, paradoxically, also induced a feeling of magic and mystery. The scientific principle was undeniable in effect but unobservable in its operation: we must infer that stereopsis occurs, as we cannot read spatially without fusing the pictures, and we can not see the neurons in the visual cortex at work, only witness their conclusions.[71]

All manner of lenticular stereoscopes were manufactured in short order, including folding and in-book models, and scopes on stands, as well those with a variety of luxury materials.[72] A technological improvement came with a stereoscope invented by Oliver Wendell Holmes, to which his second article in the *Atlantic Monthly* makes brief mention (fig. 12).[73] This stereoscope, fashioned by Holmes in the early 1860s, was lighter in weight than the lenticular scope and easier to use. Of a simple construction, it substituted a hood for the box-structure of its predecessor and opened the area surrounding the image to side light. The Holmes viewer, to which Joseph Bates added an improvement, was capable of inexpensive fabrication and would become the new standard for stereoscopes, one manufactured by countless companies in every sort of material, and the popular choice during the American resurgence of the stereoview for the time period of my study.[74]

Fascinated with the demonstration of the stereoscope and the views themselves, most nineteenth-century writers left the matter of stereopsis at the "doorstep" of the retina. A seemingly endless stream of manuals and redundant scientific treatises held the theory, though Wheatstone had indicated otherwise, that stereopsis was optical, not perceptual.[75] Writers regarded the views completely transparently, surrogate eyes witnessing reality, which to the more articulate among them, like Holmes, represented both a being-there in depicted space and a being-there within imaginative response. Few went farther to understand the location of stereopsis or how, given that it exists already as a mental

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phenomenon, the imagination is ready to leap into the scene, assuming it as real as dreams are to the unconscious. Until the neurological pathways were defined, Wheatstone's clear direction toward the psychology of vision had few proponents. One, however, proved far ahead of his time.

Taking up some of his Wheatstone's researches on retinal rivalry, Herman von Helmholtz formed a subjectivist theory of stereopsis, published in 1866, with radical implications that can be felt even now.[76] Studying the alternating images of incompatible information in the two vision fields known as retinal rivalry, Helmholtz came to the conclusion that, when fusion of disparate images did occur, it was a "psychic act"[77] Helmholtz asserted that stereopsis properly belongs to psychology; ordinary perception he saw "as unconscious conclusions."[78] After a survey of the models of stereoscopic theory, Helmholtz remained with the subjectivist, phenomenological model, calling the unitary view "only a practical truth" of "successive apperceptions."[79] With regard to depth perception (as well as other visual information), his conclusion is that what we see is a collective, learned, and relational *consciousness*:

> Such an idea of a single individual body is, therefore, in fact a *conception* (*Begriff*) which grasps and includes an infinite number of single, successive apperceptions, that can all be deduced from it; just as the species "table" includes all individual tables and expresses their common peculiarities...Any other sort of similarity between such an idea and the body about which the idea exists, I do not know how to conceive. One is the mental symbol of the other. The kind of symbol was not chosen by me arbitrarily, but was forced on me by the nature of my organ of sense and of my mind. This is what distinguishes this sign-language of our ideas from the arbitrary phonetic signs and alphabetical characters that we use in speaking and writing. A writing is correct when he who knows how to read it forms correct ideas by it, and so the idea of a thing is correct for him who knows how to determine correctly from it in advance what sense-impressions he will get from the thing when he places himself in definite external relations to it....it does not matter at all what sort of mental symbols we employ, provided they constitute a sufficiently varied and ordered system.[80]

Helmholtz continues in this volume with many points on stereopsis and stereoscopic imagery, surveying the field. His contribution to the scientific principles he examines rests in an over-arching subjectivist theory that emphasizes arbitrariness, and rejects

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physiological or innate *a prioris.* He implies that a process akin to language, and the perceiver's experience, expectations, and ideas have the greater part in determining what is seen and real than any empirical fact or physical law. Helmholtz's philosophy, indebted to Wheatstone's direction, brings to conscious scrutiny what Holmes' prose felt its way around: the subjectivist nature of stereopsis, its realm being *cogito,* and its objective reality less certain than experiential interpretation. Depth must be *read.* It is no static quality belonging to anything beyond the body, but a dialectic which occurs automatically within the brain, which must be *learned,* or developed, and whose negotiation is fully dependent on a physicalized self in relation to surroundings. Arbitrariness is its factor, and, like the language we use, it is a constantly shifting play between mental image and image, a play that, in the focused theater of the stereoscope, gives way to conceptual digressions and the journeying of desire.

In spite of both Wheatstone and Helmholtz, the prevailing view of the day centered stereopsis upon the retina. Perhaps one way to account for this is the theory that the fusional nature of perception is inherent. As with Brewster's "Law of Visible Direction," the human body, whether eye or brain matter, remains the measurable material, the instrument. This was true for J. v. Kries, who in the 1910 Appendix to Helmholtz's *Treatise on Physiological Optics* wrote, "the idea of space as such forms a unitary and invariable part of our consciousness."[81] For von Kries, the perception of depth is an *a priori* to human functioning, and stereopsis represents the relation between physiological, "innate substructures" and "an empirical development of localization."[82] Kries' conception of innate unitariness is an attempt to reconstruct an objective reality—"space determinations are not sensations"[83]—in a science which since its inception has been moving toward the investigation of stereopsis as a physiologic-psychic quality. Therein is the split between the thinking of Wheatstone, Helmholtz (and Holmes) and the majority of nineteenth-century writers on the stereoscopic phenomenon—a difference between the object, with depth as *its*

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factor, and the subjective perceiver, with depth belonging to a mental reading of it, like language. Kries would like to locate stereopsis in the body of the perceiver and a preset, developmental ability to judge distance from any object. He has a point, for, as Valyrus has asserted, stereopsis is not inborn but requires development, including tactile and muscular response.[84] Nonetheless, by insisting on an *a priori* physiological, Kries is using the body to reconstruct the objective environment, refusing to allow the empirical world to pass into a phantom of the purely subjective, the *cogito*, where "the local sign is something intangible, purely fictitious."[85]

Kries' view forms a bridge between the nineteenth-century belief in a transparent reality that the eyeball itself moves over and the perceptual model, which had always had an unsettling presence since Wheatstone. With the researches of Bella Julesz at Bell Labs in the 1960s, the empirical or innately unitary models lost considerable ground. Though far beyond the time frame of my subjects, Julesz's stereograms bear upon my thesis by their discovery that stereopsis is located completely within the mind of the perceiver and that objective referents can be utterly arbitrary to this process.[86] Studying the snow on radar screens, Julesz found that he could "free view" and produce the simulation of depth. This gave him the idea for the random dot stereogram, which is a computer-generated image that appears, upon first examination, to be simply a closely-spaced field of dots in monochrome or polychrome.[87] After examining the image for a period, an examination which often requires crossing or diverging the eyes, three dimensional forms suddenly appear, extending toward or receding from the viewer. Random dot stereograms do not contain any sort of monocular image—no depth cues, lines, color-forms or shadings. In the random dot, the global or binocular information, is completely concealed to monocular vision, appearing only as a field of speckles sprayed over a page. Visual sense can only come binocularly, within the mind, purely a neurological phenomenon. Exclusively by relating the left and right visual fields, within the visual cortex, can the viewer "extract" the

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image, or have it come to conscious sight. This process is rather slow, since the fusion must traverse the brain, occur in the back of the skull and then send the impulses toward the consciousness of the frontal lobes, without any of the aids to sense of recognizable symbols. Julesz's discovery isolated depth perception sensors solely within the perceiver and located that space as where the left and right visual pathways combine in the visual cortex.[88]

We return to Kries' location of depth within the physiological perceiver, with the added difference of the arbitrary nature of referents. Even today, largely theory breaches the gap between neurological response and stereoptic stimula.[89] The isolation of this neurological stimulation from all prior art of picturing was the stereoscope's advance. To capture the world, prior to stereo, meant some sort of rendering—by hand or camera—and this meant an image signing itself as image. The visual cues for reading "depiction" were not divorced from that picture itself, even in monocular photography, where signs like borders, cropping, unrelieved gray tones, focus, blur, depth of field, stasis, dead space, reflection, etc., all announce the picture as such. The viewer, upon holding a stereoview in the hand, can read "picture," but, with forehead to the scope and eyes focused on the view, he rapidly forgets the picture sign in favor of the physiological and automatic response of depth cues simulating a scene enfolding him within its space. The neurological process has been separated from the picture, and, now, the picture serves to replicate the viewer's negotiation of space, his or her reading of objects in relation to the body, arbitrary to the rules of perspective, arbitrary to the things depicted themselves, and dependent upon the mind of the viewer. The stereograph is that turning point between a magical capturing of photographic and spatial reality and the knowledge that such reality can only exist in a not-yet-understood part of the mind, projecting itself upon all things, and uttering objective nature from the resolute realm of individual response.

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The public announcements of the stereoscope in 1838 and the daguerreotype in 1839 have lent to both a synchrony of nascence. This was no accident, as it emerged from a tight-knit and mutually-watchful scientific community.[90] Paris, where Brewster traveled with his lenticular model stereoscope in 1850, was more than simply another location to try after his frustrated attempt to generate interest in Great Britain. The Parisians, the Abbé Moigno and Soleil and Dubosq, opticians, quickly saw its applicability--if photography supplied the detail, the stereoscope could supply all the space in which it needed to assume form; the viewer would supply the breath. The Pygmalion analogy is apt, for the nineteenth century, fascinated as it was by the magic of this process within the individual mind, was more entranced by the matter of the stereograph's replication of presence.

As I have indicated in the Introduction, the stereograph does not offer an illusion. With reasonably sharp lenses which imitate the focus upon the retina, the stereograph has a point-for-point replication of what we see in a single vantage point in a fractional second, since the two images are exposed from a two-and-a-half-inch distance separation equal to that between the centers of the eyes. Binocular vision and the stereoscope's work with the same principle: the vision fields of the left and right eyes converge, or cross, and thus the data that each relays to the brain is composed of minute and comparable differences, since each shares the visual field from a separate vantage point. There is little stereopsis in far distant looking, as the eyes do not converge. The brain takes this convergence of data and forms a dialectic between points, averaging them, so to speak, into a unitary view, each differential forming a sensation of volume or space.[91] Perceived unity, then, is truly a function of the separation of the two eyes and the dialectic of difference.

Distinctions do exist between the stereoscopic image and binocular vision—principally, the former's restriction of eye movement, stationary head position, absence of motion in time, and shifts or absence of color. Moving the head and eyes, even imperceptibly, aids in seeing around objects and helps the brain to complete the

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stereoscopic picture. Depth perception is an on-going, relational, and negotiated process that evolves in response to the environment and depends upon ability, or learned interpretations of objects. Stereoviews provide an accurate image but cannot simulate even the tiniest movements of the head, or different vantages of the eye. Therefore, the card-boarding (or pop-up) effect can occur, as well as "free floaters"—objects which seem to jump up and hover or come too close, almost out of the scene. These effects result from a limitation of depth cues, especially when the background is far-off, dark or murky, or there is too great a contrast between large, adjacent areas. Any of these can confuse the brain's ability to read the image. Though I have repeatedly stressed the replicatory abilities of the stereograph, wishing to suggest a nineteenth-century regard, it is also important to note that stereographs can seem surreal, do fail, and are not a total but a partial replication. Furthermore, there are some rules, such as not turning the camera upside down or on a ninety-degree angle, or not using a very short depth of field.[92] Limitations notwithstanding, the stereoview is still unparalleled in its evocation of participation in a space.

As I have emphasized, stereoviewing requires skill and a willing participation. That the Victorians had this desire indicates, I believe, not a naive vision of what the image provided but, rather, a greater faith in the ability of the empirical to convey truth, as well as a strong capacity to respond to the visual experience and its signs. The stereoscope seemed to provide a merger of external and internal realities, obviously structured in the mechanism, a readability not only of things there but of one's own responses, as though the isolating gulf between the world and self could be bridged by an ocular device. For the Romantic era of which it was a part, the popularity of the stereoscope represented a desire to overcome the alienation of a world become too full of proof, and to re-establish that "proof"—without rejecting it--within the realm of private experience.

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Therefore, it is insufficient to regard the view as only "simulation," for to do so is to miss the point of view of the mediation between the objective and our response.[93] Certainly, views simulate, and their narrative structures refer to their own codes as well as to the codes of other serialized forms--comics, theater, and literature, where, because of wide circulation, an originary referent or signified may be hard to find.[94] Self-evident artificiality was part of the image culture and served to link idea/ideals to the replication of the real, or meaning to space. To regard this era's coding of the artificial in terms of authenticity or its lack is to assume that there was a point in history where the authentic did occur, and the period under scrutiny pales by comparison—a nostalgia rather at odds with method. More to the point is that theories of simulation make little room for social history. Within the blanket dismissal is a smug assumption that the enjoyment of the medium (which "we" as informed readers are educated beyond) negates any distinction. All responses are one: no breath of class, gender, ethnicity, geography, or culture. Interestingly, such theories have come to the fore after feminism had gained momentum in the study of popular culture, refusing the traditional academic disdain in favor of an uninflected interest in the lives and agency of women, who were, after all, often excluded from places and articles of status, and thereby "remaindered" within the mass, the available, and the public.

To regard the nineteenth-century view requires, I believe, a willingness go beyond theories of simulation/the simulacrum, as, alone, they are not enough for a well-rounded understanding. As one's stereoscopic abilities improve with exposure to the medium, and cardboarding effects there one day may be gone the next, so, too, comes the ability to see the view as a complex cultural product, a socially-posited, individually-evoked interpretation of "naturalized" phenomena *and* a set of somewhat arbitrary referents. Such an intersection involves a series of conjunctions of seemingly mutual exclusivity. For the Victorians, the stereoview stood for reality or nature, yet, for even the earliest of viewers it was apparent that one's mind or mental processes entirely mediated this reality; perhaps the

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stereoscope provided the magic, but to even the casual observer the instrument is nothing but a pair of lenses—no magician's box. For Wheatstone, the inventor, it provided a proof of the divorce of stereopsis and binocularity from objective reality. Others, defending "reality" from Wheatstone's butchering of it, sought to re-establish the empirical upon the eye itself (Brewster) or the "innate unitariness" of the mind (von Kries). The stereoview oscillates between the empirical (I am not space) and the perceptual (space is a mental process). Thanks to Brewster's somewhat misdirected focus upon the eye's focusing, we have the stereoscope—which made people forget for a time they had any body at all.

Julesz' researches pointed to the visual cortex, with the proof that, indeed, space is perceptual, as Wheatstone indicated, and subjectively engendered, as Helmholtz argued; it has, with respect to objective reality, an arbitrary nature, but a physiological place. Holmes, besides inventing the most practicable stereoscope, understood that the stereoscopic view was in equal measures a sort of empiricism and an imaginative response. He could not have known that depth is a mentally constructed information, yet his almost wild imaginative response seems to intuit this, placing himself as a viewer vicariously within the scene and burning the bridges back to the actual, once he has crossed into the realm of *cogito.* Mary Panzer, to whose dissertation I have already referred, argues that the viewer's sense of entering a scene and journeying imaginatively was central to the conception of art and photography at mid-century.[95] Theories of the day located the work of art within the viewer's imagination, and the photograph and stereograph were regarded as alternate art forms, with a special ability to break down "obstructive conventions" and bring the viewer closer to an imaginative ideal.[96] The work of art came to represent a process of perception, both a reality and an improvement upon it because of the selection of the artist, which made the scene ordered and clear.[97]

This brings us another dialectical set of conjunctions—the interdependence of type (convention, code, sign) and space. The former may be understood as definition,

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linguistic, circumscribed, flat, while the latter represents the blossoming of the volumetric, which eludes typification, though it also serves to depict type. Within the space of the stereograph, the types of Victorian conceptions are enhanced, seeming more real, alluring, "nature improved."[98] Yet, the space also conveys supra-typical meaning. As the ineffable that is often evoked by the word "poetry," space in the stereograph is the means by which the viewer can enter, interpret, and vicariously experience the scene. Two flat pictures place the viewer sensorially before a pair of women reading, within the emptiness framed by the sentimental conventions of the grieving, all too typical, mother, or at the threshold of the American landscape. As we saw in Holmes' essay, types or concepts become naturalized, but this nature is simultaneously brought into question since it exists only within the perceiver. Stereo is double and duplicitous. It engenders an acute sense of reality, but it serves to remind, as soon as we unglue our eyes, that its reality is only mental, sitting at a cranial location whose neurological processes are unobservable to the eye and, to date, can only be understood as electrical impulses. The view locates, the nature of viewing is a closed chamber of mediation.

We are therefore discussing a psychic space, induced by physical referents. The Victorians were moving toward an understanding of this, in science, in creative prose, in the view, but nature as objective reality still held the day. What the history of the narrative stereoview, in particular, can provide is the substory of that belief passing into irony. Between the earlier views and the later is a vast difference in tone and attitude, which in the next chapter I will develop as the difference between a sentimental world view and the cult of personality and theatricality. At present, I wish to evoke its history as one involving belief in the empirical real versus the late century's lack of ability to continue that transparent structure. In the late century, space was collapsing into speed, faith into gesture, and the real into the observed.

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With the depiction of gender this collapse is especially apparent. At mid-century, what would have been called Woman's Nature (the counterpart, Man's Nature, was not so frequently considered) was, as stereoscopic transparency, considered Nature itself.[99] Just as the stereoview brought home the Pyramids, it brought staged depictions of women and men convincing in their realism, and inviting in their spatiality. The imaginative journey was heightened in the narrative scenes because of the implied movement and time of the story, of which the stereoview presented a piquant moment. Involving an invitation to imagine an erotic extension to oneself, or to sympathize with or ridicule the depicted persons, the narrative view opened a space for vicarious experience, a theater whose farce and heart-string pulls were not simply objects to hold/behold but actors engaging the viewer. Obviously, a construct or play-act, it also was regarded as realistic, a visual foot-path. The artifice of it resided in the self-evident presentation of its operative types. Little difference, it said, between the type "Pyramid" and the type "Empty Cradle"; both exist before you. Little difference but in gender.

The narrative stereoview is a feminine gendered space, whose stories, by making its types self-evident, by fully reveling in its artifice, bring nature into scrutiny. Since the stereoscopic view was considered equal to Nature, the narrative begs the question of the syllogistic equation of construct and nature. The bifurcation of genders, being similarly fixed by Nature, is by implication also suspect. This is not to say that, once viewed in the stereoscope, the genders lost their fixity. We do see, however, that over the history of the narrative view the fixity of genders becomes subject to pronounced slippage and sliding. Of course, there are many socio-cultural factors in play. Yet, in the narrative itself is a thread of the unraveling of that ball of mutual contradictions which the Victorians called Woman's Nature.

This brings us to the third and last set of conjunctions: bifurcated difference and unity. In the physical apparatuses of stereoscopic vision are a bifurcation of the field into

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two flat sets of information and their reconstruction into volumetric unity, which exists only as a mental phenomenon. For gender, we witness the bifurcation of the human into two sets of beings and their fusion, entirely a mental construct, into an interdependent unity, which seemed as given as Nature itself.

Let us break this down. Stereopsis, as we have seen, is a psycho-physiological process by which two similar yet separate sets of information are crossed and fused in the visual cortex by the dialectic of their differences. The sense of solidity requires difference in information and its continual and unconscious negotiation. All sense of a body or form in space relates to our own bodies, depth, space, and distance being qualities of perception, and fundamentally arbitrary to universal laws, more akin to a physicalized language between body and world (sign, object). What the stereoscope did was make these qualities not only observable but undeniable.

The reality entered in the stereoview was a thing first split apart, the minute differences between the pair, when crossed, giving the mind alone a sense of unity. Gender role division in the nineteenth century did the same—splitting from the human two sets of qualities, perceiving significant space between minute differences, and attaching to each differential a code or type, the guiding principle being that each spatial separation represented opposition that required active maintenance. Name any human quality, and immediately it and its antonym will have automatic genderings—courage, timidity; emotion, reason; strength, weakness; expressiveness, reserve; body, mind.[100] It is not difficult to make a comprehensive list of oppositions, to each side attaching an automatic cultural designation as masculine or feminine. In conceptualization, gender forced the splitting apart of the human field into these abstract and antonymic types.

By splitting the field of view in twain and fusing the differences into a unitary vision that replicated nature, the stereoscope duplicated on a physiological level what conceptions of gender had been doing all along. For gender, the stereograph doubled the

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double, and, so, its signs became apparent as artificial—signs of signs. By crossing or fusing the two fields at a point entirely and unconsciously mental, but which appears to be located in front of the observer as his or her space, can gender form the unitary and volumetric human from the minute differences of dislocated sets. Likewise, the stereoscope can, from two slightly dissimilar, flat images, induce one to think--here is Nature, step right in. The critical point of stereography is that, while it constructs Nature, as gender seemed to do, from the play of oppositions—however minute, exaggerated, artificial and contrived they may be--the scope and the view serve as constant reminders before and after viewing that this is no nature; it is a construct and play-act. At one moment credible enough for one to step into the play and at another relieving that tension with the safety of the self-proclaimed signs of its imaginative structure, the stereograph was a double system that spoke for "proof," while it simultaneously laid nature open to doubt, led the real into the perceived, and lent to solidity a chimerical quality, a fantasy.

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[1] "The stereoscopic camera is like a forehead with two eyes in it. The two round tubes in front contain the lenses, and the brass caps which fit over them when the exposure is complete are the eyelids. The diaphragm, which is inserted in each of these tubes to regulate the size of the aperture, is like the pupil of the eye that contracts and expands according to the degree of light. And this double instrument makes two pictures at the same instant, which differ from each other just as the images received by one eye differ from those received by the other in an observer standing at the same point." Austin Abbot, "The Eye and the Camera," no. 39 (1869), 476-82; quoted in Silverman, 741. Silverman's essay contains several other examples where the stereoscopic camera equates with living tissue.

[2] *Godey's Lady's Book*, vol. 45 (October 1852), 340.

[3] Helmholtz, 303.

[4] L. L. Cupp, *Confidential Sales Information* (The Keystone View Co. of New England, 1941).

[5] F. Frith, "Stereoscopic Views in the Holy Land, Egypt, Nubia, Etc., from Negatives by F. Frith," *Art Journal* (London, Nov. 1858), 375.

[6] *Sears, Roebuck & Co.*, 1907 Catalogue, 981.

[7] Hamilton, 23.

[8] James E. Lough, Introduction, in Albert E. Osborne, *Why Man Has Used Pictures* (New York: Underwood and Underwood, 1904), 3.

[9] F. A. Messerschmidt, *Manual of Instruction from the Universal Photo Art Co.* (Phila. and Napierville, IL, Universal Photo Art, 1902), 23.

[10] "It is not possible to conceive a more perfect realization...," R. Hunt, "The Stereoscope," *The Photographic Art Journal*, vol. 5, no 5 (May 1853): 276. "...when we realize, as the stereoscope enables us to do, the natural...," *The Stereoscopic Magazine* (London: Lovell Reeve, 1858), 7; Comparisons using "windows," "actual sight" and "soul" are found in Albert E. Osborne, *Why Man Has Used Pictures* (New York: Underwood and Underwood, 1904): 31, 33, 36.

[11] Silverman, 756.

[12] The idea of the mind as a camera can be found in John Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins, *Great Books of the Western World* (Chicago:

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Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 1952), 147. The concept became common in the nineteenth century: see Orvell, 162.

[13] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 279.

[14] The criticism of stereography's influence on early cinema is under-developed. Two writers have touched lightly upon it: John L. Fell, *Film and the Narrative* Tradition (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 130-37; Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1990), 250. In looking at staged stereographs and other staged and narrative photographs, Orvell finds that "much of the artificial in nineteenth-century photography was displaced by cinema at the turn of the century as photography had earlier taken over some of the functions of realistic painting," 143.

[15] The visual cortex is located in the posterior pole of the occipital cortex at the lower back region of the skull under the cerebrum.

[16] Ohzawa, DeAngeli and Freeman.

[17] Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," 100-101.

[18] Ibid, 102.

[19] Ibid, 104-5.

[20] Ibid, 106, 107.

[21] Ibid, 106.

[22] Ibid, 107.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid, 109.

[25] Retinal disparity or rivalry represents a conflict of information between the two eyes, when they are presented with incompatible sets of information. Experiments in this area have led, perhaps more than with any other ocular condition, to the historical conclusion that stereopsis is perceptual. Retinal fatigue comes into play as one eye tires and the other "covers" for it, especially evident in the case where the two eyes experience retinal disparity: "thus, the use of the second eye is not only necessary to enable the observer to accurately estimate the distance and size of objects before him, but also for supplementing the fading image on the retina of one eye with one growing in intensity in the other, giving us as we may term it a perpetual or continuous vision." Theodore Brown, *Stereoscopic Phenomena of Light and Sight* (London: The Gutenberg Press, 1903; facsimile ed., Culver City, CA: Reel 3-D Enterprises, 1994), 67-68.

[26] Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," 109-110.

[27] Orvell gives examples from the nineteenth century of persons passively feeling themselves to be a photographic experience: 142.

[28] John R. Reed, *Victorian Conventions* (Ohio University Press, 1975).

[29] Orvell, 142, 150.

[30] Armstrong, 50-51, 106, 411.

[31] Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," 112.

[32] Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Sun Painting and Sun Sculpture, with a Stereoscopic Trip Across the Atlantic," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1864; reprinted in Holmes, *The Stereoscope and Stereoscopic Photographs* (7th edition, New York and London: Underwood and Underwood, 1898), 30.

[33] Ibid, 37.

[34] I refer to the analogy of Plato's cave wherein the mass of people are continually entranced by pictures reflected on the wall from a fire. The philosopher disregards these as images only, unreal, and emerges into the painful sunlight of reality and philosophy. Plato, *The Republic*, Book 7, ed. G. R. F. Ferrari, trans. Tom Griffith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[35] Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," 114.

[36] Ibid, 113.

[37] Twentieth century technologies have mastered the art of stereoscopic projection through polarization, though many do not find the experience visually satisfying. See Peter Gowland, *The Art and Technique of Stereo Photography* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1954), 123-25.

[38] Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," 112.

[39] A Romantic axiom, according to Abrams, is this internal-external yoking of perception as located in the work of art. Abrams' quote from Coleridge is worth noting. The artist aims to make "the external internal, the internal external...nature thought and thought nature." Abrams, 51. Samuel Coleridge, "On Poesy or Art" (1818) as quoted in text.

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[40] From the thin card stock, square corners and cream colored mount, I would date this image between 1857-1863. I have relied upon Darrah, *Stereoviews...*, 10, for dating guidelines.
[41] Research into American early genre or narrative views is much needed. E. and H. T. Anthony published a few such views in the late fifties and sixties. D. Appleton also published or reprinted copy views of group scenes. I have seen one very early Ben Kilburn genre view, most likely dating from 1865 (#136, *The Trout Brook*, collection of the New York Historical Society). H. Ropes of Nassau Street, New York, NY, appears to have pirated British views in the sixties. The American genre scene will come into its own in the 1870s. Prior to this time, dating of views is very difficult and American production limited. I have generally assumed that unidentified hand-colored, albumen views on thin, buff-colored card stock with square corners were European, specifically British, and published by the London Stereoscopic Company or one of its competitors.
[42] In the two versions I have seen of this view, one lacks a title, its label either fallen off or never put on, and that allows the viewer to imagine an academic lesson or shared reading. The view from my collection, reproduced here, lacks a title, while the one entitled *The Music Lesson* is located in the American Antiquarian Society. Titles of many mid-century British views were printed on labels and placed on the backs or sides of cards with adhesive, which over the years tended to dry or deteriorate, causing the label to fall off.
[43] One out of every two babies born in the mill towns of England at mid-century died before the age of five. Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 45. The death of children was prevalent and a cultural fixation for Victorian culture: Reed, 165-68.
[44] Susan Arpad has noted the large number of dead infant photographs as well as the diaries that indicate women were greatly concerned with death. The death of an infant could produce a life-long grief. "Pretty Much to Suit Ourselves: Midwestern Women Naming Experience Through Domestic Arts," in *Making the American Home*, Marilyn Ferris Motz and Pat Browne, eds. (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), 18-19.
[45] Of the available studies of Stoddard, I recommend: Jeffrey L. Horrell, *Seneca Ray Stoddard: Transforming the Adirondack Wilderness in Text and Image* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999); and Lois and Guenther Bauer, *Seneca Ray Stoddard: Preserving the Adirondacks in Stereos and Person* (Middletown, NY: Stiles Studio, 1997); and Lois and Guenther Bauer, *Seneca Ray Stoddard: Preserving the Adirondacks in Stereos and Person* [stereographic reproductions] (Middletown, NY: Stiles Studio, 2000).
[46] The works on Stoddard, save the Bauers' hard-to-find work, ignore or bastardize the photographer's views. These were not just little paintings, and, had they been intended for mono, Stoddard would have made them as single images, for he worked in large plate photography, as well as stereography and painting. He was a tireless business man and advocate for the Adirondacks, writing, lecturing, and producing unparalleled maps with his training as a surveyor. His stereography belongs in the tradition of his work to promote and preserve the wilderness, advocating informed tourism and becoming an activist against industrial exploitation of resources. He was one of the key people in establishing the Adirondack wilderness area as a preserved land. A lot of painters came to the Adirondacks for subject matter, and, while interesting to note for possible cross-influence, Stoddard's views are incorrectly understood if they are lumped together with these painters in, for instance, the Luminist or Transcendentalist schools. I refer to the following studies for their misinterpretations and regretful reproduction of the half view: Jeanne Winston Adler, *Early Days in the Adirondacks: The Photographs of Seneca Ray Stoddard* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977); William Crowley, *Seneca Ray Stoddard: Adirondack Illustrator* (Blue Mountain Lake: the Adirondack Museum, 1982); Mailand C. De Sormo, *Seneca Ray Stoddard: Versatile Camera Artist* (Saranac Lake: Adirondack Yesteryears, Inc., 1972); Weston Naef, "New Eyes: Luminism and Photography," in *American Light: The Luminist* Movement, ed., John Wilmerding, Ed (Laurenceville, NJ, and Wash. D.C.: Princeton University Press and the National Gallery of Art, 1985). Jeffrey Horrell's book is, though poor with respect to reproducing the half view, more informative with regard to the culture of landscape and Stoddard's business; see "The Concept of Wilderness in the Nineteenth Century," 3-41. Stoddard was aware of the luminists and other painters such as Winslow Homer, Horrell claims. For luminism in painting, see Barbara Novaks, "Luminism" in *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Praeger, 1969): 92-109. Thomas Moran's luminist paintings and those of contemporaries were widely reproduced in woodcuts and engravings in the popular press. For theory regarding the scenic view as ideologically

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making palatable the process of American expansion and possession of the land, see both Hales and Alan Trachtenberg, "Naming the View," in *Reading, American Photographs*, 119-163.

[47] Charles Wheatstone, "Contributions to the Physiology of Vision—Part the First. On Some Remarkable, and Hitherto Unobserved Phenomena of Binocular Vision" (1838), reprinted in Wade, 65-93. Wheatstone, "Contributions to the Physiology of Vision—Part the Second. On Some Remarkable, and Hitherto Unobserved Phenomena of Binocular Vision" (1852), reprinted in Wade, 149-167. David Brewster, "On the Law of Visible Position in Singular and Binocular Vision, and on the Representation of Solid Figures by the Union of Dissimilar Plane Pictures on the Retina," (1844), reprinted in Wade, 93-115.

[48] See, especially, Nicholas J. Wade, Part One, "Brewster and Wheatstone," 1-25, and "Introduction," Part Two, "Binocular Vision and Space Perception," in Wade, 27-49.

[49] Sir David Brewster, *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory, and Construction* (1856; London: John Camden, 1870).

[50] Paraphrase without quotation, as cited in Wade, 36, note.

[51] Wade, "Introduction," Part Two, "Binocular Vision and Space Perception,"27, 29.

[52] Ibid, 28.

[53] Wade, "Summary of Contributions," Part Five, 308.

[54] Ibid.

[55] This interior-exterior duality is a theme of Abrams' on the Romantic movement in poetry.

[56] Wheatstone's original instrument is housed in the Science Museum, London. Wing reproduces a photograph of it: 2. Many texts have illustrations of it: Wade, 26; Crary, 127.

[57] Wade, "Introduction," Part Two, "Binocular Vision and Space Perception," 30; Sir Charles Wheatstone, "Contributions to the Physiology of Vision—Part the First...," in Wade, 65-93.

[58] Wade, "Introduction," Part Two, "Binocular Vision and Space Perception," 29.

[59] Views with one eye demonstrated "the interpretive powers of the mind," where "the imagination supplies the deficiency" of one eye in accurate readings of recession or volume in the impressions of a cameo or intaglio. In the case of retinal fatigue (the condition not yet termed as such) regarding the reading of two different letters, in register within a circle, one by each eye, Wheatstone spoke of the "mind as inattentive," as it could not combine the images. He also mentions that *a priori* knowledge of objects greatly aids depth perception. Wheatstone, "Contributions...Part the First..." in Wade, 81, 90, 92.

[60] "With the pseudosope we have a glance, as it were, into another visible world, in which external objects and our internal perceptions have no longer their habitual relation with each other." Wheatstone as quoted in Wade, 41. Wheatstone further examined conditions of retinal disparity and fatiguing, and brought forth new findings on the dissociation of accommodation from convergence. Wheatstone, "Contributions...Part the Second," in Wade, 149-167.

[61] Sir David Brewster, *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory, and Construction* (1856; London: John Camden, 1870), 27-28.

[62] Wheatstone, "Contributions...Part the First," 65.

[63] Ibid, 68-69.

[64] Brewster, *The Stereoscope*, 49-53. Wade argues that Brewster was inconsistent in his application of the term convergence, and he made a distinction between axial convergence—focusing the eyes inward—and convergent *eye movements*, or what since has been termed "conjugate movements." Wade, "Summary of Contributions," 309. Brewster did not think eye-movement the only means of perceiving solids, but that it assisted clarity. Brewster, "On the Law of Visible Position..." (1844), in Wade, 107. By 1856, however, Brewster repeatedly asserted that the experience of relief is a function of convergent (conjugate) eye movements: "relief is given by the subsequent play of the optic axes varying their angles, and converging themselves successively upon and uniting the similar points in each picture that correspond to different distances from the observer." Brewster, *The Stereoscope*, 53. Wheatstone had refuted this point in his paper of 1838, and from the development of science to that date he was correct. Wheatstone, *Contributions, Part the First...*, in Wade, 91. Brewster did, however, hit upon a truth which he could not have proved at the time but has since become accepted—that the image must shift across the retina with conjugate movements, which may be unconscious and imperceptible. Valyrus, 37.

[65] See Crary, 129, for a discussion of the eye and apparatus metonymy. Crary does, however, err in his interpretation of Wheatstone's text by claiming that he sought "a complete equivalence of stereoscopic image and object" (122). Wheatstone was disinterested in objects per se. His goal was

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to study the pathways and properties of stereoptic vision. "Simulating the actual presence of a physical object or scene" (122) was really beside the point. There is nothing in the Wheatstone papers to indicate that the direction of his science was anything but a perceptual one, and the images he used were always simple line drawings, Spartan in appearance and designed simply to illustrate their principles—long after the advent of photography, about which Wheatstone was quite familiar through his friends Herschel and Talbot: Wade, 36.

[66] Brewster, *The Stereoscope*, 54.

[67] The pictures need to be laterally reversed because of the natural convergence in seeing a close object in relief.

[68] Brewster, *The Stereoscope*, 20.

[69] Brewster claimed that his lenticular stereoscope was prior to Wheatstone's model (Brewster, 19-20), but this is simply not true, as Brewster was present at Wheatstone's address and presentation of his model to the British Association in 1838. Wade asserts that Brewster had purchased a reflecting Wheatstone stereoscope from Andrew Ross, the London optical instrument maker, at this time, Wade, 30. Brewster's attempts to discredit Wheatstone and claim priority are an embarrassment to the writer.

[70] Frustrated by attempts to have British opticians manufacture his stereoscope, Brewster took a model of his instrument, made by a Dundee resident, Mr. Lowdon, abroad to Paris in 1850. There he was able to secure the support of the Abbé Moignó, who subsequently presented it to the Institute of France, and persuaded the opticians M. Soleil and his son-in-law, M. Jules Dubosq, to manufacture them. Abbé Moignó, *Répertoire d'Optique Moderne; ou; Analyse Complète des Travaux Modernes Relatifs aux Phénomènes de la Lumière* (Paris: A. Franck, 1848). Brewster, *The Stereoscope*, 30-31 During a display at the Crystal Palace in 1851, with stereoscopic daguerreotypes, Brewster was able to interest Queen Victoria, to whom he presented a handsome Dubosq stereoscope and views. Wing, 5. The interest of London followed suit. Dubosq quickly responded to this popularization by putting the daguerreotypes upon glass transparencies, thus increasing luminosity and viewing ease. Potonniée, 241. By 1854, calotypes came into use for stereographs, followed by the twin lens camera.

[71] To date, the scientific community is aware of neurological activity from the information read by electrical activity. Ohzawa, et al.

[72] Wing discusses and reproduces many of these variations.

[73] Holmes, "Sun Painting and Sun Sculpture..."

[74] Joseph Bates, an optician in Boston, manufactured Holmes' design, adding a sliding rail for the focusing of the stereocard, and a wire holder, which even further lightened the instrument. Neither Holmes nor Bates patented the design, though Antonio Quirolo did in several patents beginning in 1866, and he began to manufacture them in quantity. Holmes publicly described his invention in an article in the *Philadelphia Photographer* in 1869. Wing, 85-94.

[75] By "perceptual" I mean neurological, though in the nineteenth century this latter word would not have been used. The following are examples of retinal theoreticians of stereopsis. The photographer and stereographer, Claudet, believed, along with Brewster, that the continual movement of the eyes produced a binocular vision: Antoine François Jean Claudet, *De Stéréoscope et de ses Applications à la Photographie* (Paris: Lebours et Secretan, 1853), 11. Dr. J. Towler, a Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry and Dean of the Faculty of Geneva Medical College, also echoed Brewster. Towler believed that the perception of depth was caused by the image setting at different depths on the retina, and that each eye is capable of seeing in relief. Towler continued to say within same paragraph that two eyes are necessary to combine the image for a sensation of relief. The contradiction seemed to escape the author: J. Towler, M.D., *The Silver Sunbeam* (New York, NY: Joseph Ladd, 1864; reprint edition, Hastings-on-Hudson, NY and London: Morgan and Morgan and The Fountain Press, 1969), 310-311. Blanchère asserts that binocular vision is only physiological, a contraction of the two retinal images: H. de La Blanchère, *Monographie du Stéréoscope et des Epreuves Stéréoscopique* (Paris: Amyot, 1861), 71-72. See also, A. L. Donnadieu, *Traité de Photographie Stéréoscopique Théorie et Practique* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars et Fils, 1892).

[76] Helmholtz's *Physiological Optics* was published in three volumes from 1856-1866, the last and third volume being the one that treats stereopsis. A reprint has been published in 2000 by Thoemmes Press, Bristol, U.K., with an Introduction by Nicolas Wade. I refer to the Dover Press, 1962 edition in page numbers.

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[77] Helmholtz, *Physiological Optics*, 499. When the brain cannot fuse the data, the image seen can flicker back and forth, alternating between the conflict relayed by the eyes. This is especially true with colors, glitter, or shimmer. Salvador Dali produced stereo pair paintings in the sixties and seventies, wherein the color disparity produces a shifting, motile field of sensation. See Howard Rheingold, *Stereogram* (*CG Stereogram* and *CG Stereogram 2)* (Tokyo: Shogakukan, Inc. 1994; reprint ed., San Francisco: Cadence Books, 1994). See n. 18 for discussion of retinal rivalry and covering.
[78] Helmholtz, 4.
[79] Ibid, 19, 23.
[80] Ibid, 23.
[81] J. v. Kries, Appendix to Vol. 3, Helmholtz, 562.
[82] Ibid, 620.
[83] Ibid, 606.
[84] Valyrus, 20.
[85] Ibid, 614.
[86] Julesz, *Foundations of Cyclopean Perception.*
[87] For examples, see Julesz; Rheingold; and *3-D Beyond the Stereography* (Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Museum of Photography, 1996).
[88] This he termed the "cyclopean eye," a physiological mechanism that responds to stimuli. "Once found by neurophysiologists and neuroanatomists, the cyclops becomes a reality." Julesz, 9
[89] Only neurological science remains to take the matter forward, as the real subject has become the cranial place where space exists.
[90] According to Wade, Wheatstone and Brewster were close associates with John Hershel and William Henry Fox Talbot and knew of their experiments as early as 1836. The four men circulated in the same, small scientific community. In Edinburgh, Brewster instructed Dr. John Adamson in making calotypes with correspondence from Talbot. Dr. Adamson, in turn, passed this knowledge to his brother, Robert, whom Brewster introduced to David Octavius Hill. The collaboration of Hill and Adamson is well-celebrated in photography history. Wade, 36, 39. See, also, Batchen for the effect of this scientific community upon the development of early photographies, especially with regard to Talbot.
[91] Other factors aid stereopsis, such as head movement, perspective, placement, and a predetermination of what the eyes see. Theories argue that only a few differential points may be necessary; the brain infers the rest. See Anderson and Nakayama.
[92] It is truly disorienting to see an upside down stereoview, and, though tipping the camera can sometimes have an interesting effect, such as in looking up or down stairs, or at object high above one, it is generally best to avoid radical orientations. Blur is also best used judiciously. The nineteenth-century stereographer sought to avoid such effects, keeping his camera square and plumb and using wide angled lenses for increased depth of field and shortened exposure time.
[93] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulations,* trans. by Paul Foss, Paul Patton, and Philip Beitchman (New York: Columbia University: Semiotext[e], 1983), 142.
[94] Ibid, 100.
[95] Panzer.
[96] Panzer refers to the theories of Quincy de Quatremere. Ibid, 144, 175.
[97] Ibid, 175.
[98] I have borrowed this term from M. H. Abrams' discussion of literary empiricism, 35.
[99] When I refer to "gender," I am speaking about the social construction of the two sexes as masculine and feminine, a cultural set of phenomena, not a given as is sex.
[100] See Mary Ellman, *Thinking About Women* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1968), for an analysis of this sort of diametricalized thinking in gender.

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Chapter Three

The Type and Space of Stereography, Part II:

Parlor, Stage, Picture, Narration

While the experience of stereoscopic space is neurological and cognitive, the stereoscope's place was, since its inception, customarily in the Victorian parlor. "A piece of domestic apparatus without which no drawing room is complete,"[1] the stereoscope was *de rigueur* for any enlightened household.[2] One 1856 commentator claimed that "the stereoscope is seen in every drawing room; philosophers talk learnedly upon it, ladies are delighted with its magic representations, and children play with it."[3] All members of the household took part in stereoscopic pleasure, as we can see by the double-panel cartoon from Frank Bellew, Sr., of 1860, wherein everyone, including the baby, servant, and dog, has become cross-eyed from gazing at the stereoscope (figs. 13, 14). Becoming cross-eyed from stereoviewing is not something that has ever been known to happen, nor is it likely, no matter how much one views, but the thought provides a comic opportunity to express the transformation of the human by the mechanism. An important form of socialization as they were passed hand to hand and commented upon, stereographs were endemic to the parlor and the family. Though viewed individually, they represented, claims Pellerin, a shared vision.[4] That vision, in addition to becoming a conversation piece and pastime, represented the ideals of the room of its placement—a microcosm of the parlor, and the self-image of the family.

The parlor was the stage from which the members of a household launched their public selves, while still under the protection of the domus. An interface between the intensely private and completely public world, the parlor most represented the

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idea of home--protected, quiet, enriched, sacred, and on display for a select audience. Usually a front room in which guests were received and in which family members could retire singly or in groups for private conversations, courting, and as an entire unit in the Sunday ritual of relaxation, the parlor signified the family by a complex signage of décor. A thesis for the home, the parlor was freighted in conception and packed with communication. According to Harvey Green:

> ...it was a miniature universe of culture and education for family visitors. Here the arts and sciences of the museum, concert hall, and schoolroom were translated into the shells and other curios adorning the parlor, the prints and paintings on the walls, the piano and organ...and the books in the library.[5]

The organization of this room, as well as of the whole home itself, was considered the woman's realm.[6] While some exceptions to this rule may have been made for select quarters, it is safe to say that to enter the doors of the Victorian home was to enter into the domain of women, and the parlor, being the very kernel of home, was the place that most bespoke feminine influence--a threshold, or stage, from where it could go forth into the world as an image of self and family. The parlor formed its own lingua of furnishings, appointments and possessions, a sign-culture in which its participants were versed. The communicants in this culture understood the meanings of carpets, window draperies with lace curtains, parlor suites, "reception" or "fancy" chairs, the center table, piano, decorated mantle, objects d'art, albums of pictures and scrap books, ornate lamps, chandeliers, etagères, displayed needlework, and, of course, the stereoscope.[7]

In her study on the culture of the parlor, Katherine Grier discusses its genesis, which by 1850 had reached even remote, rural American households.[8] The nineteenth century saw a great rise in expectations for a home's material possessions, and after mid-century an equipped parlor was expected, even for newlyweds.[9] It became an institution in its own right, into which families poured disproportionate amounts of their resources, devoting large and prime space in the house for an under-utilized room.[10] As the stage for the family, the self-proclamation of its status, and as the unifying speech in a culture

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celebrating gentility, domesticity and progress, the parlor was, next to the raising of children, a woman's sacred mission. Home was the most venerated of symbols and the parlor was a shrine to the "religion of female influence."[11] Within this ritual space, the stereoscope would sit, "often on the center table which had the brightest concentration of light in the often shuttered and heavily draped room...a gathering place for families in a world of precious artificial light."[12] The draped and lit table carried the association of the last supper, and "the holy and sacred voice of home" became a shop-worn phrase.[13] The ritual associations of this room were so common that by the end of the century the word "shrine" for "parlor" began to be used ironically.[14]

The parlor stereoscope reflected the cultural values of its placement, forming a bridge between the cherished ideal of home as a protective haven of values too sacred for the commercial world to sully, and that very world of commerce, transport, and negotiation as it would increasingly come to mould the home in its own image. Not surprisingly, when the stereoscope wasn't traveling its viewers to the world "out there," it was narrativizing them within the world of the parlor. As part of women's domain, the stereoview catered to feminine conceptions of family suitability and taste, and it particularly excelled in depicting the place of its own location. The multiplicity of objects in the typically stuffed parlor yielded many depth cues from near to far in a continuous range within a limited depth of field. Stereoviewing is aided by such a range of objects as one would find in room settings, without large gaps of distance between objects, thereby giving the eyes ample points of comparison within well-defined space.

Two views by Keystone (figs. 15, 16), both entitled *Still There's No Place Like Home*, show the Victorian and Edwardian parlor, respectively. Both of these views have the same file number, 11917, reflecting the fact that Keystone's numbering system tracked titles, not separate negatives.[15] Most likely these prints were re-issued at the same time, in 1909, for both have identical extended legends on verso.[16] The 1903 view has all the requirements of

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the Victorian parlor—large patterned wall paper, potted palms, fur rugs, hand-painted lamp, family members amusing themselves, and, of course, the stereoview cabinet, with the luxury stereoscope on top. The double-parlor divider screen functions as a volume-enhancing proscenium arch before the stage-like scene. In the Edwardian parlor scene, of 1909, we view a more pared-down, simplified "living room" style parlor, sans ornate wall paper, but equally equipped with a stereoscope that the grandmother holds. An attentive young man flips through the stereoviews, preparing the next one for his and his grandmother's viewing. Both these views are arranged much as a stage set would be upon the rising of the curtain that introduces a new act. One half expects the dialogue and action to break forth at any moment from the tableaux. The presentational ideology of these images implies that family unity centers around a shared vision, consonant with the self-definition of the Anglo-Caucasian middle class and the leisured consumption it was to reflect. The stereoscope, along with other parlor activities, symbolized the domestic decorum of the individuals brought into governance by the principles of this presentational room. Prominently to the side of each view, the mother sits, attentive and observant, the one who has orchestrated this environment which governs and instructs the players and their roles.

When depictions indicate that the values of parlor and stereograph have not been maintained, the family is shown in demise, or, at very least, someone is compromised. In C. H. Shute's temperance scene, *A Happy Home Made Wretched by Rum*, 1876 (fig. 17), we see a double stereoview with before and after panels.[17] On the left hand side of the pair, the before, is the civilized bourgeois parlor, with the lady of the house sewing, the daughter at the piano, country landscape on the wall, a portrait on the table, carpeted floor, and the gentleman of the house stereoviewing. The after scene has substituted the glass of rum for his proper "glass," and the parlor is now a wretched room with an abused and bandaged wife, demoralized child, tattered window blind for landscape, bare floorboards, overturned

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table, and not a shred of furnished comfort.[18] The moral: keep your eyes to the view, your money for the stereoscope, and travel by the ocular, not the drinking "glass," for the sake of home and civilization. Stereography more than anything, claims Pellerin, shows the life of the bourgeois in the nineteenth century, through a photographic profession that developed not by its own techniques but, rather, *en famille.*[19]

The stage of the parlor became that of the narrative stereoview, and the function of the view was to entertain and reflect the values of that scene. One author reminiscing on the stereoview wrote that, when he called on his "best girls,"

> the stereoscope and the family album were handed around and became the most interesting study of the evening...They fitted into and formed a part of the typical Victorian parlor with its parted lace curtains, black walnut marble top table, with several never read book sets with careless precision corner wise, the lambrequin, the Rodgers group, the black walnut horse-hair covered furniture featuring the platform rocker, musty large flowered carpet, hair wreaths, waxed flowers under glass cases, coffin plates...[20]

But the man who did not play by the rules of the domestic and stereoscopic met a far less felicitous fate. If, as with the man who exchanged rum for the view, he should discard the stereoviewer for his own reverie, the sleepy gentleman was subject to the whims of the organizing principle of the household—ideas of women. H. L. Roberts' *Caught Napping, Onto Tricks,* of the early 1870s (fig. 18), depicts the fate of one such man, who, waiting for the lady he was courting, asleep by the stereoscope, fell to the hands of women pranksters.[21]

Whether moralizing, sentimental, or comically employed, the stereoscope had a mission of focusing the communicants of a culture on the task of interacting with their values and emulating them through the view. Within a room whose function was to ideologically communicate that the family belonged with the civilized and genteel, the stereoscope connected people through depictions replicating the very space of their location and its ideals. Those blind to the stereoscope, however they were made unconscious to their role as viewers, were not keeping up their part as participants in parlor culture and were thus subject to comic revenge or pathos.

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The stereoscope was a mediator between interior and exterior reality, and, like the parlor where it was situated, also functioned as an interface between public and private worlds. The parlor, Karen Halttunen explains,

> provided the woman of the house with a "cultural podium" from which she was to exert her moral influence over American society. There she ruled as a kind of constitutional monarch whose responsibility was to enforce the hundreds of rules governing polite social intercourse.[22]

From the circumscription of such areas of mediated influence, women and narrative stereoviews were ready to extend the values of private nurture into the more public "world." Privacy and the cult of feminine domesticity, which grew around it, were thought to insure sincerity, or true emotional response, and to provide a safe haven for the expression and cultivation of these. The private experience was universally assumed superior to the public,[23] as the latter was often considered in terms of hard and cold market considerations. The home, by contrast, represented a place safe from the impersonal governance of money, where principles were to be guided by the emotional needs of those who dwelt there, and where the highest values were expressed as "sincerity," "the genuine" and ideal "sentiment." The expression of sincerity was formed and nurtured in this feminine world, considered oppositional to that of man's.[24] Such sincerity was the foundation of a moral character which also fostered the spontaneous and genuine--hallmarks of the true.[25]

Sentiment then was not regarded as it is today—as something artificial. Part of the typological structuring I have previously discussed, sentiment was a system of formal recognition of and response to the feelings of persons in conventional situations. It granted permission for the expression of emotion proper to the situation and thereby facilitated sympathetic bonds with others, a society both correct and individually responsive. The very title, "Broken Vows," produced an expected recognition of shared loss, based on the visual signs for a broken engagement. Such sentimentalism, more than mere conventions, was grounded in an idealism and sense of responsibility that women shouldered.

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Recognizing the signs and sharing valuative meanings was a form of participation in the common emotional health and expressiveness of society. It also contributed to the traditions of finding shared meaning in situations that confront individuals within the group. Sentimentalism forms a cohesiveness that binds the individual to the social value, and women were assumed to be the articulators and more skilled readers of these signs or conventions that in concert raised their language to that of a template and an ideal. Upon women was this burden not only of emotional expressiveness but its semiology. As student and interpreter of sentimental systems, woman was assumed to ensure the health of home, society, even nation.

Burdened as it was, the cult of domesticity, sympathetic, relational, and idealizing of emotional health, carried within its very ideological structure the seeds of its own downfall. The power of home and parlor was "to ensure the banishment of hypocrisy which was threatening the nation with a tide of insincerity and marketplace pretense," while sentiment and sincerity as ideals commanded an ever more scrupulous adherence to correctness. If women's power was emotional, and home was its place, then the parlor as that highly charged expressive place of truth and true nature, had to be ever on guard for falsity or debasement. In order to be true, domestic values had to qualify their sentiment and affection as the right sort, and that could be accomplished only by association with another value, which can be observed. Gentility, or elevated class, became that measure, which meant, in terms of parlor symbolics, a pursuit of self-evident status. Being vigilant carried intangible emotional values to the level of physical fetish, and the signs of status and class became, in themselves, the representatives of value. "The parlor fell prey to hypocrisy because it was the scene for class climbing, establishment of social status and gentility."[26] The parlor then became both the preserve of sincerity and its downfall through the very hypocrisy it set out to guard against. As the century progressed, this communicative space

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became a theater, where self-presentation occurred among set pieces and forms, and character was another part to be played.[27]

Reflecting the transition from sincerity to artifice and irony are the three period styles for narrative views that I will discuss in this chapter—the picturesque, mostly a British and French style of the 1850-60s, with its sentimental view of home life; the naturalistic picturesque, a transitional style of the American and German 1870s and early 1880s; and the personal narrative style of the American late 1880s and beyond, with increased theatricality, characterization, and excess. H. L. Roberts' *Caught Napping, Onto Tricks* (fig. 18), a good example of the naturalistic picturesque, compared with Underwood and Underwood's *The Sleepy Lover* (fig. 19), made in the personal narrative style, approximately thirty years later.[28] The simplicity of Roberts' middle-class chamber, along with the plain and severe dress of the women, compliments their spontaneous expressions. Standing in a semi-circle around the sleeping suitor whom they are mocking, the women engage the viewer with their eyes, pulling us into the joke. We are part of the scene, both spatially and in terms of the gaze, the whole effect being—though clearly posed by actors—one of natural spontaneity, an affectionate tease, shared with us as though we were, as the stereographer, responsible for setting up the prank. Underwood and Underwood's *The Sleepy Lover*, of 1901, has an entirely different atmosphere. The parlor scene is stuffed as an overly realistic stage set typical of Victorian drama, when visual acuity was prized, and interiors replicated down to the most minute detail.[29] As though we were witnessing a posed instant from this comedy, the actresses have frozen in stylized gestures—folded hands, finger on temple, hand tweaking the lover's chin. Again, we are interlopers peering through the invisible fourth wall of the proscenium arch. Both views are theatricalizations from a parlor setting, but the Underwood scene is more clearly a stage set, its equipage over-signing "parlor," and its made-up actresses in stylized gesture—attributes of the emphasis on theatricality and characterization of the personal narrative. The parlor here is

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made of far richer stuff than Roberts' more realistic, homey interior, and, as such, signals the higher status of those within the view—whether actresses or we, the viewers, experiencing 1901's higher standard of living.

Differences in style between views of the 1850-70s and those of the last decades of the century into the twentieth reflect Halttunen's terms of sincerity versus theatricality but can be better understood for narrative stereography—which is always staged—as that between periods of style. The picturesque tableau, which would describe mainly the European views which were precursors to those of my study, integrates the actors into a scenic unit that strives for a harmonious, over-all effect. There are few close-ups (technically difficult), and extreme facial expression is found only in certain comic scenes. More emphasized is gesture, which is integrated as a component of *mise en scène.* Visual symbols are unified into a balanced, aesthetic composition, emphasizing the full environment, with character one function of that setting. The personal narrative style, by contrast, places emphasis on individual character, exaggeration, and a delivery of expressive speech, read in the forms of captions, titles, and narrative stories printed on the stereographs. It employs ample close-ups, piquant gesture, surprise, comical jilts to convention, and the *mise en scène* tends to mirror character significance and action rather than subordinating them to scenic effect. The picturesque may be said to embed the actor in a stage-like environment reflective of genre painting, while the scene in the personal narrative is secondary to characterization.

The transitional style that I term the naturalistic picturesque bridges the picturesque and personal narrative and occurs primarily in America and Germany in the 1870s and early 1880s. The naturalistic picturesque employs many of the types of the picturesque tableau but shifts toward the use of indoor or outdoor settings with a simplified, realistic *mise en scène,* rather than painted backdrops, such as Roberts' *Caught Napping.* Unlike the former picturesque tradition, these views are not usually hand-colored,

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or only partially colored. The American narrative stereoview begins by inheriting British picturesque conventions and transposing them to the naturalistic picturesque. Then, with the big publishers from the late 1880s onward, the style evolves into the personal narrative, which is the predominant one of my study. As the Victorian era closes and the twentieth century begins, we can witness the personal narrative calling more and more attention to its own signage, as the codes, no longer played straight, gather an irony and self-conscious emphasis. At this point, codes begin to break apart under the effect of extremity, devolving into meanings contrary to their original significance.

The "Model Husband" type offers further examples. London Stereographic Company's *The Male Nurse*, 1855-1865, is a picturesque study of the helpful husband, wife, and baby (fig. 20). The trinity of figures is carefully arranged, each person regarding another within the scene, without inclusion of the viewer. A peaceful, harmonious grouping of form and color, this hand-colored scene imitates the tableaux vivants, with actors holding their poses and gazes amongst each other, barely breathing. The reality of crying babies keeping their parents up all night melts away in the gentle, composed scene of a devoted father, and grateful mother, a view whose gender-reversal of the task of nursing has obvious appeal to women, especially those who acutely remember night wakings. Another London Stereoscopic Company view by Alfred Silvester, entitled *3 O'Clock in the Morning*, duplicates almost exactly the composition and picturesque placidity of *The Male Nurse*, while the same title is used by a third, unidentified British stereographer.[30] The disturbance indicated by the hour is communicated by the title alone, with no visual indication of any irksomeness for the chore of sitting up. This sort of scene had market appeal, as the composition was copied in several views, then found its way through pirates or copy views into further publication.[31]

Transferring the theme of the nursing father to American shores, we see in a view dating from the seventies to early eighties that the picturesque tableau has become a black

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and white, naturalistic bedroom scene. Naturalism, here, is exhibited in both the realistic depiction, sans the sentiment of the picturesque, and in the natural tones of the silver print paper. In the Universal Stereoscopic View Company's *The Model Husband* (fig. 21), the calm, posed British daddy has become a pacing American one, one sock on and one off, his wife a picture of somnolent abandon, her arm indecorously falling from the bed and hovering in open space. He gazes at the baby—a very real one who twists his head and arches in that backward-pitching, stiff-bodied manner of irritable infants. In the full light of the view, which no reasonable woman could sleep through, the mother does not open her eyes, nor gaze tenderly at her mate, and most certainly does not look as though she'll sit up with him. The room's décor signifies middle class respectability—carpeting, lace curtains, heavy wallpaper—within a style of photographic naturalism. Dropping the pretense of the triad composition and the picturesque, atmospheric hand-coloring, the unretouched, silver-print American view strikes a truthful tone, with a father who doesn't quite look like he knows what to do and a mother too tired to be anything but unconscious to his plight.

Unlike its European precursors of the 1850s and '60s, the American narrative stereoview of the 1870s and beyond was often untinted. The tinted view grew less and less common as the century wore on, and untinted albumen or gelatin silver prints became the norm. Comprising a smaller share of the market, the tinted view was still available as a luxury item in the U.S., and imported from Europe, though many of these were partially rather than fully colored. Color signified luxury *added* to the realism, thereby justifying a higher expense.[32] While Darrah claims that the more common partial coloring emphasizes the ridiculous in the comic and sentimental view, there are plenty of other examples where partial or unmodeled coloring in no manner equates with an absurd treatment of subject.[33] Rather, selective coloring is semiotically on the fence between suggesting realism and the artificial and serves to signify both. As neither natural silver-paper photographic tone nor natural color, the partially tinted view exists as an obviously adulterated object, signifying

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both hand-work and the transparently real. Artifice forms a coloristic signage, meaning "extra" or "luxury," over the sense of immediacy that stereoviews carry. While the coloring at times does carry a sense of the ludicrous, as Darrah suggests, it more significantly alloys the realism of the photograph and its induced *lethe* of the viewer's time and space with a reminder of the leisure, luxury, and art such a viewer can afford. In other words, the partially colored view is successful in informing the viewer *against* the realism, putting her back into her own being as privileged consumer, while not either giving up the realism and its possibility of transport—another double object. Until the advent of the half-tone-lithographic, colored stereoview in 1898,[34] tinted views of the 'seventies through the 'nineties comprised a minority of the market and, especially when selectively hued, produced artificial-real, semiotically cleft objects. Also of note is the fact that colors could at times work against the stereoptical appreciation of the forms. Unless performed by a meticulous hand, the coloring can float independently, appearing to hover in patches, and inadequately fuse. Whether this is simply the result of carelessness or had an especial effect is dependent upon the particular view/s in question.

Not only in coloration has the original British "male nurse" theme moved far from its picturesque inception. By the 1890s, the American naturalistic handling of the theme develops into farce. In a view by Strohmeyer and Wyman of 1897 (fig. 22), the composed picture of a dutiful father becomes a howling, comical character, overtly theatrical, with a crying child under each arm and a melodramatic personal narrative, delivered as the title—*And only to think me father wanted me to be a Praste.* The "model husband"—whose role still is to allow the wife to snooze away—plants himself front and center, a cinema-inspired close-up, delivering his punch line to the viewer, and backed with a picture of the suffering Christ behind his head. The image of the man-of-sorrows is doubled in the washstand mirror, just as the gentleman's children are twinned. The model husband or male nurse is, here, not only assuming the role of mothering, which his wife has no problem temporarily

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abandoning; he has also assumed the feminine role of an hysteric, a man made doubly ridiculous by expression combined with ethnicity. Associated with immigrants and suggesting a lower class, his Irish Catholicism is signified in the reference to the priesthood and the use of dialect--"Praste," "me father." As ethnic and lower-class other, he is more available for comic feminization, since the stereotypes already lower him to the ridiculous and incompetently violent.[35] A vehicle for multiple plays on the ridiculous, to which is added the stock conception of the Irish as comical, this male "mother" is a theatrical blow-out of excess: the double (feminized) man, whose children are also "in stereo," hysteria doubling the volume; twice-seen, too, is the symbol of the suffering Christ. This view is a long way from the balance of the picturesque parlor or decorously canopied bedroom of sentimental affection. The type of the nurturing husband, dear to the sentimental world view, has devolved into the comedy of parental frustration, an extreme expression born from the common experience of beastly children and impatient fathers. Carrying also measures of racism and classism, this view turns the male into just another "big baby" and the mother into the picture of indifference. The model husband is far less a "picture" than an end-of-the-century howl.

From the British picturesque through the naturalistic and personalized narrative styles, the narrative stereograph carried the theatrical milieu into the home and, conversely, characterized the home and women's world as a kind of theater. In the second half of the century, theatrical parlor games such as charades and home tableaux proliferated. In the latter, costumed participants posed in frozen attitudes to form pictures from fairy tales, folk figures, masque balls, christenings, weddings, Valentine's Day, pageants, and dramatic scenes from history.[36] Popular choices from the 1890s were Cinderella, Mother Goose, Red Riding Hood, Columbine and orientalizing themes. Model stagings for these could be found in a proliferation of manuals and handbooks.[37] Other guides coached amateur actors into codified expressions and gestures evoking stock physical signs for emotions such as

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love, rage, despair, hope, and disdain.[38] The tableau vivant came to be the metaphor for the parlor performance: a struck pose held for a minute. The enactment of these living pictures was considered at the time to be excellent training for young people.[39] By the last decade of the century, claims Martha Banta, commercial illustration and photography had provided a theatricalized pose for every variance of mood.[40]

The theatrical world came pouring through to the home stage, the sincerity thought to be preserved by the ethos of the parlor becoming yet another style for self-presentation. For women, whose realm was purportedly in the home, this meant that since home was yet another public space for spectacle, there was a serious compromise in the nature of that private, protected space and the ideology of sentiment. The barriers between truth and commerce, sincerity and affectation, private and public, home and world stage were increasingly crossed in a network of bridging of which the stereoscope is but one. The front of the business man came to stand beside the female, enacted character, meeting at the portal of home and world, the parlor.

This exterior-interior duality, central to stereo, parlor ethics, and many aspects of nineteenth-century culture, will benefit at this point from a brief look at conventions of the stage. The tableaux vivants of the parlor had their precursors on the public stage with the practice of freezing the poses of actors at the end of a scene for special effect.[41] This evolved into "realizations" by costumed actors of famous paintings, a scene ending that was called in stage parlance, a "picture."[42] The tableau vivant was an expected form of theatre as popular paintings became living pictures through elaborate scenery, furniture, stage props, and immobile actors in "speaking" gestures. In the 1840s, the tableau vivant moved from the legitimate theatre to the concert hall, saloon and tavern. Clothed in flesh-colored body stockings, actors and actresses posed as classical sculpture, neoclassical paintings, and scenes from the Bible. Employing the codes of the Academy and Salon, the tawdry tableaux

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were dressed with the signs of art, passing themselves off as "exact copies of the originals."[43] In New York, these "copies" were sometimes raided by the police.[44]

Narrative stereographs in nineteenth-century America did not display nudity, and very few suggested it on the level of the tableau vivant's thin veils and flesh colored stockings.[45] More to the point is the less easy to define notion of piquancy, which, though the actors may be fully clothed or in some form of undress, eroticizes many scenes. The hypocrisy of the tableau vivant's now-you-see-them-now-you-don't flesh stockings finds a corollary in the self-contradictory values of the parlor's stage, which was thought to be both self-presentation and the preserve of the genuine. On many levels in Victorian culture, the provocative dynamic found justification in the over-ruling ideology of the environment in which it was embedded, so that what appears to us today as contradiction would simply have been regarded, or justified, as an enrichment of environment, a more inclusive view. Again, we come to the notion of transparency, for contradiction and over-enunciation belong to an environmentalizing view, one which stresses not so much synthesis, thesis, and craft, as replication, re-creation, transport.

The most significant common ground between the tableau vivant and stereograph is not so much eroticism but, rather, an environmentalizing approach where the actors were embedded in 3-D, you-are-there, real volume, as though the scene could continue into the space of one's life along with the suggestion to join them. In the erotic scenes, this impulse incorporated an ocular and physicalized sense of moving into the space of the depicted body, and, yet, the reverse can be true—the bodies aggressively move into the viewer's location, inducing a sense of vulnerability.[46] Principally, the impulse facilitates the break down of barriers between media and real life, between painted perspective and real spatial position, and between the photograph and the onward march of time. The stereograph imparted the sense that the photograph was no finite moment but, rather, a scene into which the viewer flooded his/her eyes, sense of physical position, and imagination. As the actors of the

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theater had the habit of stepping out of the frame of a picture onto the stage,[47] similarly did the stereograph offer an invitation to enter the scene.

Melander and Brother's *Gone with a Handsomer Man*, of 1875 (fig. 23), is an example of such a collapse of sequential time onto one space, via the employment of theatrical convention. The theatre's device of rear projection onto a scrim, simulated in this example by a double exposure, superimposes a vision of the unfaithful wife and her lover onto the scene, with the implication that this springs from the imagination of the distraught husband. Within a play, such projections on scrims were often meant to illustrate the internal state of a character.[48] By manipulating vision, or "spirit" photography, so popular in its day, the Melander view illustrates the mental distress of the jilted husband.[49] With his "Dear John" letter in hand, he appears volumetrically through the stereoscope, while the embracing couple of his hair-pulling realization appears as a flat two dimensional projection. This imparts a sense of realism to the character of the husband and a chimerical quality to the wife and her lover. They are posed in the same fashion as a tableau vivant, set back on a stage within the stage, as a couple might embrace in a partitioned area in a parlor theatrical, or an illuminated niche in a theatre. The double printed images also imitate the double-printed, magic lantern (slide) projections of their era.[50] *Gone with a Handsomer Man* stretches the single view into a plot by collapsing two scenes in a double-posed tableau. It prefigures serialization in narrative stereography as well as the sequencing of scenes in cinema two decades later.

In the same year, 1875, F. G. Weller used projection more cleverly in another stereograph pair, *Struck with Astonishment* (fig. 24) and *Struck with a Wet Sheet.* Rather than use double exposure to evoke a theatre-like scrim, Weller used the silhouette of a pair of lovers cast onto a wet, hanging sheet. Physically situated within the scene, these lovers are no chimera from a psychological state, as we see can by their feet and the rather prosaic laundry line. Their amour is revealed, unbeknownst to them, and finds its audience with

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the person playing the astonished mother, and us. In the sequential image, *Struck with a Wet Sheet,* the irate mother gives the unaware pair a great smack, breaking up the screen and its proto-cinematic vision. The couple appears two dimensionally, while the mother appears in three dimensional, active volume, as she is the not only the catalyst for the dramatic action but also a stand-in for the viewer's voyeuristic pleasure in spying. In this naturalistic scene, the affectation of spirit or vision photography is deflated by a comic send-up. In life, we are more likely to find our "spirits" hiding behind a sheet. Theatrical conventions and magic lantern projections are evoked here in a more natural manner, parodying the artificiality of the double, projected, or spirit image. The work of Weller is full of such comic double-plays, collapsing two scenes into one, depicting two differing awarenesses, or by some natural device splitting the field of view, already doubled in the stereoscope, into a pair that suggests the development of plot, thereby yoking theatricalized presentation with the domestic narrative.

For spirit visions and other projections on scrims, the nineteenth-century theatre depended on its increasing technical skill in creating illusions. The goal of imparting to the audience a sense of stumbling upon a world, whether fantastic or mundane, which could be visually apprehended from the comfort of one's seat, was what the stereograph and the theatre both offered. Theatrical illusion carried scene staging into ever greater realism, visual acuity, photographic detail and minutia, highly sophisticated lighting techniques, and excessive stage props.[51] In recreated myths or minute realism, one of the prime goals of the Victorian theatre was to visually demonstrate. In the terms of one 1864 critic, the theatrical audience demanded "to witness such a performance as will place us as nearly as possible as spectators of the original scene or of the thing represented, and this result is only obtainable where accuracy in every particular is secured."[52] By the turn of the century, this aesthetic was becoming a little worn: "the public demand absolute exactitude, they

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delight in photographic accuracy, and are satisfied if the thing produced exactly resembles the original without stopping to think whether the original was worth reproduction."[53]

Stage lighting became increasingly complex and sophisticated, involving spectacular effects with limelight, intense illumination, heavy use of reflective material, electrical lights, lightning flashes, transparencies, scrims, frontal and rear lighting effects, spot lights, and flares foils.[54] The actor was no longer at the footlights, as he had been for much of the history of theatre; he was now integrated with the scenic unit and artistically illuminated.[55] With the use of highly detailed painted backdrops and furnishings and props to rival any stuffed parlor's museum-like atmosphere, the stages of the day created an increasingly visual environment, pictorial and photographic.[56] As the stereograph naturalized the messages of its types and the narrating voice of caption and title, the theatrical environment existed to verify the actor and make him real. The excess of veracity also romanticized the actors. It placed them in an environment made more dramatic by extra visual proof to match, and even increase, enacted emotion. The audiences wanted not just fidelity, but an abundance of proof in an exaggerated, and glorified manner.[57] They desired the theatre to demonstrate the real in terms both objective and quantifiable and to equally prove the intangible truth, signifying, by emotion, what was beyond measure. As with the narrative stereograph, audiences wanted their prose and poetry in one shot.

Like the speaking objects of the parlor, the richer and the more stuffed the better, the stages of stereography and theatre were endeavoring to prove sentimental ideals whose truth could only be measured in intensity, by packing the vision with detail and collapsing the space, physically sensed and psychically intuited, between beholder and beheld. According to one contemporaneous critic, "all must be made palpable to sight,"[58] but that sight was not simply a catalogue of objects; in order to be convincing it must have unity, harmony, and reveal craft. The stage was to reveal through the symbolics of minutiae in

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visual surfeit a realistic picturing guided by the ideals of sentiment, an emotional superabundance complementing the seemingly unlimited assembly of things. "To assimilate to one's own integrity the fullest measure of the most diverse experience," [59] was the Faustian insatiability of Victorian staging, and stereography.

The guiding principle of the Victorian stage was pictorial, and the stage became synonymous with a picture, while stagings and directors attempted to make sets appear as paintings.[60] The theatre sought to make the audience forget they were watching a performance for the impression that before them was a vision as full as the eye's natural capacity to witness, unified into a picture, the world recreated but better than itself for conforming to a sense of emotional truth. If, as Mary Panzer has asserted, realistic art offered a chance for visual journeying and imaginative response,[61] and the theatrical world offered a similar cascade of detailed, picturing illusion, then the narrative stereograph by uniting both traditions gave "sense" to the photograph, making it a Romantic "inner" reality and a scientific, objective one. The too many details and sometimes baffling, inchoate forms of the photograph, its stationary second of unrehearsed time, awkward because of a lack of continuity with the progress of time, thought, and function—all these dangling qualities were unified into a three-dimensional stage, with front row seats for the viewer and an invitation to join the company.

The theatre, the narrative photograph, and the picture were for the audience a matter of attitudes struck and articles assembled for readability coupled with the enhancement of strong, emotional effect. "In a theater of realizations, tableaux vivants, spectacles, and surreal visual transformations, the meaning of a character is its visual manifestation," suggests Nina Auerbach.[62] Aiding the quick readability of dramatic gesture were the conventions of melodramatic and farcical style, which employed extremes in emotional expression.[63] John Fell claims that melodrama and stereographs relied on the freezing of a frame for a tableau special effect.[64] The melodrama influenced stereography

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more in terms of a semiotics of style than in topics or motifs, since the subjects and plots of the former were not especially condensable to the single image or sequential pair. Melodrama required movement to establish its plot, which was typically violent, sensational, bathetic, and adventurous, with villainy stealing the show and virtue triumphing at the end.[65] While we may find selected melodrama topics in narrative stereography, especially British examples, it was more in terms of style than story that melodrama had its influence on American views. A heavy reliance on visual cues, a clear, emotional semiology, and purely scenic morals and points of view were melodrama's principle contributions.[66] It catered to the desire to see allegories of human experience conventionally dramatized for the sensibilities and perceptions of the audience, particularly a lower-middle to middle class one.[67]

For melodrama, dialogue and character were minimized, and value was placed on the visual stage movement and sensational business, which audiences demanded far more than plot development.[68] This provided the conventions of gesture and demonstration which stereography was to employ as well as a market already primed by such cultural codes. The obvious corollaries between stereography, melodrama and silent film can be understood as a sharing of melodrama's semiology of gesture and expression. Rather than plotting a linear developmental course, it is more instructive to view the various media as simultaneously employing these cultural codes. Early cinema would adopt much of stereography's narrative tradition, such as we have just seen in Weller's sequential pair of sheet-struck lovers, which incorporated plot, movement, and punning captions. The influence of stereography upon early cinema is beyond my topic. Pertinent, however, is that stereograph companies employed the cinematic idea in attenuating the story and marketing it as a series, a matter for the next chapter to explore.[69] To understand the common thread between these divergent theatrical media in the nineteenth century, it is helpful to consider the idea of visual consciousness, with its goal of characterization conforming to the

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immediate apprehension of the viewer, observer or audience. By an emphasis on stylized gesture, attitude and expression and a picturesque ideal dependent upon visual realization of passions,[70] the theatres of private and public selves were participating in a culture that emphasized their capacity as readers or interpreters of civilization's signs. To be cognizant and proficient meant to be able to distinguish worlds of meaning in a glance, and, like the camera-eye transplanting "nature" to the interior of stereoscopic consciousness, the language of gesture, pose, and expression also required an instantaneous, transparent apprehension.

Since the late seventeenth-century, theatrical convention had established a universal language of gesture, movement and facial expression for the major emotions, which were believed to manifest themselves in outward forms, so that the actor was to pictorialize the passions, making himself part of the overall picturesque treatment of the dramatic literature.[71] This aesthetic is observable in Henry Siddons' 1822 text, *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action,* wherein sixty-eight types of emotion are illustrated by codified expressions and poses.[72] Siddons' work runs through a gamut of emotive and physical states, such as love, contempt, despair, persuasion, jealousy, conceit, "voluptuous indulgence," doubt, phlegm, thirst, doubt, arrogance, enthusiasm, etc., and characterizes not only expression and gesture but costuming and physiological bodily type-casting for each.[73] These standardized gestures were "the ideal behind the picturesque play" that "justifies the mimicry of the audience over the actors."[74] Just what the author meant by the audience's "mimicry" is vague, but I interpret it to mean the emulative response of viewer to depicted emotion. Response and responsiveness were at the core of the relationship established by codes, a recognition of the importance of viewer, audience, and reader to the demonstration of visual effect and expression.

Divergent fields in the nineteenth century participated in the semiotic reading and systematic classification of emotion. Studies such as Charles Darwin's *The Expression of*

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Emotions in Man and Animals (1872) and the late century expressive exercise regime of François Delsarte provide two examples.[75] These studies may at first seem quite oppositional in intent. Darwin's thesis was to establish the types and conditions of human emotive response through a positivistic system, while Delsarte's program was a system of expressive exercises typed according to the principle of guiding the participant towards free gesture and movement. What unifies both, however, is the nineteenth-century impetus to codify and classify the emotions and gesture, transforming the outward signs into an articulating system. Such codification or rule making is important in a pragmatic art that serves the audience, as opposed to later, more individualistic conceptions of art that discount the audience in favor of the primary consideration of the artist's expressive or emotive state as locus for the work.[76]

This privileging of the audience was not exclusive to art but cut broadly across cultural life. The Victorians, asserts Julie Codell, found the reading of gestures and faces imperative not only in painting but universally through a great number of social fields, philosophies and disciplines.[77] The body became a "semiotic system," representing character through transparent outward signs, painting being just one of many such conveyors of interpersonal signification.[78] Close attention to these was a necessity of survival given the absolutism of vows and social mores governing a woman's life. Her judgment in the reading of expressive signs could make all the difference in the quality of life, as well as her power and efficacy in responding to the needs of those dependent upon her. As this ability to respond and react was often considered her only path to achievement, it is no wonder that sensitivity not so much to the material of art but to the expressive message and its types were paramount.

Part of the staged scene's emotional effectiveness was based on its appearance as a simulated training ground for making life's irrevocable choices. Melodrama catered to this requirement for instantaneous readability with a style that exaggerated theatrical visual

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codes, pushing them into emphatic, archetypal situations and character relationships.[79] Narrative stereography did not adopt many of melodrama's villains, who required extensive plot development, but it did employ melodrama's signs and its sentimental ideal of the outward manifestation of the inner character. When we add to this the theatrical tradition of making asides and direct address to the audience, well-employed by Shakespeare and adopted vigorously in farce, we can see the sentimental ideal of character reading linked to guiding commentary or reigned-in by irony.[80] The direct address was not much employed in European views, but it became a staple of American comic views beginning in the 1880s. It provided a satiric, second level of interpretation to the semiotics of gesture, expression, set, and character type. *And to think me father wanted me to be a Praste!* is one such example.

By reading the semiotics of gesture and environment in the view we can see how the picturesque style borrows from the traditions of theatre and narrative painting, creating symbols and themes that American views will inherit from their British predecessors. In this period, hand-coloring of the narrative stereoview functioned not just to offer an illusion of genre painting, but also to evoke the look of stage lighting. One example is the London Stereographic Company's *News from the War*, by James Elliott (figs. 25, 26), a stereoview sequential pair, where the letter-reading lady receives news of a loved one. This archetypal scene of the soldier's wife receiving a letter would have had especial relevance for those who had recently lived through the Crimean War (1854-56). In those days of the British Empire, when the military theatre was far removed geographically from that of the home, the letter, bearing personal news of the consequences of the action, was often the only story people had. Views of war missives translate the story from the scene of battles, and the masculine legends of history, reportage, politics, and military strategists, to the feminine world of the drawing room and family. In the drawing room or parlor, history was lived, and for the vast majority of persons it was the sole form of history that mattered. The letter-reading wife is embedded pictorially in that room, part of its décor and the reason for

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décor, functioning as a unit of the picturesque whole, on par visually with the upholstery, carpeting, table coverings, fancy clock, wallpaper and drapery. Her dress is of the same material, stiff and thickly woven as upholstery jacquard, wrinkling just as the rich folds and drapery of the table and walls. Her jacket and its piping are detailed in gold in a similar manner to the decorative objects in the room. Here, war is subsumed into the life and ethos of the home, and so this letter reader is the functionary of that home, visually a scenic element, the transposition point for making the world and its conflicts a unified picture under the domain of feminine structure. In its decorous, picturesque harmony it recalls the "conversation" paintings of the previous century, though with considerably more ease of posture and gesture.[81]

In the second scene of the pair, however, the theatre of picturesque harmony is dealt a blow, as sequential action and emotional emphasis disrupts the carefully composed scene.[82] The reader has slumped into a chair, her gaze downcast, the letter dangling with decorous melancholy from her hand, in an attitude of graceful despondency. The coloration has changed between the prior scene and this, indicating that it was not accomplished by the same hand and also suggesting that though a sequence, this pair of stereoviews could be considered independently of each other, potentially complete in themselves. The second scene continues the story—bad news has been received, but, rather than display extreme grief or despair, the actress's characterization is in keeping with the regulated elements of the drawing room, with face partly averted and the gesture mainly carrying the message. Her companion assumes the codified position of beseeching and comfort, assuming the viewer's interest in the specifics of those weighty words. It is her attitude, also completely pictorial, that manifests the viewer's position as eavesdropper and invites the impulse to imagine the content of the letter, to spy upon another's scene. Besides evoking conventional gesture, the scenes reassure in another way, as well. By subsuming the masculine world-out-there within the feminine, stage-set interior world, *News from the War*

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allows us to translate the story into something any one can picture, long before photography was able to arrest scenes of action. Rather than attempt to deliver the impossible, or to recreate an insensibly foreign and bitter scene, this view translates the battle to the native language and gestures of Britain, and sets it on familiar soil. This had been a convention in British narrative painting, one example being David Wilke's 1822 *Chelsea Pensioners Reading the News of the Battle of Waterloo*, which depicted retired soldiers at home receiving the news of triumph in the war with France.[83] Elliott's view, in keeping with the sentimentalism of mid-century, allows the letter reader to enact the feminine expression and memory of war, an emotional essence. Through conventional, dramatic gesture, she says what cannot be seen or spoken.

The history of painting is replete with the conventional gesture and attitude, a semiotics of allowing the narrative to ride upon recognizable body language. The piquant, enacted moment that carries a theatricalized germ of the story was well established in the Renaissance and Baroque eras, and was especially evident in Northern narratives.[84] This tradition, by the time of the Elliott views, had been entrenched in the British public, which prized native narrative and Dutch genre painting, as well as in the prolific offerings of print shops. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century Dutch art, in particular, received a more enthusiastic welcome in Britain than any where else in the world.[85] Paintings such as Gabriel Metsu's *Young Woman Reading a Letter* (fig. 27) would have been typical of the Dutch genre paintings known and available by contemporary engraving in print shops. With themes borrowed from the emblem books that remained popular even in Britain to the end of the century, *Young Woman Reading a Letter* is a study in symbolics, with the signs of letter, maid, mirror, shoe, dog, painting of storm-tossed sea, drawn curtain, and the richly dressed young lady all working in concert to tell the tale of the amorous epistle.[86] The pendant to this painting depicts the letter writer—a young, elegant gentleman dreamily

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penning the epistle.[87] The pair, then, sets up a two scene narrative the viewer is to read through image and symbolics.

The symbol of the letter, besides connoting love, had an association with gentility, for only those who could afford tutors or tuition at that time learned to read and write.[88] The seventeenth-century Dutch turned letter writing into a great fashion, while the English-language counterpart to this fashion occurred in the early nineteenth century, which saw the rise of letter writing manuals filled with "models of sentimental virtue."[89] Romance is the symbolic message of the Metsu canvases, while sentimental virtue and domestic strength in the face of war forms the ideology of Elliott's pair. Similar, though, is the process of symbolically reading the narrative through its signs, as is the gentility expressed both in the depictions of literacy and the décor.

The notion of art as visual story telling was the prevailing one for most of the nineteenth century. Nineteenth-century narrative paintings and the vast progeny of prints they engendered demonstrate an attitude toward art that differs from contemporary expectations. An exhibit and a commodity to be bought and sold, these paintings, like most works of art, were not so much expressions of genius to their audience as they were, simply, products that brought entertainment, edification, and distinction to the home.[90] The newly wealthy middle class sought status in collecting and displaying works of art, formerly a privilege of the wealthy and the aristocrat. The tastes of the *nouveau riches* veered from history painting and religious subjects, long promulgated by Academicians, towards domestic genre, still life, and comic scenes, while the size of canvases commensurately reduced from the grandiose to the more modest. Such subjects were sought after to decorate the new suburban villas, as luxurious accoutrements to be fitted into boudoirs and dining rooms.[91] One critic complained that "the illustration of our history" depends on "the size of our dining rooms."[92]

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Art had become domestic in topic and domesticated not only in display but as a matter of fashionable entertainment. It was narrative painting that kept the crowds thronging to the Royal Academy and made the institution solvent, so successfully, in fact, that protective guard rails were at times placed before paintings.[93] Paintings such as Frederick Goodall's *A Letter from Papa*, 1855 (fig. 28), helped to establish the theme of picturing war through its effect upon the home.[94] Contemporaneous with Elliott's *News from the War*, the painting absents Papa, who is located for the viewer only by feminine signs and the bit of whitish paint representing "letter." This "letter" is the visual inscription of the painting's title, a *mise en abyme*, or fragment representing in miniature the theme of the entire work.[95] The "Papa-meaning" of this letter is an asymbolic blankness held suspended in the blackened bourgeois and nearly tomb-like shadows of this interior. The eyes ricochet between it and the domestic trinity of the wife and daughters, who reconstruct the paternal, and by inference the patriarchal, solely through feminine signs—the home and the epistolary tradition, as well as their association with the romantic story. Realism and readability are key, here, but just as important is the sympathetic response of the audience, channeled through values that read "Papa" antithetically—as the narration, voice, presence, and internalized subject of women, children, and the domus they construct.

Letter-reading imagery as well as that of leave-taking and returning soldier scenes sought to bring war home, domesticating it, and replacing its suffering with sentimental, feminine values. According to Mark Bills, Britain, more than any other country, prided itself on its domesticity, elevating the sentiment of hearth and home to a national ethos.[96] Engravings after crowd-pleasing paintings made such themes available to a broad public.[97] Women were the primary customers of the print shops, which had proliferated after the Copyright Act of 1735,[98] and were more accessible than galleries, with affordable wares illustrating domestic and feminine values.[99] These pictures suited decorative needs, especially prints in themed pairs or groupings.

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During this time, prints were also in great demand as the periodical industry boomed. Over 50,000 titles were published in England, and nearly all were illustrated with prints, from the pedestrian cartoon to the fine engraving in high-quality art journals.[100] The demand for prints formed a response to the social need for imagery that was affordable, disseminated to the masses in large quantities, illustrative of text or linguistic messages, and domestic in every sense of the word.[101] From war reportage to maudlin scenes of children, the printers and engravers supplied a vast body of imagery that was above all meant to be visually read—illustrating stories and themes from well-known narrative paintings and contemporary life. Reading the stories and character situations confirmed that the viewer's mind and abilities were consonant with the values of society at large. The moralizing messages of art engravings, for instance, laden with sentiment, pathos, and stylized beauty, functioned as a rectifying syrup preserving the opinions and mores of the status quo. Even when depicting mythological themes, the scenes catered to middle class values with highly detailed symbolism and rich depictions of interiors. Especially valued were topics of feminine beauty, animals, events, anecdotes, themed pictures in pairs, and allegories.[102] The dominant ideology of home emphasized, as in Elliott's and Goodall's pictures, a surface of morality, continuity and cohesiveness of family life. [103]

The sentiment purportedly at the core of virtuous behavior was intrinsic to the traditions of parlor, stage, and narrative in visual and literary media, while central to the concept of domesticity is the interface of this selfhood of true sentiment with a publicly presentational one. This interface is also at the core of the Romantic ethos, a meeting and negotiation between *cogito* and objective phenomenon. Both Romanticism and the cult of domesticity represented a privileging of private experience, as well as a privatizing manner of interpreting experience. Women's fiction of the time reflected this, as, according to Nina Baym, it filtered the public world through sentiment

> which...is a product of their [women's] education in domestic privacy...for the psychological interiority that constitutes selfhood is particularly female,

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> yet particularly public as well, since only a self is capable of feeling for, and reflecting on, the situation of other.[104]

The artifice of the theatrical and narrative was simply the platform, as the realism of the photograph was the transparent door, for sincere feeling to manifest itself in its types, instantly recognizable and by that token true to the extent that the feeling behind it was honest. The weight of significance upon the types, however, meant that the preposterous, satiric, and absurd were never far off. Hogarth's satirical paintings and prints, such as *A Harlot's Progress* and *Marriage à la Mode,* were eighteenth-century precursors in the sequential, narrative comic tradition.[105] Nineteenth-century, fine-art engravers did not often delve into the comic, and usually avoided the satirical altogether, preferring to align themselves with the sentimental idealism of the paintings they illustrated. The domain of the comic belonged to the engravers for the periodical press, who adapted line drawings from cartoon artists, a sampling of which will be presented throughout this book. Stereographers, adopting the modalities of both the sentimental fine-art and cartoon engravers, managed to steer clear of political or class-conscious satire. In America, satire, when it occurred, tended to reinforce democratic ideals, parodying the every-man, rather than aiming at the excesses and pretenses of an elite.

A comic pair from Britain and America will help to make the point. Another James Elliott view, *Very Pretty Indeed* (fig. 29), dating from the late 1850s, shows a lady who is not the picture of sincerity, though she is picturesque. The hand-coloring and painted back drop emphatically appear as a stage set for this lady and her missive-bearing suitor.[106] She attends upon a gentleman painter, holding his palette and maul stick, but he is too engrossed in *his* picturesque to notice the developing picture behind his back. This clever view makes ironic jest about the pretensions of the society of gentleman painters, as the lady's more earth-bound pursuit punctures artistic ideals. The next step in the scene, which is left to the viewer's imagination, would be the picturing of these erotic possibilities, or the

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picturing of their thwarting by the painterly gentleman's sudden awareness. When the comic sequence was not pictured, often it was implied, the logical next step after the depicted moment, thus providing an inherent tension which the viewer would imaginatively complete.

The theatrical trope of a competitor's amorous, behind-the-back attentions was standard fare in melodrama, slapstick, and farce, and it appears in our American example from ten to fifteen years later. In Melander and Brother's *Treading on Dangerous Ground,* 1870 (fig. 30), we see another young woman receiving a love letter from a man hiding behind a tree. The young lady gazes at her father, who gazes back, and the next scene, completed only in the viewer's imagination, might involve the danger implied by the epistolary exchange. Though still a stage set, this view is naturalistic in style compared to its British counterpart. The black and white of its untinted tonal values render a more volumetric and photographically realistic view, with the back drop playing less prominently in the total area of the scene. Common in views of trickery such as these is the self-absorption of the male, which serves as the vehicle for deception to take place. The picturesque painter and the paper-reading father, because they are inattentive to the needs and desires of the ladies, invite subversion. We have seen this dynamic in Robert's *Caught Napping, Onto Tricks* and Underwood's *The Sleepy Lover.* Types implicitly carry morals—here, we have a warning to guard one's treasures, for the sympathy of women is not to be taken for granted.

A missive offers the stage setting the possibility of another person's presence implied through the narrative read by the actors but verbally withheld from the viewer. The withheld language of another creates an absence that the viewer, experiencing the tension of suspended knowledge, is induced to fill. Just as the stereograph represents a mysterious, neurological creation of witnessed space, the letter is seen evidence of undisclosed internal response. A letter-reading pair of girls from the imported and popular Gems of German

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Life series (fig. 31) gaze intently at their page, which is prominently forward in space, the locus of this scene.[107] The viewer's sense of physical placement in the scene is quite proximate to the girls, a location that would be highly unlikely in actuality without interrupting their *tête à tête.* Yet, we are not recognized by them and are prevented from the disclosure of the contents of the letter. It is this mediated proximity, combined with the simple *mise en scène* and unaffected attitudes of the girls, that contributes to the view being less picturesque than natural. It is, though, an uncanny natural, since we are too close to go unnoticed, at a table's distance, and, yet, the girls do not include us. This imparts an incorporeal sense of hovering witness on the viewer's part, empathetic as though our gaze alone could hold the letter, or, possibly, the letter is from "us." A picturesque view such as Elliott's *News from the War* places the viewer's vantage much further away, filling in the spaces by décor, back drops, and hand coloring, each part harmonized with the whole, the general effect evoking genre painting, Victorian stage sets, and literary narration. Publishers of the 1870s, such as Weller, Melander and Brother, and Loescher and Petsch adopted a different style. By abandoning or paring down the backdrop, simplifying the set, and pulling the viewer in closer to an arrested moment, they achieved an increase in tension and moved towards a more naturalistic style. In the Loescher and Petsch view, narration is experienced as viewer tension, bordering, because of its intimacy, on the erotic and voyeuristic. The naturalizing and personal narrative styles often open the compositional unit to the presence of the viewer, or the tension implicit in absence or sequence. [108]

Jumping forward to the turn of the century, the personal narrative style in Underwood and Underwood's *Translating a Love Letter from a Boston Girl—"Now, does that mean 'yes' or 'no'?"* 1903, (fig. 4) creates a direct confrontation. As I have discussed this stereoview in my Introduction, I will briefly mention two points. The young man addresses the viewer, breaking completely with the compositional unit of the picturesque, a comedic actor such as we would find in vaudeville or farce, with their asides and

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monologues direct to the audience. Secondly, his topic of address, the educated, New Woman, is implied by the effects she wrecks upon her distraught, disheveled lover. The sequential view depicting this New-Woman Bostonian pulling on her gloves, while he holds a cold compress to his chin, does not really need to be pictured, and the set was as likely split apart, with the first view encapsulating the story.[109] Her speech in both views is implied, a silent narration expressed by visual symbols. We will revisit the New Woman in Chapter Eight; suffice it for now to say that this woman was a conglomerate of signs circulated in the popular press and existing in sum only there. In 1902, it was enough to simply gesture or imply her position, and, whether or not she was depicted, she could be summoned symbolically as an *imago.*

Dialogue and narrative have greater emphasis in the personal narrative style. In the picturesque, the harmonious interdependency and integration of the parts forms the governing order. Actors and their gestures are subsumed to the entirety of the organization, and actors or actresses seldom "upstage" the environmental ensemble, though there is some deviation from this in the comic scenes. The distance between viewer and viewed breaks down with views such as the Loescher and Petsch, and *And only to think me father wanted me to be a Praste!.* The second title, as well as *Letter from a Boston Girl—Now Does that Mean 'Yes' or 'No',* presents the title, or part of it, as a dramatic address spoken by the actor to the viewer. Narration in this view and many others of its era belongs to the character of the actor, and character becomes the scene. Even when the narration is a property of the type, as it had been in the picturesque, there is a greater emphasis upon making it appear an original condition of the person or psyche of the character.

Popular interest, asserted Bert Underwood in the 1890s, "can always be measured in terms of the personal equation." He stipulated that Underwood photographers should strive to depict action, novelty, and above all, personality, with the goal in mind of the viewer's vicarious experience.[110] Aiding such goals was the gelatin dry plate, which

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became the new negative format in the 1880s, replacing wet collodion. The dry plate was not only easier to use but had faster speeds, facilitating melodramatic and close-up shots. Technically, the transition from the picturesque to the personal was cemented here, but in effect it had been an on-going development since the 1870s in the more naturalizing work of the small to mid-size publishers such as Melander and Weller.

By 1899, the personalized narrative style was well entrenched, as we can see in Underwood's *Sad News from the Battlefield—Jack has Fallen at Santiago* (fig. 32). The absolute abandon of the wife, prone upon the floor, contrasts sharply with the decorous melancholy of the lady in Elliott's picturesque *News from the War,* forty years prior. In the Underwood view, there is no need for the physical presence of the letter, as title and melodramatic gesture narrate the scene. The actress's prostrate pose echoes the fallen soldier and subsumes it to the female body and the feminine space of home. That busily decorated room is shown in a closer vantage, the prone actress more centralized and a greater portion of the view than her counterpart in the Elliott scene. Gone are the shifts in tint and readily observable individual techniques of the colorist, with their allusion to genre and miniature painting. Black and white emphasizes story and form, a naturalism from the standpoint of the photographic medium. In addition, the open door of this scene reveals another, extended space of the house, a suggestion of an enlarged and actual environment, not simply a stage set. It serves to imply the opening to the unconscious that the actress represents in her swoon and is in keeping with the emphasis on character.

The Underwood view was one of a series of six that melodramatized the Spanish American War (1898) and transposed its events to the universalizing value of home. Other view series from this war theme offer hair-pulling heroines in melodramatic gestures.[111] By such narration, the trauma of war and separation is palliated by being represented by the female body and emoted in her gesture. On one hand, we could characterize this as euphemizing war, glossing it over, or dressing it up for staging. Alternatively, we could

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also say that by grafting the unviewable, unspeakable experience of war to the female physique, by representing it via the semiotic conventions of melodrama, the stereoview is presenting a story that allows society to replace the mentally irreconcilable with the social and familial, a function of the sign which had always belonged to this theatrical tradition and has especial resonance for women audience members.[112] The female body in *Sad News...* becomes the bearer and the expression for events that can not find a meaningful place or communication within home life, since the meaning of home in the nineteenth century was precisely to preserve society by excluding such situations. In a series from Sterro, *I Fear He Will Never Return*, of 1902 (fig. 33), the actress becomes a theatrical ritual of interface between home and war, parlor and society, the impersonal fate of the soldier and the personal face of the survivor.[113] We see in this double-printed view a soldiers' front line as a volumetric extension of the room's space, almost as though it were taking place in the second part of a double parlor. Imagined at home, the war is personalized and narrated from the actress's mind in the manner of spirit or vision photography. While narrative cinema, such as the illusion photography of George Mèliés, seems to have an influence here,[114] since the view sandwiches two scenes and incorporates shadow to suggest a fade-out cut to the next scene, it is also important to note that such doubled printed views have been part of the narrative photographic tradition all along, a staple of both the "vision" type and the composite photograph aimed at art audiences.[115] In Melander's *Gone with a Handsomer Man* and the Sterro view, double printing functions as an illustration of the state of mind of the protagonist and, pictorially, resembles parlor theatricals or tableaux vivants. In years to come, the cinema will develop as one of its fundamental techniques the inference that the next scene, whether segued through cut, fade, or over-printing, has been generated from a character's mental state.

With this personal narration, we have moved from an ethos of sincerity and sentiment (the picturesque) to one of more extreme theatricality, where character was

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aggrandized and sub-divided according to the scenic role.[116] In the late century, the artificial nature of these stagings was open to play and freely acknowledged, as the parlor became a place for theatricals, tableaux, game playing, and a complex social game in and of itself.[117] In stereographs, the singular scene or sequential pair attenuated into the large series, which occurred contemporaneously with the new medium of silent film. The filmic practice of altering the silent scenes with title or narration cards looked directly to the read-view-read-view rhythm of stereography's caption-visual interdependence. The viewer would typically read the title before adjusting the card in the stereoscope, and, as stereograph companies attempted to sell more views by lengthening the series to as many as sixteen scenes, this established a linguistic-visual alteration. The effect of attenuating the story was to quicken the pace of viewing, inducing a more rapid movement to the next view, and intensifying the need for narration, as each view was no longer singly responsible for the communication of visual semiotics. Increasing dependence upon the linguistic carried the viewer's attention from quickly moving view to view and bound the series into a narrative whole.

Signs which once stood for the sentimental ideal of sincerity and inner character had now become self-reflexive and thinned. The little girls "painting" their first portrait in Keystone's hand-colored *Painting Her First Picture*, of 1898 (fig. 34), represents the newer emphasis on personality as a work of "art"--arranged for public presentation and orchestrated by artistic convention.[118] *Painting Her First Picture* makes a play on "painting" and cosmetics, as two little girls no longer represent the sentimental ideal of the picturesque but, rather, the idea that the person *is* the picture, with a presentation of self as a work of art/artifice via commercially available products. The color in this partially tinted view is of note, for such half-way chroma indicates neither the natural nor the transparent. No attempt is made at a realistic coloration, and the soft pinks, blue, yellow, green and red, along with the slightly over-exposed print with its bleached look, offer a rococo-style

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emphasis on artifice. In the stereoscope, the volume of the girl's face in the picture frame juts out before the soft clouds and blue sky of the outdoors seen through the window behind her, so that she seems to float in the oval of her frame before a background reminiscent of the late eighteenth-century ceiling frescos of Tiepolo. In this luxury view, art allusions add another layer of significance to the realism of stereopsis, and the scene is semiotically neither here nor there, partially real, and partially a painted art.

The personal narrative style had inherited character and situation types from picturesque conventions, insuring readability, but new meanings were layered upon or inter-cut with them. Increasing emphasis was placed on depicting struck poses, rather than the outward picture of inner truth encoded within a relational environment. What we witness by century's end is a splintering of characters and roles, with personality as a subdivision of types of character and situations. This pluralism of personality is a factor of its very privileging, emphasizing the accessibility of multiple modes of being and, purportedly, choice among them. By assembling the fast-paced sequence of poses comprising the fractioned story, one comes to the whole, which happens to be the ideal of cinema. It was also the idea of the capitalist breakdown of craft into components or units, the factory assembly line, and the shifting of roles and locations which is a hallmark of the industrial economy.[119] Narration becomes more and more important in the stringing together of the static parts of scenes, just as the conveyor belt brought to stationary workers the material of their repetitive craft. So, too, did the personality reflected in these late-century scenes convey to an audience that it is their internal narrative which strings coherent meaning from stochastic splintered parts, roles, and types. In the shift from one compartmentalized mode to another, the narrative is the life-line of thought dramatizing the pieces into one restructured story.

In *Precaution*, Groups from Life's view of 1868-1870 (fig. 35) the narrative of the "Pretty Nursery Maid," explains the strange looking scene: "Dear Me, children! how often

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must I tell you to wear your hats properly? keep them well on your heads, so! or they will be blowing off with the wind, then there'll be a pretty job to catch them again."[120] These lines could well originate in a theatrical farce of the day, as we could imagine the actress repeatedly pushing down the children's hats during the scene in order to divert attention from her amours. The view is beautifully volumetric, and the viewer has a full sense of the lecherous-looking suitor clutching the nursery maid. In this early example of the importance of narrative in the comic, monologue delivers the laugh, which in a farce could be extended over the time of the scene. The comedy, here, is dependant upon the prejudicial type of the unreliability and higher sexual proclivity of the servant class, but by the 1890s, this type of monologue, as well as an increased eroticism, would permeate the depictions of every class. We find the narrative line either voyeuristic, with the gaze substituting for penetration inside the psyche or body, as in Sterro's confessional *I Fear He Will Never Return,* or it can be confrontational--*And to Think Me Father Wanted Me to be a Praste!* Language fills in as mortar between the gazes, or the permission for the voyeuristic peer into the private nature of thoughts and experience. Whether voyeuristic, confessional, or confrontational, or a mixture of these, the direction of late century scenes indicates that the viewer's experience is vicarious, either identifying with the actors or entering the scene with the passive-aggression of the eyes and the imagination.

The dramatization of life was comprised of pieces of privatized moments strung together like beads by the threads of narrative. The voyeuristic mode functioned as invitation, while the confessional offered a surrogate self for experience. According to Dennis Foster, confession objectifies the self, and narrative restructures it as history; the text becomes the field "on which the reader attempts to realize himself."[121] We can speculate that such narration became historically necessary at the moment when environments no longer seemed to fully represent the cultural self-definitions of people who lived within them, and conventional types of previous generations also became less suitable.

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Narrative stereography, especially of the late-century serial variety, offered optical-linguistic models for a fractionalized and multiple self in a modernizing world, each view an effective pose, and each title an explanation and form of coherency within an historical transformation that had little use for continuity, stable environment, local culture, manifestations of sincerity, or the relational propriety of sentiment. What the modern world demanded was speed, adaptability, mobility, quick readings of situations, and an intelligence capable of responding to specific yet suddenly alterable situations.[122] The serial narrative stereograph offered a model for the making of stories and the dramatization of self when other modes of identity were being swept away, destabilized, or ground down. It was a response to the increasingly impersonal, mechanized, commercial environment and a part of its training.

"It is the titles to my pictures which make them sell," claimed Ben Kilburn, one of the founders and the first photographer of the Kilburn Brothers View Company.[123] This frank acknowledgement of the importance of narrative type in stereography was atypical for its time. Publicity for stereographs focused upon regarding the view as a transparent window or "art goods," not a type or story. The companies, however, were clear on how the salesman should canvass prospects. The Keystone sales agents were counseled to narrate the customer through the sequence of views shown, talking continuously.[124] The sales agent developed a "conveyor belt" technique of sliding one card after another behind the one that the customer was viewing at the moment. After hyping the view in fusion, the agent would quickly remove it from the viewer, and the next one behind it would be ready for instant fusion, as the customer's eyes were already adjusted. In this proto-cinematic method, the customer never had to take her eyes from the viewer, nor would the agent stop talking up interest.[125] The high pressure sales techniques were incredibly successful, as they stream-lined the customers through the process of internally narrating and connecting the spatially inviting views, while removing the physical impediment of positioning each

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one in the stereoscope. Stressed was the continuity of viewing and the method of creating plot structure or context to give cohesive meaning to whatever group of views was chosen.

Serial by nature, the narrative of story or type can thereby fit within a positive (identifying) taxonomy, one which depends upon an *a priori* structure the observer assumes by self-narration through the material. The stereograph describes the space of narration and succession, in terms of both the place of its viewing and the depictions of the views. Space requires time, for the fundamentals of its processing, which are both physiological and imaginative, induce persons to read themselves into the scenes and narrate between them. That reading/viewing, as I have shown, is a visual and linguistic theatricalization, a hybrid between photographic forgetfulness of the present and stereo placement within a situation vicariously or voyeuristically experienced. As such, it shares a common ground with reading, especially of novels, many of which had been serialized since 1838. Both romances and penny issue fiction began at that time to be bound into as many volumes as possible in order to garner more fees at lending libraries.[126] Charles Dickens' novels began as serials, then gained in popularity so that the characters became cultural icons; novels by William Thackeray and Anthony Trollope also serialized.[127] Serialization in engravings had been publicly available since the late eighteenth century, while the dominant nineteenth century tradition of genre painting was also likened to prose fiction, as it accompanied the rise of the middle class and was specifically associated with its increased literacy.[128]

Codell argues that the interchangeability of facial expressions between paintings and persons in daily life was taken for granted, eliminating, for the masses of exhibition-goers, the mediation of the "painting's conventional language."[129] The very circumscription of the home and the limiting of other avenues for self-direction honed women's talent for reading expressions from media and in life. Considered to have the leisure time for reading, viewing, and concentration upon details, women represented the triumph of middle-class space, one symbolically associated, albeit fictitiously, with freedom from work.[130] Men, by

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contrast, were thought to read as they ran,[131] shuttled between the domus and the world of market concerns, the latter of which because it was so vast and potentially without boundaries implied an infinite space, or no particular one at all. In surveying depictions of readers in Victorian advertising literature and illustration, Ellen Garvey claims for reading two types of conception, bifurcated by sex. For men, reading was seen as "information gathering, a form of intelligence," gleaned while commuting, while women, by contrast, were shown reading at leisure, "in hammocks, or gracious homes, leaning against trees, in lovely dresses—an indulgence."[132]

The association of the novel with women has been a truism since the eighteenth century.[133] It became so much the norm by the later nineteenth century that the novel reader was presumed to be a woman or girl,[134] and reading was thought to belong in the home.[135] Many essays and reviews of the period devoted themselves to the issue of reading women with the express concern of how literature shapes the feminine mind.[136] No book, in fact, since the nineteenth century, asserts Nina Baym, can hope for popular success if it does not attract a large number of women readers.[137] This is certainly also true in the periodical market, where, since the 1890s, the association between women readers, advertising and imagery catering to women has been a key to the success of the majority of magazines.[138]

Depictions of the reading woman are plentiful in periodical literature. F. Beard's *Novel Reading in the Kitchen,* 1871 (fig. 36), with its untended baby and cat at the milk pitcher, was typical for cartoons of the period. A sentiment prevailed that the female sex was dangerously addicted to novels,[139] an affliction which ranged in B. W. Kilburn's stereography from begging the indulgence of family members--*An Interesting Chapter,* 1897 (fig. 37)—to their comical neglect in a view where the reading woman has no time to sew on her husband's buttons—*More Prose than Poetry,* 1892.[140] The worry of Victorian writers, almost all male, over the power of novels to ruin women[141] is taken up in a comic vein by at least one British stereographer, possibly James Elliott, who depicts an uxorious husband

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giving his wife a pedicure whilst she reads (fig. 38).[142] The "ruin" of women via reading is not given heavy-handed treatment in American views, either. Though dinner may indeed be ruined, and men imposed upon, the reading of American women is not direly consequenced but an object for humor—or erotic delight, as the lady becomes an object of passive beauty, for a penetrating gaze.[143]

By contrast, when men or boys are seen reading in narrative stereography, they are usually being duped or are the butt of the joke. In Melander's *Treading on Dangerous Ground,* the father absorbed in his reading gives license to his daughter's lover. Underwood's *The Sleepy Lover* is made similarly vulnerable by the soporific effects of his literature. In the Littleton View Company's *Retouching Portraits* (fig. 83), the reading father is literally given the "brush off." Melander and Brother's *Grounds for Divorce,* 1872 (fig. 39), depicts a gentleman who, falling asleep over his reading, allows his wife a liberty, all of which is spied upon by the maid behind the door. The pile of papers in the foreground is spatially prominent, as well as the volumetrically-seen books upon the desk. This is a rare example of a view of infidelity by a married woman, and it is significant that the trope of the male made inattentive by reading is the theatrical facilitator for the scene, which incorporates both vicarious and voyeuristic pleasure. That is, women can identify with being extra-maritally courted, or with the spying maid's implication of justice soon to be delivered, or simply with the voyeuristic interest in the spicy story. The Melander view cleverly encapsulates several scenes into one and collapses the theatrical act in spatial layering.

Reading, besides providing erotic escape, also represents knowledge and power, though in narrative stereography men are almost never the recipients of it. A boy in Underwood's file negative, *Books that Helped Me,* circa 1900 (fig. 40), is *standing* on his pile of books, in a visual parody of a rather earnest tract designed to guide young men toward uplifting reading. *Books That Have Helped Me* was an 1896 Appleton anthology of reading

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personally recommended by a host of professors, company presidents, and other distinguished men and women.[144] Underwood's sequential image, *To Get There*, shows how this "uplifting" bibliography has helped the boy—having hoisted himself on the table via the stack of books, he embraces his girl.

Books certainly increase the power of women, too, but their gain through reading is shown in the narrative view as men's loss. The New Women type frequently depicts women readers who abandon housework and children, purchasing their leisure through their husband's submission to "women's work." When one can make out the reading material in these views, it is of the leisure type, not feminist ideology. In Keystone's *The New Woman*, 1896 (fig. 41), she reads *The Ladies Home Journal.* Another New Woman reads the humor magazine, *Puck.*[145] Clearly, the sarcasm here is that when women place their burdens upon men, they celebrate their freedom with nothing else but idleness and entertainment. In spite of the virulent sexism, the Keystone view, like many others of the type, is nearly jubilant in its piling on of the details of male suffering. The beautifully spatial view opens into three rooms, led by the angle of the New Woman's pointed boot past her bloomered leg towards the husband stuck at the wash tub, the cook pot gleaming behind his head, and the messy table which he must set, lay, and clear, visible in the furthest room.

It is a rare occurrence in narrative stereography to see a man profiting from reading. When the view is positive toward the male reader, it invariably is couched in a type I call "the happy father in the bosom of his family" (i.e. the Keystone pair "Still There's No Place Like Home"). At the sacred hearth, the contented male is placed, reading to make himself available to the domestic order of the wife and children. In stereoviews, reading was generally a sex-bifurcated business of knowledge and power stripped from the man by his self-absorption, or by *her* act of reading. The typical narrative rendered the male vulnerable by his reading, as he violated masculine gendered activity and authority by this

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passive and self-absorbed act. He therefore laid himself open to the advance of interests contrary to his power, an open door to the comic. As the gender-locus of stereo's narrative was female, when men were involved, the story tended to subsume his authority and power to the female-local space. Narrative stereographs, when they depict women readers, offer a shift of power away from unbounded male spaces and onto site-specific, feminine actresses and localities.

Within these spaces, reading as a practice had much in common with stereoviewing. Over and over they depicted the space of their own consumption, and they depicted that space devoted to escapism, or somebody else's house and life. Speaking of female reading, James Machor asserts that in the nineteenth century it represented a form of self-validation and confirmation of the already known.[146] Nina Baym cites the conflict between the stability of familiar types and why people read—for pleasure and excitement.[147] For the stereography of my study, the type contained the aberrant seductions of the narrative and normalized them. Against the constraints of Victorian life, the type packaged the known in environmentalizing space and detail, with a personalized narrative voice providing a voyeuristic or confessional thrill. While the narrative stereograph could not provide the development of the novel, plot, it did provide a novelistic escape from the confines and limitations of the home while depicting that very home itself, typified in the parlor and characterizations women knew how to instantly read. Usually comprised of single scenes, or sequentials that could be split up, the stereograph was a hybrid of reading and viewing that offered a reorientation of interest, valuation, and power within women's settings and interests.

The type conformed the story to a symbolic order, a linguistic template, while the narrative personalized the view physically realized in the viewer's mind.[148] The type externalizes and, photographically, renders the story "natural." According to Carol Armstrong, the title or idea of the photographic image in illustration functions as an *a priori*

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looking for proof, while images grant artificial authority to the text, ex post facto. In terms of fantasy photography, or tableau vivant, the text-image relationship is one of a selective picturing and "proving" of the fiction in a real time and space: I saw it, therefore it exists.[149] The viewer's personal sense of finding a real proof of fantasy is the seduction of the view, one which, for the narrative scenes, takes from an *a priori* idea, or type, the structuring of truth and nature seemingly represented in the photograph and stereoscope.

For Roland Barthes, the narrative is a double object, both believable and false.[150] A product of bourgeois society, the narrative story represents a hybrid or doubling that is dependent upon the illusion of the real, while also signing itself as fiction.[151] The effectiveness of the illusion of truth (or type) is a product of its universality, which, in order to be truly universal, must include falsehood. Such universalizing indicates, for Barthes, a bourgeois view point--an attempt to encompass all.[152] We can see this dynamic in the types of narrative stereography, which, like many Victorian media, demonstrate a sort of greediness for including as much as possible of the world. Victorian types offer an encyclopedic attempt at including a spectrum of acceptable society, as well a visual packing of the field of view with realistic "credibility." Demonstrating parlor life and its ideology, the Victorian narrative stereograph both proved and protested—through irony--the stage of its own performance. A theatrical true-false, it was meant in its day to be read as precisely that: real fiction. The connoted of the photograph and the physiological stimulation of the stereoviewer joined with the theatre of the parlor, farce and melodrama, as the viewer lost herself in the illusion, safe in her knowledge that it was just illusion. The stage and actors melodramatically gestured, and she felt accomplished in reading their signs and constructing the story.

In the picturesque tradition, the actor remains embedded within the environment, part of the harmonious whole. In the later, specifically American views, the signs are expressed in individualized gesture and the narrator's speech. The picturesque places the

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viewer as witness or observer, while the personal narrative posits her as eavesdropper, voyeur, or one listening to confession, with its concomitant relation to spying and gossip. In both styles, the reading of signs, as reading itself, is intrinsic to interpreting the cognitive meaning and its space.

As the century drew to a close, we witness the conventional types begin to suffer strain and devolve, as the home and domestic feminine ideology began were no longer central. A crisis in the typology occurs, indicated by increasing satire, such as the New Woman type. What once had functioned as a picturesque whole, then a naturalistic moment, came to be understood as a sign not so much of nature as its own conventions. In the more psychological turn-of-the-century view, the type intensified, came close, attenuated into the series, and eventually turned its signs against their origins. The end of stereography's popularity is marked by a more rapid pace of consumption and a shift to the dominance of monocular photography in half-tone print media. We also witness a psychological intensity that, because the focus is upon personal traits and sub-characterizations, facilitates the types' multiplying into more and more signs, while the time spent on each shortens.

We can witness up to and including this time a grafting of many fields onto the stereograph's signifying ability. The conventions of theatre, narrative painting, and the lingua franca of the parlor demonstrate a packing of the visual field with a surfeit of "proof." Whether inducing a visual journey or a detailed reading of signs, these fields of practice rely heavily upon depicting a spatial environment that invites either vicarious experience and/or confirms the witness' readerliness in interpreting and culturally adhering to instituted codes. The ideology of sentiment and the visual journey of theatrical and painted pictures were manifestations of a consciousness that required super-abundance, detail manifesting the character of intangible passions, experiences, or the genuine and sincere.

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The stereograph provided these requisites for demonstrating actuality, and, by adding narrative, it bespoke the human drama enacted through the transformation of space beyond that of spectacle—to a mantle, a second skin of environment. That these were photographs of play-acting gave license to an enhanced demonstration, for their fictive aspect removes the pressures of formalities and ideals and allows a model that is academic in the sense of a simulation, or test. Hence, the narrative stereograph is both unreal and bound to demonstrations of truthfulness that can neither be seen nor measured, and so must be created. Romantic at the core, and representing that bourgeois demand of which Barthes speaks for reflections of its manicured universe, the narrative stereograph is fiction that grafts the narrative impulse to the will for the objective, concretizing the word with optical certitude, and allowing the emotive world of women and their families a space mentally re-imaged, one viewer at a time.

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[1] J. H. Pepper, *Cycolpaedic Science Simplified* (London: Frederick Warne, 1869), 68; as quoted in Wade, 1.
[2] Peter E. Palmquist, *Lawrence and Houseworth/Thomas Houseworth & Co.: A Unique View of the West, 1860-1886* (Columbus, OH: National Stereoscopic Association, 1980), 12.
[3] Robert Hunt, *Art Journal* (March, 1856), 11; as quoted in Earle, 28.
[4] Denis Pellerin, *La Photographie Stéréoscopique...*, 16.
[5] Green, 93.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Grier, 29-30, 78.
[8] Ibid, 72-73.
[9] Rothman, 152.
[10] Ibid, vii.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid, 97.
[13] "Holy and Sacred the Voice of Home," a well-used phrase at the time, is also the title of a Kilburn/Davis stereograph of 1897, depicting a family parlor scene, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[14] Ibid, 98.
[15] Darrah claimed that Keystone's numbering system was chronologic, according to the date of issue, not separate negatives: *The World of Stereographs*, 50. While it is true that different negatives shared the same number, chronology of issue was not the logic. My research reveals that file numbers correspond to titles, not individual negatives, or dates. Keystone's system was not strictly or even essentially chronologic, as subsequent negative dates would share the numbers of previous issues, based on the title, or concept. Robert Wright reports that Keystone's subjects have many numerical gaps over a large span of numbers, so that new titles could be interspersed within the broad numbering system: "Keystone: An Issue of Issues," *Stereo World*, vol. 3, no 2 (May-June, 1976): 8-10. I have found quite a few other pairs of different views, evidently from separate photographic sessions, that shared the same title and file number at Keystone. It is safe to predict therefore that for this company the title was represented by the file number, while the quantity of separate negatives for this title was unrecorded. Neither is date clearly indicative of the year of the

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photograph but, rather, the date of publication, as is the case for many stereoview companies. For comparison's sake, I present the following. File number 433, *Don't Get Above Your Business,* has two completely different views, one dated 1893, the other, 1904. There are also two *The New Woman Barber* views, file number 2300, dated 1896 and 1899, respectively. A pair of different views, *A Sad Predicament,* file number 689, is dated 1900 on one view, while the other's date was not printed, but from the appearance of the card I would place it between 1893-95.

[16] The extended legend in these views was a bit of hack patriotic writing. The prose attempts to direct the viewer's attention into appropriate channels. I offer the last sentence as an example: "But at the foundation of all our glory, the best thing under our flag, is the true American Home."

[17] Temperance literature and plays were prolific in the second half of the century. In 1850, *The Drunkard,* was the hit play of P. T. Barnum's stage, while *Ten Nights in a Barroom* became a standard of stock and touring companies throughout the country in 1857-58: Glenn Hughes, *A History of the American Theatre: 1700-1950* (New York: Samuel French, 1951), 188. For a history of women and the performance aspect of the temperance movement, see Susan Dye Lee, "Trampling Out the Vintage," in Helen Krich Chinoy and Linda Walsh Jenkins, Eds., *Women in American Theatre* (New York: NY: Theatre Communications Group, 1987), 19-24.

[18] The Stereoscope was often called a "glass."

[19] Pellerin, *La Photographie Stéréoscopique...* , 22, 25.

[20] William Wallace Taylor, "The Old Stereoscope in the Parlor," *Hobbies,* no. 12 (Feb. 1937), 62.

[21] This view was likely preceded by F. G. Weller's *The Sleepy Lover,* c. 1871, collection of the author.

[22] Halttunen, 59.

[23] Ibid, 351.

[24] Green, 288.

[25] Abrams, 298.

[26] Ibid, 64.

[27] Ibid, 165-185.

[28] Also of the same title, *The Sleepy Lover* is a very early F. G. Weller view, c. 1870, The Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of American History.

[29] Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre,* 13.

[30] Alfred Silvester, *3 O'Clock in the Morning,* hand-colored albumen stereograph, The New York Historical Society. British, *3 O'Clock in the Morning,* collection of the author. The views date from the late 1850s through 1865. The flooring this view is the same pattern as the flooring of the unidentified British view, *The Empty Cradle,* (fig. 9).

[31] Pirate view, the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, MA. The two views are remarkably similar in composition, down to even small details.

[32] The Keystone Company advised its salesmen to offer hand-colored views last as "something extra special" after the purchase of other views. Keystone View Co, *Manual of Instruction for the Use of Salesmen* (Meadville, PA: 1903), 82. Views were billed as "art goods," while constant reference was made to stereo's unmediated transcription of the real, or nature. Keystone View Co., *Manual of Instruction for the Use of Agents* (Meadville, PA, 1899), 6, 82. The Universal Photo Art Company's manual advised sales agents to promote hand-colored stereos, at the luxury rate of twenty-five cents a piece, with the words, "nature as it is." Messerschmidt, 11-12, 20, 23.

[33] Darrah, *The World of Stereographs,* 43.

[34] For the lithographic stereoview, see Darrah, *The World of Stereographs,* 53-56.

[35] The stereotype of the violent Irish, inherited from British ethnocentrism, has been deeply embedded in American culture, dating back to colonial days. In Pennsylvania for example, Scotch Irish settlers were permitted to settle the more Western counties, as the English considered that the "war-like" Irish would help guard the frontier. Phebe Earle Gibbons, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott and Co., 1882; reprint edition: Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2001), 97. Kate Sanborn has written on Irish stereotyped humor: *The Wit of Women* (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885). See chapters five and six. Constance Rourke traces the immigrant Irish comic types to post-Revolutionary times: *American Humor: A Study of National Character,* 2nd ed (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959), 78.

[36] Halttunen, 174-5, 181.

[37] Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 641-42.

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[38] Halttunen, 179.
[39] Ibid, 184.
[40] Banta, 634.
[41] This practice, according to Richard Altick, began in 1811: *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 342-43.
[42] This practice was firmly in place by the 1820s. Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, 9-10. The representation of art was what distinguished the tableau vivant in stage practice from the technique of simply freezing the poses of actors. Altick, *The Shows of London*, 343.
[43] Tracy C. Davis, *Actresses as Working Women: Their Identity in Victorian Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 128. Davis provides a history of thinly veiled eroticism of the tableaux vivant, 124-131. She locates their origin in the *Comedie Italienne*, where male actors posed as classical art beginning in 1761.
[44] Prof. Keller's troupe of artistes were raided by police in 1847 and 1848 for posing scenes from art and the Bible, dressed only in flesh-colored stockings whose seams were warmed away by lighting: Altick, *The Shows of London*, 348. Other raids occurred in New York in 1849: Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), 125.
[45] There is an uncommon stereoview of an art model posed in a body stocking: Keystone Mast Collection, unidentified, file number W/M932. There is another unidentified view of actresses stepping out of picture frames, entitled *Living Pictures*, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[46] Fell, 163.
[47] Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, 18.
[48] Vardac, 35-9.
[49] Spirit photography, usually a double-printed scene, was at worst a hoax and at best an evocation of the Victorian era's preoccupation with death, spiritualism, and afterlife beliefs. See Arthur Farrell, "Spirit Stereoviews as a Reflection of Victorian Values," *Stereo World*, vol. 24, no. 5 (November-December, 1997), 4-12. The only book length study on spirit photography is not one I can recommend because of its assumption that the spirits so photographed are real apparitions, though it does contain some historical notes: Fred Gettings, *Ghosts in Photographs: The Extraordinary Story of Spirit Photography* (New York: Harmony Books, 1978). James Elliott's *The Orphan's Dream*, 1860s, is an example of one of the better spirit views. It is viewable on the George Eastman House's web site: www.geh.org.
[50] Robert C. Allen, *Vaudeville and Film: 1895-1915: A Study in Media Interaction* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), 59-60.
[51] Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, 13.
[52] E. W. Godwin, *Western Daily Press*, 11 Oct. 1864; as quoted in Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, 21.
[53] Beerbohn Tree, *Treasure Trove*, 29 October, 1900; as quoted in Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, 14.
[54] New colors were achieved from chemical fumes rising in burning boxes. Glass, foil, glitter, and tinsel in clothing and battery operated circuits throughout the stage and within costuming and props were also notable. Ignited lycopodium or magnesium powders made for other spectacular effects. Vardac, 88.
[55] Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, 61.
[56] Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, 82-92.
[57] Ibid, 108.
[58] William Bodham Donne, *Essays on the Drama* (London, 1858); quoted in Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, 209.
[59] Abrams, 221.
[60] Nicholas Vardac claims that the Romantic ethos combined with the realistic, objective trend, culminating in a visual presentational style that paved the way for film. Vardac, 22. To see the Victorian theatre as a developing movement towards a cinematic end is simplistic, yet Vardac did lay a foundation for the study of the visual consciousness of the nineteenth-century stage. See Fell, xv. Subsequent writers such as Michael Booth have avoided the use of literary terms such as Romanticism and Realism and the conceit which places them as oppositions on pendulum-like swings, but, instead, have looked at the stage of the era as a form of spectacle, whether creating

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fantastic illusions or pedestrian ones. The synonymous treatment of stage and picture was by mid-century an automatic response. Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, 10. See also, Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age.*

[61] Panzer.

[62] Nina Auerbach, *Private Theatricals: The Lives of the Victorians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 34.

[63] Fell, 12.

[64] Ibid, 59.

[65] Melodrama evolved from the Drury Lane tradition of the dumb show with music, which satisfied the need for theatre for the masses as only two patent theaters were licensed to perform plays with script in early nineteenth-century London. Ibid, 12-14.

[66] Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, 62.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Vardac, 22.

[69] Fell emphasizes that motion pictures represented the "surfacing of an entire tradition of narrative technique which had been developing for a hundred years." Fell, xv.

[70] Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, 150-151.

[71] Ibid, 120.

[72] Henry Siddons, *Practical Illustrations of Rhetorical Gesture and Action Adapted to the English Drama from a Work on the Subject by M. Engel* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1822).

[73] Ibid, n. pag. Siddon's adaptation of Engels was not the first study of its type, but it was the most comprehensive and systematic. Previous studies include: Charles Le Brun, *Conférences sur l'Expression des Différences Caractères des Passions* (Paris, 1667); Pierre Camper, *Discours par Pierre Camper sur le Moyen le Représenter les Diverses Passions* (Paris, 1792).

[74] Siddons, 218.

[75] Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872; Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Anna Morgan, *An Hour with Delsarte: A Study in Expression* (Boston: Lee and Shephard, 1889). Darwin's study analyzed a series of emotions, with photographic illustrations by O. G. Rejlander. Darwin asserted that emotions play a role in evolutionary being and survival, and are innate and universal, though some appear to have been cultural adaptations practiced over a long period of time. Darwin's work in this field was part of a larger trend in the nineteenth century to typify expression and make its examples "speak" for conditional truths of human nature. Delsarte's work presented an exercise regime, part physical education, and part theatrical presentation of emotive states. Delsarte's study, seemingly oppositional to Darwin's in its emphasis on free movement and expressing the "soul" through space, sequence and time, also partook of the systematization of fixed gestures and expressions, in spite of a late-century symbolist rhetoric of personal transcendence of forms.

[76] Abrams, 25. Placing the locus of the art work within the artist's psyche, biography, or emotional response is the critical topic of Abrams' study on the Romantic movement.

[77] The Victorians developed a physiological-emotive semiotic system through "social life, phrenology, physiognomy, pathognomy, theories of racial, nation, and class characteristics, empirical habits of perception and imagination, and the burgeoning fields of anthropology and psychology: Julie F. Codell, "Expression Over Beauty: Facial Expression, Body Language, and Circumstantiality in the Paintings of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," *Victorian Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2 (Winter 1986), 273.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Booth, *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, 155.

[80] Ibid, 189.

[81] The conversation painting was often a stiff ensemble of aristocratic and upper-class persons, reflecting a fashion for group portraiture in Britain wherein the communal activity of those depicted reflected their belonging to polite society. See William Vaughn, *British Painting: The Golden Age from Hogarth to Turner* (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 50-65.

[82] This scene, too, looks to the "conversation" pictures of a different mien, such as those of Johann Zoffany, who achieved renown for his paintings of actors in recreations of theatre settings. For his paintings of David Garrick, posed in character and at home, he was especially celebrated. In addition to his talent for acting, Garrick was known for his separation of the audience from the performance

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and use of the raised stage and footlights. The stage under his direction had come to resemble a picture. Ibid, 63.

[83] The appeal of translating the foreign event to a local environment, coupled with nationalistic fervor, was so intense that a barrier was placed before the painting when it was shown at the Royal Academy. Ibid, 158.

[84] See Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983) for her discussion of "captioning," 207-220.

[85] In 1815, the British Institution exhibited a large show of Dutch and Flemish paintings lent from private collections. Another exhibition of Dutch art followed in 1857 in Manchester. DiGuilio, *"Narrative Photography..."*, 102.

[86] For a discussions of this painting, see: Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., *Vermeer* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988): 41; also, Alpers, 192-199. Alpers' text works against an emblematic reading of Dutch art, arguing for the extra-linguistic or visual values of the paintings' representations, rather than their symbolic value. While Alpers' argument has merit, it represents a more twentieth century valuation of painting. To the nineteenth-century viewer, and, indeed to the viewer from any century to some extent, the symbolic meanings of the articles in the painting were essential. Linguistic and extra-linguistic elements combine to form the puissance of the painting. I am emphasizing the readerliness of these narrative paintings. Yet, of course, they are *paintings*, not stories, and the image values remain primary. For the symbolic values of Metsu's painting, it is important to note common seventeenth-century associations: letters were signs of love; shoes and dogs, fidelity; mirrors, vanity; the storm-tossed sea, a turbulent future; curtains, privacy, the domestic, and the feminine. Many of these associations were story-telling signs of long-standing. In the seventeenth century, they circulated widely through emblem books. For reprints from the Emblems of Francis Quarles, see: http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu/home.htm. Also, *A Selection of Emblems from Herman Hugo: Pia desideria; Francis Quarles: Emblemes; Edmund Arwaker, Pia desideria* (Los Angeles, U.C.L.A., William Andrews Clark Library, 1972).

[87] Alpers, 198.

[88] This gentility was becoming a mark of the middle class in the Netherlands, as the rise of literacy was more pronounced there than in any other country in Europe during that century. Letter-writing had become a fad with the Dutch, as widely available epistolary manuals demonstrated courteous forms, of which the love letter was one, and letter writing was emphasized in private, French schools. Ibid, 193, 197.

[89] Halttunen, 113.

[90] Helene E. Roberts, "Exhibition and Review: the Periodical Press and the Victorian Art Exhibition System," in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolf (Leicester University Press and University of Toronto Press, 1982): 80.

[91] Ibid, 88-89.

[92] Review by "J" in *Art* (1859), 274; as quoted in Roberts, 89.

[93] Since the Royal Academy received no support from the royalty for which it was named, nor from Parliament, all expenses had to be met from monies earned through the sale of catalogues and admission tickets at the annual exhibitions. Guard rails were placed before the paintings of David Wilke and William Frith. Melvin Waldfogel, "Narrative Painting," in *The Mind and Art of Victorian England*, ed. Josef L. Altholz (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 1976), 163.

[94] Ibid, 168.

[95] I use the term *"mise en abyme"* rather loosely here, intending to signal that the absence of Papa is read through signs that disturb and empty the signification of Papa/fatherhood, which the viewer reconstructs from extra and contradictory meanings. For the concept of *mise en abyme*, see Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. Geoffrey Bennington and Ian MacLeod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 24-29; also, Craig Owens, "Photography *en abyme*," *October* 5 (Summer 1978), 73-88.

[96] Mark Bills, *Art in the Age of Queen Victoria* (Bournemouth: Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, and Lund Humphries, 2001), 26-27.

[97] See Charles Algernon Tomkins, *Ordered on Foreign Service*, 1865, mezzotint after the painting by Robert Collinson; and Henry Thomas Ryall, *Home! Return from the Crimea*, 1856, mezzotint after the painting by Sir Noel Patton, in Rodney K. Engen, *Victorian Engravings* (London: Academy Editions, 1975), 32-33.

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[98] The narrative and comic artist, William Hogarth, sponsored this bill. Vaughan, 29.
[99] Panzer, 9.
[100] Bills, 104.
[101] The doubling of England's population coupled with the sharp rise in literacy made for the financial success of engravers, who operated their shops in a factory-like manner, with each aspect of print making devoted to a separate apprentice or group specializing in just that task. This greatly speeded the process, which had previously required days for only one print, and made the engravings more and more affordable. Their huge financial success, as well as the decline in quality to meet market demands, eventually stigmatized the medium. Engen, 6, 8.
[102] Engen, 9. E.D.H. Johnson, *Paintings of the British Social Scene: from Hogarth to Sickert* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 90.
[103] Johnson, *Paintings of the British Social Scene*, 81-83.
[104] Baym, *Woman's Fiction*, xxxi
[105] There is a vast literature on William Hogarth. For a start, see: Bernadette Fort and Angela Rosenthal, Eds., *The Other Hogarth: Aesthetics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Matthew Craske, *William Hogarth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
[106] A sister view in my collection shows the suitor kissing the lady's hand, rather than passing a letter.
[107] Published in Germany in the 1870s by the firm Loescher and Petsch, and popular in the U.S., Gems of German Life focused on women and girls posed in natural, domestic environments, with letters, books, sewing, or similar props, many of which, as the letter, introduce an absent narration.
[108] While the Elliott view, *Very Pretty Indeed*, may offer the tension of sequential action, it is still very much an example of the picturesque in its compositional manner—the actors placed far from the viewer, with a lack of eye-contact, and an emphasis on the painted backdrop.
[109] I have, in fact, not found these two views together but have pieced them from separate collections—the Keystone Mast file negatives and my personal collection. It is uncertain whether the file negative was published.
[110] Bert Underwood's personal correspondence, as quoted in Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 47.
[111] An example is Wasson/International View Company's, *Bitter News from Santiago—While Saving the Colors, Robert Baron Wounded Mortally*, 1902, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[112] Laura Mulvey presents the semiosis of melodrama as a drive for conscious articulation through extra-verbal communication of what cannot be acknowledged, as it is a marginal or repressed condition. She analyses this with respect to women and their position in cinema and television of the 1950s. Mulvey, "Melodrama Inside and Outside the Home," in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989): 63-77. See also Peter Brooks, who prior to Mulvey, discussed the melodrama as articulating ineffable qualities that are fundamental to human relationships: *The Melodramatic Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).
[113] *The Dream—Jack Has Fallen on the Field of Battle*, file number 956, is the sequel to this; followed by *Here is Jack's Last Message, Mary*, file number, 957. Both are in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society. It seems from the narrative style, however, that several more views would belong to the series.
[114] David A. Cook, *A History of Narrative Film* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 13-18.
[115] Oscar Gustave Rejlander and Henry Peach Robinson consistently employed double or multiple printing, layering the print from many negatives. Jones, 90.
[116] See Halttunen for the conception of an age of sincerity versus the late century theatricalism.
[117] Ibid, 174-185.
[118] A preceding view, *A Speaking Likeness*, was photographed and hand-colored by the London Stereoscopic Company, c. 1865, George Eastman House, Rochester, and is the earliest use of this theme that I have found. It depicts a little girl sitting behind a portrait frame held by a well-dressed woman. Another example of the theme is Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's *Nellie's First Painting*, 1897, The Helen Mosley Collection, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[119] For the transformation of the local and regional economies into a national, impersonal one, see: Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982). For Taylorization and its cultural impact especially on artists, see Karen Lucic, "The Machine Age in America," in *Charles Sheeler and the Cult of the Machine* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 16-33.

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[120] Groups from Life was an American company known for its pirating of American and British stereoviews. See Treadwell and Darrah, *Stereographers of the World*, n. pag. This view, however, has none of the appearance of a pirated stereoview, and I speculate that it is an original photograph from this time period. The caption on the back reads "Original Groups." By the rounded corners of the card, I would place its dating between 1868-1870. The printing on the card stock is obviously of this period. The dress style, already "dated" by this time, would have been completely out of fashion after 1870; it is therefore possible that this view is a very good quality pirate of a view from the early 1860s. Some exceptionally printed pirate or copy views are as good as and even better quality than originals.

[121] Dennis A. Foster, *Confession and Complicity in Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 5, 7, 10, 13.

[122] Wiebe; and Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, discuss the socio-cultural adaptations in the 1880s and '90s in response to the national, corporate, commercial culture.

[123] Southall, 77.

[124] Brey, 9.

[125] Keystone View Co., *Manual of Instruction for the Use of Salesmen* (Meadville, PA: Keystone View Co., 1899), 9; Keystone View Co., *Manual of Instruction....* 1903), 38. F. A. Messerschmidt, *Manual of Instruction from the Universal Photo Art Co.* (Phila. and Naperville, IL, 1902), 12.

[126] Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1973), 5.

[127] Ibid, 52. Dickens' serials began with *The Pickwick Papers* in 1836. Eleven more of his novels were serialized, along with four of William Thackeray's and eight of Antony Trollope's. All appeared in monthly or weekly installments. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, 65.

[128] Johnson, *Paintings of the British Social Scene*, 12.

[129] Codell, 267.

[130] The establishment and maintenance of the middle class household involved great amounts of on-going labor, which fell to the women and girls of the house. The privileged often had only one servant, a maid-of-all-work. Most middle class women, according to Patricia Branca, did not fit the picture of the leisured lady since they lacked the resources to escape into the stereotype of idleness: "Image and Reality: The Myth of the Idle Victorian Woman," in Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner, Eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1974), 179-191.

[131] Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, 97: The Victorian reading public was often depicted and described as a hurried one, reading on trains, and devouring quick periodical literature. This was the standard description for male readers.

[132] Garvey, 172.

[133] Patricia Spacks, *Gossip*, (New York: Knopf, 1985), 259.

[134] Baym, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers*, 39

[135] See Kate Flint's *The Woman Reader*, 48-49, for a study of the issue of reading, its gendering, and conceptions of how reading shaped readers. See also Baym, *Woman's Fiction*..

[136] Ibid, Baym. See also, Edward G. Salmon, "What Girls Read," *The Nineteenth Century* (London), vol. 20, no. 55 (Sept. 1886), 515-29; Herbert Maxwell, "The Craving for Fiction," *The Nineteenth Century* (London), vol. 33, (June, 1893), 1046-61.

[137] Baym, *Woman's Fiction*, 227.

[138] Bogart, 5. Garvey, Chapter 5, "Rewriting Mrs. Consumer."

[139] Welter, 165-66.

[140] Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Treadwell identifies a James Elliott view as *The Model Husband*, in which a man washes his wife's feet: *English Masters*... I have not been able to determine if this is the same view. I have seen a Groups from Life pirate of a British view with the same title, collection of the National Museum of American History, the Smithsonian Institution.

[143] William Rau/Griffith and Griffith's *The Latest Novel*, 1897 is a mildly suggestive view of a woman with exposed ankles, leisurely reading upon her bed in a bourgeois interior. Collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.

[144] Edward E. Hale, Prof., William T. Harris, Pres., Pres. John Bascom, et alia, *Books That Have Helped Me* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1896).

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[145] Graves/Universal Photo Art Co., *Maria, I Won't Wash Another Dud*, 1900, collection of the author.
[146] Machor, 74,
[147] Baym, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers*, 190, 194.
[148] Earle, "The Stereograph in America: Pictorial Antecedents and Cultural Perspectives," in *Points of View*, 18.
[149] Armstrong uses as examples the Arthurian legend tableaux of Julia Margaret Cameron's photographs for Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, though the relationship of "proving" the idea through the eye-witness of the photograph also applies equally to narrative stereography. Armstrong, "Photographing Literature: Julia Margaret Cameron's Excerpts from Tennyson," 361-432.
[150] Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero*, trans. by Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 33.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

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Chapter Four

Egg Money: Women and the Market for Stereography

The stereoscope's placement in the parlor has governed its history, giving its topical choices and themes a deference to female taste, for women orchestrated its situation, performed in its spaces, and re-performed its sights. From the beginning of the medium, sales to women or on women's behalf were key to its commercial success. Stereographs were not, however, considered strictly of interest to women, as were fashion magazines or the woman's novel. The stereoscopic photograph was meant to be enjoyed by all in the domain of the home, a marketing placement that meant women's interests and values almost always came into view.

It is hard to find a medium with an intended universal appeal which so unfailingly depicts women in its advertising, as does stereography. It is rare to find an advertising image for stereographs that does not depict at least one woman. Occasionally, a child or children will be shown alone with a stereoscope. I have seen only one image depicting a sole man, and none depicting a group of men.[1] From one of the earliest advertising stereographs, *D. Appleton's Stereoscopic Emporium*, of the early 1860s (fig. 42), to a woodcut from the 1908 Sears Roebuck Catalogue, *An Evening at Home with the Little Ones* (fig. 43), women are central to stereoscopic marketing. In the Appleton view, note the lenticular (Brewster) stereoscope in use by the seated woman, and the large, Beckers style revolving

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stereoscope shown by the salesman to the other female customer.[2] By the 1870s, lenticular stereoscopes had passed out of favor for the more practical and efficacious Holmes-Bates style viewer, seen in the above Sears advertisement.

That women were the possessors of stereoviews is evident from the inscriptions on the backs of the cards themselves. Most stereoviews bear no inscription, and almost none do after 1890, when dark grey card stock replaced the more common color of ivory or buff.[3] Less than six percent of views from the days prior to dark grey card stock carry inscriptions or stamps. Most wrote just their last name and first initial. Others used a stamp with a variation of their name and/or a symbol. Thus, the assignment of sex to the collector is often uncertain. In approximately half or a little less of the inscriptions, the sex is discernable by the use of a first name, or a symbol implying femininity, such as a floral initial. From my personal collection, the inscriptions on narrative stereoviews which are gender determinate are in a 3.5 : 1 ratio of women to men.

Two sets of inscriptions in particular bear analysis. On the verso of a view entitled *Ruth and Obadiah*, c. 1868 (figs 44, 45), are two personal inscriptions: "Presented by Mrs. Geo M Berry to Julia" and "Mrs. Julia B. Warren." According to Treadwell, *Ruth and Obadiah* depict a just-married couple in bed, not knowing what to do next.[4] The title on verso of another print of this view confirms this interpretation of the scene--*Shall We Sleep First, Or How?*[5] Ruth's quizzical hand gesture, and Obadiah's frustrated, knuckle-to-knuckle one, his glance at her, and her indirect glance to him, the washstand mirror spatially reflecting nothing but floor and a corner of the rug, all strike a comical and sentimental note, in a view which in all likelihood made a jesting gift from a married lady to an afiancéd one. The recipient thought enough of the view to mark it as belonging to her collection by inscribing her married name on the shorter end of the verso. This view was typical of the sort imported from Britain and sold in America during the 1860s for 35 to 75 cents[6] in stereoscopic, stationery or print shops, variety, dry goods or general merchandise

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stores, jewelers, opticians, picture framing shops, and mail order catalogues—all of which were frequented by women.[7] Until the pirating of views during the economic depression in the 1870s, which dramatically decreased prices and quality, large collections of stereoviews were luxuries, each view, and especially the hand-colored import, representing a price of up to fifteen dollars in today's money.[8] This present from Mrs. Berry to Julia, therefore, may have been offered in a light spirit, but it was likely more than an article of trifling consideration. I'd like to speculate that Mrs. Berry, a close, older woman relative or friend, was attempting via socially acceptable humor to prepare Julia for future awkward moments. Julia, apparently, accepted the gift in the right spirit, and claimed it with her married name. Such a jest communicated the sexual situation that was not to be openly acknowledged yet bound the two women as persons in possession, or soon to be, of such experience. In popular comics and literature, "Ruth and Obadiah," or simply "Obadiah," were names associated with unlucky or hapless people, particularly where affairs in love were concerned. They were also in various forms used to signify persons who were awkward, lower-class, unsophisticated, or those of a priggish, Evangelical bent.[9] From the unceremoniously draped clothes (with a laboring man's suspenders!) over the bed's base-board, we can read a measure of their comic simplicity, which no doubt served between Mrs. Berry and Julia as a sort of in-joke, as though to say—surely, it will not be *this* ridiculous for you. Mrs. Berry's joke was a guise for confidence building and bonding between women and can be read not only comically but sentimentally, as well.

Coded depictions of sexual expectation--and its blockage--were appealing to women of the day, in views such as *Ruth and Obadiah,* where the license for contact did not entirely remove the psychological barrier, and comedy provided relief. Such tension relief was one that appealed to women, as sexual anxiety may be commensurate with greater risks for females, as well as more restrictive social mores. Another view of blocked sexual expression bears an inscription by a woman, in the second scene of a sequential type

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popular among publishers from the 1870s until the end of the century, "Bliss" and "Bliss Disturbed." The first scene of F. G. Weller's *Bliss*, 1875, depicts a courting couple who have fallen asleep in an embrace and remained so until two o'clock in the morning, when they are discovered by "Ma and Pa" (fig. 46). The sequential image, *Bliss Disturbed*, delivers the "punch." The parents stand between the separated couple, fists ready. Chairs and cushions are overturned, rugs bunched up, and the irate Pa is showing the young suitor the door, while his lady is subject to an ear twisting from Ma (fig. 47). This latter view carries the inscription: "Carrie A. Kinnear Portsmouth N. H. 1875." The first scene in the sequence bears the stamp of a traveling salesman, perhaps the one who sold the view to Miss Kinnear.[10] It is significant that Carrie Kinnear placed her full name, locality, and date, in beautiful penmanship on verso, identifying perhaps with the frustrations of "Bliss Disturbed."

Stereoviews, directed at a home and female-inclusive market, were also manufactured by a largely female work force. Though men seem to have been the photographers and publishers, factory production was performed by women's labor, as was hand-tinting.[11] The female factory workers include printers, washers, refinishers, cutters, mounters, order and shipping clerks, office workers, and, in two instances in the early twentieth century, foremen of the factory.[12] Views were handled by women at nearly every stage from factory to parlor, while the upper management and sales end, with one documented exception, were the domain of men.[13]

Commercial stereoviews are characterized by three waves of production, roughly corresponding to the three stylistic periods I have described in Chapter Three--the European picturesque, the American and German naturalistic picturesque, and the American personal narrative. The first wave, the picturesque, characterized production in England, France, and to a lesser extent, Germany, from 1855 to the 1870s. French production ceased with the Commune and the Franco-Prussian War in 1868,[14] while British

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production continued well into the seventies, but popularity and inventiveness sharply declined in that decade.[15] Because of lax and non-existent copyright laws, American pirating of European views contributed to the demise of the British, and to a lesser extent the German market.[16] German firms began production of picturesque stereoviews as early as 1862, and, in the 1870s and 1880s, of remarkable naturalistic picturesque views, in a style for which they are widely known.[17] The golden age of European stereoviews can be considered as spanning approximately twenty five years, between 1855 and 1880. The British views, seconded by the German, have had the most influence upon American narrative view topics, though examples from all three countries are well represented in U.S. collections.

The 1870s were not overall an economically healthy time for the second wave of narrative stereographic production, but these years of world-wide depression coincided with the growth of the industry in the United States. Though large lay-offs and railroad strikes occurred in this decade, there was also prosperity among farmers, and in some industries, quite a few of them experiencing cyclical growth.[18] Beginning slowly in the late 1860s, after the war, and gaining momentum in the 1870s, solo photographers and small publishers began to issue views that looked toward the British picturesque for subject matter and types but began to significantly depart from them in style. This is the decade of the greatest inventiveness for American views, and some of the more original and artful compositions are to be found at this time. In an attempt to distinguish the shift in style from British precursors, I have identified the views of this decade as the naturalistic picturesque,[19] a style characterized by the following: a lesser degree of the overtly sentimental and an increase in comedic effects; more realism of the studio set and props and a lesser reliance on painted backdrops; more development of stereoptical properties; a greater fidelity to simple depictions of middle-class, agrarian, and working-class domestic life without recourse to the signs of the European rustic, peasant or cottage scene; and a

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shift toward natural photographic tones, rather than hand-coloring.[20] Such attributes are often matters of degree and are offered, here, in an attempt to characterize the shift in general outlook of the narrative scene when it leaves England and travels to American shores. Photographer-publishers include: F. G. Weller, Littleton, New Hampshire; Melander and Brother of Chicago; child photography specialist, M. M. Griswold, Washington, D.C.; Adirondack photographer, Seneca Ray Stoddard; and C. H. Shute, Edgartown, Massachusetts.[21] Excepting a few isolated examples that remain from before 1865, these photographers, among others, represented the first American narrative or genre-view stereographers, and each has a body of inventive work.[22]

Franklin (F. G.) Weller, whose work has been presented already in this study, was the most prolific of early narrative stereographers in America. His name became associated with the term "sentimentals,"[23] and he is credited with being the first in the U. S. to develop the comic view.[24] Specializing in the narrative view, with over 250 such titles, he was fundamental to establishing their market in the U.S. and was the greatest influence on the naturalistic picturesque. His stereoviews originated many of the types and titles that subsequent publishers would codify for the next fifty years, such as the ever-popular "Bliss" and "Bliss Disturbed." Second in influence would be Melander and Brother of Chicago.[25] This ordering remains for the availability of views today.[26] As the market was beginning to wane in Europe, Weller can be credited with helping to bring it to America and reinvigorate the genre with clever narratives that situated the view in homey, realistic interiors, and studio settings evocative of the outdoors. In terms of marketing, the Weller view is not distinguished from those of other publishers, sold through mail order, to shops, and through independent traveling salesmen and peddlers of various wares. What distinguishes the Weller view is its broad-based narrative appeal, along with the photographer's inventiveness, charm, and skill in handling themes that illustrate the common woman's life. Weller's work establishes a folk domesticity, the sense that we could

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be in anybody's home, and this democratic style helped to reorient the narrative view from the look of aristocratic pretenses in Britain to its middle-class set in America, paving the way for broad marketability in the future.

Illustrating this are two view sets, one by Weller and another from an unidentified British publisher of the previous decade. Between 1874-75, Weller issued a three-view set, which, typical for narrative scenes at the time, could be sold either individually or as a group. Each view stood self-sufficiently but, taken together, formed an unusually allegorical and moralizing story in the spirit of Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*, with its three time periods of past, present, and future. *Ancient Courtship* (fig. 48) was the most popular, its studio set evoking a primitive farmhouse of the sort with which many could identify. Though Weller, here, was still heavily reliant on the painted backdrop, as he was in the *Bliss* sequence, the untinted brown and white of the albumen tones coupled with the down-home atmosphere provide a higher degree of popular realism than its partly tinted, British precursor, *The Entanglement* (fig. 49), from the early 1860s. In both views, the courting gentleman is held immobile by becoming a human spool for yarn—a common sign that meant the man was no casual suitor but had already become familiar to the family and was treated almost as such. The presence of a dog contributes to the domestic atmosphere and is a sign of fidelity. The dog in the British view, though, is a decorative addition to the home, while that of the Weller view is clearly a working hound. Weller has adopted this common courtship theme from British examples, but the similarity between them ends there.

The 1860s British view depicts an upper class interior, and its tinting allies the scene with genre painting, theatrical stage sets, and popular lithographic prints of a commercial nature, many of which were selectively colored in the periodical press. Her yarn mass is entangled, and her gaze is down toward it, carrying the metaphor that she has similarly caught the man in love. By her dress and the rich town-house interior—with a

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painted back drop revealing a city view—it is clear that the woman's use of yarn is strictly a leisure pursuit, while "entanglement" is central to her definition as woman—that is, snaring the right husband.

The Weller scene carries an entirely different message. There is a sympathetic, watchful eye-contact between the couple, and the yarn is not tangled but straightly spun between the young man's outstretched hands. She holds a ball of yarn and a bobbin, while the presence of the spinning wheel and her rolled up sleeves indicate that the yarn will be used for basic necessities. By this date, spinning wheels were a sign of an earlier era, or of a self-sufficient, rural existence, as industrially milled yarn was affordable and available. The title, *Ancient Courtship*, then refers to courting by engagement in common tasks and chores, a practice that was still very much the norm in more rural areas, young people socializing as they worked. No more than a boy, the young man is dressed as a farmer or laborer but "spruced up" a bit in order to pay a call. The atmosphere in the Weller view, the "ancient" spinning wheel notwithstanding, still stood as a reality for many in its day, when working together formed a bond between men and women in which mutual regard prevailed. In this scene, it is the woman who held or with held the affection, and who directed the course of the relationship as she engaged her suitor's participation.

Weller's second view, *Modern Courtship*, provides a sour sequence. A "May and December" relationship is developing between an elderly suitor and a young maiden, who is, with down cast eyes, putting up with the attention for the evident reason—a financially secure position as evidenced in the back drop painted to resemble the high-ceilinged rooms of the wealthy. [27] In the British pair, too, an undesirable outcome has occurred. In *Non-suited*, the actress has her back to the suitor and is casting a disdainful glance over her shoulder at him, while he stands at a polite distance and glances sideways at her.[28] It seems that the "knot" slipped.

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Weller's third view provides the final "happy ending." *Future Courtship* of 1875 (fig. 50), shows a medical student at his desk, surrounded by anatomical charts, books, chemistry equipment, and other equipage, including a skull, in an unusual sort of courtship. A young lady has her hand upon his, and the couple gaze at each other. Gone are the parlor trappings, the painted back drops, the spooling of yarn, and other signs of the bourgeois life or country couple. The studio set is entirely naturalistic, the light coming in from the left as through windows. The man smokes a cigar, and a spittoon is present in the foreground, both signifying male culture. The "future" here is of a double nature—an implication of courtship which will occur in the future after medical studies, and, also, the future of courtship, which Weller suggested involves a commitment to professional success. A new class of young professional people was beginning to characterize American life, and work outside the home would change the future of expectations between the sexes, courtship, and marriage customs.[29] Between the ancient and future courtships, the body posture has changed between the sexes. In the former, the courting lad leans forward toward the industrious, country woman, who sits with reserve; in the latter, the beautifully dressed woman with little need to spin or labor is leaning, seeking a response, while the medical student reclines with reserve in his chair. Weller indicated that the ancient days of home-based, mutual tasks have provided a model of cooperative work, and in the future, work, too, will have its priority, as the tasks of the learned professions and the patience and restraint they require are the pathways to happiness. These, not marriages of convenience, will dictate relations between men and women and provide the access to middle class life and its privileges--such as stereograph collections. The satire against indulgent hypocrisy that marked the work of Hogarth has been replaced by a sincere, protestant work ethic, as Weller moved the viewer from the corrupt "modern" stage of matches for money towards an imagined, companionate future.[30]

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In Weller's views and the naturalistic picturesque on the whole, types appear to be generated largely from the stereographic space itself. In the earlier British picturesque, types are often layered upon a stage-set or back drop. Literary, theatrical, or comic constructs appear intact, continuing the signs of the other medium and transferring their two-dimensional referents to the studio of the stereographer. I interpret this two and three dimensional juxtaposition not as crude or casual but, rather, as intended signage, allowing the viewer to "read" theatrical or literary significance into the photographic and stereo verism. *The Entanglement* and *Very Pretty Indeed* appear to transfer the theatrical set intact onto stereoscopic space. In the American tradition, by contrast, there is an increasing effort to erase the referents of other media and create an illusion of an actual environment photographed in documentary proof as a story of that place, witnessed by the viewer. The untinted photographic tones increase stereopsis by decreasing coloristic interference, and the sense of transport or voyeurism is keener than with the British precursors. As the century progresses, it will become more difficult to locate in the view the referents from other media for the type. Eventually, as the large publishing houses copy saleable types, views will start referring more and more to other views, and they will generate their own subculture of photographic tropes and environments.[31] This self-reflexive system characterizes the look of the corporate view, which I have called the third wave of production, the personal narrative, beginning in the 1880s.

That decade witnessed a rise in take-it-yourself stereoviews. Amateurs could stereograph their own scenery and travel views, and every town had its own photographer who specialized in local scenes. This increase of amateurs and small operators spurred the market for narrative scenes,[32] as these were too complicated for the average amateur or provincial shop to stage. The more demanding production of narratives paved the way for the small publisher to garner a market and, as demand was created by new marketing techniques, the small operation became the large corporate one.

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Littleton, New Hampshire, plays a very influential role in this development, so profoundly, in fact, that I have often thought it must have been something "in the water" of that town that made it the stage for the mass-marketing of stereographs. Perhaps the water helped for processing prints, but, visually speaking, it was the White Mountains, a tourist mecca for New Yorkers and other Northeasterners, that made Littleton a location, and all her photographers, at least in part, scenery-supported. Mountain views notwithstanding, it remains uncanny that not only Weller, but two other publishers, the Kilburn Brothers and the Littleton View Company, both of whom play a key role in the third wave's mass marketing, were located in this town. A few developmental points in the mass-marketed, personal narrative style of stereography are crucial at this juncture to our understanding of how women became the targeted purchasers. In the following brief synopsis of the development of the large corporate publishers, I have chosen to omit much that is available in previous histories, adding well-established research in end notes. For my understanding of "the lights of Littleton," I owe much to the research of Thomas Southall, Linda McShane, and George Hamilton.[33]

Weller's photography had been predated for two years by Benjamin Kilburn, who began to stereograph scenery in 1865.[34] Kilburn's days as a photographer waned after 1875, when his brother, Edward, retired, and Ben (as he was usually called) hired a corps of photographers.[35] According to one source, Ben ceased photographing entirely after 1880, and he died in 1891, after which the Kilburn production was certainly the work of anonymous, professional photographers, possibly including James M. Davis, who distributed Kilburn views beginning in 1882 or 1883.[36] It was during this time in the 1890s, when the company was run by Ben's daughter and son-in-law, that we see the large numbers of Kilburn/Davis narrative views.[37] For this study, Ben can be considered as a scenery photographer who occasionally produced narratives and who, most significantly, established the world's largest stereographic publishing business. Employing

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photographers, acquiring the stock of others, and using his own views, Ben Kilburn marketed the "B. W. Kilburn" label all over the world, first by printing and selling extensively to wholesalers, then by developing the idea of the door-to-door canvasser, both initiatives establishing the field for the third wave of stereography. As early as 1874, the Kilburn Brothers had the largest stereographic factory in the world,[38] adding six additions from 1885 to 1901.[39] Orders ranged from 1,000-2,000 views *daily*, for the years 1872-1874, a sum that was bolstered by an extremely large order of 1,100 dozen views to E. and H. T. Anthony.[40] With an expanding wholesale business, the Kilburn factory's orders often exceeded their production capabilities.[41] The factory continued for another eighteen years after Ben's death, being in continuous operation from 1865-1909. At closing the stock numbered 100,000 negatives.[42]

The "B. W. Kilburn" market label functioned somewhat as stock photo companies do today, but with a decided emphasis on maintaining a pronounced Kilburn stamp and copyright on each card. Being one of the first in this line in the U.S., the Kilburns sold their stereographs to many other retailers besides Anthony, which makes attribution of views less than completely conclusive.[43] Of greater importance at this point is the understanding of these mass marketed views as corporate products, a supply of stock images for wide distribution and consumption that was national, then multi-national, as the export market developed in the late 1880s and 1890s. The Kilburns were first in this new style of production, wherein the photographer became anonymous, and the label reflected the publisher, while the view itself signified types and styles of popular taste, filed by numbers coding titles, each of which represented concepts of marketability. We should note, however, that some photographers in this period, such as William H. Rau, did achieve copyright control, name-labeling of their work, and called themselves artists.[44]

The development that more than any other spurred competition was Ben Kilburn's initiation of the in-house, traveling salesman, that brought his own company's corps to

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door-to-door canvassing. Beginning in New England, Kilburn agents were within a few years canvassing over the Northeastern and Midwestern United States.[45] At prices of $2.00 per dozen for uncolored stereographs, the agents found their views easy to sell and were more successful in rural areas, particularly with the comic and sentimental views.[46] Observing the success was another Littletonian pair of brothers, William and George Bellows, who went into competition with the Kilburns in 1883. The Bellows brothers began the Littleton View Company with stock of F. G. Weller, which they had acquired from G. H. Aldrich, and incorporated it without attribution into their new company.[47] By this time, stereography had become a mass-marketed, corporate-controlled medium, run by financial managers, rather than photographers. Negatives had become "stock" and were more a matter of investment than authorship.

One of the most influential players in corporate growth and consolidation was the Underwood and Underwood Company, founded by yet another fraternal pair, from Ottawa, Kansas. Inspired by the Kilburn method, Bert and Elmer Underwood, a canvassing book seller and bookkeeper, respectively, began with stock from the Kilburn Brothers, then later added that of others.[48] Within the year, the Underwoods had groups of agents canvassing the mid-West. One of their first agents, James Davis, left the company after a tenure just long enough to learn the method and in 1882 started his own company to distribute Kilburn Brothers' views, and some other producers.[49] Davis' distribution of the Kilburn stock helped to keep their factory running through the next three decades and provided, through his agents, market competition for the Underwoods.

The Underwood brothers are the first example of stereograph publishers who were not photographers but strictly businessmen, creating a market by supply and innovative sales technique.[50] Using the purchased stock of other companies, then building their own corps of photographers by 1897,[51] the Underwood and Underwood Company vigorously marketed through direct mail and display advertising, but the door-to-door canvasser was

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the real key to success. Making this possible was the national and multi-national economy emerging during the latter two decades of the nineteenth century, as localized economies were supplanted by large, bureaucratic and corporate systems, brought together by the intercontinental rail road. Following the linkage of small towns by rail, a network of supply created demand. An invasion of city-made goods was distributed through this nodal system of structure, and the U. S. witnessed the birth of the traveling salesman invading the countryside like a "market colony."[52] The key target of sales was the middle class, specifically, women.[53] They had the interest to acquire more than simply the necessities of life and made time to spend with the salesman who would supply them with the requisites of parlor gentility, leisure, refinement, in short, all that the lady of the house desired to attain middle-class status. Consumerism was fanning outward from the urban areas and experiencing an explosive growth in the rural and small town market, with the ground prepared by mail order, and popular and advice books, such as *Godey's Lady's Magazine,* published in the U. S. since 1840. By the 1870s, a national consumer culture was drawing everyone into Victorian middle-class tastes.[54] The territory lay available and ready for sales, and it must have seemed, for the traveling sales agent, rather like a re-conquest of the frontier.

The Underwood method was brilliantly planned to the last detail. According to a sales manual located by William Brey, the Underwood agent pushed the stereoscope, or "glass," advocating its superior lenses.[55] This accounted for the biggest part of the sale, and an order was promptly filled for the scope and some views. Upon delivery, a larger assortment of views was offered. Using a "conveyor belt" sales technique—which I have already discussed in the previous chapter—the Underwood agent continuously narrated the particulars of each set of stereoviews shown. The application of vision to factory methods mirrored the factory production of the views themselves and, perhaps more importantly, underscored the importance of viewer investment and interaction. The flow of the

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conveyor-belt technique used by the sales agents made the viewing experience simulate a play, or the new, projected short films.[56] By quickly slipping one card behind the other, the salesman guided the thinking of the customer toward forming her own narration and sequencing of views, demonstrating both flow and an oral responsiveness to the pictures. In this manner, the agent was educating the customer on how to place herself in the scene and complete the story. This personal investment of imagination could heighten the emotions and, for the agent, achieve the desired end—enthusiastic purchasing. It was also a logical development of the style of narrative views, in which "personality," fractioned and codified via a look, spoke for a character trait or role. Theatrically aggrandized, sold by type, and, in the 1890s, serialized to form a longer story, this personality trait became the package. Here, we have not so much the sense of a person integrated within a picturesque environment as an aspect of personality, fitted to typed concepts, and moulded into space or commanding it. A view from Underwood and Underwood, acquired by Keystone, but perhaps never published, illustrates this.[57] This untitled and undated view, from the early 1900s (fig. 51), depicts a delighted suitor and two bored young ladies, whom he cannot choose between. The negative has been triply exposed to illustrate the comic dilemma of "too much of a good thing," as the bachelor becomes three different people, turning his head to accommodate the two unenthused beauties. This personality in triplicate, though light-hearted in intent, carries a message that runs deeper than its comedy--an example of the splitting of persons into separate roles, here, the central "self" and one for each lady. A hallmark of the personal narrative style, this subdivision of personality into roles focuses upon each character act or trait and heightens the sense of its importance. The fractured personality through synecdoche stands for the self and aggrandizes personality through intense theatricality. The packaged "piece" of personality then comes to dominate the space, while the stage set becomes its attribute.

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From a marketing position, a heightening of the importance of personality sold views. The agents consistently flattered the customers, just as the views they sold enlarged the idea of role playing. From the sales manuals of other companies we learn that the agents never introduced themselves as selling "stereoviews" but, rather, as presenting "art goods" that the customer cannot understand by description and must see.[58] The agents spoke of their goods in the most elevated of terms and implied—at times directly stated—the customers shared these attributes. Agents learned to close sales with the suggestion of snob appeal, inducing the customer's anxiety over being left out of fashion—"all the best people are taking them."[59] The agent had often first canvassed prominent persons in the town such as the school superintendent, public librarian, banker, and wealthy families, and would mention sales to these well-known persons.[60] Would the customer take—only one? Without an order for one glass and one view the agent could not return.[61] Such high pressure techniques, often employed twice, with the first order and upon its delivery for a second order, were tremendously successful. The relatively low price on the average of twenty-five cents a view meant that, though sales were not often large, the agent could sell to half of all families he canvassed.[62] By 1894, the Underwood company alone had international sales of three million per year.[63] By its peak in 1901, sales were 25,000 views per day, over nine million a year, plus 300,000 stereoscopes.[64]

The Underwoods also developed the clever idea of employing college students home for the summer to supplement a corps of year-round canvassers in the larger towns.[65] The company carefully mapped out territories and provided information on the prominent persons of the town, the industries, pay days, and specific instructions for sales pitches. Chosen for their manner of speech and appearance, these young collegiates, with the benefit of their high energy and enthusiasm, swarmed the countryside in the 1890s and early 1900s, armed with company rhetoric. They were hardly exploited, for, working hard for only summers, some managed to pay their way through college with just these sales.[66]

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They traveled by horse and buggy, or bicycle and rail, and worked out a system of bartering lodging and board at farmhouses in exchange for views. The salesmen (no women have been reported) mentioned that they were students working their way through college, or wore their university pin to proclaim such. According to the Keystone sales manual of 1903, "There is no class that is more admired than self-supporting college students, and no class of people more appreciative of their efforts than the farmers."[67] Depending upon the good will and ready acceptance of the farmers and small townsmen and women, the companies sent ever larger numbers of youths into the provinces—as many as 3,000 per summer for Underwood, along with a thousand each for Keystone, Davis, and H. C. White.[68] They were encouraged by their company manuals to canvass every street and house in town, and every farm house, whether prosperous looking or not, on rural routes.

The bicycle opened up this new market, relatively untapped by salesmen, and hungry for culture, entertainment, and up-to-date goods from cities. In the time between the expansion of rail and the proliferation of automobiles, came an interval that made good for the bicycling salesman, traveling the by-ways of America, and plumbing the open, agrarian families for sales, food, and lodging. A Keystone sales manual of 1903 advises that the bicycle, more economical than horse and buggy, has opened up the rural areas, where better sales occur. As there are fewer solicitors, the rural people bought "quite liberally."[69] This manual and others, including the testimony of a former salesman, repeatedly emphasize that the typical buyer of this period was a woman, in particular, a farm wife. The Keystone 1903 manual continues, "go to the house unless you can find the man at work. Canvass the lady...The farmer's wife usually has her own money from the sale of produce and usually feels free to spend it for household articles without consulting her husband."[70] Echoing this is George E. Hamilton, former salesman for James Davis, and later to become President of the Keystone View Company:

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> ...the farmers of that day were, as a rule, well-to-do; and it was a simple matter for the farm wife to appropriate small amounts of her income from eggs and butter to the purchase of stereographs. The workmen in the city were paid comparatively low wages, and the city housewife usually was in no position to purchase much beyond the necessities of life. It only was natural, therefore, that the stereoscopic-view companies found their most responsive market *in the rural areas* [author's emphasis].[71]

The concept of "egg money," persisting in rural areas even today, made possible the farm wife's economic agency. For several hundred years in America, it was the practice of the woman of the farm to raise the cash for family day-to-day use by her industry of poultry, butter, cheese, and garden vegetables. While the husband of the farm was preoccupied with land and livestock, which tied up cash in long-term investment, the farm wife often raised all the money needed for store-bought items.[72] Phebe Earle Gibbons observed this economic agency in 1882: "the...housewife's ambition is to supply the store-goods for the family as far as possible from the sale of the butter and eggs."[73] Bearing the responsibility for daily cash outlays, the wife's decisions in these matters went largely unquestioned. It was natural, therefore, for her to acquire stereoviews, as they were intended for the home and family, considered an enrichment especially for children, and belonged to the woman's prerogative, as did books, music, or appointments for house or persons.

George Hamilton's memoir of his salesman's days for James Davis gives us a look at what egg money provided. Armed with collegiate enthusiasm to teach the provincials about the culture that stereoviews could provide, the young man found that the rural folk of Ohio and Indiana were far less interested in the monuments, sights, and ethnic interests of the world than he imagined, and his missionary zeal cooled when he realized that while egg money might afford a few travel scenes, what really sold were the comics and sentimentals. "Culture was being provided to the farm homes of America," he asserted, but it was a culture that his education did not prepare him to recognize, as it was expressed not in

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scenes he felt to be edifying but, rather, in fictive narration.[74] Darrah seconds that the comics and sentiments were the most popular of subjects.[75]

One example of this popular subject matter is a Keystone double view set of 1901. The first view, entitled *Stealing My Eggs, Are You?* (fig. 52), depicts a farmer about to strike the backside of a pair of breeches, as that person tosses eggs out of a loft. The eggs, a locus, fall wonderfully from the white-shirt of their handler and through black space; the farmer with his raised rod and a threshing-type machine inhabit the middle ground; and in the corner foreground is a bicycle. These provide sufficient clues for the person of the time to recognize that the "thief" is a woman. The second view, *Pa Don't You Know Your Own Daughter?* (fig. 53), reveals the anticipated truth: the "New Woman" was just going about her chores. She covers her face in her hand, and the farmer stands amazed, his hat suspended in a not very convincing attempt to make it appear as though it was brushed off in shock. With her bloomers, stockings, and bicycle, the New Woman passes unrecognized by her father, the new order a sort of thief to the old, as women "steal" the appearance of men, and, in typically modernist fashion, the parental generation is bewildered. "Egg money," here, is represented in the depiction of eggs themselves, and the farmers could purchase these signs of their own economy colliding with surprise into a modern one that reached them through bicycling salesmen and an increase in the availability of city-made goods along with the social difference they represented. Additionally, the bicycle was the sign not only of the modern, the salesman, and up-to-date items, but of the woman with her increased mobility—both over the land and economically upward. The New Woman often appeared with one of these machines for capitalism, the middle class, increased consumption, and higher personal aspirations.

Besides providing novelty and access to the city-made, modern and cultivated, stereographs may have found ready acceptance in rural areas for another reason. According to Herbert McKay, a more acute degree of stereopsis is found in people who spend a

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considerable amount of time outdoors.[76] Farmers and other outdoor persons are used to scanning the horizon, spotting minute differences, and employing fine stereoscopic discernment. They will find themselves adapting to the stereoscope's intelligence quite naturally, and the cultivated world of the narrative stereograph will seem present, because it directly stimulates optical judgments daily exercised. Just as the stereograph attempts to make natural the construct, these Keystone views make what is invisible, the farmer's modern, cultivated daughter, a reality to her father, who had seen only a male thief. Indeed, the daughter has appropriated a masculine appearance, but the stereograph renders her with the stereoscopic perception that is natural to her father.

Egg money was not, however, the only means available for women to pay for stereoviews. Ellen Garvey shows how the ladies' magazines of the 'nineties established a tradition of publishing stories and articles on the theme of small businesses that the rural or lower middle-class woman could run out of her house, in order to obtain the cash to legitimate consumption.[77] Women were also urged in such articles not to work outside the home but to spend their husband's money, or, through economy, glean it to spend on articles of middle-class status.[78] If all else failed, the stereoscopic companies slyly advocated another method in a type of view that surfaced in the 1890s and for which I can find no predecessor in other media. Usually entitled "Robbing the Male," or "(Male) Mail," it depicts a woman going through the pockets of her husband while he sleeps. This type of view was published by at least ten different photographer-publishers, from 1891 to 1901, with thirteen different views.[79]

William H. Rau's 1897 version of this popular subject, published by Griffith and Griffith, is my favorite, with its very awake, round-headed baby, about to tumble from his space in the bed (fig. 54). As mother pick-pockets father, she is framed by two prints—one of a landscape with fir trees, and the second, to her left, of a mother bending down to kiss her infant! She glances to the baby and sleeping husband, while the chair and table, shoes

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and garments in disarray provide depth cues to the scene, aiding the formation of stereoscopic space and leading the eye inward. This view, as another published by Griffith and Griffith, is entitled *A Midnight Prowler.* The first published view by Rau/Griffith and Griffith is *Robbing the Male,* the title adopted by the most of the other publishers. Other variations include H. C. White's *Collecting from a Slow Customer,* Webster and Albee's *He Won't Know It,* and *A Night Attack* by an unidentified publisher. In what appears to be the first of a sequence, Underwood and Underwood published a variation on this theme—a view of a wife asleep while the husband pulls out his empty pockets and exclaims, (1) *Pockets Empty Again! I'll Put Something in them that will stay!,* 1900.[80] The sequel to this is likely an image such as the cartoon gentleman who puts crabs in his pocket to foil the Missus.[81] As I have not seen the sequential view, I will venture to speculate that the image of the wife rifling her husband's pockets was more marketable than that of the husband's revenge.

The title *Collecting from a Slow Customer* used by H. C. White for this type is especially provocative. While it is impossible to say with what frequency women stole money from their husband's pockets, the fact that these views were prolific meant that the anecdotal humor of the scene was striking a chord, or perhaps it was a chord that the stereograph companies wanted to play. As sales were mainly to women at home, these views help to palliate by "that's the way it is" humor that women should have money of their own—by any means necessary. The "slow customer" has several implications--one slow to pay for views he (or she) has ordered, as well as the unavoidable imputation that wives must steal their "pay," as a prostitute going through a customer's pockets. We can presume these views would have sold more to women than men (excepting perhaps the husband's revenge variation)--for what man wants to think of his wife "taking him to the cleaners" as he snoozes? Or would the insult to women appeal somehow to husbands more than the empowerment to the sex cast as the thief? The greatest benefit, I believe, was to the stereoscopic companies themselves, who seem to be saying under the guise of a little

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chuckle—go ahead, steal the money if you have to, it's too common to be taken in any way but lightly. To the men, the views may communicate that they are not to take too great an offense, since (with a nod and a wink) this is the sort of thing women are "expected to do."

While it is interesting to speculate that "Robbing the Male" types were covert encouragement for women to "raise" money for views, there are more emphatic examples to study. The Keystone View Company, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, to whose manuals I have already made reference, was the latest in the field of stereograph publishers and by far the most aggressive of all. Founded in 1892 by Ben Singley, a salesman for Underwood and Underwood and James Davis, Keystone adopted the conveyor belt method of sales technique with enthusiastic running commentary often delivered by energetic collegiates. Singley was the sole photographer until 1895, after which he photographed less and managed more, employing professional printers and a corps of photographers who combed the world for saleable views.[82] Almost all of these photographers are today anonymous. Most significant of this corporate history is the company's role in buying out its competitors one by one until, by 1920, it was alone in the field, with a vast stock of negatives, still available to researchers.[83]

The corporate control and consolidation of the stereographic market is evident not only in the history of the company but in their salesman's manuals, two of which have survived thanks to The Keystone-Mast Collection. The Keystone sales method did not deviate significantly from the Underwood model, which Singley had learned. The only difference may have been in intensity. Keystone provided its agents, from at least 1899, with a systemized script directing high pressure sales, energy, enthusiasm, intensity, directness, and model speeches for controlling the customer and countering any objections against purchasing. The agents are advised to mention sales to other women in the town, particularly those of high profile, in order to gain entrance to the home and secure credibility with female customers.[84] Pitches are provided for business men at work, but

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they are short and pithy. The model canvass speeches for residence territory always address the "Mrs." and continue for many pages of descriptive prose, guiding the sales agent through the tactics of controlling his customer, even down to mentioning his manipulation of the light source and the chair in which he wishes her to sit.[85] The model canvass to the lady of the house was greatly extended in page length in Keystone's 1903 manual, with only two pages devoted to the businessman compared to eleven for the woman representing resident territory.[86]

These manuals contain dozens of arguments to counter objections and "create a desire" in the customer. Most pertinent are the various pressure tactics used in asserting that women were to make purchases on their own, without the need to consult their husbands. When the lady objected to making the decision herself, the agent was advised: "In nine cases out of ten this is simply an excuse to put you off, for if they really want it, in the most of cases they can take it on their own responsibility and would be and feel perfectly free to do so."[87] The 1903 manual was more emphatic: "Tell her that this is an article for the home, and as a rule the men leave such matters to their wives: that the ladies all about her have decided the matter for themselves, and that you think that she could do the same."[88]

Interestingly, Keystone provided its agents with the counterpart—an argument for men objecting to the purchase *without consulting their wives*:

> If showing to the husband and he says he does not want to buy without seeing his wife, appeal to his manhood as much as you dare by telling him that he has often decided upon matters for the home involving much more expense than this, and that you are sure that he could make up his mind in this matter. Show him the names of business men about him who have decided without consulting their wives. Explain to him that his wife would appreciate them much more if it came as a pleasant surprise.[89]

This pitch comes as an intriguing counter to notions of nineteenth and early twentieth-century gender roles. That it should even exist as a model in a salesman's manual indicates that enough men of the time valued their wives' opinion and approval and hesitated to act

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without it, at very least in regard to articles for the home. Notions of male determinacy within a uniform patriarchal structure that placed the man as the head of the house and his will as dominant or unquestioned appear, here, as far from absolute. The conclusion of the paragraph is especially interesting, for it gives instructions about delivering the gentleman's order: "But, if possible, NEVER arrange to go to see the wife, nor to DELIVER AT HIS HOUSE. Deliver at his place of business. Experience has taught us that more goods can be delivered to a man than to a woman."[90] The emphatic emphasis upon not delivering to the home articles ordered by the husband implies that the wife might refuse the delivery. Though men felt freer to place large orders, the agent was to keep these separate from the wife's knowledge. This suggests that the threshold of the home was still woman's domain, and the husband's freedom to buy might be compromised, or countered there. In such model pitches to men--factory workers, foremen, and men of business—it is clear that selling to men was desired and offered potentially big orders, but it was not necessarily expected, nor was it the norm. Comparatively few pages were devoted to these sales. The woman at home was the model canvass, and agents viewed her as making her financial decisions independently. The last Keystone manual of 1941, in fact, counsels the agent to avoid approaching men altogether.[91]

The Keystone agent of 1903 was also advised not to neglect servants, hired farm help, and ESPECIALLY GROWN CHILDREN [author's emphasis], as they have money of their own.[92] Expert testimonials as to the truth, education, and enlightenment of stereography were also used liberally by canvassers for all the companies. [93] The educational benefit to children was asserted at every possible opportunity. Though narrative views were the biggest sellers, these scenes were touted, one with travel views, as being edifying articles of the highest class. The manuals reveal many aspects of early, large corporate, commercial culture and are invaluable to understanding how companies

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manipulated their agents and how they in turn attempted to control the customers, whom they flattered in person but regarded with actual disdain, as "sheep."[94]

Keystone and other large publishing companies missed no angle, or potential sale. The fact that women had money which was actively courted should not be interpreted as feminist in any manner other than the simple fact that cash equalizes all. The purchasing power of women was sought as capitalism extended its reach into every facet of society, and the late nineteenth century transformed into a national, middle class consumerist society. Linda Kerber has asserted that it served capital to break down patriarchy and open up the separate sphere to a greater market.[95] The pragmatism of this new world order is that people who feel permitted or entitled make better customers than those who do not recognize decision-making as their right. An increase in privilege for the individual, especially a new-found privilege or "right," is a sure-fire selling technique. Edward Bok, the turn-of-the-century editor of *Ladies' Home Journal*, noted that immobile women made the best customers.[96] Entitling or empowering this customer is simply the smartest tactic to greater sales and an expanded market. Under the guise of comedy, or sentiment, or maintaining at least the gestures of patriarchal social order, stereograph companies advocated a self-serving argument for women's greater autonomy and sense of financial confidence in the late-century personal narrative scenes. The views respond to the doubleness of female submission and female empowerment by developing a semiotics of depicting typically subordinate feminine roles and situations with unfeminine, powerful, domineering, or unanticipated behavior. This flatters the purchasers, while paying lip-service, through derision, to traditional roles and gender dominance.

The seduction of the farm wife or lady of the house found a representative type in narrative stereography. Entitled "An Optical Delusion," "Things Seen or Not Seen," or "The Fresh View Agent," these scenes depict the traveling stereoscopic sales agent making love to the wife while her husband's head is glued to the stereoscope. The type begins with

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an unidentified British example from the late 1850s or early 1860s, *An Optical Delusion—Things Seen and Not Seen* (fig. 55), where we see the gentleman engaged with a lenticular stereoscope and the lady embraced by the stereoscopic agent, his ware scattered on the floor. The cottage is neat but humble, with unpainted plank door and walls, and the husband is dressed in workman or clerk's attire, a basket of market vegetables at his feet. The agent's top hat and cane, symbols of a salesman's or city-dweller dress, occupy the seat of a chair. Beyond the door, a painted backdrop evokes the countryside. In this exquisitely hand colored view, we are already witnessing the stereoview representing more urbane values traveling to the country with mixed intentions, sales commingling with trickery and seduction. Two similar scenes from the same set were published by this company.[97] Obviously, the type was an appealing view, perhaps simply for the titillation of identifying with the agent intruding upon another man's territory, or for a woman projecting herself as the object of extra-marital, erotic interest.

American companies picked up this type in the 'nineties in six different views. Americans added the title, "The Fresh View Agent," to the British titular "Optical Delusion" and "Things Seen and Not Seen," but the views retain the same theme of the hoodwinked locals and the fast talking, fast courting agent who will take the money and advantage of the wife in one whirl-wind canvass. Strohmeyer and Wyman's (Underwood and Underwood), *An Optical Delusion*, of 1897 is a good representative of the American type (fig. 56). As the husband is in his own "space," the sales agent kisses the wife, and the framed portrait of baby adds an ironic family presence to the scene (ICU's *An Optical Delusion* also has a framed picture of baby).[98] In C. L. Wasson's/International View Company 1901 version, a paternal father or husband, boots the "masher" out the door. *The Fresh View Agent Making His Departure* is speeded upon his way, as the father/husband holds the stereoscope above the salesman's head.[99]

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These five American views, and one pirate, imitative of the British type, hold a mirror to the industry of the door-to-door solicitor and the confidence-man tactics of the stereoview companies.[100] Extra-marital flirtation was a big seller in stereoviews of this period and seemed popular enough in 1850s and 1860s British views, as well. What sets this type apart from others in the extra-marital "kiss and embrace" category, is the rather unflattering light it sheds upon its own industry. Underwood and Underwood, the owner and distributor for the Strohmeyer and Wyman views, set the standard for stereograph marketing, providing the model for all the other companies, such as Keystone, the emergent mega-corporation, to follow. The highest moral standards were projected by the various companies' sales agents, and stereographs were touted in the most idealizing of terms, with a rubric peppered with words such as "educational," "enlightening," "edifying," etc. Yet, here, the sales man is a "masher," or "confidence man," compromising the almost sacred value of home and family. Surely, this type of view was not one of the first to be pulled out in a canvass but held in reserve for the sort who would appreciate a deviation from the marital norm. For the right customer, the stereographic companies could ostensibly jest about themselves, all the while using the staple of the tricked husband to indicate the truth.[101]

A careful examination of the double-talk of the salesman's manuals divides their rhetoric into hype intended to fire up the salesman and hype intended to seduce the customer. That customer, often a lady, was regarded alternately with disdain, and as a person to be respected with democratic and egalitarian ideals. This was the age of the great advertising boom, and whatever did the trick to sell was the truth of the moment.[102] In the 'nineties and turn-of-the-century world, the con man and the corporate man began to meld, and hypocrisy, once an anathema in polite society, was paying off.[103] The trickster or huckster of the early Republic began to resemble the managerially skilled.[104] The term "masher"—meaning fast seducer—came into popular usage in the decade of the 'nineties,

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which saw the rise of the "ad man."[105] As advertising focused upon small dramas surrounding the product and the vicarious experience one could have through the satisfaction it affords,[106] stereoviews, too, offered the thrill of someone else's transgression sold as a product, a mirror held up to its own industry of courting married women.

The repetition of the codes or types of stereoviews had by the 1890s taken a decidedly self-reflexive turn. Ultimately the victim of increased merchandising and deceasing cost of the product, stereoviews suffered a decline after the turn of the century. While quality was still high in the 'nineties, by the 1900s the fact that sales mattered more than development or inventiveness made for a standardized product and tired codes. Corporate buy-outs continued through the 'nineties, consolidation of stock increased, and by 1900 there were just six companies left.[107] Only Keystone was remaining in 1920, with a giant storehouse of stock. This lack of competition, as large corporations engulfed smaller producers in many industries across the nation, did not make a healthy climate for new stereographic concepts.

The personal narrative style of this time, already theatrically strained, became ironic to a degree from which it could not recover. By 1915, many felt that stereoviews were "old-fashioned."[108] The lack of variation sought for in product reliability combined with a decline in quality, in particular of the mass-produced chromo-lithograph, which was published in vast quantities in an attempt to reach every sector of the public. This less expensive printing method was the culmination of the technical advance of color-separation negatives, first on the market in 1898, and the photo-mechanical, half-tone press.[109] The chromo-lithograph appeared on the market in that year, and its mass-production eventually brought the price of stereoviews to a penny or less a piece. The "chromo" soon became associated with cheapness or give-aways, as the cards were often sold in lots to jobbers, and they found their way into every sort of distribution. This was an unfortunate, if inevitable, development, since the medium had great potential, realized later

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in terms of the printed page, but only at times reached with stereographic companies. One can easily discern a chromo-lithograph from a photographic, mounted stereograph. The first is printed directly onto the card stock, its half-tone dots visible, while the latter is comprised of two photographs mounted side by side on card stock, and its tones are continuous. Though looking through chromo-lithographs can be like searching a hundred oysters for a pearl, they are nonetheless worth studying, for the very same reasons that make photographically printed stereographs good subjects (but with a much higher success rate). H. C. White's/The World Series' *Baby's Delight: The Morning Bath*, of 1906, though inexpensively produced with a coarse screen, has an appealing effect, with its rich reds and yellows, a composition set on the diagonal, and full range of depth cues (fig. 57). The kimono and hair-style worn by the mother, the interior toilette scene, and the off-centered placement of the perspectival vanishing point at the intersection of the hands of mother and baby, suggest ukiyo-e prints.[110] Typically American, though, is the tender, mother-baby sentiment, with the real kid looking at the stereo-camera, and a rather large assortment of clothes—far too many for an infant to wear—strewn all over the carpet, so many depth cues leading the eye into space. A bottle with a minute amount of red liquid soap sits in the basinette, and a tin of talcum powder awaits on the floor, careful details for a studio set.

Stereograph sales agents were advised to show the "chromos" in packages only after sales of photographic views had failed.[111] More typically, they sold in sets through mail order catalogues, such as Sears Roebuck, for eighty-five cents per dozen, in 1900.[112] By 1907, the wholesalers' price reduced to a job lot of 500 for $2.98. For just a little over a half cent a piece, chromo-lithographs found a place inside Quaker Oats boxes as premiums, in department stores as bonuses for sales of a certain amount, or as rewards for a coupon or proof of purchase.[113] They became souvenirs and stereographic trade cards for newspapers, plant nurseries, stores, dairies, seed merchants, stock farms, and vacation resorts,

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functioning much as business-promotional calendars or other attractive reproductions do today.[114] Though the intrinsic value of such prints has lowered, it is safe to say that people valued these images enough to keep them, as they did trade cards, picture books, periodicals, greeting cards, and, after 1906, postcards, for often their entire lives, passing them on to the next generation. The turn-of-the-century populace was not yet jaded by imagery and often valued the pleasing picture, no matter its source.[115]

To see the "chromos" from a stand point of Victorian women requires another lens than that of the traditional art historian, one that can experience an unprejudiced delight in visual pleasure, regardless of market valuation or ideas of rarity.[116] For women at the turn of the century, chromo-lithographs were not kept or cherished because they were rare but because their stereographic types spoke of female concerns and lives, and the prints were colorful, attractive, new, images that gave adornment, and could be readily shared because they represented common values. It was no accident that department stores, cereal boxes, and commerce such as resorts and nurseries gave these away. Chromos functioned as advertisements and draws for the buyer, the vast majority of which were women for such businesses. As delightful pictures, they entered the home to be passed around within the family, to become wall-pictures, keepsakes, and scrapbook additions.[117]

At this historical point, we pass from a valuation of the medium of stereography to a valuation of the picture as a vehicle for public broadcast and commercial outreach. Though the pictures, I propose, were valued by the average woman on their own terms as attractive images that appealed to her sense of sentiment, they were valued by the publishers, printers, and businesses precisely for their ability to reach the greatest number of persons. It should come as no surprise that the fashion for chromo-lithographs was a relatively short one, never supplanting black-and-white photographic stereographs, and that both the litho-stereos and the photographic ones soon became outmoded. Some blame

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this on the popularity of the postcard in 1906,[118] others upon the poorly produced lithographic stereos.[119] More significantly, the waning of the parlor's culture bought along with it a decline in the importance of its media.[120] Lorraine Dexter summarizes a plurality-of-media theory, "As a news medium, stereos were defeated by illustrated magazines and newspapers. As an aid to education they were replaced by travel lectures with lantern slides; as an entertainment, by the movies."[121] Cinema is easier on the viewer, since fusion in stereography requires concentration.

While all these theories bear note, the significant connective thread is, as I have previously indicated, *speed.* Along with speed comes ease of adaptability to the medium. What the printed page, cinema, slide show, and the postcard all share is a diminishment in the dexterity required for usage compared to stereo, as well as an image base that can be quickly consumed, digested, passed over, flipped through, and registered. The mediation required by stereography is slow, individuated, dream-inducing and meditative. It intrinsically bridges the connection between internal reading and external realism, and, as such, it requires leisure time. The nineteenth century had more patience than the twentieth, perhaps because reality was to that age implicitly a negotiation between inner and outer worlds. For the twentieth-century person, speed of information processing is everything, and the consumer is hit with far more to sort through in less and less time. Vision is trained to accept the pre-digested image contextualized according to specific function and manipulated to assume the character and space of the world *for us,* without much interpretation on our part. Mono-photography in magazines, advertisements, and film will carry the day as vehicles for mass education according to the dictates of corporate and political interests. The stereograph, by contrast, is in the fascinating position of the transitional object between nineteenth-century narrative mediation and twentieth-century media for control. Partaking of both, it demonstrates the historical passage between the

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sentimental, parlor ideal and that of the consumer, idealizing herself and home via the beauty of commercial products.

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[1] I can think of only one exception to the depiction of women or children in stereographic advertising—an illustration depicting a young man stretching his hand over the globe, for the Underwood Travel System brochure, c. 1910, The Keystone-Mast Collection.

[2] Alexander Beckers patented a revolving multiple card stereoscope in England and New York, beginning in 1857. Table top and floor standing "Beckers" were available on the market since the early 1860s. Wing, *Stereoscopes*, 42-47.

[3] Some publishers issued bright yellow, light blue, or orange card stock.

[4] Treadwell, *English Masters of Genre Stereoviews*, n. pag.

[5] Collection of the author.

[6] Domestic views sold for 25-35 cents until the 1870s. During the economic depression of 1873, prices were slashed to ten and fifteen cents a card. Darrah, *Stereoviews*, 7, 17. See also Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* for market pricing.

[7] Southall, 46.

[8] In 1860, the average daily wage for day laborers in the Northeast was $1.09, while for artisans, it was $1.80. Accounting for a six day work week, the monthly wages are approximately $27. and $44., respectively. White collar workers received about $49.59 per month. Robert A. Margo, *Wages and Labor Markets in the United States, 1820-1860* (The University of Chicago Press, 2000), tables 3A.6-3A.12. Thus, at 35-75 cents, the hand-colored card would have been out of the price range of classes save the artisanal or white collar worker. Compared to today's prices, the hand-colored stereoview would have ranged from $8. to $15. More likely, because of its quality, the view in question would have been priced on the higher end of this range. For conversion factors, which give only approximate costs, see http://oregonstate.edu.Dept/pol_sci/fac/sahr/cv2003.pdf. The emergent middle class, as with miners in Scranton, PA, was faring much better. The average wage for Scranton miners from 1864-1869 was approximately five dollars a day. Gibbons, 294-298. This amounts to a $56 dollar a day rate in today's money for the year of 1864. Women's salaries, however, were never as high. The women stereoscopic factory workers wages rarely reached $5 per week, even after 1900. McShane, 50, 53. Women's salaries at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition were $1.25 per day. Southall, 13. Stereoviews and stereoscopes were too expensive for most of the factory workers who produced them. In sum, for the decade of the 1860s, stereoviews were luxury items. By the 1870s, they reached middle class affordability, while in the 1890s some form of stereography was available to nearly all, especially with color lithographic views.

[9] In personal correspondence with Mr. Treadwell, I have been informed that the choice of the names "Ruth and Obadiah" refer to lower-middle class persons who are uneducated, uncouth and inexperienced. The search for confirmation of this has been circuitously fascinating. Ruth and Obadiah are both books of the Bible, but there is no coupling of the two names in any Biblical source. Ruth's son in the Book of Ruth is Obed. Turning to popular literature, we find "Obadiah" is a bumbling *schlep* in Lawrence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, who incurs the wrath of his employer, "Dr. Slop," for tying knots around his medical bag. The curses against Obadiah go on for pages in hilarious mock Latin (Book 3, Chapter 11): Lawrence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* (1759) (New York and London: Penguin Books, 1978). 141-147. I am also grateful to Elizabeth Lloyd-Kimbrell of Mt. Holyoke College for directing me to the Reverend Obadiah Slope, a ridiculously intolerant religious prig in "The Bishop's Chaplain," Chapter Four of Anthony Trollope's *Barchester Towers* (1857) (London and New York: Everyman's Library, 1966): 24-30. "Obadiah Slope" seems to be a graft of "Obadiah" and "Dr. Slop," an in-joke referring to Sterne's work. Trollope discusses the matter of Slope's name originating as "Slop," to which descendents added the more discreet "e." *Barchester Towers* was published in 1857, near the time of the publication of this view. Additionally, Douglas Wheeler, a Victorian comics scholar, mentions that Obadiah is a name that surfaces in comics of the period. In his collection is a cartoon of a dandily-dressed Obadiah kicking his rival, Jonathan, who bears the appearance of an old-fashioned clergyman, while Jonathan's unfaithful Ruth looks placidly upon the scene. "Discharged in Toe-to, or Jonathan's Ruth-less Escape," *Gallery of Comicalities*, vol. 1, no. 1, (Philadelphia), Oct. 2, 1833. In this early example, by contrast, Obadiah is the suave victor, while Jonathan is in the role of the

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cursed Obadiah. An example of the luckless "Oby" is the protagonist of Rodolphe Töpffer's cartoon novel, *The Adventures of Mr. Obadiah Oldbuck* (New York: Wilson & Co., 1842), which saw many international printings beginning in the 1840s and had a great reputation for several decades. See Doug Wheeler, Robert L. Beerbohm, and Leonardo De Sá, "Töpffer in America," *Comic Art*, no. 3 Summer 2003): 28-47. Thanks to this in-put, I am able to say that the Hebraic name of Obadiah has been the butt of quite a few jokes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—a bumbling, hapless fool or *schlep*, the dim-witted, out-of-touch victim, or the rigid, narrow-minded Evangelical "type." As "Ruth" always signifies a virtuous, loyal, woman follower, befitting her namesake of the Bible, the significance of the two names together, here, may have been a comic situation of "the blind following the blind." I have seen many copies of this view, and several pirates. I have an inferior pirate copy in my collection, in addition to the two hand-colored originals mentioned.

[10] O. A. Boynton, Traveling Dealer in Engravings, Chromos, &c. P. O. Address, Boston, Massachusetts.

[11] It has been suggested that the imprint "Toby," a British publisher from the 1850-60s, was produced by a French couple who worked in England. Treadwell, *English Masters*. H. C. White's *Retouching Room: Home of Perfec scopes and Perfec-stereographs*, 1900, shows an all-female work force, collection of the American Antiquarian Society. In Victorian England, hand-coloring was the work of women and children, often paid a grossly substandard rate: Altick, 57. Darrah maintains that colorists often worked in teams, each person applying only one or two colors: Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 26. No evidence exists of children stereoview factory workers in the U. S.

[12] In the Kilburn factory of 1869 were twelve women workers and one male overseer; this was one of the largest factories in the world at the time. In 1905, there were one hundred women employees. Southall, *The Kilburn Brothers Stereoscopic View Co.*, 77. Female overseers include Kate Smith, in 1905, and Mrs. George Southworth following Miss Smith. McShane claims that in the stereoview factories, men were usually the printers, photographer's assistants, photographers, foremen, and the operators of the large, Berger cutters that arched the tops of prints. I have seen a number of photographs, including one from McShane's own text, where the printers were only women. The Littleton View Company factory was also run by women. McShane, 13, 43, 49-50.

[13] According to McShane, Elizabeth Kilburn Remich, along with her husband Daniel, took over fiscal matters of her father, Ben Kilburn's company beginning around 1890. McShane, 74.

[14] Histories of French stereography can be found in an anthology by the Musée Carnavalet, *Paris in 3D*; Christ; Pellerin, *La Photographie Stéréoscopic sous le Second Empire*; and two essays by Paul Wing. The French stereoview is often printed on thin tissue and hand-colored on the reverse of the print. The tissue view, when held up to the light, has luminescent and translucent colors. Pin pricking of the tissue where jewels and lights are represented allows brilliant and full illumination in these minute areas, creating a theatrical effect. In 1857, the French views sold for fifty centimes to five francs, with an average price of one franc, from kiosks on the boulevards, opticians, bookstores, print vendors, shops, and traveling vendors. Pellerin, *La Photographie Stéréoscopic sous le Second Empire*, 18. Darrah dates the first appearance of the tissue view to 1855, *The World of Stereographs*, 11. See also, Paul Wing, "The French Theatrical Tissues," *Stereo World*, vol. 9, no 5 (November-December, 1982): 4-14; and Wing, "The B. K. Diableries," *Stereo World*, vol. 11, no. 1 (March-April, 1984): 22-24, 46-47.

[15] There is not much scholarship on the British stereoview. See Treadwell, *English Masters of the Genre Stereoview*; Darrah, *The World of Stereographs* (see Chapters 3, 7 and 10); Jones. George Swan Nottage, of the "A stereoscope for every house" fame, founded the London Stereoscopic Company in 1856. *Stereo World* has reprinted one of their catalogues, June, 1974. Their prices were $3-6 dollars per dozen. Darrah asserts there was a trade list of over 100,000 views for this company by 1858. *The World of Stereographs*, 4. There remains a serious problem with attribution of British views, as the London Stereoscopic Company began to leave identification off of their views in 1864, and reassumed identification in the 1870s after serious pirating had occurred. Quite a few British views have no identification nor are listed in a catalogue.

[16] Treadwell, *Stolen Stereoviews*. Pirating became a market response to the world wide depression of 1873-1878 and continued to be practiced into the 1880s. Many pirates are easy to identify by the space between the two photographs which is visibly copied onto the pirated print. Originals will be two separate, mounted prints, with a visible seam. Some are more difficult to identify, if they are well cut out and mounted, and many are very good prints, even better than the originals. Quite a

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few views are known today only in pirated versions. Originally called "whacking" for the bushwacker Confederate Guerillas, pirating managed to keep lowering the price for views to at one point two for five cents. (prices for originals were 25 to 35 cents). Darrah, *Stereoviews*, 17. The pirate view can be credited with opening up stereography to many who could not priorly afford views.

[17] There is scant research on German stereography. See Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 121-125.

[18] See Wiebe; Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*; also, Gibbons, "The Miners of Scranton," 268-303.

[19] I concede that this is perhaps not the best of all possible terms, but it is one that signifies both a look toward British picturesque examples in terms of themes and a departure from them in terms of the style of the image. It marks a clear difference that anyone with a cursory knowledge of historical views may perceive.

[20] We do see hand-coloring in views of this era and beyond, though it is generally partial tinting and not the fully tinted work of the British picturesque. Whether natural tones were a stylistic preference or simply a means to lure in a greater market by lowering costs is speculative.

[21] Franklin G. Weller published stereoviews from 1867 through 1875, when he sold his business to G. H. Aldrick, also of Littleton, NH. Beginning with White Mountain and other scenery, Weller established the comic and sentimental view in the U.S. L. M. Melander and Brother (S. P.) of Chicago was established as a leader in the narrative stereoview since the late 1860s.. A catalogue from the 1870s lists 106 separate titles for genre or "group" scenes. Seneca Ray Stoddard, an Adirondack photographer, is noted mostly for scenery but produced some excellent genre views (see notes in Chapter 2). The "Young Folks Series," out of Boston, and "Griswold's Compositions," out of Washington, D. C., both appear to be the work of Manfred M. Griswold. Dating from the 1870s, they are fine examples of child genre stereography. C. W. Thorne, of Nassau Street, New York, and W. M. Chase, of Baltimore, appear to be companies pirating British views. H. Ropes, of New York, also pirated views but seems to have photographed some of his own. Charles H. Shute, of Edgartown, MA, published narrative views, along with scenery and table top models, from 1868-1877. James Cremer also published or pirated high-quality prints of others, though he was a photographer himself. Sources: Treadwell and Darrah, *Stereographers of the World*; Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 57-65; Waldsmith; William Brey, "James Cremer, Philadelphia's Photographer," *Stereo World*, vol. 6, no. 3 (July-August, 1979), 4-17; L. M. Melander and Brother, *Melander's Stereoscopic Groups and Portraits*, Chicago, IL. T. K. Treadwell, "L. M. Melander and Brother," Introduction in *The Genre Stereoviews of Melander and Brother*, (Bryan, TX: The Institute for Photographic Research, 2002). William C. Darrah, "American Sentimental Stereographs," *StereoWorld*, vol. 1, no. 3 (July-August, 1974), 1, 10.

[22] *Winter Scene, Snow Storm, a Contrast*, published by D. Appleton Brothers, New York, is a genre scene from the 1860s, collection of the New York Historical Society.

[23] Darrah, "American Sentimental Stereographs," 1. Franklin George Weller left his trade as an ornamental painter for carriages in 1868 (Darrah reports the year as 1867), bought the stereoscopic company of Franklin White, of Lancaster, and devoted himself to scenery stereographs, imitative of Ben Kilburn's. In the early 1870s, he bought out his brother, William's, photographic business in Littleton. Other than some initial assistance by his father, Franklin seems to have had little or no photographic help. By 1871, he was introducing narrative views, and produced them through the year of his death, 1877. His widow sold the business and stock to G. H. Aldrich, of Littleton, in 1879. Aldrich then sold the stock to the Littleton View Company, in 1883; then the stock was resold to Underwood and Underwood in the late 1880s and republished as the Littleton/Weller views in the 1890s. Other sources: Waldsmith, 45; Treadwell, "L. M. Melander and Brother."

[24] Darrah, *Stereoviews*, 153.

[25] L. M. and S. P. Melander were two Chicago-based brothers who also employed company photographers. Not much is known about their operation. The company, begun in the late 1860s, was in business through the 1890s and specialized in topographic and narrative views.

[26] I have forty-seven separate Weller views in my data base, the largest number for any single photographer until the late 1880s and William Rau. This count includes a small group of Weller views published by the Littleton View Company without attribution.

[27] Collections of the author and the New York Public Library.

[28] Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

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[29] Wiebe, 112-132. In the late century, men waited until their prospects allowed them to marry, while matches for money received social scorn. Self-control before marriage began to receive greater emphasis. Rothman, 53-54, 112.

[30] I refer specifically to Hogarth's celebrated series, *Marriage à la Mode.*

[31] Quite obviously, an analysis of particularly late-century stereography can be made using such theoretical models as Baudrillard's *Simulations.* While I touch upon such ideas, I have used them partially and implicitly, but not in a totalizing manner. Totalizing dismissals of production and consumers, unfortunately too often the case with a Baudrillard model, leave us with no room to understand the historical circumstances of the objects in question. The women who viewed are negated and irrelevant, since the stereograph itself is also irrelevant and exists spectre-like as a mere reflector of codes without referent.

[32] Southall, 71.

[33] See also Darrah, *The World of Stereographs,* Chapter 5.

[34] A naturalist who had been encouraged to photograph by the painter and photographer, Thomas Moran, Benjamin Kilburn was a fishing guide before turning to stereography. Thomas Moran, whom he had guided on a trip, had directed the young naturalist's interest in art and nature towards stereography. McShane, 74. Working out of his brother, Edward's portrait studio, Ben established a stereo business in 1865. Edward Kilburn's role in the company seems to have been to teach Ben photography, provide an established studio, and manage in the early years of the business. The facts remain somewhat hazy. He retired in 1875. McShane asserts that Edward was never a stereographer: McShane, 68. In 1882 or 1883, James M. Davis, himself a photographer and a sales agent for Underwood and Underwood, became the distributor for the Kilburn Brother's views. To complicate matters, the Kilburn company acquired the stock of several other photographers and used it without attribution, as was common in those days. Though largely topographic, such stock could have also included narrative views: McShane, 52; Southall, 35, 64. I have only seven genre or narrative Kilburn views in my data base that predate 1882 and that could comfortably be attributable to Ben.: *The Trout Brook,* c. 1868, collection of The New York Historical Society; *The Country Post Office,* late 1860s-early 1870s, collection of The American Antiquarian Society; *Love's Passing Dream,* 1876, collection of The New York Public Library; *By the Babbling Brook, Love,* 1876, collection of The American Antiquarian Society; *The Bachelor's Dream,* late 1860s—early 1870s, collection of The National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution; *Who'll Dig a Grave for Him?,* 1870s, collection of The new York Historical Society; and *Forbidden Fruit,* early 1870s, collection of the author. For topographic views, Benjamin made a more sizable contribution, keeping a camera and equipment stored at the summit of the formidable Mt. Washington: Southall, 35.

[35] Laurance Wolfe, "Littleton's Kilburn Cache," *Stereo World,* vol. 14, no. 2 (May/June, 1987), 29-31. It is likely that until 1875, the Kilburn production, on cards printed "The Kilburn Brothers," was the work of Ben. There are few narrative or genre views, but some are quite good (fig. 165). In the years between 1875 and 1880, the Kilburn production, labeled "B. W. Kilburn," or after the partnership with James M. Davis, "B. W. Kilburn, James M. Davis" was more likely the work of staff, possibly including Davis himself.

[36] Ben only photographed for fifteen years, until 1880. Southall, 6.

[37] These were the years that the company was run by Ben Kilburn's daughter and son-in-law, Elizabeth and Daniel Remich. McShane, 74. The annual out put of new views doubled from 250 to 500 in 1890, then doubled again the next year. T. K. Treadwell, "A Perspective: Comments on Kilburn," *Stereo World,* vol. 1, no 1 (March-April, 1974): 1, 3, 12.

[38] Jenkins, 39.

[39] McShane, 46.

[40] McShane reports orders ranged from 1,400-1,800 stereographs daily, for an annual total, in 1872, of 400,000: McShane, 46, 52. Southall claims that orders were 2,000 per day for 1874: Southall, 45, 58. The history of the Anthony brothers, famous in their own right as photographers, photographic suppliers, and publishers of photographs and stereoviews, may be found in Frederick S. Lightfoot, "Two Enterprising Pioneers, E. and H.T. Anthony," *Stereo World,* vol. 1, no. 2 (May-June, 1974),1, 3, 5. Treadwell reports a stock of 12,000 images and a corps of staff photographers, *Stereographers of the World.* Their photographic supply business, the largest in the country, catered to photographers such as the Matthew Brady Company during the Civil War.

[41] McShane, 52.

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[42] Treadwell, "A Perspective...," 3; and McShane, 52. Almost nine thousand Kilburn views are located in the Littleton Public Library, in the Kilburn-Remich Collection. Two and a half thousand views are located in the Littleton Historical Museum. The file numbers for Kilburn views run up to the 16,000s but are not sequential, leaving gaps for new additions. Wolfe, 32. The numbers, as those at Keystone, were not in any numerical order but, rather, attached to subject categories. Southall, 29.

[43] Many companies retailed Kilburn views: In Boston: Joseph Bates, Joseph Ward, C. P. Pollack; in Philadelphia: Queen and E. L. Wilson; in New York: Scovil Manufacturing, the. Anthonys, A. J. Fisher, and William B. Homes; in Chicago: J. Carbutt. Southall, 45-46. The views of some of these other companies may in fact be Kilburns'.

[44] William H. Rau, of Philadelphia, was a most prolific photographer, with over 4,000 views attributed to him. He published under his own name and sold copyrighted work to Barry, Kelly, Chadwick, Griffith and Griffith, and the Universal View Company. According to Treadwell and Darrah, he did much early work himself, beginning in the 1870s, then acquired a staff and bought negatives. Underwood and Underwood took over his business in 1890. He was the official photographer for the Lehigh Valley and Pennsylvania Rail Roads. He is thought to have been the photographer for E. L. Wilson's topographic views. Much of Rau's work is not difficult to track, as his characteristic copyrighted stamp occurs on views issued by other companies. See also, William and Marie Brey, *Philadelphia Photographers, 1840-1900: A Directory with Biographical Sketches* (Cherry Hill, NJ: Willowdale Press, 1992). It should be noted that the concept of "artist" or "author" in the nineteenth century may be broader than our conception today, to include the role of publisher or producer. Who tripped the shutter was not important. Who owned and issued the work had more relevance. This brings up the difficult question of authorship in photography, an issue that is far less important to this study than those of production and viewers.

[45] Brey, "Ten Million Stereoviews a Year," 6.

[46] Southall, 73.

[47] Ibid, 38. A third partner, an artist, John Ready, joined the Bellows brothers, and McShane believes he was responsible for running the entire business from the location of the Bellows family store for the years 1883-86. McShane, 34, 38. Ready is not, however, a name that appears on the stereoviews.

[48] During a trip in 1881, Bert Underwood, a canvassing book seller, met an agent for stereoscopic views, probably from the Kilburn Company. Using what he had learned from this agent, Bert formulated his own system to sell views, and profits grew so fast that within a few months he persuaded his brother, Elmer, a bookkeeper, to join him. History from Brey, "Ten Million Stereoviews a Year," 7-8; Darrah, *Stereoviews*, 110.

[49] Hamilton, 16-17.

[50] After merchandizing for a decade, Bert Underwood took some photography lessons. He claimed that prior to that date, he had never held a camera in his hand. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 47.

[51] The company began with stock from Charles Bierstadt, J. F. Jarvis, and, in the late 1880s, the Littleton View Company: Hamilton, 16. They acquired the stock of William H. Rau and Strohmeyer and Wyman in the 1890s: Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 47.

[52] Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 101-139.

[53] Ibid, 137.

[54] "Over the course of the century ordinary people could take part in even a limited way in cosmopolitan culture through popular ideas, goods, and tastes." Grier, 74.

[55] I have not been able to locate this manual, for it no longer is available at the Holmes Library, where it was cited in Brey's research. I accept Brey's account of it, for it mirrors the later sales manuals from Keystone and other companies which I have found. Brey, "Ten Million Stereo Views a Year." 8-9. It was also confirmed by the account of George Hamilton, who had worked selling for James Davis, who copied the Underwood method. The information in the following account of the Underwood technique is a composite from Brey and Hamilton.

[56] The first projection devices in theatres appeared in 1896, preceding the popular Nickelodeons which would appear later. Musser, 145. The conveyor belt sales technique for stereoviews appeared at this time, possibly taking cues from early cinema.

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[57] This view is a print from the stock negatives of the Keystone Company, and is now located in the Keystone Mast Collection. Originally photographed by Underwood and Underwood, it may never have been published.
[58] Keystone, *Manual of Instruction for the Use of Salesmen*, 1899, 1903.
[59] Keystone (1899), 16.
[60] Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 47. Keystone (1903), 20-22.
[61] The Universal Photo Art Company advised its agents to pressure the customer into ordering at least one "glass" (stereoscope) and one view—or the agent could not return. The superiority of the "glass" was always emphasized over objections it was not necessary. Upon agreement, the agent was to close the sale quickly, then sell more views upon delivery. Messerschmidt, 15, 17,19, 22-23. Keystone (1899), 17, 19.
[62] Hamilton, 18. The company quickly expanded with offices in Baltimore (1887) and New York (1891) and had exclusive franchises all over North America. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 46-47.
[63] Brey, "Ten Million Stereo Views a Year," 11.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Except where noted, the information in this paragraph has come from Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 47.
[66] Hamilton, 17.
[67] Keystone (1903), 64.
[68] Ibid. This would be the late 1890s—1905.
[69] Ibid, 55.
[70] Ibid, 60.
[71] Ibid.
[72] According to Catherine Clinton, nineteenth-century farm wives had a measure of economic autonomy through the sale of eggs and butter. Clinton, 107
[73] Phebe Gibbons wrote extensively on farm and small town life in the 1880s, publishing in periodicals such as *The Atlantic Monthly*. According to Gibbons, Pennsylvania farm wives were exceptionally industrious, with one farmer claiming "the woman is more than half." Gibbons, 36.
[74] Hamilton, 19.
[75] Darrah, *An Album of Stereographs*, 7.
[76] McKay, 148-9.
[77] Garvey, 137.
[78] Ibid, 136.
[79] Griffith and Griffith's views of this type include two photographed by William Rau (1895, 1897) and one with George Griffith's copyright (1900). Other Publishers of these views include: in 1891 and 1901, H. C. White; in 1892 and 1895, Strohmeyer and Wyman (Underwood and Underwood); in 1896, Young/American Stereoscopic Company and Keystone; in 1897, Kilburn/Davis; in 1899, T. W. Ingersoll, a two view sequence in color lithography; and undated view from Webster and Albee of the 1890s; and an unidentified American lithograph c. 1899 entitled *A Night Attack*.
[80] Collection of the author. The numeral in the title indicates that there were more views after this.
[81] "Brown's Experiment," is a cartoon depicting a husband placing a live crab in his pocket, which his wife finds, with pain, while digging in it for money. *Excelsior Library No 39, Drummer's Yarns and Funny Jokes Second Crop* (May, 1895), 74. This cartoon post-dates the earliest stereoview of the pick-pocketing wife by four years.
[82] Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 49.
[83] Most of this stock is still available at the Keystone-Mast Collection, the California Museum of Photography, the University of California, Riverside.
[84] Keystone (1899) 6, 16.
[85] Ibid, 5-10, 15-16.
[86] Keystone (1903). 24-37. The Universal Photo Art manual of 1902 also frequently referred to the average canvass as "Mrs." or with a feminine pronoun: Messerschmidt.
[87] Keystone (1899), 16.
[88] Keystone (1903), 51.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.

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[91] Though a date beyond our time frame, the 1941 manual for the Keystone Electric Telebinocular continued with the reasoning it had established in the nineteenth century, that sales were intended to the home, and that they remained a woman's prerogative: "We used to go to the man, who so many times said, 'If this was something for my office, I would buy it, but after all it is for the house and the children, and Mrs. Brown takes care of that." And: "We made a survey and we found that in most cases where the wife wanted to consult her husband—where the husband actually saw the material he was quite agreeable to getting it." Cupp, 13.
[92] Keystone (1903), 60.
[93] To its agents, Keystone advised: "You must feel that you are really an ambassador of truth, education, and enlightment [sic]." Ibid, 7.
[94] "People are very much like a flock of sheep, they follow in a drove after their leaders." Keystone, (1899), 17.
[95] Kerber, 21.
[96] Quoted in Garvey, 136.
[97] The company issued stereographs from two sister negatives (taken at the same time from the same set). All were hand colored. In one, the salesman is lunging forward to plant a kiss upon the lady, while the other depicts the husband asleep, and, broom in hand, the lady opens the door for her lover. Both are in the collection of The New York Historical Society. I have found a pirate copy in a private collection.
[98] Collection of the New York Historical Society.
[99] An Underwood and Underwood file view from the Keystone Mast Collection depicts a similar scene—*The Man's Temper Aroused.*
[100] The Popular Series pirated IUC's version of *The Fresh View Agent* (personal collection).
[101] The tricked husband or lover is a theatrical staple, at least since the Comedia del'Arte tradition of Pantalone in the Renaissance. It has been offered as stage fare, in many traditions, ever since.
[102] For the advertising age, beginning in the 1870s, and booming by the 1890s, see Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 136-39. For the manipulation of the woman consumer in the 1880s and 1890s, see Garvey.
[103] Karen Halttunen's Epilogue is devoted to this thesis, 198-210.
[104] Ibid, 210.
[105] The term, "masher" rose from theatrical lingo, meaning a love letter from a "stage-door Johnny"—a man who loitered at stage doors waiting to prey upon chorus girls. Its etymology derives from "mash," or "to love" in gypsy idiom. By the 1880s, it had come to mean the sexually assertive man, a.k.a. "Mr. Pick Up." Banner, 198, 239-240.
[106] Ibid, 137.
[107] Waldsmith, 419.
[108] C. F. Brindle, *Stereoscopic Eyes* (Anderson, IL: C. F. Brindle, 1939), 10.
[109] The chromo-lithograph requires three color-sensitive, separation negatives, commercially available for the U.S. market from J. Carbutt (Philadelphia) beginning in 1898. The three negatives are exposed simultaneously or in succession, via filters, then, after processing, projected through a screen that separates the continuous tones into dots (half-tones) upon photo-sensitized printing blocks. Printed in register, the blocks produce a richly colored photographic image. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 53-56. Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984): 450-451.
[110] See Sadao Kikuchi, *Ukioye*, 18th ed., trans. Don Kenny (Tokyo: Hoikusha, 1990).
[111] Darrah, *World of Stereographs*, chapter six.
[112] Photographic stereoviews were sold by Sears for as little as seven cents, in 1897: *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue 106* (Chicago: Sears, Roebuck & Co, 1897), 894. These no doubt were low quality, possibly copy views. In 1900, monochrome lithographs were selling for thirty-eight cents per dozen; chromo-lithographs for eighty-five cents per dozen: *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue 111* (Chicago: Sears, Roebuck & Co, 1900), 179. In 1907, 500 chromo-lithographs were to be had for $2.98, while stereoscopes sold for twenty-eight cents: *Sears Roebuck Catalogue* (1907), 980. The prior year, stereoscopes were offered for twelve cents: *Sears, Roebuck & Co. Catalogue 115-116.* Chicago: Sears, Roebuck & Co, 1906: 351.
[113] Darrah, *World of Stereographs*, 54.
[114] Ibid.

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[115] I have many stereographs and postcards from this time period that were passed on by my family for generations. The chromo-lithographs received equal treatment and esteem as did the photographic stereographs, valued, in spite of their commonness, for their beauty and interest.
[116] "Chromo" designated cheap, inferior color products designed to appeal to those with no taste or education.
[117] See Garvey for women's practice of collaging trade card scrapbooks.
[118] Edith Bellows, Mrs. William E. Wallace, granddaughter of William Bellows of the Littleton View Company: McShane, 12.
[119] Jenkins, 20.
[120] See Grier for the decline of the parlor, 125, 215.
[121] Dexter, 7.

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PART TWO

Chapter Five

"Probable Presidents" and "Mashers Mashed": Children and Courtship Stereographs

While the first part of my study focused upon theoretical and social historical aspects of American narrative stereographs, the remainder of the book will address the types or genres of these views through the terminology I have set forth. What follows is not a comprehensive survey but, rather, a sampling of representative types that occur between the publishers and which I group according to topics. Chapter Five presents genre, childhood and courtship views; Chapter Six, the topic of Brides and Wives; Chapter Seven, erotic themes, and Chapter Eight, the comic male and the New Woman. For the most part, these are studies in standard themes. Chapter Five deviates from the typological presentation in that, here, with the childhood scenes, I have an especial opportunity to address the inventiveness of some of the early genre/narrative stereographers of the 1870s, in the days prior to mass corporate marketing and control. If it is ever desired to assign a "golden age" for American stereography, I would place it at this time, for though the golden days of marketing occurred in the 1890s when production and sales were high, the original solutions of the 1870s were abandoned by that time in favor of steady sales and established expectations. In the stereography of the sole operators or very small firms of the 1870s were quite a few original solutions that the larger publishers of the 1890s would codify. By looking at some of this work from the 1870s mixed with views of the 1890s, I will present

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the four basic types of childhood genre, then move forward to courtship scenes from both decades.

The topical material that follows maintains the thesis I have been developing through a variety of arguments--stereography was especially marketed to the home and addressed women's concerns. Feminine tastes, sensibilities and the dictates of family life determined the presentation of these views, including the erotic ones. Excepting a few samples from the first part of this chapter, the illustrations chosen represent the majority of types and the bulk of sales. In a medium this vast, indeed the dominant image form of the nineteenth century, deviations from practically any general assertion can be found. While isolated examples and narrow samplings may seem to show one trend or another, of far greater use are the directions exhibited in a large survey of the field. I freely admit, though, that the views most appealing to me often have a greater than common talent in presenting their topic; yet each falls within its genre.

An early genre scene by Manfred Griswold, who stereographed from the Washington D.C. area beginning in 1868, exhibits both typicality and distinction.[1] *The Cabin Porch,* of 1871 (fig. 58) is typical of the shift in setting from the British, bourgeois drawing room to the American rural homestead. Atypical, however, is the natural, outdoor setting, rather than a studio backdrop. Backdrops in America more commonly evoked naturalistic painting than those in Britain, which had the look of stage sets; yet in both national traditions the studio set and painted background remained standard for narrative scenes. The Griswold view holds a middle ground between a posed genre scene and a document of rural life. Though outdoors, the figures are undoubtedly posed, their *mis en scène* demonstrating the American taste for a primitive setting and a democratic sensibility. A high valuation of the culture of the porch—whether homestead cabin or middle class and furnished—speaks to the national pastime of socializing in this intermediate space between outdoors and in.[2] By 1871, the porch of a cabin, where the family gathered to cook, work,

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and sit, would have seemed to the middle-class, leisured stereo collector as a vital part of the not-far-distant past, since not many still performed work on theirs. It may also have suggested a class above which the stereoview collector had risen.

This national sentimentalism towards the porch stands in contrast to a British precursor of the cottage type. In Charles E. Goodman's *The Bird Trap*, from the late 1850s to the early 1860s (fig. 59), we see a typical cottage scene: a group of nicely dressed children are posed to evoke the catching of a bird (which was stuffed).[3] The thatched cottage studio set, with fence, tree, another bird, and painted backdrop of a lane stretching into town, offers a tranquil and idyllic view that the careful hand-coloring enhances. Romantic notions of the simple, peaceful, unspoiled country life, with nicely-mannered, red-cheeked, clean children, who had nothing better to do than catch and tame animals, were automatically associated with these signs. The posed children representing such conventions were at marked variance with the harsh reality of English laboring families, which was neither leisured nor harmonious, and all-too-often unwholesome.[4] Rather, such views exist to allow the middle class to visually play "country," a reactionary response to the vision of the increasingly miserable existence of the English farm laborer. The wealth of difference in Griswold's cabin porch and this British view is measured by the contrast between stage set and actual porch; working persons and leisured, pet-catching ones; and hand-tinting versus natural untinted tones. It is not that the American view lacks sentiment: the cabin porch is symbolic of national values such as self-reliance, industriousness, lack-of-complaint, family industry, and homesteader valor. By 1871, it was already harkening back to an earlier time when all available hands were constantly busy and had no leisure for the handling of things like stereoscopes. The sentiment, as with all ideologies, also excludes much, like the realities of less fortunate others.[5] Nonetheless, in its exactitude, actual setting, and lack of pretense, it strikes an almost documentary note that is lacking in the sugared fiction of the cottage scene.

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Not all genre scenes of home life, however, were sentimental. The Gates Company's *There's No Place like Home,* of the 1870s (fig. 60), has a decidedly different tone, with two children stealing apples, another's watchful eye on Pa, two on a humble pallet on the floor, and no real comfort in the room. The father, with his corncob pipe and newspaper, is seated on the only furniture—a box—and is another example of the reading male providing comic opportunity. The spatially-reflective mirror on the wall symbolizes his narcissistic absorption, while his children are getting the better of him. The narrative functions in the moment of tension, the hand on the apple, and the implied next sequential moment of feet running down the hall and laughter. A Ben Kilburn view of the late 1860s-early 1870s, *Forbidden Fruit,* shows two boys similarly climbing to reach peaches sitting away on a top shelf, but their mother at the washtub halts their endeavors with a poised paddle.[6] These more naturalistic views have dropped the pretenses of the picturesque and adopted a protecting anti-bourgeois irony. "Laughing rather than crying" at frustrations like keeping the hands off the fruit—saved for other purposes—says a lot about the conditions of life and the use of humor to help people adapt. Then, too, irony at times exploded into more extreme expression, as in Ben Singley/Keystone's *Home Sweet Home,* 1898 (fig. 61), where all the children have met the ire of mother's shoe, and father wants to know just when he'll be able to read. Note the sharp orthogonals of the composition, typical for Singley, and the judicious use of the decorative mirror to open up the claustrophobia of the corner and reflect the room behind the view. The eye moves in a triangle between mirror, father, and the howling boy jutting largely into the foreground space. The depth of the scene is packed, tense, reflecting a family's conflicting interests, while the composition invites a jumpy mobility within the tight quarters. The scene, an early one likely photographed by Keystone's founder, is antipodal to the company's cushy pair by house photographers, figs. 15, 16, *Still There's No Place Like Home.* Other ironic titles in the same vein include Kilburn/Davis' *There's No Place Like Home,* 1899, and H. C.

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White's 1902 view of the same title, the first showing a baby driving his father to drink and the second a scene of mass spanking and sibling mayhem.[7]

Clearly, the notion of the dear old home in America was represented via an ambivalence of sentiment and irony. At that time, a home implied the presence of children, and the American genre scene usually included them. Some of these may be properly termed "narrative" as they tell a story, others, such as *The Cabin Porch*, are more accurately genre, in the sense of a scene from everyday life. I have grouped both types together under the broader rubric of "narrative," since titles and the descriptive, spatial invitation of the stereograph lend themselves to imaginative extension on the part of the viewer. Views with children, especially those the publishers categorized as specifically childhood scenes, had an especial market appeal to women, and salesmen were encouraged to mix these liberally in a canvass to residents.[8]

While the bond between women and children may not seem to require much explanation, in the nineteenth century it *was* explained considerably, in terms of both nature and the sacred. "Motherhood was the fulfillment of a woman's physiological and moral destiny."[9] As few avenues for self-advancement and authority lay open to women, becoming a mother gave women a giant step forward in status.[10] A woman was to mould her children and, through that process, direct and influence society.[11] While contemporaneous thought deemed her ill-equipped to *understand* society, she could vicariously guide it through power over her children and through emotive strength. Though her actual power was highly circumscribed, her indirect influence was proclaimed prodigiously,[12] her emotive ability aggrandized in proportion to the denial or suppression of her rational being. Motivated by the clarity of sentimental bonds, she was thought to see further, beyond self-interest and the narrow balancing of ledger sheets. The nineteenth-century woman was therefore invested with the ideals that were an encumbrance to the world of business, politics, military conquest and the advance of capital. In sum, she became

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the investiture of what we group together loosely as "human" qualities—spirituality, morality, responsiveness, compassion, sensitivity, to name but a few.

According to Nina Baym, this positing of emotional value "could be the most ambitious of all, because it makes an attempt to gain not just money, power or status but the heart and soul of the world."[13] Whatever its practical ability with regard to influential change, the burden of emotional responsibility, without the corresponding economic or political power, was no doubt crippling.[14] Within her limited sphere, the Victorian woman had responsibilities that at times reached staggering heights of denial and aggrandizement. Through the role of wife and mother she was to (indirectly) transform nations—and the world—with what was seen as her powers of emotional strength, moral superiority, innately higher spirituality, and self-sacrifice.[15] Though such a burden of responsibility without much support may seem a sure avenue to physical or mental collapse,[16] it could also, if accepted in a non-totalizing manner, bespeak ideals within a sharply curtailed reality, values which implicitly critique male power and the masculine world of business.[17] Passed from mother to child through religious and ethical principle, sentimental superiority fashioned women as saviors, placing morality and spirituality before self-interest.[18] Though in daily life women possessed few actual means and found themselves doubly in check by paternal law and the prejudice against their self-possession, talents, and intellectual capacity,[19] what was unstintingly given to the female sex was the authority of emotional principles. Women could console themselves that their value system was superior, not because it wielded power but precisely because it did not, based on ideals that shied from purely personal gain.

The sentiment that was woman's power was often realized in life—rather than fiction—in the ability to control through guilt and shame. One of the most common themes of Victorian age comics is the "corruption" of women's covert influence as it transforms itself into overt control and domination. Its typical manifestation was the comic exaggeration of the termagant wife—Eugene Zimmerman's "Domestic Duties," of 1884,

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being but one example from an almost daily fare of this sort (fig. 62).[20] Fear of all that women assume for the benefit of others surfaces in comic absurdity. The century was an especially nervous one about the power it envisioned women as carrying, and burdened with an increasingly guilty conscience about the insufficient outlets for such power's legitimate, personal use. Guilt went hand in hand with anxiety, when coupled with the fear/observation that women, so powerful and so limited, might revolt. As the century progressed, social sentimentalism found itself to be an ever more vocal form of protest and indictment,[21] upon which the comic art of the age seems to have had the most unflinching, if paranoiac, vision.[22] For women, the ideology of sentiment evolved into an emotive and cognitive space freighted with contradictory values, impossibly demanding, more confining than liberating, but nonetheless a form of power in spite of its obvious debilitation.

It is small wonder, then, that childhood views were a market for women, for their images represented the works of female toil and love, an effect on human potential, and the manifestation of the mother's authority and values. As such, children in stereographs are frequently sentimentalized, at times to a mawkish extreme, and are seldom presented individually but, rather, as cuter bearers of adult ideas. I have categorized childhood views into four basic groups that encompass the majority: the beautiful, the devils, the angels, and "at work and play." It is striking how few are the views that fall outside these four simple categorizations, begging the speculation that the sentimental child was a collection of roles befitting the parents' emotive needs more than the children's.

In the beautiful category is a clever view with a presciently modern effect--Seneca Ray Stoddard's *A Probable President*, 1878 (fig. 63). Stoddard's *Spring* (fig. 10) contrasted the darker figures of children against the bright expanse of a still, mirroring lake, smoothly gradated in tonal value from middle gray to paper white. Using a similar technique in *A Probable President*, Stoddard exploits a broad background of bright tonal value—this time, canvas covered windows—and takes the backlit contrast of the human figures to pure

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silhouette. The father and baby in their tenebrist blackness offer no depth cues, and so function as a flat dark plane off which the stereoscopic vision ricochets into spatial readings behind the figures. The subjects are rendered without stereopsis, while their surroundings only offer depth, but no symbolic or narrative material. The narrative therefore is divorced from stereoscopic reading, and stereopsis is divorced from its customary Victorian reading of the picture. The bright canvas strikes a form that is modernist-looking—outside of typically coded readings formed by self-evident language or visual symbol.[23] The shape of two window frame bars extending from the heads of father and son and a few cross-ways ripples of fabric give texture and space to this non-narrative, bright spatiality, suggesting without actually symbolizing the future this father imagines for his son. The father's tousle of hair, long nose, and mustache stand in formal contrast to the baby's smooth, round skull and chub nose—growth versus the baby's blankly open future. Not deviating from the sentimental convention of adoring the infant, this Stoddard view provides a highly original solution at that time to satisfy such expectations, yoking its modern-appearing image to the narrative title that locates the genre and meaning. Expressing the typical American hope for every child's potential as national leader, this view "reads" via the title or type and does not "read" conventionally through the image, offering a more psychological space than a delineated, realist, or linguistic one. Furthermore, it is unusual in its paternal tenderness. While there are ample sentimental views of mother and child, it is rare to find one that is so deliberate in its crossing over of the maternal code into paternity. Alone with a child, fathers in Victorian stereography are usually a comic type. Paternity is nearly always referenced in conjunction with maternity and seldom viewed for its own sake.

Also of exceptional quality is M. Griswold's *Blowing Bubbles,* 1871 (fig. 64). Beautifully stereoptical and tonal, *Blowing Bubbles,* offers the sentiment of a child's play scene, a volumetric environment, and a composition that harkens to Chardin's *Soap Bubbles.*[24] Unlike Chardin's smartly-appointed youth, however, the Griswold boy is a

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country lad with tears in his britches and a hay bale for chair. The suspended bubble plays off the blackness of the barrel on which the boy perches and carries associations of the world of the visible, as the lights and shadows of the room illuminate and darken the globe.[25] The boy's poised foot before the black empty barrel establishes a counter tension to that of the bubble at the end of his pipe, while the foot resting on the ladder and pan of soap balance the forms. Griswold's view establishes an environmental vision, associated with art of the past but certain in its difference that evokes the American farm.

For Griswold, the beautiful child was also humorous, as his *Unveiling a Statue of Young America*, 1871 (fig. 65) reveals with its blend of sentiment, aesthetic pleasure in nudity, and ironic amusement. While not every child can grow up to be the President of which Stoddard's sentiment dreams, all can be somehow regarded as "a work of art." This view pokes fun simultaneously at aesthetic pretensions, maternal over-valuation, and a boy's reluctance for the institution of the bath.[26] The "statue" is no work of an artist, but that of a mother, bringing the elevated realm of art down to the family level, and, concomitantly, teasing the mother who so regards her duties as equal to art. Griswold also allows us to appreciate a beautiful nude by layering upon a naked boy art-codes presented ironically—he is unveiled as statues are--and couching the naked form in the safety of a family situation and maternal care. The view is a playful tease on more than one level, making unacceptable desire safe, just as a mother may focus upon duties that allow her to express pleasure in a child's body. This safety is also increased by being expressed in social and patriotic terms. No naked boy—but "young America" is what we see. Without the title guiding interpretation and channeling thought into appropriate pathways, the stereoview would be voyeuristic and possibly unacceptable, given the child subject, for the nineteenth-century home. Narration provides the context of home, country, and "art" to guide the pleasure into a tongue-in-cheek play upon conventions.

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The preceding views of children are more exceptional than typical, though they answer to the market genre of beautiful images that inspired sentiment. More prevalent were the types casting children as little devils or angels, cute in their pranks, and naturally good because of their innocence. Published by the thousands, little devils and angels populate stereoscopic space, endearing miscreants or diminutive but mighty saviors, fufilling adults wishes regarding childhood. One of my favorite "little devil" views is Weller's *Tricks at School*, 1875 (fig. 66), with its realistic-looking school room set, complete with chalk figures on the board. The pranksters snicker behind their books, and the surprised boy leaps up from his altered seat in a convincing outburst. The most common prankster view is the spying little brother type, of the 1890s, as in Kilburn/Davis's *Hello Sis!*, 1897 (fig. 67). Also doubling as courtship scenes, these views materialize little brothers out of busy wallpaper and doily-covered, damasked, fringed sofas. They come bearing cameras, falling over the screens from which they peep, threatening to tell, getting their ears pulled and bottoms spanked, and generally causing disruption to young lovers.[27] These boys—I have found one little girl--represent the viewers' voyeuristic gaze, our pleasure in the arm around the waist, the seat upon the lap, hand under the chin, and the kiss.[28] They sadistically crash the party of eroticism, allowing no one pleasure if they're not included, standing in for the voyeurism of the viewer and its frustration of watching with no opportunity to participate. So prevalent was this type that one could argue that the little "peeping toms" were representing the voyeuristic impulse in stereography on the whole. We have ocular satisfaction, and the recourse of the imagination, but no actual presence in the scene where we, as viewers, experience immediacy. The little boys stand in for our eyes, making the kiss a possibility by witnessing it, then, with primitive frustration, wreaking havoc upon it. They also bear the punishment for that voyeuristic eroticism by receiving a spanking, ear pulling, or finger-wagging lecture. This redirects the stifled passion to physical aggression and an expression of anger, and reinstates the social

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prohibition against both the physical contact of unmarried persons and the voyeurism that viewers and pranksters enjoy.

Not only little brothers could be naughty, but, thankfully, so could little girls. In what appears to be an imported, British view entitled *Turned Out of Church*, published by C. W. Thorne, of New York, NY, in the 1860s, (fig. 68), one naughty girl has been shown the door by the usher, much to the delight of a row of laughing boys.[29] They stereoptically present a range of depth cues leading into the sanctuary, giving a sense of the open, large space. Because of the diminishment of depth of field (range of focus), these heads gradually recede into blur, simultaneously imparting a sense of immediacy to the foregrounded girl, hand-tinted next to the predominantly black-and-white boys.

The Victorian "little devil" type was occasionally a girl, but the honor is mostly reserved for boys, or a group of boy and girl children, while the "little angel" type almost invariably was a girl or infant.[30] As every parent knows, children are at their most angelic when asleep. This truism has given occasion to double-exposed angel and child types such as the "guardian angel" and "orphan's dream."[31] Weller in the 'seventies dispensed with the angel but added a real cat in the sleeping-child view, *The Trials of the Day Are Over*, c. 1875.[32] In 1894, Keystone copied the composition, removing the cat and returning the angel—*Her Guardian Angel* (fig. 69). Despite the word "guardian" in the title and the picture of angels on the rear wall over-ennunciating the theme of protection, the double-exposed angel seems menacing, coming too close to the sleeping child for comfort. The girl, with drooping lids, appears either half-awake or possibly dead. Perhaps the view was meant to double as an empty crib type, with the word, "guardian," of the title pulling the viewer back from too depressing associations. How Sadie Strare interpreted the view, other than that she placed her inscription on verso, we can only speculate. Similarly composed, double-printed "empty crib type" views were set in the bedroom, with angels representing the departed spirits of loved ones, such as Keystone's *The Empty Crib--We're Nearer to the Other*

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Shore Since the Baby Died, 1899 (fig. 71). Such views were less common but available.[33] So, perhaps Sadie merely regarded *Her Guardian Angel* as a protecting-type image. The close association between sleep and death, though, may have given reason for Keystone, when it rephotographed the title (# 619) four years later, to place the angel further away from the girl, as she stares fully awake in a room with fewer curtains and more light.[34] This view, on verso, employed the extended legend,[35] in this case a poem by Paul Lawrence Dunbar spoken with the narrative voice of a mammy.[36] Recto and verso of the view bear little resemblance to each other, and latter seems a tacked-on bit of reassurance to palliate fear.[37]

The extended legend often was an incongruent appendage from writers who employed the stereograph as a springboard for associative wanderings, or ideological positions they thought might flatter purchasers. A latter-day incarnation of the imaginative journey of the stereoview, such a narrative makes evident the decline in confidence for views and their self-sufficiency as images inducing viewer response. Corporate writers churned out prose which substituted for the narrative of the salesman guiding the viewer's thought process and viewing experience. Only a fraction of the views of this time contain the extended legend, yet its practice indicates a fear that the views themselves do not successfully enough secure their market and require help to calm the fears of the populace and inspire sentiment. Perhaps, too, the environment of the view was sensed as too inclusive, even subversive, in that it allows the viewer an opportunity for undirected response. The narrative channels thought, while the image does not necessarily conform. It is just as much "about" the meaning of diaphanous, translucent fabric and the effects of light as it is about the symbolics of children, race or angels.

This points to the duplicity of stereography, which plays, as all photographs do, with preconceived meaning, lending to the viewer's eye the opportunity to construct its own valuation of detail and form, grabbing attention with some detail of no verbal significance and inducing a response to seam together this spot, or light value, with

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linguistic thought. The stereograph opens the space into an environment that is an invitation to imaginative and idiosyncratic response. The Keystone Company and others at the time indicated a discomfort with this, and the extended legend served to redirect a market into buying the signs with which publishers wanted the public to identify. The images themselves, however, are more slippery than the codified market for them. Although the types of the stereograph companies determine subjects, stereographic space and photographic detail can betray the intentions of the publishers with obstreperous meanings.[38]

Stereoview photographers, though, had a number of means to evoke angelic children. An early view attributed to James Elliott, of the London Stereoscopic Company, which was pirated so many times in the U.S. that it by stealth became an American image (fig. 71), presents another "angel," this one earthly and with an all-too-human father.[39] I present a crudely hand-colored, apparently original, view of Elliott's *Father, Come Home.*[40] Busy drinking and gambling away his pay at two o'clock in the morning, the father regards his daughter, kneeling and begging for his return to the family fold. The music hall bill under the dark window situates the title in a sentimental music hall tradition which was very familiar in the 1860s:

> Father Come Home
> LITTLE WEST
> Queen's Money
> Harry Rowe
> John Wilson

"Father, Dear Father, Come Home with Me Now," an 1864 composition by Henry Clay, was a temperance ballad that many generations grew up singing at the music hall, in theatres, church and school.[41] Its sentimental lyrics were featured in later performances of one of the most popular melodramas of the century, *Ten Nights in a Barroom,* by the American playwright, Timothy Arthur.[42] This play toured throughout the U.S. and Great Britain in just about every locality that offered a stage during the Victorian era and well

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into the twentieth century. Slide shows, lectures, music hall features and other popular art forms spun off from the ever popular ballad of the little girl pleading with her father to leave the bar and return home to kiss his dying son "goodnight."[43] As expected, the son dies before his father leaves the bar. The featured singers on our stereograph's bill, Harry Rowe and John Wilson, were music hall artists who hailed from the same home town and lodged together.[44]

One other advertisement helps us in reading the view. Over the father's carousing, gambling head is the symbol of his interests: "FIND LATER / Extra / Double Stout / in English Measure Cash," along with a depiction of a horse—another vehicle for gambling. Behind him is a crude caricature chalked on the wall—a symbol of a primitive state, or the interests of children. Rather than return home to his family, he shows his daughter the hand of cards that he cannot leave. Sentimental temperance themes such as this were staples in the nineteenth century and strongly American. Copies of this view circulated widely enough in this country to become iconic in value. The themes of punishment for the dissolute dad and the purity of the angelic child's attempt to sway her father were especially appealing to women and appeared throughout the Evangelical, crusade movement against alcohol.[45] Women in these movements viewed themselves and their children, particularly the daughters, as saviors of alcoholic men, and they considered their redemptive power, expressed in prayer, public disturbance, and private influence, to have a strong ameliorative effect on this drug abuse.[46] On the verso of my stereoview is a simple inscription, in careful penmanship, "Partridge," that I presume to be the last name of the owner. The identity of "Partridge" will forever remain a mystery, but whomever he or she was, the inscription claims the view as a possession, with the suggestion that it bespoke personal identification. Another such view, the London Stereoscopic Co.'s *The Temperate Man's Home*, c. 1860, shows an upstanding family, with father at table, taking coffee and tea.[47] On the verso are two inscriptions in the same hand, "B. B. Winslow" and "Mrs. Mathews." I will speculate

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that Miss Winslow became Mrs. Mathews and wanted to keep the view identified with her own temperate home.

Another sort of angel could be the model child at work and play. F. G. Weller's *A Stitch in Time Saves Nine,* 1872 (fig. 72), one of his most popular views, shows an angelically industrious girl threading a needle to mend her doll's clothes, her hands slightly blurry and volumetric.[48] The open space of the doll's cradle reads beautifully with the plaid cloth, recalling *The Empty Cradle* (fig. 9). My print has the inscription, "Anna," on verso with the stamp of a fancy goods, picture and toy shop in Lowell, Massachusetts.[49] Since just the first name was used, the merchant for the view sold toys, and the view depicts a child, I surmise that Anna was herself a child. Many stereographs were the possessions of children, especially the view types that encourage industry and well-directed play. Salesmen's manuals frequently make the pitch of the stereograph's benefit to children, and views of children looking at views are also common.[50] In its form, on durable card stock, and with its lower expense compared to other illustrative forms, it was considered fitting for younger hands, and the views touted as educational. Such purchases for the benefit of children would have been thought to be under the mother's domain.

Additionally, there are other inscriptions on card backs that give information as to their possessors, such as a pirate view from the Gems of German Life series (Loescher and Pesch), which has been well-used, bearing an inscription on verso in a large, round hand: "Miss Kate Rhodes, Rosendale, Ulsla Co., N.M."[51] The view depicts two little girls playing at washing clothes. Other views were gifts, or momentos of personal identification for young persons. A beautiful British view by "Phiz" entitled *Child's Dream,* shows a sleeping little boy and a back drop painted to illustrate his dream of visiting the Pantomime.[52] On verso is written, "Charlie from Lottie. June 1867."[53]

Also prevalent among childhood types was the depiction of the misunderstanding or partial understanding of children at play. Children fulfilled the function of being cute,

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adorable, and amusing, echoing their parent's words and acts with indisputable, if faulty, logic. F. G. Weller's *How Did Doctor Bring Baby in That?*, 1876 (fig. 73) is an example, whose composition was later copied by Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood.[54] In this title, the little girl imagines, as she was told, that the doctor "brought the baby"—in what else but his medical bag! Other such views may be summarized by their titles. H. C. White's, *No, It's Nothing Dangerous, She is Badly Run Down from Overwork*, 1904, is the sort of thing a lad would overhear regarding a mother.[55] In this view, the title is delivered by a little boy playing doctor to a little girl's doll. Wasson/International View Company's 1903 comic sequence depicts another boy doctoring a doll—with a saw. One girl holds the doll, while another kneels in prayer. The title, *The Young Surgeon's Heroic Cure for the Grip—The Amputation* is echoed in a second view, *If This Don't Cure the Influenways, Tomorrow I'll Saw Off the Other Leg.*[56] The very real issues of illness or women's exhaustion are thereby rendered in these comedies as something cute and amusing. The diminutive echo and distortion in children's play diffuses through laughter the tension and suffering of the female world, with its extra responsibilities for children and caring for the sick, dying, and needy.[57] Such play also helps alleviate the fears of children themselves. In this manner childhood views reassure the members of the family, providing light medicine.

Other types of "angels," or good children, offer sentimental reassurance that parental struggles will be rewarded. In Underwood and Underwood's *I'll Take Care of You, Grandma*, 1889 (fig. 74), a little girl lovingly embraces her grandmother. The view space is intimate, the setting simple, but the patternings on wallpaper, upholstery and carpet produce a visual vertigo, the back wall swimming forward, and the floor patterning tipping upward. The view, the more one looks at it, begins to tip and sway, and the woman's stark white face hovers in its own spatial area, too pale and a little too close. Her dead-pan expression introduces a note of gravity—indeed, who in 1889 would take care of the

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elderly? For the most part, the question of care was left to the families, whether or not they had the resources. A serious message lies under the sentiment of this endearing child.

On a similar note is Underwood's *Breaking Home Ties*, 1898 (fig. 75), whose stage-set-like view shows a Spartan farm home with little to offer. The boy's suit is several sizes too small for him, yet this seems more piteous than ludicrous. His sister is crying, his mother places her hand upon his arm and gazes into his face, as the young man makes off for the city and such influences as melodrama of the age theatricalized. The view harkens back to the departing soldier types of the British Crimean war days, usually entitled *The First Break in the Family.*[58] There is, however, a vital difference, as the American view depicts not a scene of leaving for war but for economic necessity. During the 'nineties, more young men and women were leaving rural areas for city work and education, as the prosperous farm economy of the past two decades was encountering tariffs and taxation, and local economies were experiencing a decline in favor of urban and national corporations.[59]

From the beautiful child, to the angels, devils, and the endearing misunderstandings of play, many nineteenth-century views demonstrate a willingness to translate adult fears and desires to the permissive and safe arena of the child. Sentiment offers the at-times difficult messages a redeemable dress. Tenderness and comedy become, in accordance with Freud's theory on humor, a device for the super-ego to change suffering into its opposite, pleasure, and thereby transform the distress.[60] The concerns so dramatized in sweeter and lighter fashion reflect back upon and siphon some of the tension from feminine anxiety, suffering, desire, and hope, and thereby aid the triumph of the home. Children symbolically represent the women's lives which were so deeply entwined with theirs, a bond that not only issued from intensive involvement but from cultural reinforcement and conditioning. Children *were* the nineteenth-century woman's power made manifest, vehicles for her expression and ambition to go forth into society.

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Besides the prevalent childhood view, we see emerging beginning in the 1870s the popular, young-adult courtship view. Next to views of marriage and childhood, courtship views could be considered the largest genre. Taken together, the three categories form the vast majority, perhaps seventy-five percent or more, of all narrative views. They locate the story of stereography as essentially that of the family—before, beginning, and, like a bad hang-over from indulgent dreams, after. The American stereoview of the period employed some British themes but often pitched them to a sardonic level. In times when family bonds were not so easily modified, the popular, comic stereograph provided necessary psychic relief. Alternating between the sentimental and the comic, the naturalistic picturesque style of the period offers fine genre scenes with evocations of unpretentious, daily life.

F. G. Weller and the Melander Brothers of Chicago dominate in the 'seventies, picking up British topics while making significant departures from them in terms of style. In Weller's *Love Aloft*, 1875 (fig. 76), the viewer experiences a close immediacy to the fully volumetric pair, a roofer and either a maid or a daughter. There is a sense of actuality, of stumbling on this very probable setting—though still a studio set—and its realistic detail. The two actors are fresh and spontaneous in their expression of affection, without theatrical stylization. Both voyeuristic and vicarious, this view allows us to spy *and* to imagine ourselves as one of the pair, for it places the characters on equal footing with ourselves. The roofer with his shingles is clearly a working man, but the status of the young lady is unclear. She may be a maid-of-all-work (the sole servant of a middle class house), or she may be a daughter in that home going about her chores. Other than holding a brush, she is not presented in any way as to make her class obvious. The roof set, too, is one that characterizes the common, middle-class home. This view, unlike many of the British picturesque, signs itself with immediacy and convincing realism, sans class distinction, and with little reference to the codes of the theatrical world.

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This sort of studio set was obviously a convenient one, for Weller duplicated it in a view of two women gazing outward, one with a telescope, in *Fisherman's Daughters*, 1875, while the Melander Brothers had their own version of a roofer and girl with a dust pan in *Courting on the Roof*, 1875.[61] The latter image includes a second roofer, at the top of the view, spying upon the progress of his companion's interest, a stand-in for the viewer's voyeurism. As many of Weller's views, Melanders' *Courting on the Roof* has a sequential image, *The Elopement*, 1876 (fig. 77). Here, we have the same immediacy as the Weller view, a nearly identical set, and the addition of partial tinting. We can infer that this elopement pictures not a maid, who could leave her situation, but a daughter of this modest home. I have located an earlier treatment of the elopement theme in a tinted, three-view series from an unidentified British photographer of the 1860s. The first, *Is he Coming?*, depicts a woman in typical theatrical style shading her eyes and looking outward, as she, in elegant attire, leans upon an equally elegant balustrade (first variant).[62] The two following views are both entitled *The Elopement* and depict a time sequence of this woman escaping with the help of her lover,[63] figure 78 being the final view in the series.[64] Between the Melander elopement and the British pirate, there is a world of difference in class, stagy set versus naturalistic set, and associative meanings of the literary and theatrical world versus the pedestrian, American one. The sign in the back of the British pirate view speaks for the class difference. "Ladies Boarding School," it reads, a far cry from the dust-pan-bearing girl and her roofer.

We should not, however, interpret the American preference for the naturalistic set as one that altogether rejects, even in the 1870s, the aspirations of the middle class for wealth and bourgeois accouterments. As we have seen in Weller's *Future Courtship* (fig. 50), emerging in this decade were indications that the democratic and agrarian society was giving way to a consumerist and professional class strata. Weller's *Ancient Courtship*, Griswold's *Cabin Porch*, and the Melander Brother's *Why Don't He Come?*, of 1870, already

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carried associations of yesteryear and were meant to be read nostalgically.[65] During this decade, the institution of the chaperone, whether a family member or servant, began, particularly among the wealthy. A shift from the relative freedom of courtship in the early Republic and antebellum days to more restrictive practices and rigid social expectations occurred along with a greater self-consciousness among couples.[66] An over-all rise in standard of living, higher expectations for furnishing the home, and an increasing attention to etiquette and its formalities meshed with the curtailing of premarital sexual freedoms.[67] While most American couples still went without chaperones, greater restrictions, especially among the wealthy, began to be the norm.[68] American stereoviews of the time reflect this change in what is likely their favorite theme—courtship and its frustrations. Melander's *Daughter's Anxiety to Walk for Her Health Explained,* of 1879 (fig. 79) presents a courting lass who has deceived her mother and is catching a finger-wagging and scold, as she has obviously been in pursuit of another sort of exercise than the one she represented. Her beloved—Melanders' favorite actor, whom we have twice seen--is dressed in the comic style of the country "swell," with knee britches and morning coat, a theatrical, fancy dress that would have been perceived at the time as antiquated and ridiculous.[69] The dress of all three, along with the decorative plants, reveal bourgeois pretensions, while the daughter's surreptitious meetings indicate the greater restrictions towards courtship at the time.

Counterbalancing this restrictiveness towards courting, an interest developed in depicting light physical contact between the sexes in the stereoview. Compared to the restrained British view, which rarely featured touching between the sexes save that of formal dancing, American stereography was prolific in the "kiss and embrace" category. Though they are very mild by today's standards, they seem, in the light of the more repressive mores gaining force, a sort of scenic defiance. This made, of course, for drama, as the narrative carried the "punch," whether implied or pictured, of being caught and possibly punished. Weller's *Not so Very Thin,* 1875 (fig. 80), employs the same convention

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as his *Struck with Astonishment* (fig. 24)--a couple embraces behind a swath of fabric, this time not a sheet but a bolt of fabric, which, ostensibly, the two are examining for purchase. In the sequential image, *A Little To* [sic] *Thin*, the matron on the other side of the fabric has raised her spectacles to also examine it, and the young lady has thrown up her hands in surprise at the possibility of being discovered in a motive ulterior to that of the customer.[70]

Scheming, surreptitious conduct, awkwardness, and parental reprisal were the staples of the courtship view. In the Littleton View Company's *Circumstantial Evidence*, 1891 (fig. 81), the courting couple find themselves quite literally stuck on each other when the father enters the view and, looking up from his reading, realizes that his chaperoning has been less than thorough.[71] The daughter's hair piece and her young gentleman's glasses hover in space, indicting their too-proximate courting. His hand raises in a protective, easy-now gesture, and her hand has flown to her head, from whence has escaped her hair piece. The landscape diptych on the wall behind the couple echoes their position, close but yet divided, and swathed in a curtain implying concealment. The instantaneity of this scene, suggesting stop-action photography, though carefully orchestrated in the studio, marks a technological advance in film speed over that of previous decades, making it possible to suspend the hair piece and glasses. Actual split-second photography had been accomplished before with stereographic cameras, whose small size allowed for shorter lenses with faster apertures.[72] The view, then, narratively functions as a suspended moment in the on-going story, as we conclude the before and after of this moment, pulled into the scene by the tension.

Lovers caught in compromising positions have many stereographic variations, exploited by every publisher, often in several variations. The visual gag of interrupted kisses were standard fare, as were punning titles. *Every Kiss Has Its Sting* and *There is No Rose Without a Thorn* depict an irate Ma or Pa taking a broom or shovel to a young gentleman's backside as he leans to kiss the daughter.[73] The embracing couple fallen asleep

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in each other's arms, under the stock title *Bliss* and *Bliss Disturbed* or some variant of this, was a type that at least ten publishers in my data base used, two of them in two different versions.[74] We have already seen the Weller version, which appears to have been the originator of this title. Among the prolific variations on this theme is the 1890 Littleton View Company's *Shoulder Arms*, a scene of a young couple embracing and just apprehended by Pa. *Charge Bayonets* (fig. 82) concludes the pair, as the father segues to the punch-line of the pun. Other paired titles include H. C. White's 1903, *He Would Rather Be There Than Anywhere Else* and *He Would Rather Be Home Than Anywhere Else--and Papa Helps Him Along* (tosses him out); Weller's 1872 pair, *A Pleasant Hour* and *A Sudden Storm* (Mama pulls his ear); and Keystone's *I Propose to Move Immediate Upon Your Lines*, 1883 (father threatening battery).[75] Occasionally, however, the joke is on the father, as in Littleton View Company's *Retouching Portraits*, 1889 (fig. 83), where the reading father is getting the "brush off" from the painter in pursuit of the daughter. Note the pine tree, which in stereopsis sets off the scene behind branches and imparts a voyeuristic position to the viewer by framing the scene. As viewers, we may steal a glimpse of the stolen kiss and imaginatively complete the paternal reaction, thus consolidating the "Bliss" and "Bliss Disturbed" sequence in one view. The multiple types of kiss and punish views appear to have been the most readily saleable of all courtship scenes, indicating that both the eroticism and penalty were the sort of images people wished to purchase and have in their homes.

The stereoview publishers, of course, were not working alone on such inviting themes. Cartoonists offered their own fare of couples tricking parents, and fathers' retaliation. Frank Hutchins' "Parental Strategy," from 1895, is a sequentially-scened cartoon of two lovers embracing while Papa comes down steps to bust up the tryst, descending stealthily upon his hands, with lethal-looking hob-nailed boots suspended in the air and ready for use![76] In a more theatricalized vein, a Charles Keene cartoon of 1889 entitled "Her Father" employs a script underneath a spot-lit silhouetted image. A suitor

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stands ready to surreptitiously depart at 12:10 a.m., while a "stern voice with a threatening ring in it" inquires: "Does that young man in the front parlour take tea or coffee for his breakf--!!" ("Door"—and he was gone!)."[77]

The titillation of these views and cartoons is made allowable and possibly increased by the physical threat of punishment, which, as with spying little brothers, we may interpret as the erotic impulse repressed and transferred to physical aggression. Usually with courtship scenes, the father assumes the role of aggressive threat, substituting his battery for the lovers' momentum toward sexual contact. The fathers of grown daughters in narrative stereography, in fact, seemed to have only two roles: to be tricked, or to retaliate. By expelling the gentleman lover, a young usurper to his authority in the home, the paterfamilias asserts his supremacy over his daughter's interest, for yet a little while. The one who discovers the lovers also represents the sadism of the voyeur, with its accompanying punishment. Here, it is inflicted just as much upon the "sight," by discontinuing the pleasure of the view, as it is upon any lovers' transgression. The punishment marks the boundary beyond which the kiss and embrace may not go, so that our voyeurism and vicarious enjoyment are given license--as long as they pay their dues by receiving a boxing. This "optical anger" indicates the frustration of sexual boundaries and the limitations of voyeurism.

Not all views of kisses were, however, so punished. Beginning in the 1890s, we witness more relaxation towards picturing the pursuits of lovers. Prior to this, there are infrequent examples of physical contact in American views which do not incorporate or suggest a sequential punishment, as the threat of recrimination makes the contact allowable. A *suggestion* of greater intimacy is offered rather than being actually depicted. These observable tendencies (not rules) are scenic devises that help to increase tension and tell a story. In views such as the British, *Precaution—The Pretty Nursemaid* (fig. 37), where

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physical contact occurs, there is often some coding of the lower social/servant status of such persons that grants "permission" for them to become an erotic spectacle. This type of view remained a minority in narrative stereography, and mostly a European employment, until the 1890s when the love affairs of servants, including the ever popular "French Cook," exploded upon the market, along with the love affairs of all other classes, a topic to be explored in Chapter Seven.

By the last decade of the century, mild pictorial eroticism had become everyone's desired image. This was the "gay 'nineties," known for its loosening of prior restraint and challenge of restricting customs. A development of the Victorian age was a growing emphasis upon romantic love, and the success of a marriage, in short, one's future happiness, was expected to be dependent upon it.[78] The stereoscopic view imaged the new permissiveness, along with the theme it had had since the inception of the medium—the importance of giving lovers allowance, or their taking of it. By 1890, it had become again the norm for couples to go off alone.[79] Keystone's *Always Take a Horse You Can Drive with One Hand,* 1901 (fig. 6) is but one example. Other titles indicating this lack of inhibition provided for by bucolic settings are, *Going With the Stream* (couple embracing in boat), 1897; *Taking Toll in the Rural Districts,* 1895 (couple kissing on a bridge); *Taking the Cream,* (couple kissing on the nether side of a cow), 1895; *A Fishing Smack* (a kiss while fishing), 1890s, and the salacious-sounding, *Hump Yourself,* 1904, which, in spite of its title, depicts only a kiss-and-embrace respite from apple picking.[80] Of note in all these views is the actual outdoor setting, not a studio set. With the exceptions of Griswold and Stoddard, we do not often see the natural setting in a narrative view until the 1890s. The adoption of the outdoors in the 'nineties may be attributed to the greater adaptability and portability of dry gelatin film, on the market in 1891. As well, the landscape bespoke American optimism, opportunity, and love of place, at very least, for courtship views, signaling that courting couples seized the chance of being outdoors to remain unobserved.[81] We can witness these

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trends as early as 1857, when Frank Bellew, Sr., a cartoonist for the American magazine, *Nick-Nax,* depicted a pair of lovers using the excuse of blackberrying as a means for being alone (figs. 85).[82] Of note in *Blackberrying No. 1* and *No. 2,* is the more permissive courtship customs of the 'fifties that allowed couples to wander off alone. Unchaperoned courting waned in the next generation but resurged again in the last decade of the century. Views of the opportunistic employment of the countryside in the pursuit of love interests were also highly saleable to the predominantly rural American populace at the time. Heavy marketing of these views in such areas meant that the customer was being flattered by seeing romances conducted in her own sort of setting.

Not only by the adoption of the countryside for settings but, more acutely, through the camera's voyeurism is the scene assumed as "natural," allowing a vicarious investment of fantasy. The camera is an unobstreperous presence within courtship's privacy, seeming as natural and ubiquitous as air, everywhere seeing and nowhere seen. Titles seem to jump right out of the actors' heads in the personal narrative style of the 'nineties, adding to the natural setting the illusion of spoken dialogue issuing from that space. In Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's *Harder, George, Papa is Out,* 1897, there is no doubt that the words belong to the young lady kissing her beau. The sequential view, *Papa Comes Home Unexpectedly,* transfers the point-of-view to the narrator of the story. The switch in speakers of the title or caption blends into the viewer's internal narration, reminding us of the powers of the superego to enter a scene and halt it.[83]

In Underwood and Underwood's *Just One, Dear, While His Head is Covered Up,* 1900 (fig. 84), the title is spoken by the gentleman leaning to kiss his lady.[84] The joke is on the couple, who presume the photographer can't see them. The camera looms large in the foreground space of the scene, a double joke, as its presence, normally invisible, is what usually allows the viewer's inclusion in the space. The large format, portrait camera

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represents the smaller stereoscopic cameras, absent in the view but present recording the view, as well as our eyes collapsing the double to single vision--an *en abyme* of photographic and stereoscopic reflexivity. This view, under the guise of a comic scene, plays with the idea of the unseen eyes of the twin stereoscopic cameras, of the photographer-viewer pair, as well as the unseen of the interior-exterior stereoptical process. Making visual plays on these conjoined "unseens," the view presents the intended concealment of sexual interest in conjugal relationships as another unseen coming into the scene/seen. This play-act slips and slides between the visual and the implied, concealment and revelation, the real and the contrived. The painted backdrop, too, adds another level of signification, that of scenery, or nature via painterly conventions prior to photography. The viewer thus has multiple layers of optical modes for witnessing the doubles of "nature" and contrivance, of concealment and "exposure," of photographic real-fakery, stereoscopic fusion, and desire.

Notions of Victorian repression aside, the women presented in American narrative stereos of the 'nineties did not suffer much shyness. Susan Rothman suggests that premarital intimacy in Victorian times was far more prevalent than history has indicated.[85] Flirting, coquetry, and dreams of love were *de rigueur*.[86] Whether women in actuality behaved in the manner of stereoview representations is anyone's guess, but the views were certainly not offensive; quite the contrary, they sold well to women. The new emphasis upon the individual, in marketing goods, periodical literature, and in the personal narrative view, meant that desire, formerly expressed in sentimental forms and types, was now presented in terms of goals and pursuits.[87] One of the new types that arose from this high valuation of individual romance coupled with a market-place inspired ambition was the "summer girl," who was a character arising from the burgeoning tourist industry. She appeared at vacations and resorts, representing the mobility, leisure, and available cash of the increasing middle class. Pretty, light, breezy, casual, and a little loose, "she was out for a good time with acquaintances of only a few weeks, whom she might never meet again

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after the summer."[88] There were unwritten rules for the "summer girl" at Coney Island: looking for a man to pay her entertainment, she expected a pick-up but tried to duck out before he would insist upon escorting her home, as such an escort presumed a physical favor.[89] The "summer girl" was simply applying the good sense of the marketer to her own charm and attractive physique. She was making the most profit from every situation, whether a board walk "pick up," social dance, or marriage prospect.[90] "Girls were encouraged by literature to behave like coquettes and dream of love but marry for money."[91] Aided by the increased mobility of a rail service interconnecting every town, the bicycle, and the new automobile, the "summer girl" could exercise her talents away from the scrutiny of parents, town gossips, and life-long acquaintances. As marriage would be her most important choice, and her beauty and charms secured it, the "summer girl" was sharpening her skills upon the material of the casual acquaintance and stranger. This signified a breakdown of Victorian sensibility, of the sentimental type, and the emergence of a "new assertiveness that would appear among working and society women."[92]

In the American Stereographic Company's *A Summer Girl on the Warpath*, 1904, a beautifully dressed woman strolls in a forest, leaving three men behind her, "wounded" and literally fallen into the perspectival distance of her path. In a similar light is a view of a daintily dressed young woman pulling taut a line between herself and a young man; upon this line is a very tiny fish. The personal narrative response of the title says it all: *A Whole Day's Catch? Well, No, We Didn't Fish All the Time* (Underwood and Underwood, 1902; (fig. 86)).[93] A plank bridge stretches behind her, a path associated with the romantic story that the viewer imagines, given the double entendre of "fishing." This type of view functions as the trigger for the story completed by the viewer, offering sufficient codes for construction and enough sexual suggestiveness to spur the incentive.

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Views in series, prevalent in the 'nineties, left less free-play to the imagination. Rather, they took the viewer scene by scene in a cinematic-style sequence. One such series presents the male counterpart to the "summer girl." Formerly called a "swell," he was by the 1880s acquiring an air of sexual conquest and was called "Mr. Pick Up." By the 1890s, he had become a "masher." The masher could be from any social class, any occupation, and hovered everywhere. A fancy or dandy, he was known for his smooth manners and a dress that signified sexual assertiveness. Originally applied to the type who loitered about stage doors waiting to prey on ballet girls (from the gypsy word "mash," to love), by the gay 'nineties, the "masher" was the sexually predatory man, in present day slang, a "wolf."[94] Strohmeyer and Wyman provides us with a series of him, published by Underwood and Underwood in 1906. Imprinted on the card stock is the term, "Character Series," and each view moves the story line forward with rhyming couplets.[95] *The Masher and the Pensive Maid* begins with a bored young woman dreaming of many lovers, who appear through multiple-exposure photography as ghost images (#2). Out of thin air, a "masher" appears and "mashes" her, but their delights are cut short as Mama approaches. Hiding her man as a piece of furniture covered with pillows and the throw, the maid attempts to deny parental alarms, until Mama decides to sit upon the "masher" and thereby "mashes" him in quite another manner (fig. 87). The conclusion depicts the inevitable wreck that Mama effects on the heads of both transgressors to her household's virtue.

Two aspects of this series are of especial note. The imprint "Character Series" indicates the intention of the publishers to profile, or subdivide character into traits, which subsume the whole person to a type. This has often been a mode of the comic, but in the 1890s it becomes extreme, a hyper-typing. The sentimental, Victorian ethos considered character as a response between the individual's proclivities and the environment. The inner and outer world ideally formed a sort of sympathetic arrangement, not preordained, but integral to the person's struggle. Comic situations often arose out of a disparity with

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such ideals, or a clash between different expressive types. In the "masher" series, however, character is a set piece arising from the type, rather than a person's struggle with an environment, and courtship, once a depiction of responsiveness between individuals, or its humorous failure, has become formula comedy concluding in slapstick. There is a world of difference between Weller's *Bliss* and *Bliss Disturbed* or Melander's *Treading on Dangerous Ground*—humorous views—and this series, where character has become two-dimensional, and movement, glued together by bad poetry, sweeps the viewer to a predictable conclusion.

Secondly, the style of cinema has in this series lent itself to the attenuation of theme into multiple views and the rapid movement between them, slowed perhaps only a little by the time it takes to scan the verse. The melodramatic gestures of the actors, evolving from Drury Lane and earlier stereographic tradition, along with the white make-up, kohled eyes, and "movie still" poses, mark the influence of a new medium. As I have mentioned, early cinema borrowed many themes and poses from stereography, while the latter in turn developed marketing ideas, like the extended view series and the conveyor-belt sales technique, from the cues of the early projected movies.[96] By employing a cinematic attenuation of the story's scenes in order to increase suspense, keep people viewing, and further sales by offering sets rather than single or sequential double views, the stereographic companies learned how to increase profits, which were then bolstered by a fast-talking sales technique that imitated cinema's continuity. In the extended series, however, publishers undercut the value of the stereoscopic experience, which is dependent upon the leisurely imaginary response of viewer to view. In its place is the emphasis on movement, as publishers stretched-out the piquant, erotically charged moment to the point of strain. Cinema, obviously, would be superior in movement, seamlessly escorting a passive audience scene to scene, without the physical manipulation necessary to positioning cards in the viewer, nor the time allowed for extended individual response during the

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viewing period itself. Cinema was also an audience-directed medium, while stereography is bound to the individual. Though people passed the viewer from hand to hand and viewed in each other's company, the journey remained a solo one.

The cinematic influence is not only observed in the series but in the personal narrative style itself, with an emphasis upon the individual, often in close range, whose expression upstages the environment. No longer integrated within the place, as was the picturesque style, the personal narrative becomes confrontational, aggressive, with character assumed as a type or trait thrust upon the viewer. In short, the environment matters less, while the personality type and its action receive emphasis. Within this style is the implication that personality itself is a style, not a response to inner and outer forces. Concomitantly, the environment exists to be enacted upon and transformed according to the style or role at hand. It is so much raw material for the handling of the character trait. During the 'nineties, the comic view supplants the sentimental in terms of quantity, and this should come as no surprise given the subdivision of personality into tools applied to acquisitive pursuits, which can lend itself to extremity, or the ridiculous.

In Keystone's *Before and--After,* two views of 1895 (figs. 88, 89), we see a courtship scene where, instead of mutual eagerness, the lady's reluctance for a kiss is met with a gentleman's scheme, much to her humiliation.[97] In *Before and,* he reaches to turn off the electric lamp, while she tries to stay him. We see the consequence in *After,* as she has changed her position and buries her face in her hands, while he wears a snickering look of triumph. This sequence presents a cinema-style, one-two-three movement, the second part representing the un-imaged blackness, with the lamp turned off, during which the man asserts his sexual aggression. This is the part supplied by our imagination, and it functions as innumerable cinematic black-outs have functioned subsequent to this date—to supply a bit of action that can only be completed in the viewer's mind. Again, we find the cinema

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adopting stereo's devices. The movement here is in keeping with the Underwood and Underwood file view (fig. 51) of the conflicted suitor who, in multiple exposure, turns his head to one side then the other, implying movement and story line.

Character in these views is no longer in a sympathetic position with environment, but, rather, asserts itself upon the room. In the *Before and—After* views, this aggression is in the male's interest, blackening the room, or nullifying it image-wise. The lady asserts her negative interest by moving away from the suitor, and removing him from *her* sight through hiding the face in the hands. In this sequence, the environment exists to be completely overcome, and that *is* the punch line of the humor—the advantage a personality, in type, takes upon the environment and the woman in it. The goal of sexual interest has freer reign when the parlor and its values have been eclipsed, if even for a moment.

Women of the late nineteenth century, more sexually free than in prior decades, were not uniformly eager. In narrative views there is a type that I call "rejected," which, though far less common than the welcomed courting, makes its presence known. A Weller view of the same title (1875) (fig. 90) depicts a gentleman who is trying to be a "swell" (prototype to the "masher"), but the result is ridiculous in his old-fashioned, countrified get-up--colonial-style britches with buckles and brass buttons, more buckles on his shoes, morning coat, flower bouquet, and foppish top-hat. To the practical, country or small-town woman at the door, he is no prize, as he stands, toed-in, fingers knit, and perplexedly looking backward. The set table seen stereoscopically through the open door, through which peers a younger sister, holds two plates with nothing on them. In the 1890s, this rejected type grows sarcastic and not just a little cruel. In Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's "rejected" view of 1899, we see confident, aggressive women who understand how to put a presumptuous man in his place. In what presumably is the fourth view of a series, they chirp to a dejected man, *Ha! Ha! Come again*

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tomorrow night and try our other sister. The Victorian parlor, stuffed to bursting with fabrics, rugs, and bric-a-brac, reveals the speaker's status, as do her rich dress and feathered hat.

That period of scheming and duplicity as we might call "courtship"—the transition through which all persons, having emerged from childhood, must pass in order to arrive at the most cherished Victorian institution of the family—takes private moments and in the stereoscope makes them available for scrutiny. Like gossip, it associates this voyeuristic narrative with women, their world, and concerns.[98] The construction of romance and the statement of the erotic—within certain bounds and often with accompanying correction for trespass—have been staples of literature aimed at women.[99] Childhood views, too, offer us sentimental and humorous alternatives to the anxieties and desires of women in this period. Laughter often comes to the rescue, relieving the adult anxiety by diffusing it through the lens of child's play, or courtship thwarted. While comics and children have a fundamental relationship, according to Freud, also primary to humor is sexual interest, which provides another tension and release.[100] Together the childhood and courtship views set the stage for the construction of the family, that ultimate theatre for human interests, from which there will be, stereoscopically speaking, no escape. As the century drew to a close, sentiment is often foregone in favor of laughter, with a pitched nervousness, and an emphasis upon the character of the personal narrative rather than the environment and balanced beauty of the picturesque.

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[1] See Chapter Four, n. 21.

[2] The front porch, besides being a primary social area, was the scene for courting: Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 15.

[3] I have identified this as a view by Goodman, though the card bears no attribution. Charles E. Goodman, based in London, was a stereographer of genre and scenery in the 1860s. Treadwell and Darrah, *Stereographers of the World.*

[4] Pretty country children playing with tamed animals, the happy mother spinning or embracing her children, and the cheerful father, if seen, striding home from work, a scythe or other artifact of occupation over his shoulder, were a complete fiction, for the rural English laborer of the time was increasingly squeezed out of his humble existence by the land acts and forced to glean a less-than-subsistence life off insufficient wages. Inadequate diets and hunger were the norm. The happy rustic or cottage scene springs up at this time to counteract the grim reality of the rural populace

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and the even grimmer situation of the poor city dweller. Richard Altick calls this type of "merrie England" scene a figment of Victorian sentimentalism: *Victorian People and Ideas*, 35-36.

[5] I am thinking of displaced native Americans, immigrants, or those who could not afford any property at all—none of whom are featured but very rarely in the narrative stereoview.

[6] Collection of the author.

[7] Kilburn/Davis' *There's No Place Like Home*, 1899, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of American History. This view makes light of the wide spread use in the nineteenth century of alcohol and opiates to quiet infants. Green, 38. H. C. White, *Home, Sweet Home*, 1902, the collection of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History.

[8] Keystone View Co. (1903), 16.

[9] Green, 29.

[10] Welter, 171-172.

[11] Ibid.

[12] "Motherhood was simultaneously endowed with enormous responsibility and limited authority. Women were supposed to effect changes in the rottenness around them by indirect means—by 'influence'—yet at the same time they were not supposed to be able to comprehend that society, either because they were too frail, too burdened with the chores of childcare, or intellectually inferior...By valuing precisely those qualities of sentiment and community which social and economic reality denied or ignored, the cult of motherhood became an institutionalized, but powerless, conscience for capitalism." Green, 57.

[13] Baym, *Women's Fiction*, 244.

[14] Under continual revision in the nineteenth century, women's property and divorce laws left few recourses to women, though there was a gradual and hard-won ameliorative progress towards rights throughout this time. Suffrage was not won until after the period of my study. For British History, see Lee Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property: Reform of the Married Women's Property Law, 1857-1882," in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. Martha Vicunus (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1977): *4-25*; also, Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign*, 1907-1914 (University of Chicago Press, 1988). For American history, see Miriam Schneir, ed., Introduction, *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings* (New York: Random House, 1972); William L. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); and Clinton, "Battling Women,": 72-96, and "Divided and United,": 188-202. A contemporaneous writer, Annie Bessant, argues against the system of married women's oppression: *Marriage As It Was, As It Is, and As It Should Be* (New York: Asa K. Butts, 1879).

[15] "Woman, it was believed, was morally and spiritually superior to man because of her highly developed intuition, refined sensibilities, and especially because of her life-giving maternal powers which defied man's comprehension." O'Neill, 7. "Religion belonged to woman by divine right, a gift from God and nature. Her refined and higher nature, illuminated by God, would shed light onto the sinful world of men." Welter, 152.

[16] Nervous disorders for women become "common if not epidemic for middle class Americans by the late century." Clinton, 149. Opium imports to the U.S. doubled between 1840 and 1870. Women were thought to be the primary users of this drug widely available through tonics (paregoric, Dover's powder, laudanum). Green, 139-155.

[17] Tickner, 217-218.

[18] Jane Tompkins discusses the Victorian woman's writer's theme of female religious belief and submission as superior to male authority and power. This belief system, passed from mother to daughter, refashioned spirituality in the "image of maternal authority." This was a typical theme of the highly popular woman's literature of the period. Tompkins, 128, 163. *St. Elmo*, by Augusta Evans, 1867 (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1960) and Susan Warner's *Wide, Wide World*, 1851 (New York: The Feminist Press of the City University of New York, 1987), Victorian block-buster novels, develop this theme of triumph by passive spirituality.

[19] "Women were inferior to men and were therefore to be submissive, protected, and supervised; women were superior to men in moral and spiritual qualities and were therefore to be deferred to." Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman of the Period," 41.

[20] Eugene Zimmerman, "Domestic Duties," *Puck*, vol. 14 (Feb. 3, 1884), 375.

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[21] Social sentimentalism was widely employed by feminists for suffrage, abolition causes, temperance, and married women's property reform. See Lee, Schneir, and O'Neill. Clinton reports that by 1834 the American society for the Promotion of Temperance had a million members, mostly women trapped in an alcoholic home: 58-59.

[22] To say that the cartoonists of the time were obsessed with women's issues, such as suffrage, dress reform, women's rights, temperance causes, and other feminist political stances, would not be an exaggeration. Any independent survey of magazines such as *Punch, Life, Judy, Puck,* or *Punchinello* would confirm this. For literature, see, Tickner; Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); and Patricia Marks, *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1990).

[23] There are many definitions to modernism, and many modernisms. Without delving too much into theory that is not pertinent to this study, it is safe to say that one of the hallmarks of a few modernisms is the separation of self-evident codings of language or visual symbol from the field of meaning/s of the image. That is, the work of art is not "read" in the same way that nineteenth century works often are, but, rather, refers to other art, knowledge, symbolic, or image systems that are generally beyond the immediate apperception of the pedestrian.

[24] Jean-Baptiste Simeon Chardin, *Soap Bubbles,* 1732. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

[25] The globe is suspended on a thread (not visible). The hook at the top is barely seen.

[26] This view has a sequential, *Young America Bathing,* depicting the boy crouching in the tub and bathed by his mother; collection of the author.

[27] An interesting series from H. C. White, 1901, in the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, serves as an example: *Gee, Wait Till I See Sis' Other Fella; Don't You DARE Tell Anybody* [sister pulls boy's ear]; *Willie!* [boy peaking at lovers from behind a screen]; *I Don't Believe You Will Ever Try That Again* [boy getting spanked by sister]. Also interesting is an unidentified series of four, three of which are: *Johnny and His Camera; Down Went Johnny and His Camera; Out Went Johnny and His Camera;* c. 1900, The American Antiquarian Society.

[28] Keystone's *The Little Eavesdropper,* 1900, shows a little girl hiding behind a chair, while her "big sis" entertains a suitor at the piano. Collection of the author.

[29] Treadwell and Darrah suggest that C. W. Thorne was a publisher only and that his views may have been pirated: *Stereographers of the World.* The view is blind stamped "C. W. Thorne, Nassau St., New York," so it may well have been an imported view sold by this publisher. In *English Masters of the Genre Stereoview,* Treadwell lists this stereograph as an unidentified British work. I concur, as it has the appearance of an original, hand-colored print from Britain in the 1860s. I have also seen this view in a pirated or copy black and white print on blue mount in the collection of the New York Public Library. It would date from 1866-1870.

[30] An exception to this would be the naughty little girl whose pranks are cute, such as Alfred Silvester's *Little Mischief,* a London Stereographic Company print from the 1860s that depicts a little girl rummaging through her mother's jewels, collection of the New York Historical Society. Another example is H. C. White's series of 1904: *Little Mischief Retiring to the Enjoyment of Stolen Sweets; My, aint dis 'lasses dood; Fought I Heard Somebody; Only Sister--Come on Have Some 'Lasses,* collection of the Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of American History.

[31] Treadwell reports two *Guardian Angel* views for Alfred Silvester, with angels hovering over sleeping children: *English Masters...* Elliott's *The Orphan's Dream,* 1860s, collection of the George Eastman House, depicts an angel and sleeping, homeless orphan; and Keystone's *The Little Orphan's Dream,* 1897, collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library, shows a sleeping girl with hovering ghost images of a Christmas tree, dolls, and Santa.

[32] Collection of the author. This view was republished by the Littleton View Company in 1884, without attribution to Weller. It remained for decades a very popular image. Treadwell claims 13 variations for it, *The Stereoviews of F. G. Weller and Related Companies.*

[33] A less common variant, a spirit view of a deceased mother and praying child in crib, was published by Kilburn/Davis, *Mother come back from that echoless shore. Take me into your arms as of yore,* 1899, collection of the author.

[34] Also of note is the International View Company's *Innocence Dreaming of the Angels,* 1902, The Helen Mosley Collection, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library. National Stereoscopic Association.

[35] Employed first from Underwood and Underwood since 1897. Darrah, *The World of Stereographs,* 55.

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[36] An excerpt from "The Lullaby" by Paul Lawrence Dunbar is on verso:

"Angels is a mindin' you, my baby,
Keepin' off de Bad Man in the night.
What's de use o' bein' skeered o' nuffin?
You don' fink de da'kness gwine to bite?
Curl yo' little toes up so, my possum,
Umph, but you's a cunnin' one fu' true!
Go to sleep, de angels is a watchin'
An you' mammy's mindin' of you, too."

The legend continues with a story about a girl named Ruby sneaking out of bed while her mother entertained. Ruby appears in her nightgown, much to the delight of the company.
[37] The view contains no mammy or person other than the child, and the presence of the transparent angel provides the sole linkage between text and image. On the image level are the whiteness of angels and children, coded for hundreds of years as innocence and goodness; on the narrative level is the darkness of night, fears, the absent mother, and watchful mammy. "De Bad Man," is evoked, raising specter-like fears, then subduing them via assurances—"yo' mammy's mindin' of you, too." Recto and verso of the stereoview are at odds with one another; and the text is adding ulterior levels of meaning to the image and thus altering it by association. The little girl of the Keystone view becomes angel-icized by association with supernatural (white), unseen watchfulness. By contrast are the earthly (black), unseen attention of the mammy and her association with "de Bad Man." White fears of African-Americans are raised through the imagistic associations of poetry but given no actual visual presence. They are more ghostly than the angel. By the poem's end, they are palliated by reassurance that Caucasian safety and social interests (the mother able to entertain) are foremost in the minds of black servants.
[38] This is a central point to Lynch's thesis on the H. C. White "Coon" series of African-Americans.
[39] Treadwell has identified this Elliott view in *Stolen Stereoviews*. It was widely pirated by the Popular Series, a U. S. Company, and others.
[40] From the appearance of the card stock and the mounting of the photographs, I judge this to be an original British view, or copy view (not a pirate). It does not appear to be an American pirate, though the coloring is very crude.
[41] Father, Dear Father, Come home with me now.
The clock in the steeple strikes one.
With poor brother Bennie so sick in her arms,
And no one to help her but me.
Father, Dear Father, Come home with me now.
The clock in the steeple strikes two.
The night has grown colder, and Bennie is worse,
And he has been calling for you.
Father, Dear Father, Come home with me now.
The clock in the steeple strikes three.
We are alone—for poor Bennie is dead,
And gone to the angels of light.
[42] Arthur's play had become a standby of stock and touring companies throughout the U.S. by 1857: Glenn Hughes, 188. The play could not have originally contained the Clay ballad, written in 1864. Tours of the play in later years sometimes included this popular song.
[43] Joseph Boggs Beale (American, 1841-1920) produced a six slide hand-colored, photographic story from this ballad, archive of the George Eastman House. The song made many cultural appearances, including the 1940 film, *Strike Up the Band*, (MGM, dir. Busby Berkeley), in which it is sung by Judy Garland. As late as 1942, recalls Doreen Mapleson, an audience of American G. I.s in Cardiff, South Wales, recited the *Ten Nights in a Barroom* by heart, along with the upstaged actors. Doreen Mapleson, "A Theatre on a Shoe String," memoir of the Everyman Theatre, www.everymantheatre.com.uk.
[44] Very little seems to be known of Harry Rowe, age 26, and John Wilson, age 36, both listed as music hall artists, and boarders at a Sheffield lodging house according to an 1839 census. The record indicates that they both resided in Birmingham, and hailed from "War"—Warminster? Warwick? :

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from the archives of Sheffield, England, available at http://newsarch.rootsweb.com/th/read/ENG-SHEFFIELD/2001-121009800179.

[45] The purity of children was considered a powerful instrument in leading adults to God. Tompkins, 128. Childhood death was linked to a sense of punishment and reward in Victorian literature. Concomitantly, social decline was thought to be expressed in the death of the innocent. Reed, 165-168. The penny weeklies, an affordable mass-published journal literature, often featured stories in which women and children, emotionally and morally finer than adult males, would succumb to death, and thereby transform the behavior of men through guilt and remorse. Sally Mitchell calls this "women's subversive triumph": Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman of the Period," 44.

[46] Susan Dye Lee presents a history of the women's temperance movement of the 1870s in America. She views the crusaders as a form of street theatre and the women themselves as an early form of feminism with its goal of transforming men and society: "Trampling Out the Vintage," in Helen Krich Chinoy and Linda Walsh Jenkins, Eds., *Women in American Theatre* (New York, NY: Theatre Communications Group, 1987), 19-24.

[47] Collection of the author.

[48] Darrah claims that eight negatives of the view are known from 1872, 1874, and 1876: *The World of Stereographs*, 62.

[49] "R. A. Hobbs, Fancy Goods, Pictures, Toys, &c., 71 Merrimack Street, Lowell."

[50] Keystone (1899), 11-12; Messerschmidt, 17-18; Cupp, 4, 23.

[51] Collection of the author.

[52] The "Phiz" of stereography is not the book illustrator, "Phiz." Our "Phiz" was not either "Hablot Knight," as Darrah claims, *The World of Stereographs*. According to Russell Norton, the stereo "Phiz" was a Mr. Henry A. Smith and lived next to Alfred Silvester, the London Stereoscopic Co. photographer. Treadwell cites evidence that "Phiz" was actually Alfred Silvester's brother, who took over operations when Silvester was thrown (more than once) in debtor's prison: Treadwell, *English Masters of the Genre Stereograph.*

[53] Collection of the author.

[54] Strohmeyer and Wyman, *How Did Doctor Bring Baby in That?*, 1898, collection of the author.

[55] Helen Mosley Collection, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.

[56] Collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.

[57] For woman's role as nurse, see Welter, 163. The tradition begun by Florence Nightingale, in the Crimean War, serves as example. Monica E. Bailey, *Florence Nightingale and the Nursing Legacy*, 2nd ed. (London: Whurr Publ., 1997).

[58] British view, collection of the New York Historical Society.

[59] Theodore K. Long discusses these effects on the locality of his youth, Pfoutz Valley, Pennsylvania, "Letter V," in *Forty Letters to Carson Long, 1901-1910* (New Bloomfield, PA: Carson Long Institute, 1931), 24-26.

[60] Freud, "Humour," S.E. vol. 21: 160-166.

[61] Collection of the American Antiquarian Society: F. G. Weller, *Fisherman's Daughters*, 1875; Melander and Brother, *Courting on the Roof*, 1875.

[62] Collection of Dave Belcher. In my collection is a sister view with the same title that shows the woman gazing over her shoulder and helping to anchor a rope ladder to the balustrade.

[63] Collections of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library and the author.

[64] In the pirate print of this view in my collection, the title is written in a florid handwriting typical of the last century, on verso, along with a large stamped initial "B," composed of circles, flowers and ferns, likely the initial of a woman collector.

[65] Collections of the American Antiquarian Society and the author.

[66] Rothman, 151.

[67] Rothman, 310-311.

[68] Green, 284. Banner, 80.

[69] The swell was a stock character for decades. A dandy or fop type with finery, affected manners, and an opportunistic attitude, he was a ladies' man who eventually received the ridicule or dismissal he was due. See John Madison Morton, *The Wedding Breakfast* (1843) (New York: Samuel French, n.d.): the protagonist describing himself as a "swell nob," is a gambler, fast-talker, and trickster in this farce, though it turns out that he is the most honest of all the characters.

[70] Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

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[71] This situation was duplicated in a view from an unidentified American stereograph company in the 1890s: collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[72] The smaller the camera, the shorter may be the lens needed to cover the negative field. This allows for wider aperture settings, allowing more light, and a wider field of view (the shorter the lens the wider the angle). The lens that allows more light is called "faster." The stereocamera is also smaller and lighter weight than the typical view camera of the nineteenth century, which required a tripod. Stereocameras could be hand-held, but were not generally.
[73] Keystone View Co., *Every Kiss Has Its Sting*, n.d., the Helen Mosley Collection, Oliver Wendell Holmes Library; Metropolitan, *Even a Kiss Has Its Sting*, black and white lithograph, after 1898, collection of The New York Public Library; F. G. Weller, *There Is No Rose without a Thorn*, 1870, collection of the American Antiquarian Society. The Littleton View Company reissued the Weller view in 1911, without attribution, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[74] B. W. Kilburn, 1897; Stromeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, 1900, 1897; Littleton View Company, 1898, 1888; Keystone View Co., 1893; 1870s: the Comic Series, Webster and Albee, Roberts and Fellows; American Stereoscopic Company/R. T. Young, 1896; H. C. White, 1903; and Groups from Life, n.d.
[75] H. C. White, *He Would Rather Be There Than Anywhere Else* and *He Would Rather Be Home Than Anywhere Else--and Papa Helps Him Along*, 1903, collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library. F. F. G. Weller, *A Pleasant Hour* and *A Sudden Storm*, 1872, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; Keystone View Company, *I Propose to Move Immediate Upon Your Lines*, 1883, collection of the author.
[76] Frank Hutchins, "Parental Strategy," *Puck's Library*, no. 96, July, 1895.
[77] Charles Keene, "Her Father," *Punch*, vol. 97 (10 Aug., 1889): 63.
[78] Rothman, 152.
[79] Green, 285.
[80] Rau/Griffith and Griffith had a version of *A Fishing Smack*, n.d., as did an unidentified color-lithograph publisher, possibly T. R. Ingersoll. Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *Going With the Stream*, 1897, collection of the author; Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *Taking the Cream*, c. 1890, collection of the New York Public Library; Rau/Griffith and Griffith, *A Fishing Smack*, c. 1890, collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library; Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *A Fishing Smack*, c. 1897, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; Griffith and Griffith, *Hump Yourself*, 1904, collection of the author. Griffith and Griffith also have a version of *Taking Toll in the Rural Districts*, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of American History.
[81] See John Dewey, "Americanism and Localism" *The Dial* LXVIII (June, 1920): 684-688, for theory regarding locality as essentially American.
[82] Frank Bellew, Sr., "Blackberrying No. 1," "Blackberrying, No. 2," *Nick-Nax*, vol. 2., no. 5 (September) 1857: 144-145. The caption on the bottom of No. 2 reads: "Slight Sheepish-looking arrival—'Why, Hev. You got home. Why we were a lookin' all over for you!' Old Un—'And couldn't find us? How sorry you must have felt!"
[83] Collection of Jeffrey Kraus.
[84] Underwood and Underwood have a 1906 version of this title, Helen Mosley Collection, The Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[85] Rothman, 153.
[86] Green, 284. Reed, 106
[87] There was an explosion of periodical literature for women in this period. In realist fiction of the time, objects stand for happiness, romance, freedom, and social acceptance. Garvey, 14; Penny Weekly literature, beginning in the 1830s, frequently emphasized the individual choice over the parental, or the husband's authority. Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman of the Period," 42.
[88] Glenn Uminowicz, "Recreation in a Christian America: Ocean Grove and Asbury Park, NJ, 1869-1914," in *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940*. ed., Kathryn Grover (Rochester, NY: The Strong Museum, 1992): 7-38.
[89] Banner, 198.
[90] The term was in use since 1886. Uminowicz, 28.
[91] Reed, 106.
[92] Banner, 240.

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[93] Collection of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History.

[94] Claudia D. Johnson, "Enter the Harlot," in *Women in American Theatre*, ed., Helen Krich Chinoy and Linda Walsh Jenkins (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1987), 73. Etymology as noted in Chapter 4, n. 101.

[95] 1) "The pensive maid is sad and sighs her lonely hours away
My life is dull, my friends are few—no change from day to day.
2) "She dreams of love and lovers sees before her prostrate fall
A pensive sigh she heaves and says—a dream, ah! that is all.
3) "The masher comes into the room and spies the pretty miss
And says, a smile from one so fair to me is surely bliss."
4) "Before her on his knees he falls, declaring all his love.
His vows she hears, no more she sighs, but coos e'en like a dove."
5) "The Masher mashed the Pensive Maid—or so it seemed he would.
With arms and lips he emphasized his pleadings all he could."
6) "But all good things must have an end, so when footsteps are heard.
His hold he broke and sought escape, though she at once demurred."
7) "The Masher started for the door, then she did change her plan.
She knew she could conceal him well and win herself a man."
8) "Drop on your hands and knees, be quick. I'll hide you safe with these.
If mamma comes, she'll find you not. Don't move, or cough, or sneeze."
9) "There's something up, her mamma says, but nothing wrong appears.
So unconcerned the fair girl seems, it drives away all fears."
10) "In vain my search. That noise I heard has worried me so much.
I'll sit and rest my shattered nerves. That surely 'beats the Dutch.' "
11) "So squarely on the thing she sits: his chance looks rather slim.
Our masher's mashed, the scheme falls flat, for she is "onto" him."
12) "Imploring now the maid falls...he feels remorse and pain.
When mamma nabs him by the hair and makes them both explain."

[96] Early cinema assumed stereoscopic themes, which were also in the culture at large. Darrah states that cinema assumed the composition and creative photography in stereo, *Stereoviews*, 60. No early cinema titles I have reviewed reveal topics that predate stereographic ones. From the earliest of the narrative films, c. 1894 onward, many have adopted stereo themes. See Musser, "Index of Films," 597-613; the text also presents many film plots in some detail.

[97] Stereoview companies often used two or more sister views for one title. This pair is a good example. The actress changes between the *Before* and *After* views. Also, with the *After* view, there are two variants: one with a second woman who has turned on the light, and one without.

[98] Spacks.

[99] Jane Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

[100] Freud, "Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious," (1905) S. E. vol. 8: 97-102.

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Chapter Six

Family Jars:

Brides and Wives in Stereography

Childhood and courtship views, though very prolific, do not represent the most common topics in American narrative stereography. That is reserved for views of marriage. E. J. Mullin's *Vanity Fair* cartoon, "So Like Matrimony," from 1860 (fig. 91), was prescient as to their ramifications.[1] The lady, upon inquiring of her husband what is the principle of the stereoscope, receives an answer that delights her. "Why, it makes two people into one," replies the gentleman. While the stereoscope facilitates the fusion of two photographs, its office for conceptually unifying a reality in twain was not lost on this cartoonist, nor upon the enthusiastic public for narrative views. As I have argued, the stereoscope forced a critical awareness of the mental constructions of space, view, and, through narrative structure, brought gender into scrutiny. Mullins as early as 1860 was attuned to the duplication in the medium of the principles of marriage—the split of the sexes united by a construct both physical and mental into a single environment, or, at least, to its appearance, its *view.*

The stereoscope echoed the Victorian preoccupation with love, courtship, and its unswervably single goal—marriage—the union of what nature had seemed to divide. Its narrative scenes offered constructed environments, with an unprecedented precision, on that state considered preordained by nature and commanded by religion. That marriage was the outcome of men's and women's destiny was not much questioned, and the business of splitting, doubling, uniting, and perceiving in volume such an environment became a mirror for relations between the sexes. Stereography provided views that were something

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more than a metaphor for marriage and less than a duplication. A doppelganger, of sorts, following the human course ostensibly for the purpose of entertaining, it replicated in moments the trial and error of life's stages and culminating moments. The fascination of it, as with much fiction, is that it could function as a mental training ground for the recognition of life patterns, while retaining the safety of fantasy.

Marriage was an unquestioned goal for women, usually expressed by the well-worn term, "getting settled." Indeed, given economical and legal realities in the nineteenth century, any other future for a woman was bleak.[2] Diary writing, a pastime particularly among young women, customarily ended on their day of marriage.[3] This was the threshold beyond which young women considered themselves completely transformed and life begun anew. It was also the step that forever united the pair and yet segregated their worlds--into home versus work and the whole rest of the world.[4] The narrative stereoview sat squarely within the former, in a space defined not merely by objects and walls but thoroughly by culture and ideology, a picture language that bespoke a miniature social order and was, in fact, the central image in popular Victorian literature.[5] Not only in depictions of women and marketing to them did the marriage view succeed, but, more broadly, it was a sign system for the values of the age.

Not surprisingly, then, the marriage view was a popular subject for the stereographers of the British picturesque. Somewhat surprisingly, however, it was *not* popular in America until the late 1880s and the beginning of the personal narrative style. What I define as a marriage view is that depicting or referring to the state of matrimony, with or without children, where the dominant theme is wives and husbands at home, and not in particular courtship, childhood, or overt eroticism.[6] The largest category of views in my data base, over one third have a marriage or bridal theme, yet less than ten percent of these date prior to 1887, and more than three-fourths of this latter percentage are British. The favored subjects of American narrative stereographers of the 1870s were courtship and

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childhood views, with only slight attention paid to marriage. By the 1890s, however, this trickle of attention becomes a veritable flood. The shift, here, is one of attitude commingled with commerce. For the British publishers of the 1860s, marriage was one of many possible sentimental themes in narrative. In America, however, the emphasis reverses: marriage is principally a comic situation, and, though it is often tinged with sentiment, the shift in tone leans toward irony and parody. By the 1890s, unalloyed sentiment was reserved mainly for brides, children and, occasionally, for courting couples. If the majority held sway, in the American 1890s after marriage, "it was all over." This attitude was influenced by the growing commercialism of the time as well as the instability created by shifting gender roles, both of which altered the ideal of home. The concept of home as a sacred haven for responsiveness and responsibility was changing as society sought definition more through markets and professional goals and relied less upon the foundation of family life and its presumed guardianship of women.

Let us look at examples, Holmesian-style, in biographical order. From childhood and courtship, we proceed to the bride, who in a charming example from the London Stereoscopic Company of the 1860s, is receiving a marriage proposal (fig. 92). A kitchen maid polishing a copper pot in a studio set worthy of Chardin casts her eyes down modestly to the ring presented by a gentleman through the open window. We see him only by the hand, sleeve, and the somewhat incongruous shadow of his body that doesn't pair up with the angle of the sleeve. His striped cuff and top hat suggest a police officer--a type commonly cast with maids. No more than ring-bearing-hand, sleeve and shadow, he seems a phantom rather than a person, or as the shadowy suggestions of men in fiction who are not fully characterized but represent archetypal personas who move the plot along. This suitor is the male of romantic fantasy, presenting a ring, a man whose function is to represent "true man" and create an effect by pausing the humble maid (and viewer) for a moment in anticipation of the hope of leaving forever behind the task of scrubbing someone

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else's pots. The title itself suggests the literary—*Cupboard Love or "Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before."* The popular genre of love "below the stairs," or among the servant class, is hybrid, here, with "higher class" allusions to literary romance and foreshadowing. The lower-class signifiers of kitchen maid and police officer allow permission for our spying from the vantage of upper-class literary allusions and the theatrical spectator. In other words, the maid and the officer are the subject of our informed scrutiny, and their positions as domestic and public servant grant us the leisured remove of peering into their private moment and upon their pose. Their moment of available "privacy" is, despite being made public, still presented with the tone of sentiment and a reverential touch. The chiaroscuro of hand-colored presence and shadowy suggestion evokes a sense of something remembered or relived. In these effects, the view calls upon a number of traditions in still life and narrative painting, stage lighting (scrim and shadow effect), and the tableau vivant. Also historically significant was the higher valuation of romance and the perfect marriage, as exemplified by Queen Victoria, who tossed aside royal traditions of the arranged marriage in favor of a love match with her cousin, Prince Albert. According to McBride-Mellinger, no marriage has had as significant an influence on our modern marital rites as Victoria's, which "idealized romance and asserted a woman's right to choose her own husband."[7]

An equally picturesque and sentimental counterpart to *Cupboard Love* is an unidentified British view also of the 1860s (fig. 93). Entitled *Broken Vows*, it harkens to a popular British theme in narrative painting that appealed to women, as is evidenced by one inscription.[8] The scene presents a maiden, dressed in mourning, whose circumstance, we might infer, has altered due to a death.[9] Just beyond her figure and through the chapel door, the gentleman who rejected her marries another. The two spaces of the maid in mourning and the faithless lover in the wedding party are telescoped quite closely, so that the figures seem to abut, separated only by a door, and bridged by the doormat over the threshold. This suggests a quick passage of time, sudden change, and invites the viewer to

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construct the circumstances, pulling her closely into the scene and the grief of the foregrounding maid. The delicate partial coloring, with the altar carpet as the only saturated shade, gives the viewer's eye a sensation as of depressed minor keys and, with the bit of red, a sudden shift to an augmented chord.. The eye ricochets back and forth between the dull mourning colors and this saturated color.

The British publishers issued many scenes of brides—posed, putting on the veil, at the toilette, at the wedding or wedding breakfast--James Elliott, of the London Stereoscopic Company, being one of the most prolific of these.[10] French publishers in the 1860s issued a bridal series in historical costume, which is infrequently found in American collections, *Un Mariage sous Louis XIV*.[11] From the earliest decade of American narrative stereographs, however, I have seen only a few bridal views.[12] Though two sources have listed a few more, suffice it to say that wedding views in the 1870s were relatively rare in comparison with courtship or childhood views, and very slender compared to bridal or wedding views of the 1890s.[13]

In 1897, the American bridal series came of its own, offered by most of the major publishers.[14] The views tended to focus closely upon the bride, seen in multiple moments during the story of her wedding day, in a style that can be characterized as a precursor to the present-day, professional wedding photographer's album. Rau/Griffith and Griffith's *Dressing the Bride*, 1897 (fig. 94) is a fully volumetric view—with the foregrounding table and rocking chair playing off the extra space introduced by the mirror reflection. In the personal narrative style, it is a moment seized from the continuum, akin to our "snap shot," that evokes not so much the literary and stage conventions of its British and French precursors but, rather, the sense that one has stepped into a lived moment. A personal history—the term is commonplace today, but the idea that history could be recorded from the doings of ordinary individuals as revealed by the camera was for photographic media in a new phase of development. We witness a shift in style from characterization subsumed

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to story environment to one emphasizing personality and character role. The scene is a posed, stage set, as it was for the British picturesque, but it is now less referential to literary tradition. The moment *itself* becomes the story style, and plot is comprised of a number of such moments spliced into a cinema-inspired, image-and-title series. H. C. White's ten card series of 1902 represents typical titles: *The Proposal, Dressing the Bride, The Wedding March, The Bride, With This Ring I Thee Wed, The Blessing, Congratulations, The Wedding Breakfast, To the Health of the Bride,* and *Alone at Last.*[15] It was the last view (fig. 95) of the just-married couple alone in an embrace, and at times with a bit of déshabillé, that closed the sale for the canvasser.[16] Here, the foregrounding chairs and judicious placement of mirrors add extra dimension to the view. These series are highly codified, with subtle variations between the publishers but few significant differences. Each of their illusionistically real moments presents a formula for seeing the character with emphasis upon the person within that code or type.

In this standardized individualism of the late 1890s, there is scarcely any room for the sad story. No more "empty cradles" or "broken vows." The sentimental view became felicitous and reserved for the earlier of life's phases, through the wedding night—the summit before marriage. The popularity of wedding scenes, and their production in series by nearly every publisher, indicated a profound need for a grande finale before a character was to cross from romance to farce. The gay 'nineties was a decade that saw increasing commercialism, professionalism, an unprecedented increase in and distribution of manufactured products, and booms in advertising and periodical publication, as well as the advent of cinema. The focus of all this activity was the customer, who was aggrandized according to the needs of companies in order to "create desire" for the products. An individual cast according to types or roles made for a better product fit. The "Alone at Last" culmination of the wedding series served to provide a socially sanctioned avenue for

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erotic fantasy, *and* the series gave ample opportunity for the display of lavish consumption. Desire was "married" to a consumer sensibility.

According to Susan Rothman, the late nineteenth century witnessed increasingly more customs, rituals and expectations around the institution of the wedding until it became "a veritable extravagansa."[17] The periodical literature for women, in explosive expansion at the time, reinforced this, as magazines endlessly supplied articles and advice by women for women about every detail of decision making, especially around marriage and home life.[18] Businesses and advertising culture taught people what they needed,[19] while "realist" fiction in women's publications presented a highly detailed universe of "objects that through metonymy or synecdoche stand in for their owners."[20] The persuasive message of much of this literature was that happiness resulted through wise product choices, bringing power, romance, freedom and social acceptance--all through shopping and home industry.[21] One tack of advertising was to imitate stage fiction by presenting small dramas that sold the product, with the result that social relations, according to Alan Trachtenberg, began to assume the character of a "relation between things."[22] As advertising increasingly controlled the content of the magazines, a metaphoric collapse occurred in their copy. Major life decisions and smaller ones like choosing a product were set on equal terms. In the terms of Ellen Garvey, advertising promoted careful and minute distinctions--the right choice of cereal given as much gravity as the choice of a husband.[23] The prevailing theme of much of this copy was that women's agency was her power to choose and that just the right choice could provide for her needs. As for the ritual of the wedding, this fetishized culture of the product turned the transition to marriage into a spectacle, where the denoted is the bride and groom but the connoted is the commodity.

Both the costuming and the accouterments of the wedding illustrate this. Earlier nineteenth-century brides were married in a good suit of clothes or fine dress. By the 1890s, even working-class women aspired to imitate the aristocratic vogue of white satin,

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which, even among the elite, began only in the 1790s and did not gain popular acceptance until Queen Victoria's example.[24] The satin dresses, veils, flowers, bride's maids, and enlarged wedding parties further imitated the trends of British society. Profuse lilies, potted palms, orange blossoms, and hot-house flowers were used in the ceremony, contributing to what one historian has called "a floral insanity."[25] Narrative stereoscopic publishers were quick to employ these signs in late century. Graves/Universal Photo Art Company's *The Fainting Bride*, 1898 (fig. 96) is a jungle of potted palms. In this type, the over-wrought bride faints (the groom is two minutes late), giving the viewer a taste of erotic pleasure over her somnolent figure, in this example sunken into the finger-like fronds. The palms and delicate partial coloring provide depth cues leading the eye inward to the white and gray of the collapsed bride, and the sense of space almost imparts vertigo to the viewer, pulling the vision along. In the Kilburn/Davis view of 1905, *May Your Lives Be One Long Sweet Song* (fig. 97), innumerable lilies, rather than palms, transform the studio set. The bride seems to emerge, a lily herself, from a huge massing around her figure. The groom regards her, one stalk of erect lilies held behind his head, and even the chandelier echoes the shape of unopened floral pods. Not many experienced this lavish consumption, testified Hamilton, but many collected these views.[26] In their aristocratic-style consumption, seldom a reality but increasingly an ideal code, they helped to establish a connection between all brides and grooms.[27]

Born of this decade was the bride as a status symbol for the middle class and those aspiring to it. Taking a caustic view of this was Thorstein Veblen, who in his now classic essay of 1899, "The Theory of the Leisure Class," argues that women had been removed from wage earning and were reduced to a life of conspicuous consumption, functioning as sign-boards for the status of the male head of household.[28] Veblen saw female domestic occupations as useless and devoid of meaning, their only object being to waste resources and effort in leisure "performed vicariously for the man."[29] From her vantage as historian

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and critic of the suffrage movement, Lisa Tickner presents a counter: women's work was invisible because it did not conform to the ideal of the leisured Victorian lady, which served the status quo. Women's work, she adds, was also incompatible with the concept of waged and male labor.[30] Theorists of domestic environmentalism, which have aided Tickner's position, have recognized in the service of women's invisible labor a greater control and effect over society than Veblen's pessimistic view and, in fact, have asserted for this work a position of moral and psychological, if not economic, superiority.

Domestic environmentalism or "feminism" (I prefer the first term) was the most efficacious, practical, and for many the only available avenue to self-esteem and a powerful life when women had extremely few legal rights, little economic agency, virtually no political power, and were subjugated to fathers and husbands.[31] As home was the most venerated symbol of Victorian culture, what woman lost by confinement there she more than regained, it was assumed, in her power to shape the family, and through it society, even as far as national character.[32] This should not be interpreted as insincere, nor as a "consolation prize" for the sex in an inferior position. The concept of separate spheres for the sexes was not simply a device for keeping women out of political and economic power; it was a gendered structure that, however taxingly and insufficiently, struggled with the concept of balancing power through a strict division of human qualities and responsibilities. Its failure in terms of today's more plural values does not negate its benefits, nor does it explain why it persisted and flourished, nor why it continues to remain a model within the scope of present options.[33] In spite of its stereotypes and absolutist promulgation, all too often over-bearing, it was broadly accepted in the nineteenth century. Carroll Smith Rosenberg, one of the first of contemporary critics in the theory of domestic environmentalism, helps to explain its appeal:

> Even as Americans enlarged the scope, resonance, and power of Republicanism, they simultaneously discounted and weakened the force of patriarchy. They recorded the values of women's sphere, validating women's moral influence on their husbands and lovers, ascribing world-historical

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> importance to women's maternal role, and claiming for women a nature less sexual and more self-controlled than the nature of men.[34]

Catherine Clinton has called this higher valuation of women's separate world a "subculture...operating within the limits prescribed by male authority"; it was a movement that:

> did not undermine patriarchal authority but demonstrated dissatisfaction with the extent of male dominance. Thus, certain women took their segregated status not as a badge of inferiority, but seized the opportunity to use their separate position as a base on which to build.[35]

Nina Baym asserts that the power of domestic environmentalism is not "to sequester women from the world but that everybody was to be placed in the home, and hence that home and the world would become one...the ideology implied an unprecedented historical expansion of her influence..."[36] Jane Tompkins echoes this in her study of the blockbuster woman's authors' use of domestic settings and sentimental values as a means to "reorganize culture from a woman's point of view." Taking as a basis the very typifications of women that patriarchy has used to determine and circumscribe them, the authors, Tompkins found, asserted the superior moral and emotional strength of women and the eventual success of their values.[37]

A counterpoint is provided by William O'Neill, who clearly saw the domestic "feminists" of the nineteenth century as retarding change: "by justifying their activities on the grounds that society was an extension of the home and woman's work in it merely an enlargement of her maternal powers, social feminists froze the domestic status quo."[38] O'Neill's point would have more merit, if freezing the domestic status quo had been left to the power of women, but the simple fact was that the segregation of the sexes was an insurmountable barricade for every woman but the most lucky and exceptional. Avenues for personal advancement such as those provided by education, skilled professions or an independent life offered few options for women. Though today domestic environmentalism may not seem like much power, or perhaps even a collusion with oppression, the ideology

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found resonance through its premise of validating home-based work and protesting equally against those who devalue it. Some women writers and activists took domestic environmentalism to an extreme expression of virtue, casting an unflattering light on the exclusions, inconsistencies, and lack of ethical principle of the sphere of worldly interests forbidden to them.[39] For most women, however, the ideology may have been only form of power that circumstances allowed them with impunity, as stepping outside the circumscription of the patriarchal home could have been tantamount to their own destruction, or at very least a life of exile from their children. It was, essentially, a conservative idea taken to radical extreme, and, as with many positions that delve "to the root," its effectiveness for some was also likely measured in terms of personal cost.

To look at the objects in the home through the lens of domestic environmentalism is to see the personal effort and valuation behind the commodities; things come to represent the influence and labor of mothers, to extend their will and control. Katherine Grier views the Victorian home as "the commercialization of already existing symbols."[40] As home's symbols were overwhelmingly female, this commercialization was an expression of her reach. Returning to Veblen's terms of commodification and purchase, brides would in this argument be the interchangeable users of resources, and the married women they were to become in the 1890s as spenders and expenses, or status symbols in the flesh. If we graft Veblen's position, which is an economic one, onto domestic environmentalism, which is a sentimental and cultural one, then the home-bound, nineteenth-century woman becomes the locus and controller of commodities that serve and represent the range and scope of human lives--material, emotional, and spiritual--that circulated within the home. To bring these disparate positions together, it may help to see the increasing commodification of the late nineteenth-century home as furthering the symbolic expression of power represented in domestic environmentalism. The wedding was the show-piece for this symbolic reach, a sign of the extent of control, showing that the position of the wife—as we will see in

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stereoviews to come—was less the help-meet of earlier ages and more the director of those under her roof.

In actuality, the average consumer of stereoviews was far too busy with work to ruminate about such ideas. Though consumption was an ideal, and the domestic power of women lauded, most middle-class women practiced an endless and exhausting round of duties day in and out that rendered the idle woman of Veblen's complaint such a slight minority as to be almost a fantasy.[41] As through a fairy tale, then, came these brides to the small townswomen and farm wives of America, with just enough leisure to view stereographs a little bit in the evening, after endless rounds of cooking, laundering, housework, gardening, and childrearing. For them, the brides in these views were powerful inheritors, indeed. From the sentimental literature of the British picturesque based on fidelity in love and promises kept, to an emphasis on show, commodities, and the well-appointed ceremony as precursor to the well-appointed home, brides have symbolized the integrity of the individual in the social role *and* the increasing need by late century for signs reflecting the moral as well as material riches that would result from the right fit of person to that role.

That right fit made for happiness—so went the mythology. Since women's lives revolved around the central point of wedding the right man, the ceremony was invested with ever more import. In previous ages, the lot of persons was determined largely by geography, ethnicity, and class, without much deviation from one generation to the next. By the late nineteenth century, however, expectations had altered along with the new influx of wealth and commodities to every level of society. The wedding was woman's fundamental choice, for it defined her power-base, which could fluctuate widely from that of her parents' generation or the opportunities of her neighbors. A defined domestic space became feminine space, for only home had the ability to display the ineffable qualities of

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wise emotive choices, and the right fit of individual to social role as expressed in myriad objects and appointments and their symbolism of relationships.

It would stand to reason, therefore, that the sentimental ideal of home was a topic commonly pictured, but this was not true for American stereoviews. The comic obverse is far more prevalent. We do, however, see a few happy home and newlywed types, as in an early incarnation entitled, *Last in Bed, Put Out the Light,* which was adopted from British views.[42] Melander and Brother copied the pose directly in their version in 1876 (fig. 98), with the married couple butting heads in their race to beat each other to bed, so that the last would be left with the task of blowing out the candle. Six other American companies published this sentimental and comic title from 1892 to 1908.[43] Unlike any other example, however, the Melander view uses a male actor as the wife, underscoring the silliness of such "competition."

Of special note are a group of Kilburn/Davis views, copyrighted in the years of 1897 and 1899, with a sentimental interpretation of newlywed and young family life. Depending on how one typifies them, there are at least two to three dozen such views by this company.[44] While titles and types tended to be copied from one publisher to another, the high number of original titles at the Kilburn company which put a favorable light on newlywed and young family life are distinctive. This might indicate the work of a certain photographer. More research would be needed to determine attribution, if it could even be uncovered. It is of note at this time, however, that no other American publisher offered more than a handful (usually one of two, if any) of views depicting marital happiness. While not a series, the Kilburn/Davis views of 1897 and 1899 indicate a body of work focusing upon marital strength, with the same studio set and three actors, one male and two female. We have seen three examples of this combination of set and actors—*The Pillow Fight, Trials of Married Life,* and *An Interesting Chapter.* Two other pillow fight views

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using the same actors and set were available in 1897, *Thy Smiles Are Becoming* and *War in Camp.*[45]

In Kilburn/Davis' *Between the Lines,* 1897 (fig. 99), the drying clothes form perfect depth cues, and the pair volumetrically echoes the parallel lines that bracket them. "Reading between them" is the process of internalizing the erotic moment and forming a the story. I interpret this to picture newlywed bliss, since there is no stealth to the kiss, the woman is going about laundry (not a task one undertook in the presence of a suitor), and the man with his lunch basket appears to be off to work. The simplicity of the home harkens back to the days of the naturalistic picturesque, rather than to the bourgeois and well-appointed interiors which were by the late 'nineties favored for courtship views. Kilburn/Davis published another "off to work kiss" in the same year, *Bidding His Loved Ones Goodbye,* where the gentleman, with his hat hastily planted on his head and an overcoat in his arm, gives a tender kiss to the wife in bed with three small children.[46] Graves/Universal Photo Art Co. offered a charming newlywed view, *Bread, Cheese and Kisses Are Always Good,* 1905 (fig. 100), which illustrates the growing expectation for romance in marriage, with the wife's teasing smile and conventional pose of suggestiveness.

Kilburn/Davis was also one of the most prolific of publishers for the next stage of the life story—that of new parents either amused or mildly exasperated with their infants. Using the same set, same actor, two different dark-haired actresses, and what appears to be one baby in particular, supplemented with other small children, Kilburn/Davis in the years 1897 and 1899 copyrighted numerous baby-in-bed views, which, from their prevalence alone, we may surmise was one of the better sellers.[47] *A Home Entertainment,* 1899 (fig. 101), offers the amused variety, which differs only a shade from the mildly exasperated type. Here, the parents are taking delight in the wide-awake baby, as he grasps onto the father's finger guiding a pacifier toward the baby's mouth. In stereopsis, the hand of the father, with its tender gesture, receives emphasis.

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Most narrative stereographs presenting the young family leaned more toward comic exasperation than sentiment. The "Knight of Labor" type is one we have already seen in stereographic examples, which were but one part of the popular dissemination of this topic. A trade card for Deering Mowers, from the 1880s, depicts in full color lithography the wildly pacing father, the snoozing mother, and the howling baby, with the title *A "Night" of Labor/Ready to Arbitrate* (fig. 102). The machinery advertised on verso were sold to farmers and would have been purchased by men far more than women. The "K/Night of Labor" type also circulated widely in the comic press, and there are literally hundreds of satiric examples to choose from in periodicals that featured cartoons. A Thomas Nast cartoon from *Harper's Weekly* of 1869, "Woman's Kingdom Is At Home," (fig. 103) is one sample, with the enthroned wife authoritatively declaring to the suffering father about their baby, "it's very strange you can't keep it quiet."[48]

The farm machinery advertised by Deering Mowers makes good the argument that the intended audience for this trade card, and therefore its imagery, was male. The Nast cartoon in its sexism would seem also to appeal to men. Market audience is a tricky question, especially over various media. Yet, we can ascertain that the put-upon father was a staple image of the Victorian era—in stereoviews leaning toward the female consumer, in the farm machinery advertisement for men, and in comic cartoon art marketed to both sexes.[49] In stereography alone, I have seen hundreds of views of fathers whose patience was tested to the limit by their "bundles of joy." I propose that this image type had an especially bi-gendered appeal--for women in the idea of the good father tending the baby, or in the joke that he really can't manage as well as she can. For men, the joke is that somebody is suffering under marriage's yoke more than oneself—a mode of the comic fool who offers a sense of relief from one's own troubles by the distraction of a more extreme comparison. An H. L. Stephens cartoon of 1870, entitled *Modern Matrimony,* is such an example.[50] The caption reads: Stern Wife: "Now, John, I have to lunch with Sorosis at three, and so I leave

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you to walk about the square with the baby until I come for you at five." Sorosis was a women's literary society, founded in reaction to the exclusion of professional women from a press club dinner, so the wife in this cartoon would be aligned with educated and career women, progressive thinkers, and possibly a "woman's righter."[51] The cartoon implies that in order to suit her elevated ideas, she has turned her husband into a poor "kinder-schlepper," walking the baby and dog, with a dainty parasol, to boot. Here, we witness a sexist appeal to men via a jest over the unreasonableness of women, especially those who, claiming rights, would reverse the genders.

The "woman's righter" is, however, simply a radical example of the fear of the imposition of maternal roles upon husbands. The higher valuation of women's work as exemplified in domestic environmentalism, as well as the demands of feminists for women's acceptance into professions and status outside the home, were receiving a backlash reaction. The consumerist trend of the male mother, through its many varieties, indicates negative reaction, to be sure; yet, it also in some measure reveals personal identification--for no trade card, as the Deering, would dare make its patrons the butt of a joke to the point of alienation. The Deering card was presenting a reasonable, socially codified joke, a means for both reinforcing the role of the good "Daddy" and getting a dig in at women. But it was also a dig at men, for these images cast men in a very unfavorable light—maternalized, feminized, suffering, and re-moulded by the mighty cries of baby into the position of the culturally inferior sex. An ambivalence occurs: the good father takes care of the baby, but to the extent he is paternal, he becomes exploited, and therefore *maternal*, and therefore comic, that is, *inept*.

This type of image was standard fare in nineteenth-century Britain and America, and, in its legion numbers, it reveals a dynamic that I'd like to suggest was preying upon the consciousness of men at the time. We have, here, a glimpse into the re-examination of gender roles, which perhaps were only partially conscious, but made acceptable to

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awareness by the ease of the comic. Joseph Neal, publisher of the highly popular "Widow Bedott" sketches by Frances Whitcher, considered the powers of the humorist to be above those of the preacher in guiding the public, "even though they who hear are not aware of the fact that they are imbibing wisdom."[52] In a similar vein, Harvey Green has noted that "hostility toward men, the church, and marriage—sentiments which were totally unacceptable in conventional [Victorian] society" were given license in fictional frameworks.[53] The shifting roles of the genders and family life, the double messages of women as rulers of the home and women's demands to enter men's sphere, were viewed as confusing, contradictory, and just-plain unfair, placing burdens upon men, making gentlemanly decorum ever more difficult, along with its requisite deference to women in circumscribed areas and dismissal of them in the greater realm of others. Comedy arose to save the despairing social code, to allow the deepening sense of resentment some relief by suggesting that the situation is not to be taken seriously and, in fact, is a joke. This mocking dismissal can give an impression that the tension release provided by the joke was a mild medicine to simply restore the status quo.[54]

What tips the scale, however, is the very prevalence of this staple type, a mass of imagery large enough to border upon the hysteric. The ludicrousness of the situation stops being so once its numbers reach that of a mob. With these male mothers, we are witnessing a trend that presents men moulded according to the needs of the family and made convenient for women's sake. It responds—regardless of the sex of the purchaser—to the female-oriented and controlled sensibility of the home. According to Nina Baym, the nineteenth century witnessed a rise in a new sort of humanism—that of men identifying more with the mother than with the father: "Men, too, introject the culture's insistence on home as the center of human value."[55] Even if they are in the main a response of resentment and a comic deflection, such views cannot disguise a preoccupation with the idea of the good father. This good father was often presented as a fool of his wife and the

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family, thus indicating a profound discomfort with the implications of his duty, that its performance entailed sharp compromises in personal power and autonomy. Nonetheless, the fools seen here are not very derisively presented, and, though encumbered, they are not helpless. Rather, they are the overwhelmed, everyman sort, the stock of parental self-mocking, still prevalent today. These fools, in between groans, manage to express dedication to and love for their babies.

One of the earliest titles, which harkens back to the days of the British picturesque, is *When a Man's Married His Troubles Begin*, a view that depicts a man holding a baby while his wife reads—yet another literate woman indulging herself at the expense of her husband.[56] Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood picked up the title in 1891 with a view that depicts another audacious wife reading through the baby's cries (fig. 104). In 1897, they reissued the title and doubly employed it as part of an eighteen card marriage series where the wife's sewing carries her full and placid attention.[57] The same couple are shown again in another 1897 view, this time with the wife spoon-feeding a drug to the infant, and the husband, unreadable newspaper in hand, shouting—*Cry, cry, cry—Don't tell Me it's Colic—It's Sheer Temper!*[58]

In 1902, Underwood and Underwood offered before and after pairs of the man-of-the-world considerably repositioned in the home. *The Floor-walker By Day* (fig. 105) presents a glimpse into the environment of the turn-of-the-century department store, as the "floor-walker" authoritatively commands one of his female underlings, a mere girl who bows her head. He is the only male in the room, among saleswomen and customers, and there is no question who is in charge. The man-in-charge, however, has a different charge at home, as *The Floor-walker By Night* (fig. 106) exchanges his shiny shoes for stockinged feet and his imperious gesture for cradling an infant and holding a bottle of milk. The mother, of course, sleeps soundly through it all in the next room, viewed stereoscopically as a distinctly separate space. Another sequence begins with *Before Marriage—A Dude* (fig.

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107): a handsome bachelor with a Roman nose (seen in the mirror), brushes his top hat to a sheen, among the pleasant accouterments of his station—a rifle, a Turkish pipe, a cushioned ottoman, and, over it, a picture of a fin-de-siècle "pin-up girl" in diaphanous garb, glancing backwards over her shoulders and rounded form.[59] In the sequential image, (fig. 108), he has far different "accouterments"—three demanding children. The eldest, behind him, plunks a stereoscope upon his head. He can barely hold onto the two crying infants and the milk bottle; the ottoman pillow is tossed upon the floor; and, meanwhile, his elegantly dressed wife has taken possession of the mirror and fixes her hair. To add insult to injury, a picture of a tamed bull hangs upon the wall, just behind the lady's elaborate coiffure. The title puns, *After Marriage, Sub-dued.*

It is of note in this age of consumer depictions as status symbols that many views present a bottle of formula for the infant—a commodity that had gained in market popularity in the 1890s.[60] While this product aided the working mother, in these views it is conservatively pictured as a means to inflict undeserved parental responsibility upon the bourgeois husband, so that the lady could have her rest and leisure. This backlash protest is part of the beleaguered daddy message, the sentiment that his contribution is unjust, because it simply gives more time to the mother to waste.

There is, apparently, no end to the sufferings of the Victorian man with children, and one of his greater endurances was to live without shirt buttons. Kilburn's *No Buttons,* 1892 (fig. 109), presents a man shrugging helplessly, since his wife, busy with the family, has not had time to do the sewing. We have already seen an example of the put-upon man who must thread a needle (fig. 3). Since ancient Greece, sewing has iconographically been women's work, and the man with needle and thread or open cuffs is sign of a man who suffers from the neglect of a woman.[61] The ironic tone in this view is represented in the image of the stereographer in the mirror, who breaks the illusion of the environment, doubling for the viewer's observation. Another such family joke is Rau/Griffith and

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Griffith's, *Where in the Thunder's the Towel?*, 1892 (fig. 110), which shows a man and so much water dripped on the floor that one thinks he could only have been washing a rather large, untamed animal. The answer to his personal-narrative inquiry regarding the location of the towel lies in the view itself. The baby is sitting upon it, of course, being first in line for such comforts.

There was no question of who, in many of the preceding views, is in charge—not women or men, but baby, who is candidate for having the most stereographic roles as well as the most attention. If one baby could command everyone's attention, two could result in staggering disruption. One type of Victorian baby joke presented the "happy" father of twins. In Charles Dickens' *Nicholas Nickelby,* a man who hates children becomes the father of twins.[62] The cartoon artists picked up the theme on both sides of the Atlantic. A Watts Phillips cartoon of "A Happy Father" passing out at the news of twins first appeared in the British periodical *Diogenes* in 1853 and, four years later, had the honor of being pirated by the American *Nick-Nax.*[63] Similar double blessings arrived "in stereo" with the 1860s British view, entitled *Happy Father--What Two!! Yes, Sir, Two Little Beauties,* as the nursemaid presents two infants to an aghast father.[64] American publishers picked up this theme again in the 'nineties, with such titles as Underwood and Underwood's 1900 *Gee Whiz! Doctor, Did Any of Them Get Away?* (fig. 111). Here, the shocked father drops his valise upon entrance to the room, as the sheepish-looking doctor shrugs, and two wall mirrors double twice the scene of human reproduction, which is doubled again by the twin infants. The frail, frontally-placed palm is echoed by a sturdier one to the left side, while the mirrors' reflections form symbolic association. One mirror reflects a painting of Andromeda chained to the rocks, while the other shows the stunned father. Even the sexes of the adults are paired: for the men, a doctor and father, for the women, the mother and nurse. Like bread dough with an unlimited yeast, objects and persons keep doubling in this view, suggesting that the fecundity of the sexes will chain the father just as Andromeda is

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bound. Associations that are typically female--reproduction, doubling, increase, and their bondage—are, here, a male matter, though the man seems scarcely prepared for his prolificacy.

"Did Any of Them Get Away?" was also featured in a six panel fold-out cartoon in color lithography, copyrighted by A. M. Smith in 1882.[65] *The Untimely End of Daddy* begins with a scene of quadruplets and the father commenting, "Then I'm a Daddy. Well, I Should Say So." The cartoon moves through a "k/night of labor" type scene, and father strolling the quads in the park, then, after the mother goes out, "The Untimely End of Daddy": he has hung himself upon the door rather than suffer parenthood one more minute. Another title that circulated in stereography and the comic press, delivered by surprised fathers, was "Looking Down Upon His Luck"—the father holds up two fingers at the first sight of his children.[66] These fathers have become something like ancient fertility goddesses, just dripping with signs of increase. In a medium that doubles everything, views of twins are a metaphor for the very process of viewing and its splitting, doubling, and interior—exterior play of minute differences that form stereoptical properties. This nature, at once verisimilar and artificial, is printed and published, and thus multiplied indefinitely. Men, in this instance, are the curious bearers of this twinning and increase metaphor, a quality that is customarily used to define *female.*

Embedded in the family, men in stereoviews were equalized with women as parents. Family was an overwhelming matter in stereo, as in Victorian culture, and men are frequently "at sea," finding their privacy, autonomy and authority has no sure-footing. This comic unbalancing and inversion of valuation would be satirical but for the sentimental softness that conditions it. Kilburn/Davis offered an example with an occupied couple and their three children in *Not So Pleasant Sitting Up As It Used to Be,* 1897 (fig. 112). We see the Kilburn favorite actors and bedroom set, and their signature, beleaguered-sentimentalism. The eye bounces off the foregrounding corset, hung over a chair in front of

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the bed's baseboard, to the plant and stand, along the infant's out-stretched arms, over the heads of the other kids, across to the gaze of the mother and back to that of the father, holding a moment between them with their "and just look where we are now!" expression, which has occurred between every set of parents who have exchanged glances over the children since the world began. The corset makes for an interesting volume when read against the tiny child's dress on the wall behind the mother's head. The dress appears flat, while the corset, as the figure and life of a woman, is full in its foregrounding space. The implication, here, is that the body of woman has generated the scene and begun the next stage of development, parenthood and the child's rise from small thin form to another set of parents who, indubitably, will sit up. H. C. White used a similar title in its 1903 pair, *11:30 p.m., George and Angelina Are Very Fond of Sitting Up Late* and *(5 Years Later) 1:30 a.m., They Still Sit Up Late, but Somehow It Is Not So Much Fun As It Used to Be.* The first image presents a courting couple within a bourgeois parlor, the lady upon the gentleman's lap, while the latter, as may be surmised, has them flat-out in bed with three young children.

In views as we have just seen, the family is no longer a sacred subject but one open to self-mocking. Married women, when they have been able to find any comfort from the burden of children, are viewed as taking it at men's expense, while married men gradually come to resemble their wives, for they are forced to pick up the slack of self-sacrificing attentions but are easily overwhelmed, being cast as essentially inept or stupefied. Irony and satire take differing forms for the sexes, but they come in equal doses to everyone under the aegis of home. In a world predicated upon conceptions of superior and inferior, where each quality has a social as well as gendered place, the democratic message of the ironic or satiric view can be subversive, for it fails to recognize any distinction worth preserving. The home thus pictured does not directly confront societal values, but it does make for a different set of evaluative meanings, relativizing all by the joke. With their topsy-turvy of sentimentalized humor, stereoviews helped to provide for the daily fare of

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gender reversal that was paraded before the public. With this proliferation comes the gradual acceptance of the formerly resented situation that spawned the joke. The equalization of the high and low, male and female, worldly and home-bound under the "reign" of baby meant that, in depictions of the Victorian domus, forms of hierarchal valuation in society could be suspended in favor of a subordination to the needs of the children and, concomitantly, to the sentimental ideal of the shelter of individuals that was at the core of domestic ideology. The resentment of men, boiling up in imagery, took a safe release from aggression in the joke, but it's a serious issue disguised, or made politely acceptable to the public, with a sub-message that masculinity, for good or ill, was becoming subject to other forms of organization.

As we have seen, the American narrative stereograph very seldom places a man in a dominant position in the domus. At most balanced, both sexes are equally burdened. C. H. Shute's *Before and After Marriage* (fig. 113) is a split image view in the manner of his temperance theme of the same year (fig. 17). The left side of the view shows the bourgeois, courting couple at the piano, while the right side offers the comfortless drudgery of the married state—empty walls and floor, a wash tub and chair the sole furnishings, and clothes that the word "drab" would compliment. "Before and After" images were staples in the nineteenth century, the stock of print shops, and a device commonly used in cartooning.[67] These inventive split views of Shute, though, did not seem to be very popular, perhaps because they were too bleak, or because the divided scene disrupted the sensation of "being there" in an environment, replacing that sense with conceptualization. Their static quality befits the sentimental ethos of the naturalistic picturesque style and stands in contrast to the "before and after" type of the 1890s.

During this decade we see the conception of the institution of marriage as a set of inexorably comic steps that culminate in the subordination of the male. Strohmeyer and Wyman (Underwood and Underwood) published comic marriage series with silly titles that

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began with a noun or adjective repeating the same grammatical suffice—i.e., "Admiration--, Expectation--, Elation--" or "Expected--, Connected--, Dissected--," etc.[68] In both series, marriage is viewed as a predictable farce that begins in "elation" and ends in "subjugation"—of men. From Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's eighteen-card series of 1897, the second and the last view summarize the progress—*Expected—Married Life as He Pictured It (Music without Words)* (fig. 114) and *Dejected—Married Life as He Found It (Words without Music)* (fig. 115). These two views were also frequently sold as an independent pair. In the former, "fantasy" image, the wife, lounging on the day bed, plays the lute and stares dreamily into her husband's eyes. He stares back into hers, the picture of Romantic rapture, while his shiny shoe offers a phallic sign in the space between them. *Married life as he found it (words without the music)* presents the conclusion--the nag pressing her point. His newspaper is rumpled; a book is tossed; a ledger is open upon the floor; other books and papers are cascading from the table; he clutches his hair; and a dead fox fur lies on the floor as though slaughtered by her shrewishness.

The hen-pecked man was a stock Victorian type, along with his termagant wife. The pair certainly made the rounds in the popular press, cartoons, farces, and music halls.[69] Scarcely any widely-circulated comic magazine was free of them, one example being John Leech's *Husband Taming* from the 1859 *Punch's Almanac.* (fig. 116).[70] Another may be summarized by its text; in "How To Do It," published by the British *Judy,* which employed women cartoonists and was marketed to the woman comics reader, an unattractive "Mrs. Mantamer" advises the willowy, young wife, "Mrs. Mildmay": "What you've got to do, Amelia, is to keep the whip hand on him, and if he jibs, tighten the curb. I soon tamed mine when I took him in hand." A portrait of an authoritative, gouty Mr. Mildmay frowns upon them from the wall, as his lady "wonders how is she going to begin."[71] The termagant was also a staple of farce, as male characters fell helpless before their domestic "tornados."[72]

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The reception of the actual dominant woman is difficult to gauge, but, in Victorian satiric and fictional contexts, she was considered funny, having evolved from the moralistic condemnation of earlier ages into a convention of derisive humor that exhibited less scorn than a nervous "there but for the grace of God go I" near-acceptance.[73] That the dominated husband was much a part of comic tradition shows that his state was not outrageous but accepted as a type.

One of the most long-lived of these couples was Job and Mrs. Caudle. "Caudle's Curtain Lectures" was the creation of Douglas Jerrold, who published these comic sketches in *Punch* from 1845-46 and retained his fame for them well into the 1870s.[74] In Jerrold's prose, Job Caudle's longanimity was tested by his wife's lectures from eleven p.m. to seven a.m. for thirty years. A veritable catalogue of petty complaints, her lectures are more venomous than ridiculous, but whatever their hilarity may have been for the Victorian audience, they are interesting now primarily for their iotas of proprieties and the manner in which it was assumed that wives controlled their husbands. Always begun with a "well, if a woman hadn't better be in her grave than married," she tiraded against Mr. Caudle for going for a drink, joining a club, joining the masons, lending five pounds, desiring a house key, asking for a button to be sewn, and playing at billiards, etc. Jerrold comments in his Introduction, "in marriage, as in war, it is permitted to take every advantage of the enemy."[75]

James Elliott's *Mr. and Mrs. Caudle*, of 1859 (fig. 117) is one of the earlier incarnations of the theme in stereography. So shrewish is she, that the character of Mrs. Caudle is played by a man in drag. Offering an extra quantity of the ridiculous, the actor in drag as Mrs. Caudle underscores the male gender typification of dominance. His/her verbal delivery—which the viewer imagines—establishes power on the side of the "Mrs.," though this power implies "she" is no lady.[76] This view title, though usually with an actress as Mrs. Caudle, was quite common in the 1860s and '70s, with at least two other English

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and two American originals and numerous pirates.[77] In America, Melander and Brother,[78] and E. and H. T. Anthony published versions (fig. 118), the latter dating from Anthony's "Young Idea Series" of the late 1860s. The view is fully spatial, with the mirror's reflection of the quilt and baseboard adding to the sense of volume. Mr. Caudle appears with a bandage on his head, turned away from his lecturing wife and staring with steaming resentment into space.

Later variations upon the nag include three titles by Kilburn of the early 'nineties, *Betsy/Sally Planking Down the Law* and *For Conscience Sake, Sally, Give Me A Rest* (fig. 119). The "Planking Down the Law" versions present a standing wife, wagging her finger, bent over the supine husband,[79] while the "Give Me a Rest" view, its theme copied from a Strohmeyer and Wyman of two years prior, offers a more literal interpretation of the "Caudle" theme, with the husband tumbling out of bed into a disoriented, stereoscopic space.[80] The disarray of clothes piled on the chair provides a frontal locus of depth cues against which the carpeting appears to tip-up perspectivally, so that the gesture of the husband seems to reach out toward the floor patterning in an attempt to steady himself against its tilt. This induces in the viewer a sense of vertigo, as the eye bounces between the lump of clothing, which seems to rest plumb, and the flooring, which seems to sway as a ship deck, while the outstretched hand rocks forward to counter it. This stereoscopic space results from the fact that most of the depth cues in the scene are located in the foregrounding clothes, while the vanishing point to the perspective is located behind them, in a space absent of depth cues, in the diagonal meeting of carpet edge and bed frame, at a point that is close to the center of the man's chest. The patterning of the carpet also flows along with the orthogonals. The clothes, however, form the largest section of the view, and so pull the eye back and forth between their "perspective" and the rocking tip of carpet pattern and actor. Exemplifying the extreme effect that may be achieved in the personal narrative style, the dual perspectives, here, are radical and expressive. It appears to be a

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space gone wrong, or a stereoscopic "failure," which, in this case, succeeds, because it adds to the sense of shipwreck of the room and marriage. As with the "Knight of Labor" types, the nag-type likely appealed to both sexes with its extreme humor—somebody having it worse than oneself.

Implied in the off-stage narration for many of these types was the male culture of bars, drinking clubs, and societies. The clearest marker of sex difference to nineteenth-century men was the world outside the home, and that remained an arena where a wife's presence was circumscribed and her control diminished.[81] This was especially so for the male-gendered domain of drinking establishments, which remained off-limits for the domestic-oriented view, but the presence of their male company continued through the character of the drunk man coming home to "the consequences."

In Elliott's *Father, Come Home,* we have had a glimpse of this world and its collision with the values of home. Such a view was in line with Sally Mitchell's analysis of the sentimental stock fictions of the "penny weeklies." Mitchell found that in these stories fathers are often portrayed as wrong-headed and men as colorless, since they responded largely to the values of the competitive world, while wives and daughters represented the values of conscience, the family, and virtue, and therefore had the correct ideals.[82] American views of the later century dispensed with the sentimentalism of the "penny weeklies" and "Father Come Home" types and went straight for the comic effect—the drunkard and his punishing wife. By the late 1880s, the sentiment of the suffering imposed by the alcohol-centric, homophilic society of men had worn thin. Women's temperance societies had been working in force for more than a half-century and had reversed the tone of patient despair.[83] An American Vaudeville poster entitled *A Quiet Evening At Home* (c. 1895) (fig. 120) sets the newer tone, as the drinking and gambling husband gets his thrashing.

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By the late 'eighties, the stereoview temperance theme had dwindled and been replaced by the theme of the carouser "rolling in quite early" and getting his due. Inebriation was a theme that presented an ambivalence—considered both profoundly funny and an excess in need of correction. The meeting of the two values found its type in the ever-convenient form of the termagant wife, who provided the socially-requisite correction. In this manner, the drinking-man-meets-thinking-wife type shares a similar spirit with kiss-and-punish courtship views. Both allow the socially unacceptable, uncontrolled behavior its petit-Dionysian expression, and both situate it within a framework of correction and re-regulation to the Apollonian, rule-bound norm.[84] The vital difference lies in that once the young woman becomes wife, it is no longer her parent who is the corrective authority. She herself is the father-figure, substituting her authority for lack of it in the male.

The corrective shrew was properly aligned with the temperance nag—twins of misogynistic paranoia. Some critics have characterized this type-casting as an anti-feminist and anti-suffragist backlash against women's growing bid for emancipation, power, and autonomy.[85] While this is apparent on a certain level, it is not the only argument that can be made, for there is a difference in solely misogynistic imagery and that which incorporates misogyny as an aspect of satire that is equally "castrating." In the case of narrative comic stereographs, it is a dicey matter to say whether women or men are lampooned more severely.[86] The tension release they provided, strongly targeting both sexes, was part of a circular system that by over-enunciation established the comedic situation as a type and therefore reinforced its prevalence *and* numbed the reaction to its extremity. These types, then, became "naturalized," transforming the ridiculous to a cultural commonplace and contributing to a begrudging acceptance of women as capable of controling those in their sphere, and perhaps even those beyond their sphere. The foreboding that women would extend control beyond their allotment was the generative

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anxiety here. By evoking this anxiety again and again, the discomfort and fear which spawned the joke is replayed, though the type through frequency can become a paste-board caricature. At that point the dominant woman has less interest—and threat, but first she has to become familiar. Women and men alike could enjoy the put-down of the nag and the implication of other homes worse off than one's own, *and* they could enjoy the abuser's brute strength, the passionate release of expression or fight, her power. The female villain is more often a temptress or siren than a bully. In the late Victorian era, however, the bullyish wife, though not exactly a novelty, found a new level of populist muscularity.[87]

Within such a trend, it is little wonder that a leisure establishment catering exclusively to the male sex would be a draw. Also quite obvious would be the pleasant obliteration of matriarchal influence under that of another kind, perhaps equally poisonous but indubitably a deliverance. Stereoviews of the age frequently evoked this temptation, from which men had to be saved, firstly by the sentimental true feeling of women, then, at century's end, by their force. The men in these views are volleyed back and forth between forces stronger than themselves—the temptation of liquor and male society, given to self-dissipation, and the iron will of women to hold them together in spite of themselves. For an age in which women had very little effective economic and political power, and remarkably few opportunities outside the home, the power she was imagined to have in influence and direction over others was prodigious by comparison. In discussing the comic typologies of the nineteenth century, Nancy Walker has found that women were viewed as the responsible sex, the caretakers, not only of children and men but of culture itself, while men were viewed as irresponsible, untrustworthy, and pleasure-seeking, depending upon women to "pull them in line soon enough."[88] The nag and the scold were the stock characters of this dynamic.[89]

While analyzing women's humor, Walker has noted that it tends to be "domestic and community social group oriented," while men's focus is upon the "outside."[90] By this

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measure, comic stereoviews are often in the style of women's humor. Fashioned by men and marketed to the family, they commonly offer a simultaneous appeal to both sexes as the "subordinate group." The status of women as subordinate requires no explanation. The status of men as subordinate, however, requires a lens such as that of narrative stereography, and some explication of its running subtext. It occurs, first, by man's depiction within the rule of the domestic, which is predicated upon women's values, and, secondly, by his absence of depiction in spheres governed by men. American narrative stereoviews never, to my knowledge, present the male establishments they imply by the husband staggering home from them.[91] Work places are also virtually banished. It is always in the presence and the space of a woman that the man is defined, and this applies, too, for bachelor views, as we will see in Chapter Eight. His appearance in this domestic world is so regulated by women that he is often seen as feminized, maternalized, and suffering oppression at the hand of those whom society has taught him were his inferiors. That the nineteenth-century public found this subordination of the male supremely amusing is the curiosity we have before us. The humor of this topsy-turvy world, like the emotion of the sentimental scene, found its strength in *reassurance.* The difference between them in the narrative stereoview was largely a factor of sentimental comfort versus comic discomfort. Langston Hughes identified the latter succinctly in his concept of laughing "by proxy":

> Humor is laughing at what you haven't got when you ought to have it. Of course, you laugh by proxy. You're really laughing at the other guy's lacks, not your own. That's what makes it funny—the fact that you don't know you are laughing at yourself. Humor is when the joke is on you but hits the other guy first.[92]

Of course, we can only speculate as to the quality of response to humor among nineteenth-century viewers, but Hughes' concept of "laughing by proxy" may give insight. I'd like to suggest that the contemporaneous male viewer of the stereos under discussion was laughing at himself, while for women laughter could result from a complication of

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subordinate status. The aggression enacted upon woman by making her a bully or villain, though a delightfully powerful one, or upon the man, by showing what he's really "made of," or upon the traditional subordination of women by turning the tables, or upon marriage itself by blasting a bit of truth as to women's control of the domus—any or all of these could be funny. Indeed, the humor is with us still today.[93] The see-saw of subordination is the fuel behind this comedy's one-up-one-down entertainment. The shrew and the browbeater, the physically abusive wife, the schemer and the excommunicator of men from the home—woman got the biggest laugh in the nineteenth century when she assumed the worst behavior and took it to new extremes, with an excess to match any of man's crimes. The role of wife was pried open for question, and the hysterical response indicated that here was a force that required reckoning. Mockery became the shield.

Unique to stereography was the umbrella as such a shield. The drinking-man type was often found in bed under one, next to his scolding wife. Keystone's *Smith Home from the Club Fears the Storm*, 1897 (fig. 121) is one of a number of publishers' variations of the husband sheltering himself from the "storm"—a wife displeased with his night-time occupations.[94] His foot, which hovers prominently in space, carries an ambiguous message, as the viewer cannot tell if he is just coming or going. A picture of an amorous pair ironically hangs above on the wall over them. Similar views include titles such as the Metropolitan Series, *Mr. Smith, Take Off Your Hat*—spoken by a disgusted wife to a drunk husband getting in bed with his hat on,[95] or Kilburn's *Hadn't You Better Take Off Your Hat?* (1893).[96] Other titles include scenes of the drunk husband surreptitiously returning, such as Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's *3 a.m. Almost In and She Does Not Hear Me* (1897), or, from the same year, Kilburn's *Better Late Than Never* (husband stumbling to bed with top hat on).[97] Another view by H. C. White depicts the wife exploiting her husband's bad situation. In a 1903 sequence, the husband stumbles in drunk (*Sthedy Now! Mushn't Make a Noish!*), which is followed by the scene, *He Is Suddenly*

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Awakened by His Wife and Makes Peace on the Promise of a New Gown. The sly co-dependent gets the best end of the bargain.

Another White series of 1902 depicts the late-night husband encountering his wife's scheme. She decides to teach him a lesson, and, putting on a suit of armor that decorates their *haute bourgeois* home, frightens the drunk errant. The fourth of the six card sequence, *Help! Fire!! Burglars!!! Murder!!!!* (fig. 122), is followed by a view of the wife, having taken off her armor and glancing up the stairs after her fleeing husband—*Ha! Ha! Guess He'll Remember that One While* [sic]. The style is clearly personal narrative, with the second and last titles of the series addressed directly to the viewer by the wife. Theatricalized conventions govern this comedy, which functions in movement as early cinema does, from one camera vantage, with the audience directly addressed and included in the scheme, while the victim remains unaware of the trap set for him. These later views make light of the serious problem of alcoholism and also transform the wife into a co-dependent, relying upon bribery, complicity, or other means to control her husband. Though the tone differs from that of the shrew, the wife is still presented as the "parent," with her husband the victim of his own lack of self-regulation.

In the case of the husband who would not listen to his wife's dictates, there were other remedies. One type of view depicts the husband either shut out or literally pushed onto the street. The reversal--a woman thrown out—is never seen, because that would be a truly serious matter, saved neither by sentimental moralizing nor comedy. Though we do see examples of the woman condemned to the street in Victorian painting, such tragic subjects are not in the realm of the family fare offered in narrative stereographs.[98] Keystone's *I Think the Keyhole is Full,* from the 1890s (fig. 123), is an example of the comically shut-out drunk—he is too inebriated to find the key hole! One can imagine the door opening to have him tumble inside. This view was preceded by an unidentified British scene, *Smith in Search of Keyhole,* from the 1860s.[99] Latch keys were emblematic in

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the second half of the century, associated with bachelors, single women, club men, and other threats to conventional, stay-at-home family life.[100] Another view by Keystone presents the inevitable consequence of Mr. Come-Home-Late. In *Hello Dad. What's the Matter? You Seem Put Out.* (fig. 124), 1897, a stockinged woman's leg sends the unwelcome carouser flying through space and into a sarcastic pun, delivered via the personal narrative of the son, a laughing-by-proxy observer like ourselves. In narrative stereoviews, the space remains feminine-regulated, and that which is outside is unacceptable.

Another type which surfaced in cartooning and comic writing, called "Family Jars," shows a wife battering her husband. The first instance of this title that I have seen occurred in the 1834 *Galaxy of Comicalities*, a comic weekly published in Philadelphia.[101] A drunk Irish wife is shown battering her French husband, who is tending the babies. The text makes great sport of the clash of dialects and wife's slurred speech. In British stereoviews, we see *Family Jars* types in the late 1850s and early 1860s, a theme which received social confirmation in the detailed reporting of domestic violence and divorce in English newspapers.[102] In one sequential pair, we see the wife blocking the way to the door with a wreckage of furniture and broken crockery or "jars." She poses in a melodramatic gesture of brush and bellows, after the husband has pried open the door with a length of wood. In the second (fig. 125), we see the husband has found his way into the room only to be knocked down by the wife and pinned inside the overturned table by her broom, as she clenches a fist.[103] The subtext here, completed by the viewer, is that the husband's drinking, or lack of money, or both, has occasioned the wife's mutiny and his forced exclusion from the domicile. The muted hand-coloring, with its softening aura, stands in contrast to the harshness of the view and the squalor of the working couple's abode. Both wear aprons, and he is clad in the cap of a tradesman—another example of lower-class status permitting comic typing. The last view of this series, or group of sister images, is titled after the Biblical phrase, *After a Storm A Calm Cometh;* the wife conciliates her husband for

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her violent temper, with a beer and an embrace.[104] We find the same title in a popular farce of the 1860s by John Maddison Morton, in which a husband is torn between two domineering women—his mother and his wife.[105]

As befits the American democratic bent, the "Family Jars" type is not reserved for the lower classes. While Melander's *Family Jars—No Money* from 1876 keeps to the simple abode, by 1898, Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's *War in Camp* (fig. 126) gives us a wife "dishing it out" in fine middle class style, as her husband ducks behind a fancy screen, and a daughter upon the floor is already an injured party.[106] The prone child and over-turned furniture provide good depth cues, and the comically-light waste basket, from which the man cowers, hangs precipitously in space. This view contrasts with another *War in Camp* title, which was a Kilburn sister image to their good-natured *The Pillow Fight* (fig. 2). Underwood and Underwood had a *Family Jars* view, with a wife jamming her husband's head in the door, 1897,[107] while Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood had a sequence, *Family Jars*—more of same style battery—along with an *After a Storm a Calm Cometh,* 1897.[108] Their 1897 version (fig. 127) shows the typical broken pottery, humble interior, and aproned wife who sits upon her husband's lap and inspects his face for bruises. The presence of the apron upon the woman, whether in a middle class home or a working class one, indicates lack of comfort, for the wife must do her own work, as the husband is spending, the scene implies, on extra-curriculars.[109] The sequential themes of "Family Jars" and "After the Storm," when paired as they at times were, offer a return to order, along with the implication that a woman's temper, however violent it may seem, will not effect irreparable harm and is not of major consequence.

Battery by men was not a topic found in American stereoviews, but the prelude or aftermath to male temper did appear in comic British views of the late 1850s and early 1860s. In Alfred Silvester/The London Stereoscopic Company's *Come, Polly, If I am a Little Irritable, It's Over in a Minute,* c. 1860 (fig. 128), the husband is the partner consoling his

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wife, after making an utter wreck of their upper class home. She shields her sight from the overturned harp and other foreground disasters.[110] An actress similarly hides her face in her hand, as her irate husband delivers the title, in H. C. George's *You'll Observe, Mum, that a Divorce is a Much Easier Matter than it Used to Be—So None of Your Violence* of the late 1850s.[111] There is no question that the only "violent" one may be the husband, and his delivery, like that of the Silvester view, is presented as a theatrical moment lifted from a domestic farce. I have seen no direct comparison with their kind in the American stereoview. The American view found the violence of women to be comic, but the abusive husband was usually kept out of the narrative. In this manner, the locus of civility with the home and the domain of women were preserved, for a beating by a man would offer no manner of sympathetic reassurance nor comic delight.

We see the aftermath of abuse in the bandaged wife of Shute's moralistic *A Happy Home Made Wretched by Rum* Another battered woman is found in the comic view by the Littleton View Company, *Your Honor Thinks Me Used Up; Wait Till You See Dennis Me Husband*, 1893 (fig. 129). With the latter, the humor lies in that, while the wife is beaten, she has still gotten the better of her husband. In the dialect, "Dennis, Me Husband," we once again encounter the stereotyped "violent" Irish, an opportunity for comic extremity.[112] Though uncomfortable to witness, it is worth noting that the Irish women types share with those of their Anglo women contemporaries the nack of asserting themselves and attempting to enforce compliance from their men, even if the attempt remains ineffective. The Irish woman before the magistrate in the Littleton View differs only in extremity, but not in theme, from the violence of Strohmeyer and Wyman's bourgeois lady in *War in Camp.* The reality of physical abuse is countered with the conservative reaction of turning the blame against the victim, derisively implying that only women are abusive, and especially those of an immigrant or lower class. This form of comic denial preserves the ethos of the home, a place thought of as shelter. With temperance themes, abuse is linked

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to alcohol and, of all the scenes in the battery genre, may have had the most realistic portrayal, while its moral didacticism--the choice between virtue and vice--remains ideologically Victorian.

No conclusion to a marriage chapter would be complete without a visit from the mother-in-law, in whom battery found another occasion for display. A stock character who served as a catch-all for male anxiety, she appears always through the template of male frustration. Scrawny, argumentative, punitive, misaligned with the wrong sorts, and always opposed to the husband, she was often the eye-of-the-storm in domestic disorders, the sign of chronic annoyance—even agony--in the music hall, farces, popular songs, and novels. In one farce, she's "a regular dragon;"[113] in another, she's named "Mrs. Juggernaut Incubus" and "breaks all the furniture twice a week."[114] The title of a third farce by J. V. Prichard is sufficient: *My Mother-in-Law, or, A Divorce Wanted.*[115] The subject of Mrs. Caudle's Eleventh Lecture (Douglas Jerrold) is that her mother will live with them. She is even reincarnated in one 1881 comic pamphlet as a collusion of "nightmares": socialist, bohemian, New Woman, and anarchist, with notorious friends who bring newspaper men and police to the house![116] As one popular song of the day put it: "I'd rather be sent off to jail or to Congress than live all my life with my mother-in-law."[117]

The misogynistic depiction of the mother-in-law is a stock type in the domination of the chronically suffering and self-mocking male. Curiously, though she made frequent popular appearances in theatre and literature of mid-century Britain, I have found no stereoviews of her from that time and only a few from the American 1870s, of which H. L. Roberts/Griffith and Griffith's *What Is Home without a Mother-in-Law?* is one. In the Roberts view, the husband has come home drunk, shoes in hand (to make no noise) only to find himself molested by a clothes-brush-bearing mother, while his wife, in the typical pose, cries upon the sofa. A Weller title from 1875, *Mother-in-Law Making Things Warm About the House* was repeated by Kilburn/Davis in 1892 (fig. 130).[118] In the Roberts and Kilburn

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examples, the wife weeps in crumpled pile, unable to restrain her mother. The actress's body in the Kilburn forms a dominant orthogonal, which, along with the corner of the room vantage point and rocking chair, make for a narrow and telescoped reading of depth. The viewer is run through the mother-in-law gauntlet along with the dapper husband in his theatrical, striped suit, which bears an instantaneous reading of slapstick. Its lines also associate with prisoners' clothes and, visually, provide for a graphic and spatially-increased reading of forms. The view type occupies the other end of the spectrum from the frank, unthreatening form of the grandmother in *I'll Take Care of You, Grandma.* Together, they encompass the two extremes of quiet neediness and demanding forcefulness that characterized many images of nineteenth-century woman. Neither extreme, however, saw a prolix number of titles, and both the sad grandmother (of which I have seen but one) and the broom-wielding mother-in-law were less frequent than other marriage titles, the Kilburn view being only one of seven in my data base. By the American 'nineties, this view type seems a vague throw-back to collective male fears from an earlier era, a stock character deflecting the feminized self of service and obligation.[119]

When we look overall at the marriage view, the dominant topics are the transformations wrought by baby and those brought about by the self-assertion of women. American narrative stereography has very little of Patmore's "Angel of the House," and a great deal of realism about the stresses, duties, and patient suffering of home life, which is concealed under the safer guise of humor. [120] That humor, however, is all too transparent, and like the humorist as a scientist of observation that Henri Bergson discusses, reveals profound discomfort.[121] We do encounter some happy home moments, a sort of pleasant balm in the hothouse of domestic life, but far more is the fixation upon the home as contest of interests, in which women, having constructed the space, have a better chance in the fight. As Nina Baym reminds us, in women's fiction an unhappy home life is the norm: the tasks were oppressive, relations unstable or miserable, and abuse frequent.[122]

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The sentimental ideal of the perfect home, inherited from women's tradition and bequeathed to each bride, was retained in American views mainly for courtship and bridal scenes. In the popular marriage view that came to the fore in the late 'eighties and 'nineties, sentiment is less popular, and the medicine of laughter comes to the fore. The commodification of the bridal view, like the consumer ethos of the home, altered the ideal of sentimental responsiveness centered in woman's sphere and hardened it by an altogether different attitude. It was still women's world, that of the home, but it became by the end of the century an agency of power, control and display. Views of nags, battery, drinking men punished, and maternalized fathers proliferated, laughing by proxy was the mode, and the American marriage view functioned as a social tension-release valve. Within the shifts in expectations for domestic life and relations that characterized modernity, and between the shift from sentiment to farce, there remain a few fair moments that remind us that the picture of home may manage to survive in spite of all. The prolific type of the beleaguered parents being kept up at night but enduring it with reasonable good humor is a great equalizer. Sentimental irony comes with baby, who manages to toss the separate spheres into a scramble, and the Victorians seemed not to be able to get enough reminders of the beautiful loss of hierarchy under his small but powerful command.

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[1] The attribution, by Douglas Wheeler, is tentative: E. J. Mullins, "So Like Matrimony," *Vanity Fair*, (New York) vol. 2 (July 7, 1860).
[2] Reed, 105.
[3] Rothman, 154.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman," 69.
[6] There are plenty of erotic marriage views, but I define overt eroticism as involving nudity, or views that are strongly erotic and outside of a marriage context.
[7] Maria McBride-Mellinger, *The Wedding Dress* (New York: Random House, 1993), 24.
[8] Waldfogel, 172. I have illustrated the view without the inscription, as its coloring is far superior. The second view, which appears to be an original, though poorly colored, bears the name on verso, "Emma Coliord." The set of this view is the same as that of figure 72, *Turned Out of Church*, issued in America by C. W. Thorne.
[9] It is possible that the maid is dressed in mourning simply because her love is marrying another.
[10] James Elliott's *Dressing the Bride, The Wedding, The Happiest Day of My Life*, collection of the New York Historical Society; Elliott's *The Wedding Breakfast*, and unidentified British, *Married for Money*, collection of the American Antiquarian Society, are a few examples.
[11] Pellerin, *La photographie stéréoscopique...*, 22-23.
[12] Melander and Brother's *An Hour Before Marriage*, 1876, collection of the American Antiquarian

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Society; and Weller's *The Wedding*, 1876, reissued by the Littleton View Co., collection of the author.
[13] The Melander order blank lists two other views, and Treadwell's compilation of F. G. Weller views lists other bridal/wedding scenes: no. 77, *The Wedding Ceremony;* no. 79, *Dressing the Bride;* no. 517, *The Wedding*, four variants listed. Treadwell, *The Stereoviews of F. G. Weller.*
[14] Kilburn/Davis, 1897; H. C. White, 1902; Wasson/International View Company, 1905; Graves/Universal Photo Art Company, 1898; Rau/Griffith and Griffith, 1897; Rau/Berry Kelly Chadwick, 1903; Young/American Stereoscopic Company, 1900; Keystone View Company, c. 1900.
[15] Collection of The American Antiquarian Society. Wasson/International View Company had a twelve card wedding series, 1905, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; and Young/American Stereoscopic Company had an eighteen card one, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum of American History.
[16] Hamilton, 19.
[17] Rothman, 152, 154.
[18] Jean Gordon and Jan McArthur, "Interior Decorating Advice as Popular Culture: Women's Views Concerning Wall and Window Treatments, 1870-1920," in *Making the American Home*, eds. Marilyn Feris Motz and Pat Brown (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press), 107-108.
[19] Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 132-139.
[20] Garvey, 14.
[21] Ibid, 15.
[22] Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 132-139. Trachtenberg adopts Marx's idea of commodity fetishism, here.
[23] Garvey, 158. The author shows that as magazines slashed prices and financed through advertising, the latter in turn increasingly controlled the content of the text.
[24] McBride-Mellinger, 28-9. Queen Victoria's white satin wedding gown, simple for royalty of the time, represented purity and fidelity, conventions of feeling for sentimental themes. By the end of the century, however, it represented other values—the ideal of lavish consumption and expense that trickled down from aristocratic imitators of the royal trend-setting to even the most humble.
[25] This was the term of Henry Ward Beecher in *Good Housekeeping*, as quoted in Gordon and McArthur, 108.
[26] Hamilton, 20.
[27] Rothman, 155.
[28] Thorstein Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class" (1899), in Miriam Schneir, Ed., *Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings* (New York: Random House, 1972), 212-227.
[29] Ibid, 212.
[30] Tickner, 180.
[31] The term "domestic feminism" was first attributed to Daniel Scott Smith in an essay that explored the thesis of nineteenth-century woman's growing autonomy in the home, especially with respect to limiting sexuality and the number of children. "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," In *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women*, eds. Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1974), 119-136. Later feminists used the term "domestic environmentalism."
[32] Grier, 3, 6.
[33] Without leaving for too long my time period, I pause to assert, here, that the domestic environmentalism of the nineteenth century remains today in altered form but fundamentally based on the same principles. Its sway is mitigated in professional circles and perhaps in the readership for this book, but in mainstream thinking, in choices regarding childrearing and domestic arrangements, it remains viable for many Americans, though it is rarely presented any more in the absolutist terms of the nineteenth century.
[34] Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual," 20.
[35] Clinton, 41.
[36] Baym, *Woman's Fiction*, xxvii.
[37] Tompkins, *Sensational Designs*, 124.
[38] O'Neill, 353.
[39] See note 22, Chapter Five.
[40] Grier, 62.

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[41] Branca, 182.
[42] T. K. Treadwell reports that this title saw three variations as copyrighted but unidentified English views. Treadwell, *English Masters.* I have an original print in my collection as well as an H. Ropes American pirate.
[43] Kilburn, 1892; Kilburn/Davis, 1897; Strohmeyer and Wyman, 1897; Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, 1899; Keystone, 1896; American Stereoscopic Company, 1908.
[44] The file numbers, which do not duplicate according to type but appear to be singular per negative, run between 11458 and 12892 for such views as I have found. There may be more clustered a little above or below this group.
[45] *Thy Smiles Are Becoming* and *War in Camp*, Helen Mosley Collection, Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[46] Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[47] From the 1897 copyright are *Trials of Married Life, An Interesting Chapter, Not So Pleasant Sitting Up as it Used to Be* and *'Tisn't as Pleasant Sitting Up as It Used to Be,* (three versions, two identical but for hand-coloring), *Midnight Refreshments,* and *Waking All the Night Long.* These views present actor "A" and actress "A." From the 1899 copyright come four other views, *A Home Entertainment, You Dear Little Sucker, Quenching His Thirst,* and *Sitting Up Every Night This Way Makes Me Lean*—all of which appear to have been photographed in the same session. These present actress "B" with actor "A." The baby in the 1897 and 1899 views appears similar and may be the same. The copyright date may not have been the date of the photograph, though the file numbers to these views appear to be in chronological order and corresponding to negative numbers not types.
[48] Thomas Nast, "Woman's Kingdom is at Home," *Harper's Weekly,* Oct. 2, 1869, 640.
[49] An examination of the advertising content of the popular American humor magazine, *Life,* in 1889 is telling as to the expected readership. In the March 14, 1889 (vol. 23, no. 324) issue, advertisements are found only in the inside front and back covers. Here are no less than eight advertisements for feminine-oriented products—"blanket wraps for baby," a women's exercise machine, Beacham's Pills, Packer's Tar soap (for lustrous hair), Lundorg's perfumes, ladies' round hats, Brigg's pianos, and a ladies' tailor. *Life* catered to the middle class family and had an obvious female readership. My thanks to Douglas Wheeler for the research.
[50] H. L. Stephens, "Modern Matrimony," *Punchinello,* Jul. 16, 1870, 249.
[51] Sorosis was formed in reaction to the exclusion of women from a New York Press Club dinner honoring Charles Dickens in 1868. Karen J. Blair, "Sorosis and the New England Woman's Club," in *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980), 15-38. It is Blair's thesis that many of these club women were "feminists under the skin," forming in sorority as an expression of Domestic Feminism (1, 4).
[52] Letter from Joseph Neal to Frances Whitcher, as quoted by Alice Neal, editor, Francis M. Whicher, *The Widow Bedott Papers* (New York: J. C. Derby, 1856), x. The most common spelling of Whitcher's name is with a "t," though it is omitted the title of this compilation. Joseph Neal was the editor for Whitcher's *The Widow Bedott Papers,* a humor column featured in several magazines, including his *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Neal's Saturday Gazette.* Whitcher wrote under the pseudonym, Frances Berry, and published her comic sketches in the late 'forties and 'fifties. Collected and published a few years after her death in 1852 at the age of 38, *The Widow Bedott Papers* saw twenty-three editions in ten years. See also, Frances M. Whitcher, *The Widow Bedott Papers* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Literature House, Greg Press, 1969).
[53] Green, 149.
[54] Humor as an innocuous means for bolstering the spirits of those who do not deviate from status quo is the thesis of Donald J. Gray, in "The Uses of Victorian Laughter," *Victorian Studies,* vol. 10, no. 2 (1966): 145-176.
[55] Baym, *Woman's Fiction,* 261-262.
[56] I have seen this view in an American pirate version from the "Comic Series." Treadwell reports it as an unidentified, copyrighted British view, *English Masters.*
[57] As Directed—After a Man's Married, His Troubles Begin," collection of the American Antiquarian Society. I have seen all 18 views, excepting numbers 4, 11, 12; collections of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library, the New York Public Library, the American Antiquarian Society and the author.

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Rau/Griffith and Griffith and Griffith also issued this title with two views in 1887 and 1901, respectively, wherein a husband is bedeviled by putting together a cook stove.

[58] Helen Mosley Collection, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library. The drugging of babies with laudanum, alcohol, or other medicine to soothe them was common. Green, 38.

[59] "Dude" was code for the suave, ladies' man or man-about-town.

[60] The nursing bottle industry was booming in the last decades of the century. Mellins Baby Food was the popular choice. Green, 39.

[61] Spinning and weaving were considered women's work in ancient Greece and Rome. Through the ages, the tools of working with cloth—spindle whorls, loom, thread--have been woman's signs. Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975): 199-200.

[62] Charles Dickens, *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickelby*, which first appeared in 1838, followed by several stage adaptations (Edinburgh: Ballantine, Hanson and Co., 1900).

[63] Watts Phillips, "A Happy Father," from the series, "A History of Our Baby," *Diogenes*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Jan. 15, 1853), 38. The cartoon was pirated by *Nick-Nax*, vol. 1, no 10 (February, 1857), 312.

[64] Collection of the New York Historical Society.

[65] Collection of Douglas Wheeler.

[66] One example is Kilburn/Davis' *Looking Down Upon His Luck*, 1897, which depicts a gentleman sheepishly holding up two fingers. Collection of the author.

[67] *Bulletin, The Metropolitan Museum of* Art, vol. 34, no 1 (Spring, 1976).

[68] Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, 1897, the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, except where noted: *Predilected—Pierced by Cupid's Dart; Expected—Married Life as He Pictured It (Words without Music)*, collection of the author; *Detected—I've Caught Sister This Time; Invected—Don't You Dare Tell Father; Suspected—One Little Hour of Bliss; Ejected—Bliss Disturbed at 1:30 a.m.; Inspected—The Haunted Lover's Proposal; Connected—The Nuptial Ceremony; Protected—Alone at Last; Prospected—Visions of the Future; As Directed—After a Man's Married, His Troubles Begin; Subjected—A Knight of Labor; Deflected—Home from the Club, He Fears the Storm; Dissected—For Heaven's Sake, Lucy, Give Us a Rest; Dejected—Married Life as He Found It (Words without the Music)*. Numbers 4, 11 and 12 are missing. Underwood and Underwood issued a 14 card series (possibly more) in 1901, collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library, except where noted: *Admiration—Pierced by Cupid's Dart; Expectation—Married Life as He Pictured It (Music without Words); Elation—I've Caught Sister This Time; Consternation—Don't You Dare Tell Father!; Declaration—Two Hearts that Beat As One; Alienation—His Wedding Eve at the Bachelor Club; Obliteration—The Wedding Eve Bonfire and Farewell to Former Affections; Solemnization—The Nuptial Ceremony*, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; *Congratulation—The Wedding Supper*, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; *Anticipation—Visions of the Future; Invitation—Have Wan of Your Wife's Biscuit*; collection of the American Antiquarian Society; *Vexation—You Heartless Wretch to Call Them Brickbats!*; *Tribulation—Trials of Housekeeping, the Cook Indisposed; Realization—Married Life as He Found It (Words without the Music); Subjugation—There's No Place like Home.*

[69] Tickner, 226. 227.

[70] John Leech, "Husband Taming, *Punch's Almanac*, 1859.

[71] John Leech, "How to Do It," *Judy's Almanac*, 1869. *Judy* employed cartoonist, Marie Duval, and at least one other woman illustrator. It appealed to women and a lower class readership. David Kunzle, *The History of the Comic Strip: The Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 316.

[72] William E. Suter's *A Quiet Family* presents one man who is terrified of his wife, while another man tyrannizes his. (London and New York: Samuel French, 1864).

[73] The fifteenth century German print tradition provides a counterpoint. More than a few dominant women emerged from artists' burins, with virulent condemnation. See Israel van Meckenem, *The Battle for the Trousers*; Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *The World Upside Down*; and Erhard Schöen, *There is No Greater Treasure Here on Earth Than an Obedient Wife Who Covets Honour*, in Christa Grössinger, *Humour and Folly in Secular and Profane Prints of Northern Europe, 1430-1540* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2002), 76, 93, 119.

[74] Jerrold's "Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures were published as monthly sketches in *Punch* during 1845, and in the *Punch's Almanac for 1846*. They are collected in Douglas Jerrold, *Caudle's Curtain Lecture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1865).

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[75] Ibid, xiv.
[76] Only the Elliott view and one other unidentified, English view have a male actor as Mrs. Caudle. The unidentified, English view in my collection depicts a man in drag as Mrs. Caudle, waving a finger, while Mr. Caudle is fast asleep. A monologue is printed on the label: "Ah, every way I've been insulted. I should like to know who was it who corked whiskers on my dear Aunt's picture. Oh! you're laughing, are you? *You're not laughing!* Don't tell me that. I should like to know what shakes the bed then, if you're not laughing."
[77] Of the two pirates I have in my data base, one was sold as stock to stores for trade cards—"Bailey & Co.—Great 5 Cents Store," collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library. The other view is unidentified and on bright yellow card stock, collection of the American Antiquarian Society. I have seen a crudely colored English original, with no identification, depicting Mr. Caudle come home drunk, collection of The New York Historical Society. I have also seen a number of other pirates and of this type. Treadwell reports six copyrighted unidentified variants to "Caudle's Curtain Lecture.": *Stereographers of the World.*
[78] *Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lecture*, 1870, collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[79] Kilburn, *Sally Planking Down the Law*, 1892, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; Kilburn/Davis, *Betsy Planking Down the Law*, 1892, collection of the New York Public Library.
[80] Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *For Heaven's Sake, Maria, Give Us a Rest*, 1890, collection of The Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History.
[81] Rothman, 94.
[82] Of a usually sentimental seriousness, these fictions had a wide circulation in the 1840s and 1850s, Mitchell, "The Forgotten Woman," 42, 50.
[83] Lee.
[84] I loosely use the terms of Nietzsche in *The Birth of Tragedy and the Geneology of Morals*, trans. Francis Golffing (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956.)
[85] Tickner, 34, 37.
[86] Douglas, 159.
[87] A comparison with the print tradition of the Northern Renaissance is apt. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, there arose, particularly in Germany, an iconography of the wife as husband beater and dominant head of the home. The castigation of this sort of female was more severe in Renaissance time than in the latter nineteenth century, when the type became comic and widely circulated. Grössinger asserts that the harridan-type imagery was in response to women gaining rights with the Protestant Reformation and the rise of an affluent, middle-class town life. Grössinger, 203.
[88] Walker, 42-43, 136.
[89] Ibid, 30.
[90] Ibid, 44.
[91] We do see carousers in public places and private parties in French and British views.
[92] Langston Hughes *The Negro Book of Humor* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1966), vii. Hughes' book treats the topic of African-American humor, but its concept of laughing by proxy fits with many other types of humor, as well.
[93] Roseanne Barr Arnold frequently employed this style of comedy in her stand-up routines and her popular television show, "Roseanne."
[94] Publishers with a "Fears the Storm" title include Whiting (1900) and Griffith and Griffith (1901), the Helen Mosey Collection, the National Stereoscopic Association; Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood (1891 and 1897), Collections of the author and the New York Public Library; and the marriage series of Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood (1897) and Underwood and Underwood (1901), American Antiquarian Society. The Comic Series and Group Series, pirate companies, also issued the title.
[95] Helen Mosey Collection, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[96] Collection of The Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History.
[97] Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's *3 a.m. Almost In and She Does Not Hear Me*, 1897, Helen Mosey Collection, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library. Kilburn/Davis, *Better Late Than Never*, 1897, Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[98] Augustus Egg, *Past and Present*, trilogy of paintings. London, The Tate Gallery. See Linda Nochlin, *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 16.

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[99] A pirated version published by European and American views is in the Helen Mosley Collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[100] The subject of Mrs. Caudle's Twelth Lecture (Douglas Jerrold) is "He Will Have a Key!" In other words, he wants to come home late.
[101] *Gallaxy of Comicalities*, vol. 1, no. 10 (February 5, 1834), 1. Collection of Douglas Wheeler.
[102] Flint, 280.
[103] These may be the work of the London Stereoscopic Company, as the title was listed in their catalogue. Treadwell identifies a view by this title from J. Reynolds, *English Masters*. The first view is from the collection of the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum of American History.
[104] Collection of the New York Historical Society. Also from this time period were two other scenes of the battering female, J. Reynold's (The London Stereoscopic Company) *Punches Stereoscopic Sketches #2: The Cobbler in Pain*, wherein the wife, a man in drag, is shown knocking down her cobbler husband, collection of the New York Historical Society; and an unidentified British view, *Caught a Tartar*, with the shop-keeper wife forcing her husband into a painful kneel, as she pulls his hair, collection of the New York Public Library.
[105] John Maddison Morton, *After a Storm Comes a Calm* (London: Samuel French, n.d.).
[106] Melander and Brother, *Family Jars—No Money*, 1876, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[107] The Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[108] Collection of the author.
[109] Kilburn also published an *After the Storm*, 1891, where the bourgeois space has been all but stripped of furniture, as the wife embraces her dejected husband, her broom propped against the nearly empty wall The Helen Mosley Collection, Oliver Wendell Holmes Library,
[110] There is a second variant to this view in the collection of the Getty Research Institute.
[111] Divorce reform in nineteenth-century Britain went through an attenuated set of changes, which brought the next-to-impossible divorce to a stage where it was very difficult but possible for the wealthy and connected. See Holcombe.
[112] The *pas de deux* of battery of the violent, drunken Irish stereotype, like that of "coon humor," depicts the racist strain of American stereography in its full, unflattering light. More research is needed on ethnic stereotypes and how they affirm the social order by assumptions of the ethnic other's indestructible heartiness, high temper, or native ignorance.
[113] John Maddison Morton, *The Wedding Breakfast* (London and New York: Samuel French, 1843).
[114] Henry J. Byron, *How to Tame Your Mother-in-Law* (London: A. D. Ames, 1864).
[115] J. V. Prichard, *My Mother-in-Law, or, A Divorce Wanted* (New York: Samuel French, 1876).
[116] "Bricktop," *My Wife's Mother*, illus. Thomas Worth (New York: Frank Tousey, 1881).
[117] www.musicwebb.UK.net.
[118] F. G. Weller, 1875, *Mother-in-Law Making Things Warm About the House*, collection of the American Antiquarian Society. Melander and Brother, *Mother-in-Law Adjusting Family Difficulties*. Treadwell, *The Genre Stereoviews of Melander and Brother*.
[119] This mother-in-law type is never an individual but an inversion or negative of the mothering role. She does not serve the husband's interests but requires of him in terms of duty and monetary needs in days before Medicare and Social Security. In her comic extremity, she is a nightmare sprung from responsibility without reciprocity, transforming the male into the "giver," feminizing, or controlling him for women's interests. The mother-in-law type functioned as a medusa-caricature—not to be looked at directly as a person, for she is a representative of his dual masculine-feminine nature and can "freeze" him with fear. For the dual gendering of the medusa, see Laurie Schneider-Adams, "Ms. Medusa: Transformations of a Bisexual Image," *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, no 9 (1976): 105-152.
[120] Coventry Patmore, *The Angel of the House*, vol. 2, fasc. ed. (London: Haggerston Press, Boston College, 1998).
[121] " A humorist is a moralist disguised as a scientist, something like an anatomist who practices dissection with the sole object of filling us with disgust; so that humour, in the restricted sense in which we are here regarding the word, is really a transposition from the moral to the scientific." Bergson, 128.
[122] Baym, *Woman's Fiction*, 26-27.

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Chapter Seven

"Side Dishes": Sexy Views Come Home

Sexual interest outside of the boundaries of courtship and marriage, what I term for the purposes of this study the "erotic," would seem at face value to be a topic that most belies a thesis of a female market and thematic orientation. After all, the popularized erotic in the nineteenth century functioned in part as do such modes today—the female body, or some aspect of it, is delivered up for specular and voyeuristic pleasure, satisfying or piquing the sexual interest presumably of men. This is often conceived in main stream contemporary thinking as a one-way street of female display and male consumption. We do find much specularization of the female body in nineteenth-century stereoviews, yet it is not necessarily "one way"; that is, a number of other dynamics occurred simultaneously as the female body was delivered up for enjoyment. At times, it was not the female but the male body that was specularized. Projections and fetishes also occurred, alluring, deflecting, and blocking the gaze from the female body. Most significantly, these beautiful bodies—female and male—were situated within the environmentalizing context of the narrative. Story lines weave a complication of interest around the displayed body, and the genders of looking and being looked at are not at all simple or clear.

The story environment structures and controls the eroticism of the nineteenth-century, narrative stereograph and often pluralizes the message, offering contradictions and bi-gendered dynamics. The stories allow patriarchal erotic expression within boundaries that make it socially acceptable to women and minors within the context of the family. Some examples under cut, block, or split visual access, with codings that work against a

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unilateral reading. A sexual or erotic impulse may be a-social or anti-social at the core, but the stereographic type remoulds its essential aggression to situations and forms that comply, at least partially, to the domus-centered culture. It is a curious collusion, then, that we find in the majority of American erotic, narrative stereographs. By running a text of female culture alongside impulses that may not have essential reverence for such, a compromise is achieved, and, thereby, eroticism can find its license, by no means exclusively for men, while the structured values of home and family may be maintained for men and women alike.

Much contemporary critical discourse on the erotic is unfortunately of limited applicability to the nineteenth-century view—not incorrect, just incomplete. The broadest boulevard of criticism reads pleasure in the sight of the female body as the sexual objectification of women, a sadistic exercise of patriarchy that makes voyeuristic delight the property of the male gaze. It is not my aim to argue against this, for it has its truth. My thesis, far from being so unitary, aims to look at the other dynamics courting the scene, to take on one level the specular use of the female body as a *given* for patriarchy, and then to move into the visual pathways that play with and against these views, at times confrontationally, at others more covertly.

One of the foundations for the critical literature on the specularization of women, written thirty years ago in the field of film theory, has become a template for erotic visual analysis. Laura Mulvey's ground-breaking essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,"[1] advanced a theory regarding scopophilia (love of looking) for cinema history.[2] It is to this essay that most theories in visual media pay homage or react. Her three categorizations for visual sexual interest in film are as follows: 1) the investigative look upon the woman's body, a penetrating gaze centering upon her concealed regions and/or lack (of a penis, or her sexual difference); 2) a punitive or saving action toward the guilty male for looking; 3) a fetishistic impulse toward making the female beautiful and/or sexually alluring. Many

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American stereographs respond to these criteria, but we also have to add other dynamics. The investigative look upon the male body occurs, and the investigative look upon the male's gaze—a hyper-specularization as it were—have their types. Most fundamental is the punitive or saving action toward the guilty man who looks or falls "astray." Mulvey, looking at cinema particularly of the 1950s, provided no example of the punished or the specularized male, nor of the one made comic for looking.[3] Her essay offers the female as the specularized object and the scapegoat for punishment but nothing more.

Eroticism's most frequent method in American stereographs is what Mulvey avoids discussing—an exercising of forbidden visual pleasure within a narrative that, in conclusion, "puts out the eyes." That is, the scopophilia is blinded by an expulsion of the sexual interest or the sexual aggressor. The male gazes at the desirable female, and, incorporated in the image or its sequence, is his "spanking" for visual aggression or violation. We have seen a similar dynamic in several stereographic types—the "kiss and punish" courtship view, the drunken man type, the spying little brother type. It is a staple of Victorian culture that we have both the expression of the "immoral" impulse and the reinstatement of the correct, social code renouncing such pleasure as does not conform to its dictates. The villains of melodrama are yet another example of the enjoyment of violations within a superstructure that ensures a safe ending. We can characterize this for eroticism as the visual expression of the castration complex, with the home and the wife functioning as the threat to sexual possession.[4] A dualism emerges in the expression of masculine/patriarchal sexual interest and the reinstatement of the control as expressed in wife-home-society. The female sign-world functions alternatively and oppositionally in these patriarchal structures, providing instigators who permit the primitive, erotic interest, and then supplying the punitive and regulatory super-ego that demands adherence to the law. The conception of femininity in this structure is at both ends of the pendulum, offering license and control, and the male character oscillates between both poles. Though he is

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active, seldom is he independent, for both in pursuit of sexual interest and in its refusal are the terms relayed by structuring that serves the interests of patriarchy but is realized in the bodies, terms and culture of women.

Even in view types that are investigatively penetrating or fetishistic, we often see in American works a deflection of the female body onto an article of her culture, such as undergarments. On one level, this is fetishistic projection.[5] On another level, there is a converse of female interests, a look that is coded between women, for the language of undergarments forms a world of women's knowledge, participation, and codings that speak from one female body to another. Lingerie, a development of the nineteenth century, is a language each woman speaks to herself and, through participation, to the culture of femininity. It is a narcissistic conversation that only secondarily, and perhaps unimportantly, responds to men, often absenting real men in favor of the abstract idea of masculine interest, realized through female and narcissistic eroticism. In these penetrative instances, it is not at all clear that the gaze is exclusively masculine, and, if we put aside theories that all desire must needs be "phallic," there is evidence to show that women did their share of erotic looking at other women.[6]

A third dynamic occurs in American erotic views, that of the "dirty joke." Freud has given us insight into its basic structure—the dirt, or sexual gist, of the joke is aimed to disarm female resistance, to penetrate to her unwilling body via wit. While we see examples of this in stereography, it is frequently yoked to other, complementary dynamics. When the male is exposed, he becomes the object of the dirty joke and consequently the bearer of sadism and pain, as his body cannot bear sexual objectification.[7] Yet, prolific types were published in which his body *did* bear it, though with embarrassment counterbalancing pleasure at the sight. Other types mix guardedness and/or sadism towards men, women's sexual aggression, and bisexual codings with the penetrative look.

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It bears repeating that I am not arguing for an absence of patriarchal sexual interest in any of these views. My more subtle aim is to read the contexts for complications of interest, to discard monolithic, unilateral theories of objectification, and to expose the doubling of codes whereby women's control, aggression, self-projection, and pursuit of sexual pleasure appears. Constructing a sex-specific market for these views is still speculative, as seldom did men or women jump up to let such interests as these be counted. I have, though, found four examples of women as patrons of erotic views. Of these, three inscribed their names on card backs. I have found no such inscription from a man on verso of an erotic view. The evidence of women as collectors for this genre challenges somewhat the general assumption that men comprised the market for erotic views. For the more narrative examples, evidence points to the conclusion that women and men, as couples, or acting in the family interest, purchased erotic views, especially the transgression cum punishment types. The narrative context for many of the nineteenth-century erotic views orients toward female interests, with the values of home multiply coded, and the placement of these views as articles for home use provides a governing structure. As there is no real nudity in American views of the nineteenth century, primarily just stockinged ankles, cleavage, undergarments, and suggestiveness, all very mild by today's standards, the views would not have been met with strong censure, even at the time. As a point of fact, nudity is for the most part borne by men. The static image of the fetishized body, or one open for visual penetration, is not as frequent in American views as it is in European ones.[8] In the U. S., narrative usually contextualizes the erotic, and its transgression is normalized, its types conforming just as thoroughly as other topics, making for a "transgression" that is coded and ritualized. The predictability of this play-acted transgression is inclusive of women's concerns, as the plots of romance novels, safe in their prescribed conclusions, offer to the women who read them the variance of detail within the comfort of ritual.[9]

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One of the more ritual codings for sexual availability was found in the servant view type. The bourgeois home was not considered complete without at least one servant, but this cultural concept was far more an aspiration than a reality. Only twenty-five percent of American homes had one live-in servant in the years of this study, usually a maid-of-all-work.[10] The true middle class simply did not have the means for even one employee, and the reality of home life was that of endless chores, often the task of girls and women.[11] The servant view was therefore a fantasy for most, as was that of the lavish wedding view, and its eroticism combined with aspirations for a life of leisure, pleasure, and enjoyment.

Having a servant was a sign not only of material status but also of sexual power and access. The servant signified a "right of way," becoming a vehicle for the twin aggressive impulses of greed and eros of the employer class. Objects of comic derision or sexual availability, she/he was a code, and the servant's seduction exhibited the aberrant impulses of fiction and normalized them according to the stricture and eventual dominance of the domicile. Because of this dominance, the fictive eroticism seldom gets very far. Anxiety, manifested either in the suggestion or presence of usually the wife, gives the day to frustration, or, in Freudian terms, the castration complex.

This brings us to the third symbolic meaning of the servant—fear. She/he represented a breach in the family, an outsider with values not necessarily in conformity with the cohesion of the domestic unit. Servants were needed for fantasy fulfillment, but they were dangerous, representing alternatives of *perceived,* increased sexuality, comedic misinterpretations, selfish interests, and other cultural differences in Victorian times prejudicially associated with lower-class or ethnic persons. Representing both allure and trouble, the servant was a mixed blessing, and, for the vast majority peering into these views, she/he was a source of endless fascination, a glimpse into a "promised land" full of danger and deliverance, and a lot less drudgery.

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As for that drudgery, servants spurred the fear that they may not be doing their job but, rather, seeking self-satisfaction at the expense of the employer. Here, again, economics mixed with eros, and, given the context of the sentimental narrative, humor came to play its part, as we can see in the convention of the British "Love Below the Stairs." *On Duty*, of the late 1850s (fig. 131), is a genre scene where the kitchen servant entertains a policeman at her employers' expense—even stooping to the shocking wastefulness of bringing out the wine! The term, "on duty," is clearly ironic for both. A comic type of the untrustworthy servant, a charming courtship view, and a romantic story (will she marry and escape servitude?), *On Duty* combines several genres. The view uses the servant code to indicate sexual availability and willingness, while the maid's suitor is the customary "in-service" man, an officer of the police or military, with whom female domestic help is often coupled. A staple type, love between servants occurred more in England than in America, providing slices of romantic and eroticized fiction, which were imported to and pirated extensively across the Atlantic. A companion to this type is that of the mistress or master of the house interrupting the servants' repast with ire or blows.[12]

Keystone's *Breaking Dishes as Well as Hearts*, 1901 (fig. 132), is a "love below the stairs" type over forty years later, which, typical of American attitudes, democratically blurs the boundaries between classes. The humble and mundane interior could be anyone's home, and the young lady anyone's daughter going about chores. Only the detail of the maid's cap distinguishes her as a servant, and only that of the basket distinguishes the boy as a deliverer of groceries. The not-unwelcome attentions of the delivery man is also a type seen at this time. Here, the crash of dishes, gorgeously suspended in space, and the woman's eyes up-turned in rapture, provide a moment of dramatic tension.

The "love below the stairs" type did not always occur below stairs but in parlor spaces, as well, indicating another class blurring aspect to the genre. C. L. Wasson/ International Stereograph Company's *Marie, Whose Hat Is This?*, 1901 (fig. 133), uses one of

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the oldest theatrical tropes--the man under the table seen by the audience but unseen by a character. British stereographers used this slapstick device, both with the suitor successfully hidden—and found out. I have a title, *Awkward Interruption*, in which the mistress of the house is pulling a soldier out from under the kitchen table, much to the consternation of a maid. The Wasson view, set in a bourgeois parlor, with a maid and her feather duster cast upon the floor, sets off the angles of a corner against orthogonal-forming lines of furniture. Fully volumetric, the view is also suggestive—will she be "cornered" with her lover? Speaking the personal narrative inquiry of the title, the master of the house holds two hats—his own, and an unknown one a bit crushed as though he had just sat on it. They are of the same style, and the dress cuffs on the hidden lover are of high quality and similar status to the master of the house, indicating that a masher may lurk there, or a younger son of the house. In this manner the volumetric environment with its codes invites viewer fantasy.

In Victorian England, the kissing of servant girls was presumed common, and there are a number of examples from theatrical literature and fiction of the sexual availability of servants to the sons of the home.[13] In theatre, as in stereoviews, this was typically a comic matter, which made light fare of real social inequities and the potential problems for those working in another's house. In *Going It: Another Lesson to Fathers*, an 1885 farce by popular playwright, James Maddison Morton, a son returns home from school and resumes his unremonstrative activity of kissing the servant girls and chasing them about.[14] A British view depicts the punishment occurred for such indiscretions. *Domestic Difficulties* (fig. 134) was inscribed on verso by Rena A. Brown, whom I presume to have owned the view. The wife pulls the maid's hair, forces her to kneel and thrusts the letter/divorce papers indicting her husband of infidelity in his face. It has the typical frozen, dramatic pose we might find in the theatre, at the end of an act or a tableau.

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It is perhaps not coincidental that during this period the average prostitute registered herself as a "domestic servant," while the second largest occupation category in the part-time prostitute group was "laundress."[15] French erotic stereographs made significant use of the latter coding, but American erotic views tended not to employ it.[16] On the contrary, the coding of laundry took a far different form in the U.S., as it became a staple of the New Woman type, with the husband chained rather unerotically to the washtub. One British view presents a similarly non-erotic conclusion to the concept of the available servant. In *More Free Than Welcome*, (fig. 135) from the late 1850s, a servant has just returned with her new baby, much to the disgust of her employer.[17] Her valise is ready, a picture of a mounted rider hangs on the wall, and the viewer might infer that the gentleman is the father of the maid and baby sent "packing."

I have never seen any view of the "consequences" to affairs with servants in American stereographs, though there were affairs and would-be affairs aplenty. An early example is an unidentified American view from the 1870s, *The Jealous Wife*, that depicts a wife walking in as her husband is kissing a servant.[18] By the turn of the century, the lexical sign "French" had come to mean sexual availability.[19] "French" as applied to the servant view made for one of the most common types, a staple, in the terms of one company, that was "instantly saleable to all."[20] The French Cook—occasionally she was a maid—was available from nine different publishers and usually concluded a salesman's canvass.[21] Immensely popular, this cinema-like series made infidelity, or its suggestion, big business, and its appeal broadly included both sexes, with national and international markets.[22] A classic story of "fooling around," the French Cook ran in a nine to twelve card series, which began with the introduction of a pretty, stylish servant to the *haute bourgeois*, American kitchen. In the William Rau version, her skirts are short, and her smile as broad as the ruffles at her sleeves and bodice. She is soon discovered by the man of the house, Mr. Turtledove, and shortly thereupon, she abandons her pastry dough for his embraces. At the

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sound of his wife, Mr. Turtledove turns away, only to find his escapade is soon discovered, for the cook's imprint of floured hands tell the tale upon his back—(#5) *"Sh! Sh! I Hear My Wife Coming"* (fig. 136) This series, published by the Universal View Company in 1902, conforms to the series type as issued, with variations, by the other publishers. In the personal narrative style, Rau's views use spoken dialogue as titles for eight of the twelve views, such as the next scene, #6, *"Heavens! What Does She Mean,"* where the wife confronts her husband for an explanation of the hand prints. The actors are fully frontalized towards the viewer, and the Cook's gaze is directly upon us for three of the first four views, even as she is embraced by Mr. Turtledove. Two of the titles that are not spoken dialogue function as did scene change cards in early cinema, announcing the subject—(#1) *Mr. and Mrs. Turtledove's New French Cook* and (#12) *Mr. and Mrs. Turtledove's Next French Cook* (fig. 137). The next French Cook, a man in drag, his hands ridiculously stuck with dough in a dirty, unkempt kitchen, is the result of Mr. Turtledove's "getting himself out of difficulty" with his wife, upon whom he renews attention after her discovery. Other publishers substituted an African-American woman as the new "wench" cook.[23] In all the versions, the next servant is made to seem ugly and ridiculous.

In these series, the hand prints are lexical signs of unpermitted erotic interest, literally branding the aggressor, the late Victorian equivalent of the scarlet "A." By the 1890s, it is the male who wears the sign, planted by the female sexual object, and removed by another, the wife, who as savior of the male and representative of matrimony, controls his impulses. Most importantly, the effect is comic, not tragic—another mode of Victorian table-turning and its nervous relief of laughter. Mr. Turtledove is not the punitive authority of patriarchy we see in the *Scarlet Letter*[24] but, in contrast, the one volleyed between two strong, feminine forces that serve male interests but on their own terms. According to Susan Rothman, the perceptions of the genders after 1880 "magnified male impulsiveness and female self-control. Women depended on male aggressiveness to provide

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them with material security and status, but they had to guard against and control it at home."[25] Marriage views, as we have seen, are far more punitive and controlling than erotic, so that it is safe to say that for stereo, the sexual is most often coded as the out-of-bounds--either a matter of courtship or extra-marital affairs. The floured hands of the French Cook brand Turtledove with his illicit attentions, as pregnancy once did for Hester Prynne and other women who bore the consequences of unpermitted sexuality. The bearer of forces he does not control, and the wearer of their signs, Turtledove represents a reversal in the gender signifying sexual consequence. Though he appears to be active, he is spun in farcical style, this way and that, at no time deriving much satisfaction or control. Even the French Cook spends more time directing her glances to the complicit viewer than to him.

The female version of Turtledove occurs with a 1905 view by C. H. Graves, in which a maid, with her back to the viewer, is questioned by her mistress, with both question and reply forming the title: *Jennie, has the furnace man been here yet? Yes Ma'am I think about five minutes ago.* The black hand prints on the back of maid's shirt waist tell the tale.[26] Infidelity themes, as a rule, are generally played with a gentleman of the house and female servant characters. Though not so numerous, examples do occur of the transgressions of the lady of the house—usually with a man from outside the domicile, rather than a servant—as we have seen in the "Fresh View Agent" type and *Grounds for Divorce.*[27]

Infidelity received cultural emphasis at the same time that marriage views did, with the coming of the personal narrative style beginning in the late 'eighties. We can, in fact, view the two topics as sides of the same issue. That is, marriage made infidelity possible, and vice versa. Keeping infidelity intact as a cultural practice can be seen as a construction preserving the high valuation of the Victorian home's cult of morality and sincerity. By excluding from itself all that may not be understood as of the highest moral standard and relational responsiveness, and, by placing this outside the family proper, without abolishing it (even going so far as to house it), the ideology of hearth and home

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annexed sexual interest to infidelity and simultaneously laid hold on it in order to achieve regulation. The difference between the American views of the 1890s and those of earlier times lay in the repeated imaging of infidelity, or illicit attraction, within the domestic structure. The "side dish" was laid upon the table, rather than kept away from the family, and everybody enjoyed their "portion" of what formerly had been silently preserved outside the home. As the culture became more sexualized from marketers and advertising, so, too, did the commercial and the family merge, and sexuality, or at very least the sexy, came into the fold, like another purchased commodity.

Nina Baym has located a shift in the golden age of the 1890s from the home as the center of social relations to a conception of the home as an escape from the world, a retreat marked by restraint and constraint.[28] The home became less tenable as a social unit, with middle class values in strain.[29] In order to stimulate and release erotic impulses, the constellations of types and ideas around the home devolved into escapist romance.[30] The sentimental ideal that structured the codes at mid-century became strained, and the types devolved into ironic or sarcastic humor by the 1890s. We can read the signs of strain in the extreme expressions of the actors and the personal narrative style that employs dialogue for titles, as well as in a stiffening of codes, and mocking tones. For infidelity views, sexual attraction becomes openly imaged but only in the form of a threat, a salesman or servant, and, though still excluded from the party, the jilted spouse has the advantage of entering the scene with a thrashing for the offenders.

A common assumption in this structure is to paint the wife as a seductress prior to marriage and as a sexless and controlling super-ego to the id-like male afterward. This would be a gross over-simplification. The role of the actively sexual usually belongs to the male, but the role of woman is more complicated. She is the seductress, more often before marriage, but at times afterward, as well (figs. 99, 100). She is also the punisher, whether maid or matron, and, in some instances, she is also the instigator. She is the often the object

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of specular delight, but she alternates complicity with refusal, seduction with mockery, and pleasure with battery. In comic fashion, the male is tossed about. There is little question in most of the narratives as to who is ultimately in control.

A common variation on the sexualized servant is the female employee. The term "working girl" as a synonym for prostitute followed not long after that of "domestic servant" for the same. Each year, increasing numbers of women were working outside the home—by 1890, 20.6 percent of the female population.[31] Though ever greater numbers of women were also seeking and attaining higher education, the management or intellectual worker was not the focus of narrative stereographs. The focus was rather upon the "typewriter" (typist) or stenographer, who provided the office counterpart to the French Cook. The typewriter was a machine that came into wide-spread use in offices in this decade and its novelty, like that of the telephone and automobile, sparked comic interest.[32] In a five-view series by Underwood and Underwood, from 1899, we encounter the typewriter (typist) and her overly friendly employer. One-word abstract nouns serve as titles and strike the humorous tone. *Salutation* and *Flirtation* introduce the pair and set the scene. *Sensation* (fig. 138) is followed by *Revelation*, which shows the entry of the shocked missus, and *Tribulation* (fig. 139) concludes the drama with the reinstatement of the control of the wife and home and the punishment of the attractive typewriter. The narrative view of the typewriter flirtation always concluded with such a reinstatement of the values of home and matrimony via punishment of the husband and his "typewriter." C. L. Wasson/International View Company's series of 1905 copied the idea of titling with abstract nouns and further loaded the symbols. *Presentation*, *Dictation*, *Infatuation*, etc., are concluded with *Carrie Nation*, wherein the wife, discovering the pair, grabs a hatchet from its place as wall décor (underneath a sculpture of an Indian chief surrounded by arrowheads), and with it she humorously fulfills the murderess namesake of the title.[33] A picture of a lone wolf decorates the wall, while the sign on the office door reads "J.

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Gayboy/Bonds." A hallway sign behind it reads "C. Legalight/Divorces." Sterro's typewriter series around the same date concludes similarly--*For Mrs. Jones Threatens Divorce.*[34] Divorce law was continually revised throughout the century, and, though the practice was still uncommon in the 1890s, divorces filed by women were occurring more among the wealthy, as women's rights to property became more secure.[35]

While it is easy to surmise the appeal to men of imaging the office flirtation, the appeal to women was also evident. According to Lois Banner, an extremely popular romance of the time was "The Cinderella Myth," in which a working woman, chorus girl, or similarly needy female was emancipated from her desperation by the love of a boss or powerful man. Such mythology filled the novels, popular literature, Sunday Supplements, newspaper stories, and cheap yellow-backed romances that catered to women readers.[36] The swept-away fantasy was/is a palliative for the harsh realities of work places and the gendered boundaries that limit women to support-staff positions. We should also not discount the sexiness of the extra-marital aspect for women of the time. It was assumed at the time that women were less passionate, essentially asexual, and therefore they assumed a higher moral and spiritual position than men.[37] More accurately, the female personality was seen as bifurcated into two antipodal characters, sexual allure and anti-sexual, superior moral power, and by identifying alternately with both, women could eat their cake and have it, too. The moral superiority of promoting asexuality granted women a distinct advantage over men and allowed them a larger voice in controlling home and family based upon this spiritual, anti-corporeal position. By employing the right amount of allure, women could hopefully also keep male interest home-bound. Thus, women could conceive of directing the man by alternating dissociated aspects of femininity—the id-female of sexual allure and the super-ego, regulatory one of the home. The wife, of course, ultimately wins, as home was the kernel of, for many, no less than national security and the health of the race. The erotic servant view, then, was a form of vicarious sexual arousal—allowable within limits

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for the gratification of both spouses--that entertained by titillation but was ultimately frustrated by the "correct" side and therefore did not have to be sheltered from the children. By the late 'nineties, the type was thought innocent enough to have a variation in the genre of childhood views—Kilburn/Davis' *Flirting with His Typewriter*, 1897, where a little boy and girl play-act the roles of the office daliance.[38] The tremendously popular office flirtation view couched eroticism in a package of harmlessness and eventual frustration, thereby maintaining the boundaries of a home safe from threat, though well-entertained by it.

One instance of the home placement of erotic office imagery came to me through my family. In 1910, my Great-Grandmother, Eliza Smith, purchased a pair of postcards and sent one of the color-lithographed, gold-edged cards to her son, Charley, my grandfather, with a hand-written note. These were the early years of the postcard boom, and Eliza was not only sending an explicit and implicit message to her son, she was being trendy. Eliza enjoyed up-to-date things but could not be characterized as liberal. I speculate the appeal of the postcards for her were that they told a good and familiar story in eye-catching color, and were a novel way to correspond. L. R. Conwell's *Found—The Right Kind of Employer*, 1909 (fig. 140), would strike an appropriate message for Charley, a young man of nineteen, visiting in a different state, and probably unemployed. Upon returning home, Charley found the sequential Conwell image, *Closing Time* (fig. 141), not yet written upon. The sequential image of the employer making love to his typewriter, under the observation of his wife, who has her umbrella raised and ready to strike, appealed to Charley. He attempted to send the postcard to his double first-cousin, Eustena, but, as he never advanced very far in school, it took him three attempts to write one sentence, and the spelling and penmanship were botched. The postcard was never mailed, and it along with its companion have remained in good condition as keepsakes. My grandmother mounted these along with other postcards of religious and sentimental themes in a large frame that

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dominated her living room. An image of an employer beginning an office affair blended seamlessly with pictures of animals got up in human activities and sacred themes. By 1910, kissing the boss was an image that had gained acceptance; in recent memory, it scarcely achieved notice.

A more unusual infidelity view sequence features transgression by the lady of the house and her masculine-dressed paramour, the traveling tutor. We have already seen the unfaithful wife theme in a few examples, wherein the salesman, or a man from outside the domicile, is the agent for illicit romance. In a 1897 three-view series, Kilburn/Davis introduces a "Professor," which was an appellation used by magic lantern entertainers who gave travel and topical shows in vaudeville.[39] "Professor" was also the self-bestowed title of traveling quack physicians and side-show performers. Thus, "Professor" is a sign of sham erudition, a coded joke. In *Darling Thou Art Divine,* the view is set in a well-appointed bourgeois home, and the "Professor" takes the pupil upon his lap and addresses her in stilted, Elizabethan English. This is followed by *The Prof. Gives a Lesson on Kissing* (fig. 143), and, finally, *The Prof. Not Appreciated* (fig. 144), in which the paterfamilias yielding a rolling pin sends the professor on his way, while the lady's husband embraces her, and she gazes anxiously at him.

Several qualities make this an unusual series. First, I can think of no other view where a "Professor" represents the intrusion upon the home. This action is generally that of the salesman. More significantly, this "Professor" is a cross-dressed woman, with an ample, feminine figure. Third, the father in the last view yields a rolling pin, an article invariably associated with women, while a mass-produced embroidery pattern on the wall reads, "What is Home without a Mother?" The last view is set in a squalid kitchen, with stove, wash tub, and walls plaster-less in patches. It stands in sharp contrast to the bourgeois setting of the first two views and the piano, carpeting, upholstered davenport, framed pictures and parlor bric-a-brac. The husband who reclaims the young lady is

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dressed as a worker, and in the last view she, too, is aproned and plainly dressed, a far cry from the white, leg-of-mutton-sleeved, frilly gown in which she first appeared. The triumphant home is no place of erotic escape but a room where work is demanded.

We have, then, the code for the family hoodwinked by the outside values of the salesman or con-artist—modern sales techniques, high pressure markets, city-values, slick advertising, status-seeking, and boundary-breaking, especially that of sexual bounds. By the last decade of the century, "sex" was a product increasingly marketed through direct and indirect sell.[40] The traditional values of the home could be far less alluring than the packaged sexuality of the market place. The Professor series may be interpreted in this light as a comical fall from grace, similar to the "Fresh View Agent" types (figs. 55, 56). It also fits the codes of kissing-the-servant views, if we think of the imposing male as representative of a service profession, bringing alien values and extra-marital availability to tempt family members. The rescue of the cohesive family, pictured as we have seen in view after view, regains virtue for the threatened home, as the wife (or husband) violently expells the object of desire. The female actress cross-dressed, however, is peculiar, as is the father's role, usually reserved for the wife, of the punishing spouse. Here, the male members of the family assume the wifely duty. In no other view, either, have I seen two females as transgressors into extra-marital sexuality.[41] Given the large number of views Kilburn/Davis produced with male actors, I think that placing a crossed-dressed female as the "male" sexual aggressor could only have been a deliberate choice. The character was meant to be read doubly—female and male, or bisexual. Strong relationships between women were an important aspect of nineteenth-century socialization, and the bonds of friendship were frequently maintained for a lifetime. A culture of support and relational feminine structure evolved from the separate sphere of women's experience, a culture that has been the focus of critical study from historians and literary critics.[42] What occurs in the Kilburn Professor series is a meeting of these several codes—the clash of modern

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commercial values and those of the home; erotic titillation in a safe framework of incitement and farcical punishment; *and* a view that subtly caters to a view of women as doubly sexed and supportive of each other. By dressing the lesbian love-making in the costume of the male con-artist deceiving the innocent young wife, Kilburn/Davis could covertly address the viewers who desired a demonstration of lesbianism and/or women's culture, which could have had an appeal to men, as well. By labeling the "Professor," who instructs the young lady, as a fool and con-artist, the publishers could protect the values of the patriarchal home, while allowing it a temporary "in-service" holiday. While expelling the disguised lesbian culture from the home, the men in the series adopted roles reserved for *women*, as though the strength of the amorous bonds between the two women could feminize everyone within proximity. It was a coded homosexuality, then, that this view series offered, within a humorous, table-turning "home victorious" package.

Another variation on the servant type involves not infidelity but ethnicity—though to a different end than that of the sign "French." H. C. White's *God Forgive Ye, Jim O'Connor, for the Cruel Advantage Ye're Taken' A Me, and Me Helpless,* 1903 (fig. 144) delivers an ironic title as dialogue, in the personal narrative style, from a maid who seems more than willing to be kissed by a butler in ridiculous attire—old-fashioned knee-britches, hose, and embellished coat. Her dialect and his name indicate they are Irish servants, adding stock humor to the eroticism. The Irish had been the source of stereotyped humor in the U.S. since post-Revolutionary times, and we have already seen a few examples where an Irish character gave license through stereotype to an extra degree of exaggeration.[43] The economic reality behind this comic mistreatment lay in the fact that, by 1846, two-thirds of all servants in New York had emigrated from Ireland.[44] The ever bigger homes of the second half of the century combined with higher standards for cleanliness and possessions meant that more workers were needed, but the traditional Irish servant was being pulled away into industrial jobs, so that there was more demand on both sides—for workers and

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higher wages.[45] This created a tension between upper-class expectations and lower-class willingness. The Irish were inferior "others" to their Anglo-Saxon and upper class employers, yet as they spoke English and were acculturated to British manners, they were more desirable than servants from other ethnic groups. They represented in America the fear generated by reliance upon others, which, as the reliance upon women, spurred a satiric humor in response, palliating by the transposition of dependency to aggressive wit. The Irish servant, nicknamed "Biddy" or "Paddy," filled the press and catered to prejudice, while cartoons, burlesque and vaudeville had staples of their own.[46] A James A. Wales cartoon, "Our Servant Girls," 1880 (fig. 145), shows a rather apish-featured Irish servant holding the dinner hostage until the classical-featured mistress of the house meets her demand for respect. *"Me name is Bud, if you plaze an' whin you apollyjoize fur callin me BIDDY you'll get yer Dinner,"* she demands.[47] In the H. C. White view, the Irish, animal-like stereotype was interpreted as giving a greater degree of sexual willingness. She comically protests, though obviously eager, with a line that is cleverly disingenuous, and the sugar bowl lid she's carrying symbolically slips to the floor. If there is one saving grace to the ethnophobic Irish stereotypes, it may be the occasional acknowledgement given to Irish wit and self-deprecating humor. The quick retort and verbal assertion are often found alongside indignities.

Another stock Irish type, which appears to have originated in stereo, is "How Biddy Served the Tomatoes Undressed."[48] Here, the exposure of eroticism is reversed for a ludicrous effect. Biddy, the Irish servant, misinterprets what should be "undressed" and in nothing but her petticoat enters the dining room carrying a bowl of tomatoes or potatoes, much to the consternation and hilarity of the assembled party. Every major publisher carried a "Biddy scene," the earliest dating from 1891 (Littleton).[49] Two Keystone views present an alternate title of the lady of the house issuing a command, *Biddy, You May Serve the Tomatoes Undressed,* while the sequential scene carries the visual punch-line of undress,

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and *I'll Not Take Off Another Stitch If I Lose My Place* (fig. 146).[50] The rather ungraceful servant contrasts with the academic painting of willowy, nude nymphs on the easel behind her, while two mirrors re-double the space and add another shocked face in reflection. A few publishers issued variations on this title, "Biddy and the Rat/Mouse," in which we view exposed ankles and petticoats occasioned by the servant jumping on the furniture in order to avoid a rodent.[51]

The academic painting of female nudity and the misunderstanding of "Biddy," who tries to adapt to that household's preference for "undress," provide a humorous culture clash, at the expense of the stereotyped Irish. Another sort of clash deflecting the penetrating gaze into the ludicrous is found in an 1870s view type of the country gentleman confronting statuary of the female nude. Both F. G. Weller and Melander and Brother have their versions in which a hat-clutching, countrified gentleman in antiquated, colonial-style dress--knee-britches, vest, and long coat—is pulled away from the influence of a certain work of art by a Missus in attire equally out-of-date. Copying Weller's establishment of this genre in 1875, is an 1881 Melander view (fig. 147), *The Artist's Country Customers*, in which the artist/dealer, smartly dressed, is pointing out the virtue of a female bather statuette, while the county wife tries to pull her husband's gaze toward a painting of a peasant woman dressed as she.[52] The gentleman's frozen, guilty look of interest in the nude female is priceless. Also significant are the holes of his long coat that symbolically represent the gaps in his cultural knowledge, which the artist is politely endeavoring to fill. A clash of cultures is here represented to humorous effect—the European art culture with its neoclassical and antique sculpture, and the American, down-home farming culture not schooled in the separation of concepts like "nude" and "naked."[53] Farmers and Americans in general were becoming more prosperous, and universal education was in effect in most localities since the 1870s, but access to urban culture did not necessarily follow economics and literacy. The country couple might have had the means, but not the exposure nor the

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sophistication of city folk accustomed to nude paintings in hotel lobbies or bars, and certainly less to the art of museums.[54] My print of this view carries on verso an inscription in a florid, feminine hand: "To Will H. Munger." The speculation is tempting that this view was a woman's spirit-lifting present to Mr. Munger, possibly an artist living between such frustrating clashes in American culture.

The erotic narrative view frequently offered a titillating story rectified to moral codes or one where the penetrating gaze is deflected by a joke onto another sort of aggression than the sexual—that of the ethnic or ignorant fool. Plenty of views, however, do neither, and the "dirty joke" remains undisguisedly sexual. One of the most prevalent types of this voyeurism was the exposure of undergarments, which also had an appeal to the woman viewer and her culture. As for the male viewer, Freud has given us an introduction to the "dirty joke," and its mode of exposure, the point of which is to release unconscious drives in an act of imaginary sexual aggression. The jokes Freud discusses are all verbal and male-oriented; that is, they are a type of converse man-to-man that exposes the inflexible woman, while the person who laughs is laughing "as though he were the spectator of an act of sexual aggression."[55] Jokes are socially necessary to Freud in order to free the libido from the repression of civilization, which blocks the experience of pleasure and the seeking of satisfaction. The laughter that results discharges the blocked energy, making it unusable to its former cathexes, which represent things that cannot be accessed or expressed directly.[56] The individual is relieved of some discomfort and is thereby able to return to his role in the structure of civilization and live with its repressive forces.

This condensed summary of Freud's concept of the dirty joke does seem to fit many erotic stereographs—up to a point. There is a drive to expose the female, and Freud's explanation, bent on "submitting" women to a substitute for sexual aggression, seems to place the exposure absolutely at the service of patriarchy. Once repression is duly reinstated, the joker and his company are relieved from their pent-up frustration and can

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carry on business as usual. What is absent from Freud's analysis is the character of the dirty joke in the company of women. In no way does Freud consider that women may enjoy, rather than simply be passive objects of the dirty joke. If women laugh, in Freud's structure, we can surmise they are vicariously experiencing the aggression of men and boys. That women may make "dirty jokes," that they may laugh at them, at the expense of either sex, simply does not feature in Freud's picture. Freud does touch upon the joke as a rebellion against authority, an objection that may only be lodged in an insincere form against power, and though he does not state it directly, this may have relevance for women.[57] This is the very quality that has subsequently been examined respectively by Mary Douglas and Barry Sanders.

For Douglas, an anthropologist, all jokes—"dirty" or not–are subversive, an attack on control, and a tip in the balance of power. "Since its form consists of a victorious tilting of uncontrol against control, it is an image of the leveling of hierarchy, the triumph of intimacy over formality, of unofficial values over official ones."[58] The joke mirrors its own social group, and by showing that a dominant pattern of relations can be challenged by another set of values, the joke speaks for "individuals against the face of the social relations in which they are organised."[59] The joke thus attacks, but is regulated by the social consensus upon which it relies for recognition.[60] The joke, Douglas implies, is not revolutionary, for it is perceived as an "abomination" when it goes too far.[61] It is content with chipping away at puffed-up ideations and over-weaning pride. For Sanders, similarly, laughter "breaks down categories and permits an easy flow between ideas and objects."[62] It "opens up a crack in civilization...We can see—in a safe, contained way—how loosely civilization actually holds our lives."[63]

The erotic joke, at first glance, hardly seems a fertile ground for social commentary or a "safe challenge" to civilization. There is an undeniable aggression, and women are more often (though not always) the recipient of this in Victorian culture. For

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Freud, this meant that women are laughed-at but not the ones laughing. A counter to this has been already seen in the view *Ruth and Obediah (Shall We Sleep First—or How?)*, given by Mrs. Berry to Julia (figs. 44-45), which provides evidence that sometimes men were laughed at and women laughing. Another "dirty joke" collector was Carrie F. Wood, who inscribed her name on verso of an unidentified British view, *The Swing* (fig. 148). My rather crudely colored view functions as do innumerable other images of peeking underneath, or trip-and-fall scenes, from perhaps the most famous, Jean-Honoré Fragonard's painting, *The Swing*, to cheap stereoview gags of women being tripped by a rope.[64] What the attraction was to Miss Wood we can only surmise—was she nervously laughing "by proxy" at herself, or joining the visual aggression of men, or was she, too, interested in the underneath of another woman? It is significant, here, that we see an all-female company. The accident was a fall, we infer, not an aggressive trick, but the women are enjoying the peek underneath and the embarrassment immensely. To look at and simultaneously be looked at, both the object and the gaze seeking one, to narcissistically identify and to aggressively seek an expression of desire can collapse for women into a single view. I am proposing, here, a variant of the by-now standard theory of the surveyor and surveyed within a female look[65]--women can look at themselves *through* looking at other women, a collapsed process of narcissism and sexual objectification, the self at once projected onto another woman and appreciated in her presence as similar *and* other. Miss Wood is not here to speak for herself, so that we may only speculate as to the pleasure she had in this view. Nonetheless, her simple signature on the back of a view she owned and was not too embarrassed to claim as hers (scarce is the erotic view with inscription) does not fit tidily into theories that make no room for women's erotic gaze.

The Swing was a bit of titillation comfortable enough for the public and safe enough for the home. After looking at many hundreds of such images such as Miss Wood's, what has impressed me the most is not the body itself but, rather, how the view of it is

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consistently blocked in the nineteenth century by an intense occupation with undergarments. The psychoanalytic concept of the fetish as a substitution for the female body helps to explain this.[66] The fetish is an object that is fundamentally static, that resists the story and development.[67] It is a perfect and magic object, immutable, with a frozen meaning of over-valuation that disguises anxiety. The undergarment in the Victorian view partook of these aspects of disguise, deflection, and transition, but, perhaps more significantly, it provided an active field of communication that ran counter to the static immutability of the fetish. For the initiated, the undergarment articulated an identification with the woman as belonging to the class of the feminine, her allure projected onto articles associated with her body and its power to hold attention in a dance of display and exhibitionism. Underwear aggressively became outerwear. The patriarchal gaze was preserved (woman as object, the look as penetrating), but the substitute shifted attention away from that body and actual exposure, redirecting the scene onto an arena of feminine interests. Women knew how to "read" underwear, and the exposed garments told a story that many women would have read differently from men. For the heterosexual man, suggestiveness without satisfaction would hold his interest for a time, the petticoat, corset or crinoline merely a transition stage—a little less dressed but still dressed. Visual possession is effectively blocked, though the voyeurism remains in place. This makes the undergarment view a safe voyeurism—highly suggestive, but minimally revealing. The female viewer could alternatively read beyond the garments to the woman's body and/or enjoy the suggestion of power in that body and its accoutrements to hold attention and control, to block, project an unattainable status, or to identify with feminine roles.

The nineteenth century was the century in which underwear not only received an immense increase in attention but appeared to take on a grandeur wholly of its own. The eighteenth century was not as intensely invested, and, aside from form-fitted corsets and light petticoats, undergarments were generally not worn. Even the beloved corset was

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suppressed in the empire style of the early century.[68] By the mid-century, however, a complete reversal had taken place, and undergarments were more than a necessary foundation. They were articles of interest and exhibitions in themselves. What follows are a few salient points from this history of the nineteenth-century development of undergarments into visual statements.

The desired fullness of the petticoat helped to make for scenic breadth and had by mid-century developed into an orgiastic layering of six or seven different fabrics, with lace, flounce, and trim. The chemise (undershirt), petticoat, and, later in the century, the pantaloon, all received equal attention in terms of handiwork, materials, and labor. The chemise alone was a voluminous garment with a wide neckline, draw strings, wide sleeves, of very fine linen, hand-sewn, and impeccably neat, which took untold hours of female labor to complete.[69] It met even greater demands for complication with the advent of the sewing machine in the 1850s. By the time of the hoop skirt, the undergarments of a lady had made for an extravagansa of braiding, pleating, puffing, tucking and yards of material. These were by no means meant to be fully concealed.

The pantaloon or pantalette, drawers that reached to mid-calf and had lace edging, was meant to be glimpsed as a border, or semi-public area, just below the knee.[70] Also called knickers, this form of undergarment was always associated with public visibility, hence it remained controversial until the last decades of the century when it began to appear with more regularity and in many colors with lots of fancy work. Drawers were readily adopted only in the last decade of the century, though they were usually open at the crotch, unlike today's underwear. Part of the controversy lay in the forbidden notion of separating a woman's legs, which was deemed indecent by many.

The cage crinoline, a wire, bone, or steel structure of hoops and fastenings over which the dress rode in a full, bell shape, brought the undergarment industry to a new height of fetishization. In 1855, the whole world knew of Empress Eugenie's underwear,

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when she wore a cage crinoline to Windsor Palace and set the trend for the decade.[71] Even the poorest of the poor afforded or constructed their own crinolines. Though the crinoline seems a horrendous imposition on movement to us today, it was an improvement for the time, as women described the cage as deliciously light by comparison with previous methods for achieving full skirts.[72] The cage of wire or whale bone had dispensed with all petticoats but one, and the fashionable volume it created was hitherto unprecedented. As for the fetish of feet and ankles which it inspired, the cage crinoline had its own physics of rhythm and momentum. The crinoline moved with the wearer's every movement and often in contrary directions, so that shoes and lower legs were displayed, and, occasionally, the knees and upper legs in wider pendulum swings. In the terms of one contemporaneous wag, the crinoline, "enables us to see more of our friends than we used to."[73]

Undergarments were coming out, and "a lady's underclothing had become, as it were, an integral part of her personality."[74] Crinolines reached as wide as twelve and fifteen feet in 1856, while the high heels and slick soles of shoes made women unbalanced.[75] The girth of the skirts, the propensity for accidents, the inability to sit on chairs, fit in buses, and get through crowds or doorways, made an endless gift to the comics industry, whose responses could fill volumes.[76] British stereography, in particular, had a ready supply of crinoline views, such as *Crinoline Difficulties* (fig. 149). The space of the stereoview gives a full reading of the skirts, and often under-skirts, in otherwise fairly flat studio scenes. An extra bit of humor occurrs with the thought that the fall in *The Swing* may have resulted from the contact of crinoline and rope. Another trope was that of the omnibus upon which is hung rows of cage crinolines. The title, *Leave Yer Krinerline Outside,* is delivered by the driver to a full-skirted lady and invites erotic speculation as to how she will disengage herself from her underwear in public.[77] The visual "dirty jokes" of an amplitude of crinoline views can also be understood as belonging to the language of private garments that were,

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somewhat awkwardly, becoming public communication as they slipped between the unseen and display.

Crinolines were seen as symbols of female power, and many jokes evolved on their "cage" or imprisoning aspect, as in an untitled American pirate view from the British (fig. 150). In the 1860s, Gustave Rejlander photographed *The Dream*, a narrative scene with a young bachelor asleep next to a cage crinoline with little climbing figures (one at the top is falling in).[78] Other cartoons and views show crinolines in inventive employment hiding suitors and thieves.[79] Though crinolines were largely subject matter for British views and had grown out of fashion by the time of the flowering of American narrative view publishing in the 1870s, they still made their presence known in pirate views and, more significantly, in the concept of the undergarment as statement, display, and power.

A typical form of exposure that translated to American types was the glimpse of feminine ankles. While barely erotic by standards today, the ankle view was a significant sub-genre.[80] American view publishers came up with hundreds of pretexts for this popular seller of suggestiveness that could be enjoyed in the company of the family. Weller's *Just Before the Battle*, c. 1871, is one of the earlier views in what would later become a code, a scene sparked by a rodent (fig. 151). In the Weller view, we do not actually see the creature. His presence is implied by the title and the females standing on chairs and tables, along with the centrally positioned trap. A beautiful example of the naturalistic picturesque, *Just Before the Battle* has the stage set of an American classroom, while the teacher leans to lift the door on the mouse trap with her pointer. Her pupils are ready with their pointers to shoo the rodent into submissive entry. A sequential view, *After The Battle*, shows the smiling school mistress lifting the dead rat by a pointer for the inspection of her pupils.[81] The view is also a visual play on the expression, "caught the rat/s," which figures as an erotic trope of bedroom scenes with women, wherein "rat" is a sign for a hidden man.[82] Weller's *Just Before the Battle* can therefore function erotically, with exposed boots and legs

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and suggestion, and it can also do double duty as a genre scene of the school room or childhood. The variability of codes, sequential narrative, characteristically humble setting, and scene of women triumphing over adversity, make these views typically American and place their readings within the context of female experience.

A later ankle-view type was entitled *Don't Get Above Your Business*, here in Keystone's version of 1893, photographed by Ben Singley (fig. 152).[83] Using the pretext of a story for a lifting of female skirts, this type presents not a rodent but the request for the boot or shoemaker to fit a customer. The boot-maker view began in the 1870s with an example that I have found in a pirated version, probably from an American original.[84] The Singley view shows a woman with a forbidding countenance, a cobbler at his work, and a young man fitting a lady. The boot fitter may serve as the transgressor from whom the viewer takes a visual possession of the female calf. A wall poster illustrating a sequence of daring-do roles performed by the actor, Oliver Byron, represents the active male and his reward—possession of the lady.[85] The lady in this view, however, looks sullen and tense, and the only sensual pleasure are the white and graceful hands of the boot fitter frozen in their motion, a punctum of volumetric focus against the stockings' stripes. The beautiful hands seem to be about their business and not up to any impertinent purpose. The title frames the scene, in the personal narrative style, from the point of view of the young woman getting fitted, and, while the mildly penetrative gaze may satisfy patriarchal codings, the spoken title represents how a woman might respond in this situation. She maintains her boundaries under the threat of transgression, while the viewer gets to enjoy the glimpse of her calf and the suggestiveness it implies.

Dressing room erotica is also a common type, along with views of women climbing fences--exposing the ankles and a knee; or "undergoing repairs"--fixing a garter. Kilburn/Davis' *A Good Supporter*, 1897 (fig. 153), is one of this type that provides very little actual exposure of the body. The young lady in her petticoat, corset and chemise, adjusting

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the garter on her polka-dotted stocking has no more of her body exposed than bathers of the day in their sea-costumes at Coney Island.[86] The eroticism, as with the other views in this chapter, remains largely that of suggestiveness. Here, the line of sight has an upward implication, as the woman lifts her petticoat, while a complication of gazes enlivens the scene. The viewer gazes at the woman, who fixes her gaze upon the garter, as the Fragonard-inspired bust in the background cranes a gaze toward nether regions we are to imagine, and a statuette on the dresser gazes at itself and possibly at the woman behind it, thereby incorporating a narcissistic aspect.

The voyeuristic position of the viewer objectifies the woman, while her nearly complete dress of undergarments makes this depiction safe for inclusion in family life, though highly suggestive. *A Good Supporter* provides erotic fantasy material and also serves as a model for the cultural fetishization of undergarments.[87] Yet, it operates in another manner, as well. Speaking an "underground" language, these foundation-garment scenes operated a double business that signaled nudity without showing it. They also served to code a female culture that was on the surface compliant with patriarchy yet offered alternative forms of communication. The woman of the time could quickly read the style of corset under the chemise (the newer form of the late 1880s). She could also analyze to a degree perhaps lost to us today the workmanship on the petticoat, the quality of the stockings, the lace on the chemise, the pumps crosswise on the floor, and the leg-of-mutton style shirt waist on the bed board. This was a language of body fetishes available to her world, and it was known as were the communications of furnishings, carpeting, draperies, and room accessories. The scene is put into codings which are within the feminine sphere, a *lingua cognoscenti* of the meanings significant to her gendered stature. Lexical and visual symbols unite in the twinned symbolism of *stature*/statuette. With the statuette's mirror gaze at itself and at the young woman dressing, it associates narcissistic self-absorption and the feminine language that the culture of undergarments speaks privately to each woman as

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she positions her body and clothing to its meaning system. It signs a "mirror stage" that, while responsive to the demands of patriarchy by making of the female body a beautiful object, remains resistant to the law of the father with a socialized form of narcissism determined by female reflection and realm of meaning.[88] By deflecting the body actual onto the clothing fetish, the viewer can have an illusion of possessing the body, or what represents it through symbolization, but the interest is actually transferred to the garment, an object under feminine cultural control. By retaining the erotic suggestiveness but placing it within their symbolic language, women protect their interest while maintaining a face value of themselves as sexual objects. This reflected narcissism with its multiple plays—status (women's)/stature (feminine)/statue (the look)—metaphorically relates to the doubling and double-entendres of stereography, twinned from birth, its codings explicitly and implicitly plural.

An E. and H. T. Anthony view from 1873 puts the matter plainly. *Beware, Young Man, Beware!* (fig. 154) speaks strictly this feminine language. No person is seen in the still life of undergarments and accessories—a cage crinoline, corset, bustle, hair piece, stockings, boots, fan, purse, and other items. The woman herself is absented in favor of the signs of womanhood—a "rhetoric" of garments that work their powers over men. The corset, in fact, was often called a "beau catcher."[89] The woman is signed in absentia, her sexual prowess represented fetishistically in her equipment, granting a magical power to her possessions and skills to allure. The idea of a young man forever imprisoned by this power is a sharp contradiction within a culture that repeatedly emphasized women's weakness and subordination.

American views, as a generalization, tend to focus more heavily upon the undergarment as a blockage and/or separate language than do European views, which tend to use the garment to usher in the gaze. This is a subtle distinction, which, again, is a tendency, not a rule. A comparison of two corset views may be instructive. An unidentified

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French view shows a man unlacing a woman's corset, while she, in the mirror, smiles with complicity at the viewer (fig. 155). The corset does not upstage the eroticism but becomes its focus, securing the action and the man's concentration, which substitutes for our own. The gazes carry the main erotic dynamic. Through the mirror, the women volleys a frank, knowing smile, including the viewer, who voyeuristically becomes part of the scene and her treatment, a dynamic that calls to mind Edouard Manet's *Nana*, and *Before the Mirror*, of the following decade.[90]

By contrast, we have the comic deflation of the erotic corset, which though light-hearted can still provide erotic pleasure, especially in photographic media. The corset, or stays, were a fundamental to women's dress throughout the century, worth a million pounds of trade a year in Britain alone.[91] Despite a host of medical problems associated with it, as well as a mounting chorus of voices against its use, the tight laced corset never went out of fashion in the nineteenth century.[92] Linley Sambourne's *A Lyric à la Mode*, 1880 (fig. 156), spoofs the Pre-Raphaelite penchant for dressing women in an interpretation of Medieval, loose gowns. The Daniel Gabriel Rossetti maiden with hollow eyes, gaunt features and no waist line worships in a rapture of melancholy at the altar of feminine virtue—the hour-glass corset.[93] In stereoviews, the comic, corset-dressing scene was commonly entitled "Reducing the Surplus" or "Taking/Pulling in a Reef." In an example from Keystone, *Oh, You're a Peach*, 1899 (fig. 157), a woman is receiving assistance from her husband, who has planted his foot square on her back in order to pull her corset laces, bulging his biceps in the process. Both the woman's hour glass figure and his biceps are reflected in the mirror. He grimaces with strain, and she smiles over her shoulder at him, delivering the personal narrative title. Such extreme tight lacing was often desired by women, and it was not unheard of to have laces break, or for the lady to lie on the floor while an assistant stepped upon her back to tighten the corset.[94]

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Unlike the French view, the eroticism in *Oh, You're a Peach* is not strictly that of the specular, sexual objectification of the woman. The enjoyment of the husband's strain—his curled biceps (both are seen), arched back, grimace of pleasurable effort, planted foot and obvious strength—plays doubly. On one hand, his powerful exertion is a symbolic substitute for the male role in the sexual act, especially the foot in its contact at the small of the woman's back. On the other, his strength is specularly erotic in itself, and the view takes a delight in displaying his body. This eroticism is couched in the codes of the active male, a language for male display since the days of ancient Greece, but it is nonetheless voyeuristic, though it may have the pretext of athletic demonstration. Of note, as well, is the fact that the late 1880s through the 1890s saw the rise in gymnastic culture, with showman body-builders such as the famed Eugen Sandow, who displayed his powerful physique to paying audiences in America beginning in 1894.[95] Sandow's handle-bar mustache, fashionable at the time, is similar to that of the actor's in this Keystone view.

The helpful relationship between the husband and wife in *Oh, You're a Peach* conveys itself as strongly as the eroticism. Husbands must have countlessly been solicited in this manner by wives seeking a tight lacing. The view depicts a private moment that, however voyeuristic, also speaks for marital cooperation and trust. As such, it would have appealed to women's experience. It depicts an article of feminine *lingua* while demonstrating the companionate relationship sought after by women as they en-armored themselves with "beau-catchers." The view is as much anecdotal and sentimental as sexy.

The male counterpart to the corset view is that of the mustard plaster scene, which I have already presented in Chapter One (fig. 7). The mustard plaster peel was a type presented in at least six different versions by five publishers.[96] Both the mustard peel type and *Oh, You're a Peach* present the male body for visual enjoyment, making it available to erotic interest but clothing it in comedy and thereby "conserving" its dignity in however perverse or limited a manner. As the male body cannot traditionally bear the scopophilia,

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the pain, embarrassment, or ludicrous comedy has a "redemptive" effect.[97] The penetrating or voyeuristic gaze is typically gendered as aggressive/masculine, inducing not pleasure but pain (sometimes profoundly) when it meets the male body. C. H. Graves, *Stuck on Him*, 1898, is a mustard plaster view where the peeling fabric takes on the appearance of an instrument of torture with which the lady is flaying her husband.[98] Comedy deflects this dynamic, but it also disguises the enjoyment at the sight of another male, placed in the visual position of women, an object for the sexual gaze. The "pain" is a surface pose of comic acting, while the beauty of the male physique is the greater focus, which had an appeal to both sexes at the time. Sandow's performances makes evident the bi-sexual appeal of the muscular man, for he had immense popularity in both public vaudeville and limited exhibitions in the 'nineties, the latter of which involved hands-on appreciation of the star by men and women alike.[99] The mustard plaster view plays its own sort of variety theatre with the sexualized male body, within a domestic context that allows for the woman a gender-role reversal in the sadistic position *and* a traditional, sentimental role as nurse.

Rau/Griffith and Griffith's *Did You Ring, Sir?*, 1897 (fig. 158), works in a similar manner. The narrative uses the scenic pretext of an entry of a servant for exposing a man. The bath as a separate room was instituted in well-to-do American homes in the last decades of the century. Earlier, wash stands or portable tubs had been the norm for bathing.[100] In this view, the surprised gentleman is in for a painful shock, as the servant, unaccustomed to the etiquette of the bathroom, or simply ignorant of the man's undress, enters and penetrates his privacy. She represents our voyeuristic gaze, the sadism of which convulses to a laugh, and the resultant "dirty joke" becomes ironic in the context of getting clean. There are a few predecessors to this joke--first, a copyrighted British view from the 1860s depicting a man intruding upon a lady in the tub.[101] A woman intruding upon a man was employed in the same decade in a British farce--John Maddison Morton's *Sea Bathing at Home*.[102] For American views, I have seen only the intrusion of a woman upon a bathing

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man, beginning with the original view in two variants, entitled *Did You Ring, Sir?*, from Weller in 1875 (showing a portable tub).[103] Singley copied the idea in a close-up invention composition of his own in 1893, followed by Rau, Keystone in another version, and H. C. White.[104]

Another exposed male type is entitled *A Sad Predicament*, sometimes with an appended "He Wants to Go Home." Keystone's version of 1900 (fig. 159) shows the typical man bathing outdoors, who sadly finds that a group of lady picnickers are between him and his clothing. His white, stark body, reflected in the water, forms a prominent and emphatic nakedness in the foreground and is clearly not of the idealized nude tradition. Of all the American stereoviews in the period of my study, this type reveals the most skin, half the body, and the four publishers who issued this title show women as the voyeurs of the male form.[105] I have also found two cartoon precedents to this type, where the sadism inflicted upon the exposed man in an unexpected turn of events remains the point of the humor.[106] In the stereoview, however, the photographic tones of skin, with the added dimension to the body, emphasize delight in the man's physical form. Is such a view "erotic," or does it farcically puncture eroticism, or both? I suggest views such as this could function either way, that the farce may deflate the erotic spectacle a little, but the male body is still displayed, a sight/site of pleasure, partly "clothed" by the dirt of the joke. The narrative couches the scene, inducing viewer response, as the picnickers by the lake could at any second round the corner in our imagination, giving the pleasure of sadistically embarrassing the male, his naked body doubly given to view. And, indeed, the viewer becomes as a picnicker, positioned behind the male, the rear-flank of the gazes sandwiching him. In this manner, a homo- or bisexual male market could enjoy these "half-submerged" codes for the male body, as well.

The gender-reversed variant to the male bather was "The Boatman Somewhat Rattled," a title issued three times by Littleton with Underwood and Underwood in 1890,

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1891, and 1893, and once by Montgomery Ward in the 'nineties. The 1893 Littleton version (fig. 160) is typical in depicting a group of ladies in bathing attire overwhelming a digruntled, elderly boatman. The boatman represents an older culture of farmers and practical workers, while the young ladies who are "rocking the boat," are attired in the new bathing costume, which was just beginning to be culturally accepted and was still looked upon as controversial, ridiculous, and a little salacious. Prior to the 1890s, swimming meant skinny dipping and was practiced mostly by men, and bathing costumes were any adaptation of dress and were frequently met with social scorn.[107] By the 1890s, a culture of viewer and viewed had evolved at the beaches, and swimming for women was gradually being accepted as a sport, though the women's costumes were weighty and cumbersome when wet.[108] This new sport and its culture incorporated both the amusingly swim-suited, ogled by the crowd, and the swimmer as a sports woman, part of the modern woman's bid for health and fitness. The women in the Littleton view represent both trends—objects for specular delight, with their exposed stockings and fetching poses, and new sports women, aggressively seeking their fitness and pleasure, much to the consternation of old boatmen. The previous view, *A Sad Predicament,* responds to the older culture of naked swimming by men but is updated by a staging among ladies, sexualizing male sport by transforming its nature to that of exposure. In both cases, we see views that accommodate the growing presence of women in outdoor activities, as well as the notion that the female sex is an active agent, sports-wise and erotically, not caring much which boat was "rocked."

Comic, erotic views of men were a new staple, beginning tentatively in the 1870s and growing in momentum in the 1890s. Their very presence indicates a shift in gendered assumptions, in particular, that of the aggressive gaze as masculine. Women as voyeurs with men placed in a comically exposed position introduce an androgynous, or double gaze, the female eyes representing desire and access of women, while the pain of reducing someone, or stripping him/her of clothing's dignity, was still associated with male sexual

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aggression. More traditionally structured, the American comic view that exposes the female often incorporates punishment for the male voyeur, imparting a reading that women are not strictly passive objects but active participants in regulating what is acceptable in terms of male aggression.

"Curiosity Punished" is a view type that originated in Britain, the earliest example I have found being a two-view sequence from an unidentified publisher. In the first view (fig. 161), a male voyeur peeks past a door ajar, as a thinly draped woman closes it upon his neck. In the sequential view, the man is severely beaten for his violation of privacy by the women, though he has yet gotten into the room. Two American publishers, Strohmeyer and Wyman and an unidentified publisher, adopted the same title for this type of view.[109] More commonly, however, the type occurred in the variant of a man or men under the bed, a conceit which had a history. In Douglas Jerrold's *Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lectures*, the topic of the twenty-fourth lecture is a thief that Mrs. Caudle imagines under her bed while on vacation.[110] We also find the theme in a romantic *Harper's* story, "Looking Under the Bed," from 1866.[111]

Beginning in 1892, we see this concept in American stereoviews under the typical titles of "Looking for a Man," and "Caught the Rats." An 1899 two-view sequence by Kilburn/Davis begins with three young ladies in bed, one sitting up to exclaim, *Girls, I Heard a Man Sneeze.* The sequential view, *Say You're Sorry and We'll Let You Up* (fig. 162) shows the women pinning the offenders under their brooms. As with much Victorian eroticism, this view functions suggestively, rather than revealingly. The night clothing of the women would have been associated with undergarments, and the setting of three women sleeping together carried the presumption of sisters or close friends. These "sisters" occasion the erotic suggestion of lingerie and also of feminine culture, whether it be the bonding of female society, or more lesbian associations. They represent a society that the male spies under the bed are trying to penetrate through their eavesdropping or disruptive

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presence. As the men are thwarted and punished, the women reinforce the notion that such society as theirs will not be so easily broken.

The suggestion of molestation, here, would have carried less weight in the nineteenth century than today. Rather, the view would likely have been received more innocently—as a prank—than with overt sexuality, though the aspect of vicarious eroticism in spying and disturbance is undoubtedly present. Theodore Long has written of playing this very same prank on the girls in over night sleighing parties, and it is clear from his testimonial of life in the late nineteenth century that this was an unexpected sort of trick for young men to try on women in their courtship circle. The goal of Long and his buddies was to overturn the girls' mattress and bolt from the room without getting caught.[112] This type of trick is implied in the title, *Planning a Surprise*, 1899, a Kilburn/Davis view of two men peeking out from under a bed in which are sleeping three young women.[113] In American views, whether the male presence is implied to be a thief or pranksters (usually the latter), the violation of privacy is always met with a counter on the part of the women. The men are pinned down with brooms, fists, shoes, sat-upon, evicted through windows, dunked in water, etc. So, while the voyeurism corresponds to the male penetrative gaze, the conclusion, justice delivered, is in female hands, allowing the suggestive game within women's boundaries.

Women in stereoviews are not, however, completely without complicity. One view, by Ingersoll, depicts three women pelting a man with hairbrushes and shoes, with a title that belies their outrage—*A Man! At Last! A Man!* In a four view sequence by Underwood and Underwood, entitled "The Halloween Party," 1902, four women in lingerie, whose party is suggestive of collegiates, allow a peeking male to "get in the game" of bobbing for apples. The final view, *The Halloween Party—He Got In the Game* (fig. 163), is the conclusion. The women here, and in the views of this type in general, are shown as courting the intrusion of men and deriving an erotic charge from their trespass. Coquetry

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and flirtation were by the century's end typical courtship rituals, while the belief prevailed that women had to "catch" a husband by exertion.[114] The "punishment" presented in *The Halloween Party—He Got In the Game* is depicted as just another such courting game. It suggests that voyeurism and its dangers are just light-hearted matters and that women actively entertain such aggression—within bounds. Of note is that it is always a group of women against a group of men or one male in this view type, so that the disruption is from a man or men as representatives of masculinity towards the feminine group culture. In concert, the women can overpower the males, but the strength presented serves the game of mutual titillation.

Within the wide variety of erotic views presented in this chapter, suggestiveness is stronger than exposure, and a narrative framework of correction regulates the impulses considered aberrant, violent, sexual or harmful. Once again, women are the violent ones, not men, as topsy-turvy a joke as those of the marriage views. The male viewer laughs by proxy but still gets a glimpse at a nice ankle or calf. Maintaining the face of patriarchal sex interest, these views manage to cater to the family by carefully monitoring the sexual codes to include titillation but exclude the greater part of exposure. They make a decoy of undergarments, which women can in particular read, and those deflections spare the actual body for the alternative language of women's culture. Using the allure of undergarments, women have been depicting as entrapping, imprisoning, controlling, and regulating the male. The extreme handiwork on undergarments symbolically substitutes for handling, and touch transfers to the possession of women, who were the consumers. Thereby the female body is projected and protected via underwear's prophylactic sex, and feminine control narrativizes it within frameworks for display. As with the cross-dressed Professor, women's interests form multiple currents, including homosexual allure, part of which uses the assertion of her own sex *as* the form for sexual expression. The exposed male is another such criss-crossed type, for with his pain and embarrassment is a sadistic pleasure

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that women or other men may orchestrate, accompanied by the delight in his masculine form and story lines that vicariously involve the viewer.

Punishment or sadism, in typical Victorian fashion, often rises in order to save us from the discomfort of the intensity, just as laughter rescues us from arousal. Nothing still makes people laugh harder than sex jokes. This type of joke expanded responsively along with increasing use of sexualized advertising and availability of commodities. The increasing presence of women outside the home also made them more available to aggressive impulses. Women outside the domestic arrangement, the undergarment fashion, and the increase in sexualized marketing made for discomfort. "The tip of uncontrol against control," in Douglas' terms, had begun in earnest, and the codes of women's culture provide a subtext of codings against a dominant order. "In the nineteenth century, the social order for many had become a prison, the only escape from which seems to have been as assertion through exaggeration, excess and caricature."[115] In the cracks and schisms of the old codes comes the laughter of the comic erotic stereoview. Women took part in sharing the "dirty joke," laughing at themselves and at men. Along with men, they enjoyed the extra-marital type, a social tension release that had come to take residence in the venerated home. Finding an increase in outlets for desire, women could take part in the multiple codings of other women (and men) as sexual objects, projecting, deflecting, resisting, controlling, or reading the *sub*script.

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[1] Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure in Narrative Cinema," in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1989): 14-26.

[2] The term "scopophilia" was originally that of Freud's in his essay, "Instincts and Their Vicissitudes," S.E. vol. 14, 109-40. I use it here in its general sense of "love of looking" as regards the erotic gaze.

[3] Indeed, Mulvey's essay glosses this second criteria with an analysis of Hitchcock films that conclude with punishment of or threat to the specularly sexualized female. Ibid, 23-24.

[4] The castration complex is a fundamental of Freudian theory and most psychoanalytic theories. I have used it in the more limited sense of lack of sexual agency. For the classic and fuller definition, see Freud, "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality" (1905) S. E. vol. 7, 123-243.

[5] For theories of the fetish, see Janine Chasseguet-Smirgel, *Creativity and Perversion* (New York: Norton, 1984), 83, 98-99; and Chasseguet-Smirgel, *Sexuality and Mind: The Role of the Father and the Mother in the Psyche* (New York: New York University Press, 1986), 21-24. Also, Freud, "Fetishism" (1927) S. E. vol. 21, 152-157.

[6] For the theory of desire as phallic, see Jacque Lacan, "The Signification of the Phallus," *Écrits,*

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trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Norton, 1977).
[7] By patriarchal dictates, the male body cannot traditionally bear specularization and permits it only coupled with such devices as sadism/extreme pain, or heroics. See Melody Davis, 11.
[8] There are some vital differences in American and European, particularly French erotica, that, while not absolute, are tendencies. For pornographic and erotic European views, see: McCauley and Pellerin, "File BB3..." and *La Photographie Stéréoscopic...*
[9] Radway.
[10] Green, 87.
[11] "Most middle class women...managed incomes above a subsistence level while lacking the means to escape into a leisured existence. Branca, 189.
[12] British, *Master's Intrusion* (2 variants), and *Love Below Stairs*, 1856-1860s, collection of the author.
[13] The appeal of the innocent servant girl was especial to middle class men and reinforced the notion of the sexual availability of servants. McCauley, 173, 175.
[14] James Maddison Morton, *Going It: Another Lesson to Fathers*, (London and New York: Samuel French, 1885).
[15] F. Barry Smith, "Sexuality in Britain: Some Suggested Revisions," in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. Martha Vicunus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 186.
[16] Exposed laundry maids were a pornographic staple in France. The New York Public Library has four distinct erotic views of French laundresses in their collection. Three are unidentified, while the fourth was a view by B.K. (Adophe Bloch, Paris). McCauley reports that laundries were used as covers for prostitution in France, 183.
[17] In my collection is an original and American, pirated version of this title.
[18] Collection of Jeffrey Kraus.
[19] The view with more exposure than any American one I've seen is William H. Rau/Universal View Company's *The French Breakfast*, 1897, collection of Sybil and John Reedy. In this view a woman in chemise stretches more awkwardly than luxuriously as her upper thigh is exposed, and the maid enters with a tray.
[20] Messerschmidt, 17.
[21] Darrah, *Stereoviews*, 66. Publishers and dates include: Underwood and Underwood, 1900; Griffith and Griffith, 1901; H. C. White, 1902; Rau/Berry Kelly and Chadwick, 1902; Keystone, 1903; Wasson/International View Company, 1903; Kilburn/Davis, 1905; Sterro, n.d.; Webster and Albee, n.d.
[22] Early cinema was inspired by the French Cook success in stereography. Edison's company, Vitagraph issued, *Why Mrs. Jones Got a Divorce*, 1900, and *The Servant-Girl Problem*, 1905, take-offs on the stereo's affairs *á la cuisine*. Musser, 292, 410.
[23] Wasson/International View Co., *The Latelywed's New Wench Cook—Not a Heart Breaker!* 1903, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; Keystone, *I'm Sure Massa Brown will Prefer My Apple Pies, and I'll Not Git Fired for Makin' Goo-Goo Eyes*, 1903, Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[24] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter* (New York: Signet, 1980).
[25] Rothman, 188.
[26] Darrah, *The World of Stereographs*, 65.
[27] In his catalogue of Melander and Brother views, Treadwell lists *A Minute Too Soon* (no. 71), as a scene of the wife's infidelity. *The Genre Stereoviews of Melander and Brother.*
[28] Baym, *Woman's Fiction*, 50.
[29] Ibid, 69.
[30] Ibid, 273, 275.
[31] *Senate Report: Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States, 1908-1911*, reprinted in Schneir, *Feminism...*, 257.
[32] The typewriter began to appear in offices in the 1880s. By the next decade, it was a standard office machine, and one associated with the rise in women workers.
[33] The two other titles are *Consternation* and *Retaliation*. Collection of the American Antiquarian Society. "Carrie Nation" (Carry A. Nation) was the famed as the temperance vigilante who smashed saloons in Kansas in 1900. Along with her sisters in temperance, she took stones, brickbats, malt bottles, billiard balls to illegal liquor joints in Kiowa. She adopted a hatchet, for which she became known, in her attacks on Wichita saloons.

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[34] Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[35] In 1898, New York Society woman, Ava Vanderbilt, bucked social custom and divorced her unfaithful husband, thus setting a trend. Banner, 192.
[36] Banner, 14, 199-200.
[37] "By denying their own sexuality, middle-class matrons hoisted themselves up from the mundane into an unassailable spiritual domain, a sphere in which they ruled. Moral superiority allowed woman a larger voice in family matters." Clinton, 148. Women were seen as occupying a "higher and more nobler state than manhood," one "more involved with the spirit," for there was "less to transcend." Welter, 146. See, also, Daniel Scott Smith's essay.
[38] Collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[39] Vardac, 60.
[40] Banta, 620.
[41] Lesbian pornographic views were not common but available from usually unidentified, European publishers. They are not narrative scenes, nor have I seen any American examples.
[42] For Blair's study, this is central. See also Kerber, 24-26; Clinton, "Ties that Bound," 40-54; Marks, "Women's Clubs," in *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers*, 117-146;
[43] In stereoviews, the Irish were depicted as violent, unkempt, wild, superstitious, and ready at the slightest provocation to drink themselves into stupor. The Irish immigrant has been a staple of American humor since post-Revolutionary times, O'Rourke, 78.
[44] Clinton, 31.
[45] Between 1880 and 1920, the supply of domestic workers was halved at the same time there was greater demand. Green, 87-91.
[46] Clinton, 32. The actor Edward Harrigan played a character called Mulligan, of the "Mulligan Guard," a violent, drinking, buffoon type, accompanied with his wife, Cordelia in the 1870s New York burlesque and vaudeville theatres. Glenn Hughes, 286.
[47] James A. Wales, "Our Servant Girls," *Puck*, vol. 6, no. 150 (January 21, 1880), 758.
[48] The undressed Biddy theme was picked up in cinema: Biograph, *How Bridget Served the Salad Undressed*, 1898. Musser, 604.
[49] Others include Strohmeyer and Wyman/ Underwood and Underwood, 1897; Kilburn/Davis, 1897; Wasson/International View Company, 1901; Keystone View Co., 1900; H. C. White, 1902; Webster and Albee, n.d.; Underwood and Underwood, file negative, n.d.
[50] *Biddy, You May Serve the Tomatoes Undressed*, collections of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library and the National Museum of American History. *I'll Not Take Off Another Stitch If I Lose My Place* is also used by Wasson/International View Company.
[51] Keystone View Co., *Biddy and the Mouse*, c. 1900, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum of American History; and Young/American Stereoscopic Company, *Biddy and the Rat*, 1897, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[52] Weller's *Come Along, Do*, 1875, was his quite popular version of this joke, in several variations. Collection of the author.
[53] The conceptual separation of "nude" versus "naked" is an academic stand-by, that, however artificial, has served for generations in attempts to redirect thinking from the erotic toward art idealizations. See, Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (New York: Pantheon, 1956); for critical analysis of this, see, John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (B.B.C. and Penguin Books, 1972), 53-55.
[54] In 1887, Bougereau's *Nymphs and Satyr* was installed over the bar of the Hoffman House, a fashionable New York Hotel frequented by women. Previously, paintings of nudes had hung in bars, saloons and café concerts. Banner, 111.
[55] Freud, "Jokes," 97. Freud neglects to mention that the laughter over an act of sexual aggression is by no means universal and can vary considerably, to the point of no humor at all, between the sexes and in differing cultures.
[56] Ibid, 103, 118, 136, 155.
[57] Ibid, 105, 108-9. This comes close to his analysis of the comic—that which is a comparison between the ideal state and something far less than that, a situation where the super-ego is thwarted and the over-valued devalued. Ibid, 220.
[58] Douglas, 152.
[59] Ibid, 155-156.
[60] Ibid, 158.

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[61] Ibid.
[62] Sanders 6, 13.
[63] Ibid, 13.
[64] Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Swing*, The Wallace Collection, London. British, 2 views, *Crossing the Line* and an untitled view of a woman tripped by a rope, collection of the New York Public Library.
[65] Self-survey is essential to women's survival, so that the woman is always the surveyor and surveyed of herself: "Women watch themselves being looked at." That surveyor, for John Berger, is always male. We could call him, though the author does not do so, as the internalized patriarchal vision become the super-ego in order to regulate the image of the woman for the presence of men. Berger, 46-27.
[66] See previous note for fetishism; see also Mulvey.
[67] "Pieces of underclothing crystallize the moment of undressing, the last moment in which the woman could still be regarded as phallic." Freud, "Fetishism," 155.
[68] Corsets with whale bone or wooden stays had been developed in the latter eighteenth century, but not every woman wore them, and they were largely for the upper and aristocratic classes. Aside from these stiff and form-fitted "stays," and the occasional though not required petticoat, slip, or bustle, underwear was not generally worn. The Empire style of the early century dispensed with undergarments entirely, though ladies were loath to give up their stays and wore them despite the fashion to remain under diaphanous dresses bare. Elizabeth Ewing, *Underwear, a History* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1973), 45.
[69] Ibid, 58-59.
[70] These disappeared in the 1820s, and only came back into vogue again after their appearance in 1867 with female dancers of the can-can. Tracy Davis, 116-117.
[71] Ewing, *Underwear, a History*, 46-47.
[72] "Crinoline" originally meant horse-hair (French: *crin* = horse-hair; *linum* = thread) and was used as a stiffening and ballast material for petticoats, sleeves and hems. After Empress Eugenie wore her cage petticoat, the word "crinoline" came to mean this structure, or the full skirt achieved by such. The cage petticoat, or crinoline, was a structure of whale bone, steel, or wire over which the skirt road. Prior to this, the wide skirt had been achieved by twenty to twenty-five pounds of layered petticoats in various materials, including horse-hair/"crinoline." Ewing, 46-48.
[73] William Hardman, *The Letters and Memoirs of Sir William Hardman, M.A., F.R.G.S., Second Series: 1863-1865*, ed. S. M. Ellis (New York: 1925), 103; quoted in Gray, 155.
[74] Reed, 121.
[75] Green, 284, Halttunen, 352.
[76] Ewing, *Underwear, a History*, 49-50.
[77] Collection of the author.
[78] Spencer, 90.
[79] Three views from the collection of the New York Public Library show men imprisoned or hiding under crinolines. One is identified by the publisher, Woodward. A John Leech cartoon, (attribution tentative) "Crinoline Convenient Sometimes. A Warning to Mothers," has a young lady hiding her unwelcome suitor from the prying gaze of her mother by the sheer breadth of her crinoline, *Punch*, vol. 31 (October 4, 1856), p. 131. An 1857 cartoon, "Surprising Incident" depicts in mock police gazette style fourteen "herculean brigands" hiding under a lady's "fashionable hoop," *Harper's Weekly*, no 1 (January 3, 1857), 48.
[80] The Oliver Wendell Holmes Library of the National Stereoscopic Association has a file category entitled, "Ankles!" with hundreds of views.
[81] Collection of the author.
[82] One example is Kilburn's *Caught the Rats*, 1892, wherein the ladies are battering men found hiding under the bed. Collection of the author.
[83] This view dates from the early years of the Keystone Company, when Singley was the sole photographer.
[84] Original Groups, *Above His Business—Shoemaker Stick to Your Last*, c. 1870s, copy view, collection of the New York Historical Society.
[85] Oliver Byron was an actor and music hall performer since at least 1875. *The New York Dramatic Mirror*, listings for North Carolina: http://www.geocities.com/pfw8015/theahist/NYDM.

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[86] Norman B. Patterson, "Beaches, Belles, and Bathing Costumes," *Stereo World*, vol. 21, no 4 (September-October, 1994), 8-21.
[87] Freud speaks of the undergarment fetish—it "crystallizes the moment of undressing, the last moment in which the woman could still be regarded as phallic." "Fetishism," 155.
[88] Lacan. I refer to the Lacanian theory in order to posit against its phallicism.
[89] Banner, 113.
[90] Edouard Manet's *Nana*, 1877, Kunsthalle, Hamburg; *Before the Mirror*, 1876, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. These canvases post-date the stereoview, as French view publishing ceased in 1868. Whether Manet could have been influenced by such stereoviews as this one, available on the boulevards, is a tempting speculation. The concept of feminine self-construction through the commodities of undergarments and cosmetics is a factor in these paintings. See Carol Armstrong, *Manet Manette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 228-236, 250-258.
[91] Ewing, *Underwear, a History*, 140.
[92] Medical problems associated with the corset included the prolapse of the uterus, respiratory problems broken ribs, distorted internal organs, headaches, fainting, and spinal disorders. The medical establishment continued to advocate against the use of the corset, especially tight lacing, but to little avail. Ewing, *Underwear, a History*, 52-53. In 1874, 97 diseases were reported to have resulted from the use of the corset, Elizabeth Ewing, *Dress and Undress: A History of Women's Underwear* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1978), 91. Green, 284.
[93] Linley Sambourne, "A Lyric à la Mode," *Punch*, vol. 78 (April 24, 1880), 190.
[94] It has been discovered, however, that the proverbial eighteen inch waist, the alleged achievement of such tortures, was a myth. In a survey of nineteenth-century women's dresses that encompassed hundreds of samples, not one was small enough at the waist line to measure eighteen inches. Banner, 84.
[95] David Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent: Eugen Sandow and the Beginnings of Bodybuilding* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).
[96] Underwood and Underwood, *This Parting Gives Me Pain, Dear*, 1900, Helen Mosley Collection, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library; Kilburn, *Murderation! Mollie Be Aisy*, 1899, American Antiquarian Society; Webster and Albee (2 titles), *Just Stuck on Him a Little*, 1899, and n.d.; H. C. White, *The bell (belle) is Gently Pealing (Peeling)*, 1902, Collection of Jeffrey Kraus; C. H. Graves, *Stuck on Him*, 1898, Collection of the author.
[97] An unusual variation of this theme was published by Kilburn/Davis, *Where's That Shirt*, 1897, collection of the New York Historical Society—a man naked but for a towel ransacks his dresser for clothes. The erotic sight of his body is partly "redeemed" by the comedy of his search.
[98] Collection of the author.
[99] The body builder was a star billing in vaudeville and variety theatres and gave exhibitions after every show, in addition to scheduled receptions and lectures. At each limited exhibition, the audience, men and women alike, were encouraged to caress his musculature, to the enthusiastic response of both sexes. He was also thronged by female groupies. Chapman, 74-75.
[100] Green, 284.
[101] *Gracious! Goodness! Mr. Smith, how dare you think of intruding upon a lady in such a situation!* Treadwell, *English Masters.*
[102] In John Maddison Morton's *Sea Bathing at Home*, Nancy Cobb, a tenant who it is implied engages in prostitution, gets even on her landlord for giving her an eviction notice on the grounds of spilled water upon the landings. She claims to have "thirteen life guard cousins" who visit her "one at a time" and who are spilling the water they bring for sea-baths. Cobb orders multiple sea-baths for her landlord, and, as he proceeds to take one, Cobb steals his clothes and refuses to return them until he reinstates her lease. John Maddison Morton, *Sea Bathing at Home* (London: John Dicks, n.d.).
[103] These were subsequently published by the Littleton View Company, one version with attribution, the other without. The version without attribution is copyrighted 1893, but appears to be a sister view to Weller's work of 1875, since it shares the same stage set, though with differing décor and male actor. Both share the same file number, 547. Collection of the author.
[104] Ben Singley/Keystone View Co., *Did you Ring for Hot Water, Sir?* 1893, collection of the author; Keystone, *Did You Ring, for Hot Water, Sir?*, 1901, Helen Mosley Collection, Oliver Wendell Holmes Library; H. C. White, *Did You Ring, Sir?*, 1902, the Helen Mosley Collection of the Oliver Wendell

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Holmes Library. The Singley view employs close-up and a sharp, highly stereoscopic diagonal into the space between the man's self-protecting hand and the maid.

[105] Littleton issued the title in 1891, and Rau/Universal View Company issued theirs in 1894. Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood issued two versions, sister images, dated 1899; Keystone had two versions, 1899 and one earlier, that were photographed in the same location but with different actors.

[106] A George Du Maurier cartoon, "Jumping at Conclusions," presents a little girl pointing out a skinny dipping man to her nurse, "O, Miss Grumph, *Do* Look! That *Must* Be Adam!", *Punch*, vol. 69 (August 21, 1875), 70. "Another Case of Nothing to Wear: A Summer Reminiscence," depicts a bull charging a man and knocking another's clothes into the water," *Nick-Nax*, vol. 2, no. 8 (December, 1857), 251.

[107] Patterson, 13.

[108] Ibid, 16.

[109] Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *Curiosity Punished*, 1892, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum of American History; Unidentified American view of the same title, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

[110] Jerrold.

[111] "Looking Under the Bed," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, no. 198 (November 1866), 789-92. A man enamored of a woman hides himself under her bed and, eavesdropping upon her prayers, discovers that she secretly returns his affection.

[112] Letter from Theodore Long to his son, Carson, between 1904-1910. Long, 44.

[113] Collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.

[114] Banner, 103.

[115] Sanders, 247.

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Chapter Eight

The New Woman and The Old Man:

Views of Gender

The topical chapters thus far have progressed, in a Holmesian fashion, with a biographical determinacy—childhood to courtship, brides, wives, and interests on the "side." As with the last chapter, this one moves us into another side excursion, that, similar to the erotic stories, diverts attention away from the socially sanctioned roles of Victorian marriage and onto by-ways comically inclined. Diversions from the correct and ideal—what in Freud's terminology is "comic"— undercuts or punctures sincere valuation. Unlike eroticism, however, the goal in these views is not to arouse but to provide relief from social tensions by sarcasm and to deflate the threat of new thinking by parody. In all but a few examples, these views are insults delivered in the type of humor that exhibits aggressive impulses toward another, substituting the laughter of the witty put-down for less socially acceptable expressions of anger. Incompetency is the vehicle for the parody or satire, and, though its terms differ for the sexes, the dynamic of laughing "by proxy" is the same.

According to stratified gender roles in nineteenth-century culture, the incompetent man was the bungler, coward, helpless, or henpecked man. The bachelor, too, was another sort of bungler, as he had to perform his own wifely tasks. Furthermore, he remained resistant to the synonymous relation of adulthood and marriage, making of him an oddity. In these views of men, including the bachelor's, their relationship to women—wives, fiancés, "prospects," previous partners, fantasies, or symbolic femininity—determine their

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position. For women in nineteenth-century views, incompetency was seen as a lack of womanliness. By the conventions of gender, whatever unsexed her made her comic material. Yet, a curious reverse dynamic occurs with the insults here toward gendered roles. Women were unsexed and thereby "demeaned" by being seen in a dominant or domineering position. The thinking went as follows: women, as subordinate, sentimental, and nurturing, became unsexed and therefore comic when they are seen as dominant, unresponsive, indifferent to, or imitative of men. Men, on the other hand, became comic when for dominance they substituted dependence, for virility, helplessness, for courage, timidity, and for husbandry, an unmarried state akin to "spinsterhood." Each sex occasions a nervous or ridiculing laugh when it copied especially the negative aspects of the other sex's scripted role, and each sex, in unbecoming itself, could *only* ape the "worst" stereotypes and never the best qualities of the other. What we are left with for the comic, however, is more perverse than humorously inverse: "demeaned" women who rule with authority, albeit a "false" one, and equally demeaned men, who under their rule, cower, writhe, suffer threat and battery, and in general lack natural ability. In the topsy-turvy world of these views, it is not hard to see who got the better deal. The New Woman and the incompetent man views were certainly never intended to be feminist but stumbled and crashed in that direction by default. These views may have shown strong women, but, contrary to feminism, their strength was depicted as inauthentic behavior, a turning the tables on subordination. The dominated man was in this structure doubly punished, since he was not only oppressed but "unsexed."

The fear of women's castrating effect upon men is a long-standing reactionary position that comes to the fore with every sort of social advance for women. Victorian stereoviews established a strong foundation for this type of reactionary hysteria to feminism's bid to improve women's lives. Like much of narrative stereography, the views in this chapter are double—meant as parodies of inappropriate sex-role behavior, they

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worked at cross-purposes by triumphal-izing women. The derisive picturing of men was part and parcel of this theme of women's "incompetence" to their gender. The sub-message, here, is that, in order to be manly, men had to keep women in their place and re-educate them as to the basics of female roles. What this further implies is that gender was a process of education, not nature. The New Woman views make clear the anxiety that no one could much rely upon "nature" anymore to do its job with respect to the sexes. Yet, after all, these views were comic extremes meant to entertain, and no calls for intervention were made, only the resigned laugh of a not altogether ill-humor. The New Woman view reinforced the disenfranchisement of the privileged and validated the triumph of the subordinate, and perhaps the under-dog tradition was a little of its appeal, as would stand to reason among Americans, with a national mythos of democratic ideals. Whether it applied the tradition of the down-trodden to a new subject—woman—or whether it was simply part and parcel of a reactionary hysteria, the convention-defying imagery of the radical New Woman found, *en masse,* acceptance as a convention in itself, and in this manner the gender role-reversal acquired a "backdoor" entry of sorts, as it took residence with older social codes.[1]

Many factors played a part in the preference for comic titles at the century's end. In addition to the manifold stresses of modern life came the theatricalization of the home and individual, as well as the psychological need to aggrandize the personality, a desire which was ready material for the tip into the farcical. The sentimental ideal of sincerity and truthful responsiveness was fading in an age when posing was expected, and narratives played up the idea of the empowered consumer, the individual, and new ideas of personal liberty and an increased number of choices. The detachment of the individual from the fabric of the sentimental environment meshed with the ideology of both feminism and the Romantic individualist and was of benefit to market economics.[2] It was also handy for the satirist. The misfit, the incompetent, he/she who stands alone, the guy out on the limb are

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extremes of the theatricalized individual and the very cornerstone of the comic pot-shot. While there is much more that can be said about the relationship of satire and the new individualism popularized in the late century but seen earlier in the lights of the Romantic movement, what is salient here is the gendered aspect of comedy and sentiment. Sentimental views almost invariably focus upon women, and, while they include men and sometimes lone men, they focus upon that man's relation with a wife, another female or feminine codes. I can think of no sentimental view of exclusively men (not boys). Even the all-male group of the bachelor's "farewell" dinner, part of the thoroughly feminine bridal series, were usually humorous in presentation.[3] By contrast, sentimental views of exclusively female groups are common. For comic views, neither sex can be said to be spared. In the narrative, nineteenth-century stereoview, the lone man is seen as inherently comic, while women are far more sentimentalized, and men become sentimental material when and as they relate to women.

The bachelor view, a staple from the earliest days of narrative stereography, is a good example. My favorite from this type is a copyrighted, unidentified British view from the late 1850s-1860s, *A Present to an Old Bachelor* (fig. 164). Like many of the earlier British views, this one reveals a minimum of stereoptical properties, and the space is flattened for a stage-like, frontalized appearance, with a strange and distracting bar chopping up the right foreground. The expression and posture of the actor, however, are priceless. He has received a present that "re-presents" a woman, an indiscretion from the bachelor's past. An infant in a cradle comes with placard that reads, "Use me well / no tales i tell / But in this house / my Father Dwells." As with the infant in the arms of a servant in *More Free Than Welcome* (fig. 135), the consequences of deviance from the marital norm are the butt of the joke, with the old bachelor on the receiving end, since he is resistant to the dictum of the male group and will not marry. The bachelor is an individual who refuses the pathway of this group and is therefore open to attacks, usually comically delivered to veil the social

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hostility to difference. In John Maddison Morton's farce, *My Bachelor Days,* the author makes clear that flirtations between bachelors and married women were presumed common and the never-married man was a milder type of social misfit.[4]

Depictions of bachelors in literature, cartoons, and photography have consistently been paired with potential or past female mates. The trope of the bachelor's dream is often a means for introducing the fantasy of romance with the aid of the double photograph. The presence of the dream female allows him entry into the sentimental and redeems him from the comic misfit status of the sole man. The earliest predecessor to this I have found is a comic pamphlet *Reveries of a Bachelor,* by Donald Mitchell, 1850, which extends the concept from one scene to a sequence.[5] E. H. Chamberlain's *Reveries of a Bachelor,* a view from the early 1870s, has a double- printed bride hovering above the dreaming man's head, which is lowered in sleep upon his arms. Another American bachelor's dream view does not employ the double print but realizes the man's thoughts with an incarnation of a lady at his side. *The Bachelor's Dream* (fig. 165), of the early 1870s, may be the work of Ben Kilburn and possibly a self-portrait.[6] This view corresponds to other types of the time with a down-home interior, but it is unusual for its naturalistic interpretation of dreaming, as the steady and faithful companion is summoned to his sleeping side.[7] The fully stereoscopic view has a wealth of homespun detail, and the bachelor's foot, foregrounded in space, practically aches with its deformed joint. It is remarkable for its tenderness that is neither erotic nor overly sentimental.

The bachelor view is an example of the difficulty felt at the time towards picturing a man without a woman in a narrative context, so that the bachelor is a sign that needs to be expressed in conjunction with a female variable in order for a story to form. One method of imaging the female variable is through a sign for femininity, such as sewing. When it came to the needle and thread, the bachelor was seen as helpless. Presumed less than competent in affairs of the heart, he was no more so with clothing, an ineptness that spared

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him from being feminized by association with women's symbols. Typical titles include early British examples such as *Single Blessedness,* and *The Troubles of Single Life,* and American titles such as *Necessity is the Mother of Invention, Convenience of Single Life,* and *Trials of Bachelorhood* (fig. 166).[8] This latter view by Keystone includes two spying women, a trope for the bachelor view. As though summoned by the needle, the spying women are a physical manifestation of the feminine symbolism and also mirror the viewer's mocking voyeurism. This view is one of the few in my collection that was inscribed by a male collector.[9] The eroticism of the view relies upon the two aggressive, impertinent, laughing women who trespass into male space, provoking a counter-initiative. Bachelor views in sequence include titles such as Whiting's *They Thought They Would Surprise the Bachelor* and *The Surprise,* where the sewing bachelor, spied upon by women, jumps up and seizes a kiss from one of them; and Kilburn's *A Stitch in Time Saves Nine* and *Love Hangs By a Little String,* 1893, where a corpulent bachelor, sewing, is rescued from the task by the sudden arrival of a pretty girl.[10] In the last two views, as well as *Necessity is the Mother of Invention,* the bachelor sits only in his underwear and socks, while working upon his pants. The bachelor view thus swings between erotic suggestion and ridicule for his helpless state.

These views make clear the strong element of romance, especially that leading to marriage, in the stereoview's narrative. Though its comic development is often the vehicle for an ironic or sarcastic backlash, marriage is the germ around which the story forms. Sentiment and comedy should be seen conjoined in this enterprise of picturing the story of stories, for they function in a counterbalancing dynamic. The bachelor's aberrant state, avoiding the dominance of marriage for the state of Victorian adulthood, begs for comic treatment as well as opening the—at times literal—door to future romance. In narrative stereography, adults with few exceptions are pictured via the lens of marriage, and roped either through sentiment or comedy into relation with it.

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As for the married man, we have seen ample views where the depicted incompetence of new fathers is the subject for spirited joking. Other examples of lack of competence on the part of husbands include the sick man, the bungler with the mechanics of stoves, suspenders, telephones, and automobiles, and the timid man. Narrative stereographs depict the domus as an arena where the wife's skill usually compares comically with her husband's lack thereof. The typical title of the husband as bungler is *Have Patience, Dear, Don't Swear*—a view of the husband in frustration over a stove he cannot assemble. Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood's 1890 view makes good use of the parts of the stove to establish depth cues (fig. 167), while their 1897 view depicts the man in a rage about to hurl a piece of pipe to the floor. William Rau photographed this type in a sequential pair, Rau/Griffith and Griffith's *When a Man's Married, His Troubles Begin*, and *Be Patient, Dear, Don't Swear*, 1887. The first view depicts the stove being assembled, while the second has the whole affair, plus the husband, tumbled upon the floor. George Griffith photographed a version of the stove view, *When a Man's Married, His Troubles Begin*, 1901, with the husband's face blackened.[11] In two separate views, C. H. Graves interpreted the *Don't Swear, Dear* title as that of a man struggling to hook his suspenders to the back of his pants, while his wife, who has delivered the personal narrative, sits laughing upon the bed.[12] Like that of the mustard plaster view, this serves as a male counterpart to the difficulty of the corset. A clever variation on the theme of mechanical incompetency is Underwood and Underwood's *The Automobile Somnambulist—"Keep Quiet, I'll Have It Going in a Minute,"* 1906, in which a somnambulist attempts to fix the underside of his bed, while his wife sits above him, pulling her hair.

These scenes of everyday mistakes and accidents are at least as sentimental as they are comic, with a warm "everyman" incompetency. Men were (and still are) presumed to be the competent gender at mechanical tasks and construction; viewing their slips, spills and frustrations is a social tension relief that does not so much undercut the skill of the male as

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it reinforces by lightening the burden, allowing a laughter by proxy. Significantly for studies of gender, however, is that the obverse—views of bungling women--are fairly infrequent by comparison. An occasional title occurs wherein the humor lies in the implication that the lady can't cook.[13] Mainly, however, woman in nineteenth-century stereoviews is depicted as incompetent when she steps *outside* the domestic sphere. Then, it is a matter of refusal or abandonment of her expected role that forms the core of the humor, a nervous humor of a far different character than the warm view of the silly husband.

Within the home, women, according to the gender oppositional world of the comic stereograph, are the braver sex. Much comedy today still depends upon the automatic social reflex of laughter that occurs when men are feminized, which is a tension release and expression of delight in the humorous vision, that which simultaneously holds up contradictory realities--the idealized versus the "as it is."[14] Employing gender flip-flop was the popular 1890s theme of prowlers and the timid man, such as C. H. Graves' *Mr. Timid Hears Burglers*, 1898 (fig. 168), where the husband cowers in bed, while his wife hunts with a pistol for the man under it. The usual title for this type began—"You Go First," as in—*You Go First, Hannah, I'm Near-sighted* and *You Go First, Hannah! 'Twould Be a Mean Man that Would Hurt a Woman* (Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, 1890, and 1897, respectively); and *You Go First, Mary, No Man Would Hurt a Woman and Good Men Are Scarce* (Young/American Stereoscopic Company, 1903). I have nine separate views of this type in my data base, dating from 1890 to 1903, indicating that the last years of the century were especially receptive to this comic gender-reversal theme.[15] A variation is found with Underwood and Underwood's *Take My Money But Don't Shoot*, 1902, which shows a frightened man cowering under the covers as a kitten pounces upon him.[16] The late arrival and short period of publishing of the "You Go First"/Mr. Timid views indicates that the type was responding to a social shift, possibly a response to the strong New Woman views on the market since 1891. The two contradictory "realities"—the strong

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man of expectation and the comically much stronger woman—are coupled in the broader vision. Taking Freud's observation of humor as an agent in the preservation of the ego's dignity under duress, the viewer can laugh at his own fears that bravery may no longer be the attribute solely of the male sex.[17] Women, too, could have enjoyed these views as they did for many of struggling husband scenes, set in the sphere of domestic concerns and, though only comic, offering her some measure of flattery by comparison with the slipped ideal of men.

Comic views not only had men cowering in bed, and behind their wives, but one type depicted them writhing on the floor in gastric agony. The sick woman infrequently appears in American views, though we see her occasionally in British and German views from the late 1850s through the 1870s. A sentimental topic, the bed-ridden lady is always accompanied by a consoling woman friend or nurse.[18] Sick men, too, are attended upon by women but are invariably in American views depicted comically when they suffer.[19] Underwood and Underwood's *Darn the Cucumbers! Never Mind the Doctor, Send for the Minister*, 1897 (fig. 169) shows an actor in wild exaggeration, his legs twisted this way and that, as the wife frantically pours medicine. A Kilburn/Davis view of the same year is far more visually realistic, with the husband gripping his stomach, a hand on his head and the chamber pot beneath him as he leans out of bed. It is also a more stereoscopically volumetric view, with the personal narrative title delivering the theatricalized punch-line: *There must have been something DEAD in that mince pie, Mollie.* His disgruntled wife looks as though to say, *exactly.*

A decisive gender split appears in stereoviews when it comes to sickness—sentimentality for women, comedy for men. The role of nurse, however, is always reserved for women, as is that of the consoling friend. When it comes to sickness in the nineteenth-century view, men are to be attended, while women do the attending. Harvey Green reports that women of the time saw men as "big kids to be cared for," an idea claimed by

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Edward Hardy in 1886, who wrote that women saw men as "creatures that have to be looked after as grown-up little boys: interesting, piquant, indispensable, but shiftless, headstrong, and at bottom absurd."[20]

Behind the 1890s view of the sick, timid or incompetent man is, I propose, more than simply a reflex of absurd laughter in witnessing gender reversal. These types reflect a core of sincere opinion circulating at the time, though their light-hearted spin makes the belief more palatable. Sally Mitchell has written about the crippled or feminized man who appears with regularity in woman's fiction of the nineteenth century. Many of these novels were quite earnest and scarcely made room for levity, yet a comparison with them is still apt, for the comic stereoviews were employing different methods, but a similar dynamic emerges. "A more manageable object for the woman's affections," the weakened or "castrated hero" had developed feminine traits: "compassion, sensitivity, consideration, expression...and a sense of human weakness and dependence on each other," according to Mitchell.[21] Through character development over the course of the plot, the weakening of this new type of hero makes possible the happy endings of these fictions, imparting the message that only by the relinquishment on his part of some of the power which was his due through law and social conditioning could a successful relationship flourish.[22] A vital difference between this fiction and the comic stereoviews is that the ideological and serious theme of the former, dating from earlier in the century, had become a popular and accepted form of joking by the 1890s. In other words, its codings had crossed over from literary high valuation to the buzz words of American parlors and amusement, and the incompetent man had become everyman, the *schlep* at the heart of all.

When woman stepped out of her role as help-meet, however, the tone of the joke became more harsh. The plethora of both types of "incompetency" in the 1890s signals a shifting of ground. Everybody becomes a fool—Joe who can't get the stove together and eats too many cucumbers and is scared of burglars and hides behind his wife, who props

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up her feet and reads the paper and expects to be served. Masculine dominance was beginning to look down right silly, and the sexes had become unsettled.

A contemporaneous critic of comic theory, Henri Bergson, recognized the sympathy factor in satiric comedy—people laugh at the poor fellow because of self-recognition. In an essay originally published in 1899, Bergson described the comic character as

> one with whom, to begin with, our mind, or rather our body, sympathizes. By this is meant that we put ourselves for a very short time in his place, adopt his gestures, words and actions, and, if amused by anything laughable in him, we invite him, in imagination, to share his amusement with us; in fact, we treat him first as a playmate.[23]

In spite of its rambling, symbolist thought, Bergson's essay provides key themes for Victorian humor, and it makes its greatest resonance against this time period, from which it seeks to distinguish itself. Comedy results in a breaking through of physical and mental rigidity, but, according to the author, the comic character is not generally aware of his state but is "encrusted," or locked within a mechanical, stereotyped, or automatic pattern. The comical fellow is a person who has become a code:

> Where matter thus succeeds in dulling the outward life of the soul, in petrifying its movements and thwarting its gracefulness, it achieves, at the expense of the body, an effect that is comic. If then, at this point we wish to define the comic by comparing it with its contrary, we should have to contrast it with gracefulness even more than with beauty. It partakes rather of the unsprightly than of the unsightly, of *rigidness* rather than of *ugliness.*[24]

Laughter is society's revenge on this person who has become rigid, who has sealed himself off from adaptability and change, which in Bergsonian thought, is central to life. A social corrective and form of group bonding, laughter shatters rigidity with the weapon of ridicule, and "society avenges itself for the liberties taken with it."[25] Against the automatism of Victorian types, Bergson launches laughter, but he does not discount the fact that the type *is* us: sympathy and nervous self-recognition fuel the "correction." We are all to some measure comic fellows, for this character acts as if in a dream, and a dream is "a

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relaxation in thought and effort....Our first impulse is to join in the game. That relieves us from the strain of thinking."[26]

Bergson's comic theory strikes a note with the anthropologist, Mary Douglas, who, decades later in the 1970s, paid it recognition. For both, the joke is a means for reorganizing social forms against false valuations—in Bergson's thought, the mechanical, inelastic being, in Douglas', a dominant pattern of relations. What we see in quite a few late nineteenth-century comic stereoviews is the codification against which Bergson, as a person of the late Victorian era, was reacting. We also see the dominant relations of that century in a full-tilt of change, against which society reacts by nervous laughter, correcting the excessive, and yet repeating it. The leveling, dissolution, and recreation of social structure,[27] is realized on a field of insults wherein the very seriousness and threat of the issues at hand are, because presented by incompetent fools, allowed the breath of creative play.

Perhaps the most prevalent of the fool types in the 1890s was the New Woman with her permissive, cowed husband. As narrative stereography rested upon the ideological foundation of Victorian marriage, the late arrival of this type was an expression of the reformation of those values, and, though comically delivered, its underlying message was that of great anxiety. According to John Reed, "the problems of the age were not military but domestic," as women were trying to establish a new image for themselves, while men were attempting to fix them in suitable types.[28] The "angel of the house," a term that has become a buzz word but was originally coined by Coventry Patmore in his poem of the same title, or the "Grizzle"—the selfless, enduring, patient wife—were male fictions.[29] The comics, in all their termagant extremity, curiously appear more realistic than the ghostly, passive woman "whose voice would never be heard in the house, who would tread the stairs like a mouse, do exactly as she was desired, and never interfere with his business."[30] Such a woman does not make for much scenic interest, theatricality, or even a laugh. She is a

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nullity, and American view publishers had little use for her. The trouble with understanding women's characters through nineteenth-century conventions is that all of the types were *fictions*, spun by men for their own emotive needs. The New Woman idea was perhaps the first popular view type in which women's history had even a peripheral influence upon its fabrication. Women's independent actions, particularly that of feminists, helped to form her, and though she was yet another fiction—this time one borne of hysterical reaction—she comes with hardy breath in the lung, which of course she needed to ride her bike, a refreshing difference from the destructive types or the passive spectres of yore.

The term "New Woman" was originally coined in the response of 1870s and 1880s literary critics to the appearance of a spate of novel heroines who were independent, free from convention and intelligent. The moral of these novels ran counter to the convention casting women as weak, dependent, and intellectually limited. Their very serious message ran through a variety of works from both men and women authors, the most renown of whom today are Thomas Hardy and Henrik Ibsen. A few works of literary criticism discuss the concept of the New Woman, its term characterizing a type of novel and heroine, and the social protest lodged in these works against the restrictive upbringing of girls, the iron-clad institution of marriage, the practices stymieing women's achievement, and the discriminatory laws and social attitudes towards women's earnings, divorce, child custody, and property rights.[31] The literature of the New Woman was tackling the issues with which feminist activists for decades had been struggling for reform. It was an earnest working through and imagining of a world where these issues had effected change, at very least on a personal level.

In the popular press--the reactions of critics, cartoonists and stereograph publishers--the New Woman was a quite different female. The term became a catch-all for any woman who defied convention, a thoroughly coded convention in herself who signed

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disregard for tradition. It was applied to college women and bicyclists, sporting women, professionals, and any woman who divorced or didn't marry. Needless to say, it was also applied to "woman's righters" (the term "feminist" was not then in use) and suffragists. Alarmist cultural commentators saw in her a genuine threat to state and culture by a loosening of sexual controls—a bonafide anarchist was she.[32] The satirists, though, found in her conceptualization a gold mine of ideas, and the New Woman found a foot hold in American homes and a place in the hearts of the populace as a belovedly ludicrous irritation, a real character.

To see the New Woman views as merely insulting is to miss a vital point--she was not only vivacious but wildly popular.[33] On every account, she was more interesting than the fantasy of the passive, sit-about-the-house-and-look-lovely, what-ever-you-will-dear woman. She had spark and verve, nerve and brass, and she was wonderfully American.[34] I have fifty to sixty (depending on how they're classed) New Woman type views in my data base from at least nineteen American publishers, spanning the years 1871-1913, in photographic and photo-lithographic stereos. To look at the record of essayists and literary critics, however, the New Woman was a sign of cultural decay and moral deterioration. Some men, though, liked her well enough, and a few devoted poems, accounts, and illustrations to her achievements and daring.[35] More than other media, it was again the comics that touched her vital pulse, signaling a change that was perhaps unsettling but in equal measures a curiosity, at least on U. S. shores. As Patricia Marks has noted, "the American press seems more to be laughing *with* the New Woman than *at* her, an attitude that demonstrates a degree of acceptance, at least of the myth, if not of the New Woman's substance."[36]

As early as 1871, we see the prototype for the New Woman in F. G. Weller's *Woman's Rights—The Rehersal* (fig. 170). The symbolism parodying the women's movement has begun. The husband is at the washtub, doing his wife's chores, while she, in fine street

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clothes, is practicing her lecture-hall speech in front of the mirror. Another Weller view of 1875, *Woman's Rights*, has the same set of actors (these two views were probably photographed at the same time) and shows the wife dressed to leave, issuing orders to her husband busily sewing and tending the baby.[37] The husband is reduced to the demeaning chores of the wife—sewing, washing, and child tending. Her "rights" are clearly ironic—to force the man into her drudgery, thereby freeing herself for public life and the unwomanly activity of lecturing.

The 1870s were a decade that saw a rise in the popularity of the lecture circuit. Elizabeth Cady Stanton began a series of cross-country lectures in 1871, after her newspaper, *Revolution*, had run into debt.[38] The same year, Victoria Woodhull addressed the House Judiciary Committee, the first woman to speak before Congress, and advocated hearings on a Constitutional Amendment for women's suffrage.[39] She and her sister, Tennessee Clafin, had since 1870 been publishing their controversial newspaper, *Woodhull and Clafin's Weekly*, which freely discussed abortion, sexuality, prostitution, the role of working women, socialism, free love, spiritualism, and published *The Communist Manifesto*,[40] while the National Women's Suffrage Association, formed the prior year, was active in a series of state campaigns for the enfranchisement of women.[41] A momentum had formed by the revision of state property laws and numerous women's conventions, since the groundbreaking 1848 Seneca Falls meeting, and in-demand lecturers, like Annie Besant, were touring Britain and the U.S.[42] Newspapers, as is their wont, were sparing no coverage or opinion. Such is the social context for the lecture-hall-bound wife of the Weller view, who abandons her maternal and wifely duties for political pursuits, the censuring scene implies. Interestingly, this view has the initials "M. M. C." on verso, written in a florid Victorian script, likely a woman's. Whichever the sex of M.M.C., this collector thought the view spoke personally enough to claim it.

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In the same decade, Melander and Brother had their New Woman view—*Who's Running This House?*, 1875 (fig. 171), in which a top-hatted stranger appears at the homestead where the husband labors at the wash tub, the son hangs the wash, and the seated mother, master of the house, is accompanied by her idle daughter, broom lying across her lap. The message, here, is that the reversal of gender roles will unsex the man and give governance to the women who will have no better sense than to remain idle. The "woman's rights" views and the "New Woman" views from 1895 onwards—when the latter term began to appear on stereo titles--were not responding directly to suffrage issues, as the struggle for women's votes was unpopular and most opposed to it.[43] It is the much larger issue of power to which the views in this chapter respond, with often knee-jerk hysteria. What is clear in the latter century is that women were becoming more powerful, collectively seeking political influence, becoming activists, making demands, aspiring to education, work outside the home, and decidedly not self-effacing. Women's self-determinacy was the real issue, and the hysteria that dogged its heels was that if women control their own lives they will also control men, for didn't they already have a commanding power over their homes and those within it? Nothing symbolizes this power and the fear it generated as much as the trouble with tubs.

Unlike the laundresses of French erotic views, where lower class women sweat over sloshing water, their necklines drooping down in exhausted, moist suggestiveness, in America there is nothing sexy about the wash tub. Servants are not pictured as laboring there, making themselves available to the voyeuristic view. Rather, it is down-trodden husbands who are. More than any other symbol, the wash tub in the U.S. became a weapon in a battle of domination, and who does the laundry tells more about social change than bloomers or bicycles. Considered "the weekly affliction," laundry was thought abhorrent, time consuming, and degrading.[44] Many still remember the tradition of Monday as designated for washing, a day when all other chores are put on hold and cooking is

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minimized or absent. This was the middle class standard, where hiring out of laundry was infrequent, though it may have been desired. The primitive washing machines of the 1890s, a tub with a ringer attached, did not much ease the burden. They simply added to the work load by contributing higher standards of cleanliness and diminishing the likelihood of hired help.[45] The middle class, American woman, who collected these views, had a life that encompassed an endless round of chores, but we seldom ever see her so burdened within the views. True to their fantasy imperative, stereoviews offer women an endless supply of "Sundays," while for the men it is all "Mondays."

If it wasn't laundry that feminized him, it was sewing. Having the needs of his attire serviced was considered man's due. Becoming wet up to the elbows or threading a needle for this purpose was degrading or ridiculous, an iconography which had long standing.[46] Apparently, the situation hadn't altered much by 1910, as Florence Guy Seabury's humor relates: "Nor is it uncommon for a virile, athletic man to pale before the process of counting, sorting and listing his laundry or gaze with a look of pathetic frustration at a button which has come off in the process of dressing."[47] Water is symbolically associated with the female body, and becoming wet for the sake of the laundry, or in the male bather views, was a sign of feminization. Some views substitute the tasks of waiting on the table or cooking for subordination. In this manner, the hen-pecked husband, a long-standing type, slid comfortably into the New Woman titles, for both employed the symbols of "woman's work" unsexing the male, principally the laundry tub, the cook stove, and sewing, while the wife takes a holiday with reading, public speaking, or bicycling. The attitude that men ought to be served but never serve forms the core of bachelor views, as well, where the lack of a woman to take charge of his needs leaves the man to shift for himself, with comic consequences. Predominantly, however, it was the view of the washtub that served as the symbol of frustration for men and imagined liberation for women.

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Kilburn's 1892 view of a laundering husband and comfortably newspaper-reading wife has the protagonist whine, *And Me Old Chum's at the Door*, 1892 (fig. 172). A spinning wheel, the symbol of former wifely industry, sits in the rear-ground, visually between the couple, while the husband's hand, wringing clothes, and the wife's leisured foot jut stereoscopically toward the viewer. Rau/Griffith and Griffith's *Twentieth Century Woman*, 1895, presents a finger-wagging wife and two babies for the washing husband to tend, while C. H. Graves/Universal Art Photo Co. has titled their laundering husband view simply, *Twentieth Century Washerwoman*, 1905.[48] In case resistance is encountered, a Kilburn/Davis view of 1897 puts the New Woman's recourse plainly. The title, *Don't Tell Me You Won't Wash*, is the personal-narrative response of the wife who is battering her mutinous husband into submission (fig. 173). The view is beautifully stereoscopic, with the foregrounding clothes on the floor and sheet spilling from the wringer adding depth-cues, and the straining muscles on the husband's neck and arm popping out, accentuated by shadow. The familiar embroidery pattern on the wall ironically reads, "What is Home without Mother"; a caged bird symbolizes the imprisonment of his condition, the hanging rolling pin reminds us of another female weapon, and the child's rocker behind the husband's left foot has him pinned in place. The husband's expressive body language, grimace, clenched fists and tight muscles, make the view a (painful) success. Graves/Universal Photo Art Company in 1900 repeated the *Don't Tell Me You Won't Wash* title, with the wife spanking the husband, but adds a prequel, *Maria, I Won't Wash Another Dud.*. The viewer easily imagines that, after his battery, he did, and Maria calmly returned to reading *Puck*.[49]

Battery as a theatrical device for comic extremity was determined by fantasy, not the reality of physical abuse. Joining the ranks of the pugilistic, termagant wife was the New Woman, who "planked down the law" as easily as the Old Woman did. This imaging of women as batterers was a comic transference that denied the actuality of abuse in

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marriage, turning the subject into a mere jest, for if the victims even in fantasy are the ones who bully then they cannot be so terribly victimized. In this way, the conservative rule of the right through might is preserved through denial and inversion. On the other hand, its use suggests that women are physically strong enough to bully and batter a man, thereby adding an element of fear, even if fictional, to women's bid for authority. Wasson/ International View Co.'s 1900 *His Protests Were Heard* (fig. 174) shows the wife meting out a ludicrous spanking to sons and husband alike, with the source of the objections, washtub and hanging laundry, in the rear-ground.[50] The New Woman was intended as an insult, yet their unmanly men are demeaned even the more, to the point of infantilization. Quite a few writers of the time, always a more earnest bunch than stereographers, suggested that such unwomanly women were not female at all but a new gender.[51]

That there were at least a couple feminist ideas twisted into perverse interpretation in these parodies is revealed in a six-view cinematic-like series by Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood from 1900. The titles are the spoken monologue of an irate, New Woman, upon whom a couple of these ideas have gotten hold, as she does the same to her husband's person. A severely dressed, badly coiffed, bespectacled matron, her hand upon a paper she lifts from a writing desk, tumbles over her stool, and shakes her fist at her husband, while he cowers and loses his grip upon a statuette of a male lion: *Yes, Mr. Caught-a-Tartar! The time is coming when*— (1). The series continues: *Woman will no longer be the mere slave*-- (2)—she has him by the collar, and the lion statuette and its table are overturned. *Of brute Man, Sir!* (3) (fig. 175). *No longer the poor, down-trodden*-- (4): she steps upon him. *Oppressed*-- (5): she beats him.. *Weak and helpless being she is now is!* (fig. 176). She has exhausted herself, and, though shaken, her victim is more bewildered than harmed. The "idea" has turned into aggressive posturing, histrionics and weeping. Yet, even within its lampooning of feminism's argument, this view series manages to acknowledge an ideological basis for bad behavior. She is not

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simply wicked, just gone over-board with a bad idea, implies the series. Her over-excitement serves as a social corrective, cautioning the group from ludicrous extremity. Though still sexist, our New Woman is not shocking, nor a moral condemnation, but a staple form of domesticated humor, and her husband is in his extremity every-man under stereo's cynical view of marriage. Feminism is too much for this lady, but the thoughts are spoken, and the joke may lodge them better than oratory.

To look at the history of gender in the nineteenth century is to examine one new idea after another that did lodge with society. We take their benefits for granted now, but the initial utterance, or practices, caused plenty of resistance. Strange as it may seem, controversy arose over a woman riding a bicycle, going to college or work, or reading while her husband set the table. These situations, whether actual or fictive creations, incited reactions measurable from our perspective in the images and texts through which publishers catered to and in some instances inflamed the public. Much of the imagery centered upon the changes in conventions for dress, which, for practical reasons, were long over-due for change by the end of the century. The controversies that resulted were, however, largely symbolic for larger issues of women and mobility, power, and access.

The fashions until the end of century aimed for a maximum of elegance, material, workmanship, and attractiveness and a minimum of movement, including breathing. Long trailing skirts that collected filth from the street, corsets that cut off circulation, cramped the lungs, cracked ribs, displaced the internal organs, and caused a host of other medical problems, petticoats in twenty pounds of layers that suffocated the body, itched with horse hair and inhibited movement, crinolines that caught on everything, swung with embarrassing independence, and sometimes caught fire, bustles and heels that threw-off the posture and caused chiropractic, foot, and nerve damage, the hobble skirt, aptly named—the list could go on. Women who needed to work or go to school had to commute without harming themselves and yet satisfy the demand for a neat and socially acceptable

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appearance. The rise in women college graduates and educational opportunities for women meant that more and more women were circulating outside the home, and these graduates sought employment in any field that was open to them, especially as typists, nurses, teachers, clerks and in civil service.[52] For twenty-percent of the female population, the work world was their domain by 1890.[53]

Stereoviews and cartoons treated the educated and working woman with ambivalence. She was not harmful, so long as she did not compete with men, just distinctive, an oddity worth a comment, illustration, and a wry smile.[54] A cartoon from *Punch*, "St. Valentine's Day at Girton," 1876, depicts two elegantly dressed, smoking women reading a letter. One has her foot propped up on a chair (read "manly pose"). The caption begins with a passage in Greek, which the first young lady reads. She continues: "Charming isn't it! Gussie must have sent it from Oxford?" To which the second lady adds, "Yes, it's out of *Antigone*—the Love Chorus, you know. How much jollier than those silly English verses fellows used to send!"[55] The humor, here, is that the educated woman is a spectacle and oddity worth a bemused smile in herself—not to be scorned, perhaps even to be admired for her upper-class erudition, but at all accounts not to be taken very seriously.

In a similar vein is a New Woman sequence a quarter century later by William Rau/Universal View Co. *She Has Lost Her Good Job*, 1901 (fig. 177), depicts a sobbing typist, her bicycle in the rearground, and a title that seems to imply the story. We come to a fuller understanding, however, when this view is accompanied by its precedessor, *The Careless Typewriter*, of 1900. While checking her work, the bold, New Woman had propped her feet on her desk and exposed her stockinged calves with casual nonchalance.[56] Interestingly, these two views were not published in the same year as a sequence, but copyrighted a year apart. This implies that they could have been sold as a pair or as singular views, whichever suited the purpose at hand.[57] As a sequence, the eroticism of the audacious young woman and her justice delivered is the dominant theme, but, as single

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views split apart, they form quite different associations—the former remaining in the voyeuristic, erotic mode, but the latter assuming a sympathetic tone without its companion. Singly, *She Has Lost Her Good Job* becomes a sentimental view of a "bachelor girl" who needs, but has just lost, her employment.[58] This pair of views illustrates the manner in which multiple readings could occur by sequencing views or splitting them up, thus catering to different audiences with flexibility of meaning.

This pair could easily have spoken to erotic desire, or a back-lash sentiment regarding the inappropriateness of women in offices, or, conversely, to the young working woman herself. The typist's simple, dark skirt and shirt-waist were the fashion for women entering the masculine world of work, as was the Gibson-style bun.[59] Dress was considered feminine, while the working world was "masculine," and this style was the working woman's adaptation to male space. This lady's striped shirt adds a flare, but most shirt waists were plain white, ready-to-wear and bought from the men's counter of department stores. The bicycle, meanwhile, was a preferred method for commuting, offering independence at a rate even a typist could afford. The ensemble stands at marked contrast to the "St. Valentine's Day at Girton," and the leisured pursuit of reading Greek, which offered no harm and a bit of eccentric humor to the wealthy. Both the working world and the bicycle, here, depart from the notion of women's accomplishments as a sign of the dilettante's social status. They also marked a decline for women's couturier-made dresses, trailing skirts, and complicated hair styles. The New Woman represented in her person a significant improvement in ease and freedom of movement over previous styles and modes of transport. The censure we see in the New Woman view is, here, substituted with a sympathy inducing the viewer's part in constructing the narrative for this moment. The woman depicted in this scene needs, in the terms of Josephine Daskam, "a work of her own," a notion that, though still received with scorn and derogatory humor, was gaining momentum and credibility.[60]

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The fashions of the 'nineties were not the first in women's dress reform. A ballyhoo surrounded the introduction of the Bloomer outfit, which began as a joke among feminists in the Amelia Bloomer and Elizabeth Cady Stanton circle during the Seneca Falls Convention of 1851.[61] The bloomer dress was a tunic over loose, baggy trousers, rather like the shalwar and camise of North Indian costumes but with a belt and more blossomy skirt. It never caught on with the public of Britain and North America, but the press just loved it. George Cruikshank, who was far from alone in his opinion, published a fold-out, three page cartoon, *The "Bloomers" in Hyde Park, or an Extraordinary Exhibition for 1852,"* full of ridiculous renderings of women in the dress.[62] His disdain, like that of his male contemporaries, was not new. The trouble seemed to lie in the symbolic conceptualization of pants, an article of clothing exclusively reserved by general opinion for the male. Pants were allied with power, sexuality, and the male body, while women who wore them were "castrating," out-of-control, immoral, sexually dominant and/or available, silly, or any combination thereof. This prejudice had stood for several centuries.[63] A piece of cloth, like a bicycle seat or a saddle, was suspect if it separated a woman's legs. Medical tracts against bicycling attempted to inflame their readers against the dangers of astride positions, stating outright that a woman's health and the wholesomeness of the race would be endangered by the potential for masturbation, especially in the bent-over-the-handlebars "scorching position."[64] Pants meant not only uninhibited physical freedom but the right to control one's own direction, including the sexual, and women who tried to wear them were, in nineteenth-century fears, trying to become men. This meant that the men by comparison would be left with being something less, as each gender presumably gained definition by contrast with the other.

A cartoon by William Heath from 1830 is an early illustration of how important sex-specific dress was to the structure of the genders as they were conceived. In *The Rival McHeaths, or the Select Vestris against the would be Over-See-Her,* Lady McHeath declares to

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her husband, "I shall wear the Breeches when I please—as for any thing else—I'm as good a man as you" (fig. 178).[65] Her stirrups rise from her ankles to a fastening at the crotch and have the appearance of male genitals, as she stands phallically rigid, arms akimbo, leaning into him, while her whip is separating his coattails, and a foolish duck head is protrudes from his buttocks (he's a "bird" or "canard"). She's wearing a top hat—the sign of a gentleman—while his legs are bent and separated in a feminine sexual position. He sits as though riding, sans horse, symbolically without power. The pants have given her not only freedom and brass but the male genitalia and its implied act of sexual dominance over her husband.

Trousers as a sign of manliness and sexual dominance often translated to sexual availability and license when on a female body. The European theatre had a tradition of costuming women suggestively in tights, bloomers, and cross-dressed in trousers.[66] The French, in particular, exported their *grisettes*, attractive female characters in Turkish trousers who smoked, drank, and were associated with sexual license, part-time prostitution, and the world of the demi-mondaine.[67] Some of these erotic, *grisette* views of bohemian or demi-mondaine society made their way into the U.S., and, though American publishers only infrequently copied their costuming, they left an impression.[68]

A woman dressed in trousers wore more than "the pants." She clothed herself in signs of the self-assertively sexual and liberated from the barriers placed before ladies by social custom and vigilant husbands and families. An example is Underwood and Underwood's *New Woman—Wash Day*, 1901 (fig. 179), a view where the typical wash tub and laboring husband are seen next to an aggressive, trousered wife who props a leg over the back of a chair in a sportsman-like posture, which would have been considered, more than unladylike, positively vulgar. The widely split legs and showy plaid stockings suggest indecency—keeping in mind how many views give titillation with just a glimpse of a booted ankle. The trousers, boater hat, gloves, and men's style shoes suggest the sexual

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immorality associated with cross-dressing, as well as a body language that proclaims aggression and sexual assertion. By contrast, the husband is in the "castrated" position of wearing a skirt apron and getting soaked. The husband bends to the wash board, a position that carries sexual overtones, while the wife stands erect, towering over him with a jaunty, arrogant expression. The rail that forms the back of the chair is positioned phallically between her legs, and the cigarette jutting from her lips carries its own masculine symbolism, as does the bicycle in the doorway. In antebellum days, the cigarette had carried the sign of sexual license, as prostitutes on Broadway in New York took up smoking in order to distinguish themselves from other gaudily-dressed, made-up ladies during the fashion of the flamboyant "B'wery Girl."[69] The French *grisette* and demi-mondaine from the 1850s were frequently featured with cigars and cigarettes, an icon maintained for some time. By the end of the century, however, the sign of the cigarette for prostitution had softened into simply a code for assertive modernity and social rebellion.[70] It is this meaning, with the added emphasis on the castrating female as a freely motile and sexual being, that *New Woman—Wash Day* carries. The smoking woman was also thought to be ludicrous, as Keystone's New Woman view, *I've Struck the Match at Last* (1904) illustrates, with its bloomered, bicycling wife proudly declaring her newfound modern-man ability to her aproned husband setting the table.[71] As a smoker, she was less competent than the man at housework, this view implies.[72]

Pants made the woman incompetent to her sex, as she was defined in relation to men, her only definition. Though the press lampooned many efforts to promote dress reform, it was widely acknowledged by journalists, as well as by the medical profession, feminists, and other cultural commentators that more practical fashions were needed.[73] Though the world of work and the intense desire for women's education did their share to promote dress reform, nothing furthered the cause more than sports, especially the bicycle. Academic and physical fitness were complementarily promoted by educators since the

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1880s, and the notion of the physically active girl and woman got a social foothold from this sphere.[74] The sporting woman began to appear on the scene in terms of popular imagery in the late 1880s. She was less frightening than the suffragists and feminists, and an easier companion than intellectual women, who raised fears that the masculine claim to the higher faculties of reasoning might be at risk. She was also healthy and attractive, representing a variety of the New Woman who was easy-on-the-eye and less likely to incur censure.[75] Women began to skate, swim, canoe, row, golf, shoot, and take up archery, croquet and tennis, while the popular press alternated between admiring the sportswomen in outdoor display and satirizing either their efforts or their muscle-bulging, waistless (read "masculine") bodies.[76] A group of young New York aristocrats, "the moderns," led by Ava Astor, took up sports in wholehearted defiance of parental disapproval and did much to glamorize the athletic woman.[77]

In Britain, meanwhile, a new style of clothing called "rationals" featured knickerbockers (bloomers) and were promoted at schools that required sports and calisthenics for women.[78] They grew further in popularity with the rage of bicycling in the mid-'nineties. Two sets of clothing for well-off women emerged—one wardrobe for sports and another for walking and public appearance, while young people evolved their own clothes style in defiance of the proprieties of fashion.[79] Sports encouraged young women to abandon or selectively use corsets and petticoats and to leave off hoops and bustles altogether. The chain of bicycles, particularly, spelled death to long skirts, and rather than have their clothing caught and dire accidents occur, women took to bloomers. By 1895, bloomers were no longer the dress of the demi-mondaine. One could see bloomered and trousered females sporting just about everywhere, not caring a bit about exposing their stockinged ankles.

As we have seen, though, bloomers still carried some of their former associations. Conservative sentiment had them as another token that women were trying to become men

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and badly botching the business of the sexes. In stereoviews, we have wonderfully clownish bloomers—striped, flowered, plaid, and huge--sported by women in the classic "leg up" positions, as in Rau/Griffith and Griffith's *The New Woman and the Old Man*, 1897, and Whiting's, *"Mind the children, finish the washing, and have dinner at 12,"* 1900 (fig. 180).[80] In both these views, all the codified New Woman symbols are present, with the addition of the husband subserviently lacing the wife's shoe or boot. In the Whiting view, a box of boot black and polishing cloths sit on the doll chair in the lower left: obviously, he has polished those boots, too.

Though presented in a light-hearted fashion, traditionalists and satirists were imparting a serious message about New Women and sports women being less malleable to men's notion of their behavior than they were responsive to their own desires. We have seen the matter of self-assertive swimmers a little too free in their manners in "The Boatman Somewhat Rattled" types. The woman who goes against the grain of female-inculcated passivity with a devil-may-care attitude is one who is in danger of slipping past male control. In Underwood and Underwood's *Cupid: Valentine for Miss Twentieth Century—Have I Made a Mistake?*, 1903 (fig. 181), a sports woman is about to receive an amorous epistle, but Cupid wonders if such a manly woman could possibly be the addressee of a gentleman's affections.[81] She is surrounded by the signs of her "bachelorhood": bicycle, rifle, camera, golf clubs, bar bells, banjo, snowshoes, scattered papers, and, in a split skirt and boy's cap, reading the newspaper, she appears in no need of feminine attributes or attentions from the opposite sex. She is completely self-confident, an incarnation of the "varmity woman" made popular by the *Saturday Review* in the 'nineties, a latter day "Diana" interested only in hunting, drinking and riding.[82] That self-confidence and independence in women were threatening to men is well illustrated by a T. K. Hanna, Jr. cartoon from 1897. The New Woman leans jauntily against a table, in a handsomely-tailored, bloomer outfit, while her husband exasperatedly puts down his newspaper. The dialogue says it all: "Mr.

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B.: You are trying very hard to be a man, it seems. Mrs. B.: Well, don't you think we need one in the family?"[83] The New Woman was not just a matter for female incompetence, she was challenging in her own right.

Now, about those ubiquitous bicycles--it is a curious matter that feminism should have received its most popular bolstering from a sports and transportation machine more than from the principles for which it stood, but it is nonetheless true that the bike succeeded in promoting women's causes with the speed that characterizes it. Women's rights found its physical symbol not in the abstract matter of the vote but in a machine that meant fast, independent mobility. The bicycle and the cinema are not commonly associated in critical literature, but their availability to a wide public was exactly contemporaneous, and, in terms of transport, they both meant speed and ease. The cinema as a mechanism would come to supplant the popularity of stereography for the transporting effect of the visually fictive, and early films liberally adopted stereo's themes. The bicycle would also come to supplant an earlier mode—the home-bound woman and her ideological placement as queen of the palace of sentiment. What movies and bikes both did was to take women out of the home, circulate them physically and entertainment-wise in the world, and to make this access a factor of modern fashion, movement, and speed. The narrative views of the New Woman come layered with the multiple meanings of fast—change, quickness, cleverness, con artistry, and the sexual. She was not your traditional prescription for marital happiness, but she *was* entertaining, and even if her incarnation was strictly a theme for the artist, photographer and writer, the American public, as they would for the Nickelodeon actress, gobbled her up.

There are quite a few histories of the bicycle, an invention popularized in the 1890s, especially with the advent of the safety bicycle with its pneumatic tires and enclosed gears.[84] Previously, tires were a rough, wooden affair, and chains were uncovered. Besides reforming clothing by dooming the corset and giving license to women to wear pants, the

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bicycle got women exercising and gave them personal freedom. By the mid-nineties, four million Americans were riding, and women comprised 25-30% of them.[85] The bicycle became a chief means to women to get to work and for ladies to pay calls, and it soon became more popular than the parlor piano, Sunday matinees at theaters, and, even, church.[86] The comic press went wild, and whole issues were devoted to "wheelers," "scorchers," and "pedal-pushers," often drawn as women riders.[87] Nor were most cartoons derogatory, although stereoview publishers tended to take that tack. The bicycle's popularity in the illustrated press was representative of its regard with the public. In the height of the craze, 1894-95, riding schools in New York catered to ladies, and it was common to see bicyclettes, girls paid to ride around cites into order to drum up business.[88] Rental "wheeleries" sprung up, and every town had bikes for sale.[89]

The woman who rode put herself on public display, and whether she intended to, she was asserting that women were not the frail creatures who endangered their health and that of the race by speeding around on two wheels.[90] By 1895, most physicians were won over, and praised the healthfulness of bicycling.[91] Romantic writers, cartoonists, and song writers got into the swing and wove stories and ballads about bicycling leading to marriage and romantic bliss.[92] One of the most popular was "The Bicycle Built for Two," beginning "Daisy, Daisy, Give Me Your Answer Please," which can still be sung by many. More than just a fad or a great new exercise, the bicycle was a machine for freedom--"many women used their bicycles not so much to get anywhere as to get away."[93]

What we see in narrative stereography, however, is the derogatory bicycling New Woman of conservative sentiment. It was suspected that women couldn't control their bicycles, as in the Keystone sequence *The Start* (woman on top of bike) and *The Finish* (bike on top of woman), 1896.[94] Ideologically speaking, this was a projection of the belief that women were getting out of control, and their husbands were unable to "steer" them any more than women could their machines. One New Woman variation was the title, *Sew on*

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Your Own Buttons, I'm Going for a Ride, as seen in a 1901 view by George Griffith (fig. 182). The trousered wife in shirt waist and tie authoritatively hands the shirt back to the husband, who is holding a broom and sitting defeatedly in his apron. She will ride, and the husband must take care of himself, and the housework as well. This view stands in contrast to Kilburn's *No Buttons,* where the husband is standing helplessly with open cuffs, while the overwhelmed wife looks on.

The "No Buttons" and "Sew on Your Own Buttons" view types form an 1890s dialectic between the concept of the helpless male who expected to have his needs catered to, and the refusing New Woman who was declaring her own needs. The first view type was more conventional in its supposition that men were incapable of feminine tasks such as sewing and fully expectant that their privilege of never having to learn would continue unabated. The humor, here, is that marriage takes one "down a peg." This type, issued in my data base from four publishers between 1892 and 1898, maintains gender roles and the humor of deflated ideals.[95] The New Woman refusing to sew anymore for the newfound freedom represented by her bicycle was delivering the message that feminists had been trying to impart, though to a far greater purpose—that men could no longer automatically expect women to be subservient to their needs. This view title was published between the years 1896 and 1901 from Keystone first, followed by Griffith and Griffith.

We should note, however, that these view types do not exactly provide tidy counter examples, for, along with the introduction of the newer idea that women's place was not necessarily to be convenient to men, came the backlash asserting that if women weren't subservient to their husbands, then the husbands must be to their wives. The Victorian conception of genders hardly saw beyond a one-up, one-down position in any matter, and where it graced one gender with superiority in a quality, the other had to be lacking. Humorous visions by this standard were usually a matter of simple inversion or gender reversal. The difference we find in especially the last decade was that the simply silly

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inversion had turned into one that thinly veiled some serious matters, and the satire was turning around upon itself to imply the incompetence of gender and marriage.

Women's dominance at home and men's expectation to defer to the wife in domestic matters functioned as a keystone in the structure that gave to men nearly unlimited freedom everywhere else and also eliminated competition from women. It was the duty of the gentleman to "put up" with situations on the domestic front and not to take extreme behavior there too seriously. Such tolerance was the mark of his self-control, gentility, and correct perspective on the superiority of world affairs versus petty domestic storms. As women pushed farther, however, towards the rights to higher education and advances in the work world, their self-assertions could not be so easily trivialized, and the response of men toward women over-stepping their bounds grew more harsh and aggressive.[96] The torch bearing symbol of this social change became the bicycle, which, more than providing actual physical speed and freedom, was associated with independence. The bicycle gave women a physical manifestation of "the idea" that their sex could aspire to self-direction, control, and free movement. The male characters whom we see in the New Woman view are unglued by this vision, which means for them only loss and submission. But this is no tragedy, no "Doll's House."[97] It's a highly popular, comedic type. Therein is the perverse manifestation of the insubordinate humor—the extremity was repeated until the vision of pain and/or delight inured the viewer to it.

As for delight, the New Woman had sexual allure as well as domination. In Keystone's *Getting Her Hair Banged,* 1897 (fig. 183), she sits in the barber chair, receiving more than the short hair cut of the liberated woman. The sequel, *Getting His Hair Banged,* shows the entry of the barber's wife wielding a broom to her husband's trespassing head.[98] These merge the adulterous erotic theme with that of the trendy New Woman. We have seen that the sexual symbolism of the cross-dressed woman sits on the fence between vulgar availability and domination. The New Woman could also represent, however, a

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coolly self-determined refusal, as in a view by J. B. King/Pan American Photo Art Co., *No More Babies for Me!*, 1895 (fig. 184).[99] The wife sits, absorbed in her novel, determinedly ignoring her husband who is left to change a diaper (on a doll) and plead. This overt reference to sex is unusual for its day. More common is the wife's refusal to serve her family's needs in terms of chores performed. A woman's ability to limit family size was a goal of feminist activists, but seldom do we see it so directly expressed in a nineteenth-century comic form, with the obvious and unhappy consequence to the frustrated man.

The New Woman image played with both sides, permission and refusal, and she came to represent any change in feminine form that challenged men to think and adapt. That thinking about women's desires was threatening to men is evident also in some of the more extreme New Woman variants, such as a type entitled "The New Woman Barber," "The Fair, Young Barber," or "Hubby's Sunday Morning Shave." Ostensibly, the barber in the Keystone version of 1896 (fig. 185) is a sexual object: she's in her petticoat (notice the fine handicraft of the lace), and her propped knee reveals a bit of calf and stocking. The razor blade in her hand is altogether a different matter, though, as it looms prominently in foregrounding space, and her cocked little finger and teasing smile bear a menacing quality. The husband, having been nicked, grabs his face and grimaces. The associations with Judith and Holofernes, Salome, and Delilah, come rushing into the view, along with their cultural signage.[100] The version by Sterro-Photo repeats the same code, but the actor has stretched his neck backward, bearing it to the erotic, pleasant devil with the blade. The New Woman aspect to these views received suggestion from the cartoon trope of depicting the bloomer clad feminist with a beard, or a woman or group in a barber chairs being shaved.[101] The woman asserting her rights was not only copying men, these cartoons suggested, she would become a man, beard and all, a position which left men, by the one-up one-down structure, to develop into women. Another cartoon type shows a group of men in barber chairs being shaved by attractive women hired to generate business.[102] The New Woman Barber views

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take the germ of a feminist idea and graft it onto a more traditional one, the destructive women's alliance with sexuality. The New Woman, if she does not grow a beard herself, will cut her husband's, a symbol of his masculinity, with perhaps fatal results.

Behind these comedies was a more sincere reflex of adaptation that the views, while seeming to oppose change, were actually rehearsing. By slapstick or eros, the pain and fear of insecurity presented by "new" women could be physicalized, addressed, and worked through. Comedy allows anxiety its freest expression, as ideals and sincerity no longer need protection but are jettisoned for effect. The result is the fool, who in the tradition of Shakespeare's King Lear, is the only one in the realm who can get away with the truth. The views in this chapter suggest that incompetency was in the roles of gender itself, as their symbolism, codes and ideological structure seemed to be deteriorating. The New Woman was another form of male hysteria, that, quite rapidly after minting, became codified.

This had the effect of making conservative the target of the satiric fire. As men became more aggressive towards depicting women not just as sentimental and harmlessly silly creatures, but as dominating wives and bike-crazed women who emasculated their men, their barbs meant to be genuinely insulting soon lost their sting, and the codes they established settled into a wry domesticity. Finding an affectionate acceptance in many homes, they soothed the aggression by claiming it, and the New Woman was a type collected for a demonstration of audacity and fantasy of defiance. With baggy bloomers in bulging plaids, cigarettes dangling, and browbeaten husbands, the type must have provided a real diversion for women buried in diapers and laundry, as well as sexual allure for men, with women in leg-up, one-up positions, displaying their well-turned calves. The commercial view publishers of the 'nineties were providing the public with what they wanted, and the more the codes could play double with meaning—both a conservative put-

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down of women and a suggestion of a day of liberation from drudgery--the greater the number of viewers who could read into the view what they wanted.

The incompetent man view and the New Woman view both aimed at an emasculating humor by "proxy." Whether bungling the stove assembly or the management of the wife, the men in this chapter are no longer in control. The humor, therefore, finds its laughter in the release of nervous anxiety, in the thought that the world as a province of male rule and prerogative was scorching down the road into history. The New Woman was an aggregate of this change, its rapidity, and the crisis of domesticity and gender, along with the new competition of women in public life. The caricature of the woman with an "idea" was also a commercial fabrication meant to bank on notions of difference, such as new dress styles, bicycles, or women's issues, which, of course, no truly up-to-date woman would want to miss. As markets broadened to cater to women's taste, so, too, did the commercial exploitation of the gender crisis come to play doubly with ideology. Until the public tired of her, the New Woman was a fictional character spun to release male frustration and vicariously express women's desires.[103] The incompetent male, her partner, was a transference of a similar anxiety onto another who allows one to laugh at the self, at one's husband, or at the structure of relations itself. Together, this pair domesticated change.

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[1] The New Woman was "quickly co-opted into a new mythology." Marks, 10.

[2] An integral part of the Romantic view is an ideology that stresses the primacy of the individual. His emotive response, perceptions, needs and rights came to the fore and began to be examined as qualities and states independently or at least separate from the nature of his surroundings and fellow others. The reintegration of this separate phenomenon, the individual, with his milieu occupies a central position in Romantic response. Abrams, 65. For Feminism, too, the individual's needs are central to arguments against women's assigned role. Marketers found that playing up to individual desires was the handiest device to create and satisfy "need."

[3] I have two such bachelor dinner views in my data base. Rau/Barry Kelly Chadwick's of 1903 and Wasson/International View Co.'s of 1905—both part of an extended bridal series.

[4] John Maddison Morton, *My Bachelor Days* (New York: Samuel French, n.d.). Morton had a fifty year history as Britain's most successful farce writer.

[5] Collection of Douglas Wheeler.

[6] Ben was known for acting certain roles himself. The bachelor, here, resembles the stereo of

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Ben published as a Kilburn/Davis view, *Our Trip to the Mines, Ouray, Col.*, 1890, recently published by auctioneer John Saddy, and identified by T. K. Treadwell: www3.sympatico.ca/john.saddy.3d.

[7] See also, Parker's Gallery, *Bachelor's Sweetheart*, c. 1870, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

[8] British, *Single Blessedness* (he cannot thread a needle), collection of the author; Treadwell, *English Masters* has a reproduction of a British copyrighted view, *The Troubles of Single Life* (same theme). Underwood and Underwood, *Necessity is the Mother of Invention*, 1895: man in comical grimace cutting a thread with his teeth, collection of the author. Stroymeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *Convenience of Single Life*, 1897: man squinting, unable to thread a needle, foregrounded with a bottle of Rye and cigarettes upon a table, collection of the author.

[9] Samuel Baker.

[10] Whiting/Universal View Co., *They Thought They Would Surprise the Bachelor* and *The Surprise*, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History. B. W. Kilburn's *A Stitch in Time Saves Nine* and *Love Hangs By a Little String*, 1893, collection of the New York Historical Society.

[11] Collection of the author.

[12] Collections of the American Antiquarian Society and the Smithsonian Institution. National Museum of American History.

[13] Underwood and Underwood, *Trials of Housekeeping--The Cook Indisposed*, 1901, collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.

[14] Henri Bergson discusses this comparison, 99; as does Nancy Walker, 82.

[15] Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *You Go First, Hannah, I'm Near-sighted* 1890, collection of The Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of American History; Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *You Go First, Hannah! 'Twould Be a Mean Man that Would Hurt a Woman*, 1897, Helen Mosley Collection, The Oliver Wendell Holmes Library; Young/American Stereoscopic Company (2), *You Go First, Mary, No Man Would Hurt a Woman and Good Men Are Scarce*, and *I've Taught That Fellow a Lesson—He Won't Come Here Again*, 1903, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History; Young/American Stereoscopic Company, *You Go First, Molly, I'm Near-sighted*, 1900, collection of American Antiquarian Society; Wasson/International View Company, *You Go First, Clara, They'd Never Hurt a Woman*, 1901, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; Kilburn/Davis, *Looking for the Burglar*, 1899, collection of The Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.

[16] Collection of the author.

[17] Freud, "Jokes," 229-235.; "Humour," 162-166.

[18] One example is view from Gems of German Life/Loescher and Petsh, c. 1870, depicting a sick woman taking tea, accompanied by a friend. My print has an inscription on verso: G. M. Stevens. Collection of the author.

[19] British, *Married and Happy*, depicts a sick man tended lovingly by his wife, late 1850s, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

[20] Green, 287. Edward John Hardy, *How to be Happy though Married: Being a Handbook to Marriage by a Graduate in the University of Matrimony* (New York: Scribners and Sons, 1886), 32.

[21] Mitchell, "Sentiment and Suffering," 38, 40.

[22] Ibid, 44.

[23] Bergson's article was originally published in three parts in *La Revue de Paris*, Feb. 1st and 15th and March 15th in 1899. Bergson, 194-95.

[24] Ibid, 29.

[25] Ibid, 197.

[26] Ibid, 195, 196.

[27] Douglas, 160.

[28] Reed, 53, 77.

[29] Reed, 40-44.

[30] Robert Bell, *Ladder of Gold*, 1850; quoted in Reed, 42.

[31] See Cunningham; Flint, 219-315; Dowling.

[32] Dowling writes that the New Woman was compared to anarchists: "the loosening of sexual controls apparently encouraged by literary decadence and New Woman fictions was almost universally believed by late-Victorian critics to threaten the vital bonds of state and culture," 438.

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"Wild Women" "Social Insurgents," "He-Male," "Manly Woman," other derogatory labels surrounded the aggregate of concepts embodied in the New Woman character: Marks, Introduction.
[33] The humorless position of Lisa Tickner is that the New Woman caricatures are strictly misogynistic.
[34] Banner, 244.
[35] A poem in the October 10, 1891 issue of *Pick-Me-Up,* a British humor magazine, praises the New Woman for her studiousness, seriousness, and modesty, as quoted in Marks, 7. *Punch,* too, celebrated the first woman Doctor from Oxford, with a tone of sincere congratulation: Edward Tennyson Reed, *"Place aux Dames," Punch,* vol. 98 (June 21, 1890), 289. British periodicals, on the whole, expressed ambivalence about "Girl Graduates," mixing praise with doubt, while Americans were less reserved in lauding achievement. On both continents, however, the belief was entrenched that women's primary goal was to marry. Marks, 108-116..
[36] Marks, 22.
[37] Treadwell reports two more variants of these Weller views, *The Stereoviews of F. G. Weller.* I have seen only this pair.
[38] Begun in 1868, *Revolution* was a feminist newspaper that demanded the opening of schools, colleges and professions for women, equal places in the work force as well as equal wages for women and men, and the reform of divorce law to protect women's rights. It also discussed quite frankly the role of prostitution and the church in the subjugation of women. See Schneir, 133.
[39] O'Neill, 131.
[40] Ibid.
[41] 480 campaigns for state enfranchizement of women occurred between 1870-1901. Clinton, 199.
[42] The Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 drafted a"Womanifesto." A rapid proliferation of conventions followed in 1848-1850. Ibid, 74-76. Annie Besant was the most popular lecturer in England. She called for absolute legal equality between men and women, and a complete revision of the married women property laws. Besant.
[43] O'Neill, 147.
[44] Green, 288.
[45] The myth of technological advancement made for easier chores but added to the work load by higher standards. Ruth Schwartz Cowan, "A Case Study of Technological and Social Change: The Washing Machine and the Working Wife," in *Clio's Consciousness Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women,* eds. Mary S. Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1974), 245-253.
[46] German Renaissance print makers had their own types of unwifely wives. See Hans Schaufelein, *Woman Forcing Man to Wash Nappies,* woodcut, in Grossinger, 76, 118.
[47] Frances Guy Seabury, *The Delicatessen Husband,* 1910; reprinted in Martha Bensley Bruère and Mary Ritter Beard, *Laughing Their Way: Women's Humor in America* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1934), 58.
[48] Collection of the author.
[49] Comic magazine published in Britain.
[50] This 1900 view by Wasson, sold through the International View Company, was photographed on the same set, with the same actress, and in the same year as the previous view by Graves for the Universal Photo Art Company, leading to the conclusion that these photographers swapped more than just titles.
[51] Marks, 3.
[52] From 1870-1890, the number of colleges admitting women doubled, while the number of female college students rose by 500%. O'Neill, 147-148.
[53] *Senate Report: Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States, 1908-1911,* reprinted in Schneir, *Feminism...,* 257.
[54] "Female dominated professions were not a threat. Men felt threat once women pushed past the stereotype." Wiebe, 112. See, also, Marks on the first women professionals in law, medicine and theology in "Women's Work": women began to be a threat once they reached the level of management or the professional rung.
[55] "St. Valentine's Day at Girton," *Punch,* vol. 70 (Feb. 26, 1876), 73. Girton College (Cambridge) had opened as the first residential college for women in 1869.
[56] Collection of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.

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[57] I found these views in two separate collections and have never found an example of them as a pair.
[58] The term for young, unmarried, career women. Banner, 190.
[59] The "Gibson" pulled all the hair away from the face and rounded it by a hair-piece in a bun at the top of the head. It was named after the illustrator of stylish women, Charles Dana Gibson. Banner, 154-174.
[60] Josephine Daskam, in a collection of short humorous pieces published anonymously in 1901, draws a sketch of "The Woman Who Caught the Idea." In it a "clinging vine" transforms herself to a woman with "a work of her own," in order to please her ex-fiancé, who has rejected her. When the ex-fiancé is displeased with his new love, he returns to his "clinging vine" only to find that she in turn rejects him. For having "a work of her own," she no longer wishes to be his vine. [Josephine Daskam], "The Woman Who Caught the Idea," in *Fables for the Fair: Cautionary Tales for Damsels Not Yet in Distress by One of Them* (1901) (New York: Holt Rinehart, 1967), 94-97.
[61] Created out of a distaste for sweeping, fashionable dresses and their inhibition of movement, the Bloomer outfit was worn for a few years by Bloomer, Stanton and others, such as Elizabeth Smith Miller, Bloomer's cousin, who was the first to actually don the clothing and wore it for a subsequent nine years. The press associated the outfit with Bloomer and her newspaper, *Lily*, hence the moniker. Banner, 86-87.
[62] The Alice Marshall Collection, The Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg.
[63] Even drawers, when they were worn and they weren't commonly until the century's end, were left open at the crotch. Banner, 96; Clinton, 149.
[64] Garvey, 105-134.
[65] *The Looking Glass*, vol. 1, no. 5 (May 1830), 3.
[66] The tradition of the soubrette, a saucy chambermaid with a good voice and a boyish air was a sexual beauty who received star billing. Begun in French theater, she often cross-dressed in boy's clothes, a tradition which was carried over to British theater. Tracey Davis, 47. The tableaux vivants also utilized flesh-colored body stockings. New York's *Truth* often featured in the 'nineties centerfolds with female dancers in top hats and coattails. Marks, 148.
[67] Pellerin, *La Photographie Stéréoscopique...*, 77. The *grisette* originated in Jacques Offenbach's *La Vie Parisienne* as a bohemian type.
[68] Both Webster and Albee and Underwood and Underwood published erotic views set in a "Turkish Harem" or with an orientalizing theme, where the women wear trousers. Underwood and Underwood, *Dancing Girls in the Harem* and *A Harem Beauty*, 1901, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History. Webster and Albee, *How the Call Ended* (drunk women in trousers), n.d., collection of the author.
[69] Banner, 76.
[70] Ibid, 241.
[71] Collection of the Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of American History.
[72] The "matches craze" was a phase of comic writing that spoofed women's desire to wear trousers as simply the lust for the ability to strike a match on them. Marks, 161.
[73] Ibid, 87.
[74] Marks, "Women's Athletics," 174-203. Banner, 144.
[75] "...if the New Woman could be perceived through her attractive exterior as being good for society, then an affirmative idea about her inner nature would be backed by public conduct that activated in her favor." Banta, 69.
[76] Green, 290. Marks, 180.
[77] Banner, 7, 146.
[78] These clothes comprised a pair of knickerbockers (knee length trousers), leggings and a long, feminine style coat. John Woodforde, *The Story of the Bicycle* (New York: Universe Books, 1971), 132-133.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Rau/Griffith and Griffith's *The New Woman and the Old Man*, 1897, collection of the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum of American History.
[81] Valentines were any card with a love or sentimental theme and were quite popular. They were not just meant for Valentine's day. Green, 285.
[82] "V.W." or the "varmity woman" found "the mating of horses, hounds and cattle is the only form of lovemaking in which she takes the slightest interest." *Saturday Review*, August 15,

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1891, 193; as quoted in Marks, 178.
[83] T.K. Hanna, Jr. "Trying to be a Man," *Life's Comedy*, First series, Chapter 3. (1897), 4.
[84] The safety bicycle came on the market in 1889. Robert A. Smith, *The Social History of the Bicycle: Its Early Life and Times in America* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), 111.
[85] Smith, *The Social History of the Bicycle*, 35.
[86] Woodforde, 134. Green, 291. Theatres attributed the slim audience for matinees to the bicycle, as did churches for worship services. Smith, *The Social History of the Bicycle*, 35.
[87] *Pucks Library* devoted four almanac issues to bicyclists, prominently featuring women riders on the cover and inside cartoons: #95, *Wheelers;* #106, *Scorchers*, May 1896; #122, *Punctures*, September, 1897; #130, *Pedal Pushers*, May 1898.
[88] Smith, *The Social History of the Bicycle*, 27-28.
[89] Principle places for the merchandising of bicycles were drugstores, clothing stores, cigar stores, and saloons. Smith, *The Social History of the Bicycle*, 29.
[90] Medical authorities published tracts against bicycling claiming that the activity endangered women's sexual organs and incapacitated them. Pro-cycling tracks emphasized health for child-bearing. Garvey, 106-134.
[91] Smith, *The Social History of the Bicycle*, 76.
[92] Ibid, 79-81, 116. Garvey, 133.
[93] Woodforde, 134.
[94] *The Start*, collection of the American Antiquarian Society; *The Finish*, collections of the American Antiquarian Society and the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library.
[95] Besides fig. 3, there are three other views: Kilburn, *No Buttons*, 1892, collection of the author; Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, *No Buttons Again*, 1898, Keystone Mast Collection; and American, *Domestic Bliss—Now Upon My Life, Angelina, This Is Too Bad, No Buttons Again*, collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
[96] Banner claims that men adopted a more bellicose and ultra-aggressive style in the 1890s in response to the New Woman, 244.
[97] I refer to the play by Henrik Ibsen, *A Doll's House*, first staged for Scandanavian audiences in 1879 and for a London audience in 1884.
[98] Collection of the author.
[99] This appears to be the third in a series. I have not seen the other two.
[100] See Madlyn Millner Kahr, "Delilah," and Mary D. Garrard, "Artemisia and Susanna," in *Feminism and Art History*, eds., Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 119-172. See also, Reed, "Destructive Women," 44-58.
[101] Frank Bellew, Sr., "Woman Asserts Her Rights," *Punchinello* (Sept. 10, 1870), 380: the woman is being shaved. C. J. Taylor, "Natural Advantages," *Puck's Library*, vol. 124 (November, 1897): bearded New Woman.
[102] George Du Maurier, "Barberesses," *Punch*, vol. 98 (April 19, 1890), 186 women barbers.
[103] Banta notes how the New Woman helped to contribute to the evolution of a new type—The American Girl, athletic, pretty, active—but not an activist—optimistic and free-spirited. Banta, 69.

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Conclusion

Nineteenth-century narrative stereography may be characterized by what it does not depict as well as what it does. Among the many topics either not or extremely rarely photographed in narrative stagings are the fields of war, politics, the realism of work, the laboring classes, poverty, child labor, factory life, actual domestic abuse, crime, immigrants as they were—rather than as stereotype caricaturized them—African-Americans in middle-class life, serious illness, hospital scenes, street life, drug abuse (other than alcohol), prostitution, domestic labor excepting that done comically by husbands, demonstrations and protests, civil unrest, suffrage issues, and portraits of actual, rather than fictionalized, families. Occasionally one of these "serious issues" will be found in a narrative stereograph, but invariably it is placed in fictional structures of comedy or sentiment according to legible codes and conventional readings. Views of ethnicity, too, are seldom outside the conventions of the comically derogatory, sexually available, or docilely subordinate. What we don't see in narrative stereography is anything too threatening to the social order. When a threat is allowed, it is codified as comic inversion, such as the New Woman, and presented, the signs indicate, all in the name of sport. This double or duplicitous rendering of the threat, allowing it to speak underneath the fool's cap, is the manner by which social issues enter the view, and change surreptitiously puts a foot in the door.

Since its inception, stereography was destined for a home market defined by the parlor, women, and the family. Before they were sold door-to-door by canvassers mainly to women, stereographs were available in places frequented by them. Women actively bought

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and collected them, inscribing names, initials and dedications on the card backs. It is also clear from the advertising and literature that Victorians considered the stereoscope a requisite parlor furnishing and the view as a commercial product that opened that room's stage to extended fictionalizations. The parlor was the launch-pad for making public the home and its signings, and so its stage-like and display atmosphere was a sort of "publication" about that family and how it conformed to or competed with its contemporaries. Likewise, the parlor-located stereoscope offered publications representing that family's cultural adherence. It signed the family as belonging to the world of such social statements, and it offered modes of escape and vicarious identification through its visions. For women, it represented a narrower, highly circumscribed world under female possession, direction, and control. Stereoviews authored stagings of female and familial life that flattered its patrons, reflecting back to them their domain.

The defining terms of stereography's narratives, then, are those that speak for the ideologically freighted space of the home. They structure their fictions according to the twin modalities of comedy and sentiment, or true feeling and its antidote, irony. What is outside the home is outside either the medicine of sincerity, response, and sentiment, or its antipodal and equally necessary corrective, that of sarcasm, humor, insult, and erotic aggression. The two impulse categories of sentiment and comedy complement and balance each other and form a world-view for the view, outside of which is only the unmanageable rest against which the home and its values of humane feeling and humor stand as a bulwark for civilization.

The centrality of the values of women to stereography's narratives may well have contributed to the exclusion of the medium from photography's canon. What once had been the dominant form of photography for decades was forgotten, bastardized into the mono-print, removed from its context and re-assigned to narrow genres and categories of twentieth-century conceptualizations. Though narrative stereography excluded many

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realities, preferring the ideals of the bourgeoisie, it recreated very well an environmental experience, responding to the traditional expectations for a picture in the nineteenth century. The stereoscope did not just provide an optical fidelity, nor an illusion; it provided better than any mechanism even today a replication of the act of seeing, as though consciousness could be (and here is the illusion) transplanted into an environmental space held in port for our embarkation. The view forced an awareness of visual information and our organization of it as an experience of mediation between interior processes and exterior phenomenon. Perhaps more than any other visual medium, the stereoview makes us aware of our own construction of the image, for the perceived third dimension and the entrance to the scene is experienced only within an individual viewer's cranium, and it occurs singly, one person at a time. Nothing else seemed so true to nature, and no other medium emphasized that this truth was an individuated process as did stereography.

When we apply obviously fictional narratives extended through millions of published images to this replicatory and self-reflexive medium, the nature of what had hitherto been considered "nature" obtains a shadow of doubt, making it ephemeral and destructuring the "logic" of experience. The medium presents a process of doubling, or crossing, and a play of differences between two quite similar pictures. As gender itself, it is an artifice that produces a seemingly real and confirmable condition, and yet is entirely a construction of the mind and is realized subconsciously, then relayed to interpretive processes.

For narrative stereography, we have a twice constructed or constituted reality—stage scene plus stereoptical photograph. The narrative view took the nature of artifice and verisimilitude and doubled the stakes, ratcheting the values up. It made both reality and the values of its century seem uncanny, and whatever it fused it did so both with extreme fidelity and an eerie sense of insubstantiality. Dependent upon audience participation in fantasy coupled with the image's presentation of a verisimilar environment, into which a

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viewer projects herself, the stereograph was a stimulation of exterior and interior perception. It was also a private, slow-tempoed, patient experience, mimicking the process of gathering experience.

As fantasy-intensive experience located in the home, it mirrored the values there, specifically the sphere of women. Both ideologically and structurally it stands in opposition to the valuations of the museum, phallocentric "master" works, the twentieth-century specialization of pictures into fields of practice, and elite art market categories and their hegemony of values aimed at excluding large sectors of the population. Stereo is radically inclusive, from an optical stand point and from that of private experience. Nineteenth-century narrative views aimed to include everyone, since everyone was thought to be in relation to a home. As commercial products, stereographs were published for the culture at large, and, though they responded to the ideals of the time by excluding much (a silence to which we might object today), those exclusions were intended to include everyone under the catholic rubric of belonging to a domus, relating to others, having a family. In other words, what stereo doesn't picture would have been counterproductive to the ideals of civilized society as it was then conceived. These exclusions were a means for not reinforcing what was considered contrary to social coherence, and by so concentrating on the unit of society—the domus--within a theatrical scope of what could be responded to and controlled, or at very least suffered with, narrative stereoviews have an optimistic value structure that empowers, if only fictively, those less likely to have much in the way of political and economic power. As Nina Baym reminds us, the home was not so much a space for women as it was a system of human relations projecting outward and radiating into, it was conceived, every corner of society.[1] The narrative stereoview presented, then, a spectrum of scenes far narrower than the full spectrum of human conditions, but for Caucasian women and their home-centered value system, the marketed view lent a sense of

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personal identification, response, and supportiveness for the norms that structured lives and confirmed their world order and a sense of power.

Unlike the high culture of standards, masters, and experts, which experienced great increase at the end of the century, stereoviews present a flexible and diverse culture of common women and men, an affordable image gallery that spoke for lives and especially for fantasies. Because the "pressure was off" in terms of representing ideals and high seriousness, stereoviews could be more truthful and comically cut closer to the bone. There is an oscillation in narrative stereography between the fantasy world of imagined gratification and the lightly abrasive mode of self-mockery projected onto another, what this book has called, after Langston Hughes' term, "laughing by proxy." Fantasy and irony see-saw, and the world view they present is one of the more complete pictures we have of this time period. If we want to find the Victorian woman, it is in stereoviews that her image, dreams, possessions, and an approximation to "reality" are revealed.

The staged "realities" of the narrative stereograph offered as a primary message an environmental place into which the viewer visually entered, and, as a secondary message behind the naturalized perception of form, fictional responses to the ideological principles of their stagings. A hybrid of theatre, home-life, literary construct, photography, and the culture of readings and readers, the views construct from linguistically determined concepts (titles) a credible seeming. Likewise, the women who viewed them were responding to a feminine culture of forming meanings from a composite of message-signs, or picture readings. Fiction addresses a culture that was often aligned with women, while the tradition of the picture as a visual journey weaves together this fantasy world of readers with constructions read from pictorial signs, all of which was heightened by the realism of photograph and the spatial rendering of the stereoscope. From its inception, the narrative view signed itself as double, an artificial real. Because it was artificial, it was given greater license, and because it was a photographic form, it ostensibly had greater powers, at least

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on a level of instantaneous perception, of representation. Ideal and anti-ideal, real and complete act, the narrative floats, ready to be invested with what the viewer wished. We know from the accounts of contemporaneous persons such as Holmes that viewers lost themselves in views and journeyed within them, as their details seemed to stage auto-biographical scenarios.

The topics of the narratives form a biographical set of meanings for the conceptualization of nineteenth-century woman, the central and defining event for her being marriage. Child, courting adolescent, bride, wife, mother—the narratives spin around the same hub, and even the erotic scenes of indiscretions with servants journey back to that center. Narratives of the time struggle with establishing and re-establishing that defining place of the domicile under the governance of woman, and nearly all of stereo's stories sign the presence, actual or *en abyme*, of woman. Lisa Tickner put the matter well: "Woman, or rather 'womanliness,' was the linchpin in bourgeois ideology and a structuring category in the principle discourses of civil society...If woman was out of place, everything was out of place."[2] Even children in stereo are often "little mothers," or boy courtiers of little women. Furthermore, their very beings as children carry the implied presence of mother and home. Within this universal doxology, the narratives can spin to lengths and extremes, certain in their commercial establishment that as articles for the home and reflectors of it they will be tethered to that housing. Stereo's narratives often show the divisiveness between the century's idealism and actuality, pointing out the gaps for entertainment's sake, without proposing any radical change, just a simple and often ironic recognition. In that manner, they function as mental correctives for the sake of sanity, a primary goal of the comic, or as the typed idealism we call tragic sentiment. They manage to balance sets of contradictory values, or to let those values spill for amusement. They also provide fantasy lives of escape, romance, and tenderness as a supplement to unmet ideals.

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The ideological messages of the story codes in stereoviews are often duplicitous and occasionally subversive. In terms of titling and type, the codes conform to standards of publishing, and their photographic stereo properties project a sense of "nature as it is," but within the concepts themselves are doubles of meaning and style, the inherent doubtfulness of the medium, codes crossing each other, and covert recognition for non-conformist positions. Taken amass, there is much to contradict stereotypes of the feminine gender. For instance, if women were presumed to be delicate and ill, American narrative views show them to be hardy, robust, and even bullies of their homes; if presumed sexless, stereo's women are flirts, loose, temptresses and adulterous; if presumed passive and dominated, stereo's are the queens of their castle; if presumed suffering, stereo has them in retribution, or defiant refusal. This is especially the case in the U. S., where there are fewer views of suffering and submission, and more of bargaining for success.

As the century drew to a close, the picturesque style of the British publishers, and the naturalistic picturesque of the Americans in the 1870s gave way to the personal narrative style and a preponderance of comic rather than sweetly sentimental scenes (except in the case of children, who continued to be shown with lots of syrup). Sentiment reflects placement according to ideology—either a right fit or loss, while comedy, on the other hand, pierces the ideal and points up that *it* is flawed, for it fails to accommodate humanness. The preference for comedy in the American period of the personal narrative style describes a world order that is inconsistent and failing to reward in measure with its burdens. Women were saddled with oxymoronic and impossible sets of meanings, burdened with incredible and unacknowledged labor, and expected to live up to an ideal of a passive, dependent, submissive prototype, the idle lady, an object of sexless beauty to be worshipped from afar. American stereograph publishers issued far more views of the working, capable, home-managerial woman, the extreme of comedic dominance, or the enthusiastic participant, than the ethereal fancies of shadowy femininity.

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That narrative stereographs appealed to women and were sold to them is confirmed in the record of salesmen, their manuals, testimony, and that of the collector's inscriptions. They also reflect story types and codes as found in places frequented or seen by women--theatre, print shops, cartoons, comic writing, popular songs, music hall skits, trade cards and advertising, and the prose of essayists and cultural commentators. Stereographs manifest the values of their time, soothing and chafing at social presumptions. When one looks at them in large topical groupings, patterns emerge revealing the struggle to maintain values and the readiness to perceive alternatives. Just as the medium makes undeniable that environment appears before us as a reconstituted real--divorced, interiorly fused, and imaginatively projected—so, too, is the gender that occupies its topical interest an artificial and fluid thing. Sentiment preserved the unity of the ideal, the cohesiveness of the principles upon which the human was presumed to rest, while laughter split and splintered that, a physician of multiplicity, the body in actual tremors of divestment.

The record indicates that laughter, at least from published types of comedy, was by the century's end needed more than ever. The sentiment of a domus-centered world defined, preserved, and regulated by women, which both provided a separate sphere of women's relatedness to each other and preserved the notion of sex-differential segregation, was fading. The world of men, the "outside," and the exclusion of masculine concerns from the domicile was adulterated as women took to universities, jobs, sports, bicycles, and erotic aggression turned to outside presences in the home—servants, salesmen, and the fetish of commodities. Market capitalism benefited from flattering the purchasing power and autonomy of women, and women were understood to have money of their own, as well. Consequently, the self was shown as a diversity of styles, poses, or codes, representing greater purchasing choices; and dialogue, rather than imagined, was directed into title-concepts, response into typed language. A multivalent self in a system of personal narrative styles inherently undermines the tradition of the segregation of genders, as variety and

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deviation are keys to grabbing interest, and higher sales. This was no triumph of feminism, though it made options for women more visible. A system of style structures for character made equivalent the personality to a unit of exchange and made the roles played no longer a matter of integrity, but of fit of trait to function. Gender, too, was ground down to a grouping of signs that were inverted for fun and dressed-up for seriousness, but, ultimately, were manipulations. It was no more solid than the solids projected from two flat photos, a mental construction, which, like puzzle pieces mismatched for hilarity, had relation only to their function *as* pieces.

Beginning in the late 1880s, we read in narrative stereography this new world order, which manifests itself in a harsh laughter, and the abandonment of many sentimental ideals. The march of modernism, industrialization, women's rights, the population swell of immigrants, the local subsumed into the corporate national, the hegemony of rail road and mobile culture, and the growing inability to deny that the new desk and factory work did not necessarily need the brawn and dominance of men, created tension for the traditional hierarchy of class and sex. The structure of superiority was increasingly questionable, and the ideological foundations for it seemed to be shaken. According to John Reed, the "conveyor belt of history" gave the impression that "the grand moral design was not a model, but a mockery. Acknowledgement of this possibility bred an increased self-consciousness among Victorian writers about the stylizations of their time."[3] The great nervousness that set in is apparent in the obsession over gender-inversion narratives, and to a lesser extent, those depicting immigrant stereotypes. The hysteria behind such genres as the New Woman, the termagant wife, the "Knight-of-Labor" father, the incompetent man, and the bathing or mustard-plastered nude man is seen not only within visual codes but in the proliferation of titles. The published acceptability of coded, familiar titles often cloaked the subversive doubling of messages within the views. By the millions, they began to turn novelties and controversies into conventions.

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Gender stratification began to break down under the strain of contradictory and multiple significations, and extreme theatricality and an aggrandized sense of the personal came in to compensate, as did increased speed and sequencing. Stereography borrowed methods from cinema, while cinema borrowed codes and topics from stereography. The two-dimensionally photographic would eventually, with the motion of the reel or turning page, come to replace the leisurely environment of self-projection. Gender was splintering into the multiple, and contradiction was accommodated not as an outrage but as stock comedy, as laughter shook the types, dispelling rigidity, and they became ironic.

Narrative stereography marks that fascinating passage between a civilization centered upon the home, and the values of women forming a society through it of sentiment and response, punctuated with the comic misstep or malapropism, and the late century increase of anxiety and hard laughter, as inner and outer worlds were no longer in mediation but began to collapse and blur. The medium represents a moment in time when the viewer was required to complete this mediating process of civilization, to visually enter the scene, and through vicarious or voyeuristic projection imagine a parallel environment to her own. It pictured the concepts of her world and defined her gender as a construction of codes and narrative replicating environment.

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[1] Baym, *Woman's Fiction*, 48-49.
[2] Tickner, 170.
[3] Reed, 20.

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Appendix

Preface to the Data Base

Each record in the data base is represented by a slide or a stereoview, assigned an individual number. The premise behind their assembly was to have one visual record for each narrative view I encountered, with the goal of the widest sampling of the topic. I did not intend to re-photograph views and duplicate entries once I saw a sample of a published view. A view may therefore be in more than one of the institutions I visited. Its entry in the data base is simply indicative of one of many possible places to find that published view. As I proceeded to collect data, however, several conditions warranted duplication of views in the records. Often, publishers restaged their "best seller" titles, offering different versions over the years. Copyrighted dates, when they appear on the card stock, aid in distinguishing these, though dates are not always conclusive of the year the scene was photographed. They reflect, usually, the date the image was copyrighted, which may or may not be the date it was photographed. In the case of Keystone, for instance, the date of copyright was not always the date of the negative, which was never to my knowledge recorded. File numbers at Keystone identified titles, not separate negatives. One title could have an unlimited number of different negatives.

Creating more difficulty was the tendency for companies to photograph a staged scene several times in one session, with poses that differ from the slight to the altogether different, and at times with differing actors dressed in the same costumes, or with additional players. Companies tended to issue these variations indiscriminantly under the same title, with often the same copyright information and file number. Such views are termed "variants" or "sister views," and the information recorded in the data base will be the same for each, though I have tried to note the variants in the comments column. Some of the differences are so slight that several examinations will occur before it is seen. Others are

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strikingly different, though the stage sets and costumes remain constant. Variants can range from two different negatives to as many as thirteen. I have it upon the authority of T. K. Treadwell that F. G. Weller's *Trials of the Day are Over* has thirteen, though I have myself seen only two (*The Stereoviews of F. G. Weller...*).

Other conditions warranting duplication of views previously recorded are hand-coloring, which can be a quite individual matter for each photographic pair, and the condition of the view itself. Hand-coloring can range from none to partial to full, and from crude to exquisite. It is not uncommon to find one version of a view untinted and another partly tinted, or one with crude coloring and another with the colors executed by a practiced and painterly hand. Differing treatments of color required separate entries in the data base. Also, if I found a view that was in poor condition, either from dirt, wear and tear, fading, or simply poor printing, I tried to find a better quality version of it elsewhere. Sometimes, too, the same view will have two titles. For instance, the British *Ruth and Obadiah* is represented by two sister views with this title, and another variant, *Shall We Sleep First, or How?*

The practice of pirating views required multiple entries for the same title. The only record we have of the existence of some views is through pirates—copies made illegally against copyright. Most pirates are of inferior quality but worth noting, since one may never find an original. Some pirates, however, are of exceptional quality, and, if painstakingly trimmed, are difficult to discern from the original—and may actually improve upon it. I have tried to note pirates in both the publisher and comments fields. Where I have been sure of a pirate version, I have split the publisher field with an attribution to the original publisher—either by name, when I have known it, or by country of origin. Following this is a slash mark and the name of the pirating company, for example "Weller/Chase" or "Brit./GfL." The first designates the original publisher, the second the pirating company, William Chase, or Groups from Life.

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To complicate matters further, some companies, such as C. W. Thorne of New York, issued high-quality, imported views, upon which they placed their blind-stamp. The publisher field will then read "Brit./Thorne" and the word "import" will appear in the comments column. It is truly difficult to ferret these out, but for the cases of C. W. Thorne and James Cremer, I am certain they issued imported, narrative views. James Cremer did photograph many of his own views of Philadelphia environs and contemporary persons and events, but the narratives with his label seem to be European imports. British views can pose exceptional attribution challenges as most publishers left off identification from their views for a time in the 1860s. The bulk of British views bear only a title on a stamp pasted on the side or back and no further identification. Such stamps can be easily removed, or fall off. Many bear no identification whatsoever. When this occurs, I have described the scene in brackets, i.e. [two girls reading a letter], and attributed the country of origin, such as "Fr" or "Brit" (French or British), then given a date range.

In addition, stereoview companies purchased the stock of others and issued copy views, or new prints of the negatives, under their own label. These are nearly impossible to distinguish in most cases, but scholarship is beginning to clarify some. For example, Weller's work was issued by the Littleton View Company with and without attribution, but, as the file numbers of the Weller negatives are identified, the attribution can easily be made. Furthermore, the practiced eye can usually recognize the look of views by certain prolific photographers such as Weller, James Elliott, or Ben Singley. I have tried to include attributions where ever I was fairly certain of them. More tentative attributions are followed by a question mark, and I have attempted to be conservative in attributions, accepting them only when I have confirmed the suggestion with first-hand, visual data. Additionally, companies such as the Littleton View Company and the Kilburn Brothers sold immense lots of views to other publishers, like E. and H. T. Anthony, who would then publish and distribute the views. Many of these retailed images are impossible to

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distinguish in terms other than the imprint of the re-issuing company. Other businesses used stereoviews as advertisements by purchasing them mounted on blank card stock upon which they placed their stamp, or had printed their companies' names and line of trade. One can find an uncommon name as "publisher" upon the front of a card, then, on verso, an advertisement such as "Fruits and Fancy Goods" or "Picture Framer and Dealer" as the purveyor with that name. In the publisher field, I have omitted these names, substituting the country of origin, as these type of businesses, while perhaps functioning as "publishers" in the broadest sense, did not produce the stereograph. In the comments field, I then recorded "ad" and, when space permitted, the name of the advertising company. I have also duplicated entries when I found personal information from a collector on a card, or an interesting stamp or inscription from a salesman or dealer.

My own collection of stereoviews, too, has necessitated a duplication of some entries. When I began my data base, I had but a very small collection, which over the years has become more sizable. My collection has aided me immensely in making attributions, discovering pirates and imports, and recombining sister views and sequences that have been separated from each other. Until the late 'nineties and the introduction of the attenuated series, sequential images could function either in narrative order, or each view might stand as an independent tableau vivant. Photographers prior to the 'nineties often designed their compositions to function in both manners. Therefore, one view, as in the British *The Elopement* series of three, could encapsulate the story idea, or develop the narrative in sequence. This flexibility in terms of reading the story no doubt facilitated marketing, as the customer could purchase one or more views, depending upon taste and means. When I have been able to reassemble a sequence or series from different collection sources, I have placed the record numbers of prequels or sequels in parentheses in the comments field.

Lastly, some duplication of identical views occurred because, in looking through thousands of views in each day of research, I simply forgot that I already had photographed

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an occasional one. Rather than correcting my errors, I have left them in place, and, fortunately, they constitute a small number. As each slide or stereoview represents a record of visual data, I have left the order as it developed, rather than pull duplicates and leave gaps. Upon discovering a duplicate, I identified it by placing the previous record number in parentheses in the comments field. Some of these parenthetical numbers are not duplicates but prequels, sequels, sister views, or views that may link unidentified photographers through the same set, or establish the same set between two identified publishers. The relation between the two records is established upon examination, as space did not permit extended commentary. Certainly with reassembled series but also possibly with duplicates, the relation may reveal further correspondences and contrasts. The study of published stereography is a humbling medium for the scholar to pursue. Just when one feels a level of comprehensiveness, there appear new discoveries, surprises, and reminders of something forgotten or incompletely understood. This data base is a record of my process of research and attributions as they became apparent to me. I offer it as an extended series of notes, or research tool, not as a list of absolute conclusions. In this spirit, I hope that others will add to it and make corrections. The state of research in the field offers at present limitless opportunities to uncover further views, assign attributions, and discover the identities, production, and culture of stereographers.

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The Data Base

Key:

1. Slide or view number 2. title 3. photographer/publisher 4. file number (if given) 5. date 6. collection 7. condition (or blank) 8. comments (or none) 9. genre

A legend for the codes follows the data.

1 A Free Lunch Barker/S&WU&U 1890 HMC/OWH A-A

2 r/v The Faithful Mammy Campbell 607 1898 HMC/OWH A-A

3 Do You Love me Hun? GfL HMC/OWH A-A

4 I Feel Obliged to Remove this Temptation from the eyes of a weaker Brother Ki/Da 1897 HMC/OWH A-A

5 A Straight Flush and Cards to Spare White 1901 HMC/OWH A-A

6 [The White Slave] Brit. 1860s HMC/OWH pirate/copy A-A

7a/b/v 'Deed Child's I'a Didn't Know You's was Dare Ingersoll 93 1898 HMC/OWH litho A-A

8 r/v One Stick of Gum for Two Ingersoll 98 1898 HMC/OWH litho A-A

9 r/v The Pleasure of Anticipation Kent Stereo 1905 HMC/OWH b/w litho A-A

10 A New Coon in Town Am c.1898 HMC/OWH litho A-A

11 [art study of two A-A boys with angel wings] Havens c.1890 HMC/OWH A-A

12 Baby's pull on his brother's [hair] Album series 80s-90s HMC/OWH C

13 r/v The first Lesson in Writing GGL/Best 1870s HMC/OWH pirate/ad C

14 Going Out Riding GGL/Best 1870s HMC/OWH pirate C

15 Patchwork Group Series 62 1870s HMC/OWH pirate C

16 In a Snarl [spinning wheel] GfL 1870s HMC/OWH pirate C

17a/b [posed actress] J. F. Jarvis 80-90s Holstein E

18 [beach scene] Ingersoll c.1890 HMC/OWH faded h-c C

19 Innocence Dreaming of the Angels Wasson/IVC 1219 1902 HMC/OWH C

20 This is the Way Mama Does Ki/Da 11536 1894 HMC/OWH C

21 Wash Day Ki/Da 11485 1897 HMC/OWH C

22 On Monday I Wash My Dollie's Clothes Ki/Da 1977 1898 HMC/OWH series of 7 C

23 On Tuesday I smoothly Press 'em Ki/Da 1978 1898 HMC/OWH series of 7 C

24 On Friday I Play They are Taken Ill Ki/Da 1979 1898 HMC/OWH series of 7 C

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25 Little Red Riding Hood Pop Series 1870s HMC/OWH pirate/h-c C
26 Kiss Me First S&W/U&U 1892? HMC/OWH C
27 I've had my bath, now it's your turn U&U 1901 HMC/OWH C
28 She has symptoms of Small Pox U&U 1898 HMC/OWH C
29 Nellie's First Painting--Just Like Life U&U 6906 1897 HMC/OWH C
30 Her Guardian and companion--faithful as far as Life can go U&U 7109 1901 HMC/OWH C
31 a/b Sunday School Teacher don't teach me nothing; only takes my penny away U&U 1902 HMC/OWH C
32 Tricks at School Weller 525 1875 HMC/OWH C
33 Reading the News just like papa White 5251 1904 HMC/OWH C
34 No, it's nothing dangerous, she is badly run down from over work White 8277 1904 HMC/OWH C
35 The Truants G&G c.1898 HMC/OWH litho C
36 A Hurried Toilet G&G c.1898 HMC/OWH litho C
37 Just the Way Dad Does Ingersoll 1899 HMC/OWH litho C
38a/b/v Celebrating the Great and Glorious 4th of July Ingersoll 1261 c.1899 HMC/OWH litho/1 of 2 C
39 The Day After the 4th of July Celebration Ingersoll 27 c.1898 HMC/OWH litho/2 of 2 C
40 Landscape Gardening Am/Ingersoll? 95 c.1898 HMC/OWH litho C
41 A Stylish Turnout [wagon pulled by chicken] Am/Ingersoll? c.1898 HMC/OWH litho C
42 Spring Stoddard 1397 c.1870 HMC/OWH C
43a/b Mr. and Mrs. Turtledove's New French Cook Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 1 FC Series M
44 You Sweet Thing When Did you Arrive Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 2 FC Series M
45 Now Don't Be So Shy Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 3 FC Series M
46 Oh My! But You Are Lovely Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 4 FC Series M
47 Sh! Sh! I Hear My Wife Coming Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 5 FC Series M
48 Heavens! What Does She Mean Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 6 FC Series M
49 Well. I am Caught Sure Enough Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 7 FC Series M
50 She Must Leave this House at Once Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 8 FC Series M
51 Mr. Turtledove Trying to Get Out of Difficulty Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 9 FC Series M
52 Mr. and Mrs. Turtledove's Next French Cook Rau/BKC 4634—33 1902 HMC/OWH 10 FC Series M
53 Well, What Are You Looking At? Ki 1884 HMC/OWH C
54 Curiosity Punished Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c/2 of 2/ (604) E

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55 Poor sick Dolly! I'll have to send for the doctor White 1904 HMC/OWH 1of 3 C
56 Good Morning, Doctor. I'm so glad you're here. I'm dreadfully worried about Dolly White 1904 HMC/OWH 2 of 3 C
57 Mr. and Mrs. Newlywed's French Cook U&U 1900 OWH 1 of 10/FC M
58 Why You Little Beauty! How Long Have You Been Our Cook? U&U 1900 OWH 2 of 10/FC M
59 You Bashful Little Creature U&U 1900 OWH 3of 10/FC M
60 Oh! You Naughty Man U&U 1900 OWH 4 of 10/FC M
61 Footsteps--My Wife! Mum's the Word! U&U 1900 OWH 5 of 10/FC M
62 Hands! Hands! What Does She Mean? U&U 1900 OWH 6 of 10/FC M
63 Good Heavens! U&U 1900 OWH 7 of 10/FC M
64 Ta-ta! U&U 1900 OWH 8 of 10/FC M
65 Mr. and Mrs. Newlywed's Next Frinch Cook U&U 1900 OWH 9 of 10/FC M
66 And they Lived Happily Ever After U&U 1900 OWH 10 of 10/FC M
67 Housekeeping Begins with a Naive French Cook Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 1 FC Series M
68 Ah Ha! I see Why I'm Forbidden in the Kitchen Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 2 FC Series M
69 French Cooks are the dearest one can hire... Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 3 FC Series M
70 Oh! You mustn't, Mr. Brown; if the Madam should see Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 4 FC Series M
71 Oh! The Madam's face in the mirror shown... Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 5 FC Series M
72 Wait a moment till I see what those hand-prints mean... Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 6 FC Series M
73 You Brazen Hussy! You shall leave at this hour... Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 7 FC Series M
74 Oh you wretch! This I shall not endure... Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 8 FC Series M
75 You didn't do it? Look! Don't tell me so... Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 9 FC Series M
76 Au revoir, Mr. Brown, a helping hand I know you'll lend... Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 10 FC Series M
77 Oh, You're so sweet, and those beautiful eyes... Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 11 FC Series M
78 I'm sure Massa Brown will prefer my apple pies Key 12312a-23 1903 OWH 12 FC Series M
79 Admiration—pierced by cupid's dart U&U 7236 1901 OWH 1 M Series M
80 Expectation—Married Life as he pictured it (Music without words) U&U 7236 1901 OWH 2 M Series M
81 Elation—I've Caught Sister this time! U&U 7236 1901 OWH 3 M Series M
82 Consternation—Don't You Dare Tell Father! U&U 7236 1901 OWH 4 M Series M

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83 Declaration—Two Hearts that Beat as One, but what will Papa say? U&U 7236 1901 OWH 5 M Series M
84 Alienation—His Wedding Eve at the Bachelor Club U&U 7236 1901 OWH 6 M Series M
85 Obliteration—The Wedding Eve Bonfire and Farewell to Former Affections U&U 7236 1901 OWH 7 M Series M
86 Anticipation—Visions of the Future U&U 7236 1901 OWH 8 M Series M
87 Vexation—You Heartless Wretch to Call them brickbats! U&U 7236 1901 OWH 9 M Series M
88 Tribulation—The Trials of Housekeeping—The Cook Indisposed U&U 7236 1901 OWH 10 M Series M
89a/b Realization—Married Life as He found it (Words without the Music) U&U 7236 1901 OWH 11 M Series M
90 The Boat Man Somewhat Rattled S&W/U&U 1641 1892? OWH E
91 Crinoline Difficulties Brit. 56-70 OWH pirate/ad—Muller Bros E
92 The New Woman—Wash Day U&U 1901 OWH NW
93 Bridget and the Devilish Mouse Graves/UPAC 4527 1877 OWH poor E
94 [man under the bed type] Graves/UPAC 1897 OWH E
95 Stockings—After the Opera Rau/UVC 1900 OWH E
96 The Careless Typewriter Rau/UVC 1900 OWH 1 of 2 (1810) E
97 [woman fastening garter] Brit. 60-70s OWH pirate E
98a/b Caught Robbing the Male Ingersoll 61(B) c.1898 OWH litho/1 of 2 (1042) M
99 Having a High time, Not a Man in Sight Ingersoll 4 1898 OWH litho E
100a/b The Book Agent—You're a Real Nice Man Am. c.1899 OWH litho E
101 Over and Under the Fence Am. c.1900 OWH b/w litho E
102 [Caudle's Curtain Lectures] Anthony 1870s HMC/OWH M
103 Caudle's Curtain Lectures Am. 1870s OWH pirate/ad—Bailey's M
104 Smith in Search of Keyhole Euro&Am Views 1860s HMC/OWH pirate M
105 When a Man's Married His Troubles Begin Rau/G&G 17213 1887 HMC/OWH 1 of 2 M
106 Be Patient Dear, Don't Swear Rau/G&G 17214 1887 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 M
107 Bashful Lover Rau/G&G 389 1898 HMC/OWH Ct
108 Hello, Dad! What's the Matter? You Seem Put Out. GfL 1890s HMC/OWH pirate/Key (980) M
109 Where in the Hurry is the Towel? GfL 1890s HMC/OWH pirate M
110 Now, Marm, Say When Brit/GfL 56-65 HMC/OWH pirate G-Eu
111 The Fresh View Agent Making His Departure Wasson/IVC 693 1901 HMC/OWH M
112 'Tisn't As Pleasant Sitting Up As It Used to Be Ki/Da 11452 1897 HMC/OWH M

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113 War in Camp [pillow fight] Ki/Da 11467 1897 HMC/OWH poor M
114 An Interesting Chapter Ki/Da 11898 1897 HMC/OWH poor M
115 Not So Pleasant Sitting Up as It Used to Be Ki/Da 11904 1897 HMC/OWH poor M
116 Thy Smiles Are Becoming Ki/Da 11661 1897 HMC/OWH M
117 Bliss Disturbed Ki/Da 11964 1897 HMC/OWH poor Ct
118 On His Regular Beat Ki/Da 12867 1899 HMC/OWH poor M
119 Don't Let Him Bite You, Dear Ki/Da 12889 1899 HMC/OWH poor M
120 Sitting Up Every Night This Way Makes Me Lean Ki/Da 12892 1899 HMC/OWH poor M
121 Mortifying the Flesh [priest breaking fast] Phiz c.1860 HMC/OWH h-c G-Eu
122 Shoulder Arms Li 1450 1889 HMC/OWH 1 of 2 Ct
123 Charge Bayonets! Li 1451 1889 HMC/OWH poor 2 of 2 Ct
124 no record
125a/b A Sad Predicament—He Wants to Go Home Li/U&U 1552 1891 HMC/OWH E
126 Our Latest in X-Rays Li/U&U 1785 1896 HMC/OWH G-Am
127 Every Kiss Has Its Sting Key c.1893 HMC/OWH Ct
128 The Finish [New Woman takes spill from bike] Key 2331(b) 1896 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 NW
129a/b Sew On Your Own Buttons, I'm Going for a Ride Key 2332 1896 HMC/OWH NW
130 Before Marriage Key 2346 1896 HMC/OWH 1 of 2 M
131 After Marriage Key 2347 1896 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 M
132a/b The New Woman Key 2375 1896 HMC/OWH poor NW
133 Trials of Bachelorhood Key 2391 1897 HMC/OWH Ba
134 There You Go, Now, Sink or Float. All alone I'll run the Boat. Key 17453 c.1900 HMC/OWH NW
135 11:30 p.m. George and Angelina Are Very Fond of Sitting Up Late White 3574 1903 HMC/OWH 1 of 2 M
136 5 Years Later. They Still Sit Up Late, but Somehow It is Not so Much fun as It Used to Be White 3575 1903 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 M
137 Sad Predicament—"I Want To Go Home" Rau/UVC 1894 OWH E
138 Some Achieve Greatness U&U 1901 HMC/OWH 2 of 3 G-Am
139 And some Have Greatness Thrust Upon Them U&U 1901 HMC/OWH 3 of 3 G-Am
140 No, Your New Typewriter Isn't Pretty, Jon, But You'd Better Try and Like Her U&U 1902 HMC/OWH 1 of 2 M
141 Well, Just to Please My Wife, I Think Perhaps I Will U&U 1902 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 M
142 An Economical Shave White 5417 1901 HMC/OWH NW
143 The New Woman Barber Key 2300 1896 OWH poor NW

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144 A (K)night of Labor Key 70 1896 HMC/OWH M
145 Mr. and Mrs. Newlywed Start Housekeeping in a Modest Way White 5556 1903 HMC/OWH M
146 To Whom Can Tom Be Talking? I Thought He Was Alone... White 5442 1902 HMC/OWH poor 1 of 2 M
147 And Patiently Waiting for Me! White5443 1902 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 M
148 Some Are Born Great U&U 1901 Holstein 1 of 3 (138-139) G-Am
149a/b Little Black Me Key 10934 1904 OWH A-A
150a/b Trouble Ahead Key 12324a 1902 OWH 1 of 2 A-A
151 Trouble Behind Key 12325b 1902 OWH 2 of 2 A-A
152a/b The Little Orphan's Dream Key 8018 1897 OWH C
153a/b Painting Her First Picture Key 9441 1898 OWH h-c C
154abv Serving Refreshments at Baby's Expense Key 11407 1901 OWH C
155r/v Father Going to Work Key P18263 1920s OWH EdSeries Ed
156abv An American Mother Bathing the Baby Key P18266 1920s OWH EdSeries Ed
157abv An American Mother Preparing a Meal Key P18252 1920s OWH EdSeries Ed
158r/v American Family Life Key P18265 1920s OWH EdSeries Ed
159r/v Bedtime Key P18253 1920s OWH EdSeries Ed
160a/b Smith Home from the Club Fears the Storm Whiting 2898 1900 HMC/OWH M
161a/b A Spanking Good Time Li 1534 1891 HMC/OWH C
162a/b You Dear Little Sucker Ki/Da 12891 1899 HMC/OWH poor M
163a/b A Stitch in Time Saves Nine Weller/Li 357 1875 HMC/OWH C
164 The Child Artist Comics&Groups 70-80s HMC/OWH poor pirate C
165 The Boatman Somewhat Rattled Li/U&U 1641 1892 HMC/OWH poor E
166a/b Making a Good Impression [paint] AC 71 1925 HMC/OWH litho Ct
167 A Glance Through the News Am. 1920s HMC/OWH b/w litho Ct
168 A Knight of the Grip Am c.1900 HMC/OWH b/w litho E
169 Eavesdroppers Am/Ingersoll? 58 c.1900 HMC/OWH litho G-Am
170 Biddy, You May Serve the Tomatoes Undressed Key 10409a 1900 OWH 1 of 2 E
171 A Box of Mice Among the Wedding Presents Key 10471 1904 OWH B
172 I Think the Keyhole is Full Singley/Key 482 c.1893 OWH M
173a/b Drunk Again Singley/Key 486 c.1893 OWH M
174 Last in Bed Puts Out the Light Key 15 1899 OWH M

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175 A Texas Train Robber Holding Up a Train Key 625 c.1895 OWH E
176 3 am--Robbing the Male Key 631 1896 OWH M
177 Gossip--At Every Sip a Reputation Dies S&W/U&U 1899 OWH G-Am
178 Not for the World S&W/U&U 1899 OWH Ct
179 The Pensive Maid Is Sad and Sighs Her Lonely Hours... S&W/U&U 12348(1) 1906 OWH poor Masher Series M
180 She Dreams of Loves, and Lovers Sees Before her... S&W/U&U 12349-2 1906 OWH Masher Series M
181 The Masher comes into the room and spins the pretty maid... S&W/U&U 12350-3 1906 OWH Masher Series M
182a/b Before her on his knees he falls, declaring all his love... S&W/U&U 12351-4 1906 OWH Masher Series M
183a/b The Masher mashed the Pensive Maid--or so it seemed... S&W/U&U 12352-5 1906 OWH Masher Series M
184 But all good things must have an end, so when footsteps are heard... S&W/U&U 12353-6 1906 OWH Masher Series M
185 The Masher started for the door, then she did change her plan... S&W/U&U 12354-7 1906 OWH Masher Series M
186 Drop on your hands and knees, be quick. I'll hide you S&W/U&U 12355-8 1906 OWH Masher Series M
187a/b There's something up, her mama says, but nothing wrong... S&W/U&U 12356-9 1906 OWH Masher Series M
188 In vain my search. That noise I heard has worried me so much... S&W/U&U 12357-10 1906 OWH Masher Series M
189a/b So squarely on the thing she sits; his chance looks rather slim... S&W/U&U 12358-11 1906 OWH Masher Series M
190 Imploring now the maiden falls, he feels remorse and pain... S&W/U&U 12359-12 1906 OWH Masher Series M
191 Mrs. Newlywed's New Wench Cook G&G 95 c.1899 OWH FC/litho M
192 A Girl from the Golden West Am c.1899 OWH litho G-Am
193 How Great the Very Small Are World Series 44 c.1899 OWH litho G-Am
194 When a Man's Married His Troubles Begin Brit./ComicSeries 56-70 OWH pirate/woman reader M
195 The Elopement Brit./ComicSeries 56-70 OWH pirate Ct
196 An Affair of Honor Am/Ingersoll? 44 1890s OWH E
197 Things Seen and Unseen [Fresh View Agent] Am/Ingersoll? 63 c.1898 OWH litho M
198a/b The New Woman--Washday Am/Ingersoll? 115 c.1898 OWH litho NW
199a/b Mr. Smith Take Off Your Hat Metropolitan Series 831 1890s OWH b/w litho M
200a/b A Catch at Last [fishing gag] Am. c.1899 OWH litho G-Am
201 The New Woman Barber Am/Ingersoll? 113 c.1899 OWH litho NW
202a/b Don't Get the clothes Too Blue Ki/Da 11924 1897 OWH NW
203 Planning a Surprise Ki/Da 12894 1899 OWH 1 of 2 E

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204 Say You're Sorry and We'll Let you get Up Ki/Da 12898 1899 OWH 2 of 2/h-c E
205 [New Woman Smoking] New Ed Series c.1895 OWH NW
206 Don't Get Above Your Business Li/U&U 837? 1886 OWH Weller/Aldrich issue? E
207 Caught in the Act Brown/GNYS 715-b 1900 OWH E
208 A Fair Young Barber Sterro300 1899 OWH NW
209 Hallow e'en Party, An Intruder Graves/UPA 6009 1899 OWH E
210 Hallow e'en Party, The Intruder Punished Graves/UPA 6010 1899 OWH E
211 The Young Surgeon's Heroic Cure for the Grip—The Amputation Wasson/IVC 2551(2) 1903 OWH C
212 If This Don't Cure the Influenways, tomorrow I'll Saw off the Other Leg Wasson/IVC 2552(3) 1903 OWH C
213 Der Maler Christmann 201 60-70s OWH G-Eu
214 Flirting with His Typewriter Ki/Da 11670 1897 OWH C
215a/b He Don't Like His Pants (Weller)Li/U&U 391A 1891 OWH C
216 An Early Shave Ki/Da 12870 1899 HMC/OWH NW
217a/b Did You Ring, Sir? White 5483 1902 HMC/OWH E
218 tissue—If I were only single again! Clarke/ASC 1896 OWH M
219 After Wild Grapes Young/ASC 1897 OWH G-Am
220a/b Before Marriage Key 2346 1896 OWH M
221a/b After Marriage Key 2347 1896 OWH M
222 The "New Woman" Key 2375 1899 OWH NW
223 Sew On Your Own Buttons. I'm going for a Ride Key 2332 1899 OWH NW
224 Look Out, Johnny—You'll Break the Eggs Key 10567 1900 OWH C
225 A Lively Pillow Fight Key 10454 1901 OWH E/M
226 How Johnny Scared the New Coon Key 10444(a) 1901 OWH 1 of 3/blk face A-A
227 Who De Debble Are You? Key 10445(b) 1901 OWH 2of 3 A-A
228 As Johnny Rang the Phone in the Next Room Key 10446(c) 1901 OWH 3 of 3A-A
229 We'll Do that Rat or Die Key 9547 1899 OWH M
230 Before and—Key 988 1895 OWH 1 of 2 Ct
231 After Key 1001 1895 OWH 2 of 2 Ct
232a/b He—Darling, Let Us sing, "I Will Love Thee Ever." Key 615 1894 OWH 1 of 2 Ct
233a/b Chorus—"Yah! Let'er Go Gall'gher." Key 616 1894 OWH 2 of 2/sis & bro Ct
234a/b I do hope it will be a boy Key 623 c.1894 OWH 1 of 2 M
235 Well! I Just knew it would be a boy. Key 624 c.1894 OWH 2 of 2 M
236 Bitter with the Sweet Weller/Li 514 1876 OWH poor Ct
237 Mrs. Caudle's Curtain Lecture Melander 91 1870 OWH M
238 Disagreeable [lover booted out the door] New Ed Series 162 1890s OWH pirate? Ct
239r/v Hadn't You Better Take Off Your Hat? Pop Series 1870s OWH pirate M

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240 Bachelor's Sweetheart Parker's Gallery c.1870 OWH h-c Ba
241a/b Have Patience, Dear, Don't Swear S&W/U&U 1897 OWH M
242 Subjected--A Knight of Labor S&W/U&U 1897 OWH M
243 A Sad Predicament--He Wants to Go Home S&W/U&U 1899 OWH poor E
244a/b A Knight of Labor S&W/U&U 1895 OWH poor M
245 Bliss S&W/U&U 1900 OWH Ct
246a/b Have Patience, Dear, Don't Swear S&W/U&U 1890 OWH M
247a/b A Pig in Clover S&W/U&U 1898 OWH E
248a/b Family Jars S&W/U&U 1897 OWH poor M
249 Darn the Cucumber! Never mind the Doctor, send for the Minister S&W/U&U 1897 OWH M
250 The farewell Dinner--Enthusiastic appreciation of the Class Orator U&U 1901 OWH G-Am
251 a/b The Sleepy Lover U&U 1901 OWH Ct
252a/b McGinty's Pants were Stolen Graves/UPA 3241 1890s OWH Eth
253a/b The Male Robbery Graves/UPA 4506 1897 OWH M
254 Stolen Sweets Graves/UPA 3286 1896 OWH Ct
255a/b A Midnight Tippler Rau/UVC 1897 OWH M
256 He Would Rather Be There Than Anywhere Else. White 5531 1903 OWH Ct
257 He Would Rather Be Home than Anywhere Else. And papa Helps Him along. White 1903 OWH Ct
258 There's Sis with Her New Fella. I'll have some fun. White 5544 1903 OWH 1 of 2 (279) Ct
259a Finnegan's Wake Sterro 319 1890s OWH 2 views Eth
259b Finnegan's Wake Sterro 319 1890s OWH 2 views Eth
260 Love in a Tub Am 1552 70-90s OWH pirate/ b/w litho Ct
261a/b The Latest Novel Rau/G&G 2663 1880s OWH wmn reader E
262 He Stoops to Serve [stockings] Rau/G&G 309? 1890s OWH poor E
263 An Affair of Honor--The Private Supper Rau/G&G 1189 1897 OWH G-Am
264a/b A Fishing smack Rau/G&G 1204 1890s OWH Ct
265 Full Possession [bed] Ki 7377 1892 OWH M
266 Looking for the Burglar Ki/Da 12854 1899 OWH M
267 Will I Look Like That? [diver] New Ed Series 223 1890s OWH G-Am
268 The Good Story--Very Good Sterro 699 1890s OWH E
269 During the Honeymoon Young/USVC 1897 OWH M
270 Six Months Wedded Young/USVC 1897 OWH M
271 The Ferryman Rau/UVC 1897 OWH E
272 On the Fence--Don't Look at Me W&A 1890s OWH pirate? E
273 Settling a Dispute [measuring calves] Rau/UVC 1897 OWH E
274a/b The First Cloud S&W/U&U 1899 HMC/OWH M
275 Confirmation--Father Approves Their Pledge of Love Rau/UVC 1903(5) HMC/OWH series? Ct

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276 The Unexpected Arrival of The New French Maid White 5499(2) 1902 OWH FrMaid M

277 Don't be long, Cherse [sic]. James will have that little supper soon. White 5501(4) 1902 OWH FrMaid M

278 You are better than champagne to cheer a fellow. White 5503(6) 1902 OWH FrMaid M

279 Nothing Shall Ever Separate Us Dear, But-- White 5545(2) 1903 OWH 2 of 2 (258) Ct

280a/b Be Careful, John, You'll Break the Eggs S&W/U&U 1895 OWH Ct

281 Begorrah, Bridget, lits arbitrate S&W/U&U 1897 OWH Eth

282 A Knight of Labor U&U 1896 HMC/OWH M

283 Smashing Hearts as Well as Dishes S&W/U&U 6996 1897 HMC/OWH Ct

284a/b Cry, cry, cry--don't tell me it's colic; it's sheer temper U&U 7146 1897 HMC/OWH M

285a/b Just one, dear, while his head is covered up. U&U 7911(2) 1906 HMC/OWH Ct

286 Darn the Doctor! Send for the Snake Charmer! (delirium tremors) S&W/U&U 1897 HMC/OWH T

287 You go first, Hannah! 'Twould be a mean man that would hit a woman! S&W/U&U 1897 HMC/OWH M

288 Dot Wagner Music vas almost human sometimes U&U 1902 HMC/OWH Eth

289a/b Cupid--after all the pains we have taken to set the trap, see what we have caught U&U 1903 HMC/OWH Ct

290a/b Mama's Darlings and Papa's Joys [crying babies] U&U 1897 HMC/OWH 1703 M

291 This parting gives me pain, dear [mustard plaster] U&U 1900 HMC/OWH poor M

292 As Directed--When a man's married, his troubles begin. S&W/U&U 1897 HMC/OWH M

293a/b Necessity is the mother of invention. [bachelor sewing] S&W/U&U 1895 HMC/OWH Ba

294a/b 3 a.m. Almost in and she does not hear me. S&W/U&U 1897 HMC/OWH M

295 Mischief brewing [gossip] S&W/U&U 1899 HMC/OWH G-Am

296 Fire! Fire! Ki/Da 11938 1897 HMC/OWH poor G-Am

297 Between the Rails G&G 3550 1890s HMC/OWH E

298 Can You Do This? Rau/G&G 1206 1897 HMC/OWH E

299a/b Before the Ball Ki/Da 11911 1897 HMC/OWH E

300 Oh, won't they stare when we all get there Ki/Da 12888 1899 HMC/OWH E

301a/b Woman's Rights Ki 6794 1891 HMC/OWH poor NW

302a/b Mother-in-law making things warm around the house Ki/Da 7461 1892 HMC/OWH M

303 Master's winning ways Rau/G&G 1890s HMC/OWH M

304a/b Brown home from the Club Fears a Storm G&G 2423 1901 HMC/OWH M

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305 A Midnight Prowler G&G 2419 1900 HMC/OWH M
306 When a Man's Married, his Troubles Begin G&G 2370 1901 HMC/OWH 1 of 2 M
307a/b Be Patient, Dear, Don't Swear G&G 2371 1901 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 M
308 When the Wife's Away, the Maid will play G&G 2448 1903 HMC/OWH M
309 Ha! Ha! I beat you this time. Wasson/IVC 683 1901 HMC/OWH M
310 After the Storm Ki 6790 1891 HMC/OWH M
311 Trials of married life Ki/Da 11906 1897 HMC/OWH poor M
312 Waking all the night long Ki/Da 11900 1897 HMC/OWH poor M
313 Not so pleasant sitting up as it used to be Ki/Da 11904 1897 HMC/OWH h-c M
314 I will have to ask Mama Ki/Da 11564 1897 HMC/OWH Ct
315a/b A sip on the sly. Ki/Da 11899 1897 HMC/OWH poor M
316 The Love Sick Barber Ki 3166 1883 HMC/OWH poor Ct
317 Our affectionate mother-in-law Ki/Da 12859 1899 HMC/OWH M
318a/b The mother-in-law's annual visit Ki/Da 11589 1897 HMC/OWH M
319 Bliss (Weller)/Li 532A 1898 HMC/OWH 1 of 2 Ct
320 Bliss Disturbed (Weller)/Li 533A 1898 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 Ct
321 Deacon Jones' Prayer Li 1890 HMC/OWH C
322 Oft in the Stilly Night Weller/Li 543 1875 HMC/OWH M
323 Things Seen and Not Seen [fresh view agent] W&A 1890s HMC/OWH poor M
324a/b An Optical Delusion [fresh view agent] S&W/U&U 1897 HMC/OWH M
325 Stolen Sweets Key 99(a) 1900 HMC/OWH poor Ct
326 Stolen Sweets Turn Sour Key 100(b) 1900 HMC/OWH poor Ct
327 Pleasure Before Business Singley/Key 345 1893-4 HMC/OWH Ct
328 Don't Get Above Your Business Singley/Key 433 1893 HMC/OWH poor E
329 Did You Ring for Hot Water, Sir? Key 434 1901 HMC/OWH poor E
330 I propose to move immediately upon your lines. Singley/Key 470 1893 HMC/OWH poor 2 of 2 Ct
331 Bliss Disturbed Singley/Key 509(b) 1893 HMC/OWH poor Ct
332 The Bashful Lover Singley/Key 510 1893-4 HMC/OWH Ct
333 A Scene Behind the Bush Singley/Key 528 1983-84 HMC/OWH Ct
334 Going! S&W/U&U 1 1900 HMC/OWH maid series M
335 Going!! S&W/U&U 2 1900 HMC/OWH maid series M

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336 Gone!!! S&W/U&U 3 1900 HMC/OWH maid series M
337 Sumfin Did Drap [black face] Li 1495 1895 HMC/OWH A-A
338 The Pride of the Family S&W/U&U 1897 HMC/OWH A-A
339 But Papa You Wished Fido Was a Bird Dog Key 11452 1906 HMC/OWH C
340 Painting Her First Picture Key 9441 1898 HMC/OWH C
341 The Interrupted Meal [cat and child] Key 9026 1899 HMC/OWH C
342 Look at Yourself, Pussy Key 2314 1896 HMC/OWH poor C
343 Her Guardian Angel Singley/Key 619 1894 HMC/OWH C
344 Don't You Dare! Singley/Key 536(b) 1893 HMC/OWH poor 1 of 2 C
345 You May Have Just One Singley/Key 537(c) 1893 HMC/OWH 2 of 2 C
346 Scenes Animees [garters] B.K. 1860s NYPL E
347 [Man peers around door] Euro-Am Views 80s NYPL copy/pirate E
348 Oh, You Wretch, this I shall not endure Key 1903 NYPL poor FC/ #74 M
349 And some have greatness thrust upon them U&U 1891 NYPL 3of 3 (139) G-Am
350 [stockings] Rust/WSC 1897 NYPL E
351r/v Scenes Animees [erotic scene in kitchen] B. K. 1860s NYPL h-c tissue E
352 [woman combs hair] Am 1870s NYPL E
353r/v Dream After the Ball Ingersoll 97 1899 NYPL litho E
354r/v Mr. Small returns home quite early Am./Ingersoll? 35b c.1899 NYPL litho/olive mount M
355 Taking the Cream U&U 1890s NYPL poor Ct
356 Eavesdropping [woman spanks boy] Am/Ingersoll? c.1899 NYPL litho/olive mount C
357 After the Masked Ball Ingersoll 79 1899 NYPL litho E
358 [two brides seen through veils] J. M. 1860s NYPL Fr B
359 Undergoing repairs Am. 530 1870s NYPL E
360 Scenes animees [women at wash tub] B. K. 1860s NYPL tissue E
361 Oh, You're so sweet and those beautiful eyes Key 1903 NYPL FC 77 M
362 Wait a Moment till I see what those hands mean Key 1903 NYPL FC 72 M
363 [Grape Eater] Fr? 1860s NYPL E
364 Future Courtship Weller/Li 508 1875 NYPL 3 of 3 Ct
365 The Bath ISVC 519 NYPL E
366 The Frisky Boarding School Am X199 1890s NYPL E
367 Betsy Planking Down the Law Ki/Da 11460 1892 NYPL M
368 For Conscience Sake, Sally, Give Me a Rest Ki 1892 NYPL M
369 Beware! Young Man Beware! [f. accouterments] Pop Series 1870s NYPL pirate of Anthony view E
370 The Automobile Somnambulist U&U 7912 1906 NYPL M
371 [washerwomen] Fr 1860s NYPL E
372 [washerwomen] Fr 1860s NYPL G-Eu

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373 Fixing Her Garter Miscellaneous 490 1860s NYPL h-c E
374 Reducing the Surplus Ki/Da 11913 1897 NYPL E
375 [Man imprisoned in hoop skirt] Woodward 55-65 NYPL Am E
376 Projected—The last in bed blows out the light S&W 1897 NYPL M series M
377 Jones Home from the Club Fears the Storm S&W/U&U 1897 NYPL poor M
378 Brown Home from the Club Fears the Storm Group Series 1870s NYPL poor pirate M
379a Nobody's Business Ki/Da 11587 1897 NYPL Ct
379b Tribulation U&U series 1899 NYPL typewriter series M
380 [women in stockings] GfL 70-80s NYPL poor pirate E
381 [women undressing in country side] Am. 1880s NYPL poor E
382 Take your time, Miss. This is not my busy day. Rau/UVC 1904 NYPL E
383 [genre scene of letter delivered by maid] Fr/Brit-GemsBA 1870s NYPL pirate G-Eu
384 Midnight Refreshments [father and baby hitting the bottle] Ki/Da 11459 1897 NYPL M
385 [washerwomen] Fr 1860s NYPL E
386 Dressing for the party [male voyeur] Ki/Da 12852 1899 NYPL E
387 [man under hoop skirt] Fr/Brit 55-65 NYPL h-c E
388r/v Goodbye, Dearest, I'll be Home Quite Early. Am/Ingersoll? #30 c.1899 NYPL litho/olive mnt M
389r/v The Benedict—Married At Last Am/Ingersoll? #41 a c.1899 NYPL litho/olive mnt M
390r/v Good cause for a lecture—the benedict Am/Ingersoll? #42 c.1899 NYPL litho/olivemnt M
391r/v Oh, Dear, I'll Be Home Quite Early Ingersoll 1898 NYPL litho M
392r/v He rolls in quite early. Ingersoll 1898 NYPL litho M
393r/v Love's Token, Freely Given Ingersoll 1898 NYPL litho Ct
394 Reducing the Surplus Ingersoll #86 1899 NYPL litho E
395 Dressing for the Ball Am./Ingersoll? #93 c.1899 NYPL litho/grn-ylw mnt E
396 Making a Beginning—the Toilet Ingersoll #34 1899 NYPL litho E
397r/v The Toilet Powder and Puff Ingersoll #35 1899 NYPL litho E
398r/v After the ball is over. Ingersoll #38 1899 NYPL litho E
399r/v The Sultan's Favorite Ingersoll #80 1899 NYPL litho E
400a/b Giving Him Her Hand with all Her Heart White 5456 1902 NYPL Ct
401 A Summer Girl on the Warpath ASC 1904 NYPL Ct
402 Even a kiss has its Sting Metropolitan 824 1890s NYPL b/w litho Ct
403 Ha! Ha! Come Again tomorrow night and try our other sister! S&W/U&U -4 1899 NYPL Ct

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404a/b A Cold Wave Key 9549 1899 NYPL Ct
405 Not for the World S&W 1899 NYPL poor Ct
406 Don't Get to [sic] Gay Standard Series 70-90s NYPL poor pirate Ct
407 Rejected Am/Brit c.1870 NYPL poor h-c Ct
408 A Happy Home S&W/U&U 1899 NYPL M
409 [Vivandiere or Quixote w/lady] Brit 1850s NYPL h-c G-Eu
410 [proposal] Brit 56-70 NYPL h-c Ct
411a 1789-1889—The Same Old Story Group Series 36 1889 NYPL poor pirate. Centennial th. Ct
412a/b [kiss and exposed stockings] Am 683 1890s NYPL E
413ab/v Ancient Courtship Weller 506 1875 NYPL 1 of 3 Ct
414a/b Love's Passing Dream Ki 2319 1876 NYPL Ct
415 [May and December] Fr/Brit 56-70 NYPL h-c/fleur de lis Ct
416 [Rustic and Bar maid] Brit/Am pirate 56-70 NYPL pirate Ct
417 Ah! There Ki 7438 1892 NYPL Ct
418 [Too proximate courting. She's caught on his glasses] Am/Brit 80-90s NYPL copy or pirate? Ct
419 Comin' Thro' the Rye Li/U&U 1548 1891 NYPL Ct
420 Rejected Swell Am/Group Series 1870s NYPL pirate of Am view Ct
421 Rejected Swell Standard Series 1870s NYPL same as 420 Ct
422a/b Father Come Home Elliott 56-70 NYPL pirate of 1548 C
423 Deflected—Home from the Club he Fears the Storm S&W/U&U 1897 NYPL M
424a/b Wide Awake and Fast Asleep Weller 542 1875 NYPL G-Am
425 You Bet! You Know Where the Key Hole Is. Standard Series 70-80s NYPL M
426 Bachelor Supper—With His Bachelor Friends on His Wedding Eve Rau/BKC 4652 1903 NYPL series—#9 B
427 The greeting He Received Young/ASC 1900 NYPL M
428 If I Could Only Find My Hat, I'd Never Drink Another Drop Key 10494 1904 NYPL M
429 The Result [drunken woman] G&G 1902 NYPL E
430 Wouldn't This Stump You? AC 1905 NYPL litho E
431 [exposed girl with watering can] Fr/Brit. 1850s NYPL E
432 tissue—[woman with decollete L.L. 1860s NYPL h-c E
433a/b tissue—[masquerade party] B. K. c.1860 NYPL h-c E
434a/b tissue—[bon vivants with grisettes] B. K. c.1860 NYPL h-c E
435a/b [Women at Toilette] B. K. c.1860 NYPL h-c E
436a/b [letter writer with exposed shoulder] E. Thiebault c.1870 NYPL E

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437a/b [exposed woman with watering can] Am? c.1905 NYPL E
438 The Shower Bath Brit? 1860s NYPL h-c E
439 [nude art study. 2 women, classicizing torso] Fr/Brit 1860s NYPL E
440a/b tissue—[erotic kitchen scene] B. K. 1860s NYPL h-c E
441 tissue--[love-struck soldier and lady with exposed stockings] B. K. 1860s NYPL h-c E
442 tissue--[washerwomen] B. K. 1860s NYPL h-c E
443a/b The Frisky Boarding School Sterro? x100/265 1890s NYPL -366 E
444 [semi-nude woman sitting on table] Am 12 1920s NYPL E
445a/b Werry Sorry, Mam, But Leave Yer Krinerline Outside Popular Series 1860s NYPL poor pirate G-Eu
446 [Woman undressing in Boudoir] Brit. 1850s NYPL h-c E
447 New Haven Fishwife Brit. 1850s NYPL salt print G-Eu
448 Turned Out of Church Brit./pirate 56-70 NYPL pirate C
449a/b The Windy Day Brit. 56-70 NYPL 1 of 2/copy print G-Eu
450a/b The Wet Day Brit. 56-70 NYPL 2 of 2/copy G-Eu
451a/b [man hiding under crinoline discovered by ma] Brit. 56-70 NYPL copy E
452 Modern Courtship Weller 507 1875 NYPL faded Ct
453 Woman's Rights—Off to the Lecture Room Weller 330 1871 NYPL NW
454a/b Last in Bed to Put Out the Light Brit/H. Ropes 1870s NYPL pirate M
455a/b Morning Chimes Brit/pirate 1860s NYPL 1 of 2 M
456a/b Night Squalls Brit/pirate 1860s NYPL 2 of 2 M
457a/b [Yes, I Do] Li 1976 1898 NYPL (1852)copy/missing label Ct
458a/b What Will Missus Say! Comics&Groups 70-80s NYPL pirate M
459 Rustic Courtship Comics&Groups 70-80s NYPL copy Ct
460 Caught a Tartar Brit/pirate 56-70 NYPL sequel to 416 M
461a/b No Followers allowed. Love will find out the way. Brit. 56-70 NYPL Ct
462 Polishing the Understanding Popular Series NYPL pirate Ct
463a/b Love on a Box (1) Am c.1895 NYPL 1 of 2 Ct
464 Love in a Box (2) Am c.1895 NYPL 2 of 2 Ct
465 Crossing the Line Brit. 56-70 NYPL 1 of 2 E
466 [tripped by rope] Brit. 56-70 NYPL 2 of 2 E
467a/b Love on a Tub Li 1551 1891 NYPL 1 of 2 Ct
468 Love in a Tub Li 1552 1891 NYPL 2 of 2 Ct
469 Evening Parties [a cafe concert] Fr/copy 56-70 NYPL copy/FriendsBkAssoc G-Eu
470a/b Hands All Around Brit. 56-70 NYPL pirate G-Eu
471a/b Evening Parties--Mr. Bottomley gets quarrelsome and fights with Miss Longshank's Brother Brit/pirate 56-70 NYPL sequel G-Eu

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472 Barney's Blarney Brit/pirate 56-70 NYPL Eth
473 Evening Parties Brit/pirate #94 56-70 NYPL G-Eu
474 Money Scarce [man can't pay bar bill] Brit/pirate 56-70 NYPL G-Eu
475 The Morning Call [vegetable seller] Brit/pirate 56-70 NYPL G-Eu
476a/b The Broken Pitcher [crying kid] Brit/pirate 56-70 NYPL C
477a/b Exchange is no Robbery—A Rat for a Rabbit Brit/pirate 56-70 NYPL G-Eu
478 [lady at desk] Brit/Fr 56-70 NYPL G-Eu
479 Going to Court Elliott 56-70 NYPL G-Eu
480a/b The Old Curiosity Shop Phiz 1850s NYPL saltprint? G-Eu
481 In For a Licking, a Lick and a Stick [kids stealing liquor] Brit/GfL 56-70 NYPL pirate/set (465-66) C
482a/b The Ghost Brit/pirate 56-70 NYPL pirate G-Eu
483 Ejected. Bliss Disturbed at 1:30 a.m. S&W/U&U 1897 NYPL Ct
484a/b Quarter Past 1 a.m.—Bliss Disturbed Comic Series 1870s NYPL pirate of Am view Ct
485a/b Bliss Disturbed W&A 1890s NYPL Ct
486 Bliss R&F 1870s NYPL 1 of 2 Ct
487a/b Bliss Disturbed R&F 1870s NYPL 2 of 2 Ct
488a/b Bliss Disturbed Rau/G&G 1894 NYPL Ct
489 Bliss Disturbed G&G 2286 1900 NYPL 1 of 2 Ct
490 Bliss Very Much Disturbed G&G 2286 1900 NYPL 2 of 2 Ct
491a Taking the Cream S&W/U&U 1890s NYPL Ct
491b Bliss Disturbed Weller 1875 NYPL Ct
492 Taking Dessert [corpulent couple] GfL 70-80s NYPL pirate E
493 Market Day—A Rustic Belle Popular Series NYPL pirate of Brit (?) view E
494 Going with the Stream S&W/U&U 1897 NYPL Ct
495 Partiality S&W/U&U 1897 NYPL Ct
496 Taking Toll in the Rural Districts S&W/U&U 1896 NYPL E
497 Always Take a Horse You Can Drive With One Hand Key 10418 1904 NYPL sister image to 1581 Ct
498 Treading on Dangerous Ground Melander 1870 NYPL Ct
499 Pleasure Before Business Home Series NYPL pirate Ct
500r/v No Followers Allowed. Love will Find a Way. Brit. 56-70 NYPL h-c Ct
501 Ah! There! [lovers and kids] Li 1846 1891 NYPL Ct
502 They all do it. [lovers in black face about to be doused.] Li 1446 c.1889 NYPL no id on card Ct
503a/b [Children reading by window] Griswold #25 1871 NYPL C
504 The Cabin Porch Griswold #23 1871 NYPL G-Am

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505a/b [She rejects his kiss] Ch.A.Beckford 65-75 NYPL h-c Ct
506 Adieu After the Ball Elliott/LSC 56-70 NYPL Ct
507a/b Eavesdroppers S&W/U&U 1890 NYPL G-Am
508a/b The Surprise [soldier under table] Brit/GfL 56-70 NYPL pirate Ct
509a/b Sarah's Young Man [maid with man under table] Brit/GfL 56-70 NYPL pirate Ct
510 A Tiff--the course of true love never did run smooth Brit/GfL 56-70 NYPL pirate Ct
511 Ah! Good morning [the swell] Standard/pirate 70-80s NYPL pirate, prequel to 420 Ct
512 Strictly Private [eavesdroppers and couple] Brit/GroupSeries 60--70s NYPL pirate Ct
513a/b Retouching Portraits Li 1445 1889 NYPL Ct
514 London Street Scenes--Morning. Here's the Perlice! Brit. 56-70 NYPL h-c G-Eu
515 The Compliments [unattractive woman courted] Brit/Group Series B190 56-70 NYPL pirate Ct
516r/v The Entanglement Brit./pirate 56-70 NYPL ad on verso. (1755)Ct
517a/b Caught in the Act Am #3 c.1899 NYPL litho Ct
518a/b Smashing Hearts as well as dishes S&W/U&U 1897 NYPL Ct
519a/b Bliss S&W/U&U 1897 NYPL Ct
520 Bliss Disturbed Weller 1875 NYPL Ct
521 [maid reading letter over the shoulder] L&P 1870s NYHS G-Eu
522 [Woman Reading] L&P 1870s NYHS G-Eu
523 Over Polite Brit./GfL 56-70 NYHS Ct
524a/b Ma Grand'mere M.Perrotin 1860s NYHS Chansons de Beranger G-Eu
525a/b Three O'Clock in the Morning Silvester/LSC 1850s NYHS h-c M
526 La Mere Aveugle M. Perrotin 1860s NYHS Chansons de Beranger G-Eu
527a/b Ce N'est Plus Lisette M. Perrotin 1860s NYHS Chansons de Beranger G-Eu
528a/b News from the War Elliott/LSC 56-70 NYHS h-c M
529 Dressing the Bride Elliott/LSC 56-70 NYHS h-c B
530a/b The Veiled Bride Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c B
531a/b The Wedding Elliott/LSC 56-70 NYHS h-c B
532 The Happiest Day of my Life Elliott/LSC 56-70 NYHS h-c B
533 Dear Mama Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c C
534 Bright Eyes Disturb Devotion Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
535 News from the War Elliott 55-57 NYHS h-c M
536 [Woman at Desk] J.F. 56-70 NYHS G-Eu
537 The Power of Love Brit?/pirate 56-70 NYHS Ct
538a/b The Birth of an Heir [shabby abode] Brit/pirate 56-70 NYHS M
539 [Pastimes] Elliott 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu

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540 Only My Cousin Brit/pirate 56-70 NYHS h-c Ct
541 The Approaching Shower LSC 1850s NYHS h-c G-Eu
542 The Orphans [with angel] Brit 1850s NYHS h-c G-Eu
543 Happy Father: "What two!!" "Yes, Sir, Two Little Beauties." Brit. 1860s NYHS M
544 The Bashful Lover Brit. 1860s NYHS h-c Ct
545 Happy Thoughts [lady playing shepherdess] Brit. 1850s NYHS h-c G-Eu
546 One Too Many Elliott c.1860 NYHS h-c G-Eu
547 The Pleasures of Matrimony/or 12 months after marriage Brit. c.1860 NYHS h-c M
548 [At the Ball?] LSC c.1860 NYHS h-c G-Eu
549a/b [Boy Tapping sleeping spinner on shoulder with stick] S. Williams 1870s NYHS G-Eu
550 Winter Scenes: snow Storm, a Contrast D.Appleton/NYSC c.1858 NYHS Brit import? G-Am
551 Mr. and Mrs. Caudle [man in drag] Elliott 56-70 NYHS h-c M
552 [group of girls] GGL/pirate 1870s NYHS G-Eu
553 Little Mischief Silvester 56-70 NYHS h-c C
554 Punch's stereoscopic Sketches #2: The Cobbler in Pain Reynolds 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
555 The studious Girl Am/Brit 1860s NYHS G-Am
556 Asking a Blessing S.C.Northop 115 1870s NYHS h-c. import? Ct
557 Fast Friends Passing the Gates of Sleepy Land U&U 6959 1905 NYHS C
558a/b Trials of the Day are Over (Weller)Li 349b 1889 NYHS C
559 Speaking Likeness GroupSeries 3144 1870s NYHS h-c/pirate of Am/Brit C
560 [mother and child] Merrimac St C 1870s NYHS copy? C
561 [child chemist] J.A. French 1870s NYHS C
562 Spring Blossoms S&W/U&U 1895 NYHS G-Am
563 Tell me story Grandpa [sic] Ki 11615 1897 NYHS C
564 [picnic scene] A. Silvester 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
565 A Morning Call Elliott 56-70 NYHS h-c M
566 Exchange is no Robbery. A Rat for a Rabbit. Brit. 56-70 NYHS -477 G-Eu
567 Inquisitiveness Elliott 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
568a/b Waiting for Her Beau Euro&AmViews 70-80s NYHS pirate/Weller? Ct
569a/b The First Break in the Family Brit/H.Ropes 56-57 NYHS copy/pirate G-Eu
570 Master's Intrusion Brit/C.W.Thorne 56-70 NYHS h-c/import/1of2/(591) Ct
571 A Cottage Scene C.E. Goodman 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
572 The Soldier's Return C.E.Goodman 56-70 NYHS English G-Eu
573 Turned Out of Church C.W. Thorne, NY 56-70 NYHS h-c/import C
574 Food For the Monastery Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu

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575 The Traveler's Mistake Brit/Comics&Groups 56-70 NYHS poor pirate E

576a/b English Pastimes Euro&Am Views 56-70 NYHS pirate G-Eu

577 Feeling the Pulse—Faster than Usual. Brit 56-70 NYHS h-c Ct

578 Love in a Tub Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c Ct

579 Love on a Tub Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c Ct

580 Optical Delusion—things Seen and Not Seen Brit./pirate 56-70 NYHS h-c M

581 It's Only Mustache [man under table] Brit./C.W.Thorne 56-70 NYHS h-c Ct

582 Love's Trial Brit. 56-70 NYHS poem on verso Ct

583 The Listener Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c E

584 A Critical Examination [stereoscopes] A.Gaudin/GfL late50s NYHS pirate of A.Gaudin G-Eu

585 Rustic Music Brit. 56-70 NYHS G-Eu

586 [May and December] Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c Ct

587a/b Returned from the Ball Brit. 56-70 NYHS C

588 Doubtful Fortune Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu

589 An Optical Delusion. Things Seen and Not seen. Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c M

590 Money Scarce Brit/H.Ropes 56-70 NYHS pirate G-Eu

591 Master's Expulsion Brit/C.W.Thorne 56-70 NYHS h-c/import.20f2 (570) G-Eu

592 Love in a Fix [infidelity] Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c M

593a/b The Mischievous Boy Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c C

594 Impatience [boy winding wool and sleeping lady] Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c C

595 Sad Associations [leave taking] Brit/Goodman? 56-70 NYHS pirate M

596 The First Break in the Family Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu

597a/b Mama, Dear, What do they play the organ so loud for when church is over, is it to wake us up? Brit. 56-70 NYHS pirate C

598 Three O'Clock in the morning Silvester? 56-70 NYHS h-c M

599a/b The Morning Call [breast feeding] Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c M

600 Life's PhasesBrit. 78 56-70 NYHS pirate G-Eu

601a/b Caudle's Curtain Lectures Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c M

602 Courtship Comic Series 56-70 NYHS pirate/416 Ct

603 The Musical Wife Brit. 56-70 NYHS M

604a/b Curiosity Punished Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c/1 of 2/(623) E

605a/b The Baptism LSC 56-70 NYHS h-c M

606 Charity Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu

607a/b May and December Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c Ct

608 Flirtation S&W/U&U 1899 NYHS typewriter series M

609 The course of true love never runs smooth Ki/Da 7454 1892 NYHS Ct

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610 An Optical Delusion ICU Co. 886 1890s NYHS 324, 589 M
611 Mrs. Jones Comes Back Unexpectedly G&G c.1899 NYHS litho M
612 For you I left my happy home! U&U 1903 NYHS M
613 Unexpected return of Mrs. Bliss--Hustle, James, She Mustn't Know of This White-
7 1902 NYHS Fr Maid series (278) M
614 Explain this state of affairs if you can, sir! White-10 1902 NYHS Fr Maid series (278) M
615a/b A Sad Predicament--He Wants to Go Home S&W/U&U 1899 NYHS 125, 231 E
616 Unconditional, but Happy [fishing] G&G c.1899 NYHS litho G-Am
617 The Boatman Somewhat Rattled Li/U&U 1890 NYHS 165 E
618 A Pretty Tangle Li/U&U 1728 1894 NYHS E
619a/b A Slight Nibble Li/U&U 1582 1892 NYHS E
620 Look here, Sister. How Can I Get His Head through this Arrangement? Li/U&U 1890 NYHS G-Am
621 The Trout Brook Ben Kilburn 126 c.1867 NYHS G-Am
622a/b Home from the Party and Very Tired Graves 6019 1890s NYHS E
623 The Mysteries of the Dressing Room Brit./Chappel's 56-70 NYHS h-c/ad E
624 The Mysteries of the Dressing Room Brit./Chappel's 56-70 NYHS h-c/ad E
625 Petites Scenes [2 women in decollete] Fr. c.1860 NYHS E
626 At the Spring [nude art study] Li/U&U 1790 1896 NYHS E
627 Seaside Belles [swim suits] S&W/U&U 1897 NYHS G-Am/E
628 Three Jolly Girls [seaside] Li/U&U 1954 1898 NYHS E
629 Beewing Scandal J. &E. Hoch 1860s NYHS pirate/copy G-Am
630a/b Gossip Over the Teacups White 5426 1902 NYHS G-Am
631 [two posed women] Am? 1860s NYHS G-Am
632 Village Postmistress, Village Post Office Am 70-80s NYHS pseudoscopic G-Am
633 The Morning Call Am/Brit. 1860s NYHS G-Am/Eu
634 [visiting women and child] Am 1870s NYHS G-Am
635 Dressing for the Promenade Miscellaneous 484 1860s NYHS h-c G-Am
636 The Art of Gossip Am. c.1898 NYHS -177 G-Am
637 [A tiff] Brit. 56-70 NYHS Ct
638 [Cupid's Restaurant] Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
639 The Compliments Brit./Group Series 3190 56-70 NYHS h-c/pirate Ct
640 Always Take a Horse You Can Drive with One Hand Am c.1899 NYHS litho Ct
641 Sleeping, I Dream of Love Weller 303 187- NYHS B
642 Over the Garden Wall [kiss] Li 1547 1891 NYHS Ct

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643 Where is Your Fortune, My Pretty maid? Am c.1898 NYHS litho Ct
644 After a Storm a Calm Cometh Brit. 56-70 NYHS sequel (1176) M
645 Circumstantial Evidence [lovers caught] Li 1892 NYHS Ct
646a/b Looking for a Man Young/ASC 1903 NMAH 1 of 4 E
647a/b A Man! At last, a Man!! Young/ASC 1903 NMAH 2 of 4 E
648a/b A Merited Fate. Throw him out the window, girls. Young/ASC 1903 NMAH 3 of 4 E
649 A Doubtful Triumph--Collapse after the struggle. Young/ASC 1903 NMAH 4 of 4 E
650a/b Oh John! I'm sure I heard a Burglar. Young/ASC 1903 NMAH 1 of 3 M
651 You Go First, Mary, no man would hurt a good woman, and good men are scarce. Young/ASC 1903 NMAH 2 of 3 M
652 I've taught that fellow a lesson. He won't come here, again. Young/ASC 1903 NMAH 3 of 3 M
653 The Last in Bed Puts Out the Light Young/ASC 1908 NMAH M
654 We'll Do that Rat or Die. Young/ASC 1908 NMAH M
655 The Gallant Lover Young/ASC a 1900 NMAH 1 of 2 ? Ct
656 The Bachelor's Revenge Young/ASC 1900 NMAH Ba
657 Partiality Young/ASC 1900 NMAH Ct
658 Getting his Hair Banged Young/ASCb 1900 NMAH 2 of 2 M
659 As in a looking Glass Clark/ASC 1896 NMAH E
660 The Start Key 2330 1896 AAS 1 of 2 NW
661 The Finish Key 2331 1896 AAS 2 of 2 (128) NW
662-665 no records
666 With every sip a reputation dies Young/ASC 1903 NMAH G-Am
667 The Mother's Kiss Young/ASC 10 1900 NMAH series B
668abv D. Appleton Stereoscopic Emporium/Stereoscopic Views Appleton c.1860 NMAH Ad
669a/b [Letter readers] GGL/L&P 1870s NMAH G-Eu
670 Little Red Riding Hood Brit/Chase 56-70 NMAH pirate C
671 Schoolroom [Weller's Just After the Battle] Weller/Chase 1871 NMAH pirate of 1000 C
672 Isn't It Pretty [Weller's Not so Very Thin] Weller/Chase 1875 NMAH pirate (1728)Ct
673 [Rustic Courtship] Brit/Chase 56-70 NMAH pirate Ct
674 May and December Brit/Chase 56-70 NMAH pirate (586) Ct
675 Ballet Group Brit/Chase 1870s NMAH pirate Cel
676 After the Fair Brit/Chase 56-70 NMAH pirate M
677 [Return of Mrs.] Brit/Chase 56-70 NMAH pirate M
678 [Mirror View] Ge?/Chase 1870s NMAH pirate of Ge? view G-Eu
679a/b [Little Red Riding Hood] Brit/Chase 56-70 NMAH pirate C

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680 [Little Red Riding Hood] Brit/Chase 56-70 NMAH pirate C
681 The Beaten Path Elliott 55-60 NMAH C
682 [School children] Ge/Cremer 1870s NMAH Ge view?,Cr.pub. C
683 Homeless and Friendless Elliott c.1858 NMAH h-c C
684 Secret Assistance Elliott 56-70 NMAH h-c C
685a/b The Orphan's Dream Elliott 56-70 NMAH h-c C
686 The Gleaner Elliott c.1858 NMAH h-c G-Eu
687 [love letter passed] J. F. 1860s NMAH copy? Ct
688 [Cottage Scene] Goodman c.1858 NMAH h-c G-Eu
689a/b Forest Leaves [2 posed girls] Am. 1870s NMAH ad/Loyd A. Goodwin C
690 Universal Art Company card, verso UPAC 1890s NMAH Ad
691a/b McCarthy's Wake--a Free for All Graves/UPAC 1887 NMAH Eth
692a/b An Up-to-Date Woman ISVC c.1895 NMAH NW/E
693a/b Keystone Art Cabinet--400 Choice Views Key 1890s NMAH Ad
694a/b As Good as Gold [baby] Key 2201 1898 NMAH C
695 The Center of Attraction Key 9558 1899 NMAH h-c C
696 Then Came the Lovely Spring Key 11437 1903 NMAH Art
697 Biddy, You May Serve the Tomatoes Undressed Key 10409(a) 1900 NMAH 1 of 3 E
698 I'll Not Take Off another Stitch If I Lose My Place Key 10410(b) 1900 NMAH 2 of 3 E
699 Biddy and the Mouse Key 10411(c) 1900 NMAH 3 of 3 E
700 Gee whiz, Doctor! Did Any of Them Get Away? Key 10412 1900 NMAH M
701a/b The "New Woman" Key 2375 1896 NMAH 2 variants NW
702 There's No Love Like a Mother's Love Key 6063 1897 NMAH C
703a/b Before the Ball--Admiration Key 9439 1898 NMAH h-c E
704 After the Ball--Meditation Key 9440 1898 NMAH h-c E
705 I've Struck the Match at Last Key 10458 1904 NMAH NW
706a/b Santa Claus Bewildered by the Clamoring of Christmas Belles Key 11905 1900 NMAH h-c E
707 The Wedding Ki/Da 11435 1897 NMAH B
708 The Wedding Breakfast Ki/Da 11444 1897 NMAH B
709a/b Swinging on the Gate Ki/Da 7063 1892 NMAH Ct
710a/b It May Be for Years, It May Be Forever Ki/Da 7060 1892 NMAH M
711a/b Stay There Ki 7439 1892 NMAH sequel to Say There Ct
712 Thou Gay Deceiver Ki 7531 1892 NMAH Ct
713 Hadn't you Better Take Off Your Hat? Ki 7728 1893 NMAH M
714 Reading fortunes in Their Tea-Cups Ki/Da 11509 1897 NMAH G-Am
715 The Long Prayer Ki/Da 11609 1897 NMAH C

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716a/b Adding a Dainty Touch [sewing] Ki/Da 11887 1897 NMAH B
717a/b Ready for the Groom Ki/Da 11893 1897 NMAH prequel to 707B
718 How Biddy Served the Tomatoes Undressed Ki/Da 11962 1897 NMAH E
719 Where in the Thunder is the Towel? Ki/Da 12855 1899 NMAH M
720a/b Their Last Victim [rat] Ki/Da 12885 1899 NMAH E
721 The Human Form Divine [artist and model in body stocking] Ki/Da 12874 1899 NMAH E
722a/b A Home Entertainment Ki/Da 12886 1899 NMAH M
723 Quenching his Thirst [baby] Ki/Da 12887 1899 NMAH M
724 There's No Place like Home Ki/Da 12913 1899 NMAH M
725 Sweet Little "Dimples"—Mr. and Mrs. Honeysuckle's Handsome French Cook Ki/Da 16619/1 1905 NMAH 1 of 12/FC M
726a/b You? Our New Cook? You're a Winsome Little Angel Ki/Da 16620/2 1905 NMAH 2 of 12/FC M
727 Those Sweet Little dimples. Ki/Da 16621/3 1905 NMAH 3 of 12/FC M
728 Such a Feast of Good Things Ki/Da 16622/4 1905 NMAH 4 of 12/FC M
729a/b Hush! I Believe I Hear Mrs. Honeysuckle Coming Down the Stairs Ki/Da 16623/5 1905 NMAH 5 of 12/FC M
730 What about those hands? I hate you, Mr. Honeysuckle Ki/Da 16624/6 1905 NMAH 6 of 12/FC M
731a/b How in the world did this happen? What can I say? Ki/Da 16625/7 1905 NMAH 7 of 12/FC M
732a/b You must send her away immediately. Ki/Da 16626/8 1905 NMAH 8 of 12/FC M
733a/b Now, my dear, let me explain. It happened just this way. Ki/Da 16627/9 1905 NMAH 9 of 12/FC M
734a/b Dimples leaves for Paris, Mr. and Mrs. Honeysuckle revel in deepest affection. Ki/Da 16628/10 1905 NMAH 10 of 12/FC M
735 Love so Constant shall know no change. Come, my dear, we'll go to the reception. Ki/Da 16629/11 1905 NMAH 11 of 12/FC M
736 Mr. and Mrs. Honeysuckle's New Cook. Ki/Da 16630/12 1905 NMAH 12 of 12/FC M
737 The Bachelor's Dream Am/B.Kilburn? 1870s NMAH Ba
738a/b Freud und Leid Gustav Liersch 57 60-70s NMAH h-c G-Eu
739a/b Schadenfreude Gustav Liersch 58 60-70s NMAH h-c G-Eu
740 [older child puts on younger's shoe] Frederick Loeser 1870s NMAH G-Am
741 [portrait] Luckhardt, F. 1870s NMAH G-Eu
742 The Hero's Wife Silvester/LSC c.1857 NMAH h-c (747) M

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743 Unsuspecting Lovers Melander 26 1875 NMAH Ct
744a/b The Rustic Toilet Melander 1870s NMAH E
745 The New Woman and the Old Man Rau/G&G 17216 1897 NMAH NW
746 Bless It's Little Heart, Come to Grandma H.L.Roberts/G&G 2947 1880s NMAH C
747 The Hero's Wife Silvester/LSC c.1857 NMAH h-c (742) M
748 Pin Money Silvester 1850s NMAH G-Eu
749 I am so Sorry to Leave you, Dear S&W/U&U 1899 NMAH 1 of 6/War series M
750 My Country Calls and I Must Go S&W/U&U 7964 1899 NMAH 2 of 6/War series M
751 For My Country I can Even Give Jack Up S&W/U&U 1899 NMAH 3 of 6/War series M
752 Sad News from the Battlefield. Jack has fallen at Santiago. S&W/U&U 1899 NMAH 4 of 6/War series M
753 Oh Jack! Oh Jack--Not killed but only wounded. S&W/U&U 1899 NMAH 5 of 6/War series M
754 The Story of the Battle--Our Country Victorious and Now a Happy Home S&W/U&U 1899 NMAH 6 of 6/War series M
755 The Quarrel's old but never stupid betwixt the Summer Girl and Cupid S&W/U&U 1897 NMAH Ct
756 When a Man's Married, his troubles begin. S&W/U&U 1891 NMAH M
757 When a Man's Married, his troubles begin. S&W/U&U 1897 NMAH M
758 Curiosity Punished. S&W/U&U 1892 NMAH E
759 You Go First, Hannah, I'm near sighted. S&W/U&U 1890 NMAH M
760 For Heaven's Sake, Maria, give us a rest! S&W/U&U 1890 NMAH M
761a/b The Dairyman's Daughter: May I go with you, pretty maid? S&W/U&U 1895 NMAH Ct
762 ...Comin' through the rye... S&W/U&U 1895 NMAH Ct
763 Dressing the Bride S&W/U&U 1897 NMAH C
764 tissue--[children stealing fruit] Jacob Hennigs 65-70 NMAH C
765 tissue--[children playing] Jacob Hennigs 65-70 NMAH C
766 tissue--[group of women] E. L. 1860s NMAH G-Eu
767 tissue--[soiree] E. L. 1860s NMAH G-Eu
768 tissue--[soiree with adults and children] Fr 1860s NMAH G-Eu
769 tissue--[visiting a sick friend] Ge--Frickhanns c.1865 NMAH G-Eu
770 tissue--[dressing for the evening] Fr/Ge c.1865 NMAH G-Eu
771 tissue--[women at tea] Fr 1860s NMAH G-Eu
772 tissue--[women dressing for the evening] Fr 1860s NMAH G-Eu

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773a/b tissue--[woman lecturer]Fr 1860s NMAH G-Eu
774 tissue--[letter of introduction?]Fr 1860s NMAH G-Eu
775a/b Salutation S&W/U&U -1 1899 AAS 1 of 5 M
776a/b Flirtation S&W/U&U -2 1899 AAS 2 of 5 M
777a/b Sensation S&W/U&U -3 1899 AAS 3 of 5 M
778a/b Revelation S&W/U&U -4 1899 AAS 4 of 5 (379) M
779 Johnny and His Camera Am x215/599 1890s AAS series/G&G?Sterro? Ct
780a/b Johnny and His Camera Am x215/603 1890s AAS series/G&G?Sterro? Ct
781a/b Down Went Johnny with His Camera Am 538/602 1890s AAS series/G&G?Sterro? Ct
782 Out Went Johnny with His Camera Am 539/604 1890s AAS series/G&G?Sterro? Ct
783 Laying Plans for the Future G&G 3528/1 1905 AAS 1 of 2 Ct
784a/b Realizing the Present G&G 3529/2 1905 AAS 2 of 2 Ct
785 The Proposal White 5510/1 1902 AAS 1 of 10 B
786 Dressing the Bride White 5511/2 1902 AAS 2 of 10 B
787 The Wedding March White 5512/3 1902 AAS 3 of 10 B
788 The Bride White 5513/4 1902 AAS 4 of 10 B
789 With This Ring I Thee Wed White 5514/5 1902 AAS 5 of 10 B
790 The Blessing White 5515/6 1902 AAS 6 of 10 B
791 Congratulations White 5516/7 1902 AAS 7 of 10 B
792 The Wedding Breakfast White 5517/8 1902 AAS 8 of 10 B
793a/b To the Health of the Bride White 5518/9 1902 AAS 9 of 10 B
794a/b Alone at Last White 5519/10 1902 AAS 10 of 10 B
795 10:30 p.m. Why Doesn't He Go? White 5525 1903 AAS 1 of 4 Ct
796 Why Should He Go? White 5526 1903 AAS 2 of 4 Ct
797 1:30 Bliss. Why He Didn't Go. White 5527 1903 AAS 3 of 4 Ct
798 Bliss Disturbed--Why He Went. White 5528 1903 AAS 4 of 4 Ct
799 A Little Too Thin Weller 541 1875 AAS 2 of 2 Ct
800 Presentation Wasson/IVC 2554/1 1905 AAS 1 of 6 M
801a/b Dictation Wasson/IVC 2555/2 1905 AAS 2 of 6 M
802 Infatuation Wasson/IVC 2556/3 1905 AAS 3 of 6 M
803 Consternation Wasson/IVC 2557/4 1905 AAS 4 of 6 M
804 Retaliation Wasson/IVC 2558/5 1905 AAS 5 of 6 M
805 Carrie Nation Wasson/IVC 2559/6 1905 AAS 6 of 6 M
806 School Girls' Retiring Antics Key 9489(a) 1899 AAS 1 of 3 E
807 They Little Dream of Their Peril Key 9490(b) 1899 AAS 2 of 3 E
808a/b The Burglar Bound--Calling the Police Key 9491(c) 1899 AAS 3 of 3 E
809a/b Eavesdroppers Weller 550 1875 AAS 1 of 2 G-Am
810a/b Eavesdroppers Dropped Weller 551 1875 AAS 2 of 2 G-Am
811a/b The Start Key 2330 1896 AAS 1 of 2 NW
811c/d The Finish Key 2331 1896 AAS 2 of 2 (128) NW
812 Looking for a Man Am/Sterro? 358 1890s AAS 1 of 2 E
813 Finding the Man Am/Sterro? 359 1890s AAS 2 of 2 E
814a/b Girls, I Hear Rats Ki 7428 1892 AAS 1 of 2 E
815a/b Caught the Rats Ki 7429 1892 AAS 2 of 2 E

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816a/b Maria, I won't wash another dud. Graves/UPAC 1567 1900 AAS 1 of 2 NW

817 Don't tell me you won't wash! Graves/UPAC 1568 1900 AAS 2 of 2 NW

818 Listen, young heroes! Your country is calling! Time strikes the hour for the brave and the true. Wasson/ISC 920(1)1902 AAS 1 of 6 M

819 Break from the arms that would fondly caress you! Hark! 'tis the bugle blast! Sabers are drawn. Wasson/ISC 921(2)1902 AAS 2 of 6 M

820a/b Bitter News from Santiago—While Saving the Colors, Robert Baron—Wounded Mortally Wasson/ISC 922(3)1902 AAS 3 of 6 M

821 Ever from the valley of the shadow of death, Thou canst yet restore him to me. Wasson/ISC 923(4)1902 AAS 4 of 6 M

822 I trusted Him and He failed me not; Made safe his way with dangers fraught Wasson/ISC 924(5)1902 AAS 5 of 6 M

823 The newmade Captain's story of the Battle—Our Flag Triumphant and Now a Joyous Home. Wasson/ISC 925(6)1902 AAS 6 of 6 M

824 The Proposal Wasson/ISC 4601(1) 1905 AAS 1 of 12 B

825 Breaking the News Wasson/ISC 4602(2) 1905 AAS 2 of 12 B

826a/b Farewell to his Bachelor Friends Wasson/ISC 4603(3) 1905 AAS 3 of 12 B

827 Dressing the Bride Wasson/ISC 4605(4) 1905 AAS 4 of 12 B

828 The Bridal Procession Wasson/ISC 4607(5) 1905 AAS 5 of 12 B

829 The Bride Wasson/ISC 4608(6) 1905 AAS 6 of 12 B

830 The Ceremony Wasson/ISC 4609(7) 1905 AAS 7 of 12 B

831 Grace Wasson/ISC 4613(8) 1905 AAS 8 of 12 B

832a/b The Wedding Breakfast Wasson/ISC 4614(9) 1905 AAS 9 of 12 B

833a/b The Toast Wasson/ISC 4616(10) 1905 AAS 10 of 12 B

834a/b The Wedding Reception Wasson/ISC 4617(11) 1905 AAS 11 of 12 B

835 Alone! At last, Alone! Wasson/ISC 4618(12) 1905 AAS 12 of 12 B

836 Yes, Mr. Caught-a-Tartar! The time is coming when— S&W/U&U -1 1900 AAS 1 of 6 NW

837 Woman will no longer be the mere slave-- S&W/U&U -2 1900 AAS 2 of 6 NW

838a/b Of Brute Man, Sir! S&W/U&U -3 1900 AAS 3 of 6 NW

839a/b No longer the poor down-trodden S&W/U&U -4 1900 AAS 4 of 6 NW

840 Oppressed-- S&W/U&U -5 1900 AAS 5 of 6 NW

841 Weak and helpless being she now is! S&W/U&U -6 1900 AAS 6 of 6 NW

842a/b Mr. and Mrs. Latelywed's New French Cook Wasson/ISC 4401 (1) 1903 AAS FC/1 of 12 M

843 Oh! You charming little rogue, are you our new cook? Wasson/ISC 4402(2) 1903 AAS FC/2 of 12 M

844 Come now little maiden, don't be so shy! Wasson/ISC 4403(3) 1903 AAS FC/3 of 12 M

845a/b Oh, How dare you, naughty man? But hark! Wasson/ISC 4404(4) 1903 AAS FC/4 of 12 M

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846a/b Great Caesar! 'twas my wife coming down! It's lucky she didn't see me! Wasson/ISC 4405(5) 1903 AAS FC/5 of 12 M

847 Hands! Hands! What hands? What can she mean? Wasson/ISC 4406(6) 1903 AAS FC/6 of 12 M

848a/b I may as well own up. Wasson/ISC 4407(7) 1903 AAS FC/7 of 12 M

849 Certainly, my dear, she must go at once. Wasson/ISC 4408(8) 1903 AAS FC/8 of 12 M

850 Dolly, she looked so teasingly that I quite forgot myself. Wasson/ISC 4409(9) 1903 AAS FC/9 of 12 M

851 The Cook's Farewell--Bye, bye, Reggie! Next time you'll be good. Wasson/ISC 4410(10) 1903 AAS FC/10 of 12 M

852 Come, dear, a spin in the auto and then to the opera. Wasson/ISC 4411(11) 1903 AAS FC/11 of 12 M

853a/b The Latelywed's New Wench Cook--Not a Heart Breaker! Wasson/ISC 4412(12) 1903 AAS FC/12 of 12 M

854 Solemnization--The Nuptial Ceremony U&U -8 1901 AAS M Series M

855 Congratulation--The Wedding Supper U&U -9 1901 AAS M Series M

856 Invitation--Have wan of your Wife's biscuit! U&U -12 1901 AAS M Series M

857 Presentation--The First Born U&U -15 1901 AAS M Series M

858 Exasperation--Home from the Married Men's Club He Fears the Storm U&U -16 1901 AAS M Series M

859 Subjugation--There's No Place like Home! U&U 1901 AAS M Series (79-89) M

860 Jealousy Key 10221(b) 1900 AAS Ct

861 The Proposal Key 10223(d) 1900 AAS Ct

862 Love's Answer Keystone 10224(e) 1900 AAS Ct

863 You Little Peach, Are You Our New Cook? G&G -2 1901 AAS FC series--incomplete M

864 Oh, You Naughty Man G&G -3 1901 AAS FC series--incomplete M

865 How Dare You, Sir! G&G -5 1901 AAS FC series--incomplete M

866a/b Sh--My Wife's Coming G&G -6 1901 AAS FC series--incomplete M

867a/b Hands! What Does She Mean? G&G -7 1901 AAS FC series--incomplete M

868 Yes, My Dear, She Shall Go at Once G&G -8 1901 AAS FC series--incomplete M

869 Now, will you be good? G&G -9 1901 AAS FC series--incomplete M

870 Predilected--Pierced by Cupid's Dart S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M

871 Detected--I've Caught Sister this time. S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M

872 Invected--Don't you Dare Tell Father! S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M

873a/b Suspected--One Little Hour of Bliss S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M

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874 Ejected--Bliss Disturbed at 1:30 a.m. S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
875 Inspected--the Haunted Lover's Proposal S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
876a/b Connected—The Nuptial Ceremony S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
877 Protected--Alone at Last S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
878 Prospected--Visions of the Future S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
879 As Directed--After a Man's Married, His Troubles Begin S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
880 Subjected--A Knight of Labor S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
881 Deflected--Home from the Club He Fears the Storm S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
882 Dissected--For Heaven's Sake, Lucy, Give Us a Rest S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
883 Dejected—Married Life as he found it (Words without Music) S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M series M
884 I'll be Back as Soon as Mother's Better. Don't be Lonely, Albert. White5496(1) 1902 AAS FM series, incomp. M
885 You Little Rogue, You're Pretty as a Picture White 5500(3) 1902 AAS FM series, incomp. M
886 You're Better than Champagne to Cheer a Fellow White 5503 1902 AAS FM series, incomp. M
887 Au Revoir, Bertie White 5508(11) 1902 AAS FM series, incomp. M
888 No More Cozy Wine Suppers for "Bertie" White 5509(12) 1902 AAS FM series, incomp.M
889 Oh! You're a Peach [corset tightening] Ki 9562 1899 AAS E
890 Murderation! Mollie be Aisy. Ki 9486 1899 AAS E
891 When Ruben Came to Town [hick genre] Am 928(h) 1899 AAS series G-Am
892 When Ruben Came to Town [with girl] Am 925(e) 1899 AAS series G-Am
893 The Dream--Jack has fallen on the Field. Am./Sterro?956 1899 AAS War series incompl. M
894 I Fear He Will Never Return Am./Sterro?955 1899 AAS War series incompl. M
895 And here is Jack's last message, Mary Am./Sterro?957 1899 AAS War series incompl. M
896 Jones Hires a New Typewriter Girl Sterro561 c.1899 AAS typewriter series M
897 He Seems to Find Her Very Interesting Sterro562 c.1899 AAS typewriter series M
898 The Missus! Sterro c.1899 AAS typewriter series M
899 And Jones' Ardor is Somewhat Dampened Sterro564 c.1899 AAS typewriter series M
899c/a/b For Mrs. Jones Threatens Divorce Sterro565 c.1899 AAS typewriter series M

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900 Oh My! But You are Lovely Sterro 804 c.1899 AAS FC/incomp. M
901 Sh! Sh! I Hear My Wife Coming Sterro 805 c.1899 AAS FC/incomp. M
902 Heavens! What Does She Mean! Sterro 806 c.1899 AAS FC/incomp. M
903 She Must Leave This House at Once Sterro 808 c.1899 AAS FC/incomp. M
904 Mr. Newlywed Making Promises to be Good Sterro 810 c.1899 AAS FC/incomp. M
905a/b [playing horsie] W&A 1890s AAS E
906 Courtship [letter] Am c.1880 AAS Ct
907 [Stuck on you--Spectacles] Am 1870s AAS Ct
908 Caught That Man! Am 1890s AAS E
909a/b [corset untying] Fr 1860s AAS h-c E
910 [Italian woman and children--one nursing] E. Thiebault c.1870 AAS Eth
911 tissue--[parlor games] Fr. 1860s AAS Ct
912 [new baby] Brit. 56-70 AAS M
913 [The Secret] Elliott? 56-70 AAS h-c G-Eu
914 [mother and new born] Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c M
915 Dundreary's First--Wha-wha-wha-a-t the doothe makes him kwy! Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c M
916 Aunt Sallies' Visit [sewing machine and stereoscope] Am. 1870s AAS M
917a/b And me Old Chum's at the Door! Ki 7434 1893 AAS NW
918 Ancient Courtship Weller 506 1875 AAS 1 of 3 Ct
919 After Supper Am/Anthony? c.1870 AAS G-Am
920 Arbitrate! Faith Pat an' yer too dead aizy S&W/U&U 1897 AAS sequel to 281 Eth
921 By the Babbling Brook, Love Ben Kilburn 2320 1876 AAS Ct
922 Bliss Disturbed Weller 1875 AAS Ct
923 Bliss (Weller)Li 532A 1888 AAS copied idea of 922 Ct
924 Bliss Weller 1875 AAS Ct
925 Her First Accident Standard Series 1890s AAS pirate E
926 Better than Nothing [kissing through screen] New Ed 1890s AAS Ct
927 Better Late Than Never Ki/Da 11668 1897 AAS M
928 Domestic bliss--For what we are about to receive, make us truly thankful. Humpf. Cold mutton again. Brit. 1860s AAS pirate M
929 Before and After Marriage [split card] Shute 347 1876 AAS M
930 Bedtime Gossipers C.H. Graves 3130 1870s AAS M
931 New Woman Barber Sterro? 750 c.1898 AAS NW
932 A Bad Night Am. 148 c.1899 AAS litho M
933 Single Blessedness Brit. 1860s AAS pirate/copy Ba
934 Reveries of a Bachelor E.H.Chamberlain 304 1870s AAS Ba
935 The Cottage Door Weller 367 1875 AAS G-Am
936 Curiosity Punished Am. 1553 1870s AAS E
937 Cupboard Love LSC 56-70 AAS h-c Ct
938 Cupid's Anxious Waiting Ingersoll 1208 1898 AAS b/w litho Ct

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939 Cupid's Valentine for Miss Twentieth Century--Have I Made a Mistake? U&U 1903 AAS NW

940a/b Courting on the Roof Melander 24 1875 AAS Ct

941a/b Courting in the Chimney Corner Melander 61 1870 AAS Ct

942a/b The Court, where Witnesses are not welcome Ki 5959 1891 AAS Ct

943 Come Along, Do. Weller 1872 AAS M

944 Circumstantial Evidence Li 1530 1891 AAS Ct

945 A Christmas Gift [garter] Am/Sterro? 535 1890s AAS E

946 Caught Robbing the Male Ingersoll 61 (b) 1899 AAS litho M

947a/b Caught Hugging the Maid W&A 1890s AAS stereoscope M

948a/b Carried Safely Across the Stream Metropolitan 815 c.1898 AAS b/w litho E

949 Don't Swear, Dear Graves 3193 1880s AAS M

950 Don't Get Above Your Business Barker 1892 AAS E

951 A Domestic Tragedy Am x267 1890s AAS M

952a/b Discovered--An Unregistered Guest Kelley & Chad 1907 AAS E. W. Kelley E

953a/b Did You Ring, Sir? Rau/G&G 1897 AAS E

954a/b Did You Ring, Sir? Weller/Li/U&U 547 1875 AAS E

955 Did You Ring, Sir?Group (Weller) AAS pirate of Weller(954) E

956a/b An Early Shave Ki/Da 12870 1899 AAS NW

957 Fun in the Old Kitchen Ki 7470 1892 AAS G-Am

958a/b For Heaven's Sake, Betsy, Give me a rest Singley/Key 75 1892 AAS M

959 For Heaven's Sake, Maria, Give Us a Rest U&U/Anthony? 70-80s AAS M

960a [sneaking in late] Graves/UPA 1890s AAS M

960b Betsy Prigs and Sarah Gamp Brit/H. Ropes 1860s AAS h-c/import G-Eu

961 Jones' Experience with His New Typewriter Girl Am x256(a) 1890s AAS series M

962 When Wifie Came in Unannounced Am 931(a) 1890s AAS series M

963 When Wifie Came in Unannounced [battery] Am 931a/932b 1890s AAS series M

964 When Wifie Came in Unannounced [battery] Am 933(c) 1890s AAS series M

965 When Wifie Came in Unannounced [he writes a check] Am 934(d) 1890s AAS series M

966a/b When Wifie Came in Unannounced [she takes the check] Am 935(e) 1890s AAS series M

967 The First and Hardest Battle--The Call to War S&W/U&U 1900 AAS series--incomplete M

968 Farewell Darling--I Go to Fight for Queen and Country S&W/U&U 1900 AAS series--incomplete M

969a/b A Game of Ping Pong--Love Wins U&U 1903 AAS Ct

970 Admiring Her New Garters Am/Sterro 165/229 1880s AAS pirate? E

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971a/b Hush a Bye-Baby Graves 3188 1890s AAS nursing M
972a/b How Sweet it is to Love Ki 10323 1895 AAS Ct
973 How Biddy Served the Tomatoes Undressed S&W/U&U 1897 AAS E
974 Home, Sweet Home Key 628(b) 1888 AAS 1 of 2? M
975 Home, Sweet Home S&W/U&U 1896 AAS M
976a/b Holy and Sacred the Voice of Home Ki/Da 11926 1897 AAS M
977 Hiven Only Knows how Mary Ann iver sid yis S&W/U&U 1897 AAS Ct
978 He is Under My Corset Ki 7359 1892 AAS E
979 He's Under My Corset [rat] Ki 118947 1897 AAS E
980a/b Hello Dad! What's the Matter? You seem put out. Singley?/Key 507 1897 AAS #108 M
981 Image of His Father Brit. 56-70 AAS copy/pirate M
982 Heavens! My Wife [mother and daughter discover Dad up to no good] Ki/Da 11598 1897 AAS M
983 Heaven's Blessing on the Twain Ki/Da 11451 1897 AAS M
984a/b Have Patience, Don't Swear U&U c.1890 AAS M
985a/b Have Patience, Dear, Don't Swear U&U 1897 AAS M
986 Have Lunch Ready at One, Charley Ki/Da 11923 c.1896 AAS NW
987 Happiness--an Evening at Home with the "Old" Folks Rau/UVC -12 1903 AAS series? M
988a/b A Happy Home made Wretched by Rum Shute 350 1876 AAS T
989 Ha! ha! ha! Caught Again [last in bed type] S&W/U&U 1897 AAS M
990 In the Toils of a Siren Am x162 1890s AAS E
991 An Interrupted Courtship Sterro 1890s 1890s AAS police officer Ct
992 In a State of Suspense G&G 3520 1902 AAS proposal Ct
993a/b I love Thee, I love But Thee, with a Love that Shall Not Die Key 10468 1900 AAS Ct
994a/b I'll not Take Off Another Stitch if I Lose My Place [Biddy] Wasson/CVC (b) 1901 AAS 2 of 2 E
995 In the Merry Old Kitchen Ki 7471 1892 AAS see #957 G-Am
996 I Cannot Forget Thee! Ki 7490 1892 AAS 1 of 2 Ct
997 I'll Be a Sister to You Ki 7528 1892 AAS 2 of 2 Ct
998 A Knight of Labor G&G 2481 1903 AAS M
999 Keep Him Out, girls Am #33 c.1898 AAS litho--poor E
1000a/b Just After the Battle Weller 1871 AAS h-c E
1001a/b Hello, Sis! Ki/Da 11594 1897 AAS Ct
1002 Love's Messenger Key 9652 1899 AAS h-c/valentine/novel Ct
1003 Love's Hieroglyphics Key 10547 1899 AAS h-c Ct
1004a/b Love Reading Cupid's Hieroglyphic Message U&U 1901 AAS Ct
1005a/b Love Confidences Am #40 c. 1898 AAS litho Ct
1006a/b Love at First Sight Weller 509 1874 AAS Ct
1007a/b Love Aloft Weller 388 1875 AAS Ct

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1008 Lor' Chile, you's gwine to marry rich. S&W/U&U 1897 AAS A-A
1009 Looking for a Man G&G 2349 1902 AAS E
1010 Looking for a Man Am/Sterro? 358 1890s AAS E
1011 Looking down upon his Luck [twins] Ki/Da 11917 1897 AAS M
1012 Looking down upon his Luck (twins) Brit/L.C.Strand 1860s AAS pirate M
1013 Last in Bed Puts Out the Light Ki/Da 11644 1897 AAS M
1014 Last in Bed Puts Out the Light Melander 92 1876 AAS M
1015a/b Lost her Footing W&A 93 1890s AAS E
1016 The Music Lesson Brit. 56-70 AAS -1666 G-Eu
1017 More Prose than Poetry Ki 7372 1892 AAS woman reader M
1018 Mother Turned Up. Wasson/ISC 4371 1902 AAS M
1019 Measuring for the Ring Brit 56-70 AAS Ct
1020 May I? [bashful type] G&G 3530(1) 1905 AAS Ct
1021 Marie, Whose Hat is This? Wasson/CVC 719 1901 AAS Ct
1022 A Nip on the Sly Graves 3173 c.1890 AAS M
1023 Night Squalls Ki/Da 12264 1897 AAS M
1024 A Night Attack Royal Series 112 c.1898 AAS litho M
1025 Oscular Training, or What's in a Kiss? G&G x228 1890s AAS Ct
1026 Only a Dream [spirit view] Singley/Key 635 1894 AAS G-Am
1027 The Old, Old Story Brit. 56-70 AAS copy? Ct
1028 Oh Stop! [woman caressing a man] S&W/U&U 1897 AAS see #977 Ct
1029 An Optical Delusion--Things Seen and Not Seen Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c (589) M
1030 Oh Fortunate, Oh Happy Day Ki 11440 1897 AAS B
1031 Oft in the Stilly Night R&F 3015 75-90 AAS M
1032 Oft in the Stilly Night G&G 1880s AAS M
1033 Biddy and the Rat Young/ASC 1897 AAS E
1034 The Power of Love Brit. 56-70 AAS pirate Ct
1035 Seeking to Spy Out the Mysteries of Photography Brit. 56-65 AAS h-c G-Eu
1036 A Pleasant Hour Weller 344 1872 AAS 1 of 2 Ct
1037 A Sudden Storm Weller 345 1872 AAS 2 of 2 Ct
1038 Partiality Ki/Da 11559 1897 AAS Ct
1039 Robbing the Male Ki/Da 11915 1897 AAS M
1040 Robbing the Male Young/ASC 1896 AAS M
1041a/b Robbing the (Male) Mail Rau/G&G 1895 AAS M
1042 Robbing the Male Ingersoll 60 a c.1898 AAS litho/ 2 of 2 (98) M
1043 Robbing the Male S&W/U&U 1892 AAS M
1044 Reveries of the Bachelor E.H.Chamberlain 304 1870s AAS h-c (934) Ba
1045 Rejected Weller 515 1874 AAS Ct
1046 Sunshine Ki 7457 1892 AAS -997 Ct
1047 Struck with Astonishment Weller/Li 544 1875 AAS Ct
1048 Struck with a Wet Sheet Weller 545 1875 AAS Ct
1049 Sewing on the Button Young/ASC 1897 AAS Ba

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1050 She Objects Ki/Da 11946 1897 AAS Ct
1051 Sealing Their Bliss Richmond/Sterro 1058 1907 AAS B
1052 Sally Planking Down the Law Ki 7352 1892 AAS M
1053 You Go First, Molly, I'm Near-Sighted Young/ASC 1900 AAS M
1054 You Go First, Clara, They'd Never Hurt a Woman! Wasson/IVC 700 1901 AAS M
1055a/b Woman's Rights--Wash Day S&W/U&U 1892 AAS -92 NW
1056a/b Woman's Rights Weller 329 1875 AAS NW
1057a/b Woman's Rights--Off to the Lecture Room Weller 1871 AAS #453 NW
1058 Woman's Rights Ki/Da 12262 1897 AAS NW
1059 Will Any Gent be so Good as for to take this young lady into his Lap? Brit. 56-70 AAS pirate/crinoline E
1060a/b Wife's Dream Brit. 56-70 AAS vision photo M
1061 Why Don't He Go? Weller 534 1875 AAS Ct
1062 Why Don't He Come? Melander 70 1870 AAS Ct
1063 Who's Running this House? Melander 33 1875 AAS NW
1064a/b Who's Been Here Since I've Been Gone? Brit. c.1857 AAS h-c M
1065a/b Where's My Collar Button? Ki/Da 12266 1897 AAS M
1066 Where Is that Rat? G&G 2271 1900 AAS M
1067 [Caught! Returning late at night] Graves/UPA c.1890 AAS M
1068a/b A Fishing Smack S&W/U&U 1899 AAS Ct
1069 The Fisherman's Daughters Weller 1875 AAS G-Am
1070 The First Day of April Weller 1871 AAS [black face] G-Am
1071a/b The Fatal Mistake Weller 342 1872 AAS [Venetian set] G-Am
1072a/b Gone with a Handsomer Man Melander 64 1875 AAS Ct
1073 Going with the Stream S&W/U&U 1897 AAS #494 Ct
1074 God Forgive ye, Jim O'Connor, for the cruel advantage ye're taken a'me, and me helpless White 5570 1903 AAS Ct
1075 A Genuine Fishing Smack Ingersoll? 51 c.1899 AAS litho/silhouette Ct
1076 Where in thunder is the towel? Ki/Da 7444 1892 AAS M
1077a/b Where has she hidden my collar-button! Graves/UPA 1903 AAS M
1078a/b When a man comes too near he goes too far! U&U 1900 AAS Ct
1079 What is home without a Mother. Weller 386 1873 AAS Ba
1080 What is Home Without a Mother-in-law? H.L.Roberts/G&G 1870s AAS M
1081 The Welcome Shelter--It's an ill wind that blows nobody good. Brit. 55-60 AAS h-c Ct
1082 Taking in a Reef. [corset] U&U 1900 AAS E
1083a/b [Wedding Scene] Brit./Strand 56-70 AAS pirate B
1084 At the Altar Brit./Strand 56-70 AAS pirate B

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1085 The Wedding Breakfast Elliott 56-70 AAS h-c B
1086 The Village Postman Weller 516 1874 AAS [English town set] G-Am
1087a/b The Village Postman--I guess not this morning, Miss. Brit/Am 65070 70-80s AAS G
1088 The Unfaithful Lover (Weller)Li/U&U 546 c.1875 AAS Ct
1089 The Unexpected Weller 353 1872 AAS Ct
1090 Under the Mistletoe H.C.White 5407 1902 AAS Ct
1091 My Dear, I hope you find the thief, for you've been looking for him the last 10 years GfL 56-70 AAS M
1092 Twentieth Century Woman Rau/G&G 15417 1895 AAS NW
1093 Trials of Married Life Ki/Da 11916 1897 AAS M
1094a/b A Ticklish Operation Melander 28 1881 AAS G-Am
1095 They are sound asleep Ki/Da 12895 1899 AAS series E
1096a/b There must have been something DEAD in that mince pie, Mollie. Ki/Da 11458 1897 AAS M
1097 Three O'Clock in the morning. Brit. 56-70 AAS ad/pirate M
1098a/b There is no Rose without a thorn. Weller 191 1870 AAS Ct
1099 There is no rose without a thorn (Weller)Li/U&U 1911 AAS re-issue Ct
1100 There's no place like home. Gates 2538 1870s AAS M
1101 The Home of Perfec scopes and Perfec-stereographs. Retouching room. White c.1900 AAS Ad
1102 Portraits. S.Williams/L&P 1870s AAS G-Eu
1103a/b [corset fastener] Stiehm/S. Williams 1870s AAS E
1104a/b Miss Neilson in Romeo and Juliet Gurney 1872 AAS Cel
1105 Lydia Thompson "The Basket of Mischief" Sarony 1872 AAS Cel
1106 Old Hayseed and the New York Girl Rau/G&G 878 c.1895 AAS NW
1107 The Wedding Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c B
1108 Married for Money Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c B
1109 The Wedding Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c B
1110 [Exchange of Rings] Elliott 56-70 AAS h-c B
1111 Forbidden Fruit Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c G-Eu
1112 The Political Barber Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c G-Eu
1113 Tennyson's May Queen Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c/poem verso G-Eu
1114 The Entanglement Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c/516/Eng/1 of 2 Ct
1115 Non-suited Brit. 56-70 AAS 2 of 2 Ct
1116 Apres la Lecture/After the Reading. Jadis et aujourd'hui. JeA 2541 1860s AAS h-c E
1117 La Response JeA 2539 1860s AAS h-c letter G-Eu
1118 Le bon livre/Jadis et aujourd'hui JeA 2542 1860s AAS h-c/ spirit vision G-Eu
1119 Le Sermon/Jadis et aujourd'hui JeA 2529 1860s AAS h-c. lecture to dog G-Eu
1120 Aux ecoutes/The Listener JeA 1152 1860s AAS h-c G-Eu
1121 La Petite Bergere/The Little Shepherdess Fr. 1212 1860s AAS h-c G-Eu

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1122 Des holtzfullers tochterlein (Mit-tag)/The Woocutter's Daughter (Mid-day) Ge 1236 1860s AAS h-c G-Eu
1123 [Ball] C.G. 58-68 AAS h-c G-Eu
1124 [girl knitting] L&P 1870s AAS G-Eu
1125 Blind Man's Bluff Anthony/LSC 1860s AAS h-c G-Am
1126 Very Pretty Indeed [slipped letter] Elliott 56-70 AAS Ct
1127a/b tissue--[diablerie] Colin-Maillard 31 1860s AAS h-c G-Eu
1128a/b tissue--[bohemian group] E.L.. 1860s AAS G-Eu
1129a/b tissue--Danse macabre. Boudoir de la coquette Fr. 1860s AAS h-c G-Eu
1130 [Female Drinkers] Brit./Am 1870s AAS E
1131 [Ball] Brit. 1860s AAS G-Eu
1132 [visiting a sick friend] Brit. 1860s AAS pirate G-Eu
1133 [fixing the garter] S. Williams 68-69 AAS E
1134 [game] Brit. 1860s AAS h-c G-Eu
1135 [Proposal] Brit. c.1860 AAS h-c Ct
1136 [servant proposing to maid] Brit. c.1860 AAS -68 Ct
1137 [concert] Brit. c.1860 AAS h-c G-Eu
1138 [drawing room scene] Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c G-Eu
1139 [lighting cigars] Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c E
1140 [chess scene] Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c G-Eu
1141 Living Pictures Am x3 1890s AAS G-Am
1142a/b tissue--[spied on lovers] F.R.G. 1860s AAS h-c Ct
1143 tissue--[lovers discovered] E.L. 1860s AAS h-c Ct
1144 tissue--[seated lovers] E.L. 1860s AAS h-c E
1145 Chess Fr. 1860s AAS h-c/ad G-Eu
1146 Bidding his loved ones Good-bye Ki/Da 12256 1897 AAS M
1147 The Bicyclist ISVC 534 1890s AAS E
1148 Between the Lines Ki/Da 12261 1897 AAS Ct
1149 Be Quiet, Do--I'll Call my Mother Brit. 1860s AAS h-c Ct
1150a/b Asking her Father and Mother Melander 99 1876 AAS 1 of 2 Ct
1151a/b The Averse Decision--too Young Melander 100 1876 AAS 2 of 2 Ct
1152 After the Wedding Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c B
1153 After Supper Am/Home Series c.1869 AAS Anthony? G-Am
1154 After the Wedding Ki/Da 11642 1897 AAS series B
1155 Alone! At last Alone. Ki/Da 11447 1897 AAS series B
1156 All My Own Ki/Da 11671 1897 AAS series B
1157 1776 and 1876 (fashion) Brit 1867? AAS h-c G-Eu
1158 Nobody Axed You, Sir, She Said Brit. 1860s AAS Ct
1159 Mysterious. The Billet-Doux. Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c Ct
1160 [Pastimes] Brit/Cremer 56-70 AAS h-c/import G-Eu
1161 More free than welcome. [servant girl with baby] Brit. 56-70 AAS pirate G-Eu
1162 Moments of sweet reflection Ki 12906 1899 AAS M
1163 The Milk man's reward for good measure. Kelly&Chadwick 1904 AAS Ct

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1164 Meditation [posed ballet dancer or actress] J.F.Jarvis 1890s AAS Cel
1165 Married [changing homes?] Brit. 1860s AAS h-c M
1166 Married and Happy Brit/Elliott? 1860s AAS h-c M
1167 the Male Nurse LSC 56-70 AAS h-c M
1168 Listeners Never Hear Anything Good of Themselves Fr/Brit 1860s AAS pirate G-Eu
1169 Kissing's no sin. Ki/Da 10322 1895 AAS Ct
1170a/b An hour Before Marriage Melander 30 1876 AAS B
1171 Grandfather's Visit Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c M
1172 The Good night Kiss Ki 11571 1897 AAS Ct
1173 The Fortune Teller Brit. 1850s AAS G-Eu
1174 A Finishing Touch to the Bridal Gown Ki/Da 11892 1897 AAS series B
1175 Fashion of 1861 Brit. 1861? AAS h-c G-Eu
1176 Family Jars Brit./Comic Series 56-70 AAS pirate M
1177 Family Jars--no money Melander 75 1876 AAS M
1178a/b The Fainting Bride Graves/UPAC 1890s AAS h-c B
1179 The Elopement Melander 25 1876 AAS Ct
1180a/b Dressing the Bride G&G 2298 1900 AAS B
1181 Dressing for the Ball Am x43 1890s AAS E
1182 The Doubtful Move [chess] Brit. 56-70 AAS h-c Ct
1183 Don't Want Chaperon, only Chap-Her-Own Ki 11679 1897 AAS Ct
1184 Domestic Bliss--Now upon my life, Angelina, this is too bad. No buttons again. Brit. 56-70 AAS pirate/with dialogue M
1185 Decorating the Bride Ki 11890 1897 AAS series B
1186a/b Daughter's anxiety to walk for her health explained. Melander 64 1879 AAS Ct
1187a/b Cupboard Love LSC 56-70 AAS 4 variants Ct
1188a/b Courting on the Stile Melander 10 1876 AAS h-c Ct
1189 Country Post Office Ki 417 66-69 AAS psuedoscopic G-Am
1190 Caudle's Curtain Lecture Brit. 56-70 AAS with monologue M
1191 The Bridegroom is three minutes late. Ki/Da 11433 1897 AAS B
1192 The Bride's Toilet LSC 56-65 AAS B
1193 The Bride Brit. 56-70 AAS B
1194 I Don't Care for Signs [smoking woman] New Ed Series 1890s AAS NW
1195 Isn't She Pretty? [mirror] Am c.1870 AAS copy/pirate? G-Am
1196 Out in the Cold World W.H. Tipton. 65-75 NMAH G-Am
1197a/b Dancing Girls in the Harem U&U 1901 NMAH E
1198 A Harem Beauty U&U 1901 NMAH E
1199 The Wedding March U&U 1901 NMAH series B
1200 A Sad Predicament--He wants to go home. S&W/U&U 1899 NMAH 243 E
1201 Love reading Cupid's Hieroglyphic message U&U 1901 NMAH Ct
1202 Breaking Home Ties S&W/U&U 1898 NMAH G-Am

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1203 Palmistry--And You are Sure to be an Old Man's Darling S&W/U&U 1899 NMAH G-Am
1204 A Society Tragedy in the Colonies--The Protector U&U -2 1896 NMAH G-Am
1205 Take my money but please don't shoot U&U 1902 NMAH M
1206 Robbing the Male S&W/U&U 1896 NMAH M
1207 Confronted by two prodigious tasks--to "Pop the Question and to Question the Pop" U&U 1902 NMAH Ct
1208 Taking Toll in the Rural Districts S&W/U&U 1895 NMAH Ct
1209 Weighing the Baby U&U 1897 NMAH M
1210 A Whole Day's Catch? Well, no, we didn't fish all the time. U&U 1902 NMAH Ct
1211 Going with the Stream S&W/U&U 1897 NMAH 481, 1056 Ct
1212 Don't Swear, Dear. [suspenders] Graves/UPAC 3193 c.1890 NMAH M
1213 The Fainting Bride Graves/UPAC 3273 1897 NMAH B
1214 A Western Train Robber Holding up a Train Graves/UPAC 4563 1897 NMAH E
1215 Who Took me from my Warm, Warm Cozy Graves/UPAC 4379 1890s NMAH C
1216 Dear Sant' If You Can't Get my Present in This Stocking, Just Put it Onto the Mantle, Jimmy. W&A 1890s NMAH C
1217 The Mother-in-Law W&A 1890s NMAH M
1218a/b Kissing the Bar Maid Brit./W&A 56-70 NMAH pirate--good quality Ct
1219a/b Caught Hugging the Maid W&A 1890s NMAH stereoscope M
1220 The Model Husband W&A 8 1890s NMAH M
1221 Caught a Man at Last W&A 260 1899 NMAH E
1222a/b Just Stuck on Him a Little W&A 278 1899 NMAH M
1223 Little Mischief Retiring to the Enjoyment of Stolen Sweets White 5204 1902 NMAH 1 of 4 C
1224 My, aint dis 'lasses dood" White5205(2) 1902 NMAH 2 of 3 C
1225a/b Fought I Heard Somebody White 5206(3) 1902 NMAH 3 of 4 C
1226 Only Sister--Come on Have Some 'Lasses White 5207(4) 1902 NMAH 4 of 4 C
1227 Do Keep Still, Pussy. You Are Worse than Papa. [haircut] White 5228 1904 NMAH C
1228 Collecting from a Slow Customer White 5418 1901 NMAH M
1229 After the Ball White 5461(b) 1902 NMAH E
1230a/b Home, Sweet Home White 5539 1902 NMAH M
1231 Gee, Wait till I See Sis' other fella White 5401(1) 1901 NMAH room changes-series Ct
1232 Don't You Dare Tell Anybody White 5401(2) 1901 NMAH series Ct

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1233 Willie!!! [screen collapses] White 5546(3) 1903 NMAH series Ct
1234 I Don't Believe You will ever Try that Again White 5547(4) 1901 NMAH series Ct
1235 Now don't you DARE tell. White 5548(5) 1903 NMAH series Ct
1236 They Thought They Would Surprise the Bachelor Whiting 2892(a) 1890s NMAH 1 of 2 Ba
1237 The "Surprise." Whiting 2893(b) 1890s NMAH 2 of 2 Ba
1238 Showing Her Legacy Whiting 2915 1890s NMAH E
1239 What Is Home without a Mother-in-Law Young/ASC 1900 NMAH M
1240 Decorating for the Wedding Young/ASC 1 1900 NMAH series B
1241 Dressing the Bride Young/ASC 2 1900 NMAH series B
1242 Placing the Bridal Veil Young/ASC 3 1900 NMAH series B
1243 Decorating the Bride Young/ASC 4 1900 NMAH series B
1244 The Wedding March Young/ASC 6 1900 NMAH series B
1245 The Wedding Ring Guards the Engagement Ring Young/ASC 8 1900 NMAH series B
1246 Planning for the Future Young/ASC 16 1900 NMAH series B
1247 Congratulations Young/ASC 18 1900 NMAH series B
1248 The Wedding Young/ASC 7 1900 NMAH series B
1249 Last in Bed Puts Out the Light Ki 7346 1892 NMAH M
1250 And me old chum's at the door Ki 7434 1892 NMAH 917 NW
1251 12 lbs. if an ounce Ki 7746 1893 NMAH M
1252 See here young man we want to go to sleep Ki 7368 1892 NMAH M
1253a/b Miss Birdie Had a Pleasant Dream One Day. U&U 1902 NMAH 1 of 2 Ct
1254a/b But this was all that happened. U&U 1902 NMAH 2 of 2 Ct
1255 Free Lunch Graves/UPAC 3136 1898 NMAH A-A
1256 A Fair Diver UVC 1158 c.1898 NMAH E
1257 Cuhan Girls" [Crinoline Revenge] Brit. 56-62 NMAH G-Eu
1258 Village Gossips Brit. 56-70 NMAH pirate G-Eu
1259 Coming Home Ge 60-70 NMAH pirate (1122)G-Eu
1260 Past and Present Fashions Brit. c.1860 NMAH h-c G-Eu
1261 The Love Letter Brit. 56070 NMAH h-c/pirate—'70s Ct
1262 [Ballerinas] Fr.? 1860s NMAH h-c/pirate G-Eu
1263 Family Jars Brit. 56-70 NMAH h-c M
1264 Floreal [drawing] Braun 8960 10-20s NMAH painting E
1265 Eavesdroppers Dropped Am 18 b c.1898 NMAH litho G-Am
1266 A Bunch of Sweetness Am 8 c.1898 NMAH litho Ct
1267a/b A Bad Cast—An Unexpected Catch Am 21 c.1898 NMAH litho G-Am
1268a/b Love Confidences [gossip] Am 40 c.1898 NMAH litho Ct
1269 A Night Attack [robbing the male] Am 112 c.1898 NMAH litho M

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1270 Keep Him Out, Girls Am 33 c.1898 NMAH litho E
1271 Don't You Envy Him? Am 5 c.1898 NMAH litho E
1272 The Ferryman G&G 2369 1901 NMAH E
1273a/b Taking Toll in the Rural District G&G 3548 c.1900 NMAH Ct
1274 Stolen Sweets G&G 84 c.1898 NMAH litho Ct
1275 Mama Settles the Pillow Fight G&G 85 c.1899 NMAH litho C
1276 Bliss Very Much Disturbed G&G 88 c.1899 NMAH litho Ct
1277a/b The Story Ge/W&A 1189 1870s NMAH pirate--Ge? Eth
1278 Match Making Brit/W&A 3224 56-70 NMAH pirate Ct
1279 Caught W&A 3174 1890s NMAH pirate C
1280 Laughter and Tears Brit/Comics&Groups 56-70 NMAH pirate B
1281 [The Letter] Brit. 56-70 NMAH Ct
1282 Contemplation [book and cleavage] Brit. 56-80 NMAH h-c E
1283 Pleasant Prospect, Sir! [sign: "Accommodating Gentlemen"] Brit. 56-70 NMAH E
1284 [literary figure--Circe? DQ?] Am 1920s NMAH G-Am
1285 He's Coming Tonight Am/Brit 1870s NMAH Ct
1286 [cards, wine, pants and cigarettes] Am 240 80-90 NMAH E
1287 [same women intoxicated] Am 272 80-90 NMAH E
1288 Looking for a Man Rau/BKC 1897 NMAH E
1289 I Guess Not [cards] Graves 3257 1897 NMAH 1 of 2 E
1290 The Climax Graves 3258 1897 NMAH 2 of 2 E
1291 The Thief Captured Brit/ComicSeries 56-70 NMAH pirate M
1292 The Model Husband [pedicure] Elliott?/GfL 56-70 NMAH pirate M
1293 Matrimony Brit./GfL 56-70 NMAH pirate/1 of 2 M
1294 Dance a baby diddy Brit/GfL 56-70 NMAH pirate/2 of 2 M
1295 A Touch of nature and art (heart) Am/PopularSeries 70-80s NMAH pirate Ct
1296 The Favorite Poet PopularSeries 1870s NMAH pirate G
1297 Little Bell [dancer] Miscellaneous 1870s NMAH pirate E/Cel
1298a/b Tribulation S&W/U&U 1899 NMAH series/379 M
1299a/b Have Lunch Ready at One, Charley Ki/Da 11923 1897 NMAH 987 NW
1300 How Biddy Served the Tomatoes Undressed White 5422 1902 NMAH E
1301 How Biddy Served the Tomatoes Undressed S&W/U&U 1897 NMAH E
1302 [proposal with battery by father] Am 1870s NMAH h-c Ct
1303a/b [woman barber] Am/Brit 1870s NMAH h-c NW
1304 Willing to Please [lacking dialogue in verso] Brit. 998 56-70 NMAH M
1305 The Sleepy Lover Weller 308 1871-5 NMAH '70s Ct
1306 [servants' courtship outdoors] Brit. 56-70 NMAH h-c Ct
1307 The Old, Old Story Brit. 56-70 NMAH h-c Ct

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1308a/v You make me tired AmNoveltyCo. 1043 1913 NMAH litho/series Ct
1309a/v Now I'll make You Tired AmNoveltyCo. 1044 1913 NMAH litho/series Ct
1310a/v Too Tired too Tell the Difference AmNoveltyCo. 1045 1913 NMAH litho/series Ct
1311a/v A Different Kind of Tired Feeling AmNoveltyCo. 1046 1913 NMAH litho/series Ct
1312a/v A Nip on the Sly AmNoveltyCo. 1053 1913 NMAH litho/John and Maria series M
1313a/v Well, John, did You Think I Was Asleep? AmNoveltyCo. 1054 1913 NMAH litho/John and Maria series M
1314a/v Oh, what a Difference in the Morning AmNoveltyCo. 1055 1913 NMAH litho/John and Maria series M
1315a/v Off for a Ride AmNoveltyCo. 1089 1913 NMAH NW
1316 frontiscard AmNoveltyCo. 1913 NMAH Ad
1317 The New Woman--Washday AmNoveltyCo. 115 1913 NMAH NW
1318a/v Guess Who He Is? AmNoveltyCo. 1913 NMAH G-Am
1319 Just Home from the Club, Fears the Storm Am/Comic Series 70-90s NYHS pirate M
1320 Strawberries and Cream Brit 56-70 NYHS h-c Ct
1321 Mysteries of Crinoline--"Kiss Me Quick" Brit. c.1860 NYHS h-c G-Eu
1322 Just Stuck on Him a Little W&A 278 1890s NYHS 1222 M
1323 The Night Cap Ki 7365 1892 NYHS M
1324 A Sad PredicamentKey 689 1900 NYHS E
1325 Biddy, Serving Potatoes Undressed W&A 252 c.1900 NYHS E
1326 Don't Get Above Your BusinessKey 433 1904 NYHS E
1327 Under the Greenwood Tree Li 1731 1896 NYHS Ct
1328a/b He Won't Know It [Robbing the Male type] W&A 279 c.1900 NYHS M
1329a/b Crinoline Difficulties Brit. 56-65 NYHS h-c G-Eu
1330 Love hangs by a little string. Ki 7753 1893 NYHS 2 of 2 Ba
1331 A Stitch in Time saves nine. Ki 7751 1893 NYHS 1 of 2 Ba
1332a/b [love sick barber] Ben Kilburn 44 1870s NYHS 316/1883 Ct
1333 Caught Napping--Up to Tricks H.L.Roberts 377 1870s NYHS Ct
1334 A Midnight Tragedy Ki/Da 12258 1897 NYHS M
1335 Last in Bed Puts Out the Light W&A 17 1890s NYHS M
1336 Above His Business--Shoemaker, Stick to Your Last. GfL 1870s NYHS E
1337a/b Where's That Shirt! Ki/Da 11900 1897 NYHS undressed man M/E
1338 [period costume piece--single female figure] Fr? 56-70 NYHS h-c/copy? G-Eu
1339 The Believer's Vision Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
1340 Health to the Brave Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c/actress Cel/G

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1341 Who'll Dig a Grave for Him? Ben Kilburn 1824 1870s NYHS poem en verso G-Am
1342 By the Sad Sea Waves Brit/Am c.1870 NYHS letter G-Am
1343a/b A Probable President Stoddard 1347 1878 NYHS C
1345 [Kid in Pumpkin patch] Stoddard 70-90s NYHS C
1346 Brushing Papa's new Hat. Turn slow, Tommy, and I'll Brush it so Nice. Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c C
1347 [Kids Weighing each Other] Fr. late/60s NYHS C
1348a/b Making a Crinoline" Brit. 56-65 NYHS h-c C
1349 [portrait of a boy] S.Williams 1870s NYHS C
1350 Unveiling a Statue of Young America Griswold 1871 NYHS C
1351 The Morning Call Group Series 81 1870s NYHS pirate C
1352 No Play Till We Get Our Lesson. Popular Series 70-80s NYHS pirate C
1353a/b The Head Ache Brit 56-70 NYHS G-Eu
1354a/b Nell Gave a Party to Her Dolls Popular Series 70-80s NYHS pirate C
1355a/b Saturday [Scrub] [abraded] Weller 1875 NYHS C
1356 Meeting of the Board of Education Ki/Da 11535 1897 NYHS C
1357a/b [Little Nell--Old Curiosity Shop] Phiz 1860s NYHS C
1358 Before the Ball S&W/U&U 1897 NYHS h-c/3 mirrors/1 of 2 E
1359 After the Ball S&W/U&U 1897 NYHS h-c/2 of 2 E
1360 The Ballroom--Salute Partners White 5486 1902 NYHS G-Am
1361r/v Still There's No Place Like Home Key 11917 1903 NYHS poem on verso M
1362 Conversation after Dinner Brit. 56-70 NYHS G-Eu
1363 [Blind Man's Bluff] Elliott 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
1364 Le Jeu de la Main--Chaude. The Game of Hot Cockles Fr. 1860s NYHS G-Eu
1365r/v First Drink at Home Edmonson 1870s NYHS 1 of 10 T
1366 [title illegible--slumped drunk] Edmonson 1870s NYHS 9 of 10 T
1367 The Bitter End Edmonson 1870s NYHS 10 of 19 T
1368 What is Home without a Husband Li 1486 1889 NYHS NW
1369 The "New Woman" Key 2375 1895 NYHS 222 NW
1370 Have Lunch Ready at One, Charley Ki/Da 11923 1897 NYHS 986, 1299 NW
1371 The Floorwalker--By Day U&U 1902 NYHS M
1372 The Floorwalker--By Night U&U 1903 NYHS M
1373 They Paper Their Own Walls Without Serious Mistake White-2 1903 NYHS (1)--145 M
1374 They Set Up Their Own Stove without Strife White-3 1903 NYHS M

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1375 Their First Meal is a Delightful Feast White-4 1903 NYHS M
1376 Tired, but Happy White-5 1903 NYHS M
1377 Decorating for the Wedding Key 10473 1901 NYHS B series B
1378 Dressing the Bride Key 10474 1901 NYHS B series B
1379 Ready for the Bride Groom Key 10476 1901 NYHS B series B
1380 The Wedding March Key 10479 1901 NYHS B series B
1381 With this ring I thee Wed and with all my worldly goods I thee endow Key 10477 1901 NYHS B series B
1382 The Mother's Kiss Key 10478 1901 NYHS B series B
1383 Asking the Blessing Key 10480 1901 NYHS B series B
1384 The Wedding Dinner Key 10481 1901 NYHS B series B
1385 To the Health of the Bride Key 10482 1901 NYHS B series B
1386 Alone at Last Key 10483 1901 NYHS B series B
1387 The Minister's Blessing Ki/Da 11439 1897 NYHS B series B
1388 Sealing their Bliss Ki/Da 11439 1897 NYHS B series B
1389 The Blessing Ki/Da 11443 1897 NYHS B series B
1390a/b The Sweetest Love Song Ki/Da 16780 1905 NYHS Ct
1391 What! Will he Never Come? Ki/Da 16637 1905 NYHS B series B
1392 The Mother's Tender Kiss Ki/Da 16641 1905 NYHS B series B
1393 May Your Loves be one Long Sweet Song Ki/Da 16638 1905 NYHS B series B
1394 The Joyous Wedding Dinner Ki/Da 16650 1905 NYHS B series B
1395 To Know You are My Own Fills my Cup of Happiness Ki/Da 16668 1905 NYHS B series B
1396a/b Marriage, the Holy Bond of Love Ki/Da 16672 1905 NYHS B series B
1397 My Wife To-morrow Am 16 c.1899 NYHS b/w litho B
1398 The Proposal MiscellaneousG 461 1870s NYHS older couple Ct
1399 The Confirmation Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
1400 [Baptism] Brit. 56-70 NYHS h-c G-Eu
1401 Bliss Disturbed--Quarter past 1 a.m. GfL 70-90s NYHS pirate Ct
1402 Her First Beau Ki/Da 11885 1897 NYHS Ct
1403 Oscular Training; or what's in a kiss? Am c.1900 NYHS litho (1025) Ct
1404 I Love You, Honey Ki/Da 12840 1899 NYHS Ct
1405a The Presentation [priest and crinoline] Brit. 56-65 NYHS G-Eu
1405b In the Sweet Dim Light of the Falling Night Ki/Da 11665 1897 NYHS Ct
1406 If Father Were But here! Ki 7417 1892 NYHS G-Am
1407 I Must Keep My House Very Clean U&U x63995 1890s KMC fileneg C
1408 Books that helped me... U&U x6330 1890s KMC fileneg 1 of 2 C
1409 ...To Get There. U&U x63577 1890s KMC fileneg 2 of 2 C

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1410 The Results of Dolly's Operation White WX27176 1890s KMC fileneg C
1411 Watching the Water, Tent City, Pelham Bay, New York U&U x117901 1890s KMC fileneg Ct
1412 The Old Sweet Mission of the Stork Key KU30487 1910s KMC fileneg unpublished C
1413 The Old Sweet Mission of the Stork Key KU30488 1910s KMC fileneg C
1414 The Storm White Wv5256 1890s KMC fileneg series? C
1415 Just Too Sweet for Anything--College Girls Making Candy White WX5432 1890s KMC fileneg G-Am
1416 The Little Lovers U&U X66294 1890s KMC fileneg C
1417 [Woman picks up the phone] U&U x7899 1890s KMC fileneg M
1418 [She hands the phone to him] U&U x7900 1890s KMC fileneg M
1419 [He listens to the phone with a look of fear] U&U x7901 1890s KMC fileneg M
1420 Shocking His Modesty [nude statue] U&U x61416 1890s KMC fileneg M
1421 [comic pair with burglar] U&U x7909 1900s KMC fileneg M
1422 [comic pair with burglar] U&U x7908 1900s KMC fileneg M
1423 I'll Just Take Me Shoes Off--What Dog's That U&U x63683 1890s KMC fileneg M
1424 A Perilous Moment--Robbing an Eagle's Nest WhiteWX5250 1890s KMC fileneg C
1425 [Artist Spanking Kids for Drawing a Face on his Bald Spot] U&U X7157 1890s KMC fileneg C
1426 [Colonial Attire--Man Accosts Woman--the Protector?] U&U x7338 1900s KMC fileneg G-Am
1427 [Woman accosted by "Indian"] U&U x7283 1900s KMC fileneg G-Am
1428 [Indian shot by settler] U&U x7286 1900s KMC fileneg G-Am
1429 [Artist's model with body stocking] Ki W/M 932 1899 KMC fileneg - 721 G-Am
1430 The Proposal White WX27087 1900s KMC fileneg Ct
1431 Two Strings to Her Bow U&U x63160 1900s KMC fileneg Ct
1432 A Ballroom Scene in Colonial Days--Our Great Grandparents were Young Once, too. U&U x62996 1900s KMC fileneg G-Am
1433 Let the Dance Go On Ki KU76155 1897 KMC fileneg unpublished G-Am
1434 Hold Your Breath, and I'll Do the Rest Ki? KU75940 1890s KMC fileneg unpublished E
1435 Home Early You See Tonight--for You're Sake, Dear, I've Signed the Pledge U&U x61581 1890s KMC fileneg 1 of 6 M
1436 Two O'Clock, and That Man Not Home Yet! U&U x61808 1890s KMC fileneg 2 of 6 M
1437 Just Wait, I think I Had Better Teach Him a Lesson U&U x61822 1890s KMC fileneg 3 of 6M
1438 Shpair me! Don't Make My Poor Wife a Widow! U&U x61498 1890s KMC fileneg 4 of 6 M
1439 Help! Ghosts! I'll be Murdered. U&U x61539 1890s KMC fileneg 5 of 6 M
1440 Ha! Ha! a Frightened Boy! I Think Now He Won't Want to Get Drunk Again. U&U x61556 1890s KMC fileneg 6 of 6 M

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1441 [Weeping Woman Kneeling Next to Father—Soldier series?] U&U x72721890s KMC fileneg M
1442 Sedate College Girls at School—Now, Freshy, Kiss Your Partner. Kiss Him Nice. U&U x61343 c.1900 KMC fileneg E
1443 Why, really, Miss! You couldn't have heard any noise in this room. U&U x61852 c.1900 KMC fileneg E
1444 From Behind the Dressing Screen [nude little boy peeping] U&U x61293 c.1900 KMC fileneg C
1445 [What's a Home without a Mother—the wife as nag] U&U x7134c.1900 KMC fileneg M
1446 [What's a Home without a Mother—wife shut up in Murphy bed] U&U x7135 c.1900 KMC fileneg M
1447 [school children with stereoscopes] U&U x201167 c.1910 KMC fileneg Ad
1448 Fun in Black [black man in drag purchasing cloth] U&U x7222 c.1900 KMC fileneg A-A
1449 [New Woman type] U&U x7134 c.1908 KMC fileneg NW
1450 [sisters? thinly veiled.] Am c.1910 KMC fileneg E
1451 [conflicted suitor—can't choose] U&U x7907 c.1900 KMC fileneg Ct
1452 No buttons again. S&W/U&U 1898 KMC M
1453 Deceiver! Last night you were making love to me. S&W/U&U -3 1899 KMC Ct
1454 Still There's No Place Like Home. Keystone 11917 1908 KMC grandma w/viewer M
1455 Now, Dolly, I Wash 'oo, Now I Wipe 'oo. Young/ASC 1900 KMC doll in wringer C
1456 [Japanese women with stereoscopes] Key KU18009 c.1900 KMC fileneg unpublished Ad
1457 Japanese Belles Gazing at Our Celebrated Views Through the #81 Patented Saturn, Tokyo, Japan, 1901 Key KU58074 1901 KMC unpublished Ad
1458 [Cupid and Miffed Woman] U&U x70731903 KMC (1589) same set/sequel? Ct
1459 The Man's Temper Aroused [Fresh View Agent] U&U x6687 1890s KMC fileneg (111) Graves Ct
1460 You Will Have to Ask Mama U&U? x61355 1890s KMC fileneg 2 of 2 Ct
1461a I Ask you Very Confidentially U&U? x61355 1890s KMC fileneg 1 of 2 Ct
1461b No, You Don't U&U x86977 1890s KMC fileneg Ct
1462 Listen! Footsteps! Quick, girls, the Matron is coming! U&U x7335 1890s KMC fileneg preq/to 1143 E
1463 Asking His Advice—the Lady and the Minister. U&U x79552 1890s KMC fileneg E
1464 [Haunted lover's proposal] U&U x87074 1890s KMC fileneg Ct
1465 [bashful lover] U&U x7789 1890s KMC fileneg Ct
1466 French Dancing Master U&U x7061 1890s KMC fileneg G-Am
1467 How Biddy Served the Tomatoes Undressed. U&U x6993 1890s KMC fileneg M
1468 [Ladies' Foot] Key KU99571 1890s KMC fileneg unpublished E
1469 Pickwick's Mistake Am 97 1870s KMC fileneg G-Am

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1470 Pickwick's Apology Am 98 1870s KMC fileneg G-Am
1471 [Golfer] U&U x8140 1890s KMC fileneg M
1472 [Soldier Saying Goodbye to Wife] U&U x63782/7270 1890s KMC fileneg M
1473 [Homecoming] U&U x7273 1890s KMC fileneg M
1474 [No Shooting Allowed on These Grounds] U&U x9415 1890s KMC fileneg M
1475 [Soldier Retells Story] U&U x7274 1890s KMC fileneg M
1476 You'll Observe, Mum, that a Divorce is Much Easier than It Used to Be H.C. George 56-70 Spahr h-c M
1477 Sous la Fenetre. Flirtation at the Window Christmann/JeA 1860s Spahr G-Eu
1478 The bell (belle) is gently pealing (peeling). [mustard plaster] White 1902 Kraus M
1479 On His Regular Beat Graves/UPA 4653 1903 Kraus M
1480 Kiss Me If You Dare [addressed to viewer] G&G 2254 1900 Kraus E
1481 Harder, George, Papa is Out S&W/U&U 1897 Kraus Ct
1482 But Papa Came Home Unexpectedly S&W/U&U 1897 Kraus Ct
1483a/b The New Woman Barber Key 2300 1899 Kraus NW
1484 Les Foiles sont de tout age [Foolishness of Old Age] Christmann/JeA 2549 1860s Kraus Ct
1485 Dans les champs et sou bois. Le Retour du Champ. Christmann/JeA 1149 1860s Kraus C
1486a/b Very Pretty Indeed [artist painting w/courtship behind his back] Brit. 56-70 Kraus h-c Ct
1487a/b Did You Ever! [elderly priest and pretty woman confessing] Punch/Phiz 56-70 Kraus h-c E
1488 Still, There's no place Like Home Key 11917 1908 Kraus stereoviewer M
1489 The Amateur's Plight: They Ruined His Plate in the Washing G&G 2524(2) 1903 Kraus photographica E
1490a/b The Critic [child on potty seat with viewer] Graves/UPA 11538 1894 Kraus stereoviewer M
1491 Seeking Knowledge Through the Saturn Ki/Da 1890s Kraus stereoviewer C
1492 tissue--The artist [woman painting in decollete] Young/ASC 1900 Kraus h-c G-Am
1493 The Optical Delusion--Things Seen and Not Seen Brit. 56-70 Belcher h-c M
1494 The pursuit of knowledge under difficulties [servant spying into letter] Brit. 56-70 Belcher h-c G-Eu
1495 Is He Coming? [Elopement scene] Brit. 56-70 Belcher -1179 Ct
1496 [Soap Bubbles] Griswold 1870s Belcher h-c C
1497 The Queen of Dahomey Am/Brit 1900-10 GRI Eth
1498 tissue--[artist in park with admirers] Fr. 1860s GRI h-c G-Eu
1499 tissue--Blind Man's Bluff Brit 1860s Fisher/GRI h-c G-Eu
1500 tissue [billiards] Fr 1860s Fisher/GRI h-c G-Eu
1501 tissue--[indignant lady kicks at man] Fr 1860s Fisher/GRI h-c G-Eu

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1502 tissue--Retour au Logis Paternal Fr 1860s Fisher/GRI h-c/clay models M
1503a/b The Happy Cottagers Anthony/LSC 56-65 Fisher/GRI h-c E/G-Eu
1504a/b The Unlooked for ReturnGeb/Rot c.1856 Fisher/GRI h-c M
1505a/b tissue--[the artist in his studio with admirers] Ch.G, Paris 1860s GRI h-c G-Eu
1506a/b Come, Polly--If I Am a Little Irritable, It's Over in a Minute Silvester/LSC c.1860 GRI h-c M
1507 Now Stand Right There and Act Natural (couple before camera] U&U 1906 GEH M
1508 The Old Time Sparking Plug is Best [couple on horseback, couple in car] U&U c.1905 GEH Ct
1509 Bird Cage GGL/L&P c.1870 GEH C
1510 How Can I Live Without You? W&A 1890s GEH E
1511 An Artist's Boudoir [lady painter] LSC 56-65 GEH h-c G-Eu
1512 Mary, Queen of Scots, Home from Loch Leven Elliott/LSC 56-65 GEH h-c G-Eu
1513 A Speaking Likeness [kid in picture frame] LSC 56-65 GEH h-c G-Eu
1514 Pay Your Money, Take Your Choice [clothed prostitutes] W&A 1244 1890s GEH E
1515 Not So Bad [prostitute sitting backwards on chair, clothed] W&A 1249 1890s GEH E
1516 On the Market, Who Wants Me? [clothed prostitute] W&A 1246 1890s GEH E
1517 [Nude Daguerreotype] Fr. 1850s GEH E
1518 [military gallants in 18th C. costume] Fr. 1860s GEH h-c G-Eu
1519 tissue--[vivandieres] Fr. 1860s GEH h-c E
1520 tissue--[dressing girl's hair] Fr. 1860s GEH h-c G-Eu
1521a tissue--[acrobats] Fr 1860s GEH h-c G-Eu
1521b Cottages Under Warwick Castle F.Frith c.1854 GRI h-c G-Eu
1522 An Affair of Honor--Ready for the Parley White #37 1905 MD litho/ 1 of 3 E
1523 An Affair of Honor--The Successful Thrust White #38 1905 MD litho/ 2 of 3 E
1524 An Affair of Honor--Honor Satisfied White #39 1905 MD litho/ 3 of 3 E
1525 Dancing School [period costume] White#48 1905 MD litho G-Am
1526 Discussing the Evening's Conquest White#46 1905 MD litho/ 1 of 2 E
1527 The tea cup tells its tales White#47 1905 MD litho/ 2 of 2 G-Am
1528 My Protector Am. 196 c.1899 MD litho C
1529 Feeding the Kittens-r/The Pillow Fight-v Am 199/200 c.1899 MD litho C
1530 Christmas morning-r/Our Father Which Art in Heaven-v Am 197/198 c.1899 MD litho C
1531 Eaves Dropper Dropped Weller 551 1876 MD G-Am
1532 He Rules the Roost G&G 2417 1900 MD M
1533 Ancient Courtship Weller 506 1874 MD 1 of 3 Ct
1534 Forbidden Fruit Brit. 1870s MD pirate G-Am
1535 Salutation S&W/U&U 1899 MD series M

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1536 Flirtation S&W/U&U 1899 MD series M
1537 Sensation S&W/U&U 1899 MD series M
1538 Revelation S&W/U&U 1899 MD series M
1539 Tribulation S&W/U&U 1899 MD series M
1540 Yes, Mr. Caught-a-Tartar, the Time is Coming When S&W/U&U 1900 MD 1 of 6 NW
1541 Woman will no longer be the mere slave S&W/U&U 1900 MD 2 of 6 NW
1542 Of brute man, Sir! S&W/U&U 1900 MD 3 of 6 NW
1543 No longer be the poor downtrodden S&W/U&U 1900 MD 4 of 6 NW
1544 Oppressed S&W/U&U 1900 MD 5 of 6 NW
1545 Weak and helpless being she is now S&W/U&U 1900 MD 6 of 6 NW
1546 Good Judges of Pictures [undressed women w/viewers, men reflected in mirror] W&A 256 1899 MD stereoscopes E
1547 More free than welcome [servant w/baby] Brit. 56-70 MD G-Eu
1548 Father Come Home Elliott c.1860 MD pirate T
1549 You Dear Little Sucker Ki/Da 12891 1899 MD M
1550 May Your Lives Be One Long Sweet Song Ki/Da 16638 1905 MD B
1551 Crinoline Difficulties Brit. 56-65 MD G-Eu
1552 Crinoline Difficulties Brit. 56-65 MD G-Eu
1553 The Boatman Somewhat Rattled Li/U&U 1641 1893 MD E
1554 Bliss Young/ASC 1896 MD 1 of 2 Ct
1555 Bliss Disturbed Young/ASC 1896 MD 2 of 2 Ct
1556 The Empty Cradle Brit. 56-70 MD pirate M
1557 A Present to an Old Bachelor Brit. 56-70 MD h-c Ba
1558 Her Guardian Angel Key 619 1898 MD C
1559 Hump Yourself G&G 2363 1904 MD Ct
1560 The Professor Gives a Lesson on Kissing [woman in drag] Ki 11471 1897 MD M
1561 The Professor Not Appreciated Ki 11474 1897 MD M
1562 Taking Toll in the Rural Districts S&W/U&U 1895 MD Ct
1563 The Fresh View Agent Pop Series 70-90s MD pirate M
1564 Stealing My Eggs, Are You? Key 12338 1901 MD 1 of 2 NW
1565 Pa, Don't you Know Your Own Daughter? Key 12339 1901 MD 1 of 2 NW
1566 [man under bed type] Graves c.1900 MD pirate E
1567 Trials of Bachelorhood [sewing buttons, spied by girls] Key 2391 1897 MD inscription Ba
1568 The New Woman Key 2373 1896 MD NW
1569 The Floor Walker--by Day [department store manager] U&U 1902 MD 1 of 2 M
1570 The Floor Walker--by Night [baby manager] U&U 1902 MD 2 of 2 M
1571 Before Marriage--the Dude U&U 1902 MD 1 of 2 M
1572 After Marriage--Sub-dued U&U 1902 MD 2 of 2 M
1573 [crinolines outside omnibus] Brit. 56-65 MD pirate E

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1574 Expected--Married Life as He Pictured It (Music without words) S&W/U&U 1897 MD 1 of 2 M
1575 Dejected--Married Life as He Found It (Words without Music) S&W/U&U 1897 MD 2 of 2 M
1576 I Will Have to Ask Mama Ki/Da 11564 1897 MD Ct
1577 Charge Bayonets Li 1451 1889 MD 2 of 2 Ct
1578 No Buttons [stereographer reflected in mirror] Ki 7376 1892 MD 2 copies M
1579 His Protests Were Heard [woman spanking man] Wasson/IVC 527-d 1900 MD 2 of 2 NW
1580 Don't Get Above Your Business Key 433 1893 MD E
1581 Have Patience, Dear, Don't Swear S&W/ U&U 1890 MD M
1582 Always Take a Horse You Can Drive with One Hand Key 10418 1901 MD Ct
1583 Alone at Last H.C. White 5519 1902 MD last of 10 B
1584 Necessity is the Mother of Invention [bachelor sewing] S&W/U&U 1895 MD Ba
1585 Here Comes the Rat W&A 263 1890s MD E
1586 He Found a Social Gathering [women in underclothes; surprised man] W&A 261 1890s MD E
1587 How the Call Ended W&A 271 1890s MD E
1588 Retouching Portraits Li 1445 1889 MD Ct
1589 Translating a Love Letter from a Boston Girl--Does that Mean Yes or No? U&U 1903 MD Ct
1590 Gee Whiz, Doctor, did any of Them Get Away? Key 10412 1900 MD M
1591 Breaking Home Ties S&W/U&U 1898 MD G-Am
1592 The Halloween Party--Ducking for Apples U&U 1902 MD 1 of 4 E
1593 Can't I Get in the Game? U&U 1902 MD 2 of 4 E
1594 Oh, yes, if You Must U&U 1902 MD 3 of 4 E
1595 He Got in the Game U&U 1902 MD 4 of 4 E
1596 More Free than Welcome Brit. 1860s MD original view G-Eu
1597 Mr. and Mrs. Turtledove's New French Cook Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1598 You Sweet Thing, When Did You Arrive? Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1599 Now Don't Be Shy Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1600 Oh My! But You Are Lovely Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1601 Sh! Sh!! I hear my Wife Coming Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1602 Heavens? What does she mean? Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1603 Mr. Turtledove Trying to Get Out of the Difficulty Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1604 Mr. Turtledove Making Promises to be Good. Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1605 Darling, I love You more than Ever Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M

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1606 Mr. and Mrs. Turtledove's Next French Cook [man in drag] Rau/U&U 1902 MD FC/1of12/7&8missing M
1607 Ground for Divorce [wife's infidelity] Melander 47 1875 MD M
1608 Sitting Up every night this way makes me lean Ki/Da 12892 1899 MD M
1609 Oh! You're a Peach [corset tightening] Key 9562 1899 MD E
1610 Dressing the Bride Rau/G&G 16791 1890s MD B
1611 The Boatman Somewhat Rattled Montgomery W 1167 1890s MD E
1612 tissue--[bon vivants] E.L. 1860s MD h-c E
1613 Trials of Married Life [father sews on own buttons, baby in bed] Ki/Da 11916 1897 MD M
1614 Just Before the Battle [school room and mouse] Weller 309 1870s MD 1 of 2 G
1615 Hello, Sis! Ki/Da 11594 1897 MD Ct
1616 Bliss Weller 532 1875 MD 1 of 2/stamp on verso Ct
1617 Bliss Disturbed [inscription verso: Carrie A. Kinnear, Portsmouth, N.H., 1875 Weller 533 1875 MD 2 of 2 Ct
1618 Going with the Stream S&W/U&U 1897 MD Ct
1619 I'll not Take off Another Stitch if I lose my Place Key 10410 1900 MD 2 of 2 M
1620 Come Along, Do Weller 373 1872 MD 2copies/1 h-c M
1621 Nobody's Business Ki/Da 11587 1897 MD Ct
1622 Weighing the Baby S&W/U&U 1897 MD M
1623 The Model Husband UVC 1870s MD M
1624 Did You Ring, sir? Rau/G&G 6815 1897 MD E
1625 Sew on Your Own Buttons, I'm Going for a Ride G&G 1901 MD NW
1626 The New Woman--Wash Day U&U 1901 MD NW
1627 Your Honor Thinks me quite used up; wait till you see Dennis me husband. U&U 1602 1893 MD Eth
1628 Where in the Hurry is the Towel? G&G/Rau 7215 1891 MD M
1629 Jones Home from the Club Fears the Storm. S&W/U&U 1891 MD 377 M
1630 Ruth and Obadiah Popular Series 56-70 MD pirate M
1631 Family Jars S&W/U&U 1892 MD 1 of 2 M
1632 After a Storm a Calm Cometh S&W/U&U 1892 MD poor 2 of 2 M
1633 [three children at table] GfL MD ylw mnt C
1634 Grandfather's visit GfL MD C
1635 Riding the Elephant [children and costumed adults] GfL MD pirate C
1636 Going Against her Will ASC 1890s MD E
1637 [Little girl playing kitchen] Popular Series 1870s MD pirate C
1638 For a Dip in the Old Ocean AmericanSeries 1890s MD pirate E
1639 Good Night, George. S&W/U&U 1890 MD Ct
1640 How Biddy Served the Tomatoes Undressed Li/U&U 1891 MD 170 E
1641 A Midnight Prowler Rau/G&G 1114 1890s MD E
1642 I'm Afraid [child in bed] GfL MD C
1643 [children play at kitchen] GfL MD C

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1644 [cafe scene w/large grotesque masks] Fr/GfL 1860s MD pirate G-Eu
1645 wedding in Elizabethan costume] Brit/GfL 56-70 MD pirate B
1646 Kiss me First Popular series MD pirate C
1647 The Quarrel Popular series MD pirate C
1648 The Afternoon Tea White #40 1898 MD litho G-Am
1649 The Japanese Way of Life Am #177 c.1898 MD litho/grn mnt Eth
1650 Baby's Delight—The Morning Bath White #42 c.1898 MD litho/ 1 of 2 C
1651 Mother's Pride—Fresh from the Bath White #43 c.1898 MD litho/ 2 of 2 C
1652 Loveliness in Flower and Face White #45 c.1898 MD litho G-Am
1653 A Choice Bit of Gossip White #41 1905 MD litho G-Am
1654 The New Woman Wash Day U&U 1901 MD NW
1655a/b Woman's Rights—The Rehersal Weller 329 1871 MD 2 copies NW
1656 Hubby's Sunday Morning Shave Intnl&Am Views 1890s MD pirate NW
1657 The "New Woman" Barber Key 2300 1896 MD NW
1658 Getting His Hair Banged Graves/UVC 4636 1896 MD NW
1659 Sew on Your Own Buttons, I'm Going for a Ride Key 2332 1899 MD caption upsidedown NW
1660 Mind the Children, finish the washing, and have dinner at 12 Whiting 2879 1900 MD NW
1661 And me Old Chum's at the Door Ki 7434 1892 MD 2 variants NW
1662 Don't Tell Me You Won't Wash Graves/UPA 4557 1900 MD 2 copies NW
1663 Don't Tell Me You Won't Wash Ki/Davis 12263 1897 MD NW
1664 [new woman with pointed finger lecturing husband at wash tub—don't get the clothes too blue type] Rau/G&G 15417 1895 MD NW
1665 Woman's Rights Weller 330 1875 MD NW
1666 [The music lesson] Brit. 56-70 MD h-c (1016) G-Eu
1667 [Genre scene—two women playing cards] S.Williams/L&P 1870s MD G-Eu
1668 [Genre scene—two girls reading letter] GGL 1870s MD pirate G-Eu
1669 [Genre scene—two girls reading letter] GGL 1870s MD h-c G-Eu
1670 Bilder aus dem Deutschen Leben GGL 1870s MD pirate G-Eu
1671 The Power of Love GfL MD h-c/pirate Ct
1672 A Stitch in Time Saves Nine Weller 1872 MD inscrip/stamp C
1673 How Did Doctor Bring Baby in That? S&W/U&U 1898 MD C
1674 Love Below Stairs Brit. 56-70 MD h-c/insrip. Ct
1675 On Duty Brit. c.1860 MD h-c Ct
1676 The Interesting Communication [policeman receives bottle from women in sewer] Brit. 141 c.1860 MD pirate Ct

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1677 Cupboard Love--or Coming Events Cast their Shadows Before LSC c.1860 MD h-c Ct
1678 The Elopement Brit. c.1860 MD pirate/inscrip. Ct
1679 [man under table] Brit. c.1870 MD copy/pirate Ct
1680 Marie, Who's Hat is That? [man under table] Wasson/ISC 1901 MD Ct
1681 Ruth and Obadiah Brit. c.1860 MD h-c/inscrip. M
1682 [title torn off] [man & man in drag sitting back to back in a "stand off"] Brit. c. 1860 MD h-c M
1683 Girls, I Heard a Man Sneeze Ki/Da 12896 1899 MD 1 of 2-3 E
1684 Say You're Sorry and we'll let you up Da/Ki 12898 1899 MD 2 of 2-3 E
1685 Caught the Rats Ki 7429 1892 MD 2 of 2 E
1686 Man Ejected Graves/UPA 4599 1901 MD series? E
1687 A Man! At Last a Man! Ingersoll 304 1890s MD 2nd of pair E
1687 Broken Vows Brit. 56-70 MD h-c B
1688 Broken Vows [inscription, v.: Emma Coliord (?)] Brit. 1850s MD h-c/inscrip. B
1689 The Wedding Brit. 1850s MD (1688), stamp B
1690 The Fainting Bride Graves/UPA 3273 1898 MD h-c B
1691 Now Marm Say When Brit./GfL 56-65 MD pirate G-Eu
1692 A Good Supporter [woman in undergarments puts on stocking] Ki/Davis 12250 1897 MD E
1693 Oh! You're a Peach [man pulls woman's corset strings] Key 9562 1899 MD E
1694 How Biddy Served the Tomatoes Undressed White 5422 1902 MD E
1695 I'll Not Take Off Another Stitch If I Lose My Place Key 10410 (b) 1900 MD 1 of 2 E
1696 At Every Sip a Reputation Dies GfL 80-90s MD pirate G-Am
1697 As Our Great Grandmothers Read Fortunes in Tea Cups U&U 1900 MD h-c G-Am
1698 Eavesdroppers Dropped Weller 551 1876 MD G-Am
1699 A (Knight) of Labor Key 70 1898 MD M
1700 A Knight of Labor S&W/U&U 1899 MD M
1701 Looking down upon his Luck [twins] Ki/Da 11917 1897 MD M
1702 Gee, Whiz, Doctor, Did Any of Them Get Away Key 10412 1900 MD M
1703 And only to think me father wanted me to be a Praste S&W/U&U 1897 MD M
1704 When a Man's Married, His Trouble Begins S&W/U&U 1897 MD 2 copies M
1705 A Home Entertainment Ki/Da 12886 1899 MD (1608, 1613) M
1706 An Interesting Chapter Ki 11898 1897 MD 1608, 1613, 1705 M
1707 Husband as He Should Be Brit. 56-70 MD h-c M
1708 Murderation! Molly, Be Aisy!" Key 9486 1899 MD M
1709 There must have been something DEAD in that mince pie, Mollie. Ki/Da 11458 1897 MD M
1710 Darn the Cucumbers! Never Mind the Doctor, Send for the Minister S&W/U&U 1897 MD M

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1711 Have Patience, Don't swear, Don't swear G&G 1890s MD pirate M
1712 Robbing the Male Ki/Da 11915 1897 MD M
1713 Collecting from a Slow Customer White 5418 1891 MD M
1714 Mr. Timid Hears Burglars Graves 4509 1898 MD M
1715 Caudle's Curtain Lectures Brit. 56-70 MD h-c M
1716 Smith Home from the Club Fears the Storm Key 73 1899 MD -1717 M
1717 Smith Home from the Club Fears the Storm Key 73 1890 MD original M
1718 Father, Come Home [inscription, v.: "Partridge" Elliott 1850s MD poor h-c/pirate G-Eu
1719 He Needs a Lesson, and I Have a Scheme White 5473 (2) 1902 MD 2 of 5 M
1720 Be shtill ash moush—little late, guessh. White 5474 (3) 1902 MD 2 of 5 M
1721 Help! fire!! burglars!!! murder!!!! White 5475 (4) 1902 MD 4 of 5 M
1722 Ha! ha! Guess he'll remember that one while. White 5476 (5) 1902 MD 5 of 5 M
1723 Sthedy now! musn't make a noish! White 5579 (1) 1903 MD series M
1724 He is suddenly awakened by his wife and makes peace on the promise of a new gown White 5582 (4) 1903 MD series M
1725 War in Camp [wife battering husband] S&W/U&U 1898 MD M
1726 The Pillow Fight Ki/Da 12883 1899 MD M
1727 Breaking Hearts as well as Dishes Key 10496 1901 MD Ct
1728 Not So Very Thin Weller 540 1875 MD Ct
1729 Circumstantial Evidence Li/U&U 1530 1891 MD Ct
1730 Precaution—"Pretty Nursery Maid" [nurse pulls hats over kids' eyes while kissing] GfL 21 56-70 MD stamp Ct
1731 Darling Thou Art Divine Ki/Da 11581 1897 MD series/Prof. in drag M
1732 The Prof. Gives a Lesson on Kissing Ki/Da 11471 1897 MD series/Prof. in drag M
1733 The Prof. not appreciated Ki/Da 11474 1897 MD series/Prof. in drag M
1734 Trials of Bachelorhood Key 2391 1897 MD inscrip. Ba
1735 A Sad Predicament Key 689 1900 MD E
1736 Come and Play with Me [prostitute, fully dressed, showing calves] W&A 245 1899 MD E
1737 Piggyback Ride W&A 282 1899 MD E
1738 How the Call Ended [drunk women] W&A 271 1899 MD E
1739 Here Comes the Rat [cleavage] W&A 263 1899 MD E
1740 He Found a Social Gathering [women in undergarments, drinking] W&A 261 1899 MD E
1741 Maria I won't wash another dud Graves/UPA 4566 1900 MD 1 of 2 NW
1742 Don't Tell Me You Won't Wash Graves/UPA 4567 1900 MD 2 of 2 NW

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1743 Still There's No Place Like Home Key 11917 1903 MD M
1744 Still There's No Place Like Home Key 11917 1909 MD M
1745 The Sleepy Lover U&U 1902 MD Ct
1746 Struck with Astonishment Weller 544 1875 MD Ct
1747 Struck with a Wet Sheet Weller 1874 MD Ct
1748 Sad News from the Battlefield--Jack has fallen at Santiago S&W/U&U 1899 MD 3 of---M
1749 Very Pretty Indeed Elliott c.1857 MD variant 2 Ct
1750 [husband giving pedicure to wife--"The Model Husband'?] Elliott? 56-70 MD M
1751 Books that helped me... U&U x6330 1901 MD C
1752 Shall We Sleep First, Or How? Brit. 56-70 MD h-c (1681) Ruth&Obediah M
1753 Modern Courtship Weller 507 1874 MD 2 of 3 Ct
1754 Future Courtship (Weller) 508 1875 MD 3 of 3/no i.d.on mount Ct
1755 The Entanglement Brit. 56-70 MD 2 variants/h-c Ct
1756 The Bird Trap Goodman 56-70 MD C
1757 An Optical Delusion S&W/U&U 1897 MD M
1758 The Young Artist Ge/Cremer 1870s MD C
1759 Home, Sweet Home Key 628(b) 1888 MD 1 of 2 ? M
1760 Blowing Bubbles Griswold 1871 MD C
1761 Turned Out of Church C.W. Thorne 1860s MD (448) import C
1762 Her Guardian Angel Key 619 1894 MD C
1763 The Empty Crib Key 9463 1899 MD C
1764 I'll Take Care of You, Grandma S&W/U&U 1888 MD C
1765 How Did Doctor Bring Baby in That? Weller 500 1875 MD C
1766 Love Aloft Weller 388 1873 MD h-c Ct
1767 The Elopement Melander 25 1875 MD Ct
1768 Is He Coming? Brit. 56-70 MD 3 of 3 Ct
1769 The Elopement Brit. 56-70 MD British/ 2 of 3 Ct
1770 Trials of the Day are Over Weller/Li 349b 1889 MD C
1771 Circumstantial Evidence [lovers caught] Li 1891 MD Ct
1773 Shoulder Arms Li 1450 1889 MD 1 of 2 Ct
1774 Charge Bayonets Li 1451 1889 MD 2 o 2/2 variants Ct
1775 Charge Bayonets Li 1451 1889 MD variation 2 Ct
1776 Painting Her First Picture Key 9441 1898 MD untinted C
1777 Retouching Portraits Li 1445 1889 MD variation 2 Ct
1778 Before and-- Singley/Key 988 1895 MD actress changes/989 Ct
1779 After Singley/Key 989 1895 MD 2nd variation Ct
1780 The Pensive Maid Is Sad and Sighs Her Lonely Hours... S&W/U&U 12348(1) 1906 MD Mashers Ct
1781 She Dreams of Loves, and Lovers Sees Before her... S&W/U&U 12349-2 1906 MD Mashers Ct
1782 The Masher comes into the room and spins the pretty maid... S&W/U&U 12350-3 1906 MD Mashers Ct
1783 Before her on his knees he falls, declaring all his love... S&W/U&U 12351-4 1906 MD Mashers Ct

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1784 The Masher mashed the Pensive Maid--or so it seemed... S&W/U&U 12352-5 1906 MD Mashers Ct

1785 But all good things must have an end, so when footsteps are heard... S&W/U&U 12353-6 1906 MD Mashers Ct

1786 The Masher started for the door, then she did change her plan... S&W/U&U 12354-7 1906 MD Mashers Ct

1787 Drop on your hands and knees, be quick; I'll bide you.... S&W/U&U 12355-8 1906 MD Mashers Ct

1788 There's something up, her mama says, but nothing wrong... S&W/U&U 12356-9 1906 MD Mashers Ct

1789 In vain my search. That noise I heard has worried me so much... S&W/U&U 12357-10 1906 MD Mashers Ct

1790 So squarely on the thing she sits; his chance looks rather slim... S&W/U&U 12358-11 1906 MD Mashers Ct

1791 Imploring now the maiden falls, he feels remorse and pain... S&W/U&U 12359-12 1906 MD Mashers Ct

1792 Rejected Weller 515 1874 MD Ct

1793 Last in Bed Puts Out the Light Melander 92 1876 MD M

1794 Bread and cheese and kisses are always good Graves 4765 1905 MD Ct/M

1795 Between the Lines Ki/Da 12261 1897 MD h-c M

1796 Not So Pleasant Sitting Up as It Used to Be Ki/Da 11904 1897 MD M

1797 For Mercy's Sake Give Us a Rest Ki/Da 11461 1897 MD M

1798 I Think the Keyhole is Full Key 482 1890s MD M

1799 Hello Dad! What's the Matter? You seem put out. Key 507 1897 MD M

1800 Mother-in-law making things warm around the house Ki/Da 7461 1892 MD M

1801 Some Symptoms of Unpleasantness Silvester 56-70 MD -1506 M

1802 Family Jars type Brit./Cremer,pub. 1860s MD import M

1803 After a Storm a Calm Cometh S&W/U&U 1897 MD M

1804 Domestic Difficulties Brit. 1860s MD inscription M

1805 God Forgive ye, Jim O'Connor, for the cruel advantage ye're taken a'me, and me helpless White 5570 1903 MD E

1806 The Swing Brit. 1860s MD inscription E

1807 The Artist's Country Customers Melander 167 1881 MD inscription E

1808 After the Battle Weller 323 c.1875 MD 2 of 2/ 1614 C

1809 Curiosity Punished Brit. c.1860 MD E

1810 She Has Lost Her Good Job Rau/UVC 1902 MD 2 of 2 NW

1811 Getting His Hair Banged Key 4218 1897 MD 2 of 2 NW

1812 Getting Her Hair Banged Key 4217 1897 MD 1 of 2 NW/E

1813 The New Woman Barber Key 2300 1896 MD NW/E

1814 No More Babies for Me! J.B.King/PanAm 1875 1904 MD 1 of 3 ? NW

1815 Did You Ring, Sir? Weller/Li/U&U 547 1875 MD 2 copies E

1816 Did You Ring, Sir? Singley/Key 434 1893 MD E

1817 Mr. and Mrs. Henpeck Wash the Dishes Graves/UPA 4663 1908 MD NW

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1818 When a Man's Married, his Troubles Begin G&G 1887 MD stove assembly M
1819 Twentieth Century Washwoman Graves 1905 MD NW
1820 Twentieth Century Woman Rau/G&G 15417 1895 MD NW
1821 Stuck on Him Graves/UPA 3284 1898 MD E
1822 Three O'Clock in the Morning Silvester? 56-70 MD M
1823 Convenience of Single Life S&W/U&U 1897 MD Ba
1824 Empty Pockets Again--I'll Put Something in Them that Will Stay U&U 1902 MD 1 of? M
1825 The "F. V. A." is Ass[isted] to Depart Graves/UPA 3269 1880s MD Fresh View Agent E
1826 Forbidden Fruits Ben Kilburn 409 1860s MD C
1827 The Little Eavesdropper Key 10578 1900 MD spying little sis C
1828 The Temperate Man's Home Brit. 210 1860s MD h-c/inscriptions T
1829 The Child's Dream--Pantomime, Ball Room, Christmas Tree Phiz 56-70 MD inscription C
1830 [children playing at washing] GGL/L&P 1870s MD pirate/inscription C
1831 Alone! At Last Alone! Ki/Da 11447 1897 MD series B
1832 The Last in Bed to Put Out the Light Brit. 1860s MD h-c M
1833 The Wedding Weller/Li 517 1870 MD B
1834 The Old Man's Darling [battery by young wife] Rau/G&G 566 c.1888 MD M
1835 Say, Maria, (hic) just Catch the Bed till I Get in Key 10490 1901 MD M
1836 Brown just in from the Club Ki 7348 1892 MD M
1837 Tis Midnight's Holy Hour Ki 7367 1892 MD M
1838 [May and December] Brit/W&A 1890s MD h-c/pirate Ct
1839 Young America Bathing Griswold 1871 MD sequel to 1350 C
1840 Dad's Asleep and Ma's Out Melander 1876 MD Ct
1841 He Don't Like His Pants Weller 391 1875 MD C
1842 Curiosity GfL 56-70 MD pirate G-Eu
1843 The Adverse Decision--Too Young Melander 1876 MD 2 of 2/1846 Ct
1844 Woman surprising another--hands on eyes Ge?/Cremer c.1868 MD G-Eu
1845 An Early Quibble GfL 101 c.1870 MD C
1846 Asking Her Father and Mother Melander 99 1876 MD 1 of 2 Ct
1847 The old man will never forget the sight. Whiting 2866 (a) 1900 MD Ct
1848 The young man will never forget the fright. Whiting 1867 1900 MD Ct
1849 Child Asleep at Table S.Williams c.1870 MD C
1850 No Followers Allowed. Love will find out the way. Brit. 56-70 MD [beware of mantraps] Ct
1851 The Young Lady Objects Key 10459 1901 MD Ct
1852 Yes I Do [young man and older woman] Li 1976 1898 MD Ct
1853 [nothing to wear--she empties her wardrobe and sits in a funk] Brit/Am 1860s MD h-c/inscription G
1854 A Spanking Good Time Li 1534 1891 MD C

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1855 [visiting a sick friend] Brit. 1860s MD h-c G-Eu
1856 Faithful friend [sick visit] Brit. 1860s MD h-c G-Eu
1857 The Good Fortune Brit. 56-70 MD h-c/inscription G-Eu
1858 We Know His Name Ki/Da 11510 1897 MD G-Am
1859 The Sleepy Lover Weller 308 1875 MD Ct
1860 For such is the kingdom of heaven Key 25 1899 MD spirit view C
1861 Telling fortunes in their teacups. Graves/UPA 4594 1901 MD G-Am
1862 An Awkward Interruption [maid and officer under table] Brit. 56-70 MD Ct
1863 Goodnight Weller 348 1872 MD C
1864 Our New Washerwoman [child at play] Weller 331 1871 MD C
1865 Spare the Rod and Spoil the Child Brit. 56-70 MD h-c/dealer's stamp C
1866 The Toilet Weller 355 1872 MD G-Am
1867 Mother Come Back from that Echoless Shore. Take me Again to your arms as of Yore. Ki 12901 1899 MD spirit view C
1868 [boy playing trick on sleeping grandmother] H. Ropes 1870s MD inscription C
1869 Take my money but please don't shoot U&U 1902 MD M
1870 Single Blessedness Brit. 56-70 MD Ba

Legend By Fields

number:

a/b or a/b/c—two or three identical slides to this record number
a and b on separate record lines—two differing views to this record number
r/v—slides for recto and verso

title:

[---] no title given, author's description
tissue: view on translucent tissue

publishers:

original photographer or publisher/publisher of view or company pirating view

attributions:

Am--American
Brit.--British
Ge--German
Fr--French
(---) no identification on card, attribution by author to a specific photographer

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Abbreviations: code—photographer/publisher (if different from photographer), location of last cited.

AC—AC View Co.
Alexis Gaudin, Paris
Am&Foreign Views—American and Foreign Views See H. Ropes
Am Novelty Co.—American Nickelodeon cards
Anthony/LSC—Mark Anthony/London Stereoscopic Co.
Anthony—E. and H. T. Anthony, New York
Appleton—D. Appleton Brothers, New York.
ASC—American Stereoscopic Co., New York
Barker—George Barker, Niagara Falls, NY
Barker/S&W/U&U—George Barker/Strohmeyer and Wyman/Underwood and Underwood, New York
B.K.—Adolphe Bloch, Paris
Beigner/S.Williams—E. Beigner/Sophus Williams, Berlin
Ben Kilburn—Benjamin Kilburn attribution. See Ki.
BKC—Berry, Kelley Chadwick, Chicago
Braun&Co.—Adolphe Braun, Dornach, Switzerland
Brown/GNYS—E. M. Brown/Greater New York Stereo Co., Chicago
C.W.Thorne, New York
Campbell—Alfred S. Campbell, Elizabeth, NJ
Ch.A.Beckford—Charles A. Beckford, Salem, MA
Chase—W. M. Chase, Philadelphia, pirate company
Ch.G. or C.G.--Charles Gerard or Charles Gaugin, Paris
Chappel's-- Chappel's Patented Stereoscope, London
Christmann—S. P. Christmann, Berlin
Christmann/JeA—S. P. Christmann/Jadis et Aujour'dui, Paris
Clarke/ASC—Edward Clarke/American Stereoview Co., New York
Colin-Maillard, Paris
Comic Series—American pirate company
Comics & Groups--American pirate company
Cremer—James Cremer, Philadelphia
E. Thiebault, St. Denis
E. H.Chamberlain, Worchester, MA
E.L.—Ernst Lacan or Ernst Ladry, Paris
Edmonson—G. W. Edmonson, Plymouth, OH
Elliott/LSC--James Elliott/London Stereoscopic Co.
English Groups—American pirate company
Euro&AmViews—European and American Views, pirate company
F.R.G., France
Frederick Loeser, Brooklyn
Frickhanns, Germany (?)
G&G—Griffith and Griffith, Philadelphia
Gates—G. (George) F. Gates, Co., Mauch Chunk (Jim Thorpe), PA
Gems BA—Gems of Beauty and Art
Geb Rot—Gebhardt Rottman and Co., London
GfL—Groups from Life, American company, some early originals, mostly pirate company
GGL—Gems of German Life/Loescher and Petsch, Berlin
Goodman—C. E. (Charles Evanston) Goodman, London
Graves/UPAC—Carleton H. Graves/Universal Photo Art Co., Philadelphia
Griswold—M. M. Griswold, Boston and Washington, D. C.

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Group Series—American pirate company
Gurney & Son—Jeremiah Gurney, New York
Gustav Liersch—Eiche and Liersch, Berlin
H. Ropes-- H. Ropes &Co., New York
H.C. George
H. L. Roberts/G&G—See Griffith and Griffith
Havens—O. Pierre Havens, Savanah, GE
Hawes/Home Series—Josiah? Hawes, Boston
Home Series—Home Series/America Illustrated. See above.
Howes—American pirate company
ICU Co., Chicago
Ingersoll—T. R. Ingersoll, St. Paul, MN
Intnl&Am Views—International and American views, pirate company
ISVC—International Stereograph[ic] View Co., New York
J. M., Paris
J. Reynolds
J.&E.Hoch, Boston
J.A.—J. Andrieu, Paris
J. A. French, Keene, NH
J.B.King/Pan Am—J. B. King/Pan American View Co., Salt Lake City, Utah
J.F.Jarvis, Washington, D. C.
Jacob Hennigs, Cologne
JeA—Jadis et aujourd'hui, Paris
Kelley and Chadwick—E. W. Kelley. See BKC.
Kent Stereoscopic View Company, Chandler, OK
Key—Keystone View Co., Meadville, PA
Ki/Da—B. W. Kilburn/James M. Davis, New York
Ki—B.W. Kilburn or Kilburn Brothers View Co., Littleton, N.H.
L&P—Loescher and Petsch, Berlin
L.C. Strand, Worchester, Mass.—pirate company
L.E., Paris
Li—Littleton View Company
L. L, Paris
LSC—London Stereoscopic Co.
Luckhardt--Franz Luckhardt, Vienna
M.Perrotin, Paris
Melander—Melander and Brother (L. M. & S. P. Melander), Chicago
Merrimac St. Co.—U. S.
Met Series—Metropolitan View Co., New York, lithographic printers
Miscellaneous—see below
Misc. Groups—Miscellaneous Groups/George Stacy Co.—early originals, and pirates
Montgomery Ward
New Ed Series—New Educational Series, New York. See H. Ropes.
Parker's Gallery—Parker's Gallery, Cairo, IL
Perfec-Stereo—see White.
Phiz—Phiz (attr. to A. Silvester's brother). See Silvester.
Pop Series—Popular Series—American pirate company
Punch's sketches—*Punch* (comics weekly), London. See also Phiz.
R&F—Roberts and Fellows, Philadelphia.
Rau—William H. Rau, Philadelphia
Rau/G&G—William H. Rau/Griffith and Griffith, Philadelphia
Rau/BKC—William H. Rau/Berry, Kelly, Chadwick, Chicago

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Rau/U&U—William H. Rau/Underwood and Underwood, Napierville, IL
Rau/UVC—William H. Rau/Universal View Co., Philadelphia
Richmond/Sterro. See Sterro.
Royal Series
Rust/WSC—T. D. Rust/World Stereoscopic Co. Publishers, Meadville, PA
S&W—Strohmeyer and Wyman, New York
S.C.Northop—S. C. Northop, Bridgeport and New Berlin, CT
S.Williams—Sophus Williams, Berlin
S.Williams/L&P– Sophus Williams/Loescher and Petsch, Berlin
Sarony—Napoleon Sarony, New York
Shute—C. H. Shute, Edgartown, MA
Silvester/LSC—Alfred Silvester/London Stereoscopic Co.
Singley/Key—Ben Singley/Keystone View Co., Meadville, PA
Standard Series—Standard Series, New York (William M. Baxter, Co.), pirate co.
Sterro—Sterro Photo, Dodgeville, NY
Stiehm/S.Williams—J. F. Stiehm/Sophus Williams, Berlin
Stoddard—Seneca Ray Stoddard. Glen Falls, NY
U&U—Underwood and Underwood, Napierville, IL
UPAC—Universal Photo Art Co. See Graves.
W&A—Webster and Albee, Rochester, NY
Wasson/IVC—C. R. Wasson/International View Co., Decatur, IL
Wasson/ISC—Wasson/International Stereograph Co. See above.
Weller—F. G. Weller, Littleton, N.H.
Weller/Li—F. G. Weller/Littleton View Co, Littleton, N.H
(Weller)/Li– F. G. Weller/Littleton View Co., published without attribution
(Weller)Li/U&U–See above, add Underwood and Underwood
Weller/Chase—Weller pirated by Chase. See Chase.
White–H. C. (Hawley) White, N. Bennington, VT
Whiting—Whiting View Co. (William and Richard Ross Whiting), Cincinnati, OH
W.H. Tipton, Gettysburg, PA
Woodward—C. (Charles) W. Woodward, Rochester, NY.
Woodward and Albee, Rochester, NY
World Series—American pirate company
Young/ASC—R. Y. Young/American Stereoscopic Co., New York

file number:

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date:

Precise dates are given when available.
Estimates by author are preceded by a circa "c." or a date range, i.e. 56-70—1856-70.
blank—uncertain
Pirated views are given an estimation of the date of the original.

collection:

HMC/OWH: Helen Mosley Collection, the Oliver Wendell Holmes Library of the National Stereoscopic Association, Cleveland., OH

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OWH: The Oliver Wendell Holmes Library of the National Stereoscopic Association, Cleveland., OH
Holstein: Collection of Raymond and Margery Holstein
NYPL: The New York Public Library (Robert Dennis Collection)
NYHS: The New York Historical Society
NMAH: The National Museum of American History, the Smithsonian Institution
AAS: American Antiquarian Society, Worchester, MA
KMC: Keystone Mast Collection, the California Museum of Photography, Riverside, CA
Spahr: Collection of David L. Spahr
Kraus: Collection of Jeffrey Kraus
Belcher: Collection of Dave Belcher
GRI: The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
Fischer/GRI: The Fischer Collection, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
GEH: George Eastman House, Rochester, NY
MD: Collection of the author

condition and comments fields:

pirate/copy—pirate or copy view
h-c—hand-colored
ad—view published as an advertisement, followed by the business' name, space permitting
ad/v—advertisement on verso
inscrip—personal inscription on back
litho—lithographic stereography
b/w litho—black and white lithographic stereography
FC: French Cook series
M series—marriage series
B series—Bridal series
FrMaid—French Maid series

genres:

A-A—African-American
Ad—advertisement
Ba—bachelor
B—bridal
C—childhood
Cel—celebrity
Ct—courtship
Ed—educational series
E—erotic
Eth—ethnographic
G-Am—American Genre
G-Eu—European Genre
M—marriage
NW—New Woman
T—temperance

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Doubling the Vision:

Women and Narrative Stereography: The United States, 1870-1910

Volume II

by

Melody D. Davis

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2004

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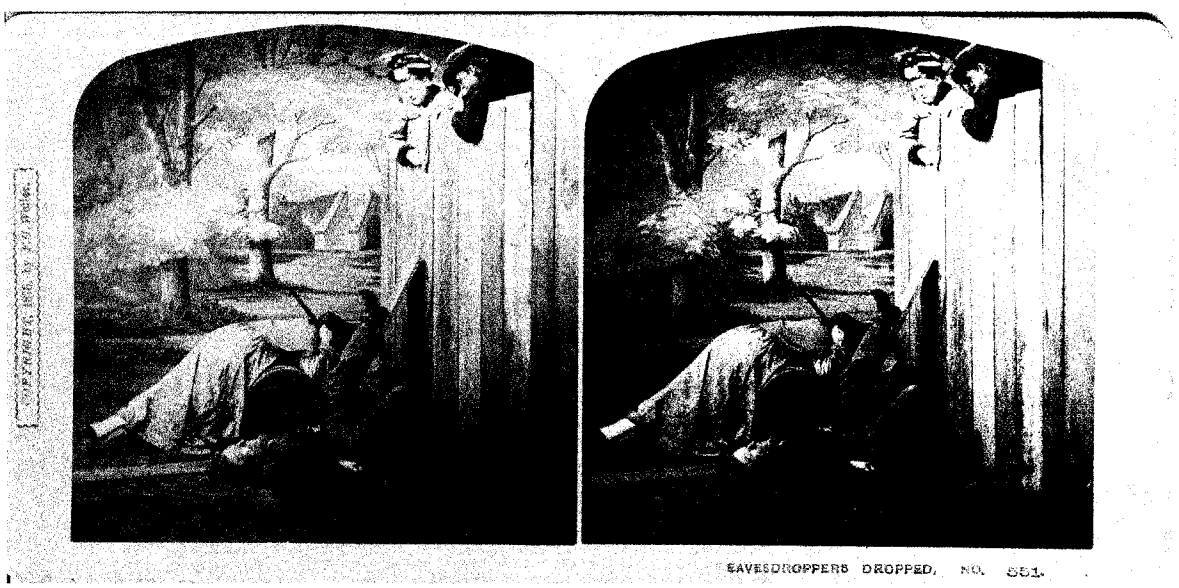

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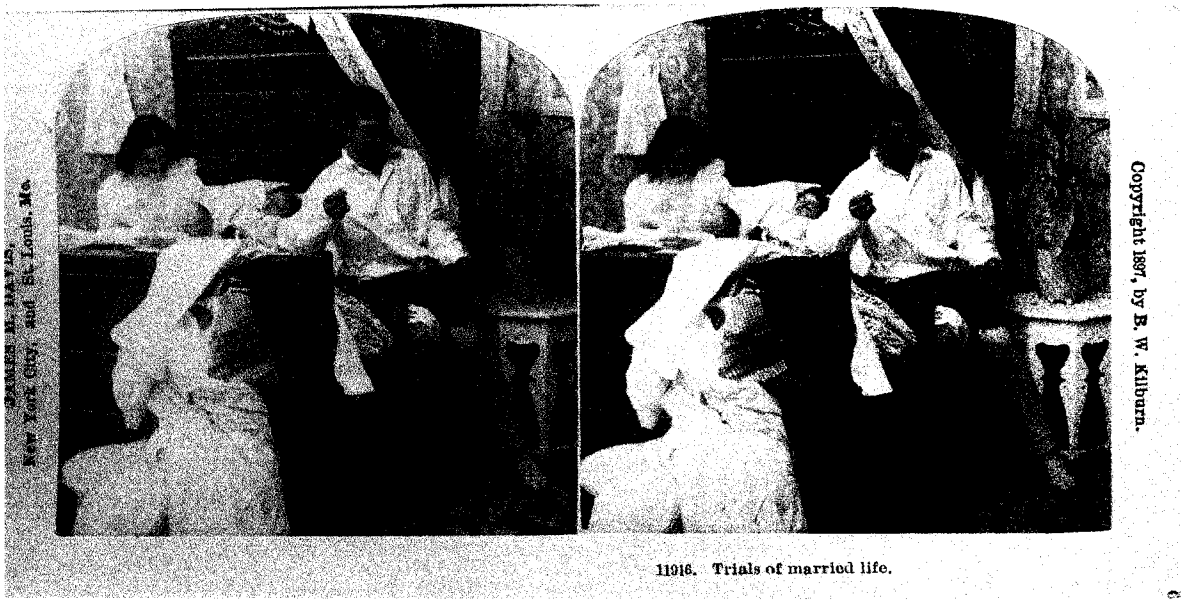

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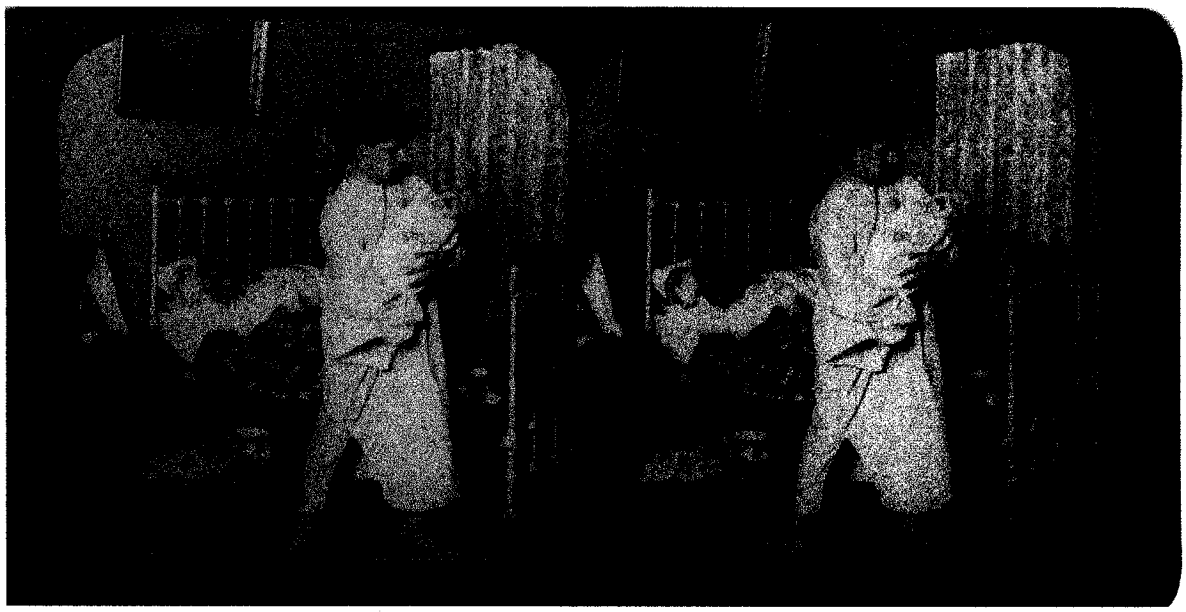

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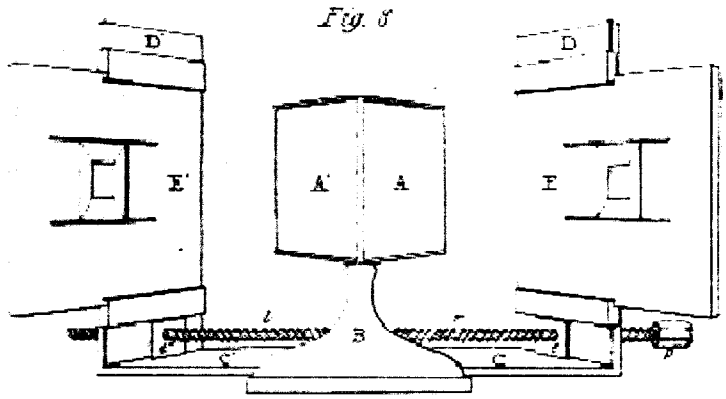

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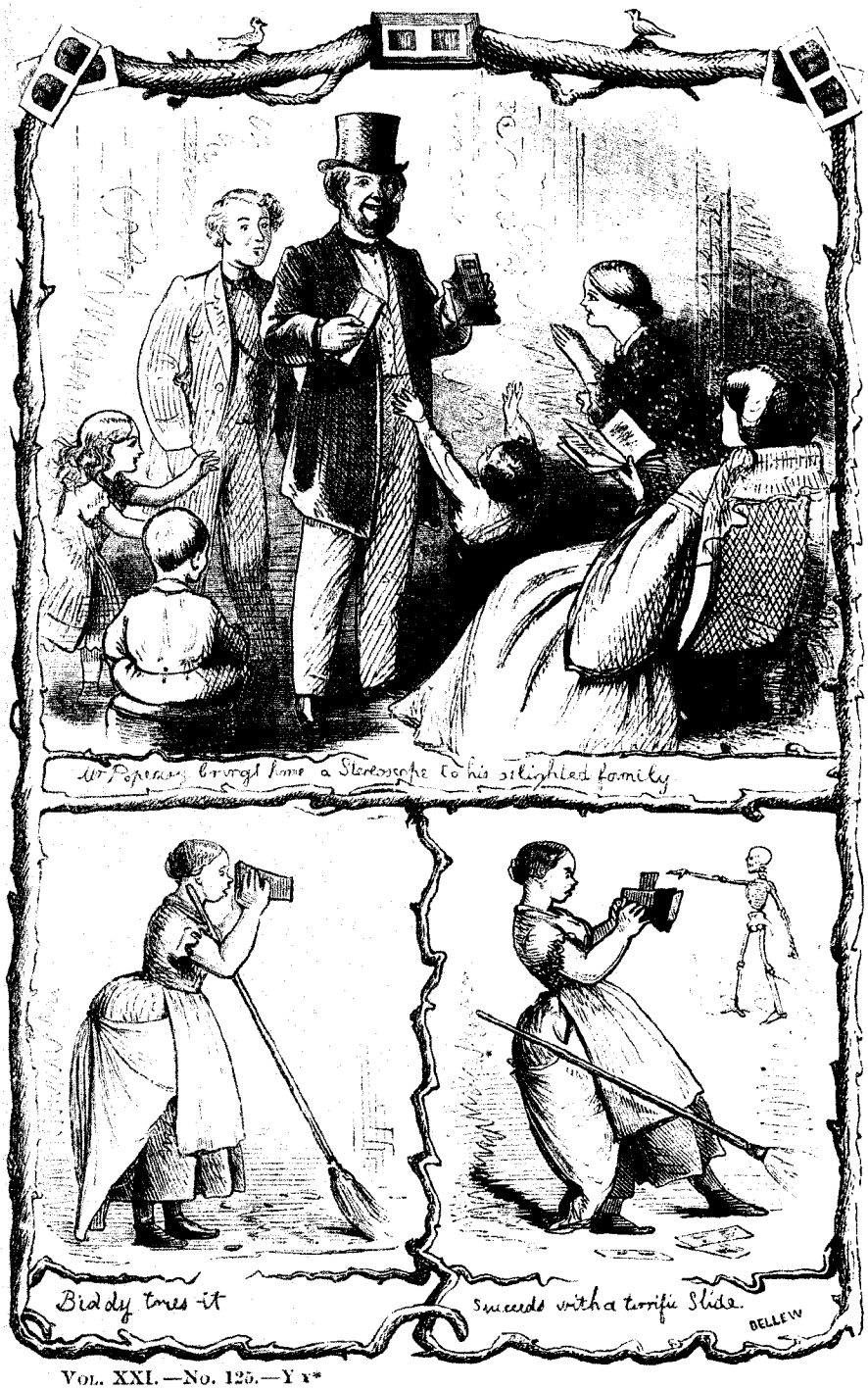

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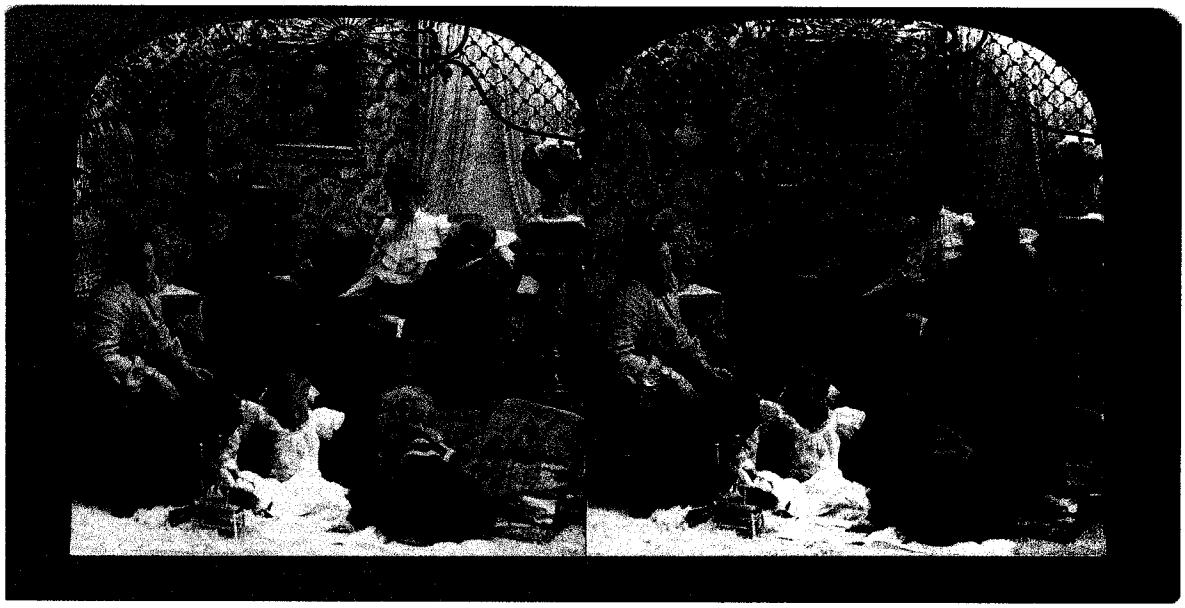

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fig. 35

NOVEL READING IN THE KITCHEN.

fig. 36

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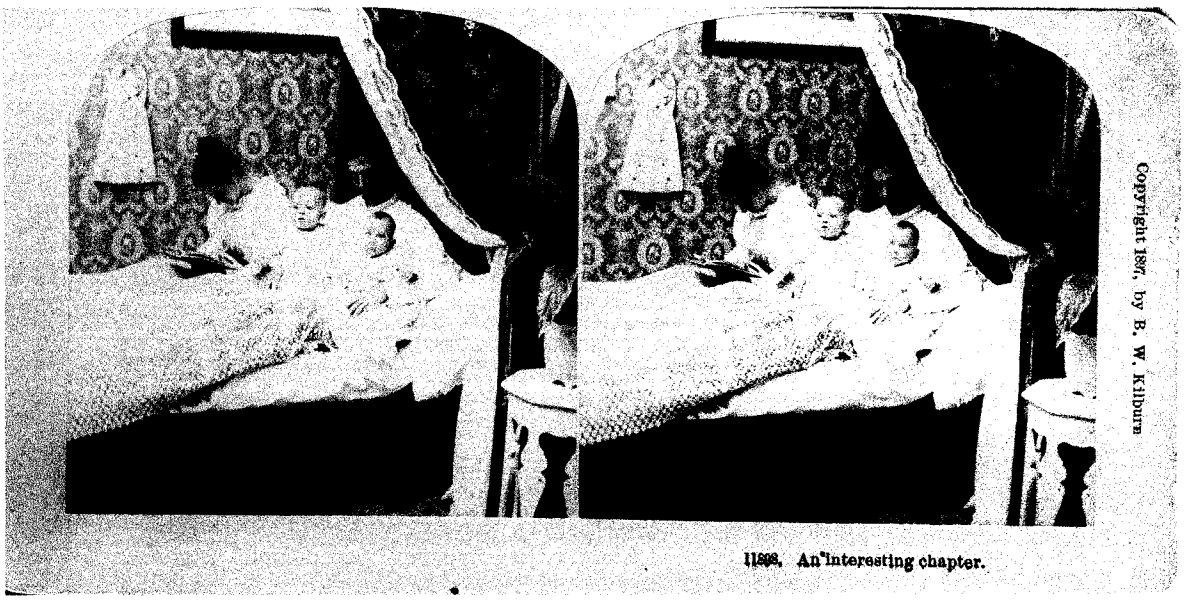

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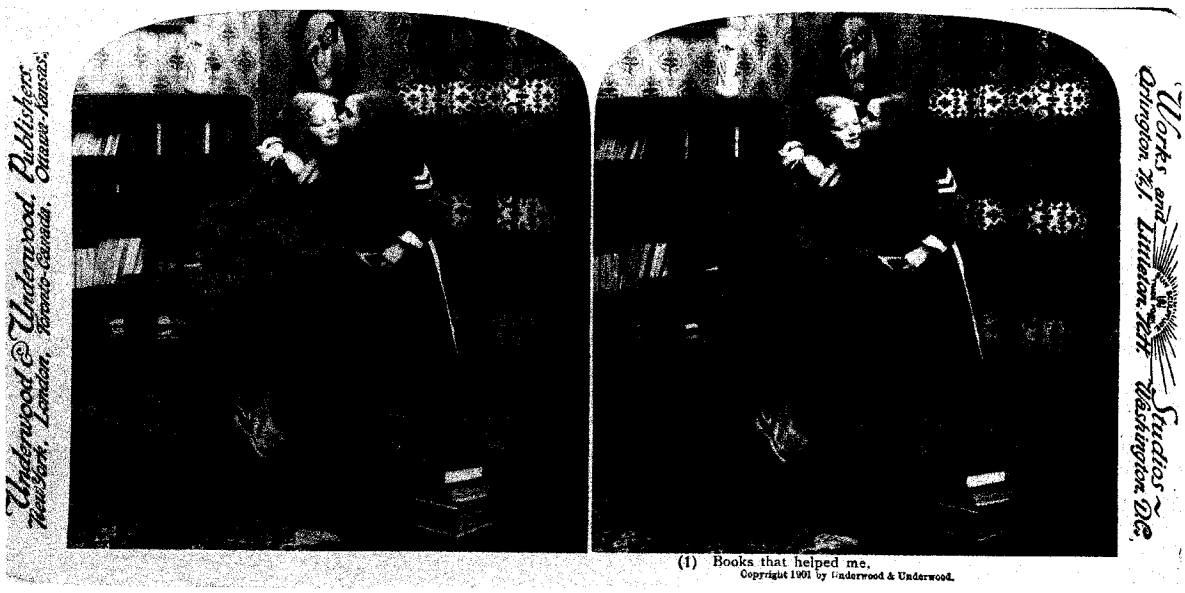

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An Evening at Home With the Little Ones.

fig. 43

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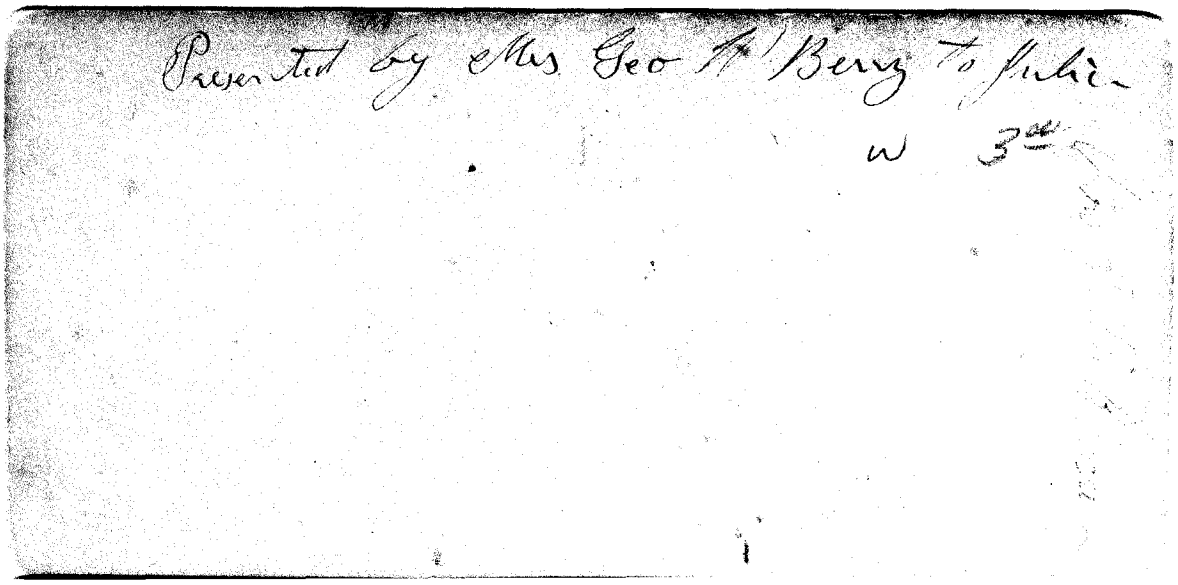

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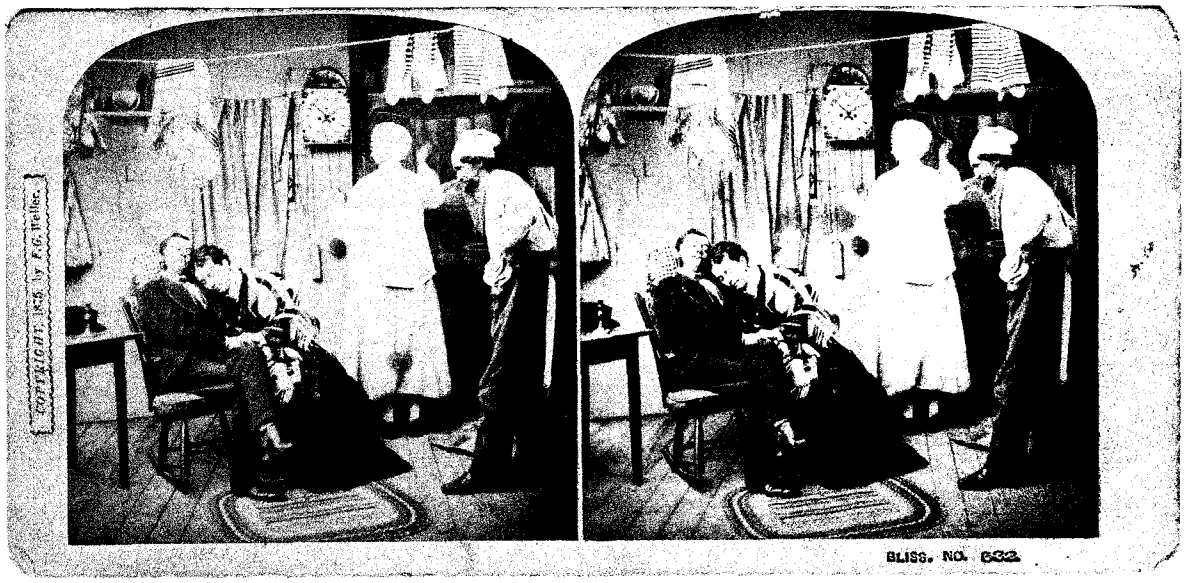

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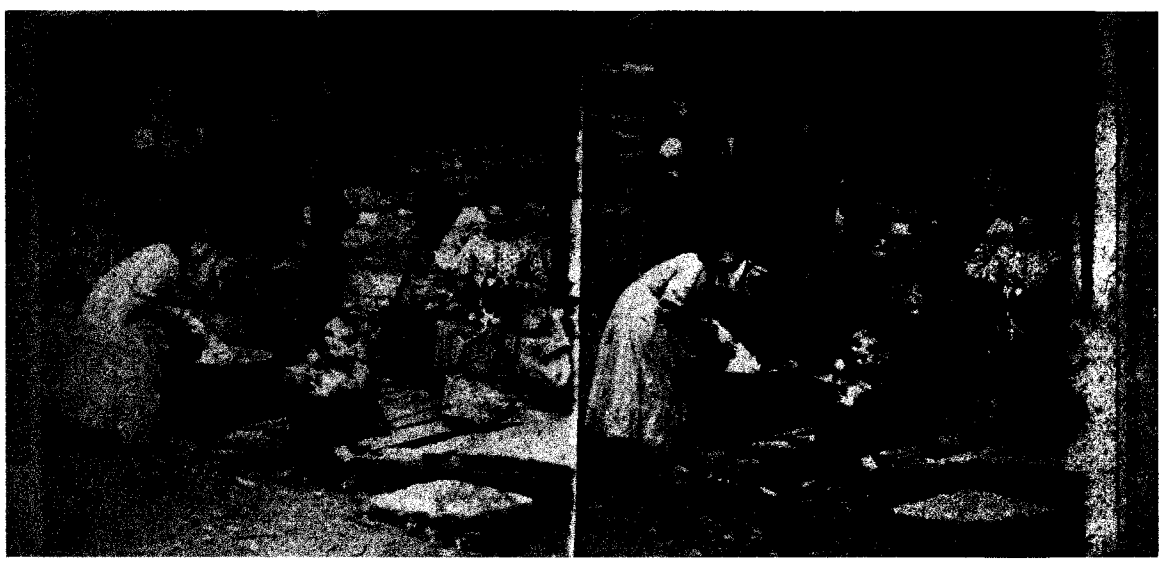

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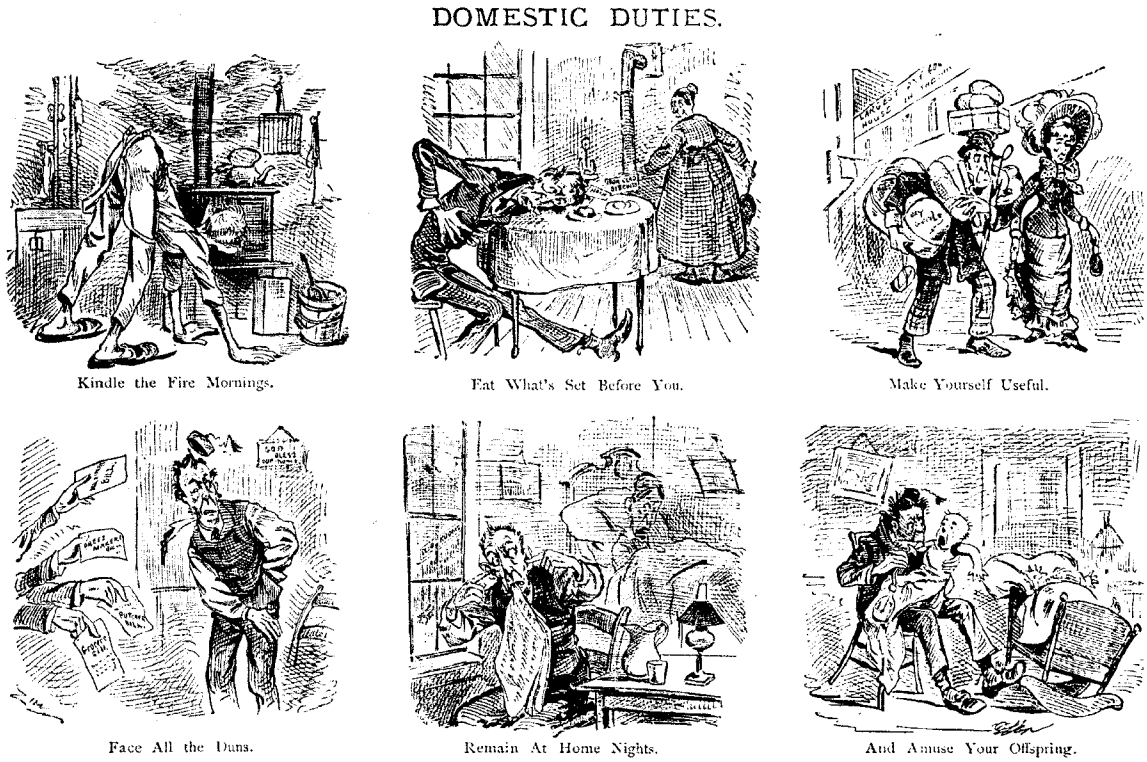

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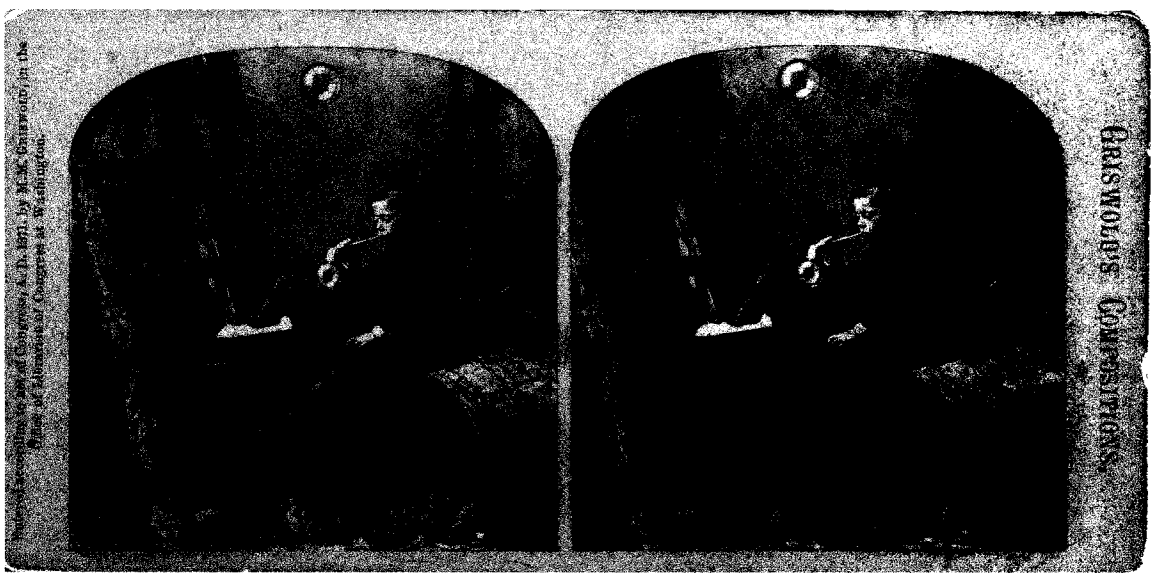

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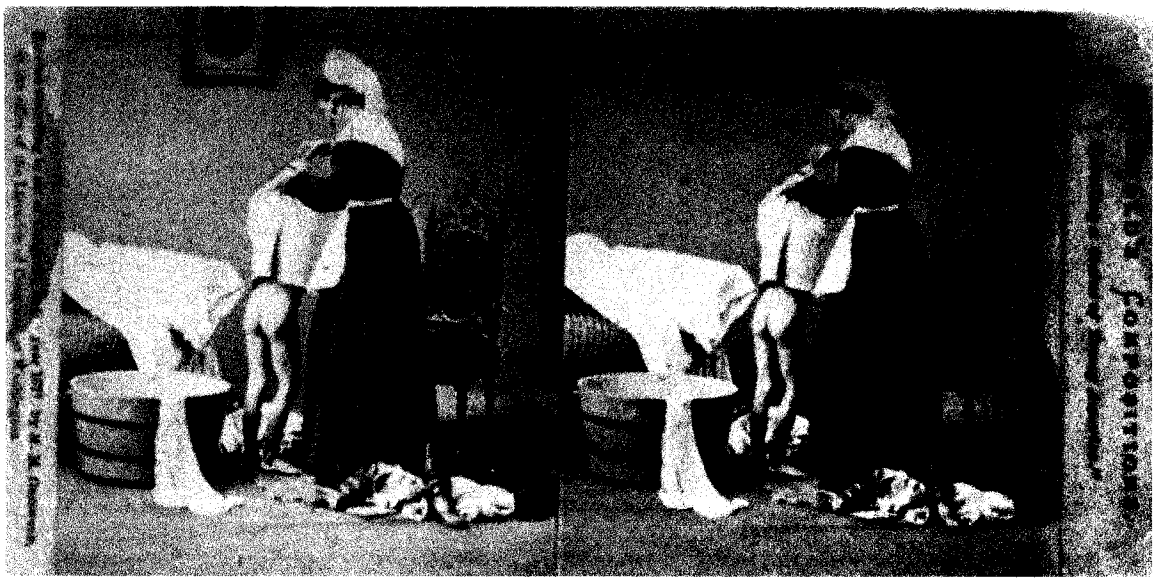

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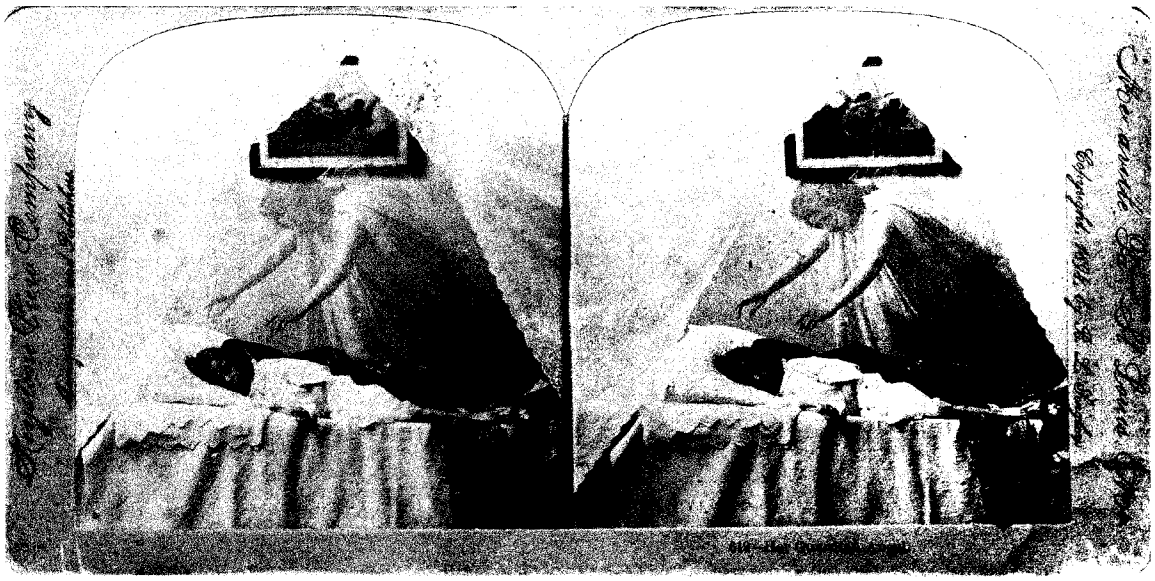

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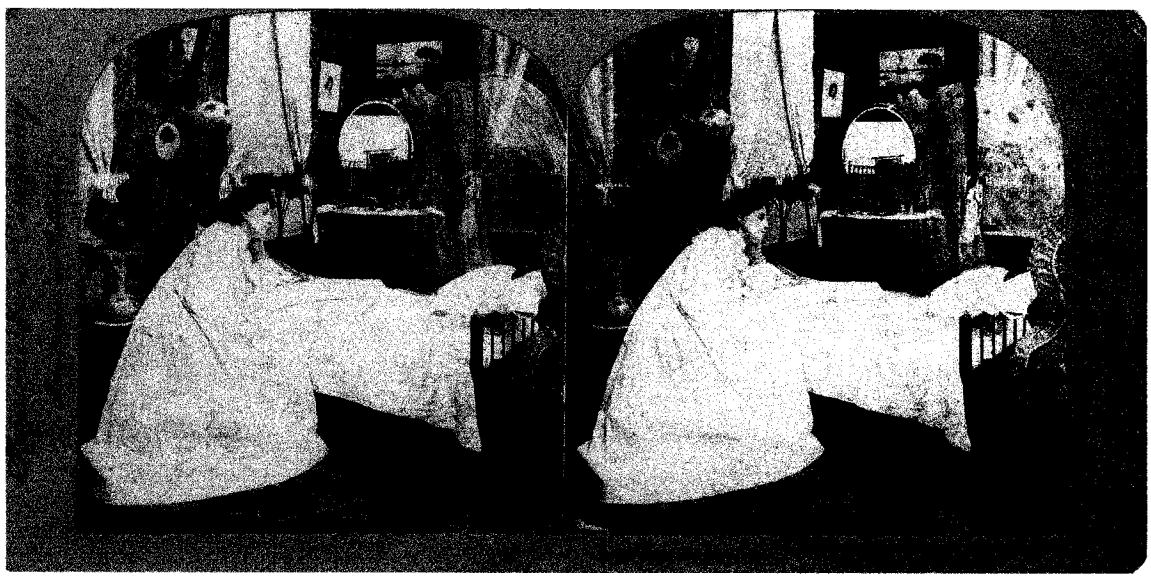

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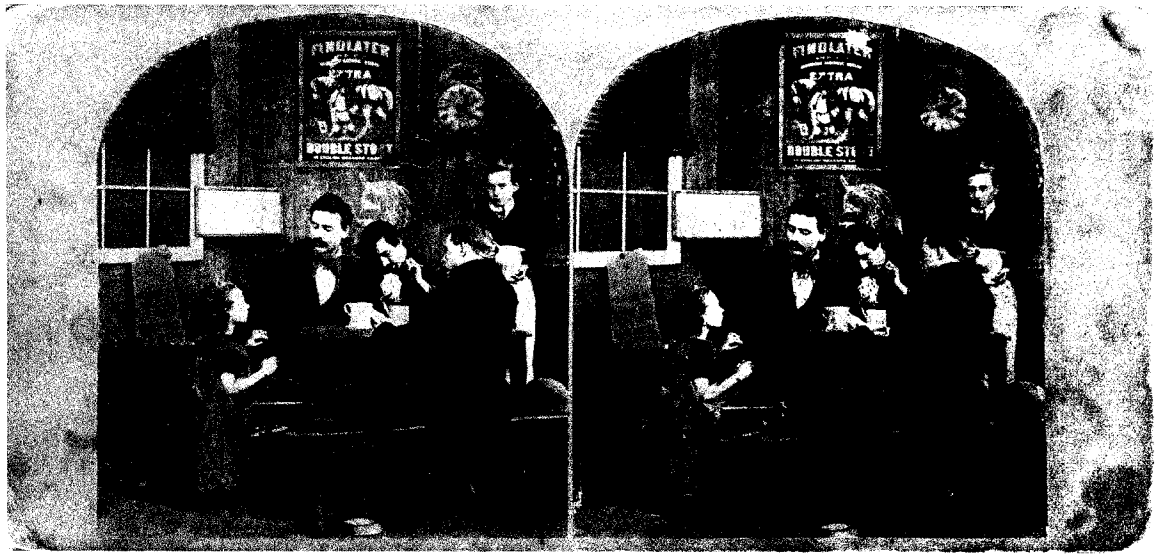

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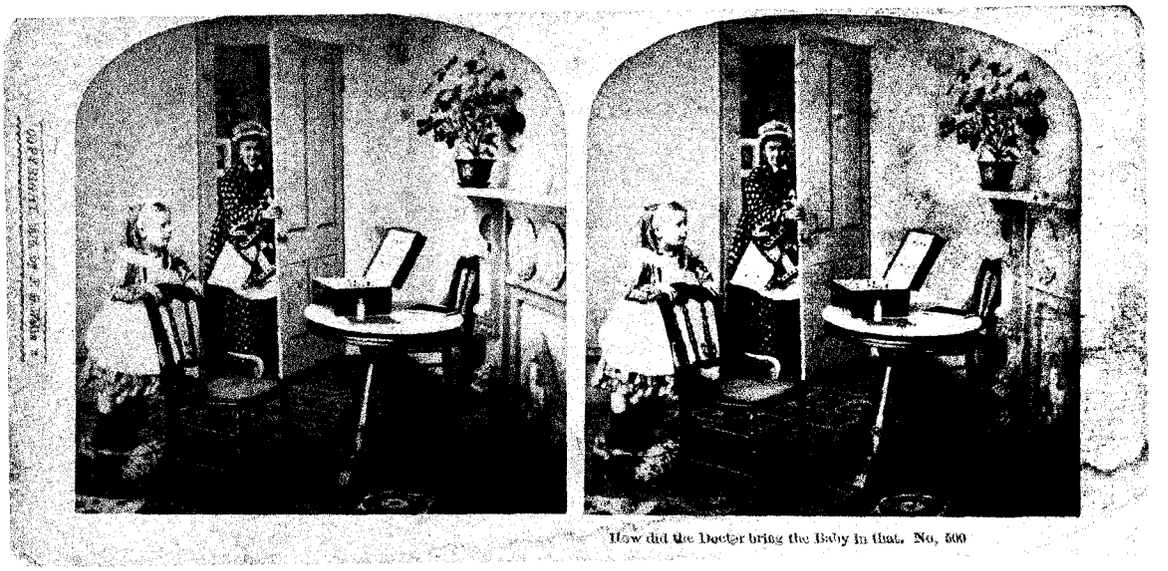

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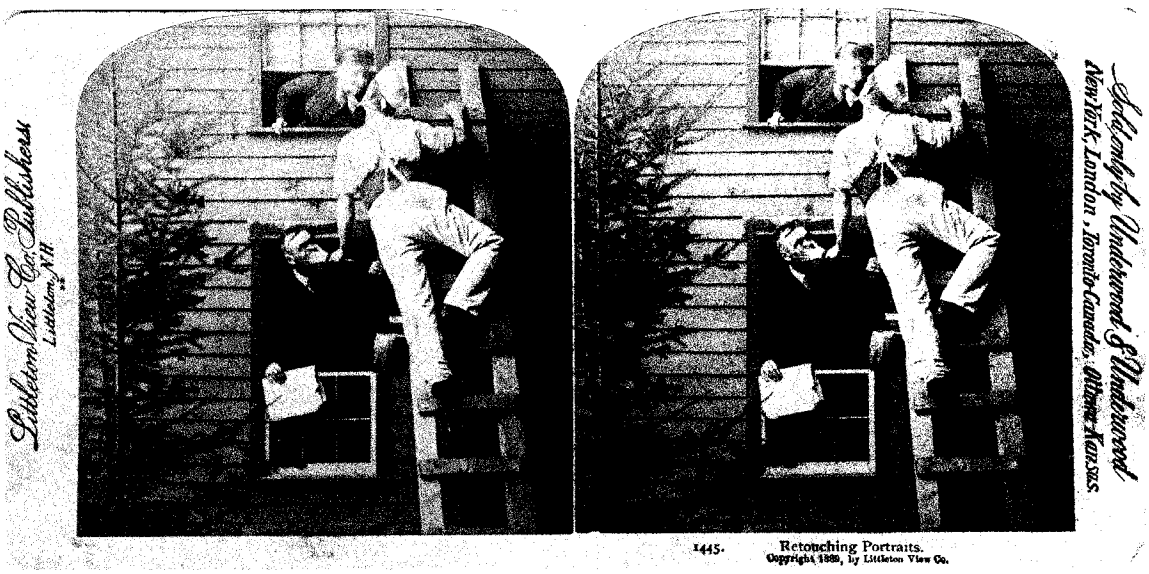

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figs. 85 a/b

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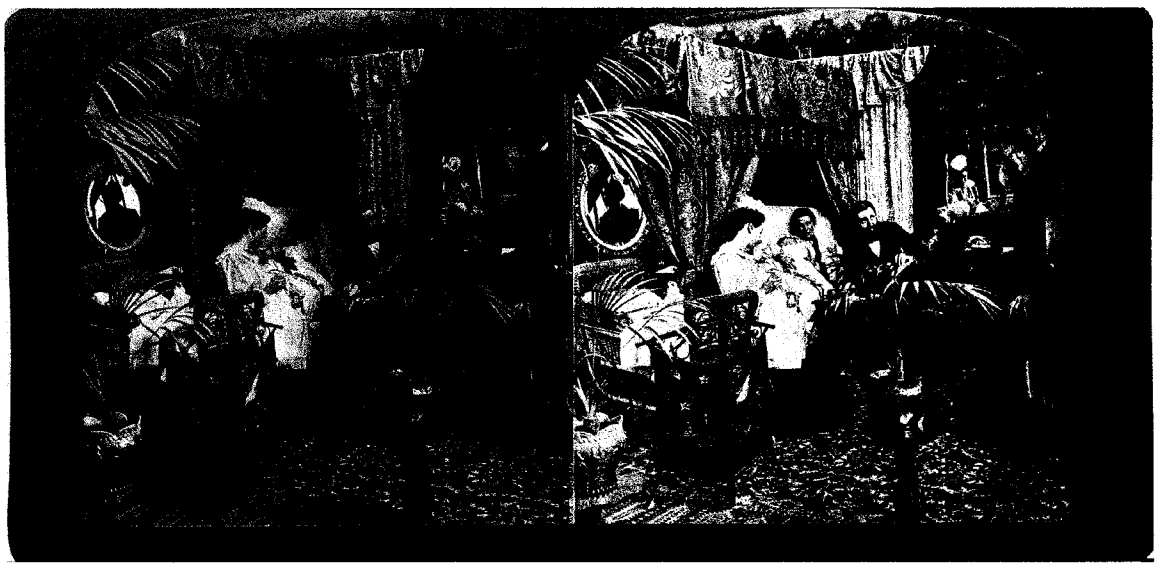

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HUSBAND-TAMING.

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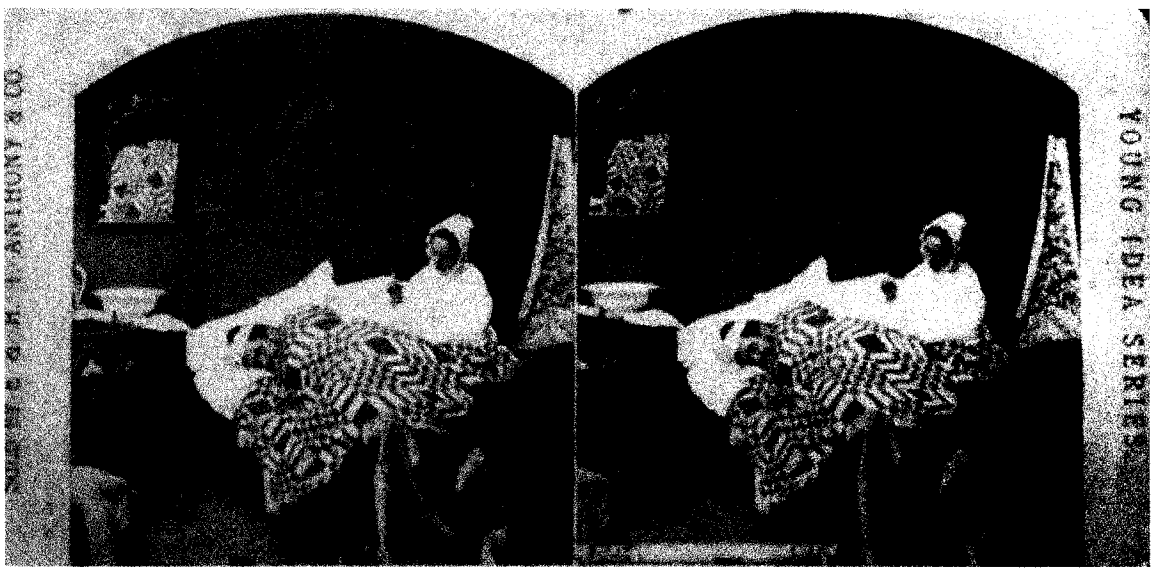

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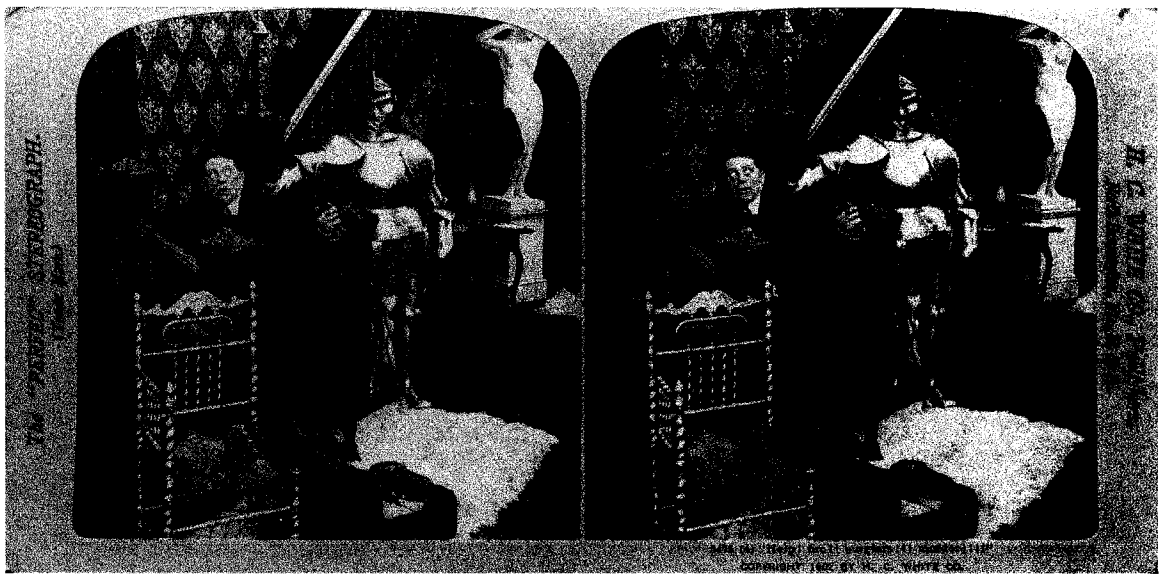

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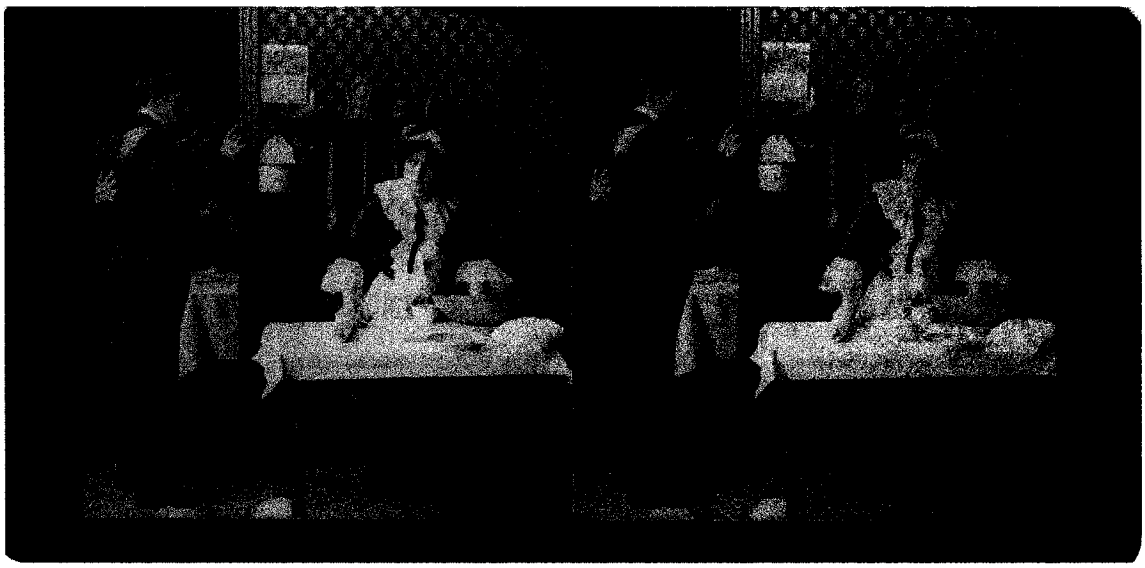

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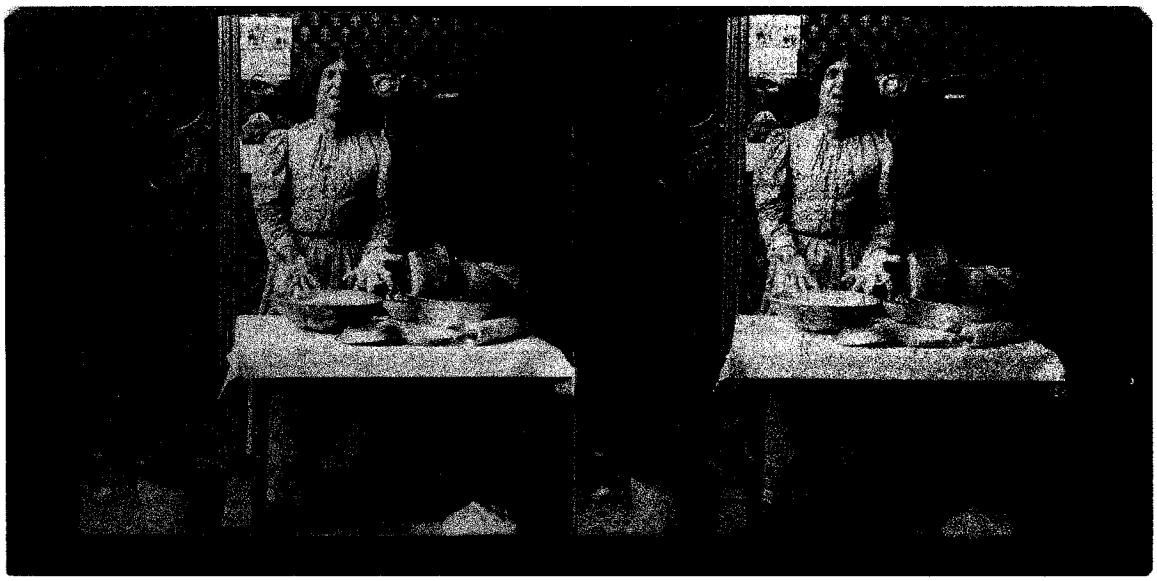

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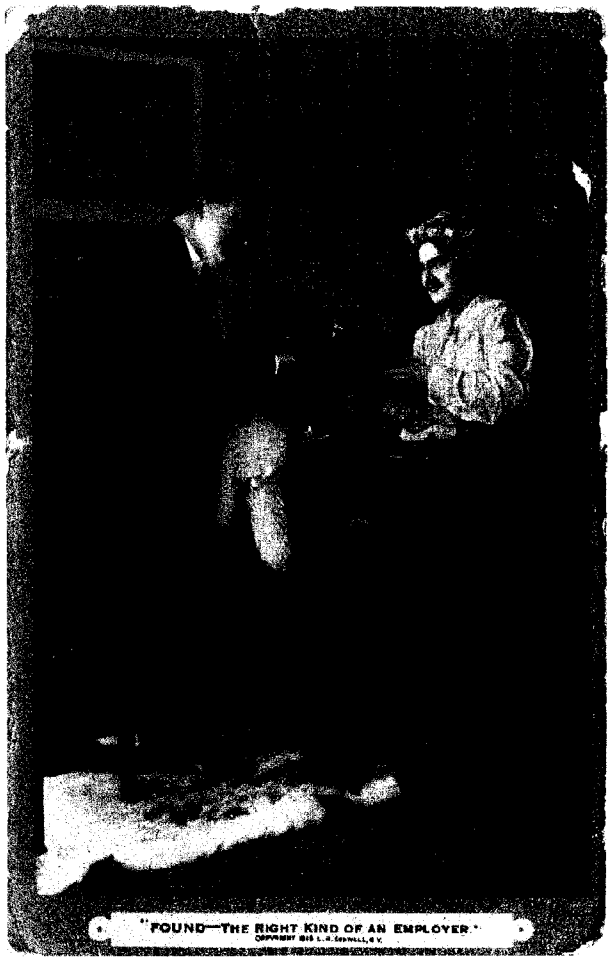

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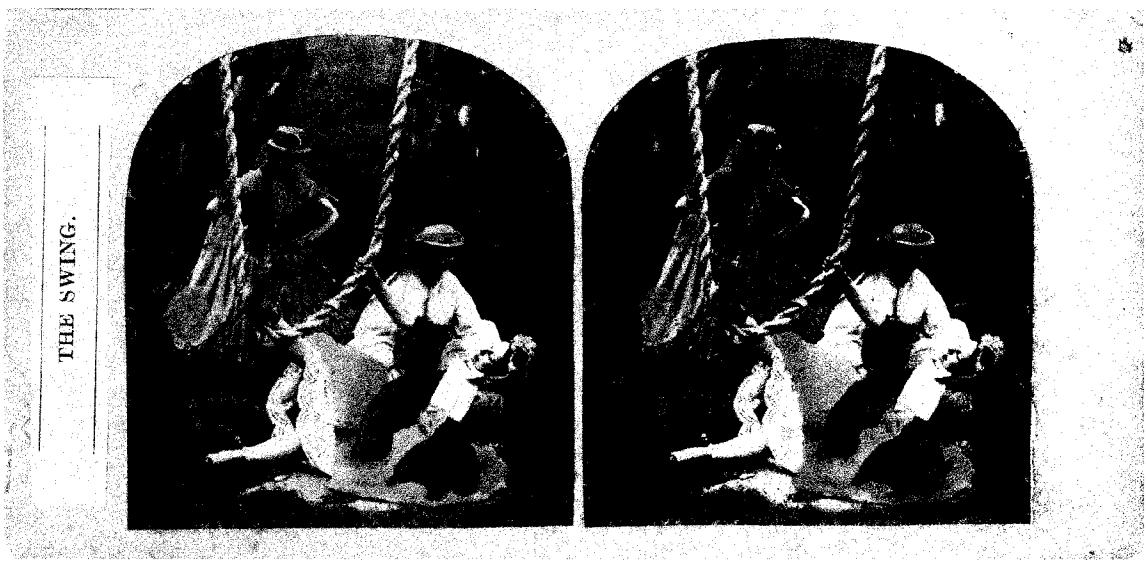

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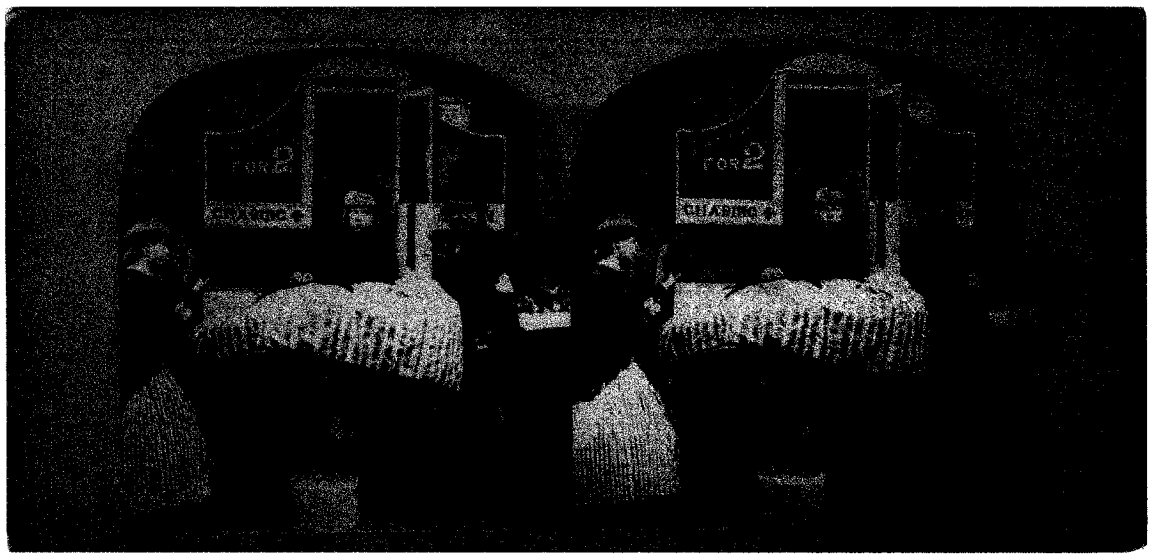

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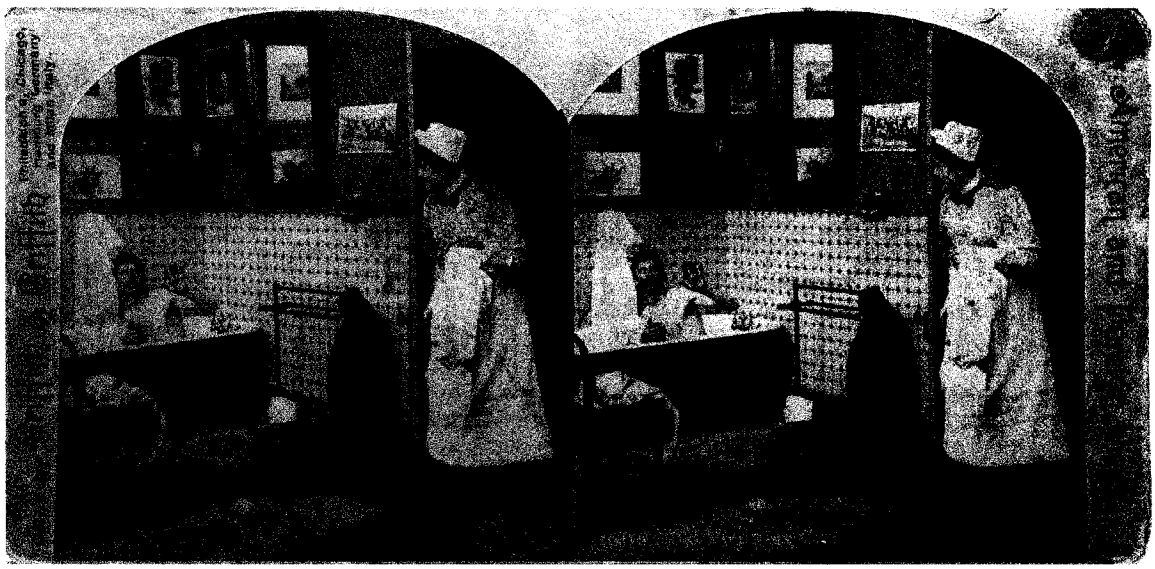

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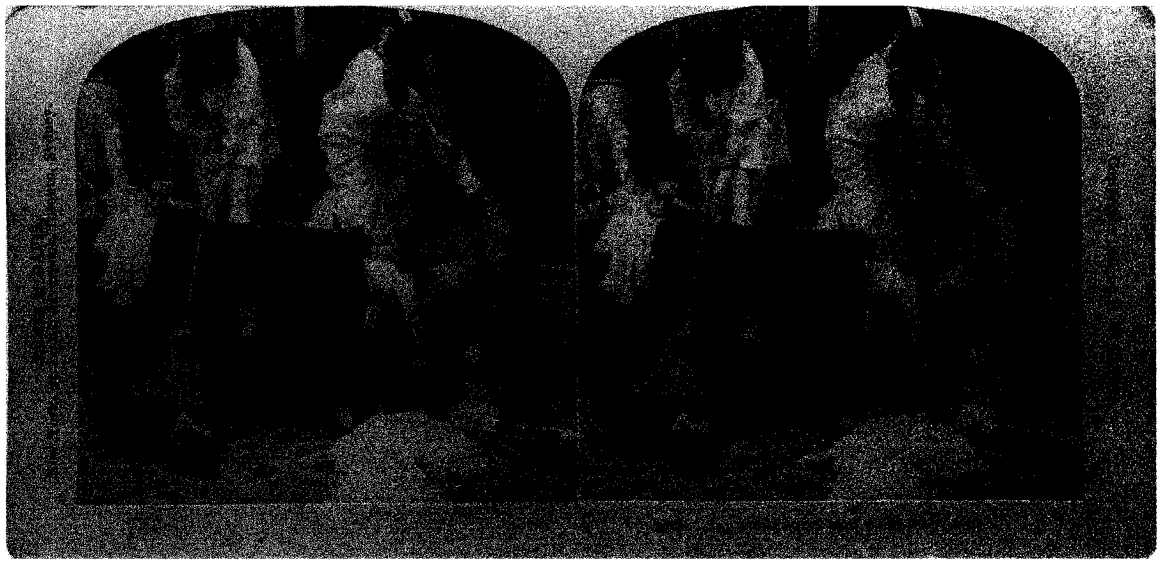

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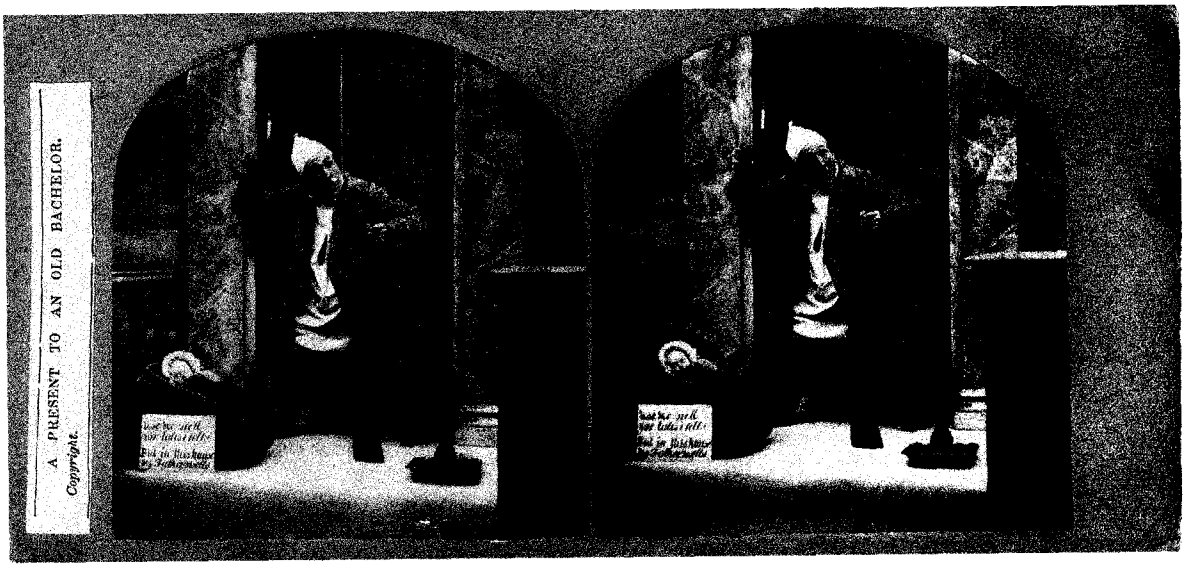

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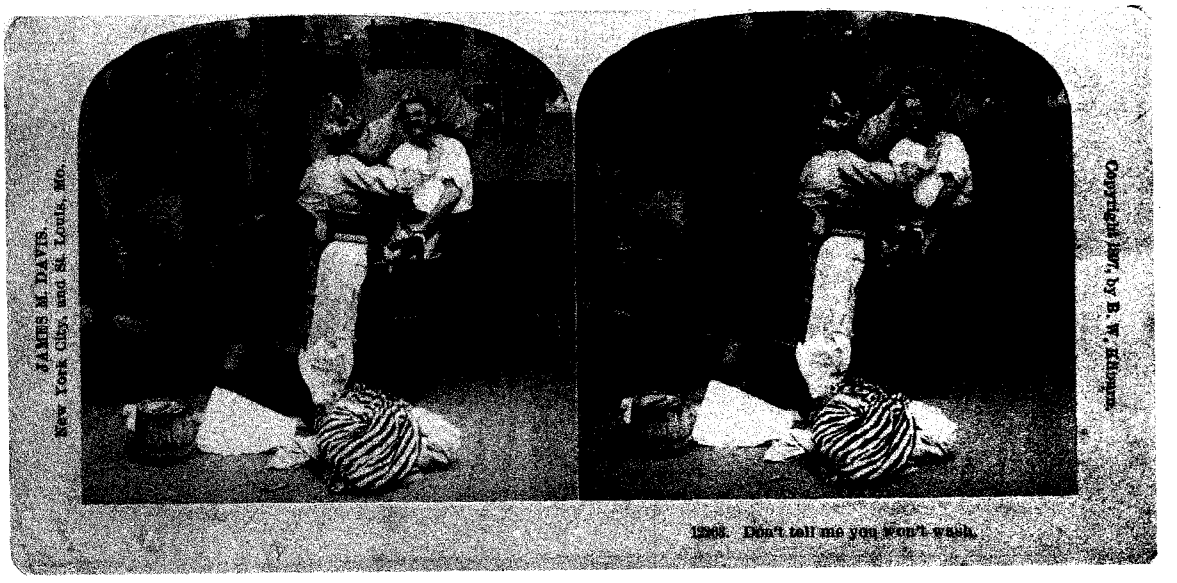

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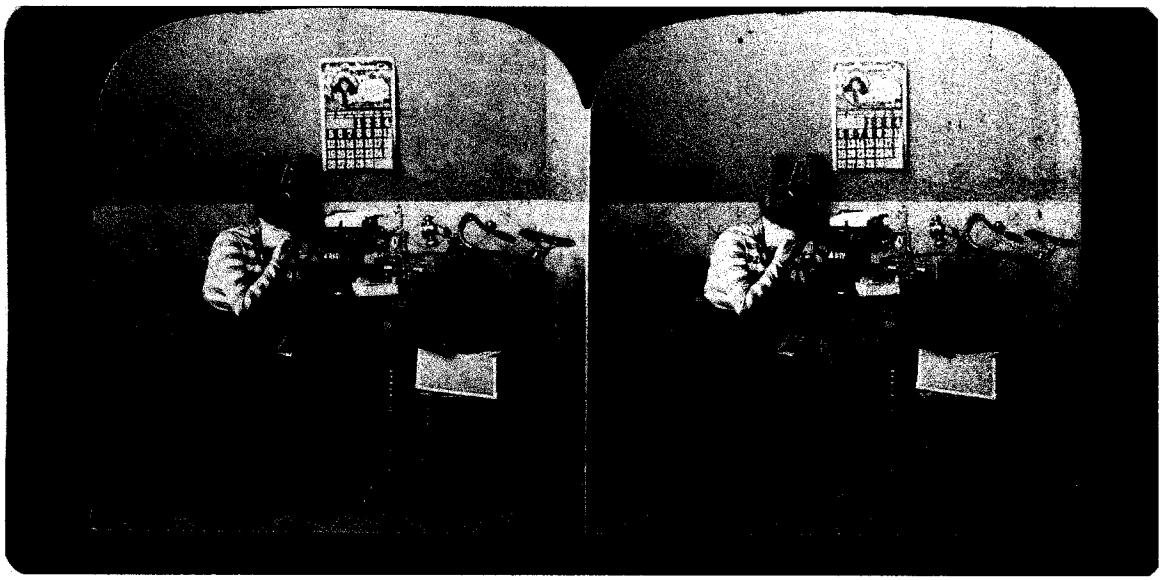

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